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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Payame Noor University, Iran</th>
<th>St. John's University, USA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*Dr. Al Sayed Mohamed Aly Ismail Bin Abdualziz University, Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>* Mansour Amini The Gulf College, Oman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Dr. Nidhi Kesari University of Delhi, India</td>
<td>* Nick J. Sciullo Georgia State University, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Dr. Raghvendra Kumar LNCT Group of College Jabalpur, India</td>
<td>* Nizar Zouidi University of Mannouba, Tunisia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Dr. Salima Lejri University of Tunis, Tunisia</td>
<td>* Logan Cochrane University of British Columbia, Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Dr. Chuka Fred Ononye Alvan Ikoku Federal College of Education, Nigeria</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Dr. Mohammed Salah Bouomrani University of Gafsa, Tunisia</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Dr. Mahdi Zarai University of Gafsa, Tunisia</td>
<td>*Javed Akhter University of Balochistan Quetta Balochistan, Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Dr. Anwar Tlili King's College, London, UK</td>
<td>*Haron Bouras Mohamed Cherif Messadia University, Souk-Ahras Algeria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Table of Contents

**Editorial**

1) "Euphemism in Tony Blair’s Political Discourse in the Iraqi war 2003: A Socio-cognitive CDA Account"
   **Mohamed Abidi**, University of Tunis, Tunisia .......................................................... 7

   **Rachid Acim**, University Sultan Moulay Slimane, Beni Mellal, Morocco ......................... 8

3) "Waiting for Godot: A Deconstructive Study"
   **Javed Akhtar**, University of Balochistan Quetta Balochistan, Pakistan .......................... 9

4) "Children’s Literature in the Eighteenth Century: Re-defining the Child"
   **Shahid Alshammari**, Arab Open University, Kuwait Branch, Kuwait .............................. 10

5) "Three-Year-Old English-Arabic Bilingual: Notes on Syntactic Code-Switching"
   **Ahmed Alsharif**, King Khalid University, Saudi Arabia .............................................. 11

6) "L’Errance dans Le Cœur n’est pas un Genou que l’On plie de Mariama Barry"
   **Jatoe-Kaleo, Baba Abraham**, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana ............................. 12

7) "Comeback of the Boomerang – Thomas King’s Short Stories in the Context of Anthropological Gaze and Linguistic Aporia"
   **Sarbani Banerjee**, University of Western Ontario, Canada ........................................... 13

8) “Resisting Invisibility: Arab-Americans and the Challenge of Political Activism"
   **Lanouar Ben Hafsa**, University of Tunis, Tunisia ..................................................... 14

9) "The Implications of using Mental Illness within a Cinema Narrative"
   **Georgina Berritta**, University of York, UK ................................................................. 15

10) "The Concepts of Born To Die Children and the Fate of Victim Mothers in Nigeria"
    **Thomas. O. Ebhomienlen**, Ambrose Alli University, Ekpoma, Edo State, Nigeria ............ 16

11) " Benin: A study in the Budding Crises in the Polity, 1914 to 1939"
    **Michael Edigbonya**, Ekiti State University, Ado-Ekiti, Nigeria .............................. 17

12) "Le Multilinguisme et les Problèmes d’Aménagement Linguistique au Nigeria"
    **Ebong, Offiong Erete**, University of Calabar, Nigeria
    **Ayeni, Queen Olubukola**, University of Calabar, Nigeria ........................................... 18

13) "The Effect of Time Pressure on Saudi Students’ Reading Fluency"
    **Syed Md. Golam Faruk**, King Khalid University, Saudi Arabia
    **Sayed Mohammed Abdul Karim**, King Khalid University, Saudi Arabia ...................... 19

14) “Excellent results” of teaching listening at a Saudi University: Appearance and reality"
    **Syed Md. Golam Faruk**, King Khalid University, Saudi Arabia
    **Mohammad Reazur Rahman**, King Khalid University, Saudi Arabia ........................ 20

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http://www.ijhcs.com/index.php/ijhcs/index
15) "The “Boko Haramisation” of Cameroon: A prolonged Nightmare for a Sustaining Assemblage"
Mark Bolak Funteh, University of Maroua, Cameroon
Ndikum Azieh, Alpha operation, BIR Cameroon

16) "Defining culture, heritage and identity in Fijian Context"
Prashneel Ravisan Goundar, Fiji National University, Fiji

17) "A Palestinian Refugee Woman Narrative"
Sadek Firwana, Islamic University Gaza, Palestine
Akram Habeeb, Islamic University Gaza, Palestine

18) "Language as an Oppressive Device in Orwell’s 1984"
Bakhtiar Sabir Hama, University of Sulaimani, Iraq

19) "Upholding Patriarchal Male Domination through Male Homosociality, Triangulated Eroticism, and Castration Threats in Your Friends and Neighbors"
Robert A. Humphrey, Bowling Green State University, USA

20) "Traumatic Realism and the retrieval of Historical Value in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s postcolonial text Half of a Yellow Sun"
Mustapha Kharoua, University of Eastern Finland, Finland

21) "Etude de la Fonction de la Dénomination Chez un Patient Aphasique"
Amina Klibi, ISLT, University of Carthage, Tunisia

22) "Fork in the Road: La Malinche’s Role in the Conquest of Mexico"
Samantha Kountz, University of Kent, UK

23) "L’organisation entrepreneuriale: Existe-t-il un seul modèle?"
Mohamed Taher Kraima, Université de Sfax, Tunisie

24) "Irony in Angela Carter’s The Magic Toyshop: The patriarchal order as a case in point"
Wiem Krifa, University of Sousse, Tunisia

Svetlana Makeyeva, Institute for American Studies, TU Dortmund, Germany

26) "L’approche communicative et enseignement/apprentissage du FLE dans le contexte plurilingue ghanéen. Regard sur trois manuels d’enseignement : Arc-en-ciel, Latitudes et Panorama"
Nutakor E. Mawushi, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana
Agbéffé Koffi Ganyo, University of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

27) "Functional Approach to Language Learning"
Abdelfattah Mazari, University Mohammed Premier, Oujda, Morocco
Naoual Derraz, University Mohammed Premier, Oujda, Morocco

28) "Language policy in a multilingual school: the case of Windhoek International School in Namibia"
Henry Amo Mensah, National University of Lesotho, Lesotho
Christine Anthonissen, Stellenbosch University, South Africa
29) "The Silent Text: Symbolism amidst Political Disillusionment in Luangala’s On a Campaign Trail"
Gankhanani Moffat Moyo, University of Zambia, Zambia..........................407-414

30) "Towards Clarity in Translation: Applying the Textual Dimensional Approach"
Samson Fabian Nzuanke, University of Calabar, Calabar, Nigeria..................415-436

31) "A Pragmatic Study of Characters' Names in Ola Rotimi's The Gods Are Not To Blame"
Idowu Odebode, Redeemer's University, Ede, Osun State, Nigeria..................437-454

32) "A Counterfactual Insight of Africa’s Historical Past: The Case of Ughievwen Social and Political Institutions of Western Delta, Nigeria, c.1800-1939"
Felix Ejukonemu Oghi, Samuel Adegboyega University, Ogwa, Edo State, Nigeria 455-468

33) "Barriers to indigenous language learning and their use in Nigerian schools: the Yoruba language experience"
Layé Ogúnqlá, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria........................................469-485

34) "Etymological investigation of tones in the Yorùbá personal praise names: ORÍKÌ ÀBÍSÒ "
Oluwole Tewogboye Okewande, University of Ilorin, Ilorin, Nigeria..................486-494

35) "Funding post-graduate education and research in public universities of Ghana: challenges and prospects"
Enoch Danso Okyere, Hark Mount Sinai Senior High School, Eastern Region, Ghana
Emmanuel Boateng, University of Professional Studies, Accra, Ghana
Gifty Sirwaa Nyarko, Hark Mount Sinai Senior High School, Eastern Region, Ghana
Racheal Ofori, St. Joseph Seminary Senior High School, Ashanti Region, Ghana ....495-504

36) "A Critical Perspective on the Image of the Environment in Tanure Ojaide’s The Tales of The Harmattan"
Kenechukwu Onwudinjo, University of Calabar, Calabar, Nigeria..................505-518

37) "Museums as living theatre in Nigeria"
Segun Oyeleke Oyewo, University of Ilorin, Nigeria.....................................519-536

38) "Shadi Abdessalem: Le Tout en Un"
Feten Ridene Raissi, Carthage University, Tunisia........................................537-550

39) "La traduction et production culturelle: Une étude de la traduction onomastique de l’Enfant Noir de Camara Laye en anglais"
Moruwan Babatunde Samuel, Ekiti State University, Ado Ekiti, Nigeria
Odey Ebi Veronica, University of Calabar, Cross River State, Nigeria...............551-559

40) "Mothers in Masquerade: Objectification and Theatricality in the Poetry of Anne Sexton and Sylvia Plath"
Najoua Stambouli, University of Sousse, Tunisia..........................................560-570

41) "Resistance in the Desert: A Postcolonial Reading of the Novel Desert by Le Clézio"
Alani Souleymane, University of Ibadan, Nigeria..........................................571-581

42) "The interference process at the morphological and syntactical levels"
Yusif Ashraf oglu Suleymanov, Azerbaijan Technical University, Azerbaijan........582-587
43) "To Go in Order to Come Back: A Comparative Analysis of Wooden Fish Songs and The House on Mango Street"
Xiaoxue Wendy Sun, Loyola Marymount University, USA .......................................................... 588-596

44) "Oral Traditions as Embodiments of Knowledge: The Case of the Kasena of North Eastern Ghana"
Asangba Reginald Taluah, University of Education-Winneba, Ghana ........................................ 597-607

45) "Quand : Valeurs Et Accessibilité Référentielles"
Abdallah Terwait, Université Paris-Sorbonne – Paris 4, France .................................................. 608-618

46) "Applying Track three diplomacy to Kenyan Conflicts"
Stella Wasike, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Kenya
Susan N. Kimokoti, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Kenya ....................... 619-627

47) "Emotions Across Cultures: A Comparative Survey of Nigeria and Sri Lanka"
Bulus Wayar, Gombe State University, Nigeria ........................................................................ 628-641

48) "The American and European Revolutions on Choice of Law in Tort with Foreign Element: Case Studies for the Practice of Conflict of Laws in Nigeria"
Temple C. Williams, University of Ibadan, Nigeria .................................................................. 642-660

49) "Postmodernist Generic Transgressions, Fragmentation and Heteroglossia in Diana Abu Jaber’s Crescent"
Nawel Zbidi, University of Sousse, Tunisia .................................................................................. 661-671

50) “Concept Mapping Strategy and EFL Learners’ Vocabulary Acquisition and Retention”
Hooshang Khoshsima, Chabahar Maritime University, Chabahar, Iran
Amin Saed Chabahar Maritime University, Chabahar, Iran
Afsaneh Hakimzade Chabahar Maritime University, Chabahar, Iran ........................................ 672-688

51) “Semiotic Insight into Cosmetic Advertisements in Pakistani Print Media”
Shamim Ali, AIOU, Islamabad, Pakistan
Zafar Ullah, NUML, Islamabad, Pakistan .................................................................................. 689-705
Editorial

Dear Colleagues,

I am so glad to present the sixth issue of the *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* (IJHCS). With this issue, the IJHCS enters its second year with more diligence and confidence. This fifth issue includes different research articles on various topics in humanities, linguistics and cultural studies both in English and French languages. This reflects the multidisciplinary, multilingual and interdisciplinary scope of the IJHCS. This new issue includes works of the research scholars from different countries such as Azerbaijan, Cameroon, Fiji, Finland, France, Ghana, Kenya, Kuwait, Iraq, Iran, Lesotho, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Tunisia, UK, USA and Zambia.

As usual, I sincerely thank our respected contributors for selecting the IJHCS, our reviewers for reviewing the selected articles for this issue and the Administrative Board for its contribution to helping the IJHCS achieve this success.

With Best Regards,

Dr. Hassen Zriba
Editor-in-Chief
*The International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* (IJHCS)
Euphemism in Tony Blair’s Political Discourse in the Iraqi war 2003: A Socio-cognitive CDA Account

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Abstract

As a rhetorical device, euphemism holds a staple focus in political discourse. It can be deployed as an asset to justify a given contentious venture, such as initiating an assault on another country. It is against this background that the present study sets out to probe into the way the former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, adduced his arguments to justify the controversial military actions in Iraq 2003. Specifically, drawing upon a socio-cognitive CDA framework, this paper investigated the euphemistic constructions that featured Blair’s political discourse. The critical scrutiny of this rhetorical strategy revealed that, along with being a function of social cognition, its use was constrained and organized by the epistemic Knowledge device (K-device) of Blair’s context model. The analysis also concluded that Tony Blair opted for euphemism, as a source of transgression, to legitimize his political actions and sustain his ideological or hegemonic ends.

Keywords: euphemism, CDA, transgression, manipulation, K-device, hegemony
Introduction

Rhetorical devices including euphemism have been given a staple focus and heed in political discourse (van Dijk, 2006a). Such attention is motivated by politicians’ proclivity to manipulate the import of political discourse, which may allow them to achieve their political and ideological effects, i.e., the construction of preferred mental models (van Dijk, 2006b), acquiescence of their ideologies (van Dijk, 1993a), and sustaining of unequal power relationship (Fairclough, 1989). Therefore, the core objective of the present study is to probe into the rhetorical device of euphemism in the political discourse of the former British Prime Minister (PM), Tony Blair, as a source of norms transgression during the outbreak of the second Gulf war on Iraq. The focus is specifically pegged to the methods of euphemistic constructions proposed by Warren (1992) so as to identify the most constructions used and disentangle the ideologies disguised therein. To this end, the socio-cognitive framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used by virtue of the fact that it is multidimensional subsuming social, cognitive, and discursive-semiotic phenomena (van Dijk, 2006b). Besides, it lends itself well to the critical goals of this study in that it goes beyond description to illuminate the mental processes and ideologies which underlie text production and text comprehension.

The present paper falls into four sections. The first section presents the theoretical background of this study. It unfolds with the introduction of critical discourse analysis showing its major notions and concepts. Then, it outlines the relationship between CDA and ideology. Finally, it introduces the rhetorical strategy of euphemism. The second section briefly outlines the targeted corpus and the methodology used to explore and probe into euphemization. The third section is devoted to the quantitative and qualitative scrutiny of the results obtained. The last section puts forward discussion and conclusions alongside suggestion for future work.

Theoretical background

Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA is a relatively new interdisciplinary analytic approach that refers to the use of a myriad of linguistic tools for the sake of uncovering the opacities in discourse which contribute to the exercise, maintenance, and reproduction of unequal power relations (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). CDA is hence distinctive in the sense that it aims at achieving social justice through revealing the way language is deployed, manipulated, and abused in the exertion of power (Widdowson, 1998). CDA is a highly integrated approach, for it blends different yet intertwined levels of analysis. To wit, within CDA grid, the exploration of the ideological nature of euphemism implies that discursive products (texts), discursive practices and social context as well as social cognition should be examined in an interconnected way. Such a mutual analysis can end up with the achievement of critical awareness by illuminating the mechanisms deployed
to manipulate recipients’ models, and demystifying politicians’ discourses by deciphering their manifest and latent ideologies (Weiss & Wodak, 2003).

**Power and access**

The notion of power in CDA, particularly institutional social power which refers to the oblique control of actors over the actions of the others, is relevant (Barnett & Duvall, 2005). Institutional social power is not contingent upon coercion, but rather purely mental and hegemonic (van Dijk, 1997a: 17; author’s italics). It can be reproduced and legitimized at the ideological level. That is, by controlling their attitudes and ideologies, people will be monitored to the extent that they will behave out of their own “free will” and in tune with the interests of power-holders (Delinger, 1995: 41).

The discourse reproduction of hegemonic power and dominance presupposes the existence of a central aspect of the connection between discourse and power, namely access (van Dijk, 1997a) or control over public discourse. Seen from this perspective, the control of access, which is unequally disseminated among people, can be regarded as a decisive criterion against which power of the dominant groups is measured (van Dijk, 1993b). In other words, access to more patterns and strategies or resources, be it symbolic or material such as knowledge, beliefs, topics, referents of discourse, i.e., who is spoken or written about, media, and indeed text and talk may amount to more social power and dominance (van Dijk, 1996: 96; italics added).

Access to resources, be it limited or unlimited, can hence provide politicians with better opportunity to influence and manipulate the public mind through calculating the use of discourse strategies in accordance with their interests in political struggles (Jäger, 2001). It is noteworthy that in order to control people’s minds effectively, politicians need to monitor not only the diverse patterns and resources of access but also importantly context.

**Context control**

Van Dijk (1998a: 5) argues that “context is defined as (the mentally represented) structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse.” Therefore, people in position of power may hold control over context through the control of some of its structural categories amid the nature of the communicative event or situation and its setting (van Dijk, 1997a). Likewise, power-holders may monitor the context by deciding which participants may or must be included, and in which roles, and which beliefs and knowledge they may hold, and more importantly which relevant information to be articulated in discourse (van Dijk, 1998a).
Operating within a CDA grid, the focus of this study is on the set of euphemistic strategies and categories managed and used as a tool to monitor public discourse and exercise social and political power. Such a focus is grounded on the assumption that discursive structures of euphemism represent a source of transgression as well as a real mechanism of the emblematic reproduction and concealment of power abuse or dominance (van Dijk, 1998b). The emphasis is also motivated by the fact that these devices can be used to reinforce the polarization of “us” and “them” that features the socially shared representations and their ideologies (van Dijk, 1998a).

CDA and ideology

Investigating euphemization in political discourse is motivated by the need to probe into the way ideology works. Political discourse practices, being a complex class of genre (Triki & Baklouti, 2002), are argued to be ideologically laden (van Dijk, 2001). Ideology has been defined as a set of beliefs and principles that underpin the construction of reality (Fairclough, 1992a, Simpson, 1993). It is used as a powerful mechanism to achieve hegemonic ends amid the “production, reproduction or transformation of relation of domination” (Fairclough, 1992a: 87).

Relevant, however, to this study is van Dijk’s definition of ideology which is at variance with classical and some contemporary approaches to ideology (Eagleton, 1991; Thompson, 1990). Ideology, as van Dijk (1993a) argues, is the basic framework that shapes the social cognition shared by members of the group and institutions. Of vital importance are the cognitive and the social dimensions of ideology. Indeed, they “function as the ‘interface’ between the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action on the one hand, and the social position and interests of social groups, on the other hand” (van Dijk, 1995a: 18).

Put differently, ideology can monitor the social attitudes and influence its consumers in such a way that their discourse will be ideological. Such an impact can manifest at all levels of discourse including syntax, lexical, style, and more importantly rhetoric (van Dijk, 2006b). At the social level, it can influence the social interaction and activities of social groups through the manipulation of their mental models. Operating within a critical analytical framework, the current study will highlight in its ideological analysis the preferential or selective discourse structures and properties that reflect ideological manipulation whose aim is to warrant action of power abuse.

The pursuit of such a business is likely to be sustained by the properties of ideology, namely, socio-cognitive and cognitive properties. Ideology inherently embraces socio-cognitive and cognitive properties (van Dijk, 2000). The socio-cognitive aspects comprise socially shared beliefs that are connected to the characteristic properties of a given group including their identity, their position in society, their concerns and aims, their relations to the other groups, and their natural environment, among many more (Edwards, 2006). These various beliefs are in turn
associated with different systems of cognition, namely, short-term memory (STM) and long-term memory (LTM).

STM represents the locus or repository for more personal beliefs about individual experiences (van Dijk, 2000). These beliefs determine episodic memory (van Dijk, 2000) where information processing, such as monitoring of talk-in-interaction, text and talk understanding, and production, takes place (van Dijk, 1997b). Considering the goals of this study and the political background, attempts will be made to show not only how these personal experiences are represented in political actors’ minds but also how they are strategically exploited by Tony Blair to process the social situation in a bid of producing a cognitive effect on the socially shared representations.

LTM is basically about the socially shared beliefs of which the most salient component is socio-cultural knowledge (van Dijk, 2006b). These socially shared beliefs and knowledge constitute the crucial system of mental representation in social memory (van Dijk, 2000). They not only connect between the social system and the personal cognitive system, but further underlie the “translation, homogenization and co-ordination between external requirements and subjective experience (Meyer, 2001: 21). Particularly worthy of signaling is that the fact of categorizing knowledge as a socio-cultural common ground, i.e., shared by nearly all members of the community can account for the use of euphemism in political discourse. Further, being the basic framework of ideology, these controlled features may give rise to new opinions and attitudes about the other and implicitly result in their potential appropriation. Seen from this vantage point, the present study will endeavor to unfold how ideology contributes to the inculcation of negative attitudes related to Iraq.

The cognitive properties of ideology concern the context model alongside its categories which govern the processes of discourse production and reception. Context model is seen as a pivotal construct in contemporary pragmatic theories (Sperber & Wilson, 1995) and cognitive discourse analysis frameworks (van Dijk, 2001). It refers to the “subjective participants’ constructs of communicative situations” or events that are organized and represented in context or mental models in episodic memory (van Dijk, 2006a: 1). Context models are, as argued by the cognitive psychologist, Johnson-Laird (1983), the cognitive interface in discourse-situation relationship. They can account for a variety of cognitive operations as to how participants understand and represent the social situations that impact on discourse structures (Johnson-Laird & Garnham, 1989).

Typically relevant in context models is their being sketchy and lopsided or prejudiced (van Dijk, 2006a). They are also featured by their dynamic and changing nature in that they are “dynamically construed (and updated) during interaction” (van Dijk, 2005a: 4). This contextual
character should be regarded as an advantage by virtue of the fact that it allows the flexible control of many aspects of discourse production and reception process (van Dijk, 2005b). Such strategic control of discourse properties is made possible through an epistemic device called knowledge device or K-device (van Dijk, 2003), whose core goal is to adapt and handle discourse production and processing. This cognitive device is purported to hold a pragmatic function on account of its strategic control and management of information in talk-in-interaction (van Dijk, 2005a). Put simply, based on the structural constraints of the current context, including the setting, event type, goals, actions, discourse partakers, their roles and their knowledge, (the K-device will keep track of the information in the event model as the basis of the discourse content or meaning. More importantly, it will determine and govern the way discourse content is variably articulated and appropriately couched in political discourse structures amid rhetoric (van Dijk, 1997b). In the following, the rhetorical device of euphemism is introduced.

Euphemism

Being a rhetorical strategy, euphemism is profusely used in political discourse to obliquely materialize ideological manipulation (Blackledge, 2006; Mihas, 2005). Euphemism is basically grounded on minimizing a negative property or purposefully switching the means or names by which it is couched, creating thereby disguised yet desirable connotative meanings (Lutz, 1989). A case in point, the usurpation of Iraq masquerades as liberation. The change in name, aside from conferring new properties upon the denotate, mirrors power holders’ propensity to shroud the sheer essence of the message so as to make it palatable to the public taste (Mihas, 2005).

That being said, name or concept substitution is a quintessential feature of political discourse by virtue of its key role in swaying and creating perception of reality and governing recipients’ actions (Mral, 2006). Politicians may have recourse to this linguistic practice for recontextualization purposes (Blackledge, 2006), however. In other words, they can, for instance, afford social actors new nominations or properties, which may culminate in the reproduction of prejudiced representations and their naturalization as common sense or common knowledge (Fairclough, 1989). Seen from this vantage point, euphemization may be deemed a type of deceptive communication where lies for political advantage can show up (Galasinski, 2000).

Considering euphemization a sort of deceptive communication equates it with the practice of doublespeak or doubletalk. Such a practice, according to Lutz (1989) and Fernandez (2006), refers to the language that is willfully manipulated and constructed to make the illogical seem logical, the unspeakable sound speakable, and the blamed look blameless. Central to doublespeak practice is the notion of incongruity. This concept stands for the mismatch between what is said or left unsaid and what really is; between the fundamental function of language and what
doubletalk does, that is, misleading, deception, evasion, and obfuscation (Bhatia, 2006; Ham, 2005).

Against this background, euphemism, seen as a doublespeak practice, can be drawn upon by power holders to fulfill political and ideological ends. Fairclough (1989), in this respect, asserts that euphemism can be used as a strategy of avoidance, allowing thereby the speaker to shun any communicative discomfort by veiling the essence of the matter. Implicit in this is that euphemization can do face work. Put differently, it can mitigate face-threatening acts for both the speaker and the recipient along with smoothly passing on the speaker’s ideology. Another application of euphemism is to promote and talk indirectly about things whose explicit description is deemed inappropriate, which will allow political actors to manage the impression of their audience (van Dijk, 2004).

Data and methodology

The corpus of the present study originates from statements on the Anglo-American military action in Iraq issued by the former British PM, Tony Blair, during the outbreak of the Second Gulf War on Iraq. These statements, which comprised transcripts of interviews, press conferences, speeches, and statements to the parliament, have been downloaded from the Internet. The overall corpus totaled 18 statements of 17,216 words, and it was reduced to only 8 after applying a stratified random sampling. Such statements were delivered from the inception of the military action in 2003. In terms of length, the statements were of uneven length, ranging from 920 to 3,996 words.

Given the present study is concerned with the disclosure of the way Tony Blair crafts his manipulation by the use of euphemization as a source of transgression to achieve political and ideological goals, the socio-cognitive model of CDA is opted for. Such a paradigm can adequately describe and elucidate the role political discourse plays in the political process through the focus on the socio-cognitive interface which interactively relates discourse to the socially shared political representations and cognitive models that monitor political action and systems (van Dijk, 1997b). The critical momentum of this framework lies in (i) its being open to accommodate a variety of theoretical approaches amid critical linguistics, pragmatics, and cognitive linguistics which can enrich its dissecting tools and (ii) its analytical advantage in minimizing the risk of bias. Put shortly, it can allow a multilayered scrutiny of discourse manipulation, employing an analysis at one level so as to illuminate another.

The adopted framework of analysis can be represented diagrammatically in Figure 2 below where the shaded area, i.e., discourse meaning or structure, represents the output of the effective ideological interaction between social structure and social cognition. The double-headed
arrows signify that the dialectical relationship between discourse meaning and social structure is mediated by social cognition.

Figure 1. Discourse-cognition-society triangle (adapted from Van Dijk, 1993b, 2001, 2004)

As suggested in Figure 2 above, to get a fully-fledged analysis of the link between discourse meaning and social structure, social cognition should be considered. Social cognition, as van Dijk (1993b, 2004, 2006a) argues, features the set of socially shared representations, attitudes, ideologies, and cognitive models that underpin the production and interpretation processes of text and talk.

Discourse structure, being controlled by ideologically-based models, can target the enactment of the underlying ideologies, on the one hand, and act as a tool of manipulation, i.e., as a strategic asset to influence the construction of preferred mental models, on the other hand (van Dijk, 1995b). Hence, the focus at this level of analysis was on those discursive properties that suggest potential purposive manipulation of the social structure. The targeted analytical categories subsume the rhetorical device of euphemism. The aim of this analytical focus is thus to prize out the different constructions of euphemism so as to be accounted for by the theory of the cognitive models and construe their impact on the production and reception processes. To this effect, a modified version of Warren’s (1992) model was adopted, as illustrated in the following figure.
Figure 2. Modified version of Warren’s (1992) model for the analysis of the euphemistic constructions

As Figure 3 above illustrates, two ways in which euphemisms may be constructed were used for the classification of euphemistic structures in this study: word formation devices which are included under the rubric of formal innovation and semantic innovation. These methods of formation subsume different linguistic levels each. As regards word formation devices, the focus was only on two ways used for forming euphemisms. Compounding which refers to the combining of two individually innocuous words to form a euphemism for an otherwise perverse term. A case in point, “regime change” and “liberation of Iraq” were deployed by the ex-British Prime Minister to euphemize instances of illegal invasion or occupation. Acronyms stand for the mingling of the initial sounds of more than one word to form a new concept.

Within the semantic innovation, care was given to circumlocution, reversal, and understatement. As the name implies, circumlocution stands for talking indirectly about something, usually by supplying a descriptive expression in place of a name. The example of “the elimination of the weapons of mass destruction” which was stated by Tony Blair to euphemize usurpation falls into this category. With respect to reversal, it means irony which enables the reference to something bad by using opposites. As an example of expressions instantiated under this rubric was “moment of liberation” which disguised moments of bitterness and occupation in view of the war aftermath. Understatement was tackled by focusing on expressions meant to soften harsh realities or acts, such as “remove” and “liberate” which both of them imply the use of undesirable actions.
Being a fundamental property of the social cognition structure, context models are argued to play a key role in discourse production and reception out of their control of the various levels of discourse structure (van Dijk, 1997d). Hence, there is a need to examine the contextualization of the different euphemistic constructions in Blair’s discourse. Central to context models is the prominent role of the knowledge device or K-device (van Dijk, 2003, 2005b). Indeed, such a device helps discourse producers determine what to express as appropriate and politically propitious and what to leave as implicit and presupposed (van Dijk, 2004). Therefore, the aim, at this level of dissection, was to show how Blair manages participants’ knowledge through his K-device.

Social structure, being the by-product of the interplay of social cognition and discourse structure, was scrutinized to delve into the (re)production of social inequality and the hegemonic effects. Further, the political and ideological implications of Blair’s ideologically-based discourse were investigated. Put differently, Blair’s manipulative euphemistic strategies were probed into to unveil its contributions in the (re)production and naturalization of the political and ideological practices. To achieve this end, context parameters such as institutional power, access to discourse resources, control over access, and dominance were drawn upon.

Of vital importance, however, in the analysis of the impact of discourse on social structure is social cognition and in particular cognitive models which “embody instantiation of social knowledge and attitudes” as well as ideology constraining the interpretation process (van Dijk, 1993b:111). Hence, the emphasis was on how Blair’s discourse manages to monitor and shape the cognitive processes of discourse participants. That is, how the British PM strategically controls the formation, activation and updating of participants mental models (van Dijk, 2005a).

Results

Euphemistic constructions or expressions seemed to abound in Tony Blair’s political discourse relating to issues raised in the outbreak of the second Gulf war on Iraq. Indeed, out of a total of 18 statements, 48 euphemistic constructions were prized out. The linguistic realizations of euphemisms were asymmetrically distributed as far as the modified version of Warren’s (1992) model is concerned. Such euphemisms were presented in quantitative terms in Table 1 below in the word formation and semantic levels.
Table 1. Distribution of the euphemistic constructions based on their corresponding methods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word formation devices</th>
<th>Frequency %</th>
<th>Semantic devices</th>
<th>Frequency %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Compoundin...</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Circumlocution</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Reversal</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Understatement</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in Table 1, there was a clear discrepancy in euphemistic realizations. The quantitative analysis showed that euphemism was mainly realized as semantic devices, with 36 occurrences. So pervasive among these was understatement (23 occurrences), followed by circumlocution and its eight tokens, such as the liberation of the Iraqi people and the liberation of Iraq from Saddam. Reversal trailed behind, showing just five occurrences amid they are doing a superb job and removing Saddam will also be a blessing for all the Iraqi people, which has a metaphorical origin. Relevant within the euphemistic understatement was that 16 out of the 23 tokens referred to conflict which has been resorted to by Tony Blair to substitute the expression war.

As regards word formation devices, there were two methods used to construct euphemism. These were compounding and acronym. What was noticeable in these formation devices was that compounding was, by far, the most frequent mechanism in the formation of euphemisms for questions related to the Iraqi war, with 12 cases detected. Indeed, the imposed interim government was substituted by post-conflict administration (four occurrences), war was euphemized as peace-keeping (one occurrence), and British soldiers were replaced by British servicemen (one token), for instance. The mechanism of acronym was the least frequent, being realized by means of only one expression referring to the Weapon of Mass Destruction. What transpired from these data was that euphemism tended to constitute a potent source of transgression when tackling politically-loaded topics. Such a transgression by the former British PM was no more than a by-product of a cognitive makeup (Ariel, 2008) meant to create hegemonic effects. In the following, a contextual analysis, rooted in the theory of cognitive models, of the conscious use of euphemism by Tony Blair is presented.

As suggested earlier, euphemistic constructions in Tony Blair’s political discourse were persuasively selected as a function of both his context models and his definition of the current
political situation in Iraq, UK, and the world. Put differently, being ideologically based, Blair’s context model endeavored to control the understanding of discourse by adapting the articulation of the semantic mental models-including content, information, ideology, attitudes, norms and values, etc-to the ongoing communicative situation. This contextual control over discourse was also fostered by such components of context models as setting, participants, action, intention, and shared knowledge. Considering the present study, setting category embraced the war time which was 2003, local and abroad TV viewers, British troops, MPs, Iraqi people and of course Tony Blair as the dominant participant; action referred to the political speeches; intention concerned Tony Blair’s attempt to persuade his audience of the righteousness of the war and shared knowledge entails British foreign policy, war in Iraq, alleged WMD, among others. Contextually relevant here was the role of the epistemic cognitive device in monitoring the use of the different euphemistic constructions and their functions.

Knowing that there was a large-scale objection to the war on Iraq, Tony Blair opted for euphemizing war as a conflict (16 occurrences), an action (three tokens) a job (one occurrence) a battle (two occurrences). Such euphemization was a function of the K-device which elected to transgress the cultural and political norms by using such understatements instead of war to achieve persuasive ends. Indeed, these euphemistic understatements could have a somewhat positive effect on the psyche of the audience, for the dreadful connotations of war and its tragedies would be lessened or concealed and the seriousness of the situation would be minimized. Further, the circumlocution device was constrained by the K-device, so that the invasion of Iraq was branded liberation of the Iraqi people, liberation from Saddam or liberation. The use of these circumlocutions, aside from possibly obfuscating the legal boundary to warrant the illegitimate war, might trigger a host of cognitive representations and evoke some fundamental values and ideologies for the audience, such as the importance of liberty and rule of democracy. The outcome of such a cognitive framing could be a positive opinion and thereby support of the current war.

Blair’s discourse was marked by the euphemistic portrayal of removing the Iraqi leader as a kind of blessing through the use of the strategy of reversal. Such a strategy palpably reflected that the former British PM, through his K-device, extracted from the socio-cultural knowledge of the participants some religious beliefs and adapted them to the present political situation. The implication of this was twofold. First, the Iraqi people were led by a chairman who was devoid of morality. Second, it was the religious duty that underlied Britain’s engagement in this war, that is, Britain undertook to help the Iraqi people savor and practice their freedoms. This pragmatic function was buttressed by the other euphemistic reversals which could be classified under the rubric of security and liberation. Regarding the euphemistic construction of compounding, it encompassed peace–keeping which, being grounded on the democratic values, was meant to be a gloss over the allegation of usurpation raised against the British troops. Post-conflict administration or government was deployed by Tony Blair to deflect the attention of the
participants and lead them to focus on post-war issues. These constrained euphemistic choices mirrored the British PM intention and proclivity to shroud the sheer substance of the war to achieve his political and ideological purposes.

Probing into the rhetoric of euphemism beyond what was actually said by Blair and interpreting it in light of the political and ideological functions, it was found that what the former British PM did, politically speaking, vindicating himself and legitimizing as well as defending the legitimacy of the war (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997). He made use of such euphemisms to sidestep any potential discomfort and mitigate face-threatening acts, such as accusation; and to ascribe the ongoing and controversial war a positive and emancipatory aspect. To this effect, Tony Blair had recourse to a set of values and beliefs which constitute the socio-cultural or political representations stored in the episodic memory. These political representations were activated where relevant, such as the democratic values and notions of freedom and liberty which were drawn upon by Tony Blair when referring to war. The overall purpose of this was to influence the structure of the mental model of the recipient so as to construct the “preferred model” targeted, i.e., a model which is in line with the government policy and interests. Implicit in this was that inequality of social power persisted and dominance prevailed, given that recipients were seemingly made willing to accept the ideological beliefs entailed in the different euphemistic structures and importantly more vulnerable to do things they otherwise would not do, such as the support of the Iraqi war as well as the belief in its Legitimation.

As far as the ideological practices of the euphemistic constructions deployed were concerned, they were geared to promoting the negative-other presentation and positive-self presentation (van Dijk, 1992). Put shortly, the OTHER category which included Saddam and his regime were cast as criminals and evil whereas “US” category was afforded the brunt of liberators and peace keepers. The pursuit of such a business was made possible through contextual parameters, namely, access and control over discourse. Throughout the whole corpus, Tony Blair was found to have an active and dominant access to discourse sources (38 times), which could be explained by his political power as a Prime Minister or “the high personal standing in the party” (O’Malley, 2007: 5). He was also the one who initiated and set the agenda of his discourse, mainly in statement and speeches. One implication of this was that the former British PM managed to focus on the activation or modification of more general, socio-political representation, including attitudes, ideologies, and beliefs in a view of winning audience’s acquiescence and back up of the ongoing war.

Discussion and conclusion

As the data in focus have evinced, the rhetoric of euphemism was extensively used in Tony Blair’s political discourse during the outbreak of the second Gulf war on Iraq. This rhetoric serves as a valuable asset to political incumbents, for the efficiency of its political and ideological
work. Being seemingly cognizant of the potential power of euphemization, Tony Blair tried to make every effort to exploit such in his discourse to manage the impression of his audiences and more importantly permeate their cognitive models. Relevant in the achievement of these ends was the role of the K-device which constrained the use of the different euphemistic constructions. These ideologically grounded constructions seemed to have helped the former British PM convey his political purposes and pass on his ideologies:

1. Legitimization of the ongoing war;
2. Avoidance of any potential political discomfort and mitigation of face-threatening acts;
3. Promotion of the positive-self presentation and negative-other presentation;
4. Permeation of audience cognitive models and construction of “preferred mental models” (van Dijk, 1996) as the major requisite for upholding the asymmetrically existent institutional and social power.

The present critical study has revealed how Tony Blair crafted the manipulation of his audiences by selectively employing different euphemistic constructions on issues surrounding the Iraqi crisis. The critical scrutiny of this rhetorical strategy has also suggested that, along with being a function of social cognition, its use is constrained and organized by the epistemic Knowledge device (K-device) of Blair’ context model. Despite these insights, the extent to which elite or politicians manipulate euphemisms as a source of transgression on intent of permeating participants’ cognitive models or perception is an area worthy of further investigation. Indeed, relied upon in politics or even media, the rhetoric of euphemism can sway and guide reasoning. It can constitute and create cognitive representations in line with that of power-holders by highlighting simulacrum aspects of reality and hiding the real ones. Hence, further cognitive analysis of such a rhetoric can help us trace the process of meaning making and offer us clues as to the different political representations stored in the episodic memory that underlie its relevant use. Further, if the present study is taken as a starting point for a longitudinal study or foray into the role and the cognitive underpinnings of euphemism in Blair’s political discourse as far as his final departure from the cabinet, a clear understanding of the role and functions of his K-Device, as a flexible epistemic component, can be reached.
References


Appendix 1: Corpus of the study

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**Appendix 2: The different euphemistic constructions detected**

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<tr>
<th>Euphemistic categories</th>
<th>Compounding</th>
<th>Acronyms</th>
<th>Circumlocution</th>
<th>Reversal</th>
<th>Understatement</th>
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<td>1. Peace-keeping. 2. British Servicemen. 3. The post-conflict issues. 4. Post-conflict administration. 5. The post-conflict administration. 6. Post-conflict administration. 7. Security threat. 8. The security threat. 9. Military conflict. 10. A post-Saddam Iraqi government. 11. The post-</td>
<td>1. WMD</td>
<td>1. The service men and women. 2. The liberation of the Iraqi people. 3. The conflict ‘is not a war of conquest but of liberation’. 4. This is not a war of conquest but of liberation. 5. The taking of the al-Faw Peninsular. 6. The taking of Basra. 7. The liberation from Saddam.. 8. The liberation</td>
<td>1. They are delivering safety and security for us. 2. They are doing a superb job. 3. They are doing a necessary job for Britain and the wider world. 4. This is not a war of conquest but of liberation. 5. Removing Saddam will</td>
<td>1. This conflict. 2. The conflict. 3. This conflict. 4. The conflict. 5. The conflict. 6. Post-conflict. 7. This conflict. 8. This conflict. 9. Conflict 10. This action 11. This conflict. 12. The conflict. 13. The conflict.</td>
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<td>of Iraq from Saddam</td>
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<td>22. Friends and liberators.</td>
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<td>23. The job</td>
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Rachid Acim
University Sultan Moulay Slimane Beni Mellal, Morocco

Abstract

The present paper aims at studying the ideological discourse of the New York Times (and henceforth NYT) Op-Eds (originally short form for “opposite the editorial page”, latterly known as “opinion editorial”) written on Islam and Muslims, through the examination of linguistic structures that are embedded in this opinion discourse. The linguistic analysis is based on the theoretical framework of Critical Linguistics. Indeed, this analytical tool puts much emphasis on the fundamental role and centrality of ideology in articulating certain views and perceptions about Islam and Muslims. The data collected follows non-random sampling and is retrieved from the NYT database after three months of digital subscription. Within this journalistic discourse, language is viewed more than a vehicle for communication; it is a carrier of ideology, a site of struggle and an energy that transforms human experience into expression, or say simply opinion. The inclusion and exclusion of certain linguistic structures such as passive and active forms, the excessive use of quasi-synonymous terms and lexical items, as well as the (re)occurrence of a whole plethora of nominal constructions, suggest that a process of selection is particular if not exclusive to the opinion discourse of the New York Times Op-Eds addressing Islam and Muslims.

