Jonathan Swift's *A Modest Proposal* and Antonio Ungar's *Kamandil Viarko*: An Interpretation of Cannibalism

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Reading is the ideal shelter for a lonely soul; literature is the ideal medicine for a restless mind, and they are, together, the window that refreshes the spirit as it takes it to a different world every time we open a book. Literature has always been my deepest love, my motivation, my hope, and what has led me through this path. However, paths are usually diffuse and almost always bifurcate, twisting you decisions, making you unable to realize your destiny, and taking you to places unknown. This is my experience with literature.

I never thought the stranger I once met in that park was going to present me with the book that drove and inspired this work. I never imagined his suggestion was going to unleash the other circumstances that increased my curiosity and ended up immersing me in the cannibals' world. I never suspected I was going to have such a great reader and a blessing that encouraged me from the beginning to the end of this process. But above all, I never foresaw that the teacher, who once led me on the way to fall in love with my major, was also going to lead me through the appraisal and interpretation of these two works of art.

To that stranger who suggested to me *Cuentos Caníbales*; to my dear cousin for giving me that birthday present; to my friend for being my cornerstone in times of despair; to the wise woman who guided and supported me throughout this journey, my deepest gratitude and eternal indebtedness.

Abstract

Cannibalism is a controversial topic to be considered from literal and metaphorical perspectives and it has not been thoroughly addressed from a literary approach. This paper interprets metaphorical and literal cannibalism as a means of social criticism in Jonathan Swift's A Modest Proposal and Antonio Ungar's Kamandil Viarko in terms of its social acceptance or rejection. The acceptance or rejection of cannibalism in the societies in which the novels are set varies according to the author's use of cannibalism. Although both texts criticize society, in AMP the acceptance or rejection matches the satire of the author to present it as an economic benefit in order to criticize the mercantilist society exposed in the novel. On the other hand in KV, cultural assimilation is caused by globalization. Since it is no longer essential to avoid massive starvation, no longer useful, the dominant culture rejects it and it is masked as immoral and as a belief system where the change of cannibalism from acceptance into rejection is exposed from the victims' perspective.

Keywords: cannibalism, mercantilism, globalization, acculturation, social criticism.

Resumen

El canibalismo es un tema controversial que puede tomar una forma tanto literal como metafórica y no ha sido muy trabajado desde una perspectiva literaria. Aun así, hay una tradición literaria que parte del mito griego de Cronos y fue abordado por Montaigne, entre otros autores a lo largo de los años a pesar de que el término se dio a conocer formalmente en el siglo XV. De esta manera, este estudio interpreta el canibalismo metafórico y literal como un instrumento de crítica social en términos de su aceptación o rechazo en Una Modesta Proposición de Jonathan Swift y Kamandil Viarko de Antonio Ungar. El cambio de perspectiva del rechazo a la aceptación del canibalismo o vice versa tiene distintas razones en ambos textos: mientras que en Una Modesta Proposición, este cambio es motivado por el beneficio económico, Kamandil Viarko muestra que tal cambio se da por la transformación del sistema de creencias de la sociedad en la que la novela se desarrolla.

Palabras clave: canibalismo, mercantilismo, globalización, asimilación cultural, crítica social

Introduction

Cannibalism is the widespread term to describe human flesh consumption. The image of the cannibal has been in people's imagery for a long time, and so, it has been analyzed from anthropological, sociological, psychological, and mythical perspectives. Although this controversial topic has inspired many works of art, it has not been widely studied in literature yet. Thus, this is a good opportunity to interpret the role of this concept when used in two literary pieces.

The aim of this paper is to interpret metaphorical and literal cannibalism in A Modest Proposal and Kamandil Viarko. For this purpose, this paper presents two chapters in which cannibalism is studied. The first one offers an overview of the societies in both works and the relationship they have with the characters. The second one analyzes the relationship between the characters and the verbal material they use and exposes the interpretation of cannibalism. Throughout the chapters two main concepts, mercantilism and otherness, interrelated to culture are the basis of the authors' critique. Thus, cannibalism is analyzed in terms of its rejection and acceptance in the societies where the novels are set.

Justification

The present study deals with two novels: *A Modest Proposal* by Jonathan Swift, and *Kamandil Viarko* by Antonio Ungar. The main topic in both of them is cannibalism although each one of them depicts it from a different perspective. Swift's text does it through satire, as something that - although rejected by society - could help Irish people cope with poverty and mendicity. On the other hand, Ungar depicts cannibalism as a tradition related to customs, beliefs and religion, as something acceptable that turns into a rejected activity conceived as bad, immoral, repulsive and anti-hygienic caused by changes in belief systems throughout time.

When reading novels related to cannibalism it is impossible to ignore Jonathan Swift's *A Modest Proposal*. This outstanding and astonishing text uses flattering and fancy words and expressions that convey the feeling that Swift is being serious about his proposal. At the same time, he is criticizing his society, proposing that they become cannibals in order to avoid poverty in Ireland. This criticism satirized by giving a solution that is more repulsive than poverty and misery together, tries to make an apology of the way to proceed and change the perception of cannibalism from a rejected into an acceptable practice.

Later on, ""La cena de los bustos"" or ""Le dîner des bustes"" by Gaston Leroux and ""La Carne" by Virgilio Piñera appear to depict the same topic from different perspectives.

Those works make an impact on the reader as they depict cannibalism as the last resource in order to survive famine. They evoke A Modest Proposal because of the way the

characters make an apology of the fact that they became cannibals just in order to survive the hardships they are going through.

More recently, *Kamandil Viarko* by Antonio Ungar has an amazing way of dealing with the topic and showing cannibalism as something to be proud of according to the culture. Then, the author gradually illustrates the change of this perception according to the transformations of society's belief systems due to progress. Furthermore, it is very surprising for this topic be addressed by a Colombian writer.

It is very shocking to think that cannibalism can be regarded as good in the sense that it could solve problems that afflict society such as, overpopulation and environmental issues caused by it. These works talk about the moral hypocrisy and the constant duality of human beings to do what is good or bad according to what is socially accepted-rejected or to do what human beings consider acceptable or non-acceptable according to their beliefs. Thus, becoming so inhumane and utilitarian that someone would have to choose who deserves to eat and who deserves to be eaten is very concerning throughout the reading of Swift's works. On the other hand, according to Ungar, if people had grown up with a conception in which cannibalism were a tradition that they should be proud of, with an education based on different values, different conceptions of morality, and a different perception of what is good or bad, they would live in a different society. But what really happens is that western society is not proud of their roots, their traditions, customs and values. Western societies suffer from xenophilia and want to cover up and forget that their societies come from traditions such as those that made human sacrifices, polytheist beliefs, cults to Earth, the

family and the natural elements. They want to forget what these customs really are and the significance they have had on their identity, and they try to deny it. Furthermore, one could think both texts resemble society and human nature while others could think they do not and they are just fiction and stories born from the writers' minds.

A Modest Proposal and Kamandil Viarko deal with an uncommon topic that has not been deeply addressed from a critical interpretation but from other fields of human knowledge.

Thus, it is worthy to approach it from such perspective.

Cannibalism is motivating and moving as it causes a lot of polemic and contradictory reactions in people. Despite the fact that both works were written in different times, they approach social criticism through the depiction of metaphorical and literal cannibalism from two different perspectives where they criticize Mercantilism and Acculturation. Those perspectives enrich the previous knowledge regarding this topic in the literary field.

Although there are several analyses from diverse points of view and fields regarding Swift's A Modest Proposal such as: literature, economy, sociology and history, there is not a single study on Ungar's Kamandil Viarko. This is fascinating as there are no previous studies of this topic in Colombian literature either.

Objectives

No matter what the stand of the reader is, cannibalism is a controversial topic that causes rejection or acceptance according to the society where it occurs and the way it is presented. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to interpret metaphorical and literal cannibalism in Jonathan Swift's *a Modest Proposal* and Antonio Ungar's *Kamandil Viarko* as an instrument of social criticism in terms of its social acceptance or rejection. In order to achieve this purpose, several analyses are imperative:

- A description and comparison of the societies depicted in A Modest Proposal and
 Kamandil Viarko in terms of a sociological overview of their ideologies and
 beliefs.
- An explanation of the social and ideological relationships of the main characters with the society they live in.
- An analysis of the social criticism of cannibalism on the basis of the actions and arguments in favor of or against it.
- To identify and explain the role of polyphony and the verbal material the characters use to defend cannibalism.
- An explanation of the ambivalent arguments and actions regarding these societies' double morals.
- A description and explanation of Mercantilism, Globalization, Otherness, and Culture.

Limitations of the Study

The verbal material and the architectural form will be considered as they affect the arguments in the novels. However, the use of the language in the texts, according to the space and time in which they were written, is not relevant.

