Identity, Language and Culture in Eva Hoffman’s *Lost in Translation*

Anna Eriksson
English C/Special Project
Tutor: Martin Shaw
13 June, 2009
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table of contents</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Background</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aim</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method and material</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous research</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eva Hoffman and <em>Lost in Translation</em></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relation between Identity, Culture and Language 6

Identity 6

Identity in *Lost in Translation* 6

Language 7

Language in *Lost in Translation* 7

Culture 8

Culture in *Lost in Translation* 9

Theory applied on the novel 10

Eva Hoffman: Becoming the stranger 10

Eva Hoffman: Losing identity/gaining identity 11

Translating Eva Hoffman: Eva Hoffman’s cultural translation 12

Eva Hoffman: Losing Translation 12

Conclusion 14

Works Cited 15
Introduction

In the multicultural world of today there are many people who live in-between cultures and languages. The world is becoming smaller and humans interact over both cultural and linguistic borders. Words such as multicultural and multilingual are used frequently, cultures blend together, and today many different languages can be heard at the same time in the streets of any major city in the world. Still, most of us have a language and a culture to lean back on. We are able to say: I am Swedish, and we Swedes do like this. We might also be able to look at other nationalities and define them through their language and culture. However, what about those thousands and thousands of people who are caught in-between? What about those who find themselves in a culture they do not recognize, surrounded by a language they do not understand or have yet acquired? For how long can they keep their identity if they live and interact in an unfamiliar culture and through a foreign language? What happens to our identity, our views of ourselves, when the reference points we mirror ourselves against are taken away? This essay will investigate this through Eva Hoffman’s novel *Lost in Translation* where Hoffman tells her own story of life in-between cultures and language. Hoffman emigrated with her family from Cracow in Poland to Canada in the late fifties. She is now a successful writer but in her novel she shares her experiences of the process of regaining an identity in a new country and foremost through a new language. As we become closer to each other and crossing borders that used to be closed one might stop and wonder how and against what we identify ourselves.

Theoretical background

This essay will rely on the theories of Ethnolinguistics, Culture Studies, Translation Studies and Culture Translation Studies. Riley describes Ethnolinguistics “as the study of a group’s experiences of life as it is organized and expressed through the group’s language tools and as a science whose aim is to examine the relationship between a language on the one hand and society and culture on the other” (Riley 8). In other words, Ethnolinguistics combines the comparative study of different societies and cultures we find in Ethnology with the study of a language’s development and structure that we find in Linguistics. Cultural studies developed from Literary studies. Whilst Literary studies exclusively deals with the study of literary, Cultural studies approaches a much wider field and includes every part of culture; both high and popular culture. Translation studies developed from Linguistics. From the beginning translation was treated as a sub-field of Linguistics since translation was seen as “a
transaction between two languages” (Trivedi 2). With its own field of study Translation Studies has developed and changed the way to approach translation. The most important thing that has happened in the field is the so called ‘cultural turn’. Culture has always been of significance in translating; the problems and the obstacles of cultural phenomena in texts have been a part of translation since the ancient Roman times (Mizani). Words that were impossible to translate without losing their real meaning, like ‘kurta’ or ‘karma’, were treated as “culture specific” words (Trivedi 3). With the ‘cultural turn’ in Translation Studies culture moved from the background to the centre: “But then the realisation grew that not only were such items culture specific, but indeed the whole language was specific to the particular culture or country it came from” (Trivedi 2). This makes a translation, not a translation between two languages, but rather between two cultures. With this emphasis on culture, Cultural Translation came about. Bassnett and Lefevere argue that “the study of translation is the study of cultural interaction” (Bassnett & Lefevere ix). The idea of collaboration between the two fields of Cultural Studies and Translation Studies is expressed by Bassnett and Lefevere. With the statement that “cultural studies would do well from the study of the process of encoding and decoding involved in translation” (Bassnett & Lefevere xx), they argue that both Culture studies and Culture Translation are in need of each other and the emphasis on the close relation between language and culture.

Aim
The aim of this essay is to explore how it is to be caught between two cultures and two different languages. It seeks to understand how identity is affected by living in “the space in-between”. By using the experiences of Hoffman presented in her novel Lost in Translation I look at how language and culture shape the identity and also how this making of identity becomes problematic in a situation where more than one language and culture are present in a the main protagonist’s life. Through this essay I will show how language, culture and identity interact in Eva Hoffman’s Lost in Translation.