Keywords: The New York Times, Islam, Discourse, Op-Eds, Ideology
“If a dog bites a man that’s not news, but if a man bites a dog, that’s news.”
Charles A. Dana

Introduction

The aim of the present paper is to scrutinize the main ideologies implicated in the discourse of the NYT Op-Eds written about Islam and Muslims at the level of linguistic structures. It is articulated within the multidisciplinary movement of Critical Linguistics (CL). CL is a technique for analyzing and examining specific texts or speech acts as well as one way of grasping the relationship between discourse, social and political phenomena. It assumes that linguistic structures are never neutral, but rather they contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups (Jackson, 2005, p. 25).

This framework of analysis is a useful strategy to analyze the representation of Islam in the NYT Op-Eds in as much as it lifts off the veil about what is ordinary and common-sensical in order to get at the cryptic ideologies structured in discourse—be it print, audio or whatsoever. In our view, CL is capable of uncovering ideological viewpoints through a linguistic analysis of discourse. As Leonardi (2007, p. 73) puts it, “we do not speak or write at random. Speaking or writing are social activities with a specific aim, that of expressing our personal point of view about someone and/or something.” Having said that, CL is believed to be the best instrument for unmasking the potential biases embedded in discourse and how these biases are used to mystify or obscure the nature of language in news reporting. The paper starts off by providing a brief overview of CL. Then, the discussion unfolds with the aim of deconstructing and denaturalizing those ideologies formed through linguistic structures such as nominalization, passivization and lexicalization.

Critical Linguistics

Critical Linguistics, more precisely Fowler (1991) approach, has been called for and accommodated since it is viewed that it could help us reveal how the writers of the NYT Op-Eds use language and grammatical features to create meaning, to persuade people to think about events related to Islam and Muslims in a particular way, and sometimes to even seek to manipulate them while at the same time concealing their communicative and ideological intentions. What is ordinary to people is no longer a thing that is ordinary or familiar in CL; every single structure ought to be analyzed, castigated and questioned in this critical approach.
Fowler (1991) heavily hinges on Systemic Functional Grammar (and henceforth, SFG) theory to show how tools provided by this standard linguistic theory could be used to uncover linguistic structures of power in texts. Not only in news discourse, but also in literary criticism, Fowler (1991) illustrates that systemic grammatical devices function in establishing, manipulating and naturalizing social hierarchies. He maintains that the selection of one linguistic item over another is one solid evidence by which the writer’s ideology can be traced. He even posits that linguistic forms, lexical items, and linguistic processes carry specific meanings. Any selection of these aforesaid items is never innocent or ideology-free (Alazzany, 2012). By contrast, it is articulated from an ideological viewpoint to be politically, socially and economically situated and related to the various narrative voices within discourse. In fact, “anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position: language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium” (Fowler, 1991, p. 10).

According to this critical model, the reporters of the NYT Op-Eds tend to use a wide range of linguistic structures to ideologically thematize Islam and Muslims. Fowler (1991) believes that linguistic structures have the potential for promoting the ideologies of writers and institutions. Some of these strategies that have been suggested and identified by Fowler (1991) are the strategies of choice and selection. The selection of certain topics to be published as well as the choice of certain linguistic structures to report them are considered to be ideological rather than accidental or conventional (see Alazzany, 2012). As a matter of fact, any choice of words or syntactic constructions can have some ideological significance or implication assigned to them.

Within this framework of analysis, we are going to focus only on three elements and levels of linguistic analysis, namely nominalization, (over)lexicalisation and passivization. These linguistic structures are highlighted in this paper to show that the communication and the transmission of meaning in the discourse of the NYT Op-Eds is never innocent, but it rests upon options: what to include and what to exclude, what to background and what to foreground from the NYT Op-Eds addressing Islam and Muslims.

**Nominalization**

Alazzany (2012, p. 17) maintains that “nominalizations are used when agents are unknown, when they have just been mentioned and should not be repeated, or when the current focus is on other participants – such as the victims of violent actions rather than on the actors. Fowler (1991), in turn, suggests that English language has often been called a “nominalizing” language, particularly in dealing with “official, bureaucratic and formal modes of discourse.” It is worth-stressing that nominalization is well motivated and opted for, especially in the headlines of the NYT Op-Eds. Nominalization is not solely one ritual feature that has evolved in the last decades to make print media discourse more ambiguous or even obscure like passive constructions, but it
is also one important resource and component for organizing, arranging and presenting information together with opinion. Consider the following headlines taken from the NYT Op-Eds haphazardly:

(2) EGYPT’S BUMBLING BROTHERHOOD. The New York Times (Feb. 4, 2011. A27)
(3) FIGHTING OVER GOD’S IMAGE. The New York Times (Sept. 27, 2012. A29)
(9) MILITANTS, WOMEN AND Tahrir Sq. The New York Times (Feb. 6, 2011. WK8)
(10) FINDING HOPE IN SYRIA. The New York Times (Sept. 8, 2011. A29)

In these headlines taken from the NYT Op-Eds of this analysis, nominal structures have been carefully chosen to produce a specific effect on the readers. These nominal structures are syntactic transformations that are awashed with much vagueness and ambiguity. A quick look across the headlines mentioned above shows that the writers have used words that are short, attention-getting and even confusing. They play on the potential for ambiguity that can exist in the relationship between word and meaning (Rea, 1998, p. 17). Examples from (1) to (11) displays that the writers’ tendency to omit the agents and doers of actions and concentrate on the actions themselves for certain ideological reasons. To this end, it can be said that nominalization in the NYT Op-Eds plays a very special and significant part, like other linguistic and rhetorical devices. It is also significant that one finds nominalizations like ‘change’ and inanimate nouns like ‘capital’ and ‘technology’ as the agents of verbs, rather than human agents. In thinking about the social effects of texts here, one might say that nominalization contributes to what is, I think, a widespread elision of human agency in and responsibility for processes in accounts of the ‘new global economy’, but it is clear that it is not nominalization alone that contributes to this effect but a configuration of different linguistic forms (Fairclough, 2003, p. 13). Biber (2007), in Billig
(2013, p. 117), claims that “discourses, which are rich with nominalizations, also tend to be rich with passivization and vice-versa.” The subsection below details on this linguistic technique in the discourse of the NYT Op-Eds.

Passivization

As noted above, Fowler (1991) has concentrated on passivization as a linguistic construction. He claimed that this construction heavily features in official language. By passivizing, authorities can produce formal documents which describe actions and present orders as agentless things, thereby achieving what Fowler et al (1979), in Billig (2013, p. 117), have called ‘agent-deletion’. To illustrate, authorities usually phrase orders in the passive voice –‘You are requested not to walk on the grass’; ‘Students are informed that essays should be submitted before 17.00’, etc. It is, therefore, claimed that when authorities draw on the passive form, they are more likely capable of obscuring themselves as the authors of these orders and they tend to introduce their orders and commands as if they were objective necessities of the world. In the examples below, from (1) to (6), the writers have opted for passive constructions (see italics) to emphasize their thematic priorities and to de-emphasize the agents of the actions. Passivized objects (the attacks, the greatest suffering, we, U.S. foreign policy, Muslims, the narrative, Hezbollah, the threat, thousands of people, more people) “may seem to be agents, despite their real function as affected rather than affecting roles” (Fowler, 1979, p. 209). Consider the following extracts:

(1) An open trial will also provide a catalyst for reflection among Americans on both 9/11 and its aftermath. The years before the attacks have been thoroughly hashed out through the report of the 9/11 commission and by memoirs and histories. The eight years since, a time of unremitting warfare, has had no similar opportunity for taking stock. Regrettably, no trial can provide closure for the traumas of that day. But a judgment in New York, where the greatest suffering was inflicted, will remind us both of the narrow viciousness of the terrorists’ cause and of the enduring strength of our own values. **WHY WE SHOULD PUT JIHAD ON TRIAL. The New York Times** (Nov. 18, 2009. A35).

(2) For what it’s worth, I’d say Ikenberry underestimates the power of nationalism. There’s little evidence that different nations with their contradictory moral cultures can really cooperate, except in utter crisis. But I’d also say Kagan underplays postnational threats. More than in the 19th century, security threats come in the form of global guerrillas, loose nukes and disintegrating nations. Instead, we’re trapped in a hybrid world, in which many problems are postnational but the social structures are unavoidably national. The interesting bright spot is that both Ikenberry and Kagan believe in a Concert of Democracies, an emerging body
where countries that do share values can rebut autocracy and consolidate their common success. It’s a start. **A NEW GLOBAL BLUEPRINT. The New York Times** *(Jun. 19, 2007. A21)*

(3) Yes, after two decades in which *U.S. foreign policy has been largely dedicated to rescuing Muslims or trying to help free them from tyranny — in Bosnia, Darfur, Kuwait, Somalia, Lebanon, Kurdistan, post-earthquake Pakistan, post-tsunami Indonesia, Iraq and Afghanistan — a narrative that says America is dedicated to keeping Muslims down is thriving. AMERICA VS. THE NARRATIVE. The New York Times* *(Nov. 29, 2009. WK8).*

(4) Although most of the Muslims being killed today are being killed by jihadist suicide bombers in Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan and Indonesia, you’d never know it from listening to their world. The dominant narrative there is that 9/11 was a kind of fraud: America’s unprovoked onslaught on Islam is the real story, and the Muslims are the real victims — of U.S. perfidy. Have no doubt: we punched a fist into the Arab/Muslim world after 9/11, partly to send a message of deterrence, but primarily to destroy two tyrannical regimes — the Taliban and the Baathists — and to work with Afghans and Iraqis to build a different kind of politics. In the process, we did some stupid and bad things. But for every Abu Ghraib, our soldiers and diplomats perpetrated a million acts of kindness aimed at giving Arabs and Muslims a better chance to succeed with modernity and to elect their own leaders. *The Narrative was concocted by jihadists to obscure that* (ibid).

(5) *Hezbollah was defeated in the Lebanese elections.* Hamas is facing an energized Fatah in the West Bank and is increasingly unpopular in Gaza. Iraqi Sunnis have ousted the jihadists thanks to the tribal awakening movement, while the biggest pro-Iranian party in Iraq got trounced in the recent provincial runoff. And in Iran, millions of Iranians starving for more freedom rallied to the presidential candidate Mr Hussein Moussavi, forcing President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to steal the election. (If he really won the Iranian election, as Ahmadinejad claims, by a 2-to-1 margin, wouldn’t he invite the whole world in to recount the votes? Why hasn’t he?) **THE VIRTUAL MOSQUE. The New York Times** *(Jun. 17, 2009. A27).*

(6) Within weeks, *the threat to eastern Libya was minimized,* giving the rebel movement breathing space to gain cohesion and battlefield experience and eventually defeat Colonel Qaddafi’s small and increasingly unpopular army. In the past few decades, the United States and other countries have successfully intervened for humanitarian purposes on three other occasions — in 1991, to stop Saddam Hussein’s attempted massacre of the Kurds in northern Iraq after the gulf war,
and to protect first Bosnians, in 1993, and then Kosovars, in 1999, from the Serbs’ attempts at ethnic cleansing. All three humanitarian interventions occurred after thousands of people had been killed and exponentially more people had been injured or displaced. And all three were successful and saved thousands of lives. WHY WE SHOULDN’T ATTACK SYRIA (YET)? The New York Times (Feb. 3, 2012. A25).

Passive constructions are usually formed by using the passive auxiliary “be” and the main verb has an –ed inflection if it is regular. They often obfuscate and overshadow meaning. They even tend to create serious problems to computerized grammar checkers and people are advised against the overuse of the passive forms. The latter’s use is recommended in two kinds of situations: to express an action whose subject is unknown or when it is advantageous and tactful not to make the subject known. In examples (2), (3), (5) and (6), agents have been deliberately omitted. Clearly, transformations of active constructions into passive forms can be motivated by the desire to elide agency and therefore systematically background responsibility for actions in some instances or to foreground responsibility in others (Opie, 2004, p. 42). Trew (1979), in Mills (1997, p. 135), has already analyzed a series of South African newspaper headlines where the overall message of the text seemed to depend on choices over the use of the passive or active voice. Thus, one newspaper headline read:

RIOTING BLACKS SHOT DEAD BY POLICE AS LEADERS MEET
(The Times, 1975, cited in Mills, 1997 p. 135)

Trew (1979) argues that choosing the passive (Blacks [are] shot by police) has the effect of making the actions of the Black people more salient than the actions of the police. Furthermore, choosing to place the term ‘rioting Blacks’ first has the effect of minimizing the actions of the police. He contrasts this with a phrase like ‘Police shoot Blacks’, where it is clear who is responsible for the unrest. By modifying the term ‘Blacks’ by the word ‘rioting’, Trew (1979) argues, a value judgment is implicit in the headline so to who is responsible for the unrest. In examples (7), (9) and (10), agency is denied and the NYT reader is incapable of decoding who is really in power, performing the action. While in example (9), there is a total deletion of the agents as the reader does not know who attacked those women wearing hijab, who vandalized mosques and firebombed them, in fact, no information is given on who is to be held accountable for the beheading act in example (10). The favouring of these passive constructions rather than active ones tend to obscure and disguise who is responsible for all these events. Now, examine the following excerpts elucidating this linguistic phenomenon:

7) This error was compounded when the Brotherhood threw in its lot with Mohamed ElBaradei, the former diplomat and Nobel Prize winner. A Brotherhood spokesman, Dr. Essam el-Erian, told Al Jazeera, “Political groups support ElBaradei to negotiate with the regime.” But when Mr. ElBaradei strode into Tahrir Square,
many ignored him and few rallied to his side despite the enormous publicity he was receiving in the Western press. The Brotherhood realized that in addition to being late, it might be backing the wrong horse. **EGYPT’S BUMBLING BROTHERHOOD. The New York Times** (Feb. 4, 2011. A27).

8) The Muslim Brotherhood, whose party is called Freedom and Justice, draws a lot of support from the middle classes and small businesses. **The Salafist Al Nour Party is dominated by religious sheiks and the rural and urban poor. POLITICAL ISLAM WITHOUT OIL. The New York Times** (Jan. 11, 2012. A27).

9) We discovered that well before the debate last year over a proposed Islamic center in Lower Manhattan, American Muslims felt under siege. We heard heartbreaking stories: schoolchildren assaulted as “terrorists,” women wearing the hijab attacked, and mosques vandalized and firebombed. **FAIR TO MUSLIMS? The New York Times** (Mar. 9, 2011. A27).

10) Meanwhile, the Iraqis who loyally served us are under threat. The extremist Shiite leader Moktada al-Sadr has declared the Iraqis who helped America “outcasts.” When Britain pulled out of Iraq a few years ago, there was a public execution of 17 such outcasts — their bodies dumped in the streets of Basra as a warning. **Just a few weeks ago, an Iraqi interpreter for the United States Army got a knock on his door; an Iraqi policeman told him threateningly that he would soon be beheaded. Another employee, at the American base in Ramadi, is in hiding after receiving a death threat from Mr. Sadr’s militia. IN IRAQ ABANDONING OUR FRIENDS. The New York Times** (Dec. 16, 2011. A24).

11) The waning relevance of Al Qaeda and authoritarian legitimacy opened a political space for the Jasmine Revolution in Tunis and the Tahrir Square uprising in Egypt. **Islamists and their sympathizers have been involved in the antigovernment movements. Some might once have been lured by Qaeda mythology, but most seek to blend democracy and pluralism with the tenets of Islamic civilization. BIN LADEN WAS DEAD ALREADY. The New York Times** (May 8, 2011. WK10).

As for examples (8) and (11), in concord with Trew’s (1979) supposition, the matter differs quite markedly. The writers opted for certain choices as they, wittingly or unwittingly, resolved to spot the light on “the Salafist Al Nour Party” and “Islamists” and minimize the actions of “religious sheiks and the rural and urban poor”, along with “Qaeda mythology”. These terms have been foregrounded because they seem to be important in so far as the NYT writers are
concerned. In the subsection that follows, we diagnose (over)lexicalization as another linguistic structure dominating the discourse of the NYT Op-Eds on Islam and Muslims.

(Over)Lexicalization

Various linguistic techniques are used by the writers of the NYT Op-Eds in their thematisation and representation of Islam and Muslims. Through over-lexicalization for example, these writers tend unobtrusively to focus their audience’s attention onto topics which they consider to be so important and valuable. The use of a large number of synonymous terms for the same referent in the Op-Eds is not to be taken for granted. Fowler (1991, p. 85) points out that “we must mention over-lexicalization, which is the existence of an excess of quasi-synonymous terms for entities and ideas that are a particular preoccupation or problem in the culture’s discourse.” The proliferation of (often pejorative) words for designating Muslims and Islam has often been mentioned. In a startling example of over-lexicalization, one can note that the NYT reporters used different lexical structures to designate Muslims. These lexical choices include “desert Islam”, “coastal Islam”, “riverine Islam”, “Sunni extremists”, “Sunni Islam”, “conservative Muslim”, “extreme Muslim groups”, “American Muslims”, “Muslim activists”, “Islamist ideologues”, “militant jihadists”, “the extremist Shiite”, “Islamist extremists”, “extremist groups”, “Islamist extremism”, “Islamist states”, “Islamic radicalism”, “Islamist movements”, “Islamic theocracy”, “Islamist parties”, “Muslim rage”, “irate Muslims”, “Islamic terror”, “Muslim suicide bombers”, “jihadist violence”, “angry jihadists”, “jihadist bombers”, “radical salafis”, etc. Excerpt [A23] is brought to the fore to elucidate more this point in question. In this extract, the writer has over-used different lexes to refer to Muslims. These lexical choices and carefully selected terms will be italicized below for more guidance to the reader:

Often forgotten amid the ugly violence of Al Qaeda’s attacks was that the terrorists’ declared goal was to replace existing governments in the Muslim world with religiously pure Islamist states and eventually restore an Islamic caliphate. High on Al Qaeda’s list of targets was Egypt’s president, Hosni Mubarak. The protesters of Tahrir Square succeeded in removing him without terrorism and without Al Qaeda (...).

But such rejoicing would be premature. To many Islamist ideologues, the Arab Spring simply represents the removal of obstacles that stood in the way of establishing the caliphate. Their goal has not changed, nor has their willingness to use terrorism. BIN LADEN’S DEAD. AL QAEDA’S NOT. The New York Times (May. 3, 2011. A23)

The reader of excerpt [A23] might think that the terms italicized can be used interchangeably. Therefore, “Islamist ideologues” are “extremist groups”; they are themselves “Islamist extremists”; they are “militant jihadists”; and they are themselves “moderate Muslims”. The promotion of such an interpretation is consequently particularly hazardous to the integration
and well-being of Muslim minorities in America and other parts of the globe. We ought to remember that not all Americans and Westerners are cognizant and aware of the differences between all these terms and lexical structures we came to mention above.

In another occasion, the Op-Ed writer has used a huge reservoir of words and phrases that are attributable to Islam and Muslims. The presence of lexical items like “Sunni Islamist radicalism”, “Salafism”, “Sunni Salafi groupings”, “Sunni Salafism”, along with “Salafi adherents” and “Islamist militants” blur one’s view in regard to Islam as a faith and a culture. The reader will inevitably be lost in this labyrinth of synonymous terms and dictions. Consider the italicized words in [A23] below:

Last week, Saudi Arabia donated $100 million to the United Nations to fund a counterterrorism agency. This was a welcome contribution, but last year, Saudi Arabia rejected a rotating seat on the United Nations Security Council. This half-in, half-out posture of the Saudi kingdom is a reflection of its inner paralysis in dealing with Sunni Islamist radicalism: It wants to stop violence, but will not address the Salafism that helps justify it.

Let’s be clear: Al Qaeda, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, Boko Haram, the Shabab and others are all violent Sunni Salafi groupings. For five decades, Saudi Arabia has been the official sponsor of Sunni Salafism across the globe.

Most Sunni Muslims around the world, approximately 90 percent of the Muslim population, are not Salafis. Salafism is seen as too rigid, too literalist, too detached from mainstream Islam. While Shiite and other denominations account for 10 percent of the total, Salafi adherents and other fundamentalists represent 3 percent of the world’s Muslims (...).

We are rightly outraged at the beheading of James Foley by Islamist militants, and by ISIS’ other atrocities, but we overlook the public executions by beheading permitted by Saudi Arabia. By licensing such barbarity, the kingdom normalizes and indirectly encourages such punishments elsewhere. When the country that does so is the birthplace of Islam, that message resonates. SAUDIS MUST STOP EXPORTING EXTREMISM. The New York Times (Aug. 22, 2014. A23).

It is suggested that the proliferation of these different words in the same area of meaning are more likely to have an ideological overtone. Far from being a stylistic shortcoming, (over)lexicalisation refers to a certain ideology in discourse. In this respect, Fairclough (1989, p. 96) writes: “We sometimes have ‘overwording’ – and unusually high degree of wording, often involving many words which are synonyms. Overwording shows preoccupation with some aspect of reality -- which may indicate that it is a focus of ideological struggle.” This linguistic is naturalized in the next extract [SR11]:

There is so much state failure in the Arab world, argues Fukuyama, because of the persistence there of kinship/tribal loyalties — “meaning that you can only trust that narrow group of people in your tribe.” You can’t build a strong, impersonal, merit-based state when the only ties that bind are shared kin, not shared values.
took China and Europe centuries to make that transition, but they did. If the Arab world can’t overcome its tribalism and sectarianism in the face of ISIS barbarism, “then there is nothing we can do,” said Fukuyama. And theirs will be a future of many dark nights. *ISIS, BOKO HARAM AND BATMAN.* The New York Times (Oct. 5, 2014, SR11).

This extract is pregnant with some words with are presumed to have the same meaning. Note the occurrence of terms like “kinship” and “tribal”, “tribalism” and “sectarianism”, or even “barbarism”. The common denominator between them is that they all tend to smear, deform and slander the Arab world, a term which is quite misleading in the English academia, let alone the NYT reporting network. In excerpt [A23], the writer has once again utilized different equivalents whilst referring to the perpetrators of the terror attack storming Charlie Hebdo’s offices in Paris. From his proper perspective, “Islamic extremists” are “fanatical Muslims” and “Islamic intolerance” is not dissimilar from “Islamic extremism.” In fact, the overuse of these terms in the extract below denotes that the writer is good at problematizing Islam and criminalizing Muslims.

Yet when masked gunmen stormed Charlie Hebdo’s offices in Paris on Wednesday with AK-47s, murdering 12 people in the worst terror attack on French soil in decades, many of us assumed immediately that the perpetrators weren’t Christian or Jewish fanatics but more likely Islamic extremists. Outraged Christians, Jews or atheists might vent frustrations on Facebook or Twitter. Yet it looks as if Islamic extremists once again have expressed their displeasure with bullets. Many ask, *Is there something about Islam that leads inexorably to violence, terrorism and subjugation of women?* *(…)* The question arises because fanatical Muslims so often seem to murder in the name of God, from the 2004 Madrid train bombing that killed 191 people to the murder of hostages at a cafe in Sydney, Australia, last month. I wrote last year of a growing strain of intolerance in the Islamic world after a brave Pakistani lawyer friend of mine, Rashid Rehman, was murdered for defending a university professor falsely accused of insulting the Prophet Muhammad.

*(…)* So, sure, there’s a strain of Islamic intolerance and extremism that is the backdrop to the attack on Charlie Hebdo. The magazine was firebombed in 2011 after a cover depicted Muhammad saying, “100 lashes if you’re not dying of laughter.” *IS ISLAM TO BLAME FOR THE SHOOTING AT CHARLIE HEBDO IN PARIS.* The New York Times (Jan. 8, 2015, A23).

As stated somewhere, the excess use of synonyms to refer to the same entity is regarded as being ideologically revealing. At this juncture, it can be argued that (over)lexicalization, as one linguistic component, besides being a good indicator that points to the areas which are particularly problematic in a culture, is itself a social practice that is intended to produce a considerable effect on the reader and propels him/her to take sides vis-à-vis Islam and Muslims.
Conclusion

This paper has tried to put into focus the major linguistic structures that are utilized in the discourse of the NYT Op-Eds about Islam and Muslims. It is believed that these structures are ideologically charged. The presence of nominalization, passivization and (over)lexicalization, to a large extent, contributes to the propagation of different ideologies and attitudes about Islam and Muslims. It may be true that the NYT, as a leading news agency, own a huge body of reporters specialized in Islam and Muslims. Yet, its editorial board is there to review, produce and reproduce the Op-Eds through processes of inclusion and exclusion. So, by choosing nominal structures, for example, agency becomes denied and even unknown to the reader. The corollary of this is both confusion and obscurity as regards meaning and interpretation. Regarding passive constructions, as one powerful semantic tool, it is found that the NYT Op-Eds tends to foreground certain features about Islam and Muslims and background other ones. More awful than this, the continuous occurrence and reoccurrence of certain lexical items, phrases and vocabulary are more likely to slant or misrepresent Islam and Muslims not because the discriminating images produced turn fixed and stable in the NYT Op-Eds, but mainly because Islam and Muslims are themselves projected more as a problem than as an ordinary thematic customarily reported on. Thus, the pivotal role of CL is to demonstrate that ideological structures are at the heart of the NYT Op-Eds. As they involve opinion and points of view, these Op-Eds should be dealt with critically since they are more likely to reinforce ideology.
References


Waiting for Godot: A Deconstructive Study

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Abstract

Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) is the most eminent French philosopher and literary theorist of deconstruction. He challenges the logo-centric Western tradition of the metaphysics of presence, which has been dominant from Plato’s “Phaedrus” until Edmund Husserl’s “Origin of Geometry” in Western philosophy. His trend-breaking theory of deconstruction attacks the metaphysical presuppositions of Western philosophy, ethics, culture, politics and literature. It may give a new meaning and perspective to Samuel Beckett’s “Waiting for Godot”, which has always been a focal point for the world’s literary critics. They have applied various theories to it, but this paper tries to scrutinize the different facets of the play from Derridean deconstructive theory.

Applying Derridean deconstructive hermeneutics to the text of the play under discussion, the author of this paper introduces a new portrait of the personages of the play. The study will retrace the pathways of Western tradition of the metaphysics of presence and its compelling influences, which have proved to be the inhibiting and fossilizing deadlocks of aporia of meaning and authoritative structures of human thought to explore the new horizons. In its concluding mode, the study exposes preventive stumbling aporic blocks of centralized structure of the minds of characters in the given play.

Keywords: Jacques Derrida, deconstruction, metaphysics of presence and messianic, aporia, binary oppositions, delogocentrism
Introduction

Samuel Beckett (1906-1989) is the most eminent Irish based French playwright of the theatre of the Absurd, who tries to depict human absurdity and uncertainty in the late modernist bourgeois world of shattered beliefs and uncertainties through the medium of meta-theatre. Meta-theatre, Lionel Able asserts that, “marks those frames and boundaries that conventional dramatic realism would hide” (Able, Lionel, 2003, p. 133).

Samuel Beckett wrote “Waiting for Godot” in French in 1949 and then translated it into English in 1954. “Waiting for Godot” is the most popular play in every corner of the world. Therefore, this play has been performed as a drama of the absurd with astonishing success in Europe, America and the rest of the world in post second world war era. For this reason, Martin Esslin calls it, “One of the successes of the post-war theatre” (Esslin, Martin, 1980, p.3). The central theme of the play revolves around waiting. The two tramps, Vladimir and Estragon, are waiting expectantly to visit Godot near a stunted tree in the middle of nowhere. They do not even know his real name, whether he promises to visit them, or if, in fact, he actually exists. However, they are still waiting and waiting for him. Nevertheless, he did never appear.

The slave-owning Pozzo and his subservient slave, Lucky and the boy (the messenger of Godot) whose name was not mentioned in the play, interrupted their waiting. Godot has nothing significant to do with their lives. They do every possible thing; even prepare to commit suicide, just to keep the dreadful silence. The play begins with waiting for Godot and ends with waiting for Godot. Play does not end formally, when the boy, who is as well messenger of Godot, reveals the fact to the tramps that Godot is not expected to come this evening and he will come tomorrow. In fact, these characters are entrapped and entangled in the illusory trap of the slavery of the metaphysics of presence. Therefore, they represent all the human beings in the world, who are imprisoned in one way and the other in the blind alley of different illusions of the logos of language, philosophy and religion. Therefore, the present study tries to discuss the different facets of this famous play from Derridean deconstructive perspective.

Research Objectives

The research objectives of this study are as follow:

To push Samuel Beckett’s play “Waiting for Godot” within Derridean deconstructive perspective for investigating and scrutinizing the different facets of the text in terms of Derridean deconstruction.

To open up the techniques of meta-theatre, which enable Samuel Beckett to go beyond the boundaries of the traditional stereotypes and fossilized notions, values and traditions of
language, theatre and the literary text, which revolve around messianic logocentrism or phonocentrism in the history of philosophy from Plato to the present times.

To scrutinize the text from Derrida’s deconstructive hermeneutics for dismantling the fixity, singularity and unified meaning of the text of the thought raging play under discussion.

To retrace the zigzag and complicated philosophical pathways of West European tradition of the metaphysics of presence and its compelling influences and repercussions, which have proved to be the inhibiting and fossilizing deadlocks of aporia of meaning and authoritative centralized structures of human thought to explore the new horizons.

Research Questions

The study will concentrate on the following questions:
How does Samuel Beckett disseminate the logos of life in “Waiting for Godot”?
Which characteristics of his art do bring him close to deconstruction?

Research Methodology

The study is narrative research and follows descriptive-cum analytical method. The textual references are given as evidence to support the argument of this research. The key concepts of deconstruction, metaphysics of presence and messianic, aporia, logos, binary oppositions and delogocentrism are discussed in relation to the text in this research. Derridean deconstructive hermeneutics of studying and interpreting the text is an important ingredient of this research. Therefore, the different facets of the text of the play are studied and analysed on Derridean deconstructive bedrock. Relevant quotations, references and extracts have been taken in APA (American Psychological Association) style from the primary and secondary data on the subject of this research. The list of the cited sources is given in under the heading of References at the end of this paper.

Literature Review

The complex structure of “Waiting for Godot” is based upon symbols and ideological content, in which the vertical repression and layering or sedimentation is dominant structure of the text of the play. For this reason, it has been always a focal target for world’s researchers. Most of the researchers interpreted its different elements from different angles. Therefore, the complex and entangled structure of the play has drawn multifarious research attentions. There are so many books and dissertations composed on this play. Harold Bloom edited a book entitled “Samuel Beckett: Modern Critical Views” (1985), which is an important criticism nearly on all the important works of Samuel Beckett, including “Waiting for Godot”. The book consists of
various critical commentaries by different scholars on the author under analysis, from different angles. Ruby Cohn edited a book entitled “Beckett: Waiting for Godot” (1987), which also presents different critical commentaries by different critics on “Waiting for Godot”, from different angles.


Abhinaba Chatterjee wrote a research paper entitled “Camus’ Absurdity in Beckett’s Plays: Waiting for Godot and Krapp’s Last Tape” (2013), which is very important analysis of the two dramatic texts of Samuel Beckett, from Albert Camus’ existentialist point of view. Darsha Jani wrote a research paper entitled “Futility, Hopelessness and Meaninglessness: Central Forces Leading towards Absurdity in Beckett’s Waiting for Godot” (2013), which is also an existentialist study of the play. Komal Rakwal wrote a research paper entitled “Today’s Fear of Being in Samuel Beckett’s Waiting for Godot” in which she explores existentialist themes in the text.

Noorbakhsh Hooti wrote a research paper entitled “Samuel Beckett’s Waiting for Godot: A Post-modernist study” (2011), which is a Post-modernist analysis of the text. He discussed it from postmodernist point of view in general. Elin Diamond wrote his research paper entitled “Re: Blau, Butter, Beckett and the Politics of Seeing” (2000), which is a political and ideological study of Samuel Beckett. Fereshteh Vaziri Nasab Kermany’s dissertation entitled “A Study of the Dramatic Works of Samuel Beckett, Tom Stoppard and Caryl Churchill” (2008) is a research based on a general deconstructive look at the play, discussing it along with the plays of Tom Stoppard and Caryl Churchill. This dissertation tried to prove the overall deconstructive mood of delogocentrism of the play.

These books and research papers are very interesting, informative and thought provoking on the subject in many respects, but no one applied Post-Structuralist Derridean deconstructive hermeneutics to it. The present study interprets the play on the bedrock of the ground breaking Derridean deconstructive hermeneutics. Therefore, the present study would be an analysis from a
new and innovative perspective on “Waiting for Godot”; applying Derridean deconstructive hermeneutics to the text of this highly debate raging play.

Deconstruction

Jacques Derrida is the most eminent Algerian-born French philosopher, who originates the path breaking theory of deconstruction. He argues that the tradition of west European philosophy since Plato has been the metaphysics of presence or logocentrism. Its compelling influences and repercussions on human thought have proved to be the inhibiting and fossilizing deadlocks of aporia of meaning and authoritative fossilized logocentric structures of human thought to explore the new horizons, grounding it in the stable and pre-determined meaning of the logos of the metaphysics of presence. We cannot imagine the end of the metaphysics of presence, we can criticise it from within it by identifying and reversing the hierarchies it has established.

However, Jacques Derrida originated the term deconstruction but he did not define it anywhere in detail. However, defining the term deconstruction is by no means simple and easy task but very complex one and not defined explicitly by its initiator Jacques Derrida. Nevertheless, he gives some important signposts and clues about how to deconstruct a literary text, which can help us to define the term. M.A.R. Habib writes that deconstruction is “a way of reading, a mode of writing, and above all, a way of challenging interpretations of the texts based upon conventional notions of stability of human self, the external world, and of language and meaning” (Habib, M.A.R, 2005, p. 649). This theory revolutionised many disciplines from philosophy and history, from film studies to law, architecture, politics, anthropology and theory of aesthetics. Jacques Derrida writes about it:

“Deconstruction “is “destruction” and desedimentation of all the significations that have their source in that of the logos” (Derrida, Jacques, 1997, p. 10).It is an attempt to deconstruct this centre in “logos”. However, this does not mean to destroy as Derrida writes, “Rather than destroying, it was also necessary to understand how a “whole” was constituted and reconstruct it to the end” (Derrida, Jacques, 2007, p. 3). Therefore, deconstruction is an attempt to reconstruct and “to dismantle” logocentrism or phonocentrism.

In this sense “….deconstruction is firstly this destabilization on the move in, if one could speak thus, the things themselves”, but it is not negative destabilization is required for “progress” as well as. In addition, the “de-“of deconstruction signifies not the demolition of what is constructing itself, but rather what remains to be thought beyond the constructive or deconstructionist scheme” (Derrida, Jacques, 1998, p. 147). When we deconstruct or destabilise the text and logocentrism, our perception leads to progress. Derrida says, “The movements of deconstruction do not destroy structures from the outside. They are not possible and effective, nor
can they accurate aim…” Deconstruction should “necessary” operate “from the inside” (Derrida, Jacques, 1997, p. 24).

Deconstruction criticises the Western philosophical tradition of the metaphysics of presence, which takes place the form of what Jacques Derrida calls logocentrism or phonocentrism. The logo is a Greek word, which in a specific sense of pure meaning that precedes language. The domain of pure meaning is also the domain of logic, which derives from the logos. “In the beginning, was the logos, and the logos was with God, and the logos was God” (Good News Bible, 1981, p. 118). Jacques Derrida opines that both logic and logocentrism depend upon a covert linguistic operation that posits a realm of meaning prior to language, and in turn, privileges thought over utterance, speech over writing, and origin over copy. Derrida argues that Saussure’s theory of linguistics is both invested in and troubling the project of logocentrism or phonocentrism. He finds counter-logic already in Ferdinand de Saussure. Structuralist linguistics is just the supposedly whole first term –man, speech- but also logos (self-identical meaning, God) in general.

For Jacques Derrida writing is not secondary copy of a whole, prior meaning represented by speech. It is primary, in so much as meaning is itself afflicted by self-divisions and deferrals, the endless slippages of signifiers, which constitute writing. That is why Jacques Derrida says, “There is nothing outside the text” (Derrida, Jacques, 2003, 227). His deconstruction is associated to the study of complexities of literature: Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s “Confessions”, Stephane Mallarme’s “Mimique”, and James Joyce’s “Ulysses”. He concludes that literature with its slippery language demonstrated the deferral of the logos.

**Deconstructive Analysis of Waiting for Godot**

The researcher tries to interpret Samuel Beckett’s play “Waiting for Godot” from Derridean deconstructive perspective in terms of deconstruction. Therefore, the present study tends to interpret the different facets of the text. The following terms of Derridean deconstruction are simply relevant to the nature of this research.

**Metaphysics of presence and Messianic**

According to Jacques Derrida, the tradition of west European philosophy from Plato until Edmund Husserl has been the metaphysics of presence or logocentrism. Its compelling influences and repercussions on human thought have proved to be the inhibiting and fossilizing deadlocks of aporia of meaning and authoritative fossilized logocentric structures of human thought to explore new horizons, grounding it in the stable and pre-determined meaning, origin or presence. We cannot imagine the end of the metaphysics of the presence, we can criticise it from within by identifying and reversing the hierarchies it has established.
Jacques Derrida calls all Western philosophic tradition logocentric because it places at the centre of our perception of the universe a concept (logos), which organises and explains the universe for us while remaining outside of the universe it organises and explains. Jacques Derrida says that it is Western philosophy’s greatest illusion. Each grounding concept—Plato’s idea of perfect Forms, Rene Descartes’ cogito, structuralism’s notion of innate structures of human consciousness—is itself a human concept and therefore, a product of human language. In this way, he attacks the basic metaphysical assumptions of Western philosophical tradition since Plato. He also criticises that the notion of innate structures of human consciousness in structuralism has always presupposed a centre of meaning of something, which governs the structure, but is itself not subject to structural analysis (to find the structure of the centre would be to find another centre.)

For this reason, Jacques Derrida claims that Western philosophy has always had a desire “to search for a centre, a meaning, origin or a “transcendental signified” (Derrida, Jacques, 1997, p. 49). He calls this desire for centre “logocentrism or phonocentrism (Derrida, Jacques, 1997, p. 11). However, he opines that all Western philosophy since Plato has tried to ground its basis on meaning, “presence”, or “existence” (Derrida, Jacques, 2005, p. 353).

This tradition revolves around a central set of supposedly universal principles and beliefs. He concludes that the different theories of philosophy since Plato are versions of a single or authoritative system, and, though we cannot hope to escape this system, we can at least identify the conditions of thought it imposes by attending to that which it seek to impress.