Besides, the societies in which these two literary worlds were conceived will not be examined. Although it is common knowledge that the authors' background usually shapes their literary pieces, in this paper, both worlds are regarded as detached from the authors themselves, focusing only on the literary world. For instance, *A Modest Proposal* was written to satirize Jonathan Swift's society in the sense that he lived in a time full of starvation, poverty and famine like the Irish famine in 1740, while the reason why a Colombian writer addressed cannibalism is not very clear but fascinating. Even though, it is interesting to write about the relationship between the authors' societies and the societies depicted in the stories, the main focus of this paper is on the social criticism shown through the characters' actions and the arguments in favor of or against cannibalism. Because of that, the authors' societies are used only to the extent that they are useful for this purpose.

Likewise, the dramatic tension in the stories, the description of the characters and the dialogues that keep the reader's attention are not relevant for this study; nevertheless, some fragments of the stories are useful to illustrate the topic in terms of the characters' attitudes, ideologies and actions towards cannibalism.

State of the Art

Jonathan Swift was a satirist, essayist, and poet recognized for his social criticism of the human condition. In turn, his works have been very criticized and analyzed, being *A Modest Proposal* one of the most controversial pieces.

Following James Marlow's "Cannibalism: Dickens after 1859" (1983), it has been said that "cannibalism is committed not by those peoples still in a state of nature - by Victorian lights - but, more horrible, by people whose civilization has degenerated." Being Swift's *A Modest Proposal* "the most obvious representation of the idea that the corruption of civilization or reason is worse than savagery itself" (Marlow, 1983) *A Modest Proposal* shows the landscape of the Irish society in dark and gloomy times, and it "modestly" depicts the horrid cannibalistic solution to poverty and misery.

The depiction of civilization's corruption in Swift's work seems to have been influenced by the "Apologia of Tertullian" (Johnson, 1958) in which "the persecution of Christian converts by the Romans on the grounds that the religious sect was engaging in inhuman practices and that its adherents were, therefore, not to be treated as human beings." The point where a Modest Proposal and Tertullian's work converge is the inhuman practices in which human beings are treated as things or 'flesh' and the gross descriptions of human flesh preparation. Also, satire appears in the shape of an absurd proposal criticizing that "Men will attempt to justify their own cruelty toward other men by accusing their victims of being lower than human: 'Man's flesh goes belching, fattened on man's flesh." (Johnson, 1958) By declaring Irish people barbaric and ignorant, the English justify their

treatment of them as merely animals. Moreover, materialism and social biases influence the arguments, shaping and justifying human flesh consumption for the sake of avoiding poverty and creating a sustainable economy.

"A Modest Proposal and Populousness" by Landa in 1942, shows the parallelism of Swift's *A Modest Proposal* and *Maxims Controlled in Ireland*. Criticism is made through the use of a mercantilist idea –maxim- that people are the richness of a nation; the maxim manifests that populousness is an economic condition that leads to the "ironic solution for Ireland's economic difficulties in each instance is the selling-off of human bodies, as slaves in the one case and as food in the other." This idea is supported by saying that "people, for want of employment, must turn to begging and thievery, that a portion of the population is a useless burden, and that under certain conditions these useless people could become a source of wealth to the nation." (Landa, 1942) The proposal becomes the best solution to take advantage of populousness: turning the useless children, in this case, into commercial raw material and degrading human beings to flesh or objects.

Political arithmetik seems to have its place when talking about human treatment as objects, goods and maxims. Phiddian's work "Political Arithmetick: Accounting for Irony in Swift's A Modest Proposal" shows a perspective that lacks in sensibility as it only addresses "the issues that are predicted by economic discourse, and ignores moral and physical issues that present problems for neatly defined economic solutions." (Phiddian, 1996) Thus, the persona proposing the cannibalistic solution in Swift's text seems to be a magnificent example that illustrates the requirements, ideas, beliefs and needs of a materialist society where the economy is what really matters.

As the proposer takes the shape of a bourgeois economist, the use of the verbal material in *A Modest Proposal* is worth taking into account. Swift uses language devices such as satire, irony, metaphors, metonymy, synecdoche, and dialogs to tackle social issues like religion and politics. Satire is helpful to discuss serious social issues and taboos as it does not present the topic directly but partially veiled as Gunnarddóttir says in his work "The Satire as a Social Mirror: Jonathan Swift's A Modest Proposal in Context."

One of the metaphors used by Swift is "The English are devouring the Irish", meaning that "because of unfair trading practices, high rent and absentee landlords, the Irish were being starved and slowly destroyed by the English." (Gunnarsdóttir, 2009)

Through the use of the language and metaphors, "Swift internally dialogizes the discourse about man-eating by interweaving popular travel narratives, traces of European folklore, and classical myths." (Chowdhury, 2008) Thus, cannibals are the symbol that enforced the idea that the Irish were not fit for civilization and humanity and that they were barbaric. This, allowed 'civilized' people to treat them as animals or objects. The image of cannibals is related to the fairy tale image of the ogres and the mythical image of cyclops. According to Chowdhury and his "Splenetic Ogres and Heroic Cannibals in Jonathan Swift's A Modest Proposal" (2008), ogres and cannibals have been used to enforce boundaries between the civilized and uncivilized people. Also, the spleen and melancholy those characters suffer from living in their societies make them alike.

Evoking the proposer in Swift's work as the ogre in European fairytales, both characters are shown as large, rich, strong and very stupid. The image of the ogre/cyclop-proposer is reinforced when the proposal says that "the poor Irish should produce children in order to

sell them as table meat and make a clear profit out of the transaction." Ogres and Cyclops concurrently developed a sustainable economy by raising sheep and trading. This allowed their independence and self-sufficiency as they looked for a self-sustainable living regardless of the fact that their behavior could be considered cruel, cold and barbaric just like the cannibalistic economy Swift is describing in his work.

According to Robert Phiddian's "Have You Eaten Yet? The Reader in A Modest Proposal", the verbal material in Swift's work raises awareness and uneasiness in the reader. *A Modest Proposal* "is grotesque without being carnivalesque" - according to Bachtin - so, it unsettles the reader. Swift uses several culinary methods not only to fascinate, captivate and amuse the reader, but also to trouble him throughout the text. Swift works on the details and does not hide the extreme statements in metaphors, when it comes to cannibalism. "The Modest Proposal is simply too aggressively alienating too successful as a hoax, and I would suggest that we not try to read it that way." As the text does not try to convince us into believing any of it, but instead "attacks us where we are vulnerable and puts us face to face to moral choices", (Phiddian, 1996) Swift addresses our disgust and repulsion towards the proposal making an implicit social criticism of morals, ideologies, culture and beliefs.

Phiddian's work emphasizes that "the reader must learn to distinguish between Swift's voice and the proposer's" while Philip's "Listening to Reason: Jonathan Swift's Simultaneous Awareness of a Literal and Fictional Audience in A Modest Proposal" describes the "two unique audiences, one literal and one fictional", the author is addressing. The satirical and the literal meaning of the proposal could be identified on the basis of the voices in the text according to Phiddian. However, it is easier to identify the literal or

-as Phiddian calls it- in *A Modest Proposal* is "the nation of Ireland, of which he was a resident and with which he was politically involved and motivated." while the fictional audience is "people who would consider the idea of eating children as a solution to poverty."

Discrepancy between what is said and what is meant is what makes irony so useful to tackle polemic topics. However, other language devices such as parallelism, synecdoche, metonymy and metaphor play an important role in Swift's work as Rachel Tudor exemplifies in her work "A Reading of Jonathan Swift's A Modest Proposal Using Roman Jakobson's Poetic Function." There, Tudor takes Jakobson's poetic function—the answer to the question what makes a text a work of art in terms of its effect on the reader and the world—to differentiate between what *A Modest Proposal* says and what it really means. Tudor emphasizes on distinguishing the poetic function from the referential as it evidences the ambiguity of the references—real or literal—and changes the readers' understanding and interpretation of the text.

A literary comparison between both works regarding cannibalism as an instrument of social criticism is thought-provoking as Swift's work has been analyzed, interpreted, and studied from different perspectives and several authors but, there are no papers on *Kamandil Viarko* yet.

Theoretical Framework

In A Modest Proposal for Preventing the Children of Poor People from Being a Burthen to their Parents and Country, and for Making them Beneficial to the Public (1729) and Kamandil Viarko (2008) the authors explored the controversial topic of cannibalism from a metaphorical and literal perspective.

Lindembaum claims in "Thinking about Cannibalism" that "Cannibalism is said to be one of the most important topics in cultural criticism today, one which pierces to the very heart of current discussions of difference and identity." For this reason, many authors have studied cannibalism with different approaches. However, this topic is not very common. The fact that the study of cannibalism in literature comes from a literary tradition has to be reckoned.

The etymology of cannibalism comes from Columbus' reference to the native inhabitants of Haiti and Cuba as Cannibals, a variant of Carib. (Scott &McMurry, 2011) However, the fact that Caribs were actually cannibals is disputed (Arens 1979; Brady 1982). The name was adopted widely as observers of the XV th-century accused them of such behavior.