Method and Material
Eva Hoffman’s novel was chosen since it tells a story, not unique for Hoffman, but widely lived out by many other humans. I will look at the novel through the theories that seek to understand how language, identity and culture interact, and also through the field of cultural translation. The theories will be presented and applied on Hoffman’s text. Through Hoffman’s experiences I will have concrete examples that the theory can be applied on. I will start by
presenting the main source. After that I will try to explain the key terms involved here: Identity, Language and Culture. These terms will be presented and put in relation to the novel. In the last section of the essay I will try to analyse Eva’s voyage and her process of losing and regaining identity through the steps of becoming a stranger, losing identity, cultural translation and finally losing translation.

Previous research
I was introduced to my primary source *Lost in Translation* and the writer Eva Hoffman through my interest for how identity is shaped by language. In the book titled *Intercultural spaces: language, culture, identity* which is a collection of essays discussed at a symposium at Dublin City University I read Sabine Strumper-Krobbs’s essay ‘Lost in Translation’: fictional translator figures caught between cultures (Pearson-Evans & Leahy 245). In this essay Strumper-Krobbs presents five different examples in which literary works address the question of identity through translation (Pearson-Evans & Leahy 245). Eva Hoffman’s novel is one of them and Strumper-Krobbs argues that Eva Hoffman’s *Lost in Translation* presents us with “an autobiographical narrator-translator, who experiences a language and identity crisis” (Pearson-Evans & Leahy 247).

Eva Hoffman and a summary of *Lost in Translation*
Eva Hoffman was born in 1945 in Cracow, Poland. At the age of thirteen she immigrated together with her family to Vancouver, Canada. She now lives in London but has spent most of her adult life in the United States. She has a PhD in English and American Literature and has worked as a professor of literature and creative writing at several universities (Identitytheory.com). Her career as a writer has produced four novels and in *Lost in Translation* she tells us her own story from childhood to early adulthood. The novel is divided into three parts; the first called “Paradise”, the second “Exile” and the third “The New World”. Just as the headings suggest we get to follow Eva on her way from her beloved Cracow, which here stands for ‘paradise’, into a state of ‘exile’; as she finds herself lost between two countries, two languages and two identities. She finally emerges into ‘the New World’ and is able to feel at home in her new country, and her new identity. More than anything this is a story about the search for identity and from what our identity is built. *Lost in Translation* provides the reader an insight in the complicated relation between identity, language and culture.
The relation between Identity, Culture and Language

In this section I will address the relation between identity, culture and language. Identity, Culture and Language are defined in separate sections below even though I am fully aware that neither of these concepts can be explained without the other.

Identity

Identity is who we are. The paradox of identity is that on the one hand it is about ‘sameness’; what we have in common with other groups, like being Swedish or Christian and so on, but, on the other hand, identity is about being unique; what sets us apart and the inimitable part of our self (Joseph 37). Social identity is the part of us that identifies itself with a larger group. Our identity is connected to this certain group since we share values, ideas and knowledge with this group (Joseph 79). Personal identity is an individual’s concept of self, or who I am for myself and Enacted identity is how our identity is expressed through language and communication; how we are seen by others (Joseph 81). It can be argued that our personal identity and our enacted identity will never meet; they are forever set apart since it is impossible for us to know who we are for others just as it is impossible for others to see how we see ourselves inside. However, we will always try to imagine how we are seen by others. In that way enacted identity is associated with our personal identity. This relation between our personal identity and the enacted identity highlights how important our language is to our identity, since our enacted identity is expressed through language. We can also conclude that identity is connected to culture through our social identity which is dependent on the different groups around us which we take part in.