Therefore, the tradition of Western philosophy of the metaphysics of presence derives from and organised around one grounding principle from which we believe we can figure out the meaning of existence. For some philosophers the ground of being is some cosmic principle of order and harmony, as illustrated for example, by Plato’s idea of perfect Forms that exist in an abstract, timeless dimension of thought. For others, the grounding principle is rational thought engaged in the act of self-reflection, as illustrated by Rene Descartes’ famous philosophical proposition: “I think therefore, I am” (cogito ergo sum).

For some other philosophers still, the grounding principle is some innate quality in human beings as illustrated by structuralism’s belief that human language and experience are generated by innate structures of human consciousness. For this reason, Jacques Derrida opines that structuralism is a form of philosophical totalitarianism, a totality of phenomenon by reduction of it to a formula that governs it totally. This Western tradition of philosophical thought revolves around a central set of supposedly universal principles and beliefs. While these grounding concepts produce our perception of the dynamic, evolving universe around us—and of our dynamic, evolving selves as well—the concepts themselves remain stable. Unlike everything,
they explain they are not dynamic and evolving. They are “out of place” as Jacques Derrida calls logocentric because it places at the centre of its perception of the universe a concept (logos) that organise and explains the universe for us. Logocentrism would thus support the determination of the being of the entity as presence (Derrida, Jacques, 1997, p. 12).

When we study “Waiting for Godot”, we come across the central theme of the play, which revolves around the waiting for Godot, who does not appear in the play. Nevertheless, the two characters of the play, Vladimir and Estragon, who are homeless vagabonds, seem to be entrapped in the trap of illusory world of the metaphysics of presence. They are tied up with messianic logocentrism or phonocentrism of the term Godot. Messianic is one of the forms of the metaphysics of presence, which is evident in the concepts of theocentrism and anthropocentrism. Any ideological, religious and political system, which claims to be authorised legitimacy, is messianic logocentrism or phonocentrism. This messianism is dominant in human thought. Jacques Derrida also calls this way of thinking messianicity, according to which Christian hope of a future to come.

Therefore, the word Godot in the play signifies both theocentric as well as anthropocentric messianic logocentrism, which may be noted is, the privilege given to it as Jehovah of “The Old Testament”, his wrath frightens, and like Messiah (Jesus Christ) of “The New Testament”, his Second Coming will redeem the humankind. He may stand for salvation, donation, rebirth and promise, which is able to be a link between these logi and the two waiting tramps. However, the tramps are fallen in the trap of illusory world of the metaphysics of presence and messianism. Therefore, they are mentally tied up with the logocentric messianic term Godot. Nevertheless, they have taken it for granted that it is a dominant source of redemption and salvation. They attempt to discover the meaning, origin and truth under the umbrella of the presupposed messianic logos Godot.

Therefore, Godot can punish them if the tramps leave, redeem, and reward them if they keep waiting for him. The tramps have strong desire to turn Godot’s absence to presence. This desire is identical to the yearning of west European philosophy for centre or the stable and fixed signified by the metaphysics of presence. This messianic logocentric metaphysical presence makes a concrete physical anthropocentric entity for the tramps. For instance, Vladimir’s yearning to perceive an exact image of Godot’s appearance in an anthropomorphic manner, bringing him on the level of human perception is an attempt of this kind:

“Vladimir: (softly) Has he a beard, Mr Godot?
Boy: Yes sir.
Vladimir: Fair or… (He hesitates)… or black?
Boy: I think it’s white, sir” (Beckett, Samuel, 1956, Act 2, p. 92).
In this manner, Vladimir cannot perceive the image of Godot without what west European philosophy’s tradition of the metaphysics of presence and messianism has set for him as the foundation of messianic logocentrism of his beliefs and thoughts. An absent entity of Godot in the play refutes definition, and at this point, it becomes very close to Jacques Derrida’s definition of differance than to the metaphysical notion of messianic theocentric or anthropocentric logos. Jacques Derrida explains that differance is “formation of form” (Derrida, Jacques, 1976, p. 63)” and the historical and epochal unfolding of Being” (Derrida, Jacques, 1982, p. 22), something that negates origin.

However, the absent Godot puts the idea of the origin of true meaning, into the radical question, because it cannot be easily defined, categorized or adjusted to an object outside the text. It can signify multiple meanings of more things simultaneously and non-existence or nothing at all. It is in fact, an aporic being, which resist interpretation. As a result, the two tramps are seeking for something to give meaning to their existence. For them Mr Godot is a source of solution of their miseries, the logos that may fill the meaning in their absurd existence. The identity of this absent entity remains unknown in the whole text of the play. As Worton writes:

“Much has been written about who or what Godot is. My own view is that he is simultaneously whatever we think he is and not what we think he is, he is an absence, who can be interpreted at moments as God, death, the Lord of the manor, a benefactor, even Pozzo. Nevertheless, Godot has a function rather than a meaning. He stands for what keeps us chained- to and in-existence. He is the unknowable that represents hope in an age when there is no hope; he is whatever fiction we want him to be- as long as he justifies our life-as-waiting” (Worton, Michael, 1995, p. 70-71).

The tramps’ attempts to capture this non-entity or unknown being in terms of the known messianic logocentrism, by visiting him, are all in vain. Finally, Godot did not appear and tramps turned disappointed and frustrated. Therefore, the bond between language and reality is shattered and words lose their vocation of communicating feelings and thoughts:

“Vladimir: Say I am happy
Estragon: I am happy
Vladimir: So I am
Estragon: So I am.
Estragon: We are happy. (Silence). What do we do now, now that we’re happy?”


Therefore, Godot’s final absence, however, frustrates the hopes of the tramps and they have become nervous. The following dialogue of the tramps shows their hidden desire to set themselves free from the tiresome act of waiting for an unknown or non-existent messianic metaphysical being:
“Estragon: (His mouthful, vacuously.) We are not tied!
Vladimir: I don’t hear a word you’re saying.
Estragon: (chews, swallows.) I’m asking if we’re tied.
Vladimir: tied?
Estragon: ti-ed.
Vladimir: How do you mean tied?
Estragon: Down
Vladimir: But to whom? By whom?
Estragon: To your man
Vladimir: To Godot? Tied to Godot? What an idea! No question of it. (Pause) For the moment”


Finally, the tramps are unable to act, even to commit suicide. For example, the following dialogue makes the point clear:

“Vladimir: We will hang ourselves tomorrow. (Pause.) Unless Godot comes.
Estragon: And if he comes?
Vladimir: We’ll be saved” (Beckett, Samuel, 1956, Act Two, p. 94).

We can mostly notice their incapability and undecidability to do anything throughout the whole play:

“Estragon: “Why don’t we hang ourselves?
Vladimir: With what?
Estragon: you haven’t got a bit of rope?
Vladimir: No.
Estragon: Then we can’t.
Vladimir: Let’s go.
Estragon: Oh wait, there is my belt.
Vladimir: It’s too short.
Estragon: You could hang on to my legs.
Vladimir: And who would hang onto mine?

Therefore, Samuel Beckett refutes the certainty and stability of the Holy Scripture by dismantling its authorised metaphysical meaning. He uses Christian mythology without having to believe in it. As he states, “Christianity is a mythology with which I am perfectly familiar, and so I use it. But not in this case” (Bair, Deirdre, 1995, p.386). For this reason, he involves the tramps in serious religious debates between the four Evangelists about the saved thief. Vladimir, like the assiduous religious scholar seems to search for truth and certainty in the Holy text of “The New Testament”. However, he finds that there is no certainty in this text. In fact, his perplexity is the confusion of a layperson in perceiving the philosophy of the metaphysics of presence, presented
to him as messianic logocentrism. The following dialogue between the tramps makes the point clear:

“Vladimir: And yet… (pause.)… How is it-this is not boring you I hope- how is it that of the four Evangelists only one speaks of a thief being saved. The four of them were there- or thereabouts-and only one speaks of a thief being saved. (Pause.)
Come on, Gogo, return the ball, can’t you, one in a way?
Estragon: (with exaggerated enthusiasm). I find this most extraordinarily interesting.
Vladimir: One out of four. Of the other three, two don’t mention any thieves at all and the third says that both of them abused him.
Estragon: Who?
Vladimir: What?
Estragon: What’s all this about? Abused who?
Vladimir: The Saviour.
Estragon: Why?
Vladimir: Because he wouldn’t save them.
Estragon: From Hell?
Vladimir: Imbecile! From death.
Estragon: I thought you said hell.
Vladimir: From death, from death.
Estragon: Well what of it?
Vladimir: Then the two of them must have been damned.

We find the characters of the play entangled within an illusory web of logocentric illusions of thought that they want to grasp the ultimate truth of life and the universe in a way as logocentric Western tradition of the metaphysics of presence confines their mind to think about the authoritative universal truth, meaning and origin. Nevertheless, they are unable to find it and on the contrary, they confront uncertainty and absurdity as illustrated in the conversations between Estragon and Vladimir about the Holy Scripture, the memories of the past or identity of Godot. Suspecting all the messianic logocentric authorities of founding the texts of Western culture, Samuel Beckett studs Godot and Endgame with references to these very texts in order to make us “think and participate in his anxious oscillation between certainty about what is untrue and uncertainty about what may be true” (Worton, Michael, 1995, p. 85).

However, Vladimir wants to find a proof for existence. His desire for a centre, origin, or logos of Godot is fully illustrated when he says the boy:

“Words, words. (Pause.) Speak” (Beckett, Samuel, Act 1, p.50).

The tramps finally lose their hope for salvation and redemption. Vladimir expresses doubt in the following dialogue between Boy and Vladimir:

“Boy: What am I to say Mr Godot, sir?
Vladimir: Tell him... (he hesitates)...tell him you saw us. (Pause.) You did see us, didn’t you?” (Beckett, Samuel, Act 1, p.52).

In this way, Samuel Beckett deconstructs messianic theocentrism and anthropocentricism of the logocentric word of Godot and after disseminating Godot and the Holy Scripture, Samuel Beckett further goes in Lucky’s speech to expand his deconstructive techniques to undo Western philosophical tradition of the metaphysics of presence. Describing the philosopher’s mental and physical slavery to bourgeois power system of capitalism, he disseminates all philosophical inquiries for ultimate truth, origin or static signified as well as deconstructs all logocentric Western tradition of the metaphysics of presence.

Therefore, the rational philosopher is presented in the personage of Lucky as a mock figure of philosopher in the play. His slave-owning master Pozzo dictates him by the power of words and logi. His one-word commands dictate and handle Lucky. Therefore, like a puppet or remote controlled robot, he obeys the orders of his master Pozzo. “Back”, “stop”, “turn”, “stand”, “up”, “basket” are the one-word commands of his master, he obeys. In this way, he behaves and reacts in accordance with the command-methods of his master. Here Pozzo stands for the late modernist bourgeois power structure of capitalism and Lucky, the Lackey of it. Jaffey Nealon writes as follows:

“Becket directs Lucky’s long monologue against the popular notion that philosophy’s job is to restore unity to man’s learning, a job, which philosopher can only do by recuperating some meta-narratives, which link together all moments in human history within a single, continuous metaphysical system. Lucky’s think, though, is a narrative that disrupts and deconstructs all notions of universal ahistorical meta-narrative- all Godots” (Nealon, Jaffey 1992.44).

However, Samuel Beckett puts the power of reason in question by demonstrating the dominance of non-rational bourgeois forces of capitalism, which contradict the traditional anthropocentric notions and values of humanism. In his speech, Lucky fails to defend human being as central subject of the anthropocentric Western philosophical thought. In this manner, Samuel Beckett satirises the Cartesian philosophical proposition: “cogito ergo sum” in Lucky’s speech. However, he dements thought/ discourse, which violates the limits of logocentric Western European tradition of the metaphysics of presence. As Brewer states it:

“Drawn to the side of the signifier rather than the signified (though as immaterial meaning), the hybrid “thought-performance” breaks down the distinction between words and their meaning. The disjunction between characters’ actions and their speech is here, repeated in the disjunction between discourse as performance and his cognitive content” (Brewer, Maria Minich, 1994, pp. 152-153).
Finally, Samuel Beckett attacks the metaphysics of presence and messianic logocentrism. He does not only disseminates the theocentric text of Holy Scriptures, but also dismantles the anthropocentric lines of Western philosophical thought, delogocentring the theocentric authority of the Holy Scripture in the dialogue of the tramps cited above and the anthropocentric authority of philosopher in the delogocentrized figure of Lucky.

Aporia

Aporia means a logical impassable, contradiction, doubt and a moment of undecidability. It is the inherent contradiction in the import of the text or theory. Jacques Derrida, for example, cites in his book “Of Grammatology” the inherent contradictions at work in Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s use of the words culture and nature by stating that Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s sense of the self’s innocence (in nature) is already corrupted by the concept of culture and existence. Aporia is in fact, a logical deadlock of relationship, decision-making and interpretation, which makes one to undecidable to grasp logical reasoning and justification. It is precisely a situation, which reflects the impossibility of thought, language, meaning, ethics and justification.

Aporia also means debitio, which is an expression of real and feigned doubt or uncertainty, especially for rhetorical effect, by which the speaker appears uncertain as to what he/she should do, think or say. The speaker already knows the answer, but he/she still asks himself/herself or his/her audience, what the appropriate manner, to grasp some matter is. The ambiguity of the text forms an aporia, because “it is impossible to decide by grammatical or other linguistic devices, which of the two meanings…prevails (De Man, Paul, 1979 p. 10).

Discussing Stephane Mallarme’s “Mimique”, Jacques Derrida refers to the symbiosis of grammar and rhetoric. Words like “hymen,” and “pharmakon”, he points out: “have a double, contradictory, undecidable value that always derives from their syntax, whether the latter is in a sense “internal,” articulating and combining under the same yoke, huph’ hen, two incompatible meanings, or “external,” dependent on the code in which the word is made to function (Derrida, Jacques, 2005, p. 221).

In this view, Samuel Beckett’s rejection of the fossilized signifying process of traditional theatre and adoption of the techniques of meta-theatre lead him to anti-narrative structure of the text, which creates an aporic effects on the minds of the audience and readers that resist interpretation of the text. Therefore, the structural aporia of meaning happens in the text. The opposite poles of meaning are so evident that messianic logocentrism or phonocentrism cannot function anymore. There occurred in the text many “simultaneously eithers ors” in Derridean term (Derrida, Jacques, 1978, p. 59).
Therefore, the text of the play resists being defined, interpreting, and analysing in a closed system. In addition, the semantic aporia renders Samuel Beckett’s dramatic text into multidimensionality of meaning, and puts it in opposition with the traditional dramatic texts. The ontological impassivity or aporia of the text prevails the fragmentary form of the play that prevents the audience and readers from fixing a meaning or putting the text in a closed system. For this reason, one finds himself in an aporetic situation in which he/she cannot decide if Samuel Beckett is giving significance of absurdity or its superficiality in comparison to human predicament. In this sense, the open-endedness of the text of the play always invites the audience and readers to interpret it in a new and novel way. Therefore, the readers and audience are prevented from falling in the categorized perception or stereotyped interpretation of the text.

However, the stereotyped perception, categorized reception and traditional interpretation of the text fall the readers and audience in the straightforward recognition, which is situated by novelty, inaccessible by stale reception and stereotyped traditional interpretation of the text. That is why Samuel Beckett uses the symbol of Godot in the play, to portray uncertainty and absurdity of human situation in modern capitalist social formation, which makes the text of the play ambiguous, showing the limitations of language and aporetic effects of it on the minds of human beings.

The symbol Godot sometimes employs other verbal tricks when Vladimir and Estragon speak about him. Therefore, aporia or impasse of meaning is found when they are confronted with boy messenger’s message that Godot will not come today but he will come tomorrow. As a result, the tramps are fallen in aporetic situation in which they decide to move but they remain undecidable and inactive to do so:

“Estragon: Well? Shall we go?
Vladimir: Pull on your trousers.
Estragon: What?
Vladimir: Pull on your trousers.
Estragon: You want me to pull off my trousers?
Vladimir: Pull on your trousers.
Estragon: (realizing his trousers are down). True.
He pulls up his trousers.
Vladimir: Well? Shall we go?
Estragon: Yes, let’s go.
They do not move” (Beckett, Samuel, 1956, Act 2, p.94).

The word Godot in the play is put in a structure capable of more or multiple meanings and its immediate recognition are deferred or postponed by defamiliarization and ambiguity. The ambiguity and estrangement perturb the referentiality between Godot and its real entity, and its ideal or symbolic presentation in the text, which brings Samuel Beckett very close to Derridean rejection of the semantic singularity and fixity of meaning or hidden transcendental meaning. The
aporetic effects on the minds of the tramps manifest themselves in their following dialogue, in which they are unable to express their pains and sufferings:

“Vladimir: It hurts?
Estragon: Hurts! He wants to know if it hurts!
Vladimir: (angrily) No one ever suffers but you. I don’t count. I’d like to hear what you’d say if you had what I have.
Estragon: It hurts?
Vladimir: Hurts! He wants to know if it hurts!” (Beckett, Samuel, 1956, Act 1, p.10).

**Binary Oppositions**

According to structuralism, the concept of binarism is fundamental and indispensable to human language, cognition and communication. Therefore, binary oppositions help us to shape the entire world-view and to mark differences in an otherwise unrecognized universe (Raman, Selden, 1989, 56). However, binarism underlies human thought and action. Cultures and languages often function through binary polarities. In philosophy and religion, paired oppositions (matter and idea, cause and effect, body and mind, virtue and evil, content and form, subject and object, beauty and ugliness) serve as very foundations of human thought. When we cast a glance at history of human thought, we find logocentric binarism in it.

Even in literary analysis, the discovery of thematic binary polarities within the literary texts is one of the central hermeneutic tools of interpretation of meaning of the literary text. Jonathan Culler suggests, “certain oppositions are pertinent to larger thematic structures, which encompass other antitheses presented in the text” (Culler, Jonathan, 2002, p. 226).

Therefore, deconstruction operates from the inside of the text in two ways. One is to point to neglected portions in the text and to put them in questioning and find their inconsistencies. The other way is to deal with the binary oppositions in the text. Jacques Derrida gives an analogy about the neglected portions of the text, telling how to deconstruct them. He compares the text to architectonic structures and writes that in some texts there are “neglected” or “defective” corner stones, which need to be levered in order to be deconstructed (Derrida, Jacques, 1989, p. 72).

Jacques Derrida claims that in Western tradition of philosophy, there has always been an opposition between the two concepts and in each pair of concepts always “governs the other (axiologically, logically, etc.), or has the upper hand” (Derrida, Jacques, 1981, p. 41). These polarity opposites have a certain tension between them. For this reason, deconstruction is most simply defined as a critique of the hierarchical oppositions that have structured Western thought: inside -outside, mind-body, literal- metaphorical, speech –writing, presence –absence, nature- culture, form –meaning. Deconstructing an opposition means to show that it is not natural and
inevitable but a construction, produced by discourses that rely on it, showing that it is a construction in a work of deconstruction that seeks to dismantle it and reinscribe it—that is, not destroy it but give it a different structure and functioning (Derrida, Jacques, 1981, p. 120).

That this reversal of the oppositions should not immediately pass to “neutralizing the binary oppositions of metaphysics and simply residing within the closed field of these oppositions” (Derrida, Jacques, 1998, p 41). Reversing the oppositions and giving superiority to the suppressed concept does not mean to deconstruct it because the suppressed concept would have the upper hand and thus it would mean to stay “within the closed field of these oppositions”. In order to get out of the closed fields of the binary oppositions, Derrida adds that “it must, through a double gesture, a double science, a double writing (reading) – put into practice a reversal of the classical opposition and a general displacement of the system. It is on that condition alone that deconstruction will provide the means of intervening in the field of oppositions it criticizes …” (Derrida, Jacques, 1998, p. 21). This “displacement” and intervention creates a new text and context. That is why Derrida states that “deconstruction” is also a “reconceptualization” (Derrida, Jacques, 1998, p 136).

The reconceptualization produces new meanings and interpretations of the original text. It suggests the possibilities and alternatives inherent in the original text. Therefore, every text that repeats the original text in a new context produces a new text, which is a new production. This new production is different from the original text in some points and shows the iteration of the literary text. Derrida claims that iteration, the characteristic of repetition of a text, alters the original text so that “something new takes place” (Derrida, Jacques, 1998, p 40).

Deconstruction stands against all predetermined, prescribed and fossilized norms and values. The notions of binary opposites like white and black, light and darkness, smart and dull, virtue and evil, ideal and physical, and man and woman, beauty and ugliness may be noted in “Waiting for Godot” that highlight the lack of stability and coherence of the text. However, binary oppositions between Vladimir and Estragon and Pozzo and Lucky are also exist in their ways of thinking, feelings, appearances, social statuses and even their levels of intelligence. We come across the characters come in pairs: Didi/Gogo, Pozzo/Lucky, Ham/Clov, Nagg/Nell in “Waiting for Godot” and other plays of Samuel Beckett.

Therefore, we find in the play “Waiting for Godot”, the characters are entangled within the web of binary oppositions. These polar opposites are used in the text as highly applied line of condemnation to the one, which is depreciated. The characters of the play resort to contrast and comparison, whenever they confront an aporetic and manically offensive mode. This is the most pertinent method to convince their addresses about the justification of their claims. In this sense, Samuel Beckett’s text is based on individual inferences and linguistic experiences of the reader/audience and decentring logocentric binaries. In this manner, the logocentric binaries lose their
validity and determination in the text, fulfilling Derridean deconstructive aspiration. Therefore, the text refrains the readers from determining only one fixed meaning, and prepares more room for different and deferral meaning and interpretations.

In this way, Samuel Beckett presents the illusory logocentric metaphysical presence in the aporetic form of Godot, which contradicts the logocentric preference for presence, the futility of binary signification and the non-rationality of the logos Godot. Therefore, the text of the play refutes the identity or the meaning of this absent being. Godot’s absence in the play that invalidates the characters’ presence, probe an insoluble ontological problem, which challenges the conventional interpretive assumptions of the literary text. In this way, Samuel Beckett resists to fix one meaning for Godot, asserting, “If I knew I’d have said so in the play.” (Bair, Deirdre, 1993, p. 382). The concept of the word Godot is like Jacques Derrida’s differance, escapes a one-to-one correspondence in the signification system because it does not refer to concrete real being in the objective world.

**Delogocentrism**

In “Waiting for Godot” Vladimir and Estragon are homeless tramps. Therefore, homelessness is shown to be a gift of capitalism. In this way, Samuel Beckett deconstructs sentimentalism of home and family by demythologization of sentimental concepts of home and family in the play. For this reason, he demithifies the traditional concept of home and family as a centre of shelter in the play to present his characters Vladimir and Estragon as homeless and familyless tramps.

However, Vladimir and Estragon create the logos in the name of Godot, which is an ultimate source of donation and salvation for them. Therefore, they are waiting for him. Nevertheless, Godot did never come to visit them. In this way, Samuel Beckett protests against different ontological problems. His interest in “the shapes as opposed to the validity of ideas” (Dearlove, 1982, 3) brings him very close to Derrida’s deconstruction. His play is ambiguous to define the word Godot and ambiguity and fluidity are the characteristics of non-relational arts. His meta-dramatic text of the play refuses to fall in the order and strong sense of reality, which prevails most the modernist literature. As Michael Warton mentions:

“What Beckett says in his plays is not totally new. However, what he does with his sayings is radical and provocative; he uses his play-texts to remind (or tell) us that there can be no certainty, no definitive knowledge, and that we need to learn to read in a new way, in a way that gives us space to bring our contestations as well as our knowledge to our reception to the text” (Warton, Michael, 1995, p. 81).
Samuel Beckett understands impasses and aporia to find definitions for his art and has a sceptical attitude towards all definitions and categorizations. This characteristic makes his art delogocentric. In this connection, he once asserted that, “I produce an object. What people make of it is not my concern (Warton, Michael, 1995, p. 67). Moreover, some characteristics of his art like self-reflectivity, repetition, and antimimetic theatricality, displacing the authoritative central role of the author at the centre of the text, and decentralizing the narrative bring him very close to Derridean deconstructive theory of language and literature. However, Samuel Beckett postpones as well as differ the meaning and origin of the word Godot as the logos, which is produced by inherent “difference” of language, creating inaccessible domain in language, which both Samuel Beckett and Jacques Derrida call “unnameable”. In this connection, Jacques Derrida writes:

“There is no essence of differance, it (is) that which only could never be appropriated in the as such of its name or its appearing, but also that which threatens the authority of the as such in general, of the presence of the thing itself in its essence. That there is not a proper essence of differance at this point implies that there is neither a Being nor truth of the play of writing such as it engages differance... ‘There is no name for it’- a proposition to be read in this platitude. This unnameable is not an ineffable Being, which no name could approach: God, for example. This unnameable is the play which make possible nominal effects, the relatively unitary and atomic structures that are called names, the chains of substitutions of names in which, the chain of substitutions of names in which, for example, the nominal effects differance is itself enmeshed, carried off, reinscribed, just as false entry or false exit is still part of the game, a function of the system” (Derrida, Jacques, 1982, p. 27).

Therefore, the nameability is also one of the forms of Derridean delogocentrism because nominalism is a logocentric phenomenon in language. We find in the play the boy who is messenger of Godot is unnamed; Vladimir, Estragon, Pozzo and Lucky are unfamiliar type of names and even Godot is no name of any person. The title of one of Samuel Beckett’s plays is also “Unnameable” in which Unnameable is the central character. In this manner, Samuel Beckett uses the infinite play of signifiers through a refusal of narrative closure, an idea that often finds expression in its tendency to embrace contradictions instead of resolving them. This is what Jacques Derrida says that, language is the ground of being, and the world is an infinite text in which an infinite chain of signifiers is always in play. Though human beings are constituted by language, they speak, so they, too, are the texts. In other words, deconstructive theory of language has implication for subjectivity, for what it means to be a human being.

Therefore, deconstruction in Samuel Beckett’s “Waiting for Godot” is both admitting this “unnameability” and parodying all efforts, especially of the characters, for deciphering this domain. For instance, Vladimir gropes for meaning but fails in his logocentric effort to overcome the differance of language and achieve meaning and origin. However, he is unable to access the meaning, essence and origin of the self. At last, he remains unable to move in as incoherent structure of the self. ” one of the fundamental projects of the traditional theory” was to access a
silent voice. (Kearney, Richard, 1987, p. 359). The possibility of such project, however, is “its very impossibility (Kearney, Richard, 1987, p. 359).

By depicting his characters’ defeat in their impossible understandings, Samuel Beckett deconstructs the logi of this project. He does not only deconstruct his characters, but also deconstructs himself, whose struggle for mastering language remains futile. For this reason, his characters as well as he himself are ridiculed in his work. As Richard Kearney observes:

“Beckett’s writing masterfully deconstructs itself by directing our attention to itself as writing that is a system of sounding signifiers irretrievably at odds with the ideal of corresponding silent signified. It is only by deconstructing the world’s pretention to achieve self-adequation by means of silence, that we can uncover its hidden self-alienation. That irony, which Beckett makes such great play of, is, of course, that one obliged to use language to deconstruct language” (Kearney, Richard, 1987, p. 360).

Moreover, Samuel Beckett has a tendency towards playful treatment of subjects. Treating the text of “Waiting for Godot” as literary game, he seeks to develop his playfulness to everything, even to most philosophical concepts in his plot. He wants his audience or readers to revise their position towards theatre and text by putting the concepts of God, truth, origin, meaning and language in question in the inappropriate concepts of his language games. However, the game playing in his text appears in two levels in Derridean deconstructive manner: outside the text, either he plays game with the audience and readers, or he plays the game between the characters or elements of performance.

However, Samuel Beckett’s characters seem perpetually playing with narration as game. For instance, Estragon tries to recollect the fragments of his lost past in a narrative. In this manner, the characters of the play change their tone from narrative to normal and constantly amend the text that this voice produces. They reshape their narration every time that they have their voices; and they seek to entrap their past voice in a framed narration. They feel pleasure to construct and deconstruct their narration. It is a very interesting game for them. As Gabriele Schwab suggests, “The game is a private use of language, which gives one the freedom to play with the familiarity of old and empty rules” (Schwab, Gabriele, 1987, p. 90).

Moreover, the characters of the play seem to gather all these fragments in a loose performing strategy and technique of meta-theatre, which is very different from a conventional theatrical performance. Samuel Beckett himself asserts that, his characters unlike Kafka’s hero who “has a coherence purpose…..seem to be falling to bits” (Malkin, Jeanette R., 2002, p. 40). However, the impressions of the fragmented suffering characters of “Waiting for Godot” imprint vividly in the memory of the audience and readers, even if the stories behind them are forgotten. In this manner, Samuel Beckett produces characters, images and notions in language-by-language game in his play, which opens for us the window of plural and variable meanings. As Gontarski
comments, Samuel Beckett creates images (on the stage and in language) that suggest the mutability and plurality of meaning (Gontarski, S.E., 1985, p. 16).

Conclusion

The present study tried to interpret Samuel Beckett’s play “Waiting for Godot” from a new and innovative perspective through Derridean deconstruction. It showed how the metaphysics of presence and messianic logocentrism imprint preventive effects on mental structure of human beings, and fall them in the aporetic trap of omnipresent and omnipotent logi. Therefore, they slavishly accept the authority of the messianic theocentric and anthropocentric logi. The study tries to prove that the techniques of meta-theatre used in Samuel Beckett’s play, reject the conventional dramatic realism, make the text of the play delogocentric text, and brings it very close to Derridean deconstruction, which rejects and deconstructs the semantic singularity and fixity of meaning or hidden transcendental meaning of the text.

The study attempted to unfold how the preventive stumbling aporic blocks of centralized and fossilized structure of the minds of characters make them imprisoned within the illusory web of the anthropocentric and theocentric messianic logi. The study also concludes that man cannot perceive and interpret the text until and unless he dismantles the messianic logocentrism of the prevailing tradition of the metaphysics of presence, which positions the presupposed messianic logos in the centre of our perception of the universe.
References


Children’s Literature in the Eighteenth Century: Re-defining the Child

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Abstract

This paper attempts to outline the basic ideologies of childhood in the Romantic period and examines literary texts written for children by often neglected women authors Anna Letitia Barbauld and Sarah Trimmer.

Keywords: Romanticism, Romanticism thought, Children’s literature, education, child, eighteenth-century
In the eighteenth century there seemed to be an increasing amount of interest in the concept of childhood and the raising of children. Although the eighteenth century is commonly linked to Romantic literature and nature, there were many books written specifically for children during that era, and unfortunately these books have not received as much attention as the major Romantic poets of the period. However, writers of children’s literature in the Romantic period are recently being studied along with the work they published for children, ranging from prose to poetry. Critics and scholars have centered their research around children’s literature in the eighteenth century in light of the conceptions of childhood and emerging ideas in society, proposed by the highly influential philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and John Locke. Both Rousseau’s and Locke’s attempts at a certain type of social reformation were practiced in this period in England, particularly concepts and understandings of childhood and the child’s function in the world.

Rousseau’s views are considered radical and somewhat conservative. He placed great emphasis on the ideas of man and nature and how they are closely linked. In order for a person, or a child, to find their place in society, they must be placed in the natural world, away from the corruptions of society and civilization. Rousseau’s ideology is best demonstrated throughout his *Emile: Or, on Education* written in 1762. He focuses on the education of the young citizen without corrupting his “natural goodness.” An interesting link is made between Rousseau’s philosophy on human nature and *Robinson Crusoe* in Jane Bingham and Grayce Scholt’s *Fifteen Centuries of Children’s Literature*: “It was followers of Rousseau who seized upon Robinson Crusoe as a splendid example of the natural man, who, like a noble savage, innocently but reasonably and fearlessly worked out his design for living” (Bingham, Scholt 85). For Rousseau, it was of utmost importance to evaluate the man and the child in relation to their natural state: “The French writer, Jean Jacques Rousseau, heralded the new ideas which slowly made themselves felt in growing concerns for the natural man and his emotions…and for a new view of the essential worth of ordinary people” (80). Because Rousseau elevated the “ordinary” man, as a direct result the child’s position was also elevated and writers were producing works aimed at children.

John Locke’s theoretical approach to the idea of childhood was perhaps more effective and reached a larger portion of English society. Locke seems to employ a more concrete approach, rather than an abstract notion of the natural world in regards to the human self. Perhaps the major difference between Locke and Rousseau was that Locke did not stress the importance of finding “God, as well as reason, in nature” like Rousseau did (85). Locke focused more on the “use of reason as well as the importance of environment in the molding of a child’s life.” (85) Andrew O’Malley highlights Locke’s fundamental views in *The Making of the Modern Child*: “John Locke’s notion of the child’s mind as tabula rasa…was even more so than Rousseau’s concept of the child as uncorrupted product of nature…the mind of the child was similar to the ‘man in his natural state’ as described by Locke in his Two Treaties of Government” (5).
Locke, the child’s mind resembles a clean slate which allows room for the inscription of ideologies and belief systems. Since the mind was a blank slate, there were no previous convictions or experiences before birth. This takes us to John Locke’s idea of “original sin” in relation to the child. Locke’s emphasis on the importance of educating the child’s mind and shaping the child’s character reached the majority of writers as well as mothers aiming to raise, or educate children. Locke “gave advice to the strict but not unkindly British mothers about diet, clothes, exercises…and other ‘common-sense’ details of raising children” (Bingham, Scholt 85).

After Locke came more changes, including the rise of books for children. As Tess Cosslett suggests in Talking Animals in British Children’s Fiction that Locke might as well be “credited with initiating a liberalisation in the way children were treated, and a new interest in their education and reading matter” (9). She goes on to highlight that, specifically, “the more humane attitude to children, which was one of the causes of the growth of children’s literature, can partly be ascribed to the cult of sensibility; and the arguments in children’s books for kindness to animals belong to the same structure of humanitarian feeling” (16). The family institution in the eighteenth century focused more on the child and elevating the child, the family had “become increasingly child-centered, and parents began to invest more, emotionally and financially, in their children…at the same time, an ideology of social aspiration and betterment fuelled the desire to educate one’s children out of their class” (Cosslett 12). As such, “betterment” also included establishing a strong religious sense of the existence of God within the child’s mind. There was an increasingly prevailing interest in religious piety and the “goodness of God” (Cosslett 17). Interestingly enough, “natural religion was seen as a gentle and easy way to lead children towards the concept of God” (Cosslett 17). A religious doctrine was instilled in children from a very early age. As such, religious values and social class were inextricably linked.

Anna Letitia Barbauld and Sarah Trimmer are two writers who wrote children’s literature revolving around religious, social, and educational themes. Their works, aimed at children, are extremely didactic. The common qualities shared between the two writers are the emphasis on instilling morality in the child, and creating social as well as religious awareness for the child. Anna Barbauld’s Lessons for Children of Three Years Old was published in Dublin in 1779 and consists of two volumes. The second volume revolves around the central character, Charles, and everything that he learns from his mother and the world surrounding him. His mother’s voice functions as the teacher’s voice; she is constantly guiding him and even disciplining him. Barbauld employs the technique of simple language and writes in an uncomplicated manner so that her voice may reach children and enlighten them. Aware of her audience’s mental capabilities, she is able to establish a connection to the child. She stresses the importance of education throughout her book and we can postulate that she was, like most of the public, highly influenced by the works of John Locke and his views on education and the child’s mind. The opening line of her book is: “Charles! What a clever thing it is to read!” (3). Immediately we are
able to sense the close link between being “clever” and being literate in light of the child’s upbringing. Barbauld moves on to highlight the difference between humans and animals: “I never saw a dog or cat learn to read. But little boys can learn. If you do not learn, Charles, you are not good…you had better be drowned” (6-7). The distinction between animals and children is made apparent to the protagonist, Charles, as well as the readers. The narrator (the mother) is imposing education upon the child as if there is no other alternative, and there is almost a threatening tone at the end, “you had better be drowned.” It implies a sort of disciplinary action in order to raise the child to love reading and strive for education. As such, the child becomes a better man when fully grown up, and consequently, he has achieved a type of “betterment” for himself and for society. She goes on to address the beauty of nature through various instances, for example, referring to the sun and the moon, by statements such as “How pretty the Sun looks…And how beautiful the clouds are” (18). In a very Romantic view, Barbauld underlines the magnificence of nature in order to link nature to God and his supremacy, which would consequently establish a love of nature and a reverence for God. At the same time, Barbauld succeeds in establishing a sense of empathy for animals, by confirming to Charles that dogs are good creatures, “dogs do not hurt…they love little boys and play with them” (82).

Yet another one of Barbauld’s literary achievements was Hymns in Prose for Children first published in 1781 in London. This book was aimed at an audience older than three years old and was more serious in terms of religious doctrines. In the Preface, Barbauld states how crucial it is that the child learns of God’s presence from the earliest age. She labels her goal or the function of her book as simply “to impress devotional feelings as early as possible on the infant’s mind…by connecting religion with all that he sees, all that he hears” (3). Barbauld seems to be entirely inscribing religious ideology on the child’s mind. Interestingly enough, she tends to always use the pronoun “he” or a male child protagonist. Her opening line is “Come, let us praise God, for he is exceeding great” (7) Pretty straightforward and also allowing no room for doubt or questioning God’s goodness, or let alone his existence. Barbauld is almost Puritan in her style of writing, and there is a certain demanding or affirming tone when she states “I will praise God with my voice…though I am but a little child…and my tongue shall praise him…let him call me, and I will come unto him, let him command, and I will obey him” (8). The irony is in Barbauld’s fixation on the terms “will” and “shall.” If read out loud to a child, presumably the word “will” would be stressed. She moves on to emphasize the existence of God amongst nature and amongst us, by raising such questions as: “Who is the Shepherd’s Shepherd? Who taketh care of him…God is the Shepherd’s Shepherd. He is the Shepherd over all” (12). Barbauld seems to overtly assert her religious views and practically force the child to follow her beliefs. There is no other option or any alternative.

Sarah Trimmer’s Easy Lessons for Young Children was published in 1790 in London. Her book focuses more on social morality and etiquette or confirming to society’s definition of being a “good” child. For example, in one of the chapters she tells the story of Tom Bird who would
bully other children, but one day is taught “not to knock teeth out” when “George Blunt sent him home with two black eyes” (13). The obvious moral of the story would be to educate children how to treat others with respect. Another lesson revolves around a boy who abuses his dog, and in return an older man teaches him a lesson by beating him up “as hard as he could” so that he may learn never to hurt animals (20). This closely relates with the humanitarian view taken up in the eighteenth century in relation to treatment of animals and even social hierarchies, which also included the animal. Trimmer’s lessons are not as didactic or straight-forward as Barbauld’s, perhaps because Barbauld applies a lot of religious morals and beliefs, while Trimmer draws upon social skills, punishment and refinement.

William Blake’s *Songs of Innocence* and *Songs of Experience* serve for a solid comparison between his style and Barbauld’s in relation to their understanding of children and writing for an audience of children. Although Barbauld does give voice to the child in *Hymns in Prose for Children*, she does not allow room for any multiple visions or multiple voices. The child speaker is constantly speaking of God and his devotion to God, while in Blake’s poems the child speaker seems to have a different voice in each of the songs. At times the speaker is happy, and at times distressed. There is more discrepancy and even realism in Blake’s depictions of the child’s experiences of the world. Blake allows room for the different social classes and the different children’s voices to seep through. In his song “The Shepherd” he speaks of lambs and states: “how sweet is the Shepherd’s sweet lot…He is watchful while they are in peace/For they know when their Shepherd is night” (Wu 180). Barbauld’s description of the shepherd in *Hymns in Prose for Children* accelerates only to state that the shepherd exists only because God does, and God is the “Shepherd’s Shepherd.” Blake’s version allows room for speculation and he could even possibly be hinting that people are the lambs, while the Shepherd is God. The difference between their approaches to children is that Barbauld bluntly attempts to inscribe her beliefs on the child’s mind, while Blake elevates the child’s mind, leaving room for imagination the child’s own analysis. Also, unlike Trimmer, Blake offers a social critique, rather than a lesson to refine children and make them adequate social creatures. Blake blames society, rather than the child, as seen in “The Chimney Sweeper” when the child states: “They clothed me in the clothes of death, and taught me to sing the notes of woe/and because I am happy and dance and sing/they think they have done me no injury” (Wu 196).