Despite the fact that the term 'cannibal' was widespread in the XVth-century, the literal tradition of cannibals began with the Greek myth of Cronos. The Titan was told by an oracle that one of his children would supplant him, so he devoured them one by one, until Rhea cheated on Cronos giving him a huge rock wrapped in clothes. The deceit allowed Zeus to survive and overthrow his cannibal father, establishing the Olympian supremacy.

Besides the classical myth, Plato's reflections on the tyrant whose brutalities are equivalent to cannibal barbarism (Lindembaum, 2004) are good instances of the use of cannibalism as a metaphor to describe barbaric and uncivilized behavior in history, philosophy and literature.

In the sixteenth century, Montaigne introduced man-eating in the New World. With his work "Of Cannibals", Montaigne is said to be the precursor of cultural relativism. There he says "we are to call barbarism whatever differs from our own customs. Indeed, we seem to have no other standard of truth and reason than the opinions and customs of our own country." "We may then call these people barbarous, in respect to the rules of reason: but not in respect to ourselves, who in all sorts of barbarity exceed them." And "In plain truth, these men are very savage in comparison of us; of necessity, they must either be absolutely so or else we are savages; for there is a vast difference between their manners and ours." The previous quotations resemble cultural relativism in the sense that Montaigne depicts the differences in morals, value systems and beliefs systems according to the culture and society one belongs to. The idea of cultural relativism was resumed in the XXth century by Franz Boas holding that "...civilization is not something absolute, but ... is relative, and ... our ideas and conceptions are true only so far as our civilization goes." (Boas, 1887) Thus, cultures cannot be objectively ranked as good or bad, better or worse or, correct and incorrect but all humans see the world through the lens of their own culture, and they judge it according to their own socially adopted norms.

During the 1980s, archaeologists considered cannibalism as a transgressive form of consumption and the 'darker side of humanity' as "the notion of cannibalism is described as "repugnant" (Arens), a "dark bond" (Obeyesekere), "vile and unsavory" (evolutionary biology), and casting a "dark shadow" (Sartore)" (Lindenbaum, 2004). By the 1990s, cannibalism was viewed as a calumny used by colonizers to justify their predatory behavior while Arens (1979) argued anthropophagy was essentially a 'myth,' as there was no substantial evidence. At the same time, Obeyesekere (1992) considered that "people's beliefs and actions have practical function in people's lives and should be understood along psychological lines" (Lindembaum, 2004). In the twentieth century, psychoanalysts proposed that cannibal images were projections of unconscious desires in early childhood. As long as the world and society have evolved so have theories regarding cannibalism.

According to Blick's "The Cannibalism Issue: Structuralist and Materialist Interpretations and Other Concerns", cannibalism is defined as "the act of eating human flesh or human parts by human beings or feeding on the flesh or parts of one's own" could be approached from five theories: a cultural materialist theory in which cannibalism is a response to environmental stresses of protein deficiency; a structuralist theory where cannibalism is viewed through the mythology of various cultures to explain the similarities of those cultures through the likenesses of unconscious thought processes; a functionalist theory that considers the function or purpose of cannibalism in a society together as a vehicle of group solidarity, identity, and cohesion; a psychological theory that focuses on cannibalism as a form of oral sadism accompanied with feelings of ambivalence -love/hate- toward the victim; and a symbolist theory that interprets cannibalism as a metaphor for the

simultaneous creation and destruction of life in terms of fertility and regeneration of the practicing culture.

Besides the approaches to cannibalism, typologies have been very diverse. Thus, Blick has created a list that compiles what anthropologists have proposed.

- Survival Cannibalism the eating of human flesh or human parts by humans under adverse, stressful conditions as a last resort to survive: famine, obligatory or emergency ration, shipwreck, siege/war
- Ritual Cannibalism the eating of human flesh or human parts by humans in a ceremonial or religious context repetitively over time: ceremonial, mortuary/funerary, magical, fertility, pietistic, customary.
- Warfare Cannibalism the eating of human flesh or human parts by humans of victims captured especially for cannibalistic purposes, revenge, punishment, or out of competition: revenge, punishment, and competition.
- Dietary Cannibalism the eating of human flesh or human parts by humans as a gustatory preference: preferential, gastronomic, dietetic, gluttony, nutritional
- Symbolic Cannibalism the eating of human flesh or human parts by humans either in actuality or by substitution of human for other types of matter -, which has as its purpose functional, symbolic or psychological definitions of a group or person.
 - Cannibalism as a "behavioral referent of a mythical charter for the maintenance and reproduction of the social order"
 - Cannibalism as a "symbol of evil in the socialization of persons"
 - Cannibalism as "part of the cultural construction of personhood"

Most dictionaries define cannibalism as "the eating of human flesh by another human being." as "the eating of the flesh of an animal by another animal of its own kind" (Dictionary.com) or, alternatively, "intraspecific predation" (Fox, 1975). Despite its initial application to humans, the term was co-opted by zoologists and is now defined more broadly.

For the purposes of the present study, **cannibalism** will be considered as the act of eating human flesh –including customs, ideas and beliefs- literally or metaphorically by another human being. This definition suits the purpose of the study as it takes into account the metaphorical and literal aspects of cannibalism that appear in Ungar and Swift's works.

Besides, Bakhtin's literary theory, mercantilism, globalization, otherness and culture are also relevant to the purposes of this study.

On the one hand, in his work *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, Mihail Bakhtin coined the concepts of polyphony and dialogism. The concept of 'polyphony' literally means multiple voices and it was borrowed from music. Thus, Bakhtin reads Dostoevsky's work as containing many different voices, each of these has its own perspective, its own validity, and its own narrative weight within the novel. (Robinson, 2011)

Then, the text appears as an interaction of distinct perspectives or ideologies generated by different characters that dialogue. The characters are able to speak for themselves, have their own final word, even against the author. Their word relates to and interacts with those of other characters. Thus, the dialogical word - utterance - is always in an intense

relationship with another's word -utterance -, being addressed to a listener and anticipating a response. (Robinson, 2011)

In order to analyze a text, Bakhtin creates his Architectural and compositional forms. According to Helene Pouliquen and her work *Teoría y Análisis Sociocrítico*, the architectural form is described as the ideologies and the vision of the world in the text,

"are the forms of moral and physical values of the aesthetic man, the forms of nature as his environment, the forms of happenings in his aspect of particular, social, historical life, architectural forms, etc..." (Rodrigues, 2009),

While the compositional form has the characteristic of stability, being "practical," "teleological"—although "restless"—"available to realize the architectural task." (Rodrigues, 2009) "are the forms of aesthetical being in its singularity" (Bakhtin, 1986)

In a text, architectural and compositional forms are interdependent as "Architectural form determines the choice of compositional form" (Bakhtin, 1986) So, they cannot be analyzed separately as one is the reflexion of the other. Thus, in his *Discourse Typology, Bakhtin* created three basic categories of discourse in a text. In this sense, type one corresponds to direct unmediated discourse, type two to objectified discourse, and type three to double-voiced discourse.

The former, direct speech, focuses entirely on its referential object. In objectified speech, the utterances of a person are depicted by the author in his narrative; there is socio-typical and individualized speech. In the latter, double-voiced discourse, the speech contains two

potential utterances: one overt and manifest, the other covert and implicit in the surface utterance. Three subtypes are subsumed in this category. The first subtype, unidirectional, identifies that double-voiced speech in which the intention of the author is fulfilled by the utterance as it is not stated explicitly on the surface. Thus, the author's point of view is detected behind the individual's surface utterance. Subtype two, multidirectional discourse, subsumes all parodic narration. It identifies double-voiced speech in which surface utterance is opposed by the author. Here the two voices (the speaker's and the author's implicit voice) are set in conflict. Subtype three is called the active variant of double-voiced discourse, the surface utterance contains an almost audible "other" voice, which may be articulated deductively by the reader. (Bagby, 1982)

On the other hand, Mercantilism - coined by Adam Smith - describes the system of political economy that promoted governmental regulation of a nation's economy for the purpose of augmenting state power at the expense of rival national powers. This system restrained imports and encouraged exports. It is referred to as a source to endorse the importance of the context. This system dominated Western European economy from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries.

Mercantilism was intended to achieve a positive balance of trade that would bring gold and silver into the country and also maintain domestic employment. The mercantile system served the interests of merchants and producers, whose activities such as manufacturing, creating industries, and developing a naval and merchant fleet among others were protected or encouraged by the state. Thus, the relationship between the governments of the nation-

states and their mercantile classes was encouraged enacting policies - quotas, tariffs and taxes - that would protect merchants' business interests against foreign competition. (La Haye, 2008). Other policies have included high tariffs, especially on manufactured goods; building overseas colonies; forbidding colonies to trade with other nations; monopolizing markets with staple ports; banning the export of gold and silver, even for payments; forbidding trade to be carried in foreign ships; export subsidies; promoting manufacturing with research or direct subsidies; limiting wages; maximizing the use of domestic resources and restricting domestic consumption with non-tariff barriers to trade. Also, governments would provide capital to new industries in their countries, exempt new industries from guild rules and taxes, establish monopolies over local and colonial markets, and grant titles and pensions to successful producers. (La Haye, 2008).