Identity in Lost in Translation

In Hoffman’s story identity is central. As Strumper –Krubb says in her essay: “The problems she faces are much more than simply linguistic ones; they cut straight to the core of her identity and self-definition” (Pearson-Evans & Leahy 245). The novel sets an example of the relation between our personal identity, our enacted identity and language. Eva loses the concept of her self through her inability to express herself. When she describes a typical American teenage scene she says about herself: “I’m becoming a very serious person, missing the register of wit and irony although I see irony all around me. I am a pretend teenager among the real stuff” (Hoffman p 118). Her quest for herself and her struggle to find herself seem to take on an un-proportional size. Eventually, she understands that she has to ‘invent
herself’ and as a friend tells her in the novel: “This is a society in which you are who you think you are. Nobody gives you your identity here, you have to reinvent yourself every day” (Hoffman160). What could be taken into consideration here is the difference between the American and the Polish societies in this time of the early sixties. As Eva says at the end of the novel when she visits her home country: “The frame of culture is stronger here, and it holds the individual personality more firmly in place” (Hoffman 240). Again, this confirms the complex relationship between culture, language and identity. However, Eva’s loss of identity is what is above all expressed throughout the novel.

Language

Through language we set ourselves apart from people but on the other hand language also connects us to people. Just as identity, language has a function of associating with and distinguishing between people.

In the traditional way language has been seen to have two main purposes; to enable communication and to represent the world that surrounds us (Joseph 15). In western cultures language has also been seen as a way of expression. The idea of language as a tool for expression has been discussed and used by aesthetics (the critical reflection on art, culture and nature) rather than by linguistics (Joseph 17). In more recent time, however, we see that linguistics has moved from seeing identity merely as a bi-product of language to being an important part of language (Joseph 41). It is in this idea of language as a way of expressing oneself that we can connect language to identity. To be able to show our individual self we have to be able to express our feelings and emotions. Joseph argues that the expressional part of language is of importance. He says that if language only is used as a tool of representing the world or as communication between people “something vital has been abstracted away: the people themselves” (Joseph 21). In fact both representation and communication depend on the individual self and the way we express ourselves. All forms of representation and all communication are filtered through the individual’s way of expressing. This means that in a situation where we are forced to use a language that is not our native language we might be able to communicate and we might be able to show representation of the world, but there is a risk that we might not be able to show our inner self. Our identity, the person who we are is taken away from the language and since identity is formed both from within ourselves and from the outside by other people our identity becomes threatened. In such a situation, where we are required to use a language that is not our own we will also have problems to interpret the culture around us.
A Greek philosopher named Epicurus is known to have put the first theory of language and identity forward. This theory also explains the relation between language and culture. John E submits Epicurus’ idea as a theory “holding that members of different nationalities and ethnicities differ in their feelings and even sensory perception of the world around them, and that these feelings and impressions are what produced their particular languages” (Joseph 43). A certain culture produces the language that they need; the language becomes a tool that defines, expresses, and develops the culture of a people. Riely states further that “[t]he models of thought and culture of a people can only be studied and analysed through their language” (Riely 9). This indicates that the differences between cultures are visible through the language and that language and culture coexists so close together that neither can exist without the other.

Language in *Lost in Translation*

Language is the most concrete problem that Eva faces in her new country. However, through its close connection with identity it also becomes one of the most paramount parts of her life. Language is active and it is also something that she can work with in a conscious way. She describes the huge impact of the loss of language as “The loss of living connection” (Hoffman 107). Even though she tells herself that the words are disjoined from the worldly things she cannot seem to accept this. To her representation without the expressional is not satisfying. Just as Joseph states that “something vital is gone” (Joseph 21), Eva says that “the picture and word show is gone” (Hoffman 107), thus expressing a sadness and sees her new life as “a dark and empty state” (Hoffman 108). Even though there is despair and frustration connected to Eva’s lack of ‘word and world connection’ in the beginning of the novel, the reader can follow how she develops a skill for her new language. With this skill she gains the skill of representing through expression; she is able to put her own feelings into the language and can use her new language in intimate situations: “‘Darling’ I say to my lover, ‘my dear,’ and the words are filled and brimming with the motions of my desire” (Hoffman 245). With the last sentence of the novel, “The language of this is sufficient. I am here now” (Hoffman 280), Hoffman tells us that her journey has come to an end. Her journey has been about identity but the tool she has in her quest to reach what she looks for is language.

Culture

We have now stated that both identity and language can both part and unite people. This phenomenon is shared by culture. Riely defines culture “Culture is knowledge, in the widest
possible sense, including the traditions and history of the group, its common sense, beliefs, values, attitudes and language. Culture is the knowledge members of a society need if they are to participate completely in the various situations and activities life puts in their way (Riely 36).