Blake did not believe that the child had to bear the burden of the elevation of society, but instead that society firstly had to be reformed in order to provide a better place for the child, meaning the “betterment” of society was to lead to the “betterment of the child”, rather than the other way around. The position of the child along with speculation about the importance of the child’s education and upbringing in regards to the effects on society was an integral part of eighteenth century society and literature dedicated to children.
Baurbald, Trimmer, and Blake had different views and approaches to writing about and for children. Each author employed a distinctive technique and an innovative style throughout their works. Perhaps that is the reason their works have not lost their novelty and remain solid throughout the centuries, continuously to be studied and explored by scholars and critics to re-evaluate and re-define their role in the creation of children’s literature.
References


Three-Year-Old English-Arabic Bilingual: Notes on Syntactic Code-Switching

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Abstract

This paper attempts to explain the acquisition of two languages, namely English and Arabic, by a three-year-old child. It focuses on the same syntactic code-switching constructs dealt with earlier by Taweel and Btoosh (2012). In their study, they examined adult subjects. In our study, we will only focus on one child simultaneously acquiring English and Arabic. To collect the data, the child was observed by her parents and videotaped for the period of two weeks. We found several syntactic constructs produced by our informant where she code switched back and forth between Arabic and English. After that, we attempted to analyze the data and give explanation where it is appropriate. The scope of this article is descriptive as to states what might be going on with the child linguistically when she is acquiring English and Arabic at the same time. However, we are only focusing on the syntactic code switching part of it.

Keywords: Bilingualism, Arabic, Saudi Arabia, code switching, syntax, children
Introduction

Bilingualism—more generally, multilingualism—is a major fact of life in the world today. To begin with, the world’s estimated 5,000 languages are spoken in the world’s 200 sovereign states (or 25 languages per state), so that communication among the citizens of many of the world’s countries clearly requires extensive bi-(if not multi-)lingualism. In fact, David Crystal (1997) estimates that two-thirds of the world’s children grow up in a bilingual environment. Considering only bilingualism involving English, the statistics that Crystal has gathered indicate that, of the approximately 570 million people world-wide who speak English, over 41 percent or 235 million are bilingual in English and some other language. Bhatia & Ritchie (2012, p.1)

One of the most interesting linguistic studies is that of language acquisition. Many scholars have tried to explain the mechanism of how language is acquired by human beings. The literature suggests lots of theories and explanations regarding this area; however, what has been found gives us only the “big picture,” generally pertaining to first language acquisition, leaving us with the conclusion that there is yet more to be discovered.

The study of first language acquisition is such a rich domain that linguists are often occupied in the area—but what if the acquisition is not just of one language, rather of two or more languages? In such case, our job as linguists would be more difficult as we try to give solid and theoretical explanations of what is going on during the acquisition period for speakers of more than one language.

This paper attempts to explain the acquisition of two languages, namely English and Arabic, by a three-year-old child. This is by no means an exhaustive research on all aspects of the language acquired by the child, but it will focus on the same syntactic code-switching constructs dealt with earlier by Taweel and Btoosh (2012). In their study, they examined adult subjects. In our study, we will only focus on one child simultaneously acquiring English and Arabic.

Literature Review

Chomsky (1965) puts forth the basis of language acquisition when he makes an important distinction between linguistic competencies: the speaker’s linguistic knowledge and performance and his or her actual linguistic productions. Hymes (1974) gives not only the insight that language affects the development of a child’s speech, but also that the child’s physical and social conditions must be looked at as supplementary elements in the process of language acquisition.

Many attempts have been made to define bilingualism, from very broad definitions to very specific ones. Eugene (1983, p.97) defines bilingualism as “the simultaneous acquisition of more than two languages during the first five years of life.” The definition takes into consideration the
early stages a child goes through linguistically. On the contrary, such is not given any attention in the following definitions of either Weinreich (1953, p.8) where he defines it as “the alternate use of two languages,” or as stated by Haugen (1953, p.7) as “to produce complete and meaningful utterances in the second language.” The latter two definitions do not accurately define what we are about to investigate. Rather, it can be understood from the last definition that second language learners are bilinguals, and they are, in the general sense of the word, perceived as such by many linguists (e.g., Hakuta, 1986; Macnamara, 1967; Mohanty & Perregaux, 1997) Yuko and Kenji (2004) mentioned by Bhatia & Ritchie (2012, p.115). However, this is not the intended meaning used here within our scope of research.

In this paper we embrace the definition put forth by De Houwer (2009, p.604) who states that “Bilingual First Language Acquisition (BFLA) is the development of language in young children who hear two languages spoken to them from birth.” De Houwer’s definition accurately takes into account what languages are being used around the child from the moment he or she is born, which is an integral part of first language bilingualism. Another important distinction she makes is between bilingualism and first-language bilingualism. This distinction is very important so that we can have better understanding between the two terms. The former can refer to any individual who can speak more than one language natively, regardless of the level of proficiency. The latter, however, does clarify what we mean by “bilinguals” in this study: They are those who are brought up in an environment where more than one language is spoken natively around them. However, the term BFLA was first developed by Swain (1976) in her dissertation De Houwer (2009, p.666) and now it is widely accepted and used by other linguists.

Arabic is Emphasized

The acquisition of two languages or more where Arabic is one of the languages being acquired is not abundant in the literature. According to Kattab (2014, p.3), this is due to the fact that studies on “Arabic acquisition of monolinguals are rare themselves,” and I do agree with her on this issue. She supports her claim with the studies of Amayreh and Dyson (1998) and Omar (1973).

The issue of language maintenance on the part of the parents of children who speak more than one language where Arabic is one them was investigated in a number of studies such as those of Rouchdy (1971) and Atawneh (1992). These studies are of the view that parental attitude toward the major language in the community and the heritage language alike could be important factors in influencing their children’s behavior toward the use of either one language or the other, or maybe the use of both. However, the outcomes of these studies show that peer pressure would impact the children’s use, behavior, and attitude of their languages more than their parents would, especially when it comes to communicative needs. Khattab (2014, p.3) states that Shorrab (1986) argues: “In most cases, first-borns will be more proficient in the L1 than their siblings, partly due
to the home communication between the offspring shifting towards the L2.” Through observation of the child in this study, the child does impact her little brother’s acquisition of the L2 more than her parents impacted her’s, which is in line with Shorrab’s findings but we are not going to look into this topic as it is not the main concern of this paper.

Parents usually are afraid that their children will lose their heritage language due to language attrition, especially when their heritage language is the minority language in the community. In an effort to prevent this, first, parents would choose the heritage language to be the one used at home. Second, clubs would be created to maintain the heritage language from going extinct through the implantation of extra-curricular activities where reading and writing is priority number one.

In the studies of bilingual literacy, most of the concerns focus on bilinguals’ abilities to learn two distinct languages, especially when the two have two different grapheme-phoneme systems because such thing could lead to interference issues (Benholz & Lipkowski, 1999). Recent studies show that bilinguals have better understandings of grapheme-phoneme correspondence when dealing with more than one system Kenner (2004). Eviatar and Rafiq (2000) suggest that being literate in Arabic does improve the awareness of both languages as a consequence.

According to Kattab (2014, p.4), “Work on aspects of the grammar of Arabic is heavily under-researched.” Shahin (1995) investigated the phonology of a child who was learning Arabic at home and English at his daycare from ages of 1–11 and 2–8.5, respectively, and evidence was found that the development of his phonology for both languages progressed independently, which suggests the existence of two separate phonological systems.

The lexicon acquired by bilinguals is often looked at as unequally developed when compared to that of monolinguals (Eviatar and Rafiq, 2000). Rouchdy (1971), however, explained this as a result of the unbalanced input of the lexicon acquired by bilinguals from each language. Khattab (2014, p.5) adds that:

It should also be borne in mind that bilinguals are not expected to have translation equivalents for every item in their L1 or L2. Bilinguals often acquire each of their languages in different contexts and use each for different communicative needs.

The syntactic system of bilinguals is often considered not to be a well-developed system when compared to that of their monolingual peers. Bos (2001) examined the complexity of the syntax of Moroccan–Dutch bilinguals and their monolingual counterparts aged from 5 to 9 years old. Bos (2001) found that monolingual children used more sophisticated, complex, adult-like structures than did the bilinguals. In both of these categories, the older the child, the more
sophisticated the structure. Through observation of the child in this study, her syntactic development in both Arabic and English was a bit behind when compared to the monolinguals of each language. Although this is true, it does not mean that the child fails to progress in the acquisition of both languages.

One of the most studied topics on bilinguals in the literature is code-switching (also called code-mixing); that is, when a bilingual uses both languages (called codes) in the same sentence (intra-sententially), or uses both languages between sentences (inter-sententially), this process leads to a new code consisting of both languages. Kattab (2014) observed that studies done on code-switching where Arabic is one of the languages resemble the outcomes found in the literature focused on the types of code-switched utterances where nouns are the most frequently switched items, followed by verbs, and then finally all other constituents.

Al-Enazi (2002) found that Arabic bilinguals violate most of the code-switching constraints that are available in the literature with regard to the morphological and syntactic systems. In such violations, bilinguals use both morphological patterns of each language interchangeably so that an English vocabulary in this case, would fit the Arabic morphological system, and at the same time, an Arabic word would be treated as if it is an English word when it comes to the use of affixes. Similarly, the word order of Arabic and English can be mixed, which leads to the violation of code-switching constraints as well.

The Child’s Environment

This female child was born in Saudi Arabia where the primary language is Arabic, and both of her parents speak Arabic natively. The first language that this child was exposed to was Arabic. The exposure extended for eight months before her parents moved to the United States for educational purposes. Prior to her exposure to English, she spoke a few words in Arabic, and this was a hint of a successful Arabic language development. The exposure of Arabic is an ongoing process, as it is the language spoken at the child’s home.

She started going to a daycare when she was ten months old and from that moment on-she was been surrounded by English for almost two and a half years during weekdays. However, the use of Arabic at home continued as well. It must be noted that the child visits Saudi Arabia every year during the summer for roughly two months where Arabic is the only language of communication as we mentioned above. As a result of the aforementioned information, we can see that the child has encountered two languages—namely Arabic and English—simultaneously since she was ten months old.
Methodology

The child was video recorded by her parents at home and while in the car, where she is conversing with the whole family, which consists of her parents and little brother. She was video-recorded for three hours total where she can code-switch in this environment. Similarly, the child was video-recorded for the duration of two hours while at her daycare having a conversation with one of the teachers working there. In this environment, however, the child does not have access to code switching in order to test whether her linguistic behavior would differ or not.

The video recording of the child was not structured, nor was it invoked by certain questions as to make her speak so that natural conversational interactions can be spotted. The video recordings were taken in a two-week period. Therefore, the purpose of the video recordings was to offer a snapshot of some of the current linguistic aspects that we are investigating in this paper. The diary of the child was also taken when it is hard to video record her or when the camera is not available at that particular moment.

Discussion and Analysis

Switching Between the Noun and Predicate: Arabic Pronoun into English Predicate.

(1) \(\text{ana} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{park}\)

\(1^{\text{st}}\text{per.s.pro.} \quad \text{v.} \quad \text{n.}\)

‘I go park’

In this example, the child uses Arabic as her beginning language theme, and therefore, the English words utilized serve as predicate to the subject in Arabic, which is in this case a pronoun. Looking into the child’s corpus, it seems that the child has not acquired any other Arabic pronouns yet. The incomplete acquisition of such pronouns will subsequently stand in the way of the child’s ability to produce numerous structures of similar components. The child in the above sentence is experiencing structural influence from English because in Arabic, the subject doesn’t normally appear since the verb that follow it carries an affix that refers to the subject. To the contrary, such structure is the default layout of a sentence in English.

Switching Between the Noun and Predicate: English Pronoun into Arabic Predicate.

(2) \(\text{I} \quad \text{rooh} \quad \text{gasili}\)

\(\text{s.m.impert.v.} \quad \text{s.f.impert.v.}\)

‘I go wash’

In this sentence, we can see that the English noun ‘I’ is followed by the Arabic predicate rooh:

(3) \(\text{You (her Mother)} \quad \text{wasikeen}\)

\(2^{\text{nd}}\text{per.pro.} \quad \text{s.f.v.}\)

‘you made a mess’
The same observation is made in this sentence where the predicate is in Arabic while the noun is in English. It is worth mentioning that the verbs in Arabic are not correctly formed by the child, and this is dominant throughout the whole batch of data collected. Most of the verbs used by the child are in the imperative mood of the verb, which makes sense, since most of the verb forms used to address the child are particularly in this mode. While in Example (2), the first verb is an imperative verb in the present form used to address males, and the following verb is also in the present form and it is in the imperative mode as well; however, it is used to address females. From this example, we can see that the concept of genders is not realized yet by the child, and we will discuss this issue later.

In Example (3), the form of the verb is not formed properly as well. However, in this case, the verb was formulated by the child based on a phrase in Arabic laa tuwasikin. The phrase is in the imperative mode and is used to address females, which translates to ‘don’t make a mess.’ The child was only capable of catching the last part of the phrase wasikin. Moreover, the child uses this phrase to tell her mother that she is the one who made a mess. Now, we can see that the child probably knows what laa ‘do not’ means, which is why she omits it from the phrase as to render it in the affirmative.

(4) Battal (the child’s brother) wasikeen
3rd per.s.m.sub. s.f.v
‘you made a mess’

In Example (4), the child uses this phrase even when addressing her little brother as if he were a female, which again confirms that gender distinction is not yet developed.

**Double Pronouns**

In the process of code-switching between Arabic and English in adult speech, we can observe that the double pronoun is not uncommon at all (Taweel & Btoosh, 2012). The double pronouns that Taweel and Btoosh (2012) found were in the subject position. To test this, they created some sentences where double pronouns were used. One of the sentences is the following.

(5) inta
2nd per.m.s.pro.
‘you’

You are coming tonight?

We can see from the above-mentioned example that ‘you’ has been introduced twice — once by each language—in order to test the subjects’ attitudes toward such a form. Most of the subjects, who were all adults, in their study had negative attitudes toward such a form. Having said that, the child in our study surprisingly employs this phenomenon in the object position. Examine the following example:
(6) I found it saiiarah s.f.obj. ‘car’
(7) I got it mandeel s.f.obj. ‘tissue’

Here ‘it’ is used by the child to refer to the car but for some reason, she uses the word ‘car’ right after ‘it,’ which is considered to be the doubling of the same object stated in the sentence. Based on the data, it seems that the child prefers chunking as a tool of language acquisition. ‘I found it’ is a very common phrase in English that is used to tell that something was found by the subject. Therefore, the child employs this phrase exactly to serve this particular purpose. However, in her mind, this phrase seems incomplete, and it might have been used to mean ‘found’ only or else the object, saiiarah, will not be stated. Example (7) is another instance that shows the same mechanism is employed by the child, where the use of object pronouns is redundant when encountered with such common phrases, and in this case, it is ‘I got it.’

**Code-switching within the Verb Phrase**

**Switching after the verb ‘to be.’**

Looking at the data of the child, we found that she produces sentences within the verb phrase. Here we are going to examine some of the sentences that the child uses after the auxiliary ‘to be’:

(8) this is hilwah f.s.adj. ‘nice’
(9) I’m shatrah f.s.adj. ‘well-behaved’

In a study conducted by Taweel & Btoosh, (2012), they found that constructions like these might not always be acceptable to the Arabic-English speaker. Some of the students in the study found these sentences strange and some other students simply did not accept them at all. However, some of them liked such sentences and thought that may occur in their speech. Our study distinguishes itself in that the child speaks both languages natively and yet uses such sentences. Therefore, we are inclined to speculate that such constructions can occur naturally by natives and should be viewed as normal code-switching based on Chomsky (1965), who states that native competence and performance are to be viewed as perfect—unlike language learners as those in Taweel & Btoosh, (2012).
Switching after the auxiliary ‘have.’

The construction of have—have+participle—is considered to be a somewhat sophisticated structure and one that an adult is expected to produce. Therefore, this type of sentence makeup has not yet been developed by the child where she uses verbs to indicate finished actions. Having said that, the child does employ ‘have’ in order to indicate ownership. Examine the following example:

(10) I have mushiti
    impert.s.f.v.
    ‘comb’

As we can see from the above example, the child is capable of using ‘have’ to indicate things that belong to her or to others. However, as mentioned earlier, the child sometimes perceives verbs as nouns and uses them as such. Example (10) is no different when the verb mushiti ‘comb’ is used as noun. Although the child can indicate ownership, she only uses ‘have’ in its basic form. Refer to Example (11):

(11) Battal have my story. (speaking to her parents)

Negation

Now we are going to examine the child’s strategy regarding how she can construct sentences where negation is involved.

(12) Battal (the child’s brother) mo shater
    neg.part. m.s.adj.
    ‘not’ ‘well-behaved’

(13) Battal not shater
(14) Battal no shatter

It seems the child can produce sentences using negation words. Her perception of such words seems to be interchangeably employed from both languages. As is obvious from the above, all sentences in Examples (12), (13), and (14) have the same structure except for the use of negation words. The sentence in Example (12) is in Arabic, and is formed correctly by the child, but Examples (13) and (14) are in English and are ungrammatically formed. This is not because the child in not yet capable of forming such structures—see example (18). Rather, it is due to the influence of the Arabic structure on English sentences, where forms of ‘to be,’ such as ‘is’ and ‘are,’ do not exist in Arabic. Therefore, the child overgeneralizes the Arabic structure found in
Example (12) and makes it the default structure for the sentences in Examples (13) and (14) where negation is utilized.

In the following sentences, we will look at some of the sentences in which the child utilizes the verb ‘to be’ correctly without being influenced by the Arabic structure.

(15) I am Rywan.
(16) It’s cold outside.
(17) crocodile is hungry
(18) crocodile is not hungry

In the above examples, we can see that all of the sentences are grammatically formed showing the capability of the child to produce constructions where the verb ‘to be’ is used correctly. Therefore, we can speculate that what occurred in Examples (13) and (14) is most likely an influence from Arabic. In Examples (12) and (18), the child negates the two sentences correctly, each in its respective language. This shows that the child’s linguistic development is on the right track in both languages because linguistic milestones are being acquired. Having said that, we are now going to look at negation when verbs are involved, such as ‘do’:

(19) dadi! I do not have my story.
(20) Rywan mo eat it.
(21) Battal don’t hit me. (speaking to her parents about her brother)

In Example (19), the child uses negation properly with ‘do’ to speak about herself. In Example (20), however, she mirrors what we have found earlier when she uses the Arabic negation without any helping verb ‘to be.’ Although the matrix language is English, now we know that such a construction is used across the board in her corpus whether to express an action or describe a situation or even an entity. Example (21) shows that marked structures are not yet developed by the child. We see that in Example (21), the child does not use the appropriate ‘do’ form when negating the singular entity ‘Battal.’ Instead, she overgeneralizes the ‘do’ form across the board.

Questions

Asking questions is part of the linguistic developmental milestones that a child will acquire along the way during her/his language acquisition. Here, we are going to look at how much the child in this study has accomplished regarding the asking of questions. First, we will list some of the questions that the child was able to construct correctly in English and Arabic.

(22) What do you say?
(23) What’s your name?
(24) What’s that?
(25) What are you doing?
(26) Where’s your cup?

In Arabic:

(27) Baba *rah almasjid*?
n. past.m.s.v. n.
‘Dadi went to the mosque?’

(28) Mama! *ba’dain rooheen* Chuck E. Cheese?
n. adv. f.future.v. n.
‘Mam! Will I go to Chuck E. Cheese later?’

In the previous examples in both English and Arabic, the child was able to construct adult-like questions, except for the section where some of the verbs are not formed properly in terms of following the correct morphological patterns in Arabic. Her syntax, however, has been developed rather well. Example (28) is syntactically correct but morphologically wrong. The verb *roheen* should have been produced as *aro* (t), and this form would be the correct one. However, the verb that was used by the child to refer to herself was the one used by her parents to address her; for example, her Mam would say something like this:

(29) Honey! *badain t-rooheen* Chuck E. Cheese
adv. f.part-f.s.future.v n
‘Honey! You will go to Chuck E. Cheese later.’

In Example (28), the child took this form and used it to address herself where the ‘t’ at the beginning of the verb was deleted. Similar strategies adopted by the child were discussed earlier in this paper where she takes the verb and uses it exactly as it is without making the necessary changes for the entities involved in her statements.

When the child does not use the adult version of forming questions, she relies on intonation. This method of asking questions can be found in adult speech when engaged in everyday language variety. Therefore, we do not know if the child uses this form because she is exposed to the adult version of everyday speech or simply comes up with her own alternative version of asking questions using intonation. Here are some examples where the child code-switches when asking questions using intonation:

(30) Monster *rah* far away?
n. past.m.s.v adv.
‘The monster went far away?’

(31) Sarah rahat ind um-aha?
n past.f.s.v prep. n-f.poss.part.
‘Sarah went to her mam?’

More examples on intonation in English only:

(32) Dark is coming?
(33) Daddi! You’re tired?

In the examples above, the child has developed what seems to be an alternative version of asking questions without following the proper grammatical layout of forming such questions. However, as mentioned above, these questions are not uncommon in everyday speech in both English and Arabic. For this reason, they may have influenced the child’s linguistic development in forming questions.

Two systems?

By the nature of acquiring two languages or more, one might ask if the child has one or two systems for this matter. This question is legitimate in principle but hard to tackle in practice. Many linguists have tried to address this issue and have arrived at different conclusions. The question lies in the nature of dealing with two independent languages, as stated by Kattab (2014, p.2):

The main question that has occupied researchers since the 1970s is whether bilingual children start by mixing the grammatical systems of the two languages and later separate them during their development (known as Gradual Differentiation Theory) or separate the two linguistic systems from the beginning of their language development (the so-called Separate Development Theory.)

The child in our study was spotted in very few occasions using some Arabic words or phrases while speaking with a native English speaker. Now these strategies of hers have some implications that we should address. We notice from this that the child implements a trial and error methodology. Although she knows that her teacher only speaks English, she used some Arabic words anyway. This is unusual, and a logical explanation for this might be that the child wants to find out which language the other person speaks so that she can continue successfully communicating. Another explanation is that some of the lexical items acquired by the child are realized in only one language but not the other (Khattab, 2014), which makes mixing lexical
items unavoidable. Therefore, we are more inclined to say that the child in our study might follow the gradual differentiation theory.

On the contrary, although the child knows that her parents understand English and Arabic, she sometimes says a sentence in English and immediately follows it with a translation of the same sentence in Arabic—see example (36) below. Here, it is not clear why the child uses such a strategy. However, we can speculate that she does so because: (1) She might not enjoy gaining access to Arabic otherwise; and 2) She maybe wants to identify herself as being part of the group in order to establish solidarity with her family language. The reason might not be a linguistic reason per se but rather a sociolinguistic one, as mentioned above.

(34) We are going home?
The child’s translation: (bin)-rooh albait?

Observations

First, an odd structure was found in this study in which the structure does not follow either the Arabic syntax or that of English as well:

(35) I want غسلي فمك
n-m.poss.part. f.impert.v.
intended: ‘I want to wash my mouth.’
literally: ‘I want your mouth wash.’

Similar to English, the Arabic structure of such a sentence would be constructed like this:

(36) I want غسلي فمك
f.impert..v. n-m.poss.part.

This sentence in Arabic mirrors the intended sentence in English above. However, we notice that neither of these structures are being adopted by the child which makes us ask where did such odd structure come from?

Second, most of the code-switches performed by the child involved many verbs. Therefore, it goes against most code-switched lexical items, which are nouns Kattab (2014).

Taweel & Btoosh, (2012, p.9) states that: “Jake (1994) argues that an English double of an Arabic ‘topic’ pronoun is possible, but the opposite is not. If the speaker starts with an Arabic pronoun, followed by an English sentence, English being the matrix language here, then doubling is possible.”
In our study however, the Arabic object occurs last in both of the sentences (6) and (7) immediately before the object in English as to render it double objects, which disagrees with the findings of Jake in this matter. As for the matrix language, part of our study mirrors his findings.

Jake: (37) inta You are coming tonight?  
double pro. m.s.pronoun ‘you’

Child: (38) I found it saiarah.  
double obj. s.f.obj. ‘car’

Child: (39) I got it mandeel  
double objects.  
s.f.obj. ‘tissue’

Conclusion

In this paper, we tackled different linguistic intra-sentential structures and some other linguistic phenomena as well. In the literature review, we took a look at some of the literature concerning bilingualism in general and specifically where Arabic is one of the languages involved. Subsequently, the child’s environment was discussed with an emphasis on age, time, and language. In Methodology, we attempted to give a clear picture of how data was collected and used to reach our current results. After that, we discussed intra-sentential code-switching regarding some syntactic constructs in discussion and analysis. Negation structures and question formations were then discussed. We addressed, consequently, the subject matter of whether or not the child has one or two systems when linguistic acquisition takes place. Finally, three observations are pointed out.

The acquisition of Arabic-English by bilinguals is still under-researched in all the components of linguistics such as syntax, phonology, morphology, and semantics. However, our study attempted to explain some syntactic constructs with relation to code-switching between English and Arabic. In the process of doing that, we found ourselves confronted by several questions that were intriguing. The first question: What is it that makes the child do doubling with objects and not with pronouns (subjects), as found by Taweel and Btoosh (2012)? The child
in our study has a tendency to use verb forms identically to how they are addressed to her without making the necessary changes therein, such as using the imperative form, to express herself. This raises a question that needs to be tackled based on theoretical grounds. On some occasions, the child says a sentence in English and then immediately follows it with a translation in Arabic. Although we attempted to explain such a strategy, we still need to look deeper into this behavior to understand better the reason behind it.
List of abbreviations

1<sup>st</sup> per.            First Person
2<sup>nd</sup> per.          Second Person
3<sup>rd</sup> per.         Third Person
pro.                      Pronoun
s.                        Singular
v.                        Verb
n.                        Noun
m.                        Masculine
f.                        Feminine
impert.                   Imperative.
Sub.                      Subject
Obj.                      Object
adj.                      Adjective
adv.                      Adverb
neg.                      Negation
part.                     Particle
past.                     Past tense
future.                  Future tense
prep.                     Preposition
poss.                     Possessive
References


L’Errance dans *Le Cœur n’est pas un Genou que l’On plie* de Mariama Barry

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Abstract

Errancy is a mental state, a journey made introspectively, a search for the truth or a rejection of society. Errancy as a notion has always perplexed and disquieted people […] Our interest in this article revolves around the way in which Mariama Barry presents the subject in her novel *One does not bend the heart as one does the knee* […] This theme appears to be very important to Mariama Barry, so much so that she hints at it in her dedication to the novel: *One does not bend the heart as one does the knee.* Also, the book is dedicated to “children of today and those of yester years, separated from their parents.” […] The theme of errancy is by its very nature interdisciplinary.

Keywords: Errancy, maroons, incessant movement, separation, alienation, psychological torments, indeterminacy, evolution, incompleteness, inaccessibility, vagabondage, abandoned child, tossed to and fro, navétane, social disintegration.
Résumé

L'errance, état d'esprit, voyage à l'intérieur de soi-même, recherche de la vérité ou rejet de la société. L'errance a toujours subjugué et inquiété [....] Notre intérêt, dans cet article, porte sur la façon dont Mariama Barry présente le sujet dans son roman Le Cœur n’est pas un genou que l’on plie [....] Ce thème semble très important pour Mariama Barry, si bien qu’elle l’inscrit dans la dédicace à son roman : Le Cœur n’est pas un genou que l’on plie (CNGP). En surcroît, le roman est dédié « Aux enfants d’aujourd’hui et à ceux d’hier, séparés de leurs parent. » [....] Le sujet d’errance est de par sa nature d’emblée interdisciplinaire.

Mots Clés : errance, marronage, mouvements incessants, séparation, aliénation, tiraillement psychologique, indéterminée, évolution, inachevée, insaisissable, vagabondage, enfant abandonné, trimballée partout, navétane, déchirement social
L'errance, état d'esprit, voyage à l'intérieur de soi-même, recherche de la vérité ou rejet de la société. L'errance a toujours subjugué et inquiété. Le vagabondage sous toutes ses formes est un thème récurrent dans la littérature mondiale. Du chevalier à la charrette à Don Quichotte, des poètes errants aux mystiques ; et dans les temps modernes, les roads-movies ou ces immigrés qui traversent une partie de l' Afrique à pied pour prendre la mer dans des embarcations de fortune à la recherche de l'Eldorado européen ; le flâneur dans les rues, ou le photographe qui va à la recherche de l'inspiration ou de l'image rare. L'errance se manifeste aussi dans le style et la manière d'écrire 1

Le thème d'errance a été la préoccupation de l'homme dès le jardin d'Éden où Caïn a été condamné au vagabondage par Dieu pour avoir fait enfreint à la loi morale lorsqu'il a tué Abel son frère cadet (Genèse 4 :9-12). Gustave Dore, dans un article apparu sur le site wikepedia (modifié dernièrement le 10 novembre 2013, à 22 :49) retrace les origines d’une légende d’un(e) juif (ve) vagabond (e) condamné (e) à se balader partout dans le monde en grande peine. Ce sujet du juif (ve) vagabond(e) a attiré l’attention des littéraires qui ont produit des œuvres depuis le 17ème siècle jusqu’au 20ème siècle comme l’a suffisamment démontré Gustave Dore dans l’article dont nous parlons. Prashan Ranasinghe a porté au sujet un aperçu juridique dans un article intitulé « Vagrancy as a Penal Problem: The Logistics of Administering Punishment in Late-Nineteenth-Century Canada”2. En fait, le sujet d’errance fait écho dans tout domaine d’activité humaine. Notre intérêt, dans cet article, porte sur la façon dont Mariama Barry présente le sujet dans son roman Le Cœur n’est pas un genou que l’on plie. Renée Larrier dans son « Migrants ImagiNations, Can(n)ons and Patrick Chamoiseau’s Chemin d’Ecole » cite Des Rosiers en épithète comme suit : « Mon déracinement est un bel exil : j’ai dans la tête une île errante, et c’est un dé qui coule vers sa chance. L’homme du XX ème siècle, qui a perdu ses repères, se trouve abandonné sur le chemin d’errance sans fin ». L’errance, trouve une définition très pertinente et éloquente dans cette citation. Il s’agit d’une perte de repères reconnue par un individu ou par une tierce personne. Cependant, il y a un aspect du sujet qui n’est pas pris en compte dans cette définition : le fait que l’errance a un coté logique. C’est ce que Schwedtner3 souligne à propos du rôle de plus en plus important que jouent les personnages féminins dans l’œuvre littéraire française et francophone. Elle montre que ces personnages féminins incarnent des figures de l’immoralité. Elle souligne également que le personnage errant masculin a été de loin beaucoup plus représenté dans l’œuvre littéraire que ne l’est son homologue féminin. Elle évoque aussi la punition dont le juif a été l’objet pour avoir rejeté Jésus-Christ alors qu’il était en route pour être crucifié. Elle fait remarquer deux faits importants associés à l’errance. Le

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2 Ce article est apparu dans Journal of Historical Sociology Volume 25, Issue 4, pages 531–551, December 2012
vagabondage est en premier lieu lié à d’autres erreurs commises par celui condamné à se balader sans fin. Elle note par exemple que l’errance de Caïn et son fils est lié aux aspects moraux et juridiques du thème et que l’errance du chevalier est souvent associée au rejet des conventions sociales oppressives telles le mariage forcé. Ensuite, il y a, lié au thème d’errance des idées soit positives, soit négatives (l’enfreint à la loi, la punition, le défi, honneur…) qui ne sont dans aucun cas particulier ou fixe. Ce pour cela que la représentation de Caïn au 19ième siècle, comme l’a bien noté certains critiques, selon Schewertdtner, prime l’aspect rebelle du personnage par rapport à l’aspect pénitent. Pareillement, le juif errant est doué au 18ème siècle, en surcroît de son fardeau de péché, de la passion et de la faiblesse. La notion de révolte, de résistance qu’implique le mot errance est saisie par le synonyme « marronage » dont le sens s’étend de la résistance à l’esclavage pour inclure par la suite des personnages dans les œuvres aussi bien que les écrivains qui contestent le statu quo (Larrier 17-18).

Errance, nom dérivé du verbe “errer” implique l’idée d’imprécision, de vagabondage. Appliqué à la thématique littéraire, ce thème peut se référer, soit sur le plan intellectuel, au flux d’idées, des fois conflictuelles, qui affluent à l’esprit d’un individu ; soit sur le plan géographique à l’idée de mouvements incessants et « sans but ou objectif défini » ? (à l’instar des situationnistes [Guy-Ernest Debord2] ; soit sur le plan émotionnel où l’individu est aux affres des sentiments conflictuels et insaisissables3. Que ce soit sur le plan intellectuel, émotionnel ou géographique, recelé dans le mot « errance » est l’idée de séparation, d’aliénation de siens ou de quelque chose de personnelle ou de tireaillement psychologique. Bref, la notion peut s’appliquer à tout domaine de la vie humaine. On n’a pas à se déplacer physiquement pour vivre en errance comme Larrier l’a bien constaté dans son article cité ci-dessus. Commentant sur le phénomène d’errance que vit le petit négrillon dans Chemin-d’école de Chamoiseau, il dit « Although the border he crosses is neither to another nation nor to a big city, it could still be considered another world” (19). Ce thème semble très important pour Mariama Barry, si bien qu’elle l’inscrit dans la dédicace à son roman : Le Cœur n’est pas un genou que l’on plie (CNGP). En surcroît, le roman est dédié « Aux enfants d’aujourd’hui et à ceux d’hier, séparés de leurs parent. »

Découlant des notions variées qu’évoque le mot errance, on peut parler de l’errance mentale, physique, social, économique, éducatif… dans ce roman. On trouve dans l’idée d’errance cette notion d’appartenir, au moins, à deux espaces, origines et désirs. On pourrait dire

3 Errance compte-rendu de la deuxième séance 26 février 2008 « La perte de l’amour peut entraîner ce changement, tout autant que son gain, aussi on peu se perdre dans l’amour. L’errance c’est aussi l’attente incertaine de l’amour en retour. Celui qui attend se retrouve dans l’incertitude il est renvoyé à l’errance. On peut espérer être aimé et craindre de ne plus ou pas l’être, dans les deux cas l’aimant est renvoyé à l’incertitude. »

http://ijhcschiefeditor.wix.com/ijhcs

Nous allons, donc, dans cet analyse considérer la notion d’errance dans des contextes multiples dont elle sollicite l’interprétation. L’idée d’errance telle qu’inscrite par Mariama Barry dans son roman représente également, non pas l’autobiographie personnelle de la romancière, mais plutôt une expérience collective du peuple guinéen à un moment donné dans l’histoire. Ses déboires évoquent alors les péripéties de la vie du peuple guinéen, tout comme les autobiographies fictives caribéennes de James, Lamming, Viddia Naipaul et Walcott nous instruisent sur « the collective predicament of an island community. » (Pacquet, Sandra Pouchet, 1990 :358). Et comme l’a bien dit Vartan Patrick Messier dans son article « Errancies of Desire: Subjectivity, Difference, and Proximity in Transnational Film and Literature », l’idée d’errance recélée dans le désir est “fluid and unpredictable, it produces heterogeneous and nomadic forms of subjectivity that undermine essentialist notions of cultural difference and specificity”². Dans la notion d’errance est comprise l’idée de l’indéterminée, d’une évolution, de l’inachevée et de l’insaisissable. Dans cet article, nous allons discuter des aspects intellectuels, émotionnels, matériels, sociaux et spacieux de la notion du vagabondage, de l’errance. Karin Schwertdner dans son article « Wandering, women and writing : Maryse Conde’s Desirada” constate la place importante qu’occupent les caractères féminins en vagabondage. Elle stipule que « Female wanderer…occupy an increasingly important position in French and Francophone literature”³.

L’errance mentale/intellectuelle/psychologique/émotionnelle/sociale

Tout comme Lyonel Trouillot, Mariama semble être toujours accompagnée dans ses déplacements. Mariama « ne voyage pas sans [ses frères et sœurs et une certaine peine issue de la séparation des ses parent] ⁴ ». Ces derniers occupent toujours ses pensées et exercent souvent une influence sur ses actions. Il y a donc chez elle de l’errance mentale et émotionnelle inscrites dans le roman. Elle erre émotionnellement entre son désir de faire de soi un être indépendant de ses parents qui l’ont décue et de les rejoindre pour renouer avec une vie qu’elle regrette d’avoir

² ProQuest Dissertations and Theses, (2011)
³ In Dalhousie French Studies, Vol. 75 (2005, pp 129-137)
⁴ Dans cette citation les mots « frères et sœurs et une certaine peine issue de sa séparation de ses parents » remplacent le mot « ILE »

No.143 pp. 125.
perdue. Son tiraillement émotionnel, psychologique et social est d’autant plus cuisant qu’elle est issue d’une société où « l’on n’existe qu’à travers le groupe. » (CNGP 19). Djiwum résiste à cette psyché collective et vit alors en errance avec la société guinéenne dans ce sens. Elle s’inscrit de sa propre volonté dans la troupe théâtrale consacrée à divertir Sékou Touré, une troupe prises-en horreur par tout parent conscient de la moralité de siens. De plus, elle refuse de se plier à la volonté de ses oncles qui voulaient la marier de force au gendre qui offre le plus en dote pour sa main. Par contre, elle noue des liens d’amitié et d’amour avec un jeune étudiant, Alpha, qu’elle désire avoir comme mari contre tous les us et coutumes qui prévalent.

Intellectuellement Gjiwum B, à l’instar de ses compatriotes, vivaient une situation éducationnelle instable, vagabonde. Ce, à cause d’un fréquent changement de personnel et du déplacement continu auquel sa situation d’enfant abandonnée l’astreint. Du côté du corps enseignant, les coopérants « du bloc de l’Est » (CNGP 11) surtout les Bulgares, les Polonais et les Allemand de la RDA qui ont fait la ruée en Guinée enseignent « les sciences exactes dans une langue qu’ils ne maitrisaient pas ! » (CNGP 11) et qui, une fois qu’ils ont fait « de progrès notable » « disparaissaient …et d’autres venaient les remplacer. » (CNGP 12) Cette situation de tâtonnement sur le plan éducatif s’apparente à celle des nomades qui peuvent être considérés comme errants parce qu’ils ne sont pas dans la norme mais objectivement ils n’errent pas… La norme fixe et rassure comme le domicile… Mais pour subsister le nomade va de points en points, de puits en puits, de pâturages en pâturages. Donc ils n’errent pas il se déplace selon un schéma rationnel. (ufr.zero Errance compte-rendu de la deuxième séance 26 février 2008).

Le caractère décisif, déterminé et courageux de Gjiwum face à son désir de s’éduquer, dans ces conditions déprimantes, fait des ses efforts pour s’instruire, afin de devenir une avocate des actions rationnels. La situation de l’école de Tiaguel, suite à « la valse des reformes » (CNGP 66) était lamentable : au lieu d’une école classique où tout va bien, Gjiwum se trouve devant « un plancher poussiéreux et couvert par endroits de crottes de chèvres, à ces tables branlantes et de formats différents…au milieu d’enfants de taille et d’âge différents, déguenillés, aux pieds nus. » (CNGP 66). Devant cette réalité négative, voire errante, pour le fait que cela s’écarte de la norme, Djiwum ’erre mentalement. Elle se met « à penser à [son] école de Dakar, à l’hygiène qui y régnait… à [soi-même]. » Elle voyait son lot « fait de vies complètement opposées, des extrêmes qui…jalon[n[aient] [son] existence » (CNGP 67). Elle était souvent obligée de s’adapter, à embrasser des positions sociales, politiques, culturelles…anormales/errantes. Cependant, il faut nuancer la notion d’errance : l’errance n’est errance que lorsqu’une tierce personne trouve dans une action, situation, personne…quelque chose qui va à l’encontre de ce qui est accepté comme normal. Cependant, la personne, la chose ou la situation, si elle se comporte d’une manière logique et rationnel ne peut pas se considérer être en errance pour quelque raison que ce soit. On
trouve alors Gjiwum Barry qui vit en errance par rapport à la société tout en étant très rationnelle et logique dans tout ce qu’elle fait.