By 1860 England removed the last vestiges of the mercantile era. Industrial regulations, monopolies, and tariffs were abolished, and emigration and machinery exports were freed. In large part because of free market, England became the dominant economic power in Europe. (La Haye, 2008) In the free market, the prices of either tangible commodities or non-tangible services are set freely by consent between sellers and consumers, in which the laws and forces of supply and demand are free from any intervention by a government, price-setting monopoly, or other authority. (Murray, 2008)

The change from mercantilism to Laissez-faire or free market led to an international industrial and financial business structure, Globalization. This business structure increased countries' own productive potential and created new opportunities for international trade

and investment. Governments also negotiated reductions in barriers to commerce and established international agreements to promote trade in goods, services, and investment. Corporations built foreign factories and established production and marketing arrangements with foreign partners. (Levin, 2014)

However, the term globalization was created from McLuhan's idea of a global village at the end of the 60s. It describes how the globe has been contracted into a village by electric technology and the instantaneous movement of information all around the world at the same time. In his work *Understanding Media: the Extensions of Man*, McLuhan states that new technologies, medium or media -as "any extension of ourselves" or "any new technology" (McLuhan, 1964) - mediate our communication and that their forms or structures affect how we perceive and understand the world around us (McLuhan, 1964). Consequently, the rise of the interchange of worldviews, products, ideas and cultures brought a further interdependence of economic and cultural activities (Guyford, 1972). In 2000, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) identified four basic aspects of globalization: trade and transactions, capital and investment movements, migration and movement of people, and the dissemination of knowledge. As those activities were interdependent, there was a process of homogenization brought by media, mass communication, educational systems, development projects, the legal system, and other mechanisms of international organizations. Not only awareness and sympathy for people and events in other nations rose from the movement of information but values on issues such as human rights, democracy, and even on very specific concerns such as health matters were also diffused. (Levin, 2014)

Culture was affected and shaped by the flow of information brought by globalization. However, defining culture is difficult as there are many approaches and it has been "used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought." (Williams, 1976)

In its early uses, it was associated with the cultivation of animals and crops and with religious worship - the word cult. From the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, the term was applied to the improvement of the individual human mind and personal manners through learning and the improvement of society as a whole, being the term equated to civilization. With Romanticism and the Industrial revolution, culture designated spiritual development. (Smith, 2000) In 2002 the UNESCO considered culture as

"... the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs"

Also, it was defined as consisting of values, norms, institutions and artifacts. (Hoult, 1979) But those definitions were not enough as culture can be analyzed from many different perspectives and fields. Thus, different approaches appeared to broaden the previous conceptions. Sociology intended to define culture and relate it to society with Marx, Durkheim, Simmel and Weber among others.

From a Marxist approach, culture is a superstructure built upon a determinant economic foundation. So, it works as a dominant ideology that reflects the views and interests of the bourgeoisie. Also, this approach states that what is conventional and socially constructed is natural and inevitable. (P. Smith, 2000) From Durkheim's approach, the role of culture is

considered to generate social stability and patterns of social interaction. He also states that sentiments, moralities and behaviors are a response to social structural forms and needs, and they are linked to other objective features of society - social organization, societal differentiation and social change - (P. Smith, 2000). From Simmel's approach, society was essentially the product of the ceaseless interactions of individuals. In his work, The Philosophy of Money in 1978, Simmel explores the ways money transformed human interactions to be impersonal and how those interactions are more calculable in character as acquiring money has become an end. Then, Max Weber introduced the form of authority or legitimate domination in three types into the sociological theory of culture: the legal authority that is based on a system of rules that is applied administratively and judicially in accordance with known principles. The persons who administer those rules are appointed or elected by legal procedures; the traditional authority that is based on a system in which authority is legitimate because it "has always existed" and inherited; and the charismatic authority that is based on the charisma of the leader, who shows that he possesses the right to lead by virtue of a divine gift, prophecies, heroism, etc. His followers respect his right to lead because of his unique qualities - his charisma -, not because of any tradition or legal rules. Weber also introduced the concepts of class and status. The former refers to the position in the economic order and the latter refers to groups with a common style of life customs, conventions and educational training - and a shared level of social prestige. (P. Smith, 2000)

Thus, three current uses for the term can enclose almost all of the features that comprehend the definition of culture "the intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development of an individual, group or society; a range of intellectual and artistic activities and their products and; the entire way of life, activities, beliefs, and customs of a people, group or society." (P.Smith, 2000) However, for the present study, the term acculturation is also relevant.

Acculturation, "is a process in which members of one cultural group adopt the beliefs and behaviors of another group." (Rice, 2014) It can refer to either immigrants or native residents that come to be culturally dominated by another society.

"Although acculturation is usually in the direction of a minority group adopting habits and language patterns of the dominant group or core culture, acculturation can be reciprocal--that is, the dominant group also adopts patterns typical of the minority group. Assimilation of one cultural group into another may be evidenced by changes in language preference, adoption of common attitudes and values, membership in common social groups and institutions, and loss of separate political or ethnic identification." (Rice, 2014)

In this sense, the barrier to assimilation comes from what is known as Otherness, Alterity or Ethnocentrism. (Culbertson, 2002) The term alterity was established from philosophical phenomenology by Emmanuel Levinas in his work *Alterity and Transcendence* in 1999 as "a mechanism that makes a subject consider the existence of another being."(Altez-Albela, 2011) Later, it was taken to anthropology and the term ethnocentrism appeared with William G. Sumner. He defined it as "the technical name for the view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it" (Summer 1906) Summer holds that

"Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders. Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it observes that other groups have other folkways, these excite its scorn." (Summer 1906)

The differences between one group and another could be seen in terms of ethnicity and the belonging to an ethnic group. An ethnic group is a socially-defined category of people who identify with each other based on common ancestral, social, cultural or national experience:

"Members of the ethnic group see themselves as sharing cultural traditions and history that distinguish them from other groups. Ethnic group identity has a strong psychological or emotional component that divides the people of the world into opposing categories of "us" and "them."" (Peoples & Bailey, 2011)

According to Ethnocentrism, it is proper to human nature to deny their own generality. Thus, cannibal behavior is permissible in the sense they are the non-civilized "others" - closer to animals - while we are the civilized ones (Viveros de Castro, 2002). As Ethnocentrism states the superiority of one's own over others, people become altern by being misunderstood as different from a dominant view. The deviation from a dominant view is seen through the classification of groups and individuals into categories such as class, gender, race, sexuality, and ethnicity, marking differences and similarities among people (Wexler, 2004) as "Ethnocentrism leads people to exaggerate and intensify everything in their own folkways which is peculiar and which differentiates them from others" (Summer 1906) In this sense, the altern state, ethnocentrism or otherness are evident when talking about cannibals as they do not follow behavioral rules imposed by society and the attitude when talking about them, is hostile and full of suspicion.

Taking into account the different theories exposed above, the following chapters present an interpretation of cannibalism. The first one offers an overview of the societies in both works and the relationship they have with the characters, and the second one exposes the interpretation of cannibalism taking into account the verbal material the characters use.

CHAPTER I: Societies in A Modest Proposal and Kamandil Viarko and their relationship with the characters

A Society's culture influences the way citizens act and think about any subject or situation. In this sense, *AMP* occurs in the eighteenth century in a mercantilist society while *KV* occurs in the globalized twentieth century.

In Swift's work and according to mercantilism, people are seen as means of building the richness of a nation and its prosperity. Thus, the proposer encourages every honorable citizen to think and work for the commonwealth, saying that children of the poor

"instead of being a charge upon their parents, or the parish, or wanting food and raiment for the rest of their lives, they shall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding, and partly to the cloathing of many thousands." (Swift, 1979. p. 1)

And that this way, they would become "...sound and useful members of the commonwealth..." (p. 1)

At the same time, as the Enlightenment emerges, ideas regarding science, the sociological perspective, culture, and belief systems restate the power of human reason over faith. As a consequence, the church deviates from the State and theocentrism ends. However, religion still has power in spite of the fact that there is an inner conflict between Catholics and Protestants, as the proposer talks about papists that overrun the country

"being the principal breeders of the nation...and who stay at home on purpose with a design to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender, hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so many good Protestants, who have chosen rather to leave their country, than stay at home and pay tithes against their conscience to an episcopal curate." (p. 4)

Thereafter, reason and anthropocentrism appear to be the guides to a better world in which the concept of human dignity - coined by Kant - starts to impress people, bringing the French Revolution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, at the end of the century. However, what moves the world in the society of *AMP* is not reason, but economic profit and social recognition.

"Therefore whoever could find out a fair, cheap and easy method of making these children sound and useful members of the commonwealth, would deserve so well of the publick, as to have his statue set up for a preserver of the nation." (p. 1)

So, the contradiction between mercantilism and the philosophy regarding the dignity of human beings - as they are being objectified - is what makes *AMP* so shocking as the discussion comes to cannibalism.