There are three categories of cultural knowledge:

1. **Know that:** This is what the individuals of the group believe to be true; values, religion, worldviews and other ‘truths’.
2. **Know of:** This includes current knowledge like news, TV-series, public events and other contemporary knowledge.
3. **Know how:** This includes how to behave, dance, address a superior, and other skills that are necessary in social life. (Riely 40)

The common knowledge that exists within a culture is acquired through language; to be a part of this common knowledge system in a society you have to know the language of a society. If you do not know the language of a certain culture you are unable to enter this common knowledge system, which also puts up an obstacle when it comes to forming your identity. However, culture is nothing static, but changes all the time through language since it is through language we constantly confirm and redefine the shared knowledge of the group (Riely 49). This means that the only way of understanding a society is to become a member of it and above all to learn the language. The close relation between language and culture is what the field of cultural translation is built on. In the process of translation the textual ‘grid’ becomes important. This grid is a framework created by culture through which language is sieved (Bassnett & Lefevere 5). These grids are unique for each culture and thus make each language unique. Without knowing the culture that a language belongs to you will never truly understand the language. When we understand this we can also understand the problems a stranger has when he or she enters an unfamiliar group in our society. A stranger will naturally use his own grid to view and read the society, unable to localize the common codes, thoughts and beliefs of this new unfamiliar culture (Riely 172).

**Culture in Lost in Translation**

In *Lost in Translation* culture plays the part of defining a stranger. Eva’s colourful and emotional description of Cracow helps the reader to see the monumental distance that is created by the boat trip to Canada and Vancouver. Eva sees herself as a stranger and in the
sense of creating an identity for herself and the constant feeling of being lost culture shows how the reference frames she tries to stay within are invisible to her. In the beginning of the novel Eva talks about her American friends as ‘aliens’ (Hoffman 108), and about how “because I don’t know the background I don’t always grasp the foreground” (Hoffman 190). These are both examples of lack of knowledge; not understanding why people behave as they do or why things are as they are. In the end however Eva is able to see the benefits of the way she has ‘learnt’ the American Culture. The awareness she has enables her to see what others might miss.

Theory applied on the novel
The relationship between Identity, Culture and Language has been examined above and throughout the discussion in section 2 I argue that Identity, Culture and Language are so closely related that it is impossible to define one of these concepts without mentioning the other two. They collaborate and form each other on many different levels. These ideas will now be put into context through the analysis of Hoffman’s Lost in Translation.

Eva Hoffman: Becoming ‘The stranger’
In the first part of the novel, called ‘Paradise’, we follow Eva’s life and childhood in Cracow. She is in her place, she knows her history and she can imagine her future. Her dreams of marriage and becoming a famous pianist are set in a context where they seem natural and unchallenged. Eva describes herself, her mother and her father in context through their place in society. They are described as strong characters with a cultural knowledge that comes with an obvious ‘Know that’, ‘Know how’, and ‘Know of’. They belong. But in the turn that their lives take this is about to change.

The first apparent scene where this belonging is challenged is on the ship that takes the family to Canada. Here Eva describes how she feels like as if she is ‘in a fog’, “and the rules, for now, don’t hold” (Hoffman 91). She feels as if she is out of time and that she is nothing but a figure of her own imagination. When the family reaches Canada to start their new lives Eva’s obvious framework which she has been held within has stopped to exist. She is now the stranger who lacks knowledge of the culture she is living in. Poland is still the ‘centre of the universe ’to her, but in the scene where Eva’s teacher asks the class whether anyone knows where Poland is Eva comes to realize that she has to redefine her references: “The reference points inside my head are beginning to do a flickering dance. I suppose this is the most
palpable meaning of displacement. I have been dislocated from my own centre of the world, and that world has been shifted away from my centre“ (Hoffman 132). She understands that she has to adopt the American culture with its knowledge, traditions, history, common sense, beliefs, values, and attitudes. She states that “To remain outside such common agreements is to remain outside reality itself” (Hoffman 211). As she struggles to assimilate herself into the American culture she still feels that the country of her childhood lives within her “with a primacy that is a form of love” (Hoffman 74). She carries it with her and she says about it: “All it has given me is the world, but that is enough. It has fed me language, perception, sounds, the human kind. It has given me the furrows of reality, my first loves” (Hoffman 74). As a stranger she remains, even though she adapts to the American culture. However, since she still carries the perspective of her Polish culture she is able to see the two different grids of the two cultures. What is unique and what belongs to a society’s culture becomes apparent when another culture is viewed in relation to it. She sees the grid of the American culture since she is aware of it. To her this grid is not unconscious, and in a sense you could argue that the assimilated stranger sees this grid too clearly. Hoffman says that “my misfortune is to see the grid of general assumptions drawn over particular personalities, to notice the subjection to collective ideology where I should only see the free play of subjectivity” (Hoffman 203). With her two-sided reference frame she becomes a translator of culture. At the end of the novel, in her adulthood, when she has reached ‘The New World’ she still refers to herself as a sort of ‘resident alien’ (Hoffman 221). The resident alien will always live with the second perspective that enables her to see the cultural grid of the society she lives in.