Le fait qu’elle s’inspirait des sources variées et disparates philosophiques afin de pouvoir atteindre son objectif ne peut pas être considéré comme étant tout simplement errant. Les sources de son inspiration étant multiples peuvent amener quelqu’un à concevoir son univers psychologique et intellectuel, très actif, fluide, hétérogène, et alors errant. Pourtant, pour elle, il n’y avait rien d’étrange, d’anormal dans cette multiplicité de sources d’apprentissage. A la page 11 la narratrice, Gjiwum B. nous fait part de la multiplicité des sources intellectuelles desquelles elle s’inspire dans ces mots :

Entre l’école de filles de Dakar, la faculté de droit de Paris Assas et le Centre de formation professionnelles du diplôme de notaire, j’allais faire mes classes, et pas avec les moindres magistères : Lénine, Marx, Che Guevara, Nkrumah. Cela aurait pu être Mao en Chine, Castro à Cuba, mais c’était la Guinée, sous Sékou Touré. (CNGP 11)

De cette citation, on se rend compte du fait qu’il existe pour le protagoniste « Djiwun, ‘la petite fille’ Barry » (CNGP 91), une errance à la fois géographique, psychologique et mentale. Pour sa formation de notaire, même formation qu’a eu Mariama Barry, Djiwun B… (CNGP 121, 125), dont le nom de famille est identique à celui de l’auteure, semble « voyager d’un exil à l’autre » (Edouard J. Maunick1 2001 125), s’inspirer d’un penseur politique ou l’autre, et se déplacer d’un pays à l’autre, dans la quête de s’abreuver du savoir, dont le manque aboutit à la servitude. Pour éviter la servitude elle doit répugner l’ignorance, puisque « [l]a tête sans savoir portera les fardeaux » (CNGP 11-17).

Cette errance, quelle soit géographique, politique ou intellectuelle se démontre très clairement avec l’effort désespéré que déploient les autorités politiques guinéennes pour recevoir le concours des coopérants du bloc de l’Est : la Bulgarie, la Pologne, l’Allemagne, la Roumanie et la Tchécoslovaquie. Coopérants dont le bagage linguistique fait défaut pour un encadrement efficace de l’apprentissage. Une situation en errance pour la Guinée et ses autorités, mais très logique pour ces coopérants qui s’en profitent pour s’évoluer.

Le problème linguistique auquel sont confrontés ces expatriés aggrave la situation d’aliénation intellectuelle des apprenants. Les professeurs eux-mêmes, vu la condition déplorable de la Guinée, « n’étaient là que le temps de rallier d’autres pays africains ‘socialistes’ plus exigeants quant au niveau linguistique. » En plus, pour compenser le manque d’enseignants, des étudiants venus en renfort, cependant, « [n]e pouvant pas transmettre que ce qu’ils possédaient » (CNGP 12) laissaient les apprenants planer dans l’univers d’imprécision. Ils faisaient apprendre

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Les apprenants, pour tout dire, se rendent à l’école pour ne rien apprendre. En quête de s’instruire, Djiwum fait une tentative de s’écarter de cette situation en errance institutionnelle et se déplace de Labé, sa ville natale, puis à Conakry pour n’y trouver que « le même désarroi qu’[elle avait] laissé à Labé. » (CNGP 13) Le désordre dans le domaine éducatif se fait voir lorsque Djiwun, en compagnie de son amie Kady, se fait inscrire en dixième (seconde) alors qu’elle venait de la huitième (quatrième), puisqu’elle n’avait pas pu passer son brefet en candidat libre à Labé. (CNGP 13) Le thème d’errance est très important sur le plan éducatif, vu le fait que Djiwum se déplace sur plusieurs niveau pour s’abreuver de la connaissance : géographique, intellectuel et promotionnel. N’ayant rien de précis à apprendre, ces élèves apprenaient tout, étaient bons à tout faire :

Une série d’activités obligatoires nous accaparâient : la collecte des bouteilles vides, le ramassage de sable, celui de petits coquillages dont nous formions des tas au bord de la mer pour des entrepreneurs du bâtiment, et même la préparation et la vente de sandwiches aux élèves... Il y avait aussi les travaux d’entretien du potager...le désherbage, l’arrosage que j’adorais... Nous en étions même à l’écoulement de nos produits, qui posait problème. (CNGP 14)


Les projets les plus beaux germaient dans ma tête. J’eus hâte de les mettre en œuvre, flottant d’une chose à l’autre, cherchant à me fixer sans savoir sur quoi. Moments dououreux : chaque fois que je me trouvais dans cette situation d’errance, je ne songeais qu’à tourner la page. Et, non sans innocence, je me suis toujours vue progressant dans le sens d’une ascension. Ma tête s’élevait, malgré mes pieds enfoncés dans le bourbier… Pour me rappeler quoi que ce fut, je devais faire un effort inouï, chercher à quel

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1 “Vive la Révolution, vive le Président Sékou Touré.”
événement correspondait ce souvenir. Je renvoyais des mésaventures, des épisodes (CNGP 19-20)


Bouba, était lui aussi, si marqué psychologiquement par l’absence de ses parents qu’il se distrayait en démontant toute chose qui lui vient en main : poste radio…. Selon Djivun, « il avait l’air désolé de ne pouvoir remettre les choses en état. » (CNGP 21) Il vivait en errance chaque fois que Djivun les lassait : il songeait toujours à elle : « j’avais ta nostalgie ». Chaque fois que tu partais, on souffrait. Nos parents nous ont jetés… » (CNGP 21) dit-il à sa sœur aînée qui tient lieu pour leur seule parente. Parente enfante, Gjiwum vivait en errance en assurant un service dont socialement elle n’avait rien affaire. Mais en tant l’aînée de la fratrie, cette responsabilité lui revient de jouer ce rôle en l’absence de leurs parents. Ce qui est socialement logique : ce rôle cesse sur ce compte d’être un acte en errance.

Errance géographique

A la base de cette errance est la situation politique de la Guinée. La dictature de Sékou Touré expulse du pays un grand nombre des guinéens. Cet exode occasionné pour des raisons politiques fait écho aux années soixante-dix et quatre-vingts quand en Haïti les citoyens fuient « political and economic hardships » (Larrier, 2006 17). Le premier écho de cette émigration, propulsée par la situation politique, se fait entendre lors des sévices exercés sur Assane, un ami de Djiwum. Son père fut arrêté et « sa sœur s’exila » (CNGP 16). Cette dernière, après des pressions sur sa famille, fut obligée de regagner le pays. « L’exil de la fratrie », titre au deuxième chapitre, inscrit d’une façon définitive, dans ce roman, le thème d’errance. Dans ce cas, il s’agit à la fois de l’aliénation sociale et géographique. Les parents de l’héroïne se divorcent ;
source de tous ses problèmes de déménagement. Après cette divorce, son père l’« avait emmenée de force dans cette contrée guinéenne ». Il l’y avait emmenée avec son frère et sœurs auprès de leur mère. (CNGP 19) Puis il rejoignit à pied le Sénégal.


L’errance n’est pas individuelle dans ce roman. Issue d’un peuple nomade, il semble que l’errance de Gjiwum est quelque chose de sociale. Car « [d]ans la vie des Peuls, on a toujours dit que la chance, on va à sa rencontre. On doit la cueillir là où, elle est… » (CNGP 27). De ce dicton on perçoit tout de suite le concours, pour ne pas dire la conjugaison de forces qui existe entre le déplacement géographique et le déplacement pour des raisons économiques. En fait, dans le roman, il y a un moment de navétane, période où les travailleurs saisonniers s’en vont de la Guinée au Sénégal pour cultiver les champs d’arachides. Les Peuls concevaient la libre circulation comme une marque de liberté à ne pas hypothéquer pour quelque raison que ce soit. Source de leur bien-être économique, en tant que bergers en grande partie, l’errance constitue pour eux une stratégie de survie. Toute personne vaillante était obligée de partir à un moment ou un autre travailler pour subvenir « aux besoins de celles qui (sont) restées pour veiller sur les biens, les travaux champêtres, les animaux, les parents…Elles allaient travailler comme des fourmis, se priver pour ramener tout à leur port d’attache.. » (CNGP 27).

Cependant, le système politique oppressif rajoutait au désir de ce peuple nomade, victimes du régime de Sékou Touré, de s’évader d’avantage du pays. L’exode, l’errance provoquée par la Révolution était plus intense que celle occasionnée par des raisons économiques : « …la Révolution, les injustices, plus que la misère, avaient poussée la population aussi bien des villes que des campagnes à s’expatrier. » (CNGP 27). Que se soit pour des raisons politiques ou économiques, le déplacement de ce tribu, d’ailleurs nomade, était logique, et donc ne peut pas être conçu comme errance dans l’entendement de se balader, se promener sans objectif précis. Ce vagabondage politico-économique avait des ramifications, des retombées sociales. Cela avait déclenché un déchirement social, et certains ont dû « quitter parfois définitivement le toit qui [les voyait] naître, la terre où reposent [leurs ancêtres] » (CNGP 27). L’errance donc, inscrite dans ce roman, constitue un carrefour où tout ce qui peut être considéré irrégulier se réunit.
Le sujet d’errance est de par sa nature d’emblée interdisciplinaire. On n’erre point d’une seule manière. Dès que le sujet de l’errance survient, il faut attendre à ce que plusieurs aspects de la vie soient évoqués. Et comme c’est le cas pour les migrants qui rentraient au pays et ceux qui partaient, l’errance en tant que thème établit « un chassé-croisé » entre tous les aspects d’écarts possibles dans la vie. Il paraît donc un peu artificiel de vouloir découper, délimiter et établir la différence entre les multiples manières d’errance qui puissent se manifester. Le texte que voici, tiré du roman peut explicitier ce point que nous venons de faire. Parlant de son frère cadet, Bouba, Gjiwum dit ceci :

Paysan chez son marabout, censé l’instruire, il fut maltraité. Ma tante, croyant opter pour un moindre mal, paya son transport, le recommanda à une de ses amies, comme boy à Conakry. Quelques années après, il s’évaderait d’un véritable esclavage, rejoignant nos parents à pied à Dakar. (CNGP 21)

On constate dans l’extrait ci-dessus le conjointement des situations d’errances sociales, géographiques, économiques et émotionnelles. En fait, à chaque fois que le thème d’errance (d’évasion, de la dérive) est évoqué dans l’œuvre, on constate une concurrence entre, au moins, deux perspectives du thème. Prenons pour raisons de démonstration ces quelques exemples :

Ma famille a tout fait pour que je reste continuer mes études à Dakar, mais je voulais revenir pour maman. J’adore ma mère, en fait je ne connais qu’elle…A trois ans, j’ai perdu mon père. Mon affection pour elle fut la seule raison de mon retour dans ce pays. Je voulais être à ses côtés…
-Comment se fait-il qu’il a souffert dans la même ville que moi sans que mon corps n’ait rien ressenti ? Il m’est souvent arrivée de passer devant la prison, il n’y a même pas de clôture. Quitter clandestinement ce pays, y revenir alors qu’on lui proposait ailleurs une vie meilleure. Oh la taule, quelle horreur !
Mon imagination allait de bon train. Je le voyais braver tous ces dangers pour venir m’enlever et m’emmener loin avec lui. Pour sa mère, il a risqué sa vie, il ne peut qu’être digne d’être aimé. ! (CNGP 123-124).

Dans le texte cité ci-dessus, on constate de l’errance géographique, émotionnelle, intellectuelle et psychologique. Alfa souffrait psychologiquement pour être séparé de sa mère qu’il essaie de rejoindre. Sa souffrance est d’autant plus intense pour la raison que celle-ci n’est que la seule personne qu’il connaît dès son enfance. Arrêté pour vouloir rejoindre sa mère en Guinée, au chef d’inculpation de contre révolutionnaire, il souffre émotionnellement et psychologiquement de ne pas pouvoir rejoindre cette dernière. Intellectuellement, il se voit séparé de sa passion de s’instruire. Mis dans la taule, il se voyait obligé de « vider les tinettes…d’office » (CNGP 122) en tant que le plus jeune dans la prison. Le cas d’Alpha constitue un exemple clair de la malversation de la capitale humain en Guinée. Cette
prévarication dans l’emploi de la ressource humaine en Guinée constitue une errance sur le plan administratif.

Pareillement, on voit dans l’extrait Gjiwum B., qui, comme cela lui prend souvent de faire, se plonger dans des rêveries. Elle laissait vagabonder son imagination. A la seule idée qu’Alpha fait preuve de bravoure en choisissant de rentrer au pays chercher sa mère la met en rêveries : elle se voyait en situation d’une princesse enlevée par un monstre qu’Alpha viendrait chercher et sauver. Au moment où elle fait ces rêves, Alpha restait toujours en prison. Djiwum alors vivait un moment d’errance émotionnelle. L’incertitude dans l’attente du retour d’Alpha constitue un moment d’errance chez Djiwum. Elle ne sait pas si son bien aimé viendrait un jour la chercher.

On constate dans cet article que la notion d’errance a des perspectifs multiples qui se rejoignent en groupes lorsqu’elle est évoquée. Nous faisons constater également que cette notion est de nature complexe : un groupe peut considérer un événement, un acte, une personne ou une situation errant(e) alors que selon le contexte rien ne serait plus logique, rationnel et normal. Mariama Barry, par l’intermédiaire de Gjiwum B., et la société peule en Guinée de Sékou Touré, nous met devant des situations d’errance à la fois économique, politique, sociale, intellectuelle, psychologique et émotionnelle. Ce roman, en focalisant sur Djiwum B., miroite un des cas d’errances d’une femme qui se multiplient dans la littérature francophone, surtout celle produite par les femmes.
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Comeback of the boomerang – Thomas King’s
Short stories in the context of anthropological gaze and linguistic aporia

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Abstract
My paper examines how Thomas King has tampered with the Received Standard English in his writings, while making the language bear the burden of his unique communal experiences and perspectives. I explore the function of his hybridized broken English that opens up a dialogue between the ‘Self’ and the ‘Other’ in a postcolonial context. King evinces that the Eurocentric value-additions have resulted in rampant vulgarization of a vast repertoire of indigenous customs, beliefs and idioms. In that light, I study the involvement of anthropology as a discipline with questionable intentions that has romanticized and fossilized the live reality of the indigenous ‘Other’.

I trace King’s position amid two opposing tendencies – of retrieval of a ‘pure’ pre-colonial past with the aid of native languages by dissociating them from English, and of reaching out to the global audience with the medium of ‘english’. Subsequently, I discuss the various features of King’s writings, such as maintaining gaps of silence, employing untranslated indigenous words and dealing with interchangeable dualities, which draws on Jacques Derrida’s concept of ‘aporia’. The tussle between content and form creates an open-endedness, impeding every kind of presuppositions that facilitate a ‘smooth’ Western readership.

Can the indigenous groups practice the same exclusivity within the scope of a radicalized ‘english’ that they previously used to enjoy in their respective aboriginal dialects? I argue that broken English/‘english’ can play the role of mouthpiece for these communities, and become an even more efficient medium for carrying the testimony of violence than the almost-defunct indigenous tongues.

Keywords: Broken English, Thomas King, postcolonial, anthropology, indigenous, aporia
Since the indigenous communities love to tell stories and the White man loves to listen to stories, their bond should have been solid. But Thomas King tells us what happened when between a narrator’s cumulative memory and the listener’s fluid faculty of hearing and imagination, a camera, a recorder and a microphone sat fat, determined to give a freezing closure to all curiosities and doubts about the “Red Indian” lifestyle, swallowing ‘the supernatural’ and ‘the superstitious’ with pure technology and reproducing them in turn with a perfect touch of romance and art that surpasses any fairy-tale. Thanks to these masterminds, the larger part of the world cannot conceive of “Red Indians” in modern professions even today – as writers, teachers or filmmakers – without images of blotched faces and feathered head-gears encroaching their popular consciousness. The White Man’s make-believe prototype continues to survive triumphantly by using the indigenous communities as pawns for ‘authentic aboriginal stories’, objectivising the lives of these people into puny stereotypes, regardless of their consent or consultation.

Thomas King’s One Good Story, That One limns the intriguing contact between the Whites and the First Nations people, evincing how the pseudo-authentic White narratives have changed the nomenclature of topographies like water bodies and mountains. King reflects that the familial propinquity for the indigenous people extends to their surrounding macrocosm both animate and inanimate, and this relationship with nature thus defines their own existential and spiritual relevance. That is why, the colonial intention of hijacking names is synonymous to rendering a group of people with facelessness. Kristina Aurylaitė argues in her essay that “acts of (mis)naming are manifestations of power as they include or exclude, allow or deny access” (8), thereby divesting an individual body of its reality (which is one’s assertive performative presence) and insistently reducing it to representation. In that light, King writes in a broken English, thereby using the colonizer’s vehicle of communication to tamper with its very own conventional yardsticks, bringing into forefront an open-ended framework of the non-European ethos that can perform as separate entities before the world.

In One Good Story, That One, the discipline of anthropology itself is put to question that collects torn and deliberately reduced clippings of the native lifestyle, thereby highlighting politics of representation. Anthropology legitimizes surrogating the local folk elements of these communities with clones of colonizer’s version, thus wiping out many facts that are ontologically interspersed with these people and that pass down from one generation to another as heirlooms of collective remembrance, in the form of typified symbols and leitmotifs. The aggression involved in this monologist treatment of a subject matter is explained by Mikhail Bakhtin: “Monologue manages without the other, and therefore to some degree materializes all reality...Life by its very nature is dialogic. To live means to participate in dialogue” (Ridington 148). To freeze a possible second version is therefore tantamount to rendering the “Other” as dead. At the same time, as Jeff Miller recognizes, such anthropological platitude tends to obfuscate the exclusivity of the
different North American indigenous tribes, superimposing the broad empty term “Indian” for a large number of languages, rituals and practices, thereby not extending the basic will to comprehend them for what they are. According to King, this ignorant blanket appellation of “Indian” for all the native communities is akin to the desire to crush any kind of incongruity among them and even them out in the mould of a wishful homogeneity. Such purposeful lack of knowledge on the part of the White world, just like facility of knowledge in other cases, becomes an appendage of power and control.

With the reversal of the original myth of Genesis, One Good Story, That One deflates this entire predatory paradigm. Playing with the singularity and plurality of God and distorting the names of Adam and Eve into Ah-damn and Evening, the desire for an ‘original’ Native story is frustrated with a traditional Judeo-Christian tale. In fact, the figures of Adam, Eve and even God become signs of something else here, as the critics Davidson, Walton and Andrews would point out: “Unlike Eve, Evening is not breaking a treaty (so to speak) with god, who has not told her that the tree is sacrosanct. She is hungry and she eats.” Adam, instead of being a noble father-figure with Eve as his appendage, is held up to ridicule: “That Ah-damn not so smart. Like Harley James, white man, those. Evening, she be Indian woman, I guess” (8), and as the critics infer, “Ah-Damn’s affinity with White culture, which is written, is contrasted with Evening’s affinity with Native culture, which is primarily oral and closely allied with nature”. Further, “Since King’s text posits Evening’s actions as practical rather than seductive, it undercuts Eve’s traditional role as femme fatale (58).” Evening here is an intelligent woman who can very much be identified in today’s modern world and who has the nerve to tell a rather archaic god, as he grumbles because she has eaten his apple: “Calm down, watch some television” (53).

As critics Tataryn and Gingell reflect, by not ascertaining whether the anthropologists are “good men” or “may be fish” (4), besides the satirical expansion of possibilities viz-a-viz the readers’ multiple subject position, there is also a hilarity produced at the cost of these gullible White men: “They are being fished around in and completely take the joker’s bait…Perceived as “Pretty loud talkers” (4), they do not come to listen or learn but to appropriate a history that serves romantic nationalism. While losing tapes here seems analogous to losing marbles, the reliance of the anthropologists on taping provides greater dimensions to this joke. Therefore, the storyteller obliges with a tale for their recorder mindset” (13). The iconoclastic attempt on King’s part to disrupt the predetermined relationship between the signifier and the signified, to render writing “a neutral, composite, oblique space” (Barthes), and to deconstruct an object’s inscribed relation with respect to its meaning and function – if we may call this as a “Don Quixote syndrome” – explicitly challenges these master narratives of Western literature and the mainstream enterprise of canon-making. Clare Archer-Lean studies how King’s writings re-educate a reader in terms of their pre-set ideas about reading:
“Vital Western emblems are reconstructed, to protest their original ‘naturalization’ as positive. For Noah to be creatively resituated as breast-mad lunatic, or Elisa Frazer to be re-imagined as lascivious lesbian vampire is not simply a humorous absurdity. Exploration of such emblems makes it immediately apparent that there is a complexity to the writing. For example, the primacy of protest as conflict or opposition has to be revised as a reading assumption when the texts are read through notions of oral story telling praxis” (294).

In the story “The One About Coyote Going West”, King assumes a cultural sensitivity on the part of the readers for imbuing the language, theme and even a trickster entity like Coyote, and the readers are allowed only to watch the performance from the threshold of an uninitiated audience. Coyote creates an in-group jargon where colours correspond to precise symbols—such as red for Indians, blue for sky, green for earth and white for the colonizers, burdening the readers with the guilt of voyeuristic function of intruding where they should not. As King mentions in his essay “Godzilla Versus the Postcolonial”, this is a marked trait of “tribal literature” which, being averse to enact the role of a specimen-of-display before the foreigner’s gaze, celebrates its shared exclusivity through barring the entrée of any outsider within its linguistic and gestural precincts. In fact, rebounding the ‘gaze’ with ‘counter-gaze’, King deconstructs the institution of Bible and posits Coyote in an ambassadorial capacity, who undertakes the function to “fix up the world”. Radically breaking away from the Christian dogma and fashioning an alternative myth with indigenous legacy at the centre, Coyote mocks the colonizers by distorting the names of Christopher Columbus and Jacques Cartier:

“Maybe I tell you the one about Christopher Cartier looking for something good to eat. Find us Indians in a restaurant in Montreal. Maybe I tell you the one about Jacques Columbus come along that river. Indians waiting for him. We all wave and say here we are, here we are (68).”

Scott Momaday’s understanding of “Indianness” as a self-appraising mirror chiefly constituting moral qualities which, “in order to be realized completely, has to be exposed” (162), might apparently call for an open vista that contradicts the premises of “tribal literature”. On a closer inspection, though, Momaday’s sensibility about “Indianness” assumes an idyllic hypothetical audience that is transparent in terms of perception, consumption and dissemination. On the other hand, the First Nation history’s deliberate occlusion from the Canadian mainstream discourse points out to the distortive “eye” to which Indian self-expression was subjected, to the extent that the White world’s resistive intervention had permanently annulled the indigenous habitats and knowledge-systems with upside-down value-judgments. Thus, what King explains as the agenda of “tribal literature” is a cynical act towards fencing and safeguarding a community and its core essence from further dilution. In that respect, the practice of story-telling, as Gerald Vizenar reflects: “imagination is a concrete process of incorporating and perpetuating tradition, and its most important outlet is storytelling: articulating and sharing the values of the
community”, becomes, in my reading, the existential necessity for rationalizing what Momaday calls “Indianness”, yet simultaneously also intending to block the past exploitative history from repeating itself. Nevertheless, as Ridington studies, King in his way of crossing “illegal borders” transcends any ghettoed notion of subject, audience or literary device:

“King's story is so multivocal that no single reader will understand all the references, since the communities with which he shares experience include Indians and academics, Americans and Canadians, mythic characters and friends. King contextualizes his story within a multitude of biographies and experiences (12)”.

King also foregrounds the question of whether it is so easy to “discover” and conclusively represent the ‘Other’, as this purpose involves internalization of problematic ideas that obscures the nuanced facets of the Indians. He identifies that the epistemic violence inflicted by the Western scriptural knowledge had commenced with the colonial intention of fixing polarities between the indigenous and the Western patterns of living, as well as through re-producing the non-Western ‘Other’ in terms of Western standards of ideals, which resulted in rampant vulgarization of the vast repertoire of indigenous practices, beliefs and idioms. King’s counter-discourse therefore necessitates the binary between right and wrong, written and oral, civil and barbaric to fall apart, thus laying bare the falsity that have been circulated and validated by the likes of Columbus and Cartier under the stronghold of bureaucratic record. According to Tataryn and Gingell, in one of the lines “No Indianman No Chinaman No Frenchman Too bad, those” (3), King not only posits the Whiteman as an alien and generalized stock figure as opposed to all sorts of ‘lesser’ groups, but also makes room for an open creative space of interpretation for the recipient of his work: “Are we sorry for the groups enumerated or for the Whiteman? Does the phrase signify an excess degree of badness? Whose? Whose side are we as reader-listener-speakers on? The story leaves such questions open” (12). The concocted tale of Coyote that claims the Indians to be more primal than the Whites obviously has no truth-claim attached to it – quite the opposite. Through his ludicrous tell-tale stories, King as if tries to show that every history is more-or-less the same, immersed in some sort of a biased myth and projected in a way that privileges one particular people over another. At this point, King’s approach very much draws upon Jacque Derrida’s notion of the limited premises of any given truth: “As soon as truth is a limit or has limits…and assuming that it knows some limits…truth would be a certain relation to what terminates or determines it.”

Playing and constantly negotiating with the face-value of status-quo is part of King’s authorial goals. Tanis MacDonald borrows the term “aporia” from Derrida to explain the sense of confusion, embarrassment and lack of self-reflexivity – a purposeful lacuna in King’s stories, where narrative and conversational impasse can invade the characters and readers at any moment without providing any viable solution. In his works, as the critics observe, the story itself is a trick that deceives the reader’s expectations through inversion and the narrator as the guarantor of
this simulated narrative, meaning King himself, is the trickster. One can realize that the very desire to bind a discursive culture within the ethics of scripted, documented work results in a sense of discomfiture and awkwardness which, while writing as a representative of the indigenous communities, King primarily intends not to do away with. Moreover, lacking any didactic value, King’s story-building, as MacDonald observes, is not so much about inclusion and exclusion, as it is about “a willingness to listen to a story that does not participate fully in Western epistemologies”. He posits Aboriginal literature in the capacity of polyvocal discourse (that often evokes the category of “interfusional”, as mentioned in “Godzilla Versus the Postcolonial”), thereby appropriating a generous portion of the North American culture in line with indigenous sensibilities:

— Could be white man’s ways of telling stories add to Turtle Island culture.
— You’re right; there is another way to see who’s adding to what” (8).

It is also worth noting that the gender of Coyote is hardly mentioned, as Paul Radin points out that the figure of Coyote is manifest as someone who (Radin) “has as yet developed no sense of true sex differentiation”. This in-between figure has been especially devised to disconcert the starkness of extreme polarities. Linda Lamont-Steward observes, “Trickster is at one and the same time creator and destroyer, giver and negator, he who dumps others and who is always duped himself...He knows neither good nor evil yet he is responsible for both. He possesses no values, moral or social, is at the mercy of his passions and appetites, yet through his actions all values come into being.” Someone who is androgynous and an embodiment rather than a real body or a true spirit, Coyote outlives all sorts of socially constructed distinctions, being an all-encompassing entity that is yet more than the sum of its separate parts.

In his story “Coyote and the Enemy Aliens”, King incisively draws on the historical incident of segregation and evacuation of the Japanese immigrants by the Canadian government, against the larger backdrop of Second World War following the Pearl Harbour attack in North America. The discourse that follows between Coyote and the narrator as they visit the livestock building in Hastings Park where a large number of Japanese refugees have been hauled, is very unsettling in terms of ‘normal’ ‘smooth’ Western readership: “Boy, that Coyote likes to tell stories. Sometimes he tells stories that smell bad. Sometimes he tells stories that have been stretched. Sometimes he tells stories that bite your toes. Coyote stories”... Here, King is reconfiguring the set order, starting from naturalized sensory responses (a story ‘that smells bad’, a story whose pathos do not suffer the heart so much as it, strangely and funnily enough, ‘bites your toes’), thereby ripping apart English grammar from its socialized form. Then there is an obvious play with the English vocabulary – a chain of words arranged as if like alliteration that runs into poetry or a catch of song cycle, making the genre of representation itself uncertain: “Callous, carnage, catastrophe, chicanery. Boy, I got to take a breath. There, that’s better. Cold-blooded, complicit, concoc, condemn. No, we are not done yet. Condescend, confabulate, confiscate, conflate, connive. No, not yet. Conspire, convolute, crazy, crooked, cruel, crush.
Holy, I almost forgot cupidity”. The final onslaught with this kind of style is hurled on the picturesque fictional arrangement called ‘nation’. Canada becomes the meta-national hypothesis where the polyphonic truth of ‘many’ is silenced under the vice-grip of a mightier few, just as all the disputable words like ‘carnage’, ‘catastrophe’, ‘conspire’ and ‘cruel’ are dismissed by the ‘White Magic’ word ‘legal’:

“That legal is a good word. You can do a lot with that one. That’s one of those magic words. White magic. Legal. Lots of other White magic words. Patriotic, Good, Private, Freedom, Dignity, Efficient, Profitable, Truth, Security, National, Integrity, Public, Prosperity, Justice, Property”.

Here again, King is bouncing back to the Euro-American society the same manipulation of naming that they had previously used for marking the rituals of the indigenous communities, often pejoratively calling their practices as ‘Black Magic’ (pp.58-59).

In his stories, conversation with Coyote, who is emblematic of an oppositional perspective, prevents the socio-politico-historical commentary from collapsing into a single point. Because King calls for the presence of more than one possibility, his story does not harp on the notion of divorce between two individual world-views; there is always a chance for ‘synthesis’ and overlapping, where the Coyote story and the Canadian story can be on the same token alike and different, as Ridington notes, “If academic theorizing is usually the product of argument and monologue, First Nations theorizing would have to be the product of conversation and dialogue.” Thus, Coyote here is an indispensable figure and what Aurylaitė would call “an actual performative “contact zone””, who breaks the control of monologue by generating a plural channel of communication, trying to build the indigenous point of view through a fair chance and equity – not by precluding the Eurocentric ‘thesis’, but rather by strengthening the indigenous ‘antithesis’ in the presence of, in fact because of this thesis, crystallising a separate position for the latter by first defining the White Self and then negating all that one is not vis-à-vis this Self.

While George L. Cornell asserts that the genuine context of the oral stories are lost once they are appropriated by the White ethnographers, because the latter tend to deform them to “products of another culture’s imagination”, according to James Ruppert, King’s narratives such as Green Grass, Running Water closely fits the category of Native Literature. Opposed to Cornell’s understanding, Green Grass Running Water allows a chance, mainly to the non-Native audience, to revisit the premises of Truth and Knowledge, thereby stressing more on how rather than what is being told. This is what Ruppert calls as the mediational text, which “endeavors to move the readers implied by the text to question the way they form knowledge and meaning, but in the end it seeks to re-educate those readers so that they can understand two codes, two traditions of discourse” (11). One might draw upon Derrida’s reflection in this context, where he
says that there is a plural and paradoxical logic of the aporia that “does not oppose figures to each other, but instead installs the haunting of the one in the other.” The non-passive endurance and condition of responsibility and decision that Derrida suggests here by “aporia” is thus also an incumbent liability on King’s readers.

In a heterogeneous Canadian setting where no intrinsic sense of belonging can be justified anymore, the desire for retrieving an uncontaminated Indian truth seem puerile because the colonial reality has already amalgamated into the roots of the indigenous communities as a dissimilitude of collage. Post colonization and christianization, with the birth of several generations of cross-breeds, it is preposterous to disclaim an Indian of his ‘pure identity’ just because his archetypal linguistic traits have diluted. This is as faux as sustaining the ‘genuine Red Indian’ portfolio over a more immediate scenario of the indigenous people's reality. It is therefore crucial to recognize that no deterministic signification can contain the discursive facets of any given people, or such interpretation risks overwhelming the actuality, as Andrew Wiget remarks: “This sublimation of authority, which derives from the recognition that we live in a world made of stories, stories which compete with one another for our attention, also creates a space for an Indian voice, so that instead of ‘stories about Indians’ we can create ‘an Indian's story’” (261). Thomas King is thus no more a Cherokee community’s mouth-piece than he is a Canadian author and no less so because his medium is an offshoot of Standard English. His broken English is a spontaneous expression of the social melange of which his intellectual edge is born, instead of being a dilution of indigeneity. As the indigenous idioms occasionally peek through the gaps of English, it seldom allows the reader to forget about its violated past through its very state of near-disappearance. Obviously this is the second best option – since the oral communities can no more gain a material ground after the script has seized the native cultures, it is better to vocalize the live everyday in a hybridized form than freeze into a museum-piece. After all, when a language is cramped from serving communication among people, it needs an ancillary trunk to communicate about them; the testimonies in the latter bring across the cause of desuetude of the former. For the muted Indian truth, broken English becomes this boon in disguise, hurled back to the White society like a boomerang.
End notes

1 In this context, critic Robin Ridington challenges the White-manufactured ken that aims to contain the Indian and his Indianness: “‘Indian stories are cosmic,’ says Coyote. "They are about goddess figures like First Woman, Changing Woman, Thought Woman and Old Woman. Whiteman's stories are fictional. They are about made-up characters like the Lone Ranger, Ishmael, Robinson Crusoe and Hawkeye.” "But what happens if an Indian knows about these other guys too," I says? "What happens if Indians use microwave ovens?"..."I mean what if an Indian has read James Fenimore Cooper and Herman Melville and Northrop Frye? What if this Indian knows that Margaret Atwood wrote a book of poems called The Journals of Susanna Moodie?"’” (18) Ridington thus admirably explains the impact of Thomas King’s writings that outflow the emblematic barricades created by the Euro-American stereotypes.

2 In *Green Grass, Running Water*, in the act of A.A.Gabriel (the Christian insignia who stands for Archangel as well as the self-help group Alcoholics Anonymous) thrusting himself on the Thought Woman and (mis)reading her ‘no’ as ‘yes’, there is at once violation (read: penetration) of culture, language and sexuality. Thomas King’s stories play a further double by repossessing the lost native heritage, where the timeless Christian myth loses its recognizable form just as apple becomes ‘mee-so’ and snake becomes ‘ju-poo-pea’.

3 What A. Irving Hallowell calls as "a higher order of objectivity" that entails “adopting a perspective which includes an analysis of the outlook of the people themselves as a complementary procedure” (Ridington 270), can hardly be found in a Euro-American narrative describing indigenous life. Ridington explains the position of the anthropologists with marked aspersion: “Anthros are good at abstract thought. Indians are good at oral thought. Walter Ong says so. He's a Jesuit and he should know. Anthros are good at theorizing. They are good at theorizing the Americanist tradition. Indians are good at being informants. Indians are the first Americans. Anthros are the first Americanists” (16).

4 In “Inconvenient Indian”, King makes fun of this strategic system of ascendency by talking about the diverse people in his drum group: “Anishinaabe, Metis, Coastal Salish, Cree and Cherokee”…had “nothing much in common. We’re all aboriginal and we had a drum. That’s about it.” Further, “there has never been a good collective noun [to encompass the various groups] because there never was a collective to begin with”. According to King, “Indian” is thus “the one name to rule them all.” His spotting every Euro-American as “White” becomes an imitative act of this same desecration.

5 While Teresa Gibert explores King’s literature in terms of the “basic traditional oral narrative devices, such as word-repetitions, gaps, discontinuities, and a phatic rhetoric of address” (74), according to critics Tataryn and Gingell, the fragmentary syntax and non-standard grammar in King’s works “are arguably a stylistic synecdoche for a working or underclass-based ethnicized lect” (6).
6 Critic Sharon M. Bailey reflects: “However, even though the Native oral text, recreated by the dialogue-like narrative structure, effectively undermines the authority of the written texts, it is unable to assume for itself that authority. The same forces that are set to work undermining the authority of written works ultimately destroy the authority of the oral work as well. The retelling of the myths does not mean anything that could be articulated as Native American truth(s)”.

7 Coyote also reminds us of what Homi Bhabha would argue as the possibility “to redeem the pathos of cultural confusion into a strategy of political subversion”, an “ambivalent identification” that is used “audaciously to announce the important artifice of cultural identity and its difference”. Rejecting any essentialism for a diverse range of subjectivities, Coyote becomes an empty sign of (Bhaba) the “dialogic position of calculation, negotiation, interrogation” and enacts mimicry, hybridity and sly civility while resisting any form of teleology and holism.

8 As the trickster’s social functions are associated by scholars with ‘counter-discourse’, ‘reverse-discourse’, ‘counter-memory’, or ‘counter-narratives’ – terms denoting the deployment of dominant discourse conventions otherwise, the trickster stories are meant to (Davidson, Walton and Andrews) “offer an outlet for voicing protest, provide a source of entertainment and release, and provoke a re-examination of existing conditions...[which may lead] to change”. Stewart concludes that it is because Coyote cannot be identified precisely with any tactile being in the real world that its virtual magical character is so effective as a subversive device – “while functioning outside the constraints of conventional systems of meaning, they at the same time draw attention to the arbitrary nature of such systems.”
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Resisting Invisibility: Arab-Americans and the Challenge of Political Activism

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Abstract

Even though they spoke Arabic and came from a predominantly Arabic culture and heritage, the early Arab immigrants who arrived to the New World in the 1870s did not think of themselves as “Arabs”. They did not even constitute a distinct ethnic entity and their main bond of solidarity and interaction was rather based on close familial, sectarian, and regional ties. The lack of a “national” identity - synonymous with group power and solidarity - not only increased their “marginalization” and invisibility, but also posed a real problem as to their classification among other ethnicities. Instead, they were referred to as Turks, Syrians, Arabs, Arabians, Syrian-Lebanese, Asians, Caucasians, White, Black, etc.

As World War I marked a watershed for the early Arab pioneers who, after they decided to settle permanently in their host country, became part of the American society and the American body politic, World War II produced a much deeper impact, opening the door much wider to a new variety of Arab immigrants, educated, politically articulate, and with a better sense of nationality and identity. But the idea of an ethnic Arab community, capable of taking its own affairs in hand, really began to grow in the 1960s, and especially after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war when both newcomers and third-generation descendants of the first stock came to discover how one-sided and pro-Israeli the American media and the American policymakers were.

Despite the fact that the newly-arrived immigrants were mostly Muslim and were exceptionally keen on their cultural heritage, the political activism this paper seeks to address is expressly secular and includes people of all faiths and of no faith at all. This is first and foremost an attempt to scrutinize a mode of thinking of a community, still in search for a sense of identity, but firmly determined to participate effectively in the decision-making process. How could it overcome its “identity crisis” and achieve political cohesiveness? In other words, how could it reconcile its internal differences with the pragmatic need to unify for political efficacy? Such questions and others are worth tackling.

Keywords: Arab Americans, political exclusion, identity question, elections
Introduction

This paper is an attempt to offer insight into the plight of a community, still in search for a sense of identity. It explores Arab American “political invisibility” and seeks to scrutinize a mode of thinking and a mode of expression through the respective experience of a community which has come to light over the last few decades, but which remains inadequately described and poorly understood, despite its restless desire to assimilate.

So, contrary to the popular stereotype that identifies them as a monolithic group, Arab Americans are a complex and diverse community. In the aftermath of September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the label “Arab American” has even evolved into a catch-all category inaccurately grouping together persons of different national, religious, and ethnic backgrounds. As a result, not only Arab and Muslim Americans have found themselves humped into a new category that obscures their considerable diversity, but such a racialization process seems to further ostracize them and exacerbate their alienation in their homeland.

This paper is articulated around three main questions: first, it investigates the central theme of identity and argues that the Arab American community is anything but a monolith. It demonstrates that, at no point in history, did the lingering prejudice against such a community promote, encourage, or solidify its ethnic identity. It claims that the controversial definition of the term “Arab American” and the ambiguous positioning of this group alongside American racial/ethnic lines further reinforces the difficulties associated with classifying this population. It denotes how being so heterogeneous and multi-faceted makes it more challenging for such a group to identify issues affecting the community as a whole or to agree upon a political agenda that addresses the group common concerns.