In *AMP*, the function of citizens in the nation is shown. Here, the proposer differentiates between the poor that are "able" and those who are "impotent". (Neira, 2013) The former class – the able poor - are able to work and help the national richness, while the latter – the impotent poor - do not work but consume what able people have obtained. Thus, women are able until they have children, and become impotent as they have to care for them who are also impotent.

"...the roads and cabbin-doors crowded with beggars of the female sex, followed by three, four, or six children, all in rags, and importuning every passenger for an alms. These mothers instead of being able to work for their honest livelihood, are forced to employ all their time in stroling to beg sustenance for their helpless infants" (Swift, 1729. p.1)

The issue depicted in the work is poverty, mendicity and misery caused by overpopulation of poor impotent people. Thus, the proposer looks for a solution that allows the

transformation from impotent into able people: cannibalism. As society and mercantilist interests prevail over those of individuals, the fact that human beings are referred to as merchandise does not matter. "I believe no gentleman would repine to give ten shillings for the carcass of a good fat child, which, as I have said, will make four dishes of excellent nutritive meat" (p. 3)

This is supported from Hobbes' perspective in his work Leviathan, where he claims that human appetite is the motivation and foundation of every human action. What is good or bad is relative as it depends on human judgment biased on culture. In this sense, the taste of human flesh, here regarded as better than pork, somehow illustrates human appetite and the constant search for pleasure. At the same time, it "justifies" the consumption of human flesh as an accepted practice: "pigs, too frequent at our tables; which are no way comparable in taste or magnificence to a well grown, fat yearly child, which roasted whole will make a considerable figure at a Lord Mayor's feast, or any other publick entertainment." (p. 5)

In this previous quote, the moral hypocrisy of the time – where philosophy, arts and scientific development were fighting against economy regarding the role of human beings - is also evident.

The culture depicted in *AMP* is based on the value of economics, everything is turned into merchandise and objectification of human beings occurs. This is clear when the role of the proposer as a businessman is taken into account in a mercantilist context, marked by social strata. "An objective businessman, a patriot, an earnest man who has thought about the problem of the poor, starving Irish for several years, and who is philanthropically motivated

to suggest the radical solution of cannibalism." (Tudor, 2010) Along these lines, the proposer indisputably belongs to the bourgeoisie that appeared in that century to influence the nobility with their economic power while taking advantage of the lower classes.

Hence, norms and institutions were intended to encourage those social classes allowing the high and middle to be treated as human beings while the lower were dehumanized and treated like animals. "I calculate there may be about two hundred thousand couple whose wives are breeders." (p. 1)This condition lasted long, even though human sciences had already emerged.

In this sense, the changes that emerged after mercantilism ended, led to the new world and the society depicted in *Kamandil Viarko*. Ungar presents a society that is living in the twentieth century known for its political, ideological, economic, cultural, scientific, technological, and medical progress.

"Ruedan cada vez más coches nuevos que Viarin mira con la boca abierta como si viera el Atlas, mi pobre hijo hambriento, y se reproducen los nuevos edificios del gobierno, parecen naves espaciales, y la gente compra nuevos telefonitos antenados para andar con afán." (p. 209)¹

This century appears to be a time full of changes and the characters in KV embody the chaos that emerges when unexpected changes happen. From one standpoint, there was

[&]quot;Viarin looks with his mouth open the new cars that nowadays run more and more, as if he were seeing the Atlas, my poor starving child, and the new government buildings that are reproducing, they look like spaceships, and people buy new little phones with antennae to walk with rush." Free translation by Paula Granados

progress in every field of human knowledge. From another, there were many deaths, poverty, unemployment and misery caused by World Wars, genocide and ethnocide. Moreover, due to the change from a mercantile to a free market system what is known as "globalization" also appeared. This process brought the exchange of worldviews, products, ideas and diverse aspects of culture such as ways of dressing, food consumption, code switching from the vernacular to the dominant language, beliefs regarding the body, taboos and traditions. It affected moral and belief systems in the sense that it broadened the scope people had and influenced the way they thought regarding human dignity, science, technology, society, and economy by homogenizing people's minds and lives.

The story of *KV* takes place at the end of the twentieth century in a society where socioeconomic classes and money are what really matter. Everyone tries to survive, not live, in the city. "...el ritual de conseguir el dinero, era sólo una pantomima de movimientos vacíos, sin sentido, rutinarios y monótonos." (p. 218)² But, the survival condition is clear for the Viarkos as they are immigrants and belong to a minority. In their case, the culture of a globalized Paris is being imposed on them as it is the dominant culture of the country.

At the end of the century, where the story of Kamandil Viarko took place, almost all the changes had set in and people were living between the left-overs of their societies and the progress globalization brought. As medicine improved, many people survived incurable diseases that had no treatment before. At the same time, hygiene habits and salubrity conceptions improved, affecting people's lives and giving them a longer life expectancy. A

"... The ritual of getting the money was just a pantomime of empty movements, meaningless, ordinary and monotonous." Free translation by Paula Granados

clear example of this shows two members of the Viarko family compelled to go to the doctor, despite the fact that doctors and modern medicine do not belong to their ethnic group – "Atchens" - but to the other's globalized society, the French. So, they feel humiliated and wounded. "Si la estarán inyectando, si la estarán auscultando, si estarán mirando por dentro su cuerpecito limpio y moreno... en manos de médicos de esos, de batas blancas y uñas tan limpias." (p. 209)³

Ungar's work depicts the acculturation process of globalization by focusing on cannibalism and the suffering of the Viarko family as they are living with an imposed culture that does not allow them to be themselves. The family is composed by Kamandil, the father, Olga, the mother, Mama Taica, the grandmother, Tanica, the daughter, Viarin, the son, and Tardik, the nephew. The Viarkos are in constant distress because the beliefs and morals in Paris have changed and have been adjusted to a globalized world, but their cannibalistic customs have not. "Ya no son tiempos para vida."(p. 208)⁴ says Kamandil as the family is struggling with the values, norms, and institutions such as the police, the morgue, the hospitals, and the State. For Atchens, the social structure follows a different order. In contrast to Parisians who have a legal authority, Atchens have a charismatic one, the Prophet. He taught them how to behave, how to think, what to believe in, and what morals they should follow. "...como mandan las sagradas palabras del profeta." (P. 207)⁵ But the

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[&]quot;If they are injecting her, if they are auscultating her, if they are looking inside her little clean and tan body... in the hands of doctors of that kind, those in white coats and clean nails." Free translation by Paula Granados

⁴ "These are not times for life anymore" Free translation by Paula Granados

^{5 &}quot;...as the sacred words of the prophet command" Free translation by Paula Granados

prophet did not teach them how to survive in a city that denies the differences and tries to homogenize people's minds starting with the food. Although they have adopted some of the customs of Parisian people like the way they dress; they have become part of the low middle class, they have gotten jobs, and they have adopted French as their language although they think that language is disgusting. "...su lengua de cólicos y náuseas" (p. 209)⁶ Atchen traditions do not fit the ones people in Paris have anymore. "Ya no saben que hubo hombres en esta ciudad que comieron carne de otros hombres felices, sin miedo." (p. 207)⁷ Despite the fact that they have tried to adapt to that new society, they are outcasts because of their ancient tradition of eating human flesh which has not disappeared. "...que ahora ésa la raíz estaba cortada para siempre, cercenada de una madre patria que ya no existía; que los últimos atchenos de París estaban presos o desterrados. Que ya no existíamos." (p. 210)⁸ They struggle to keep their customs alive

"...ahora la luz, y la mirada, nuestros ojos, son otros, y nuestros corazones están secos en esta condena de no poder vivir como manda el cuerpo, como manda la patria, como manda la ley escrita desde siempre en nuestras tripas, en nuestra sangre de atchenos cretios," (p. 211)⁹

[&]quot;...their language of cramps and nausea." Free translation by Paula Granados

⁷ "Nowadays they don't know there were men in this city that ate meat of other happy men, fearlessly." Free translation by Paula Granados

⁸ "Now the root was cut forever, amputated from a native country that no longer existed; the last atchens from Paris were imprisoned or exiled. We no longer existed." Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;...now the light, and the look, our eyes are others, and our hearts are dry in this sentence of not being able to live as the body commands, as the country commands, as the law written long since in our guts, in our blood of cretio atchens." Free translation by Paula Granados

They do not feel part of the society as they do not have a homeland to return to, and at the same time, they feel swallowed up by Paris.

In this Parisian society there is no place for ancient traditions because the city is changing for the sake of globalization. Thus, Atchens have to surrender their customs or look for a place where they can keep them "...porque nada nos queda en la ciudad de la lluvia, porque no hay marcha atrás." (p. 215)¹⁰

Cannibalism appears in both works to describe and criticize society's behavior towards progress and the control that capitalism and mercantilism exert on people, making them forget that people are more than the richness of a nation, bodies with appetites or work force. In other words, Swift is criticizing the social transformation of human beings into profitable flesh to mercantile ends - leaving aside the fact that they are still human - , while Ungar is criticizing acculturation and the homogenization caused by globalization and the rejection of "Otherness". All of this is done by using an amazing discourse full of dissimilar language devices that are considered in the following chapter.