Eva Hoffman: losing identity/gaining identity

Since Eva is a stranger who is destined to stay, not just for a short visit, she has to face the problems that come with this. Her identity is being challenged. One of the first scenes in the novel that shows an attack of her identity is her first school day in Vancouver. As Ewa’s and her sister Alina’s names are considered difficult to pronounce by there teacher their names are changed to a more American version; Eva and Elaine. Hoffman comments on this event: “Our Polish names didn’t refer to us; they were surely us as our eyes or hands” (Hoffman 105), and “We walk to our seats, into a roomful of unknown faces, with the names that makes us strangers to ourselves” (Hoffman 105). This act represents a concrete way of loss of identity. Eva soon notices other, less concrete, ways in which her identity is attacked. Her identity is lost through language. When her native language stops to have any meaning in her surroundings she loses the ability to express herself: “Polish, in a short time, has atrophied,
shrivelled from sheer uselessness. Its words don’t apply to my new experiences; they are not coeval with any of the objects, or faces, or the very air I breathe in the daytime” (Hoffman 107). This confirms the difficulty of applying the language of one culture onto another culture. Eva is unable to express this new culture through the language of her old culture; they do not match. Since her identity is connected to the language and culture she left behind she lacks the reference frames to hold herself within.

With the loss of language she loses both the possibility to express herself, and with that her enacted identity, and also her inner language which she needs to identify herself, her personal identity through: “What has happened to me in this new world? I don’t know. I don’t see what I’ve seen, I don’t comprehend what’s in front of me. I’m not filled with language anymore, and I have only a memory of fullness to anguish me with the knowledge that, in this dark and empty state, I don’t really exist” (Hoffman 108). It is through language that she has lost her identity and it is through language she fights to get it back. When she writes in her diary she is faced with the question of which language she should use. Since she feels that the Polish language represents the past she chooses the language of the present; English. Through this act she eventually creates a ‘written self’ that becomes part of her identity. Even so she is unable to use the pronoun ‘I’. Instead she uses the pronoun ‘you’. This act could be a sign of how unsure she is about her personal identity. By using ‘you’ instead of ‘I’ she signals an unwillingness to let her new identity touch her deep unconscious ‘self’. Throughout the whole novel Eva expresses a strong will to overcome the linguistic obstacle that prevents her from truly ‘being part of’. The story is a story of the need to belong and the struggle to ‘reinvent’ your self: “We want to be at home in our own tongue. We want to give voice fully and truly to our self and our sense of the world” (Hoffman 125). Through this statement Eva expresses a fundamental feeling of belonging and feeling at home.