Second, the study highlights the lack of group solidarity and shows how Arab American officials, especially members of U.S. Congress, have risen to their positions as individuals, rather than representatives of their ethnic constituents, and how they rarely support issues of concern to the Arab American community. The work concludes by demonstrating how Arab American leaders act as a unified ethnic group and become actively involved in politics only when their interests are immediately threatened, and how threat has become a sort of group “mobilizer” likely to trigger ethnic consciousness.

This paper, ultimately, stresses the fact that if Arab Americans want to gain national visibility and recognition, they need first to voice their concerns through mainstream political organizations if they wish to get a fair hearing and defend their civil rights as full citizens of the United States. So, how could such a community adapt to its new homeland and how could it respond to the challenges in order to maintain its identity in an ever-changing environment? How
could it overcome its “identity crisis” and achieve political cohesiveness? In other words, how could it reconcile its internal differences with the pragmatic need to unify for political efficacy? Finally, what role should Arab American leaders and intellectuals play to provide community stability and resist disintegration in a context of growing ethnic, cultural and religious tension?

The Identity Question: Who Are Arab Americans?

The first challenge is identifying them. Just who is and is not “Arab” is a matter of contention. The 2010 U.S. Census indicates that there are roughly two million people who reported Arab ancestry⁴ although leading advocacy groups such as the Arab American Institute suggest that they are a little bit more than 3.5 million, making less than 1% of the American population.²

Even though they spoke Arabic and came from overwhelmingly Arabic culture and heritage, the early immigrants who arrived in the late 19th century from the Greater Syria region (especially present-day Lebanon) and who were predominantly Christian, did not think of themselves as “Arabs”. Far from constituting a separate ethnic group, their main bond of solidarity and interaction was rather based on familial, sectarian, and regional factors (e.g. the Syrians did not constitute an “ethnic nation” in America like the Italians, Irish, Greeks, Poles or Jews).³

The lack of national identity characterising the first wave, on the one hand, and the obsession with the question of racial discrimination for citizenship eligibility, on the other, reinforced a general confusion about how one should call them. All too frequently, operating as separate ethnic enclaves, they were referred to as Turks, Syrians, Arabs, Arabians, Syrian-Lebanese, Asians, Caucasians, etc.⁴ So, until World War I, many Arabs in the U.S. thought of themselves and acted as though they were in, but not part of the American society and its body politic. They referred to themselves as “al-Nizala,” that is travellers or guests who needed to behave properly in their host country, but at the same work hard to accumulate wealth which upon return they would invest back home.⁵

It was not until the 1960s that new blood and new political circumstances altered the direction and the meaning of Arab American ethnicity. Actually, the second wave of Arab immigrants who started to pour after World War II, brought to the United States a much more diverse population, one that differed greatly from the early pioneering group. Where the early Arab immigrants were mainly Christian, uneducated, relatively poor and less inclined to participate in the body politic, the new arrivals included large numbers of Muslims, relatively well-off and highly educated professionals who came with greater resources and were unwilling to surrender their cultural and political heritage. For the first time, one could speak of an ethnic Arab group or a community that identified itself as “Arab American.”⁶
However, despite noticeable progress on the path of group unity, problems related to Arab identity still persist and when people speak in the name of the Arab community, you still have to ask them who they are. For sure, identities are not stable constituents but vary and change as one can have several identities at a time: national, religious, cultural, etc. As a matter of fact, one does not have to speak Arabic to identify as Arab. A sizeable number among the second and third generations of Arab Americans do not speak a word of Arabic, yet, they consider themselves as full-fledged members of their respective community.

Conversely, members of the Detroit-based Chaldean conclave arguably refute their Arabic ancestry, strongly claiming their Christian heritage. Thus, to discredit public prejudices (widespread especially among African-Americans) stereotyping them as Arabs and viewing them as monopolizing the local food stores and the gas stations, Chaldean Catholics responded: “We’re not Muslims and we’re not Arabs.”7 Actually, Iraqi Chaldeans have become more Chaldean than they were in the homeland. They have even gone so far as to resurrect their ancient language previously and solely used by their clergy.8

But Iraqi Chaldeans are not the only case in point. Right after the 9/11 attacks, some Christian Arab Americans started to wear big crosses so as to distance themselves from their Muslim peers. Some, in search for acceptance into mainstream society, simply changed their names, or say “anglicized” them (e.g. Mohammad became simply “Mo” and Rachid became “Dick”).

On the whole, while it remains difficult to agree upon the label “Arab-American”, or to position Arab Americans as full members of the American polity, as some of them still identify with their country of origin, a significant number among them do recognize the need for more group cohesion to achieve political effectiveness. Paradoxically enough, the second wave of Arab and Muslim immigrants who arrived after World War Two, especially after the passage in Congress of the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act,9 instead of reinforcing that much needed sense of group solidarity, nearly disintegrated it as they developed a new identity based more on their Islamic faith than on their national background. In a similar vein, now determined to maintain their place in the body politic of their host country, they started to think of themselves as American Muslims rather than Muslims living in America, that is as “transplants” rather than “implants.”10

Politics and Exclusion

The second main theme this paper tempts to investigate is the lack of interest in politics which characterised the Arab American community, at least until the mid-1960s. Actually, after they decided to settle permanently in the New World - once they discovered they could not return to the homeland with the eruption of the first world conflict - members of the first pioneer group chose rather to assimilate. But, for them, assimilation was not synonymous with full involvement
in the decision-making process. Rather, their basic attitude was to be good citizens and to attract as little attention to themselves as possible. So, much beyond voting or being active at the community level, that is establishing local churches, newspapers, social clubs, etc., they saw no pressing need for political involvement. As clearly stated by Michael W. Suleiman, a former distinguished professor of Political Science at Kansas State University and no doubt one of the prominent experts in Arab American studies,

“Up to World War I, politics among Arab-Americans reflected and emulated the politics of the original homeland in both substance and style. In other words, by and large, members of the group thought of themselves (and) acted not so much as citizens of the United States but rather as subjects of the Ottoman authorities in control of their homelands.”

The 1967 Israeli-Palestinian War was more than a turning-point in Arab American history as, for the first time, it brought together newcomers and third generation descendants of the early pioneers who deeply resented the extreme partisanship the American government showed toward Israel. They were extremely disappointed to see how overtly one-sided and pro-Israeli the American media were in reporting on the Middle-East, a widespread sentiment shared by a sizeable number of Arab Americans and genuinely summarized by Michael W. Suleiman in the following statement:

“The 1967 War in Israel and Palestine was the watershed so far as the Arab-American community was concerned. American media coverage of the war was absolutely horrendous for the Arabs who lived through it. Almost none of it demonstrated sympathy or objectivity about Arabs or Arab-Americans.”

The war produced soul-searching on the part of Arab Americans who started to awaken to their own identity and to see that identity as Arab, rather than “Syrian” or “Iraqi”, or “Egyptian”, etc. Immediately, they reacted by forming organizations and voluntary associations that would first try to give a definition of who they were, especially their sense of identity as a people. They also decided to devote more effort on campaigns to educate Arab Americans and other Americans and inform them about the rich Arab heritage, and especially get them to talk to each other. That became the main goal of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG), a major national organization which was formed in 1967 and which sought to advance an Arab rather than a regional or national orientation.

Interestingly, while there is little doubt about a rampant anti-Arab sentiment (further exacerbated by the 1973 Arab Oil Embargo which plunged the West into a deep economic recession) which started to permeate some political circles and parts of the mainstream society, the origins of such attitudes remain relatively ambiguous as they have neither been fully explored, nor thoroughly debated in the academia or by political experts. As a result, the undeclared war against Arab advocacy groups and their leaders took shape in a covert campaign.
meant primarily to discredit the Arab vote by incessantly stigmatizing Arab leaders and blocking their access to the political arena. In addition to marginalizing and discouraging potential Arab candidates to local and federal offices, anti-Arab campaigners made use of a number of tactics to harass and blackmail other candidates susceptible to be affiliated with any sort of Arab American effort, or tempted by Arab money which they consider as “dirty money” allegedly used to support terrorism. Notable cases in past elections include funds returned to Arab American businessmen in Chicago by Walter Mondale’s presidential campaign in 1984 and Michael Dukakis in 1988. More recently, during the 2000 elections, Hillary R. Clinton was forced to return “Arab” money after being taunted by her opponent for the U.S. Senate seat in New York.16

The first in a series of watchdog and pre-emptive campaigns against Arab Americans, allegedly for security reasons, was launched in 1972 under the administration of President Nixon. It came consequently to the assassination of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Dubbed “Operation Boulder,” it initiated special measures meant to tighten the grip around Arab Americans, especially the politically active among them.17 But the federal authorities purpose in targeting members of the Arab American community was not to gather information or to keep politically-minded Arabs out of the U.S. as much as it was to discourage Arab political activity among an already dispersed, unorganized, and quiescent population.

The Iranian Revolution and the ensuing hostages crisis in 197918 for the first time confronted American people with the forces of militant Islam. As a result, not only these events hampered the rise of Arab Americans, especially their emergence on the national scene, but seriously tarnished their image in the public opinion as now they have become associated in American people’s minds with terrorism and religious fundamentalism. At the community level, the aforementioned events had far-reaching consequences on the group’s sense of ethnic and national pride. Actually, the rise of anti-Islamic religious sentiments, further nurtured by populist mainstream media, simply impeded any effort of acculturation and forced some to temporarily conceal their Islamic identity.

Notwithstanding, until the late 1990s, Arab American political visibility, access and influence were already on the rise, especially during the Clinton administration which opened the White House to Arab Americans and American Muslims who previously complained about being shut out of the national discourse. In effect, Bill Clinton went further than any other president in U.S. history to give Arab Americans and Muslims a place around the table. For instance, at the religious level, he was the first president to recognize a basic institution of Islam, which is the holy month of Ramadan, and to send an open letter to Muslim believers wishing them a blessed fast. Likewise, he was the first president to celebrate Eid al-Fitr (to mark the end of Ramadan) in the White House. At the political level, in addition to appointing Arab Americans to high positions in his cabinet (e.g. Donna Shalala who served as Secretary of Health and Human Services under his administration, or George J. Mitchell, Senate Majority Leader from 1988 to
1995, who was appointed as U.S. Special Envoy for Northern Ireland from 1995 to 2001), President Clinton was praised for his personal engagement in the Middle-East peace process and his relentless efforts that brought about the signature in 1993 of the Oslo Accords.

Bill Clinton’s efforts at the peace process in the Middle East signalled the advent a new era in Arab American struggle for political inclusion, and struck a responsive chord among Arab American leaders, especially as now they have become active partners in the Oslo agreements. This new political momentum, coupled with an overwhelming sentiment that gripped most Arab American advocacy groups, was better expressed by former Columbia University distinguished Professor Edward Said when he praised Clinton’s “human rights- and equality-oriented foreign policy”, stating that

“(T)he new opportunity afforded by the Clinton era is a potential change in context and rhetorical climate which is favourable to those Arabs and Arab Americans searching for a more democratic vision of the future. It is up to Arab American professionals and intellectuals to seize this opportunity to insert ourselves in an organized way into the national agenda through writing, speaking out and political action.”

But the honeymoon period under Clinton’s dual administration was soon to end with the shock of September 11, 2001 that, not only shattered any hope for Arab Americans to part and parcel of the American body politic, but also offered anti-Arab campaigners a rhetorical trope that could legitimize the view of Arab Americans as the members of a cult based on hatred of the American society, despite the evident fact that most of them are Christian.

Expectedly, the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon sparked anti-Arab sentiment across the nation as never before. They especially reinforced negative stereotypes against them and laid bare the vulnerability of Arab Americans who started to fear for their future as U.S. citizens and to question the validity of their civil rights. For now at least, as full and unconditional support of the government’s “War on Terrorism” has become a litmus test to true Americanism, they have laid aside their efforts to gain more political clout in Washington and turned to the basic goal of defending their civil liberties.

By and large, it is hardly a surprise to see that no history of the participation of Arab Americans in politics has been written. At the very moment Arab Americans awakened to their Americanness, realizing that they had become part of American society, a process of socialization into the American politics was set in motion. But the lack of national group solidarity, reinforced by the “loss” of minority status, severely hindered any effort to promote the community interests. Paradoxically, the white “racial” status for which they had fought and which they acquired since 1924, has become a stumbling block and an important hurdle on the path of identity formation.

The inability of Arab Americans to act as a unified ethnic entity led to their further marginalization on the national political scene. Less inclined to get involved into the system or to
thoroughly socialize with the U.S. culture and institutions, they very often proceed as monolithic group only to contain any threat that might prove harmful to the community interests as a whole. Notable cases include their combat, in the wake of the 20th century, to maintain their status as whites and to protect their right to American citizenship, or their fight, in the 1970s, to resist attempts by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to revoke the tax exempt status of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG).\textsuperscript{24}

So, despite signs of optimism displayed by some outstanding Arab American leaders, like James Zogby\textsuperscript{25} who, by 1984, argued that with the establishment of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADS) in 1980 and with the increasing numbers of Arab Americans who started to register to vote Arab Americans “were a community coming of age,”\textsuperscript{26} the Arab lobby is still weak, inefficient and by far of no match for the stronger pro-Israel lobby.\textsuperscript{27} This is at least what one can deduce from John H. Sununu’s (Governor of New Hampshire from 1983 to 1989) less optimistic stance when, in a conference hosted in 1996 by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, declared:

\begin{quote}
“... we have had 60 years of the worst, least constructive, most counterproductive involvement in the political process of any group in the United States.”\textsuperscript{28}
\end{quote}

Paradoxically, compared to their European counterparts, especially their French peers who stand for ten percent of the French overall population (against only less than one percent for Americans of Arab descent), Arab Americans are better represented along the political spectrum and are disproportionally involved at all levels of government. To cite but a few examples, five Arab Americans served in the U.S. Senate and 9 in the U.S. House of Representatives, three have been governors (Oregon, New Hampshire, and Indiana), and more than thirty have been mayors of U.S. cities.\textsuperscript{29}

Table One provides a comprehensive review of Arab Americans’ experience in both Houses of Congress, the Senate and the House of Representatives, from 1959 to 2006. It reveals that the 17 members of Arab American Congressmen are of Christian background, and all but one (John E. Sununu who is of a Palestinian origin) are of a Lebanese descent.\textsuperscript{30} The first Arab American man to serve in the U.S. House of Representatives was George Kacem (California 1959-1960), and the first Arab American woman to be elected to the same Chamber was Mary Rose Oaker (Ohio, 1977-1992). The first Arab American U.S. Senator was James Abourezk (South Dakota, 1973-1979). Only 6 of the 17 members of Arab Americans who served in Congress are Republicans, while the remaining 11 are Democrats (representing a 2:1 ratio of Democrats to republicans).\textsuperscript{31}
Interestingly, a review of Arab Americans in the Senate and House of Representatives indicates that they have risen to their positions as individuals and have not been elected thanks to any Arab American financial backing or vote. Likewise, surveys show that they ran to defend an agenda that represented their local but not their ethnic constituents. To cite but a few cases, one should probably refer to a very interesting research conducted by Michael W. Suleiman and published in 2006 by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. For instance, the study reveals that South Dakota, which ranks 42nd among states in Arab American population, elected two senators of Arab descent (James Abourezk and James Abdnor), one a Democrat, the other a Republican. The case of Maine is equally important. With an Arab American presence of only 3,365 (that is 0.27 percent of the state population), also elected a senator and a representative of Arab origin (George Mitchell who even became U.S. Senate Majority Leader between 1988 and 1995, and John Baldacci who was later elected governor).

The same went for New Hampshire, which the 1990 Census reported as 35th among the states in people of Arab ancestry (with only 4,953 or 0.45 percent of the state population), and which elected John E. Sununu as a U.S. Representative and then a U.S. Senator. Meanwhile, even though considered as the largest concentration of Arab Americans (30 percent of Michigan population) in the United States, Dearborn (in the Detroit area), sent no Arab American to Congress. The election, in 1995, to the U.S. Senate of Spencer Abraham in this state did not appear to be the result of Arab American vote, even though many among them cast a ballot for him.

Table 1: Arab American Congressmen as up to 2006.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congressional Sessions</th>
<th>Calendar Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09</td>
<td>9-60</td>
<td>9-68</td>
<td>1-72</td>
<td>3-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abdnor</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abourezk</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham</td>
<td>MI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baldacci</td>
<td>ME</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin</td>
<td>IN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boustany</td>
<td>LA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannon</td>
<td>MO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a similar vein, a study conducted in 2002 under the supervision of Michael W. Suleiman indicates that, besides the exceptional case of former Senator James Abourezk (D. SD, 1973-78) who demonstrated strong commitment to the Palestinian question, Arab ancestry members of Congress rarely support any issue affecting their co-ethnics (see Table 2). But to M.W. Suleiman, this is hardly a surprise as these people have never been elected thanks to the Arab vote. Moreover, the lack of Arab concentration in decisive electoral districts and mostly the lack of consensus among Arab Americans upon a common agenda, explain and justify the rupture between Arab American high officials and their co-ethnics. Assessing their vote (see column three of Table 2), M.W. Suleiman found that 7 out of 17 American Congressmen of Arab ancestry have often voted “unfavorably”, roughly 6 have expressed a “somewhat unfavorable” vote, but only one, James Abourezk, who has constantly voted “favorably” for any pro-Arab piece of legislation.
Table 2: Analysis of Arab American Vote on Issues of Interest to the Arab American Community (1959-2006).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congresspersons</th>
<th>Percentage Support</th>
<th>Classification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Abdnor</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Abourezk</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>Favorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Spencer Abraham</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Baldacci</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam Benjamin, Jr.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patsy Ann Danner</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darrell Issa</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris John</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Kasem</td>
<td>No votes on issues of interest to Arab Americans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham Kazen, Jr.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>somewhat unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ray LaHood</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Mitchell</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>somewhat unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toby Moffett</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>more unfavorable than favorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Rose Oakar</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>somewhat unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nick Rahall</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>somewhat unfavorable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Sununu</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>somewhat unfavorable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Based on Courtney M. Moriarty: Arab Americans and the Legislative Process, p. 103. Undergraduate Honors Thesis, Kansas State University, 2002, under the supervision of Michael W. Suleiman.
For each issue of interest to Arab Americans, Michael W. Suleiman made the decision as to what that position might be (see column three).

Scale:

0-30% Unfavorable
31-40% More unfavorable than favorable
41-60% Somewhat unfavorable
61-70% More favorable than unfavorable
71-100% Favorable

The split on issues among Arab Americans becomes exceptionally palpable each time the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is put on the table. Actually, while the goals appear to be almost the same, especially the creation of a Palestinian State based on the pre-1967 borders, the strategies to put forward and achieve such goals remain a matter of contention between the predominantly Christian Arab advocacy groups (mainly the Arab American Institute – AAI, and the Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee – ADS) and their Muslim counterparts (especially the Council on American-Islamic Relations – CAIR). But for some Arab American leaders, given the current climate, especially after the horrors of 9/11, it is simply imprudent to allow the community to focus primarily on the Palestinian issue, when their civil rights are seriously at stake.

Last but not least, it is worth mentioning that even though they have set up strong bonds of group solidarity which they have kept reinforcing over the years, so as to preserve their distinct identity, especially their future in their host country, Arab Americans, or at least some of them, do not think of themselves as the members of a separate ethnic entity, but rather as part and parcel of the American mainstream society. This is at least what James Zogby tempts to arguably demonstrate. Discussing the Arab American vote in the presidential and congressional elections, based on data provided by Zogby International (his brother’s public opinion polling company, founded since 1984), James Zogby asserted that, across the different contests, Arab Americans (who have traditionally been a volatile group with almost equally shared allegiances to the two major parties), have often voted like most of their mainstream fellow-citizens. To take just one example, the 2008 elections revealed that, reflecting a nationwide trend, two-thirds of Arab American voters considered the economy as their top concern, followed by war in Iraq, health care and gas prices. “People are talking about health care, education... gas being $4 a gallon, the economy,” commented a 24-year-old graduate student of Arab descent, “Arab-American issues are American issues.”37
On another hand, contrary to the stereotype that Arab American voters promote single-issue politics, placing the Palestinian question at the top of their priorities, polls indicate that the issue in question is highly important, but in no way determines the Arab vote. In effect, nearly two-thirds of Arab Americans, polled by Zogby International in 2008, said that if they agree with a presidential candidate on most issues but strongly disagree with the candidate’s “idle” Middle-East policy, they will not consider changing their vote.\(^3^8\)

**Conclusion**

On the whole, despite their flagrant shortcomings, especially their self-assumed inability to fully integrate the American body politic and to influence it from within, Arab American leaders and organizations recognize today the urging need to unite around a common agenda that advances their common interests as a group and erects safeguards around their constitutional rights. Notwithstanding, as latecomers in the political arena, a fact which they admittedly attribute to a general disinterest in political education, awareness and participation, but which also stemmed from the lack of agreement on a common identity, Arabs Americans should take their own affairs in hand and work for more political clout and visibility. Faring quite well in education and highly remunerative occupations, compared even to the average American,\(^3^9\) they should bank on such a vital asset and reconsider their political strategies. Most of all, they should mobilize at the grassroots level and act as real lobbies (not just as mere advocacy groups) if they wish to get a fair hearing alongside other ethno-religious minorities.

Likewise, Arab Americans should overcome their internal divisions and act both at the state and federal levels, especially as their concentrated communities in some battleground states such as Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Mexico, and Wisconsin, could tip the elections outcome in favor of one political party or in favor of the other.

Last but least, even though they have periodically sharpened racial, religious, and ethnic boundaries among Arab Americans, and despite their diverse immigration experiences, with Muslims being unquestionably more stigmatized because of their religion, there is evidence today of increased ethnic solidarity between Arab American Christians and Arab American Muslims. Positive signs show that both groups continue to demonstrate some degree of ethnic cohesion, reinforcing indelibly the links that forged the Arab American unity in the aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. Over it all, despite the negative stereotypes which targeted Arab Muslims after the 9/11 attacks and which led some of their Christian counterparts to distance themselves from the Arab heritage, both groups continue to work hand in hand to ease some of the internal strains, but especially to promote a cohesive Arab American identity.
Endnotes

1 See www.census.gov/2010census/data.
2 The Arab American Institute (www.aaiausa.org/pages/demographics/).
5 For more information, see Alixa Naff, Becoming American: The Early Arab Immigrant Experience. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984).
7 This is not a quotation.
9 The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Pub.L. 89-236, 79 Stat. 911, enacted on June 30, 1968), also known as the Hart-Celler Act, abolished the national origins quota system that had structured American Immigration policy since the 1920s, replacing it with a preference system that enhanced diversity. (library.uwb.edu/guides/usimmigration/1965_immigration_and_nationality_act_.html).
11 The orientation of the early Arab Americans toward their homeland meant that their political activities were also focused on issues that were important in their country or village of origin.
14 Ibid., pp. 4-9.
15 The Association of Arab American Graduates (AAAG) was founded in 1967 by a group of Arab-American academics and professionals as “a non-profit, tax-exempt educational and cultural organization dedicated to fostering a better understanding between the Arab and American peoples while promoting informed discussion of critical issues concerning the Arab world and North Africa.” (Caine.emich.edu/archives/findingaids/html/Association_of_Arab_American_University_Graduates_Collection.html).
19 The Oslo Accords which were signed in Washington D.C. in 1993 between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the government of Israel marked the start of a peace process that would fulfill the “right of the Palestinian...
people to self-determination.” (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oslo_Accords).


23 In 1924, Congress passed the Johnson-Reed Act imposing a quota system meant not only to curb the immigration influx but also to reshape the American population racially and ethnically. Arab Americans were racially classified as whites.

24 At the state level, the Southeast Dearborn Community Council (SEDCC) successfully resisted the city’s efforts to rezone their neighborhood.


31 Ibid.


33 According to the 1990 Census, there were only 1,237 Arab Americans in South Dakota, that is 0.18 percent of the state’s population.

34 The 2000 Census reported Maine as thirty-ninth among the states in people of Arab ancestry.


38 Ibid.

39 With at least a high school diploma, they number 85%. More than four out of ten Americans of Arab descent have a bachelor’s degree or higher, compared to 24% of Americans at large. (See www.census.gov/2010census/data/).
References


The Implications of using Mental Illness within a Cinema Narrative

Georgina Berritta, University of York, UK

Abstract

This article aims to explore the ways in which mental illness is used in contemporary cinema, highlighting the differences of representation of the mentally ill in accordance to genre. Furthermore, this article will examine not only the use of mentally ill characters, but also the narrative structure of films which include the mentally ill, and how the genre of such a film can dictate the resolution of the narrative. The genres studied include horror, comedy, drama, and children’s cinema, as well as sub-genres within these; an analysis of these genres will illuminate the ways in which modern cinema uses mental illness as a narrative drive, and how doing so has implications on the audiences that watch it.

Keywords: Mental illness, narrative, genre, social implications.
Mentally ill characters in contemporary cinema tend to fall under one generic category: “crazy”, and quite often, it is this character’s mental instability that drives a film’s narrative forward, regardless of what their condition might actually be. There are hundreds of films worldwide which feature mentally ill characters, ranging from horror films, dramas and romantic comedies. It is key to establish the fact that mental illness is used differently in each genre, with the conventions of each genre dictating the narrative structure, and therefore how a mentally ill character can fit into this structure. Therefore, the representation of madness can be extremely genre-specific, as it is the generic conventions that “define how the spectator reads actions and character in terms of madness”, and therefore each representation tends to differ from one genre’s narrative to another (Fuery, 2003:33).

The mentally ill character is typically found more frequently in horror films, due to the fact that mental instability is “a convenient […] explanation for the maniacal violence that makes up the backbone of these stories” (Suzdaltzev, 2014). Though, the role of a mentally ill character in a horror film needn’t be limited solely to the psychotic murderer of slasher films; in supernatural horror films, there are frequently characters who believe in the otherworldly beings that are key to the narrative, and these characters are often portrayed as mentally unstable or out-of-touch with reality by their fellow characters. Ironically, these characters have a tendency to be proven right in later stages of the narrative, and are rewarded for their open-minded attitude, usually by surviving the terrors of the storyline, in comparison to the doubters, who usually suffer fatally as a result of their disbelief. The key point to be made regarding the narrative role of a mentally ill character within the horror genre, is the fact that the narrative arc of such a character depends on the type of character they encompass, for instance, whether they are the villain, the hero/heroine, the false hero, etc. (in accordance to Propp’s character theory, 1968). Within the horror genre, the mentally ill can be assigned certain character roles depending on the sub-genre of the film; for instance, in a slasher, the mentally ill character will be the murderer, in a supernatural horror they could be the hero/heroine, and in a psychological horror they could be the false hero. In each example, the fact that the character is depicted as mentally unstable is a driving force behind the narrative, whether it is because their condition has made them psychotic, and turn to immense violence (slasher), or because their beliefs are the foundations of the plot (supernatural), or because their behaviour is seen as threatening (psychological). These character assignments are just as varied when applied to other genres, such as dramas or comedies, but in different ways.

In comedies, the narrative purpose of a character with mental illness usually depends upon the character role. There are some examples of the lead character (hero/heroine) suffering from a mental condition, but it is much rarer than finding a supporting character who is suffering from an affliction. Examples of the former include What About Bob? (dir. Oz, 1991) and Lars and the Real Girl (dir. Gillespie, 2007), in which it is the lead characters who are suffering from mental
illness. In both examples, the narrative is driven by their illnesses, and is eventually resolved when both characters overcome their illnesses. It is also particularly common to use mental illness in “rom-coms”, in which both comedy and romance ensues from one or more characters being mentally unstable; some key examples include *A Fine Madness* (dir. Kershner, 1966), *Me, Myself and Irene* (dirs. Farrelly & Farrelly, 2000), *Punch-Drunk Love* (dir. Anderson, 2002), and *Wristcutters: A Love Story* (dir. Dukic, 2006). In this sub-genre, it is common to see both the lead character and supporting characters being depicted as unstable in one form or another, in which case it is their illnesses which often bring them together as a romantic item. As such, the mentally ill character can take on several roles in this sub-genre, such as a hero/heroine, the false hero, or the princess (the female character who is to be won by the hero). Due to the nature of the romance and rom-com genres, the narrative tends to end quite well, with the ill characters generally overcoming their illnesses, or living happily with their love-interest despite their illness.

With regards to drama, the narrative cycle of a film can depend greatly on the type of illness which is being depicted; for instance, in Cronenberg’s *A Dangerous Method* (2011), a large majority of the depiction of mental illness is at the beginning and thus acts as an initial driving force behind the narrative and, ultimately, acts as a way of two characters establishing a love affair. This is because the mental illness involved (hysteria) was treatable and was overcome by the character; similarly, the same can be said of *A Beautiful Mind* (dir. Howard, 1997), in which the narrative revolves solely around the character’s development of paranoid schizophrenia and how he overcomes it in the end. In both examples, a romantic partner plays a significant role in the sufferer’s conquering of the illness. However, there are examples within this genre which emphasise the fact that some illnesses cannot be successfully treated, whether it be by medical intervention, personal mental willpower, or intimacy with another person, and the narrative tends to focus solely on the downfall of its characters. In *Frances* (dir. Clifford, 1982), the narrative focuses on the film’s namesake, Frances Farmer (Jessica Lange), and her life as a mentally unstable actress. After years of fighting addiction, failed medical treatments and doomed romances, the character dies as a recluse. A similar narrative is used in Forman’s 1975 classic, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest*, in which the lead character descends into mental illness, only to die as a result.

As is demonstrated in the above paragraph, the diagnosis of a character’s mental illness is sometimes eluded to, but not always; if the character’s illness has stereotypical symptoms which can be beneficial to a film’s narrative, then they will be diagnosed with a specific illness. But, it appears that including a character with a mental condition does not always mean that the character has to be diagnosed; sometimes, it is better for the narrative if a character is merely depicted as “crazy”. This vagueness is extremely beneficial to both directors and audiences alike, as it makes character-role assignment, and thus character-role recognition, much easier; if a horror film director or writer creates a generically “crazy” character to fulfil the role of the killer,
then no diagnosis is necessary, as it will be apparent that the murderer is mentally ill from the beginning of the narrative. A diagnosis would be redundant, not least because it is socially accepted that a mass-murderer would have to be suffering from some sort of condition, but also due to the fact that audiences have come to expect only one slasher-type killer in such a film, and that this character is established early into the narrative. This can usually occur either via an introduction to the murderer themselves, or through the fact that murders are occurring – after one, or both, of these acts, the audience has accepted that there is a crazy killer whose actions will dictate the rest of the narrative.

Furthermore, the use of a generic crazy character, particularly within horror films, can make the narrative more appealing to the audience, especially if the illness is not diagnosed. The lack of diagnosis of the killer character of a slasher film makes them both mysterious and more threatening, as the audience infers that there is a reason for their mental instability, but one is not given; Fuery states that “the idea…that any act of madness has a meaning underlying it propels so much of the narrative in cinema” (2003:28). Crucially, the fact that the frequently-used “crazy killer” continues to be used within horror films without a diagnosis means that they are destined to be reused in the narrative of future horror films – obviously, they will take different forms and undertake different actions, but the character will be exactly the same, ideologically. This is due to the fact that madness has come to be a form of cinematic transposition, in which the representation of the mentally ill is repeated over and over again, taking its influences from the societal and cultural opinions of madness which were established when cinema began, and have continued to be replicated ever since (Fuery, p.31). As such, the narratives which include the mentally ill have come to be similarly redundant, with few options available for a narrative resolution.

If one were to analyse the narrative arc of any film, regardless of genre, which features the mentally ill, it would become apparent that there are a very limited number of ways in which that character’s story can end. Naturally, a film’s narrative resolution is dictated by the genre to which it belongs, but if a film features a mentally ill character (who is being used as a protagonist or another lead role), then there are only three possible endings that a film can take. The first is that the ill character overcomes their illness, either through their own personal willpower, medical treatment, or falling in love. The second is that the sufferer does not overcome their illness, and their futures are left open, with the resolution of the film being highly ambiguous. Finally, the third is that the character does not overcome their illness, and dies as a result. Essentially, there is a happy ending, a sad ending, and an open ending, with each of these narratives being able to be included in a wide variety of genres. Despite the fact that any of these three endings can occur in any genre, there are certain types of narrative endings which tend to feature specifically in one genre or another. For instance, in the horror genre (particularly slashers or psychological), the narrative resolution tends to end ambiguously, or with the sufferer dying, with the mentally ill character (i.e. the murderer, stalker, etc.) usually being killed. Sometimes this makes for a
seemingly-happy ending, as the film’s protagonists believe their horror to be over, only for a last-second scene to depict their stalker or killer re-emerging, their death having been faked or unsuccessful. This leaves the narrative open and intentionally ambiguous, usually in order for a sequel to be made, such as in the REC series (REC 1 and REC 2, Balagueró & Plaza, 2007, 2009). Crucially, these kinds of endings are normally selected to conform to societal expectations, in as much as the audience has come to expect these specific endings in accordance to genre. This can be due to several different reasons, including societal roles, cultural opinions of the mentally ill, as well as how an audience perceives the mentally ill psychologically – i.e. if they find them intimidating, frightening, misunderstood, or do they consider themselves to be empathetic.

As has been previously stated, narrative has to follow certain conventions, usually those belonging to a specific genre; but these generic conventions have often been established as a result of the society in which they were developed. For instance, the negative representation of the mentally ill has long been established in children’s films, with Walt Disney’s Dumbo and Alice in Wonderland being prime examples of how negative associations can be made with mentally ill characters by labelling them as “crazy” or “nutty” (Lawson and Fouts, 2004). In a study by Lawson and Fouts, it was revealed that 85% of Disney films which were released since 1937, contain references to characters with mental illness, and as such:

“…children who watch animated films of TWDC [(The Walt Disney Company)] are exposed to a greater incidence of mental illness than is typically seen on TV and are exposed to a greater incidence of mental illness than they may experience in their everyday lives. Consequentially, young children may acquire an unrealistic and stereotypic view of individuals with a mental illness in society, which could be exacerbated by their failure to distinguish between fiction and reality.” (2004:312)

It is then explained that the aforementioned buzz-words (“crazy” and “nutty”) are used in order to alienate the referenced character, in order to intentionally segregate them from the more sane protagonists. In adult films, there is usually no need to highlight mental illness through words, as the audience is capable of identifying a mental sufferer through their actions. But, the aforementioned study shows that a negative representation of mental illness has been prominent in children’s films for almost eight decades, meaning that at least three separate generations of society has been influenced by these portrayals. If each generation has this stereotype ingrained into their understanding of the world as children, then it seems obvious that the negative representation would continue to be repeated, if not because contemporary writers and directors have assumed the worst about the mentally ill since childhood, then because it is what has become expected by their audiences. What is most crucial about the portrayal of the mentally ill in children’s films is not that they are referred to by derogatory terms, but that they are usually the villains. Lawson and Faults support this point by giving the example of the three hyenas in The Lion King, who are not only depicted as scary, but also as comedic and unpredictable.
(2004:313); other examples include Cruella de Ville in *101 Dalmations*, who is depicted as psychotic, the Queen of Hearts in *Alice in Wonderland*, whose violent mood-swings could be interpreted as bi-polar disorder, and Scar in *The Lion King*, who is portrayed as a power-hungry sociopath. It is key to remember that *Alice in Wonderland* and *101 Dalmations* were released ten-years apart (1951 and 1961, respectively), at a time when mental illness was not as greatly understood as it is now; as for *The Lion King*, it is well-established that the plot of the film is based on Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* (Teague, 2006:165), meaning that the plot is archaic, but that does not account for the representation of mental illness. Only 3 years earlier to the release of *The Lion King*, Disney also released *Beauty and the Beast* (1991), which depicts several mental illnesses; the villain Gaston suffers from extreme narcissism and misogyny, the lead female character, Belle, suffers from some sort of dissociative personality disorder – and, not to mention, an extreme case of Stockholm Syndrome, while the protagonist, The Beast, suffers from depression. In accordance to the aforementioned narrative resolution structure outlined above, two of the characters overcome their illnesses by falling in love and living happily ever after, while the villain dies as a result of his. With regards to children’s films, it seems that mental illness is usually overcome, as long as the sufferer is not the villain; if they are the villain, then they will either die, or be left by the protagonist, as is the case in *101 Dalmations* and *Alice in Wonderland*, with their fate left open. In each film, however, the villains have attempted to overthrow the protagonist as a result of their mental illness; this is a narrative device which has come to be used frequently in cinema, both in children’s films and adult.

It is frequently the case in films, particularly horrors and thrillers, that the mentally ill character is the villain; combine this fact with the idea that children’s films also cast the mentally unstable character as the villain, and this has a great impact upon the way that society views mental illness. This can often be the case because a narrative that involves a mentally ill character will often depict mental illness either as something to overcome, or a narrative device that leads to a less-than-favourable ending for the sufferer. The latter of these options is particularly common, and can often conjure-up a kind of “scare-mongering” within the audience; this is not just the case with horror films and the insane murderers, but can occur in a drama or biopic. What is most startling about the inclusion of severe mental illness in biopics is the fact that the audience takes the film – often only loosely based on true events – as complete truth, often unaware that a director or writer has changed the nature of the character’s illness in order to make it more cinematically pleasing. The best example of this is in Howard’s *A Beautiful Mind*, in which the lead character – world-renowned mathematical genius John Nash - suffers from schizophrenia. Critically acclaimed and the winner of several Academy Awards, the film falsely depicts Nash’s illness, incorporating visual hallucinations into actual characters with which Nash interacts; the issue with this is that Nash did not suffer from visual hallucinations, and the delusions which he experiences in the film are far more exaggerated than the reality (Ziegler, 2002:27). Though visual hallucinations can occur in a sufferer of schizophrenia, the fact that this
particular film includes this as a symptom of the illness, when it did not actually happen, is greatly misleading.

It seems that regardless of the genre, cinema has a tendency to express mental illness in a strictly negative way; that can be in the form of a Disney villain, a mass-murderer or, a historical figure whose symptoms are greatly exaggerated. All of these examples contribute to society’s perception of mental illness, and this perception is not only negative but also inaccurate; if a film’s narrative revolves around the actions and experiences of a character with mental illness, then the sufferer’s symptoms are made to be as obvious as possible. This is usually the way in which the narrative is driven, as the audience is taken on a journey; sometimes the journey revolves solely around the sufferer, or occasionally, the sufferer plays a small part – but either way, their inclusion within the narrative is what drives it forward.
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The Concepts of Born To Die Children and the Fate of Victim Mothers in Nigeria

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Abstract

The born-to-die phenomenon has received much attention in Nigeria under the two popular names: Abiku in Yoruba and Ogbanje among the Ibo of Nigeria. These two names are used and known effectively by everybody both scholars and laymen. Many scholars had done extensive work on the reality and characteristics of the phenomenon. There are works on the traditional belief on born-to-die children. Health workers also approach the issue from the medical perspective and group the phenomenon among child mortality and morbidity. But this paper examines born-to-die (Abiku) and the fate of victim mothers in Nigeria. To achieve the objective of this treatise the writer adopts the historical, evaluative and phenomenological methodology. The writer discovers that the born-to-die issue put much scandal on victim mothers. Therefore the paper attempt an apology for the victim mothers since the case of Abiku (born-to-die) does not only affect the womenfolk but also men and the community at large. The paper submits instead of stigmatizing the women alone, more preventive measure should be employed to ameliorate the ugly experience. Then the paper concludes with a brief summary.