[&]quot;...because nothing is left for us in the city of rain, because there is no turning back." Free translation by Paula Granados

CHAPTER II: Cannibalism in A Modest Proposal and Kamandil Viarko

Swift and Ungar's works are very dissimilar in their way to handle cannibalism taking into account not only its conceptions: a model or a social form which serves a purpose in society (Blick, 1988), and the consumption of human flesh literally or metaphorically, but also Bakhtin's architectural and compositional forms.

On the one hand, the architectural form of *AMP* aims to end poverty, misery and overpopulation through literal cannibalism, and at the same time, it criticizes the metaphorical one. On the other hand, the architectural form of *KV* aims to show literal cannibalism as a tradition full of morals, values and rules that depend on a specific culture immersed in a metaphorically cannibalistic society that eats up customs, beliefs, and thoughts imprinted in their minds. Through the compositional form, the verbal material suits to depict the views the Proposer and Kamandil have concerning cannibalism, the place it has in their culture, and the social criticism they are presenting.

In terms of the compositional form, the narrator of *AMP* is an educated economist whose tone and expressions seem so close to the one politicians use. He speaks with a direct speech that takes a socio-typical shape. "As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for many years, upon this important subject, and maturely weighed the several schemes of our projectors, I have always found them grossly mistaken in their computation" (Swift, 1729. p. 1)

The proposer presents himself with a voice of a patriot and earnest man who has thought about the problem of poverty, misery and overpopulation in Ireland, and is strongly motivated to suggest the radical solution of cannibalism (Tudor, 2010). In order to fulfill his purpose and save Ireland from the horrid social and economic situation, the proposer's discourse is full of flattering, grandiose expressions that praise his stand regarding the social issues:

"A very worthy person, a true lover of his country, and whose virtues I highly esteem, was lately pleased, in discoursing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my scheme." (p. 3)

"Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about that vast number of poor people....and I have been desired to employ my thoughts what course may be taken, to ease the nation of so grievous an incumbrance." (p. 4)

Also, the proposer twists his arguments to create an atmosphere that indicates the proposal is really serious and well thought out, although it is actually criticizing society from the inside. For instance, the proposer talks about scrupulous people who would censure cannibalism and he thinks it is unfair as he is absolutely against cruelty

"it is not improbable that some scrupulous people might be apt to censure such a practice, (although indeed very unjustly) as a little bordering upon cruelty, which, I confess, hath always been with me the strongest objection against any project, how well soever intended." (p. 4)

The proposer's voice is charged with irony. First, the title ironically defeats the readers' anticipation from the beginning as it is called A Modest Proposal when his proposal is anything but modest (Tudor, 2010). At the same time, to reinforce the proposal, the verbal material adopts the form of a scientific report. The first paragraphs include a sociological and scientific overview where the proposer presents measurable data like population

density, types of work, birth rate, the number of children to be sold, their weight and price, and economic projects combined with the impressive attestation from an American witness.

"It is true, a child just dropt from its dam, may be supported by her milk, for a solar year, with little other nourishment: at most not above the value of two shillings, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in scraps, by her lawful occupation of begging" (Swift, 1729. p. 1)

"The number of souls in this kingdom being usually reckoned one million and a half, of these I calculate there may be about two hundred thousand couple whose wives are breeders" (p. 2)

"I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child well nursed is at a year old a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled ..." (p. 3)

Furthermore, the image of the American witness the proposer presents generates the feeling of reliability and trustworthiness. The European stereotype indicates that Americans follow a cannibalistic diet, are savages, are uncivilized and for those reasons know about the subject. Moreover, this stereotype is shocking as the proposal intends to include "Others" custom of human flesh consumption – Americans in this case - in the Irish diet with mercantilist and social ends.

Besides, the type of data the proposer gives to argument his proposal fluctuates between what is objective - scientific data - and what is subjective - proposer's opinions and experiences. This fluctuation reinforces a sense of uneasiness and at the same time is very attractive and emotional, managing to leave readers' emotions astray.

"I do therefore humbly offer it to publick consideration, that of the hundred and twenty thousand children, already computed, twenty thousand may be reserved for breed" (p. 2)

"The poorer tenants will have something valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to a distress, and help to pay their landlord's rent, their corn and cattle being already seized, and money a thing unknown." (p. 5)

Through his discourse, the proposer degrades human beings as he compares women to mares, cows and sows and calls them 'breeders'. Hence, dehumanization does not just come with the treatment of human beings as animals but it comes with cannibalism as the proposal intends for rich people to devour the poor, leading to the end of misery, poverty and overpopulation.

"I profess, in the sincerity of my heart, that I have not the least personal interest in endeavouring to promote this necessary work, having no other motive than the publick good of my country, by advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving some pleasure to the rich." (p. 7)

Also, metonymy is used to refer to rich and poor people and reinforce the dehumanization of the poor ones as they are not referred to as people but as characteristics associated to their roles in the society. Thus, while rich people are "hands and feet" (para 15), poor people are referred to as "backs and mouths" (para 32). The former represents nobility and the upper class while the latter represent the poor (Tudor, 2010).

Dehumanization through the verbal material plays an important role when the main solution given by the proposer to poverty, misery and overpopulation is cannibalism. The compositional form presents measurable data, economic profit, thus illustrating the mercantilist ideas of the time, equating human beings to animals or less than that. Furthermore, the proposer alternates calculations and recipes to justify his proposal as the best option. However, the proposer introduces his real proposal to criticize society:

"Therefore let no man talk to me of other expedients: Of taxing our absentees at five shillings a pound: Of using neither cloaths, nor household furniture, except what is of our own growth and manufacture: Of utterly rejecting the materials and instruments that promote foreign luxury: Of curing the expensiveness of pride, vanity, idleness, and gaming in our women: Of introducing a vein of parsimony,

prudence and temperance: Of learning to love our country, wherein we differ even from Laplanders, and the inhabitants of Topinamboo: Of quitting our animosities and factions, nor acting any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very moment their city was taken: Of being a little cautious not to sell our country and consciences for nothing: Of teaching landlords to have at least one degree of mercy towards their tenants. Lastly, of putting a spirit of honesty, industry, and skill into our shop-keepers, who, if a resolution could now be taken to buy only our native goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact upon us in the price, the measure, and the goodness, nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair proposal of just dealing, though often and earnestly invited to it.

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of these and the like expedients, 'till he hath at least some glimpse of hope, that there will ever be some hearty and sincere attempt to put them into practice." (p. 8)

The proposer presents his real thoughts making them seem ridiculous, immoral, unthinkable, repulsive and impossible despite the fact that the Irish society could associate cannibalism better to that description. This shows he is using the double-voiced discourse as one utterance is overt and manifest, while the other is covert and implicit in the surface utterance. In this case, the overt utterance is to introduce literal cannibalism as a mercantilist end, while the covert utterance is the criticism of metaphorical cannibalism that is already happening.

In *AMP* cannibalism, the overt utterance is analyzed from a cultural materialist theory where it is a response to environmental stresses of protein deficiency (Blick, 1988) caused by overpopulation, poverty and misery, as cannibalism is presented as a solution to encourage mercantilist profits: "the nation's stock will be thereby increased fifty thousand pounds per annum, beside the profit of a new dish introduced to the tables of all gentlemen of fortune in the kingdom who have any refinement in taste." (Swift, 1729. p. 6)

In that case, children of the poor could be sold into a meat market at the age of one when they are "a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food." (p.2) This action not only

fights overpopulation and unemployment, but also avoids the expense of child-bearing to their parents and provides them with an extra income. "The poorer tenants will have something valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to a distress, and help to pay their landlord's rent, their corn and cattle being already seized, and money a thing unknown." (p.5) Also, eating the children of the poor improves the culinary experience of the wealthy, and contributes to the economic well-being of the nation as their meat appears as a new dish. "The nation's stock will be thereby encreased fifty thousand pounds per annum, besides the profit of a new dish, introduced to the tables of all gentlemen of fortune in the kingdom." (p.5)

Besides, the proposer intends to introduce a dietary type of cannibalism where it is taken as a gustatory preference related to gluttony, gastronomy, nutrition and pleasure (Blick, 1988.) This is illustrated through recipes and the testimony of an expert's acquaintance. For instance, the proposer says:

"I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London....that a young healthy child well nursed is at a year old a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled; and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a fricassee or a ragout." (Swift,1729. p. 2) And that

At that point, pleasure - related to aesthetics and moral judgments appears as the senseless argument among the sensible ones - related to economics. As a result, the idea of

[&]quot;...seasoned with a little pepper or salt will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in winter." (p. 2)

[&]quot;Supposing that one thousand families in this city would be constant customers for infants' flesh, besides others who might have it at merry meetings, particularly at weddings and christenings..." (p. 5)

[&]quot;giving some pleasure to the rich." (p. 6)

consuming human flesh for pleasure breaks the logical and well calculated arguments the proposer presents.