Translating Eva Hoffman: Eva Hoffman’s cultural translation

Hoffman’s novel addresses the feeling of being lost. The title Lost in Translation does not only refer to traditional translation word by word, but rather the process of translating the culture that surrounds the stranger. Nevertheless, in the beginning of the novel Eva talks about words. She says that “[t]he picture-and-word show is gone. The tread has been snapped” (Hoffman 107). She feels that the words she now learns are unable to represent the world as she knows it. She uses the word river as an example and says that: “‘River’ in Polish was a vital sound, energized with the essence of riverhood, of my rivers, of me being immersed in rivers. ‘River’ in English is cold - a word without an aura” (Hoffman 106). She continues this
discussion about words by explaining how she translates the words she hears, first into Polish and then to the “feeling from which it springs” (Hoffman 107). She has not yet found a reference frame in the English language but has to go all the way back to the source in order to understand exactly what feeling a certain word stands for. She describes this lack of representation for words as “the loss of living connection”. It is through this that we come to understand that translation is something far more complex than just the replacing one word by another. This lack of ‘fullness’ is also described in the field of love, when she feels that it is difficult to express these intimate feelings in English. When she acquires more of the foreign language of her new world she talks about language instead of separate words. She describes language as “a fine net in which reality is contained” (Hoffman 217) and at the end of the novel she states that “[i]n order to translate a language, or a text, without changing its meaning, one would have to transport its audience as well” (Hoffman 273). These ideas follow the ideas of the study of culture translation.

Eva Hoffman: Losing translation

Eva finally emerges into the ‘New World’. She comes to terms with her identity in relation to a new language and a new world and she manages to reinvent herself. The gap between her identity and her surroundings that opened up that first day at school through her new name is closed. She can now define herself in the society she lives in. She understands that there always will be more than one perspective and that she is written in many languages. Through her insight of two cultures she is able to translate cultures rather than language. And through this ability she reaches awareness that people who are enclosed in their native culture might never have the change to experience. However, her struggle to concur and translate the language and culture will never stop: “Acquiring linguistic competence is a hard, long-term process connected with translation and re-interoperation of old cultural signs according to a new cultural environment” (Lestinen 4). The culture and language of her childhood will always be with her, that primary and unconscious part of her will never be replaced. She reveals this at the end of the novel: “Occasionally, Polish words emerge unbidden from the buzz. They are usually words from the primary palette of feeling: ‘I’m so happy’, a voice says with bell-like clarity” […]The polish phrases have roundness and a surprising certainty, as if they were announcing the simple truth. “ (Hoffman 272.). A second language can be seen as an extension of selfhood rather then a replacement. Her life will forever be coloured by the fact that she has knowledge of two cultures. Eva states that this bifocal view she has gained results in a faith that there is no absoluteness “[b]ecause I have learned the relativity of
cultural meanings on my skin, I can never take any one set of meanings as final” (Hoffman 275). She also believes that her place in the world is destined to be “in the chinks between cultures and subcultures” (Hoffman 275). From this discussion we will find an argument that tells us that translation will never end; once our world consists of more than one cultural frame we are destined to constantly translate backwards and forward between cultures.

Conclusion

Eva Hoffman’s story enables her reader to understand how it is to live between two different cultures and two different languages. It has also provided an insight into the complex relation between language, culture and identity. The essence of Hoffman’s story can be said to be the realization that once you have knowledge of more than one culture you will gain a new perspective. Through this perspective humans are able to raise their awareness of both the old and the new culture. When it comes to identity this new perspective means that identity is faced with bifocal glasses. To shape identity will thus become a more complex work, since a solid ‘obvious’ framework is replaced with two frameworks. These frameworks might oppose each other, and this will challenge identity even further. Eva’s journey also highlights the process of translation and states that translation is something more and far more complex then a replacement of words. Throughout the novel we also understand the importance of feeling ‘part of’. However, even though Eva expresses her wish to ‘live within a language’ and ‘be held within the framework of a culture,’ she accepts and values her fate to live ‘in-between’. In today’s society where more and more people find themselves in Eva’s situation one can only hope that this will lead to an increasing understanding of different cultures and different ways of viewing the world. Might it be that more people need to put on those bifocal glasses of living in-between cultures?
Works cited

Primary source

Secondary sources
Joseph, John E. *Language and Identity* Great Britain: Antony Rowe Ltd, 2004
Lestinen, Leena. *Identity in multicultural and multilingual contexts* London: Metropolitan University, 2004
Mizani, Samira. *Cultural Translation*
Trivedi, Harish. *Translating Culture vs. Cultural Translation*
  [http://iwp.uiowa.edu/91st/vol4_n1/pdfs/trivedi.pdf](http://iwp.uiowa.edu/91st/vol4_n1/pdfs/trivedi.pdf)