Keywords: Born-to-die, Abiku, Ogbanje, Fate and Victim mothers
Introduction

In Nigeria the need to reduce infant and child morbidity and mortality is one of the greatest challenges confronting the Federal Government. It has been estimated that the mortality rate of children below five years of age in Nigeria hovers between 97 and 120 per thousand births (UNICEF, 2002, WHO, 2004; FOS, 2005). The greatest health challenge to the Federal Government of Nigeria is to reduce this rate to the barest minimum; but despite the efforts of various successive governments to tackle the problem the results have been dismally poor. Various researchers who are interested in maternal and child health in Nigeria have identified some key factors that may be adduced to this problem and some of these factors include poverty (Owumi and Ezeogu, 2003); ignorance by mothers (Bradley and Gilles, 1984); and the lack of political will by the federal government (Iyun and Oke, 2000). For these and other similar reasons, morbidity and mortality from childhood diseases continue their debilitating effect on the health of young children. One researcher who has shown a remarkable insight into this problem is Rhode (1980) who identified beliefs as a major factor for poor response by mothers to participate actively in government health efforts. It is in this perspective that a study, from which this article is derived, was conducted. The paper discusses the general concept of ogbanje/abiku as it is conceived by various ethnic groups in western and southern Nigeria and weaves its socio cultural relevance to our understanding of infant and child morbidity and mortality in that part of the country. Overall, it is argued in the paper that belief in ogbanje, does not influence mothers’ perception towards childhood diseases, but it also builds a framework in the mental psyche of mothers, which influences their health seeking behaviour and ultimately their non-preventive measures against major childhood killer diseases. All children who die at infant stage are referred to as born-to-die having spiritual link. In traditional perspective the woman becomes the object of scandal and intimidation. It also the attempt of this paper to encourage that more preventive measure and enlightenment should be employed instead of putting pressure on women. In this paper the two local words that are popularly used in Nigeria would be interchangeably used. They are Abiku a Yoruba word and Ogbanje an Ibo word for born-to-die child.

Abiku is the Yoruba word for children believed to have come from the spirit world, who can die at will unless certain rituals are performed (Bamikale, et al., 1997). Abiku is a phenomenon that has its basis in the African cultural belief especially among the Yoruba (where it is known as Abiku), Igbo and Itshekiri (where it is called Ogbanje). Abiku is a “spirit” child that is born to die. He is a child that is not decisive about living or otherwise. He therefore, continues to move round the cycle of constant birth, death and rebirth, an Abiku is believed to belong to a band of demons, which live near or inside a big Iroko tree, As a result, pregnant women are warned against night movement around such a tree, otherwise Abiku Children will enter them. Similarly, an Abiku is said to possess power to penetrate pregnant woman when the sun is very hot during the day.
Furthermore, *Abiku children* are believed to have appointed days for them to depart from the world. Some choose to die immediately after birth, while some others wait for a while, pretending as if they come to stay. An *Abiku* child has something that attracts people’s attention to him or her. *Abiku* is either so good looking that he or she is lavishly spent upon or sickly, that his or her state of health consumes the whole household expense.

Africans believe in the existence of life beyond this immediate world. This notion has gained popularity among African writers, who formally refer to it as an instance of “magical realism”. Some of these writers are Soyinka (1967), Clark (1967) and Okri (1991). It is noteworthy that Fagunwa (1968) and Tutuola (1952) among others have initially written a lot on ideas related to the supernatural, and not strictly *Abiku*. In the western world, this magical realism is known as “marvelous realism”.

Africans tend to agree that there is a link between the physical and the spiritual world. The spirit world is so powerful that it is able to determine how long children born into this world would live. This idea has been portrayed in such a way that children, who stay in the spirit world, believed that life is cruel and that the world is a dangerous place to live. They, therefore, ensure that “things” that bind them to the spirit world are hidden in secret places, such that people of this world can hardly find them to destroy. Some of these magical charms are believed to be hidden in thick forest, under gigantic trees.

Nevertheless, knowing well that *Abiku* children aim to make every family into which they are born poor, several means to thwart their plans are adopted. The spirit offers sacrifices to these spirits. At times, feast that requires the preparation of beans and palm appease with such children. The *Abiku* child is further accoutered with charms like jingles (*Saworo*) in order to use the sound to scare away his spirit mates. Protective amulets, rings and wristlet beads are used to stop the spirit companions from forcing *Abiku* to rejoin them. If *Abiku* still dies, in spite of all these efforts, Abraham (1962) posits that:

> Its corpse is maltreated and wounds and blows believed to make indelible marks are inflicted. Sometimes, the body is hacked up and in every case, must be thrown into the “bush”: the idea is that thereby, the *Abiku* –spirit suffers and becomes incapable of entering a human body.

What is more amazing is that in most cases, as soon as the mother that had the dead *Abiku* child gives birth to another child, the inscriptions done on the former child are noticed in the later. Clark (1967) attests to this in the following:

> We know the knife scars
> Serrating down your and front
> Like beak of the sword fish,
And both your ears notched…
Are all relics of your first comings.

As soon as such is observed, the child is given a specific name, which is strongly believed to be capable of keeping him alive, the name could be derogatory, condemning, or appealing as it is borne out of frustration (depending on how many times the mother has lost the *Abiku*). Whatever may be the immediate function of the name, what it is intended is to keep the child alive. *Abiku* names appeal to the emotions or tarnish the images of children in such a category.

**Abiku what it means?**

Literally *Abiku* means: born to die, born for premature death. In life, there exist two extreme points – birth and death; same as happiness and sorrow, positive and negative. They present a one of a kind feeling for the truth because the only truth is that we are all born to die. This is logical. But it is not logical to die before our time, that we experience a tragic death, that we have a miserable life, full of suffering, sadness and worries.

We will all die some day as we all *Abiku*. The only difficulty here is that we do not accept and do not acknowledge a premature death. We all know that life is a big challenge; we are also aware that we are all capable of facing with the challenges of life and become the winners in life. We all have the right for happiness, joy, peace and satisfaction. The challenge to create this is how to get to it. When we talk about natural energies and manipulation of a parallel world, we use the energy so that we neutralize or completely destroy our inner enemy, which destroys our humor, our courage, our self – confidence, our passion for life, our wish for peace and pleasure in life. At the same time, this has to become a daily celebration. Things that give us good luck and happiness are firstly our ability to understand life. Some *Abikus* are depressive or prevent themselves from being happy. They deny themselves the right to be happy and they really are not happy.

When a child is born to a “normal” family; in a healthy family birth represents a moment of joy, presents something we can call a demonstration of love. A child is born, everyone is happy and satisfied. Although often we make mistakes as we do not detach ourselves from the joy and satisfaction. The child grows and starts to disturb us, the severity is based on the level of our understanding. They begin to show their individuality. At this point grown-ups start to restrict them. And so it happens that with time we persistently destroy the child’s personality, because the word “No” is the word that the child hears most often. When we grow up the reality of life is still telling us: “No, no and no”. As if we actually do not have the right to a life, as if we do not have the right to make mistakes, to risk. The word “No” nests itself deep into our personality, definitely to the extent where none of us want to hear the word no. we always want to achieve our dreams; we want our dreams to become reality. We are not prepared to hear the
word “No” and do not even try at least a bit to understand its meaning. When our partners tell say “No” – that is a problem; when our boss says it – also a problem. This is the systematic destruction of a persons’ personality.

A child that is not a “radical” Abiku is born normally after 9 months of pregnancy. If it belongs to the “real” Abikus which do not want to be born, it will be born before time, before the end of normal pregnancy (after 6-8 months). After the birth of the child many things start happening; the forming of its character, its personality. In this period of growth the child recognizes the people who love it and reject it. But it begins to understand the definition of its life. It beings to distance itself from people and begins to fear the life. When we look at a person within our family or among our friends we sometimes fear for him- what is their life going to be like in the future? Will this person even live long? We know people who get ill from different diseases every six months and it is normal that we ask ourselves this question at that time. What is that thing, which makes some people get ill over and over again while others do not? Why do some people like risking and yet others never want to risk anything in their life? What is it that leads people into tragic experiences on special dates or in special cycles in life (just before graduation, marriage, on honeymoon)? Why in this period and not in another? All this is what creates the universe of Abiku.

If we go back to pregnancy and birth: some experiences of spontaneous abortion, premature death, constant illness or mothers decision to make an abortion – these are all actions that only Abiku can afford.

There are Abiku actions that are called Emere. Emere is a child with a hidden behavior: at times very stubborn, rebellious, disobedient, with a passion for accidents, bold, constantly provocative, takes risks, a child who loves revenge, often gets ill (always with a high temperature or hypothermia), often cries without reason, always talks with itself, plays alone or simply does not want to play with other children.

Sometimes Emere (another local name for Abiku) creates a stage for himself and also plays all the roles himself. Those who have this sort of energy often talk to their imaginary friends, complain to them and fight with them. Such manifestations are possible. When they reach the school age most of the time they do not have a traditional way of life. They stand out of the time they do not have a traditional way of life. They stand out of the traditional system. That is why we say they are stubborn, rebellious. It is not true, however, that they are rebellious only out of malice, because Abiku loves to be different than his peers. At the same time Abiku presents a set of many positive characteristics. We need to understand the following: what counts is not what we have, but what we make with what we have. That is the problem of Abiku. Those who have this energy, which we consider supernatural, need a spiritual grip so that they could turn this energy to their own
advantage. Abiku is highly intuitive and the question is how to prevent him from using this intuition for self – destruction? When some has too much energy, too much power, it is not good because he comes to the point when he does not know what to do with all these resources.

**Abiku Phenomenon and their society called Egbe among the Yoruba**

There exists a society of *Abiku*, the universe of *Abiku* actually. One of the most dangerous Abiku aspects is the one that Abikus are always highly connected with the spiritual world. They are in the visible and invisible world at the same time. They live in both these worlds at the same time. They have nightmares, some always sleep with their eyes open, they can sleepwalk, can go to the kitchen in the middle of the night to drink water … etc.

At night *Abiku* can manifest itself in a way similar to a dream, but in their being they do not dream anymore, they actually travel into another world where they meet their friends. Sometimes when they return into this world, they remember this when they wake up, but they also often do not. Sometimes they have many confused information about what happens to them at night. But that actually are not dreams but *Abiku* transformations, because *Abiku* always lives a parallel life. Sometimes they have many confused information about what happens to them at night. But that actually are not dreams but *Abiku* transformations, because *Abiku* always lives a parallel life: Sometimes they wake up on the other side of the bed, sometimes they even keep falling off the bed. *Abiku* is in both worlds at all times. Just like children, adult *Abikus* can also wet their bed.

There are many nightly and daily manifestations, that is why we call them *Emere* which means supernatural relationship – simultaneous communicating with the visible and invisible worlds. That is a positive peculiarity in a being although there are always difficulties about what *Abiku* does with his energy. If we do not support *Abiku* with enough energy, with a resource of knowledge big enough, it can come to the abuse of his abilities. That is why we try our best to understand the Abikus. Theoretically speaking there exist two groups of Abiku and they are both members of Egbe, because *Abiku* is the physical aspect of the Egbe phenomenon. People who are born with tendency towards fear, challenges, supernatural energies, mysterious energies, which have a mysterious, different relation towards the world, some sort of mysterious forms of life, are not like that because of everything that is happening in their lives. A group of this kind of people from a society called Egbe. *Abikus* always have some sort of agreement with their families. Some of them have a pact so strong that they actually already have a date set for their death, the leaving from this world and returning to the universe of Egbe.

If we look at a circle of our friends when some have died, especially if they died young, we will see that a tragic death is in question; sometimes they left this world too early. Sometimes they do not die but live with the consequences of the moment that should have taken them to the
other world. *Abikus* very often tend to have signs on their bodies and it is common that children like this are born with a lot of birthmarks on their bodies. Some get the marks on their bodies only after an accident has occurred.

*Abiku* experiences periods where negative experiences are more intensive. In most cases this happens during important periods of an *Abiku’s* life. Imagine that someone dies the night before his wedding, graduation, moving into a new house, on some important date. All this happens with the intention to prevent happiness in the life of the Abiku and all the people around him. Abiku’s age is a very decisive factor. Before the Abiku is even born, he accepts his fate or chooses it. Before he is born he somehow separates himself from his family that is somewhere else, in another universe.

Abikus have a pact, an agreement with their families, that they will in a certain period bring suffering into the lives of their parents in the visible world, have an accident, fall ill, disappoint them, commit suicide or die from some disease. At the same time they have an agreement to be in constant contact with the spiritual friends in their families. Egbe is a society of spiritual friends and the Abikus are always in their debt.

But only those who do not care about life can be Abikus. Abikus wake up in the morning and say: “Today, I am not leaving the house”. This way they deny themselves the possibility of life. Abikus are only those who deny themselves the possibility of life. Imagine someone who punishes himself, condemns himself, who says “no” before he even heard the end of the sentence, will not do it, even though he knows that it would bring him joy, happiness and satisfaction. He accuses himself and condemns himself. Abiiku is capable of this. They deny themselves the right for joy and happiness. He is capable of destroying anything that is good and if he does not have a problem, he creates one. If there is no unpleasant situation, he will create one. When something good is happening, like a celebration, he will prevent it or avoid it. Abikus tends to be revengeful. If someone loves to revenge, likes to make fun of it. It is different from a mere joke, it is cynicism.

All of these are possible forms of Abiku, the Abiku energy manifests itself this way. That is how we spot them; and it is important that we cut roots by changing their energy, that we cut the pact before it is too late. Fact is that parents can devote time to an Abiku while still a small child, but when he grows up with all his abilities that are not used correctly he will be regarded as problematic. People do not have the knowledge to understand and to point the right direction to someone who has this energy.
The Characteristics and Operation of Abiku

When we treat an Abiku we must also treat the parents and the entire society, otherwise there will be no results. Abiku has his way that can lead to many unpleasant occurrences because of the pact, which he has with the spiritual world. This pact can be broken.

At the same time people have a lot of understanding toward destruction. We believe that destruction is something normal, although it is not. Spirituality, it is the only way to protect the bad actions of an Abiku. Abiku is someone who is very faithful and loyal to his group that is called Egbe. Egbe is a spiritual community, they are his spiritual friends. Abiku has an agreement with Egbe about what he will do in his life, about everything that will provoke in his life, about the cycle of life – how he will begin it, live it and how he will end it. We know that death is something that awaits everyone. If someone decides to die today, he can do so. And if he fails, he will not succeed just because it was badly expected. To gain the courage to commit suicide is nothing more than to lose fear of it. If a person keeps saying how we would like to die and we do not do anything about it, one day he will wake up and that day will seem like perfect one to die, especially if that person is emotionally unstable. This is part of what Abikus love to do. Only an Abiku laments by saying that he got sick of everything. At the same time we need to be careful with another Abiku action: those who commit suicide and survive have their lives devalued by their beings. They did not commit suicide physically but in a way that they stopped living. They have no ambitions, no dreams whatsoever, no challenges, no risk – they are dead although they are still alive. They only breathe. To be a living dead means to be active without caring about results or achievements. Some kill themselves despite fear, not caring that they will also kill themselves physically.

Our life is full of expectations. While we are still children the expectations from the universe towards us are still minimal. The risk of the Abiku energy to show itself is minimal. A small child still has not been inducted to a single challenge. The only risk it faces is illnesses to which the child is prone to, if by chance it is an Abiku. Afterwards there are the so-called home accidents: falling over, collisions and such which are dangerous for children. The child’s energy is the one that leads to accidents.

We are talking about human destruction at this point, about the illogical aspect of life, about surprises in life. These are situations where many negative things happen to someone who is Abiku. This always has leads to suffering and illness. The less we understand spiritually, the more we suffer.

Abiku IS Always active. Abiku Agba always has critical moments in life and makes sure that these critical events occur exactly in the important moments of our lives, often on our birthdays, just a bit before the birthday or a bit after, on graduation, on weddings, at some
important achievement, maybe at birth; most commonly when it is about some kind of social event: in Short, at the most important moments of our lives.

With Abikus it is important to understand their struggles for life. Some people renounce themselves from life, they do not want it. They will find some sort of excuse, be it depression, nervousness or something else. When we have such an excuse we do not have to do anything, we do not have to trouble ourselves. I am not taking about natural restrictions. Sometimes depression and nervousness are something natural, a biological phenomenon, sometimes these terms are mistaken for foolishness. It is easier to being someone into balance that has a true mental problem than those who are incapable of having a good attitude toward them.

Abiku destruction has many faces, many aspects. Wherever there is a tendency toward destruction we can find the Abiku energy. The only difficulty is that Sola .there is no scale to measure the level of destruction. In many cases we cannot do anything by ourselves, but we need someone who will show us the reality, someone who will keep us under control. We can only do this with love and patience. Otherwise we cannot comprehend that which is difficult for us.

With Abikus it happen every often that something similar depression appears – lack of taste and passion for the things they do in life. Sometimes they have a wonderful home, A house, from a material point of view they have everything they need to lead a good life, but they are not happy, and we call it “depression”. Abikus are often tagged like this, although it is a depression. It is a fact that if someone wants to deny everything good he has in his life, he needs some sort of excuse and depression is a very convenient excuse in times in times like this. In certain cases, if we are on the opposite side towards the interests of an Abiku, we have to know that Abikus have a very determined mind. Most of them are very determined people. That is where Abikus get their good qualities from. It is good to have a strong personality, because it builds up our self-confidence. Most Abikus are very confident, that is why they risk too much. Because their confidence is too big, they often forget about restrictions and that leads them to risk.

The next Abiku quality is intuition. Abikus know when they will have an accident, they often know that they will break their aims and legs before it even happens, they know they will die, some of them can tell the exact date of their death. They have unusual qualities that give them the possibility to manipulate life. Because of that, most inventors or people that achieved something very special in their lives are Abikus. Some of them have the blessing, the ability to compensate for too short of a period of life through achievements that they reach very quickly, and in relatively short time achieve a lot, as if they would actually live too fast. The characteristic of an Abiku is that if he wants, he can punish you or bless you. They can wish you good or bad, you can believe anything you want, it will happen.
Ogbanje and Child Mortality in Nigeria

Mikhail, 1981; Igun, 1982; Rosenstock and Becker, 1988 assume that people’s actions toward health preventive measures are based on their beliefs and attitudes. It also acknowledges that beliefs and attitudes are not spontaneous; rather, they are a function of the processual experience of the individual. Hence, in a general sense, the model does not only look at the individual as a unit of analysis but also considers the socio-cultural environment, which conditions the individual to adhere to certain beliefs and predisposes him or her towards behaving in a defined and culturally prescribed manner. Human behaviours that may be rational or irrational (depending on the context) are influenced by different variables and are imbibed through the mechanisms of the learning process that are available to the individual.

The theory assumes the principal mechanisms to include the definition of the phenomenon (which is culturally defined), and the cognitive perception of the consequence of the ailment (which is both socially and culturally influenced). These mechanisms present favourable or unfavourable contexts which function as discriminative (cue) stimuli for health seeking behavior. Hence, if parents evaluate ogbanje as undesirable, they would engage in culturally defined methods of preventing the occurrence of the phenomenon. Indeed mothers do engage in some preventive measures against the sick child or in preventing the birth of an ogbanje but the danger in engaging in such preventive measures (which are mostly spiritual) is manifest in their neglect of themselves and their immediate environment, which run contrary to modern preventive measures. As is commonly practiced, when a woman becomes pregnant she deliberately keeps herself and her environment untidy, with the belief that the filth would discourage an ogbanje from coming into the family. Such belief is antithetical to modern preventive measures because rather than promote personal hygiene, it creates an environment that is conducive for the breeding of germs awaiting the arrival of the baby. The inflection of the child, especially during the weaning process and at the age of crawling, could lead to the death of the child and the cycle would continue. For successful intervention programmes, therefore, this fact must be taken into consideration so that mothers are properly educated on the relationship between dirt and death among children. It follows from the foregoing that perception as a psychological process affects individuals’ expectations by the physical capacity of their sensory apparatus. In other words, a society can construct perceived reality to the extent that its culturally constructed beliefs will shape members expectations, perception and attitude. The cultural definition of Ogbanje and the inherent power conferred on the baby influence people’s attitudes toward the manifestation of that phenomenon and, ultimately, the health seeking behavior of mothers and the entire household. With such stereotyped belief a child that is suspected to be an Ogbanje would not be taken to an appropriate health centre but to a traditional medicine man, thereby foreclosing alternative medical therapy. This monolithic help seeking behavior in relation to the Ogbanje phenomenon is significant, at least in part, in understanding infant and child mortality in southern Nigeria, because, in area where the belief is still rife, children who are suffering from other
childhood diseases may be taken to a traditional medicine man by the parents who should rather have sought appropriate and proper medical attention in health centers.

**Ogbange Phenomenon: The Fate of Victim Mother**

The effect of barrenness and infertile in marriage put more pressure on the woman more than the man. If the woman is able to give birth to a bouncing baby she frees from stigmatization and derogation. In the case of inability to do so the woman is the chief suspect. She undergoes much social derogation which put her in a psychological trauma. In the same vein the *Egbakhaian* (*Ogbanje*) phenomenon projects the woman (mother) as *Ozu Kwomon kholo* (evil head) or possessed of evil spirits.

The *Ogbanje* (born to die child) is seen as child of calamity and deceit. Hence the Edo name *elumenle* means a cheat. *Ogbanje*, *Abiku* or *Egbakhnan* as born – to – die child is referred to among the Yoruba Ibo and Edo represents the worst thing that could happen to a family. The birth of a child supposes to be of source joy and happiness but the birth of *Ogbanje* brings woes and stress to the family most especially to the mother who is always the chief suspect. The issue at stake is that the mother of such child is made to face untold trauma. She is sometimes seen as the possessed woman who attracted such evil child. The victim mother’s case is worsened when such situation repeats itself, two or more times. In some situation it could lead to divorce. The question here is that why women are often punished for some experience when they ought to be pitied and cared for. The woman is the one who carries pregnancy for nine or ten months, eventually she finds herself in such a terrible experience. Unfortunately she is still labeled with derogative names and sometime pushed out of the family home. This calls for scholarly examination.

**Conclusion**

The belief *ogbanje* and what characterizes it has various theoretical implications not only for mothers and other care-givers but also for health workers who are saddled with the onerous task of planning and implementing health intervention programs. We may never be able to give satisfactory answers to the myriad of questions that inevitably arise from the *ogbanje* phenomenon, but one thing stands clear; the belief in the phenomenon has profound influence on mothers’ responses towards modern preventive action, as well as their treatment behavior. Delimiting our discussion to mothers’ preventive measures and their health seeking behavior within the health belief model does not in any way exhaust all the possible implications of the *ogbanje* phenomenon. The analysis discussion made here is grounded only in one premise and that is, not all deaths that ascribed to the *ogbanje* phenomenon are correct. Some of the deaths that are associated with the phenomenon could have been easily prevented if mothers were to engage in simple personal hygiene and take advantage of the advances in medical knowledge. For
an effective intervention programme to reduce child mortality in Nigeria therefore, health workers must consider various traditional beliefs that may negatively influence mothers’ attitude and perception toward modern advances in medical knowledge. Health workers would only succeed if ethnographic studies are encouraged and appropriate campaign strategies are designed to enlighten mothers and significant members in households on the relationship between other forms of preventive measures and child survival.

Besides, the paper further discussed that the challenge of ogbanje phenomenon should not be seen as an issue bordering on the women alone if objective preventive measure may be employed to remove the ugly experience. The phenomenon should be given a holistic approach that is viewing the scenario as a threat evading the entire human race. This will give the fight against the ogbanje/abiku syndrome a better preventive approach.
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Benin: A study in the budding crises in the polity, 1914 to 1939

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Abstract

The study examined the budding crises in the polity of Benin between (1914 -1939) it also assessed the conflict of interest between Oba Eweka II and the Iyase of Benin kingdom, Chief Agho Obaseki in the Benin Native Administration from 1914. It accounted for the crises of 1920, 1936, and water rate agitations. It also analyzed the agitations of the educated elite in Benin.

The study relied on documentary data and secondary sources like books, Newspapers, Articles, Journals, periodicals. The documentary data were sourced from intelligence reports, divisional reports, colonial letters, dispatches, government reports and correspondences. The data were subjected to internal and external criticisms for authentication and then to textual and contextual analyses.

The study found that crisis in Benin started in 1914 because the Iyase of Benin kingdom, Chief Agho Obaseki dominated the Benin political scene to the detriment of the newly crowned Oba, Eweka II. The study also found that the abolition of district headship generated more crises. The study demonstrated that Oba Akenzua II’s refusal to consult the people before signing the water rate regulation in 1939 led to attempt to depose him. The study also found that the denial of the educated elite in Benin to participate in Benin Native Administration was the last straw that broke the camel’s back.

Keywords: Crisis, Elite agitation, Oba (king), Confrontation, Resolution
Introduction

In Benin, the period under focus witnessed serious institutional challenges. The institution of the monarchy was under serious threat. The establishment of Benin Native Administration in 1914 which came into effect in 1915 generated a lot of crises. The new Oba, Eweka II lost all the attributes of a respectable monarch and became a glorified puppet. The government laid down the conditions on which the Oba shall hold his office. Unfortunately during this period, Chief Agho Obaseki, the Iyase of Benin dominated the Benin political scene with the backing of the British political officers. Also most of the titled and non-titled chiefs who were very active in the period of interregnum suffered a severe political deflation in the new administration, hence crises were inevitable. The district heads, appointed by the British government shifted their loyalty to government instead to the Oba which also resulted to conflict. The abolition of the District head system in Benin in 1936 fuelled more crises in the political system.

The sudden rise of educated elite during this period did not help matters, who although interested in serving in the native administration, their denial brought more crises. They were not happy with the sole native system, unrepresentative nature of the Oba’s council, councilors appointed on the basis of the titles and promulgation of obnoxious laws by government. Hence, the period witnessed unprecedented rancour, animosity, hatred and acrimony.

It may be necessary at this point to examine the concept “crisis” in order to give meaning and understanding to the work. Crisis is a perception of an event or situations as an intolerable difficulty that exceeds the person’s resource and coping mechanisms. In another sense, crisis is the situation of a complete system (family, economy, society), when the system functions poorly, an immediate decision necessary but the causes of the dysfunction are not known. Crisis has several defining characteristics. Seeger, Sellnow and Ulmer say that crises have four defining characteristics which are; “specific, unexpected and non-routine events or series of events that create high level of uncertainty and threat or perceived threat to organization’s high priority goals”.

Venette argues that, “crisis is a process of transformation where the old system can no longer be maintained”. Our inability to recognize crises before they become dangerous is due to denial and psychological responses. Crises necessarily exhibit two faces which are positive and negative effects, so crises are not always undesirable. Crises may increase organization or group involvement and commitment as these members who truly care for the group would try to resolve the crises and also provide the group members with alternative viewpoint that were not previously obvious to them. In addition, the known negative impacts of crises may alert groups to hasten, to resolve emerging crises and thereby fostering peace.
However, it is necessary to add that crises deprived people of both emotional, physical and mental stabilities. As John Pepper Clark humbly pointed out that not only those who fought the civil war are causalities or those who suffered the loss due to the war but we are all casualties. Thus, crises and conflict apart from affecting us psychologically also go a long way in hampering the nation building. Crises and conflict in Benin like the other kingdoms in West Africa date back to ancient time. J.U. Egharevba noted that, during the reign of Ogiso ere, the eldest son of Ogiso Igodo, for instance, if there was fighting or quarreling among his people, a crier would be sent out by him to announce to the fighters, the terms “Awuane Ere” meaning quarrelling is forbidden by Ere and at once peace would be restored. Many factors or challenges were at work between 1914-1939 which brought the crises. The factors were:

The Establishment of Benin Native Administration

After the banishment order placed on Oba Ovonramwen by Consul-General Sir Ralph Moore on 9th September, 1897, there was no possibility that the old political structure might be reconstituted as an instrument of British rule. However, certain political development in Nigeria in 1914 favoured the restoration of the institution of monarchy in Benin. The amalgamation of the Northern and Southern province into the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria took place in 1914. Sir Fredrick Lugard, the Governor-General was desirous to introduce the indirect rule system in Benin, as he did not hesitate in recognizing the basic fact that, Benin would be an area most suitable and conducive for trying out the emirate system in the North. As Sir Lugard wrote in July 1913 “It seems to me that Benin and its subordinate towns is the chief place in Southern Nigeria where the system in operation in Northern Nigeria might be successfully tried.

However, at this point in time, a factor seems to be a serious challenge or obstacle to the restoration of monarchy in Benin. The banished Oba Ovonramwen was still alive. Tradition demands that until he dies, a new Oba cannot emerge. Oba Ovonramwen became seriously ill on 9th January, 1914 and died on the 13th January, 1914 in a hospital in Calabar. With the death of Oba Ovonramwen, the way was now clear for the emergence of Prince Aiguobasimwin, as the heir apparent to be crowned. However, it is important to add that, the way to the Benin throne was not smooth as there was bitter struggle and antagonism between Obaseki and Aiguobasinwin to occupy the throne.

District Commissioner, Benin, F.P. Adams recorded on 8 November, 1910 that “Chief Obaseki has four many years been the most prominent supporter of government among the Benin chiefs and his services have been and are of real value to the government.”

The controversy started when James Watt, the commissioner of Benin province, who believed so much on the ability of Obaseki summoned the Benin chiefs to a number of interviews to select an Oba. Aiguobasimwin, Eson, Ezomo and Ero were invited. Chief Ezomo supported
Obaseki for the Benin throne. Chief Ero told James Watt that, the title of Oba is hereditary in Benin. Chief Eson supported Ero’s stand on the side of tradition in favour of Aiguobasimwin.

It is important to add however that, before a final decision on the succession was taken, Lord Lugard sent Colonel H.C. Moorhouse, who knew the Benin native and custom to some extent to visit Benin and report to him. After much consultations and proper investigation, James Watt and Colonel Moorhouse recommended that Aiguobasimwin should be allowed to succeed his father as the King of Benin. On the strength of the above, it can be said that, the principle of hereditary and primogeniture as well as the support of chiefs Ero, and Eson saved the situation, as James Watt could have preferred his friend, Obaseki to be crowned as the Oba, thereby creating more problems.

Hence Bradbury argued that, dynastic continuity was the first axiom of Edo political values and there was almost universal agreement that Aiguobasimwin was the only acceptable candidate. Osadolor Edomwonyi said, “But for the wise judgement of the British officials on the strong evidence of some Benin chiefs, the table would have turned in favour of Chief Agho Ogbeide the Obaseki of Benin, who had acted for the Oba during the interregnum. Finally, the Oba was appointed on probation for a year before the formal confirmation of appointment.

So, Aiguobasimwin was installed as Oba Eweka II on July 22, 1914 while Agho Obaseki became the Iyase of Benin kingdom. Thus with the restoration of the institution of monarchy, the Benin Native Administration was established in 1914 and the features of the Benin Native Administration were:

a. The system comprised of a central authority made up of the oba who was assisted by a council invested with judicial and executive powers.

b. Benin Division was divided into four districts, each under a district head. Further revision took place in 1921 which increased the districts to six.

c. Another feature of the system was a native treasury. Fees, fines, market dues, timber royalties, rubber receipts, rents and the proceeds of a direct tax on all able-bodied men would form the revenue of a native treasury from which the salaries of the Oba, the Iyase and council, court, district and quarter chiefs and other administrative expenses would be met.

The last in this administrative network were the village heads, who could be either the Onogie or the Edionwere who was to look after the work of the villages. However, the operation of the Benin Native Administration resulted to crises in Benin. Infact the institution of the monarchy was under serious threat in Benin. Oba Eweka II lost all the attributes of a respectable monarch and became a glorified puppet. He was infact stripped of his executive powers. Bradbury noted that at Eweka’s accession the government reserved all rights in regard to policy making and the allocation of administrative responsibilities. Infact in practice, the new Oba was
not in charge rather his chief adviser the Iyase of Benin, Obaseki was fully in control of the administration, enjoying the confidence and trust of the British officers. Justifying this, the Acting Lieutenant Governor, Southern Provinces, F.S. James once said while he was addressing a meeting of the Benin Chiefs:

“It is very satisfactory to me to see that Aiguobasimwin has Obaseki who is now called Iyase to help him. Obaseki is a most reliable and helpful chief the Government and as long as Aiguobasimwin the Oba follows the advice of the Iyase, he will not go wrong. The Oba will receive his instructions from district officer and convey them to his chiefs through Iyase.”

It was so bad that the new Oba lost the power to collect and impose taxes, the power of appointment and selection of his chiefs, the power to make laws for the people and he lost all rights and authority over the land of his ancestors. The Oba could not take the initiative to go to war nor practice religion seen by the British as anarchronistic. In fact the government laid down the conditions which the Oba shall hold office.

While the British government tried all possible means to reduce the powers of the oba, the people were full of happiness that after many years, a new Oba was restored in Benin. The people sent gifts of different kinds to the Oba to express their satisfaction over the installation of Oba Eweka II.

A situation whereby the Oba was relegated by the British officers and promoting the Iyase of Benin was bound to bring crisis. It is on record that, the British administrators did almost everything through Agho Obaseki. In the first place, Iyase was the chief adviser of the Oba. Second, he enjoyed the position of the permanent president of the Benin district native courts of Benin City, Ekenwan and Ehor. He was also the district head of Benin. He presided over the native courts in the district and was enjoined to keep the Oba informed of the details of all important crises. Hence it could be said that, the Iyase of Benin, Chief Agho Obaseki was the man really in charge of Benin Native Administration while Oba Eweka II was a puppet or a figure head. Oba Eweka II saw a lot of frustration which compelled him to write a letter to the District officer dated 30th August, 1920 parts of which read:

The Iyase is ordering me in which I am not pleased because I do not want anyone but the British Government to command me….The Iyase has many times come to the Oba’s house and boasted that his orders surpass the Oba’s … I am deprived of my pays by the Iyase.”

Considering the colourful nature, the joy of the people, the jubilation and festivities which featured during the installation of Oba Eweka II on July 22, 1914, this unique position of Agho Obaseki in the Native Administration which now make him to disrespect the oba will definitely
not go unchallenged by the people and the chiefs who were equally neglected in the administrative network. Even though, D.N. Oronsaye asserts that “though Oba Eweka II was installed as the Oba of Benin the British officials did not allow the Oba to exercise his fully powers and authority”.  

It is important to quickly add that inspite of the relegation which Eweka II suffered in the hands of the British officials and Agho Obaseki, an Oba in Benin is held in high honour and respect among the people. The monarchy is seen as a rallying point for unity and preservation of their cultural identity. In another way the powers of the Oba enhanced by his control over all the religious activities in Benin and its environs. He approves all religious activities especially festivals before they are performed. He is equally the patron of all the gods or deities in Benin. These deities or gods are believed to be responsible for the protection and prosperity of the Oba and the people. In a way, an abuse to such a person is an abuse to all. It was not surprising that in 1920, crisis started.

One would recall that, in a report dated 6 September, 1920 “Talbot described a meeting which he had with the Oba and all the Benin chiefs except the Iyase:

“Everyone of them, district heads included, supported the Iyase’s suspension. Since there was no one to speak for him, Talbot inferred that he must have abused his power, though very capable, he was dictatorial and arrogant. His power rested entirely on his favour with the European.” It is equally fresh in our memory that, Agho Obaseki, the Iyase died in 1920.

Another problem created by the establishment of Benin Native Administration in 1914 was the exalted positions of District Chiefs, which Oba Eweka II and Oba Akenzua II saw as detrimental to their powers, authority and prestige. The Benin Native Administration made possible the creation of the post of District Heads, whose conflicts with the Oba was inevitable. The district chief system s were in the government’s view the key to efficient administration and from the chiefs stand point, the most desirable prizes. They were assigned to the Iyase and three other chiefs now all of senior Eghaevba rank who had proven themselves most useful during the interregnum. Marshall opines that in 1916, the Benin Division was divided into four districts and that further revision took place in 1921 which increased the districts to six.

The appointment of district heads was not in the best interest of the Oba Eweka II and Oba Akenzua II. It brought crisis between Oba Eweka II and the district heads on one side and between the villages in which they supervised. Oba Akenzua II later inherited this conflict situation when he took over from his father in 1933. Oba Eweka II begged the government to support him lest the chiefs would overthrow him as they had overthrown his father.

Bradbury (1973) also maintained that, given the compactness and size of their new domains and the fact that, they were now supposed to reside in their districts and to be presidents of districts courts, all radical departures from pre-colonial practice, the
district heads were in an even stronger position than they had been as paramount chiefs.22

It may be necessary to assess the factors that brought the acrimony between the district chiefs and the Obas. In the pre-colonial Benin, the Oba kept all the territorial chiefs under control. The chiefs owed their position to the British Officers, not to the Oba because they were appointed by them. P.A. Igbafe argues that, the allocation of consolidated and geographically contiguous territories to the district heads which was a direct negation of the pre-colonial Benin practice made the possibility of their acquisition of cumulative influence a real threat to the Oba’s authority.23 The district heads were working for the British Officers against the Oba’s interest and prestige. Hence their positions threatened the Oba’s power. In such situation, crisis was inevitable. Even, the district heads regarded themselves as responsible directly to the administrative offers.

Second, the approach of Oba Eweka II in handling the above precarious situation resulted to more conflict. The Oba felt that, the best option was sending messages direct to villages when making requisition for labour and other services without informing the district chiefs. This practice humiliated the district chiefs and also undermined their authority. In the same vein, it drastically reduced the respect which the villagers gave to the district chiefs. The poor relationship between the Oba and the district heads came out clearly when the British officers recorded in 1918 that:

“It is however imperative that, the Oba should give the district heads ungrading support and rely upon them more than he has done in the past.”24 In the same vein, when the Urhonigbe district revolted against the Osula in 1918, the Acting District Officer, H.M. Bricesmith, in an on-the-spot report the Resident stated that:

The Oba has not given Osula the support he requires…his position is rendered impossibly by the practices of the Oba’s direct contact with his district behind the back of the district head … Osula has no executive authority in the district and requires all the support he can get.25 Commenting on the Urhonigbe district then under Chief Eson, H.G. Aveling wrote in his yearly report for 1970-1921 that:

“the Oba was constantly interfering with his work and trying his best to get him removed.”26

Third, most of the district heads were very corrupt and oppressive. Commenting on this, Igbafe says that:

The district chiefs were hardly more than British administrative agents, and subject to no customary sanctions, they were unpopular with the people and the many of them ignored the welfare of the people they were supposed to govern rather concentrated on self-aggrandizements and the rapid accumulation of personal fortunes.27
The district chiefs were aware of the support of British Officers and the fear their authority instilled on the villagers. This motivated them to do what pleased them. There was no proper supervision of their works by administrative staff, who at this time were few. To compound this situation, there was no personal or traditional ties between them and their areas of authority, they generally paid undue close attention to their own personal interests. Igbafe, also argues that, what particularly made their practices annoying to the people was the frequency of their demands and the intensity or rigour with which such demands were enforced\textsuperscript{28}. With the strong support of the British officers, most district heads carried on oppressive practices. They were the presidents of native courts, so placed in a position for imposing fines arbitrarily on villages. They forced the villagers to hunt for them, force the people to contribute large amounts of food as presents, imposing arbitrary forced labour for the construction of personal houses and those of his relation.

On account of the constant conflicts between district heads and their subjects, as well as the Oba’s use of alternative channels to undermine them, these chiefs were constantly being reposted to different districts. Early in 1917, the district heads were interchanged among the districts\textsuperscript{29}. At the beginning of 1919, changes were again made in the posting of district heads\textsuperscript{30}.

1920 crises

The 1920 crisis started when Chiefs Obasuyi, the Esogban and Oloton of Eghaevo N’Ore titles sent a petition to the Governor-General, Sir Hugh Clifford, on behalf of all the titled chiefs of Benin City against their exclusion from the Benin Native Administration. This was when the Governor-General visited Benin in July, 1920. The petition was dated 28\textsuperscript{th} July, 1920. According to Igbafe, they listed a number of malpractices indulged in by the chief organs of that administration and called on the Governor-General to rectify these\textsuperscript{31}.