In this sense, although pleasure is one of the strongest arguments related to morals, the proposer foresees that dietary cannibalism will have positive effects on family morality, too. According to him, husbands will treat their wives with more respect; parents will value their children in ways previously unknown, even if they are legitimate or bastards – "these children are seldom the fruits of marriage"(p. 2) -, and abortion would not be practiced as children then represent profits instead of expenses.

"This would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wise nations have either encouraged by rewards, or enforced by laws and penalties. It would encrease the care and tenderness of mothers towards their children, when they were sure of a settlement for life to the poor babes, provided in some sort by the publick, to their annual profit instead of expence." (p. 5)

The proposer concludes that the implementation of his proposal will contribute to solve Ireland's social, political, and economic problems better than any other measure proposed before.

Although, cannibalism is rejected by society, the proposer tries to make an apology of it, turning society's rejection into acceptance by means of economic and kind of moral arguments. However, from the covert and implicit utterance what the proposer is criticizing is the double morals of Irish society. Although it is shocking, the idea of citizens literally turning into cannibals, the society itself is cannibalistic as it is taking advantage of the low classes and innocent children. In this sense, other values and rules such as the right to life could be violated in order to achieve mercantile benefits. Thus, survival in A Modest Proposal's society is achieved by the absolute exploitation of others including human flesh

ingestion and the actions performed by a metaphorically cannibalistic society. The proposer says, "I grant this food will be...very proper for landlords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children." (p. 4) addressing precisely the metaphorical cannibalism practiced by landlords.

Thus, cannibalism in *AMP* is accepted on the basis of the theory of Otherness. The upper classes - exemplified by the proposer - acknowledge lower classes as the others. People who belong to the upper classes could become cannibals as they had power and are "gentlemen of fortune in the kingdom who have any refinement in taste" (p. 6). Along those lines, poor people could sell their children because their otherness allows them to behave as uncivilized savages, inhumaness or animals and treated as or equated to "breeders".

In the case of Kamandil Viarko, cannibalism turns from an accepted into a rejected activity because of acculturation. Kamandil portrays the change of Paris cultural and moral system from a permissive and multicultural society to one that forbids human flesh consumption and cultural diversity in order to achieve social control through acculturation.

To portray that change, the narrator of KV uses the verbal material in an unpretentious way through a direct discourse coming from the low middle class. The socio-typical discourse proper to his class is evident as his verbal material is not very adorned but very descriptive and colloquial. "La carne era aterciopelada, suave, perfumada, dulce, perfecta. Blanda, jugosa, derritiéndose en la boca." (p. 207)¹¹

[&]quot;The meat was velvety, soft, fragrant, sweet, and perfect. Soft, juicy, melting in the mouth" Free translation by Paula Granados

Kamandil is presented as a father of a big family, a member of an acculturated group, a citizen that follows most of the rules and as a person who is proud of his roots and customs.

"...una humilde familia de atchenos que hace todas las filas de rigor con su pasaporte y la cabeza baja, que le paga al maldito gobierno sus impuestos..." (p. 209)¹²

"Porque cada uno de los atchenos soy yo, y comiendo hombres he vivido y comiendo hombres me voy a morir, para que me coman otros hombres, como tantos valientes que han poblado la tierra." (p. 208)¹³

Kamandil's purpose is to vent the situation and feelings elicited by living in Paris and the end of the twentieth century, presented as a series of consecutive letters to an unknown character, Martin. As he speaks with the voice of a victim, using colloquial language, the letters tell about cannibalism from the perspective and the experiences of a member of an acculturated group whose moral system, traditions, beliefs, customs and ideologies differ from the ones the Parisian society of the time have.

Progress in the shape of globalization has brought Parisian society a new way to handle economy, health and hygiene. With the free market and capitalism, modern medicine, technology, and the improvement of hygiene habits, people's lives were rapidly transformed. This is what makes the Viarko Family feel uncomfortable and alienated

[&]quot;A humble family of atchenos that make all the mandatory queues with their passports and their heads down, that pays the taxes to the damn government..." Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;Because every atchen is me, and eating men I have lived and eating men I'm going to die, so that other men eat me, like so many brave men who have populated the earth." Free translation by Paula Granados

despite the fact that they were born in Paris. "Yo nací en esta ciudad, y ustedes tienen que acabar el colegio aquí, y tú sólo puedes ganarte la vida en una gran ciudad como ésta." (Ungar, 2006. p. 208)¹⁴

The voice of the victim allows Kamandil to portray a different point of view regarding globalization, showing that this process did not just brough progress but also practices that leaded to the end of ancient cultures. Viarkos are the remains of their culture, the "others" in a changing and not so perfect society, and although they try to find their place in Paris, this cannibal city is eating them alive as Kamandil says: "...La ciudad nos va a pasar por encima; nos va a devorar, a triturar y a digerir, y que de nuestros restos hará pasto para los tristes cementerios..." (Ungar, 2006. p. 210)¹⁵

Distinctively to AMP, dehumanization and treatment as animals in KV is not intended to serve any economic purpose, but to present the ideas and conceptions that Parisians have of Atchens. "Oue sólo los animales se comen entre sí. Eso decía." (p. 209)¹⁶

Besides, Kamandil Viarko and his family follow a ritual type of cannibalism as they eat human flesh in a ceremonial or religious context including mortuary, funerary and customary rites (Blick, 1998). According to the functionalist theory, the purpose of

[&]quot;I was born in this city, and you have to finish school here, and you can only make a living in a big city like this one." Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;The city is going to overrun us; it's going to devour us, crush us and digest us and with our left-overs, make grass for our sad graveyards" Free translation by Norma Ojeda

[&]quot;That only animals eat each other. That is what he said." Free translation by Paula Granados

cannibalism in a society is to be a vehicle of group solidarity, identity, and cohesion that provides the ultimate in-group-out-group distinction (Blick, 1998).

The Viarkos do not eat human flesh just for pleasure, but because of their ancestral customs, because what it tastes like: "La carne era aterciopelada, suave, perfumada, dulce, perfecta. Blanda, jugosa, derritiéndose en la boca." (Ungar, 2006. p. 207)¹⁷ and also because of their ethnic group's ancestral customs based on their understanding of the body. Atchenos were taught that cannibalism was an activity one should be proud of, and that a corpse should not be wasted in vain "no se desperdicia un cadáver, que de nada sirve un muerto pudriéndose en los cementerios apiñados entre autopistas para que sobre sus huesos porosos crezcan cerezos enclenques. Eso enseña la moral." (p. 209)¹⁸ Also, they think that corpses are grateful and joyful to be served as food "un cadaver dichoso de alegría por dar su bendita carne a las tripas de otros." (p. 209)¹⁹ Or at least, this is what their prophet taught.

All these teachings were once the reason why Parisians respected and feared Atchenos. Once, they were even rewarded because of their great support in the XIV war. There was no food scarcity and the flesh was abundant, as Kamandil sees in an anthropology magazine: there were

[&]quot;The meat was velvety, soft, fragrant, sweet, and perfect. Soft, juicy, melting in the mouth" Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;You don't waste a corpse, that serves no purpose by rotting in crowded cemeteries in between highways is useless so that on its porous bones puny cherry trees might grow. That is what moral teaches." Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;A corpse that is blissful with joy by giving his blessed meat to others' casings." Free translation by Paula Granados

"...ventas de cuerpos atchenos en los descampados alrededor de la ciudad a finales del siglo pasado, historias de la labor atchena en la Gran Guerra del catorce...banquetes memorables al aire libre, fiestas con vino rojo y baile y fogatas. La ciudad tenía más de cincuenta mil atchenos en 1910, y a nadie le faltaba carne." (p. 215)²⁰

Once they were happy and could live among Parisians despite of their differences "Felices, vivos. Aunque vistiéramos de otra manera y habláramos otra lengua y comiéramos hombres. Aunque fuéramos cientos y ellos toda Francia."(p. 215)²¹

But life in paradise for atchenos did not last forever. In his letters, Kamandil depicts a city and a society that promptly changed. He describes how Parisian morals were transformed, and that Parisians then thought that cannibalism attacked their morals. It was a crime and it was anti-hygienic:

"Piensan que comer carne humana ya no es posible. Y en sus cabezas llenas de fluidos fríos, que van tan bien con un buen vodka de las Talissas, se imaginan que comerse un pernil de hombre atenta contra la moral. La moral." (p. 209)²²

"Ahora lo consideran una práctica antihigiénica y hasta criminal: piensan (piensan demasiado, los parisinos) que comer cadáveres contradice lo que se enseña en las universidades y en los libros y en la televisión y en esas computadoras grises en donde escriben palabras." (p. 209)²³

[&]quot;...sales of atchens' bodies in vacant lots around the city at the end of the last century, stories about atchenos' labour in the Great War of fourteen ... memorable outdoor banquets, parties with red wine and dancing and bonfires. The city had over fifty thousand atchenos in 1910, and no one lacked meat." Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;Happy, alive. Although we dressed differently and talked another language and we ate men. Although we were hundreds and they were all of France." Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;They think that eating human flesh is no longer possible. And in their heads full of cold fluids that go so well with a good Talissas' vodka, they imagine that eating a man's haunch undermines morals. Morals." Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;Now they consider it an anti-hygienic and even a criminal practice: they think - they think too much, Parisians - that eating corpses contradicts what is taught in universities and in books and

Moreover, Kamandil depicts how this society does not allow differences as globalization has contracted the world (McLuhan, 1964) making most of the rules and values of the culture universal, and structuring the perception and understanding of the world around them. Thus, Atchenos are outcasts in Paris and they feel out of place. "Esta es toda la vida que me queda. Aguantar que me miren mal: en la calle y en la biblioteca y en las filas del gobierno." (p. 207)²⁴

They still try to be part of Parisian society, at the same time as they try to keep their customs alive. They are only humble families that follow most of the rules imposed by the government. However, they are not accepted in that society because of their uncommon diet.

"Y mientras tanto una humilde familia de atchenos que hace todas las filas de rigor con su pasaporte y la cabeza baja, que le paga al maldito gobierno sus impuestos para que se los gaste en museos de lujo y bibliotecas llenas de turistas transoceánicos, mientras tanto esta familia humilde y trabajadora no puede comerse un buen cadáver fresco y jugoso, un cadáver dichoso de alegría por dar su bendita carne a las tripas de otros." (Ungar, 2006. p. 209)²⁵

Nevertheless, cannibalism in Kamandil Viarko does not come just in the shape of literal human flesh consumption but it also appears as the absolute segregation and consumption

on television and in those gray computers where they write words." Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;This is the life I have left: to endure the bad look in the street and the library and the government queues" Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;Meanwhile a humble family of Atchens that make all the mandatory queues with their passports and their heads down, that pays the taxes to the damned government so they spend it on museums and luxury libraries full of overseas tourists, while this humble and hardworking family cannot eat a good, fresh and juicy body, a corpse that is blissful with joy to give his blessed meat to others' casings." Free translation by Paula Granados

of a person's identity by a cannibal society. Kamandil says, "Nos van a acorralar, van a acabar con nuestros nervios y nuestros huesos. Nos van a ir desgastando hasta desaparecernos, porque París ya no respeta a ningún atcheno; porque simplemente no nos dejan carne para comer, ni un trozo, mi Martín querido." (p. 208)²⁶

Thereby, Parisian society takes advantage of a control element to reject cannibalism and make Atchens follow the rules and new values: the police corps. According to Parisian society, they are in charge of the compliance with the rules but, Kamandil thinks the police have a monopoly of the bodies as they care of the morgue, the corpses that arrive, and the public order "...la verdad es que los cadáveres frescos están siendo monopolizados por la policía." (p. 210)²⁷ All the time, the police and the government make the Viarkos and Atchens feel like strangers and metaphorically cannibalized victims since they do not know anything about their ethnic group, their customs, and always confuse their identity and origins: "Los monos. Los mismos que nos confunden con eslavos, a nosotros que sobrevivimos a los serbios; los que nos dicen gitanos con cara de asco, como si se pudiera ser gitano y creer en el Profeta a la vez. Ja, se ríe la grande tierra atchena." (p. 211)²⁸

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[&]quot;They are going to corner us; they will destroy our nerves and bones. They are going to wear us out until we disappear, because Paris does not respect Atchens anymore; because they simply do not leave us meat to eat, not even a piece, my dear Martin." Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;The truth is that fresh corpses are being monopolized by the police." Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;The blond. The same people who confuse us with Slavs, us who survived the Serbs; the ones who call us Gypsies with disgust, as if we could be gypsies and believe in the Prophet at the same time. Ha, the big Atchen earth laughs." Free translation by Paula Granados

Hence, the constant struggle of the family which lacks a place where their customs are respected and where they feel at home is what makes them so vulnerable and desperate. They do not know what to do as many of their friends have gone to other cities, have committed massive suicide or have left their customs aside. They have adopted all the rules, values and the culture of the place they are living in. They have been eaten alive and have become the left-overs of the society.

"Ya no son tiempos para vida. Las últimas familias atchenas han emigrado a Andalucía o se han suicidado en masa, o han preferido el régimen de terror de los cratios a esta existencia de miseria. Otras han vendido sus costumbres, se han hechos siervas de los franceses, han admitido la derrota: que el Señor las castigue." (p. 208)²⁹

In spite of that, the Viarko family tried to keep their identity and culture alive even though they realize there is no place for them in that country. If they want to survive they have to leave Paris and look for a homeland somewhere. "Ya no quedaba nada de todo lo que había sido la patria atchena ni de la gente que ella había conocido. Sólo quedábamos nosotros, y nosotros también nos estábamos marchitando y dejando de ser atchenos." (p. 235)³⁰ As a result, America -following the European imagery as a wild land- appears to be a glimpse of hope and the last option for the family before they are swallowed up by a cannibal society.

[&]quot;These are not times for life anymore. The last Atchen families have migrated to Andalucia or have committed massive suicide, or have preferred the reign of terror of cratios to this miserable existence. Others have sold their customs, they have become servants of the French, have admitted defeat: may the Lord punish them." Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;Nothing of all that had been the Atchen country or of the people she had known remained. Only we remained, and we too were withering and no longer being Atchens." Free translation by Paula Granados

This seems to be the only way to stop suffering in a society that does not care about individuals, but its own good, regardless of destroying cultures and people for the sake of cultural uniformity, without any regret.

Through their dissimilar characteristics, both texts have portrayed the role of cannibalism in the society. In its metaphorical and literal shape, cannibalism has addressed social issues that if were not evident in the texts at first sight, they have been revealed softly over this study.

Conclusion

The previous chapters have shown that Kamandil Viarko and A Modest Proposal use cannibalism as a useful means to criticize their societies, since the cannibal image represents the biggest abjection in societies' adopted or imposed rules. This criticism, based on both metaphorical and literal cannibalism, achieves a unique effect through the verbal material charged with meaning. In fact, literal cannibalism is used to reveal a veiled truth in both texts: metaphorical cannibalism. It is not just about flesh consumption, but about how society eats its inhabitants in terms of values, morals, culture, beliefs and ideologies.

A Modest Proposal criticizes society's double morals as it shows that in the world depicted, economic power in the shape of mercantilism is more important than moral judgments. Swift emphasizes the achievements or earnings society can have in economic terms while he criticizes objectification of humans as they are sold in the meat market. In this sense, people would reject literal cannibalism by means of economic profit as they can find it disgusting

"...it is not improbable that some scrupulous people might be apt to censure such a practice (although indeed very unjustly) as a little bordering upon cruelty; which, I confess, hath always been with me the strongest objection against any project, how well soever intended." (Swift, 1729)

while they accept living in a metaphorical cannibal society that is eating them alive as "...landlords, as they have already devoured most of the parents." (p. 7)

On the other hand, Ungar's almost unknown tale uses cannibalism to criticize and show the effect of acculturation. Kamandil Viarko underlines the price society has had to pay and what has been left behind, the diversity of culture, seen from the perspective of the victims.

"Los guerreros comehombres de Oriente, los atchenos, no seremos pronto más que un recuerdo..." (Ungar, 2008)³¹ Although, there was a time where literal cannibalism was considered a respected practice because it was beneficial for a starving society, in this world depicted, literal cannibalism is rejected by means of acculturation while people become metaphorical cannibals by eating Atchens' Otherness. "la ciudad nos va a pasar por encima; nos va a devorar, a triturar y a digerir, y que de nuestros restos hará pasto para los tristes cementerios" (p. 210)³²

The focus of this study was on cannibalism as a means of social criticism in the novels in terms of its acceptance or rejection. One of the concerns of this study was also the interpretation of the effect caused on the readers, but this topic deviated from the general objective. So it was not taken into account in spite of the fact it is fascinating as both novels are controversial.

As the texts are so rich, they could be analyzed from different perspectives and approaches. One of those could be a psychological approach to the characters and their personality. Kamandil and the Proposer are worth studying as they represent two opposing classes in their society. While Kamandil comes from a low middle class, the Proposer belongs to bourgeoisie. Thus, their actions and way of thinking are conflicting and engaging because

[&]quot;The man-eating warriors of the East, the Atchens, soon we won't be more than a memory." Free translation by Paula Granados

[&]quot;The city is going to overrun us; it's going to devour us, crush us and digest us and with our left-overs, make grass for our sad graveyards" Free translation by Norma Ojeda

one of them speaks from the victim's perspective and the other from that of the perpetrators'.

An approach from mythical criticism is also compelling, as cannibals have always been in humans' minds. Also, the fact that Kamandil Viarko is set in Paris although its author is Colombian is thought-provoking. Anybody could wonder why the story is mainly set in an European country in the XXth century, and at the end, there is a glance towards an American country that despite the fact that it belongs to XX century, seems to remain in the past characterized by savageness.

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