Their opinion was that the native administration since 1914 was bad. They complained that the native administration was a joint rule of the Oba and the Iyase by promise of power and emoluments. They condemned the behavior of the Oba and Iyase in similar terms that both had used their power to extract private tributes and free services from all the villages. They particularly frowned at a situation whereby the Oba had taken the Chiefs former household slaves and set up new villages with them to work plantations for him and others he has given to his daughters on their marriages to the Iyase and Edogun and still others to the Iyase himself\textsuperscript{32}. They demanded the removal of the Iyase from the permanent vice-presidency of the native court and the rotation of all court-vice-presidencies among the chiefs. They suggested that all administrative matters should be discussed, publicly at Ugha-Ozolua instead of the private arrangement between Oba, Iyase and Resident, James Watt in the residence of the Resident. They recommended the suspension of Iyase\textsuperscript{33}. They also condemned the new “head taxes”.

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Even though the Oba was accused in this petition, he supported the people against Iyase and he prescribed pension for him. He recommended that the Iyase should be suspended. It is important to note that, the 1920 crisis was a very complicated one. While some of issues raised by the aggrieved chiefs could be immediate factors, there were the remote factors. When the native administration was established, most of the old rank holders and chiefs of Benin expected that, they would be given some measure of control and powers. But they were shocked that, it was the handing over of power to a few men, those who were considered useful. Agreeing with this Igbafe maintains that:

The political officers paid too much attention to appointing to offices those chiefs who had proved to be effective instruments for the execution of their power in the period before 1914 while too little consideration was given to the climax of those who actually possessed real power and prestige in the eyes of the people\textsuperscript{34}.

The Benin Native Administration made provisions for few chiefs while the rest were excluded. Most of the district heads for example were very corrupt, oppressive and had no personal or traditional ties between them and their areas of authority. Agho Obaseki, the Iyase was the Chief adviser of the Oba. He was made the permanent President of the three Benin district native courts at Benin City, Ekenwan and Ebor as well as a district head of Benin yet many paramount chiefs were excluded from the administration. It was therefore not surprising that the 1920 crisis came up. The Oba was attacked by the petitioners because the chiefs villages were seized from them. the pre-colonial era had given these Benin Chiefs villages to control. Under the new political dispensation, they were ignored while the Oba was removing their household members, building camps and villages for himself and using these villagers for work in his plantations and cultivation of private farms.

In another development a situation whereby the Oba’s council had a very restricted membership and positions filled through selection by political officers, who left out a consideration number of chiefs under the old regime while power was concentrated in a few hands fuelled 1920 crisis.

\textbf{1936 Crisis: Macrae Simpson Intelligence Report and the Abolition of District Headship in Benin}

The 1936 reforms in Benin Native Administration brought in a lot of complications in Benin. District Officers throughout Southern Nigeria were instructed to conduct enquires into district head system, tax collection, regulations concerning such matters as sanitation, the felling of trees, planting of permanent crops in early 1930s Macrae Simpson, the Assistant District Officer in Benin Division was assigned to that in the Division. Infact by 1930s there were enough evidence of resentment against British rule. This resentment brought the need to reform the
structure of government, for example was the Aba women riot of 1929. This was resentment against arbitrary taxation, while it may be correct that, this was riot against the imposition of taxes but it was an indication of peoples resentment against alien rule generally.

The enquiry which followed this crisis and others led to the compilation of reports which covered the whole of the Southern provinces including Benin. The numerous reports which followed referred to as Intelligence Reports formed the basis of the subsequent re-organization of British administration in Benin on both the executive and judicial planes. In these reports, officers were instructed to investigate and report on the indigenous social and political organization, the possibility of its adaptation to new functions as units of local government and the economic and educational proposals for re-organization. Though ethnological enquires were being undertaken in various parts of Benin province from 1932 onwards, followed by re-organization, a serious attempts at re-organization of the Benin Native administration were not made until towards the end of 1935. The chief reason for this delay was the death of Oba Eweka II in February 8, 1933—an event that led to Governor-Cameroon’s directive that re-organization attempts should be postponed for two years.

In February, 1936, Simpson Macrae, the Assistant district officer, Benin Division went round some of the districts to explain to them Native Administration and the need for a change in the system. Macrae Simpson in his Benin Division Intelligence Report came out with the following proposals:

That the District Headship should be abolished. He proposed the constitution of village and village group councils which would be responsible to the Oba for local affairs and which at a latter date might be represented on a central state council. Also that, the quarter headships of the capital would be replaced by a form of administration based on the traditional wards. He suggested the enlargement of the council to include all the Uzama and Eghaevo which will consist of 54 chiefs.

The abolition of District and Quarter Headships brought in a lot of trouble for Oba Akenzua II. According to Bradbury, the District and Quarter Headships were however immediately abolished and their incumbents experienced the same kind of deflation that had been the lot of the ex-paramount chiefs twenty years before. The Oba to whom the village chiefs and headmen were now directly responsible and who had a big say in the running of the administrative bureaucracy, stood to gain from this re-organization. The disposed chiefs accused Akenzua II as being responsible for the deflation of their prestige and prerequisite hence they supported the anti-traditionalists throughout the troubled period, since they saw the Oba as the sole recognized authority of British policy. More especially, Oba Akenzua II was accused by them of given approval to the abolition. Oba Akenzua II support for the move to abolish the posts of district heads in the Benin Native administration brought crisis.
Inspite of the accusations against Oba Akenzua II, a critical study of the situation in the 1920’s and 1930’s show that, the abolition of the District head system was long overdue.

First, in the absence of an Oba, there were no checks and balances on the power of the District heads and their districts were well defined and consolidated blocs of territories allowing them to build up their position. This led to abuse of power and malpractices and general discontent. In the pre-colonial Benin, the Oba kept all the territorial chiefs under control but after 1914, the appointment of district heads from the Oba’s Central Council made the control of these district chiefs by the Oba and council difficult. In the same vein, shortage of administrative staff meant inadequate supervision of the work of district chiefs.

Second, the district chiefs were British administrative agents and not subject to the Oba. Their oppressive, abusive and hostile nature contributed to their unpopularity hence they were in battle with the people.

Third, the creation of artificial administrative areas as districts and the appointments of district heads led to the usurpation of the executive and judicial function of village councils. So many village heads were dissatisfied with the system.

Also, despite the fact that, district headships’ system was still been operated in 1935, events show that the system was becoming very unnecessary. The system had outlived its administrative usefulness. Bradbury comments that, wage labour had replaced levies of labourers and carriers. He says further that, direct taxation on the basis of normal rolls was well established and tax clerks.

From the foregoing, it is not a surprise that the district headships in Benin Division were abolished. But the unfortunate aspect was the crisis this abolition generated. The Oba became the sacrificial lamp and the scapegoal because, Oba Akenzua II saw nothing wrong in supporting the abolition of he district head system. This group of chiefs who now found themselves thrown out of their offices joined other aggrieved old chiefs to give the Oba an effective battle. It is however important to add that, inspite of the accusation against the Obas, as regard the abolition of district headship system which generated crisis, a critical study of the situation between 1916-1935 shows that, the abolition of the District head system was long-over due. However, these rank of chiefs increased the tempo of opposition against the Oba. The opposition rate now grew at a geometrical progression instead of arithmetic.

The Agitation of Educated Elite (1933-1938)

One surprising aspect of this re-organization in the Benin Native Administration from 1914-1936 was the deliberate neglect of the Benin educated elite. One wonders why these
articulate and vocal elements should not be integrated into political machinery. Marshall analyzed the educational development in Benin during the period under survey:

According to him, there are probably very few men in Benin under the age of 25 who can not read, write and speak English. This is only a very small highly educated class while there is fairly large and ever growing class who are sufficiently educated and sufficiently interested to read the paper.\(^{40}\)

Supporting the above view, Bradbury posits that, as a result of the introduced schools and new economic opportunities over the previous thirty years, there was by this time, a growing intelligentsia of teachers, clerks and civil servants whose literacy gave them access to western political ideologies.\(^{41}\) Also in existence at this time was new commercial elite. This comprises transport owners, rubber and timber producer, traders etc. Many of these were sons of the original paramount chiefs. They were in sympathy with the educated elite in their agitation.

The educated elite were able to win the support of a large number of the traditional chiefs, most of whom were the influential members of the Oba’s council. Sensing this segregation and discrimination in Benin, the educated elite quickly formed a powerful body called the Benin Community to articulate their ideas and press home their demands. This Association was formed in the early 1930s in Benin. It was made up of various interest groups like educated elite, the commercial class, farmers, traders, civil servants. Some of most reactionary and the title-holders associated themselves with the Benin Community. The secretary of the community was H.O. Uwaifo while the assistant secretary was E.E. Omere. This body gave a serious and prolonged political resistance to the Oba. They saw Oba Akenzua II as the representative of British administration which promulgated obnoxious laws. They wanted democratic deliberations. The educated elements in Benin were totally dissatisfied with the Benin Native Administration where the Oba was the sole Native Authority, aided by a council selected on the basis of traditional title holders and thus unrepresentative of the various classes of people in Benin City. A complex situation was created when Oba Akenzua II was made the sole Native Authority, which implied that the Oba virtually constituted the Benin Native administration for purposes of giving sanctions to measures, promulgating new rules and taking effective decisions. In another way he was seen as the only source of power. It was quite unfortunate that the sole Native Authority was practiced at a time when educated elite had emerged, who was quite aware of their rights and were ready to promote democratic government in their society. They wanted an overhaul or reform in the Benin Native Administration which will allow many people especially the educated elite to participate. They condemned in particular, the appointment of councilors mainly on the basis of title. These agitations became pronounced in the late 1930’s because the proposals of 1914, Talbot’s intelligence report of 1920 and Macrae Simpson’s Intelligence Report of Benin Division of 1936 did not make provisions to accommodate the educated elite hence they decided to take their destiny in their hands.
Also, political developments in some parts of the country at this time motivated them to fight for their rights. Coleman observes that in the early 1930s, official thought regarding the relationship between educated groups and the native authority system particularly in the southern provinces began to change. There was sudden burst of organizational activity among educated groups in the early 1930s which reflected their strong desire to participate in the affairs of their home villages or districts. British policy towards the educated elements began to change by warnings from observers and students of the African scene, who felt that meaningful roles must be provided for the previously excluded and unwanted group of educated Nigerians. Charles Roden Buxton warned that “we neglect the intelligentsia at our peril.” In another vein, another Britain’s leading Africanist, Lucy P. Mair said in 1936 that demands for change had always come from minorities with specific ground for discontent and that the African educated class would ultimately triumph. Also contributing, Margery Perham in her examination of the problem in Nigeria setting in 1936, acknowledge that:

“The emergence of the educated Nigerian was absolutely necessary for Britain’s colonial mission and recommended that more Nigerians should be employed to positions of trust” and everything must be done to find or create opportunities for them within the Native Administration.

It was not surprising then, why the educated elements under the newly formed Benin community were all out to resist Oba Akenzua’s draconian tendency between 1933-1939. They were opposed to the native authority with Oba in charge under the supervision of the British administrators. They wanted administrative reforms which will usher in representative government. In another vein: Sir Clifford Constitution of 1922 was already in place which made provisions for a legislative council of forty-five members. Article 4 of Nigeria (legislative council) order in Council, 1922 stipulates that under the 1922 constitution, there was a legislative council for the colony and protectorate of Nigeria consisting of 46 members. Article 6 states that four were elected. These four were indeed the first elected Africans in the legislatures of British tropical Africa. Out of the 4, three were to represent Lagos as the capital and a big commercial city and one to represent Calabar. That means for the first time in Nigeria, as early as 1922, Lagos and Calabar were granted the right to vote in an election to the legislative council.

Ezera Kalu indicated that the limitation of this elective principle of these coastal towns was based on the assumption that Lagos and Calabar were at that time the only places that had sufficiently large numbers of enlightened citizens to be able to use the Franchise.

Hence Joan Wheare wrote:
The elective principle was embodied in the constitution of 1922 in respect of Lagos and Calabar because of their long association with British trade and government had led to the creation of sophisticated and westernized elements in both towns48.

In the case of Benin, the situation was different, in spite of sizeable number of educated elite, no provision was made for them until 1939, when Marshall saw it paramount to break the gin of neglect of the Benin educated elite in the Benin native Administration.

Ezera maintains that as soon as the new constitution came into force in 1923, political parties sprang up overnight and several newspapers commenced publications. It stimulated unprecedented political awakening in Lagos49. Nigeria National Democratic Party under the leadership of Herbert Macaulay emerged as the most powerful political organization of the period. The party contested and emerged victorious, by claiming the seats in the legislative council between 1923-1933. The party also won the Lagos Town Council election. Coleman says that elective principle had been extended to Lagos Town Council since 192050. Also, the Nigerian Youth Movement which was formed in 1936 had its influence in Benin. It challenged the 15-year domination of Macaulay and his Nigerian National Democratic Party over Lagos politics and representation on the legislative council. As part of its effort to achieve this in Nigeria. In 1938, and again in 1940 the leaders of the youth movement summoned delegates from all branches including Benin to attend a representative conference in Lagos. Among the items discussed include abolition or reform of indirect rule and higher appointments in the civil service. According to P.A. Igbafe, Nigerian Youth Movement was a known opponent of native administration and indirect rule and the Youth Movement played on the self-interest of the chiefs in order to detach them from the Native Administration in Benin51. It is pertinent to state that many members of the Benin Community were also members of the Nigerian Youth Movement E.E. Omere, who was the Assistant Secretary of the Benin Community was the leader of the local branch of the Nigerian Youth Movement in Benin. Little wonder when the delegates got to Benin, they were more agitated therefore calling for the overhauling of the Benin Native Administration. It is possible that some of the educated elite in Benin might have lived in Lagos before coming to Benin. It is also possible that some visited Lagos periodically where they witnessed the political activities hence they were seriously agitated. Notably among them was Omo Humphrey Osagie, who later became the timber and cadre of Benin politics.

The emergence of newspapers in Nigeria can also explain the situation in Benin. By 1921, the first militantly nationalist newspaper appeared. The Lagos Weekly Record, was founded by John Payne Jackson. By 1925, Daily News was founded by Herbert Macaulay. There were others like Pioneer, Lagos Standard, The Time of Nigeria, The Lagos Chronicle. Some of the newspapers began to take an interest in reporting the debates of the legislative council and the result was that many of the literate members of the society began to take more interest in public affairs. These papers contributed in no small measure to the push for constitutional development.
However, it was not until the 1930s that viable ones emerged. These 1930s papers did not hide their anti-colonial feelings. Most of the Benin educated elite might have read some of these papers thereby increasing their political consciousness. Also since a branch of Nigerian Youth Movement was established in Benin, it is a possibility that their journal, the Daily Service was readily available in Benin for the people to read by 1936.

The availability of papers in Benin in the 1930s can be seen in the intelligence Report of Marshall when he said “There is a fairly large and over growing class who are sufficiently educated and sufficiently interested to read the papers”. From the foregoing, it is not a surprise that the Benin Community was very critical about the Benin Native Authority in the late 1930s and they increased their level of criticisms against its operation.

The members took their first action in March 1922, when they presented a petition to Government. Disclosing the content of the petition to the Resident Benin Province on 8th March, 1933 the District Officer, Benin Division said.

‘I attach in triplicate a communication address to His Honours which is called ‘suggestions Re-Benin Native Administration”, it is signed by 22 persons.

The petition was dated 2nd March, 1933 and was addressed to His Honour. The Lieutenant Governor, Southern Province, Enugu, among the issues raised were:

1. Appointment of quarter chiefs by Oba alone. They suggested that the chiefs should be appointed by the people
2. That chieftaincy should be extended to Christians and Mohammedans and not limited to pagans. That government may make suggestions to modify the ceremonies at the palace for Christian and Moslem chiefs
3. Individual ownership of land should be granted
4. Abolition of the four layer regulation as suitable for the subjects of the Oba. They condemned the policy of only the King to live in a building of five layers or more.
5. The removal of the restrictions of the use of Iroko timber for building purposes. According to them, Iroko timber is of great utility for building purpose as it is being capable of resisting white ant scourge.

What was surprising in this petition was the reaction of government to the issues raised. Apart from the issues of appointment of quarter chiefs by ballot and the demand that the oba’s council should be opened to Muslims and Christians who had been excluded because they refused to undergo title taking rituals, which were not accepted by government, the other issues were granted by government. While it is correct to say that the issues were critically analyzed based on merit, it may also be argued that government was becoming conscious of the neglect of the educated elite in the Benin Native Administration or is seeing the sound reasons behind their actions. Most probably, it could be attributed to the new British policy of recognizing that educated elite as necessary for Britian’s colonial mission, premised on sound presentation from
British intellectuals and experts stressing their relevance. Even when the petitioners proclaimed that, the petition was a suggestion to improve the Benin Native Administration and create a better understanding between the Oba and his people, a critical look at the issue raised, give a clear indication that it was anti-traditional in tone. Oba Akenzua II came to the throne on 5th April, 1933, there was already a petition containing contentious issues which if not well handled can bring crisis which will pay way for disunity in the domain of the new Oba. This uncompromising nature of members of the Benin Community at the inception of the reign of Oba Akenzua II gives an impression that the new king awaits a lot of challenges. Hence Bradbury (1973) noted that Oba Akenzua II was aware from the onset that he would have to work hard to establish his authority and that he had the additional burden of promoting the acceptance of a new government policies and regulations which were rarely universally popular.

Oba Akenzua II and Iyase, Okoro-Otun Conflict (1935)

In 1935, Oba Akenzua II refused Iyase Okoro-Otun appearing in the streets, wearing a beaded head-dress which Eweka II permitted him to wear. He also prevented him from using the ceremonial sword (ada) which the Iyase carried while visiting other chiefs. This was seized by the Oba for about 4 days till the Resident Mr. White intervened before it was restored. The Oba also refused his sons’ admission into any of the palace societies. It may be necessary at this juncture to trace the origin of Iyase title in Benin and also establish the relevance of this title in Benin Kingdom. The title Iyase was created by Oba Ewedo (1260-1274) who was to act as the opposition to the Edion Uzama, who were very conscious of their personal self-aggrandizement. However, when Ewuare the Great came to the throne (in about 1440-1473), he created a council of state known as Eghaevbo N’Ore and appointed the Iyase as their leader. D.N. Oronsaye (1995) stated that, “The Iyase was also the leader of the Ore the ordinary people, in opposition to Ogbe – the palace and its officials. The Iyase was vested with powers which included the prerogative of arguing with the Oba and disagreeing with the Oba’s point of view and to appease Iyase, the Oba usually give his eldest daughter to the Iyase in marriage.

The Eghaevbo N’Ore acted as a balance to the palace and the Edion Uzama. J.U. Egharevba opines that, Oba Ewuare created the Eghaevbo n’Ore (State Council) whose members were at that time the Iyase. Esogban, Eso, and Osuma, with the Iyase of Benin at their head. The position of Iyase in Benin is very unique. He is the mouthpiece of the people and the Oba’s first subject. If an Oba is becoming autocratic and absolute, he is the only person by tradition that can check him. He commands popular support from the people and sometimes called prime minister in Benin. Others see him specifically as leader of the opposition. He was the champion of popular liberties. He performs his traditional role as defender of the people’s rights against palace autocracy. He was the supposed to be a safety value against the abuses of absolute monarchy and a check on the autocratic tendency of an Oba.
Oba Akenzua II was not diplomatic enough in handling the affairs of the Iyase realizing his role as the leader of the opposition and the Prime Minister of the Kingdom. Tradition bestows certain functions on them. Inspite of the fact that Oba Eweka II made Okoro-Otun, Iyase in 1928, and other privileges which he extended to him he championed most of the agitations in the late thirties and early forties against Oba Akenzua II. Hence, it was not surprising that in the late thirties and early forties, Okoro-Otun spearheaded the opposition to the Oba. As a result of his aggressive and uncompromising nature, when he died in 1943, Oba Akenzua II refused to appoint another Iyase to replace him. Infact he made serious attempt to abolish the title which led to the abolition of Iyase title crisis in 1947. May be he forgot that, the Iyase serves as check to Oba’s possible autocracy and abuse of power. In fact Okoro-Otun the Iyase, confronted Oba Akenzua II to a point of a standstill. Agho-Obaseki, the Iyase, so frustrated Eweka II that he requested the Resident to mediate between them instead of fighting him. In the case of Gaius Obaseki and Oba Akenzua II, it was a sad and very painful paradox. Oba Ewuare appointed his slave Idiaghe as Iyase and gave his eldest daughter to him as a wife. This was designed to win loyalty. Imagine ordinary slave now made Iyase. But Iyase Idiaghe disappointed him by questioning and demanding explanation on the action of the Oba. However, Idiaghe cannot be accused of not being grateful because he was only performing his duty as the Iyase of Benin.

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The power and authority of the Iyase in Benin Kingdom can be seen in the episode of Oba Ohen and Iyase Emuze. Oba Ohen, a 14th century ruler who came to the throne in 1334, ordered Emuze to put to death. When the news of the death of Iyase Emuze came to the open, the people become rebellious and they stoned Oba Ohen to death, inspite of all attempts made by him to appeal to them.

**Water-rate Agitation (1937-1939)**

Of all crises in the 1930, the most volatile one that remained indelible in Benin history was the water-rate agitation of 1937-1939. The people of Benin resisted the house valuation basis of water rate and supported a flat rate based on water consumption. Osadolo Edomwonyi said:

The introduction of water-rate based on tenement basis to which the Oba was alleged to have given assent without consultation with his chiefs and people brought general dissatisfaction\(^{58}\).

Bradbury posited that the reaction to the water-rate was serious and the agitation later became the great water-rate agitation, one of the legendary landmarks of Benin political history. He added that, it served to cement the two groups opposed to the Oba into an effective condition and to polarize the residents of the capital into pro and anti-palace faction\(^{59}\).
Contributing to the issue of water-rate agitation, Oba Ezediaiwa in his welcome address to the people during his coronation ceremony in 23rd March 1979, said:

“Shortly after Oba Akenzua II ascended the throne in 1933, he saw the need for the expansion of the Oredo pipe-borne water system that was commissioned 1910 and the necessity for financial contribution by his people. Consequently, he accepted the introduction of the Native Administration in 1936/37 of the levy water-side. A move which would have inculcated the spirit of self reliance and social responsibility in the people, however, generated dissension which came to be popularly known as the water-side agitation, agitation he had to contend with for a couple of years.

In actual fact, the Benin City water work constructed in 1910 was becoming inadequate. In order to provide the city with a proper and adequate supply of water, the government granted an interest free loan of 20,000 pounds for the extension and reconstruction of the Benin City water works in 1921. When the scheme was completed on July 16, 1935 the Benin Native Administration was asked by the Public Works Department to take responsibility for all annual charges for the maintenance and supervision of the water works. Igbeke hints that it was intended that all expenses in this regard should be met by the imposition of a water-rate, with assessment based on the annual value of tenement. On April, 1937, regulations imposing these rates came into force under the draft rules of the Benin Native Administration. These draft rules were made under the Native Authority Ordinance. As a result of this development, a levy of 5% of the annual value of tenements was announced in Benin, but later, this amount was found to be inadequate hence it was increased to 10%. This rate was highly condemned by the people as highly exorbitant compare to 5% of annual value of tenements in operation in many places in southern Nigeria.

The Benin Community was in the forefront of this agitation for the abolition of new water rate in Benin. Some members of the Oba’s council like Iyase, Ezomo, Oshodi fully supported the agitation. Mass meetings were summoned to spread its condemnation and series of petitions were written to press home their demands. The government rejected the flat-rate proposal because it could not bring in enough revenue to make the Benin water works self-sufficient. At the beginning, Oba Akenzua II slighted the agitators and saw them as disloyal elements but later it became done on him that the agitation was assuming a threatening state hence he was ready to accept a flat-rate depending on the disposition of government officers, especially when there was rumour to depose the Oba.

The water rate agitation which started in 1937 ended in 1939 with serious consequences. In view of the high degree of criticisms by educated elite on Benin Native Administration and the volatile nature of water rate agitation, in 1939 the administration officers saw it paramount to find a political settlement in Benin affairs. Marshall was of the opinion that the bitterness generated by the water-rate crisis adequately found expression on the question of re-organization. As a
prelude to this in February, 1938 His Honour, the Chief Commissioner, Southern Provinces, W.E. Hunt suggested at a public meeting that the Benin Community should write their own Intelligence Report. Six of their members were appointed for this assignment. The report contained the following recommendations:

a. It condemned the appointment of councilors mainly on the basis of title and suggested an elected council representative of all sections of the tax-paying population in Benin.

b. That, in due course, literacy and intelligence should be preliminary, qualification for membership of the Benin Native Administration. This report was however not accepted because of the high level of criticisms it attracted from Oba Akenzua II and that it was not detailed enough to form the basis for re-organization in the Benin Native Authority.

c. It was on the strength of these observations that Mr. H.L. Marshall, an Assistant District Officer was instructed to write another report. It is very important to point out here that the report of the Benin Community forms the basis for discussion in the course of production of Marshall Intelligence Report. Mr. H.L. Marshall’s, Intelligence Report came out in August, 1939. The report contained his proposals for re-organization for the Benin Native Administration.

Conclusion

Even though the institution of the monarchy was restored in 1914, the lopsided nature of Benin Native Administration from 1914-1920 whereby Oba Eweka II was stripped of his executive powers while Agho Obaseki was bestriding the Benin political system like a colossus made crisis inevitable.

The crisis expanded with unspoken rapidity with the investiture of a new persons or inferior standing with power of control and guidance over the administration while a greater number of the old Benin chiefs were given no positions whatsoever in the native administration inaugurated in 1916.

A complex situation was created when Oba Akenzua II was made the sole Native Authority at a time when educated elite had emerged, who was quite aware of their rights and was ready to promote democratic and representative government as against sole Native Authority. Their vocal and articulate zeal promoted and sustained the crises. The abolition of District headship system in Benin following the intelligence Report of Macrae Simpson brought more crises.

The promulgation of obnoxious Laws which Oba Akenzua II supported without consultation which particularly enacted a regulation which insisted on a water rate based on house valuation or tenement basis brought serious crisis. It generated dissension, bitterness,
protests, agitation and tension in Benin. However, it is important to add that the water rate agitation resulted to positive political reforms in Benin Native Administration in 1939.
Endnotes

8. National Archives, Ibadan. CSO, 26: 09305, P.1
12. Lugard’s Minute of 29 May 1914 to Lt. Governor, Southern Provinces.
14. Ibid, p.147
15. P.A. Igbafe, *Benin under British Administration* p.40
32. Ibid, pp167-169
33. Ibid, pp167-168
34. Ibid, p.155
35. Ibid, p.293
36. Ibid, P.297
38. Ibid, p115-116
39. Ibid, p.115
41. R.E. Bradbury, Benin Studies, p.114
46. Nigeria’s (Legislative Council) Order in Council, 1922, Article 4.
53. BP. 309, Ben Prof. p.1
54. BP, 209, Ben. Prof. pp4-9.
55. R.E. Bradbury, *Benin Studies*
56. D.N. Oronsaye, *The History of Benin Empire and Kingdom*, P.57
60. Oba Erediawa’s Welcome Address during his Coronation Ceremony, 23rd March, 1979.
61. National Archives, Ibadan. CSO 26, 09305, p.1
63. Ibid, p.54.
64. H.F. Marshall, Intelligence Reports.
65. National Archives, Ibadan BD 835, P.58

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i Examples include overly-pious characters within the Paranormal Activity series (specifically 2), Claire Spencer (Michelle Pfeiffer) in What Lies Beneath, and the parents of a demonic child in Case 39, all of which are deemed unstable for believing in the supernatural.

ii Examples of characters in slasher films who, it is implied, are suffering from a severe mental illness include Michael Myers (Halloween series), Leatherface (Texas Chain Saw Massacre series) and Norman Bates (Psycho). Similar examples for psychological horrors include both Nina and Beth (Black Swan), Teddy Daniels (Shutter Island) and both Su-mi and Su-yeong (A Tale of Two Sisters).

iii Several characters are diagnosed with a specific illness, and as such, the symptoms are included as a driving force behind the narrative; examples include A Beautiful Mind and He Loves Me...He Loves Me Not (Colombani, 2002), with the characters suffering from schizophrenia and erotomania, respectively.
Le Multilinguisme et les Problèmes d’Aménagement Linguistique au Nigeria

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Abstract

The coexistence of many different linguistic groups in the same geographical territory is a social reality that poses a great challenge to language planning. Today, increased plurilingual and socio-linguistic dynamisms have forced some regions, through political and linguistic regulations, to manage the relationship between the linguistic groups in a given geographical territory. In fact, language question creates tension in the society. The choice of one or more languages is capable to crystallise antagonisms in the regions. Each region must develop their languages in their territory to avoid linguistic crisis and tension that can lead to social, political, economic instability in the country. However, there is no ideal language planning but political stakeholders must analyse language from linguistic, social milieu and study their social functions as well as their linguistic needs in the society before developing them.

Keywords: Multilingualism, language planning, language, Region, Society
Résumé

La coexistence de groupes linguistiques différents sur le même territoire géographique est une réalité sociale qui pose des problèmes sociolinguistiques de plus en plus épineux. Aujourd'hui, l'accroissement du plurilinguisme et les situations dynamiques sociolinguistiques obligent l'Etat à intervenir, souvent par des politiques ou des lois linguistiques, pour tenter d'aménager les rapports entre les groupes linguistiques en présence au sein d’un territoire géopolitique donné. C’est un fait bien connu que la question des langues crée les tensions dans la société. Le choix d’une ou de plusieurs langues est susceptible de cristalliser les antagonismes qui font à leur tour éclater ces Etats. Donc chaque Etat doit aménager les langues dans un territoire pour éviter les conflits ou les tensions linguistiques, qui peuvent générer l’instabilité sociale, politique et économique dans le pays. Il n’y a pas un aménagement linguistique idéal mais pour éviter d’aboutir à un échec les décideurs politiques doivent d’abord analyser les langues dans leur milieu linguistique et social, étudier leurs fonctions sociales et les besoins linguistiques de la société avant d’aménager des langues.

Mots clés : le multilinguisme et l’aménagement linguistique
Introduction

Le multilinguisme est un phénomène universel qui est l’ issu de la cohabitation des langues différentes dans un espace donné. Comme nous le disions plus haut la présence du multilinguisme sur un territoire provoque facilement des conflits en raison des tensions entre les langues. Etant donné que la langue n’est plus simplement un instrument de communication mais aujourd’hui, elles deviennent rapidement le symbole apparemment linguistique de la dominance politique, économique et sociale.

Le Nigéria paraît, comme d’autres pays africains, morcelé du point de vue linguistique. Chumbow affirme ainsi:

From the linguistic perspective, the single most important characteristic of African nations is linguistic diversity. All African countries are indeed multilingual and multicultural in varying degrees (Chumbow, 2009:22).

Donc avec environ 400 langues locales (Mokwenye, 2007:112) auxquelles s’ajoute la langue héritée de la colonisation, l’anglais, et le pidgin qui est issue de l’anglais et les autres langues vernaculaires, le multilinguisme est la situation répandue au Nigéria. Mais parmi toutes les centaines langues pratiquées au Nigeria les plus utilisées sont le haoussa, au Nord, le yoruba à l’Ouest, l’Igbo à l’Est.

La situation linguistique au Nigéria est un peu complexe. On distingue quatre catégories de langues, à savoir: la langue officielle, les langues nationales, les langues vernaculaires et les langues étrangères. Pendant l’époque coloniale, toutes les affaires du pays se faisaient en langue coloniale, les nigérians ne s’intéressent pas à la question des langues, ils combattent pour l’indépendance et la libération du pays natale de la domination coloniale. Donc, après l’indépendance, face aux risques de conflits ethniques, le souci de communication à l’échelle mondiale, la notion que les langues nigérianes ne sont pas équipées avec un vocabulaire scientifique et technique approprié et sans les moyens financiers à les faire se développer immédiatement, le président de la nouvelle République et les décideurs politiques nigérians se sont prononcés en faveur de langue du colon comme langue officielle du nouveau État, pour les raisons techniques, économiques, sociales et surtout politiques.

En prenant ce choix linguistique, ils croient sans doute que cette langue coloniale (l’Anglais) va se généraliser au Nigeria grâce à l’éducation qui serait le moteur central du développement économique et humain. C’est la raison pour laquelle les programmes de promotion des langues vernaculaires sont oubliés et on leur donne le statut des langues nationales où on essaie de les protéger. Raymond Renard résume la situation ainsi:

"En réalité, à l’époque de l’indépendance, le moment ne semblait pas encore venu pour les décideurs politiques d’apprécier correctement l’importance des langues." (Renard, 2002 : 92).
L’aménagement Linguistique: Un Aperçu

L’aménagement linguistique est le domaine qui étudie la réglementation des langues par des Etats. Il s’agit de mettre une langue en valeur, de manière à la rendre viable, utile et productif, pour toute une communauté donnée. L’aménagement linguistique est un ensemble des mesures techniques et politiques destinées à harmoniser, dans un pays, une région où règne le plurilinguisme, (Dictionnaire Universel, 2002). Aujourd’hui, la notion d’aménagement linguistique recouvre à la fois, la politique linguistique et la planification linguistique.

La Politique Linguistique

Calvet constate que l’intervention humaine sur la langue ou sur les situations linguistiques n’est pas chose nouvelle. Mais la politique linguistique, détermination des grands choix en matière des rapports entre les langues et la société, et sa mise en pratique, la planification linguistique, sont des concepts récents (Calvet,1969:11). Selon Raymond Renard, la politique linguistique est l’ensemble des choix conscients effectués dans le domaine des rapports entre langue et la vie sociale, et plus particulièrement entre langue et vie nationale, la politique linguistique est liée à l’Etat (Renard, 2002:101). La politique linguistique peut aussi être toute politique conduite par un Etat à propos d’une ou plusieurs langues parlées dans les territoires relevant de sa souveraineté. Lorsqu’on élabore une politique linguistique, on vise donc à intervenir sur une langue ou sur des langues dans un pays ou une région.

La Planification Linguistique

La planification linguistique est la recherche et la mise en œuvre des moyens nécessaires à l’application d’une politique linguistique (Renard, 2002:100). On distingue entre la planification du corpus et la planification du statut. La planification du corpus concerne toute intervention sur la forme de la langue (système d’écriture, orthographe, lexique, néologisme et la grammaire en générale), et la planification du statut est le statut donné à une langue, soit administration, éducation, juridique etc. La planification du corpus est l’affaire de spécialistes de la langue alors que la planification du statut est l’affaire des politiciens et bureaucrates.

Le Multilinguisme au Nigeria

Même si la plupart des groupes ethniques préfèrent communiquer dans leur propre langue, l’anglais reste la langue officielle largement utilisée pour l’enseignement, la gestion d’État, les transactions commerciales, et la langue des médias etc. Néanmoins, c’est étonnant que l’anglais reste un apanage d’une minorité de l’élite urbaine du pays et il n’est pas parlé dans certaines zones rurales. Dans les zones rurales les langues de communication restent des langues autochtones, et l’anglais pidgin est devenu également une lingua franca, populaire, largement parlé dans les régions du Delta du Niger, particulièrement à Warri, Sapele, Port Harcourt, Benin, et toutes les régions du Sud. Emenanjo analyse la situation de langues au Nigéria ainsi:

a. Trois langues étrangères (l’anglais, le français, l’arabe).

b. Quatre assez grandes langues (l’haoussa, l’ibo, le yorouba et le Pidgin).

c. Sept grandes langues.

d. Vingt moyennes langues.

e. Trois cent cinquante petites langues. (Emenanjo 85)

L’aménagement Linguistique au Nigeria


The constitution adopted at independence in 1960 specified English as the language of parliamentary debate, hence official at the national level, as it had been during the colonial period”.

La première constitution, on l’a vu, ne fait nullement mention des langues nationales; on n’y parle que l’anglais, et on tente de diffuser la langue anglaise auprès de tous les citoyens. Quelques années après l’indépendance, on a fait ressortir la question des langues nationales dans un débat à l’Assemblée nationale; l’idée était de diffuser les trois langues majeures au sein du pays avec l’intention de promouvoir une parmi elles au statut national (Elugbe, 1994:74). Ce discours a généré des problèmes chez les locuteurs des langues mineures qui ont craint la domination par les locuteurs des langues majeures (Mokweye, 2007:113).

La crainte de conflits entre les groupes ethniques différents et la fragilité de l’indépendance du Nigéria éclatent le rêve d’une langue nationale en morceaux. En effet, on a très vite perdu la vision de développer les langues locales. Donc l’anglais continue en tant que langue de gestion de...

1-La langue maternelle ou langue pratiquée dans l’environnement immédiat de l’enfant en tant que langue de scolarisation dans les écoles maternelles et primaires.

2-L’anglais est la langue officielle en tant que langue de scolarisation, d’administration, d’enseignement secondaire et supérieur.

3-Chaque enfant doit maîtriser une des trois langues majeures comme langue seconde et langue de culture et d’intégration.


"For smooth interaction with our neighbours, it is desirable for every Nigerian to speak French. Accordingly, French shall be the second official language in Nigeria and it shall..."
be compulsory in primary and Junior Secondary schools but non-vocational, elective at the Senior Secondary school" (NPE :10)

En essayant d’aménager les langues au sein du pays, le Nigéria à travers des années :

1-Reconnait, l’anglais comme langue d’administration et de scolarisation.
2-Considère les trois langues "haoussa yoruba et igbo" comme langues nationales et langue de culture et d’intégration.

3-Considère toutes les langues nigérianes comme des moyens d’instruction pour la scolarisation dans les écoles maternelle et primaires.

4-Reconnait les langues étrangères – le français, l’arabe, l’espagnol, le portugais, l’allemand, dont les cours sont dispensés au niveau universitaire.

Les Problemes D’aménagement Linguistique au Nigeria

L’aménagement linguistique est le souci de chaque gouvernement d’Etat multilingues. Il se demande comment concilier la diversité linguistique et l’unité nationale? Le fait est que l’une des sources de conflit entre les langues est sur la répartition inégale des rôles sociaux attribués aux langues en situation de concurrence. On sait que toute communauté linguistique est profondément attachée à sa langue et cherche la domination des autres langues parce que la langue n’est plus simplement un instrument de communication. Aujourd’hui, elles deviennent rapidement le symbole apparentment linguistique de la dominance politique, économique et sociale. Aussi nous savons que la position de gouvernement nigérian, pressé de toute part de définir une politique linguistique en faveur d’une langue locale est fort ennuyeuse, et avec le fait qu’il supporte le poids d’une tradition coloniale qui lui a légéru un appareil politique, juridique, administratif etc., avec la langue de coloniale (Anglais), mais c’est nécessaire d’aménager des langues pour éviter la guerre des langues et aussi de promouvoir les langues qui sont plus aptes à servir le développement.

Généralement on croyait que le Nigéria ne pourrait pas développer une politique linguistique forte avec une langue locale unique à cause de la nature volatile du pays. Pour avoir une langue nationale idéale les trois langues majoritaires devraient être développées ensemble. Comme Nida et Wonderly ont conseillé en 1971 après la guerre civile au Nigeria.

"In Nigeria there is simply no politically neutral (indigenous) language…The political survival of Nigeria as a country would be even more seriously threatened than it is, if any one of these three languages were promoted by the Government as being the one national language" (Nida et Wonderly 65)
Face à la mondialisation et le désir du Nigeria de s’unir davantage et parler avec une voix, le Nigeria doit valoriser une ou des langues politiques consensuelles, soit avec les langues européennes ou soit avec les langues nigérianes. Mais face à la multiplicité des langues et des groupes ethniques nigérianes qui servent le plus souvent de référence d’identité, le choix des langues étrangères permettra d’éviter les risques d’éclatement provoqués par les revendications ethniques (Timanji : 81). Jimoh(2002) l’affirme quand il dit:

For Nigeria, the most natural option in our choice of a language that would contribute to our bid to achieve multilingualism for transnational communication, sub-regional integration and for responding to the needs of globalization is French, which is the language of our immediate neighbors.(34)

La politique linguistique idéale doit promouvoir les langues qui favorisent l’accès à la modernité et à la mondialisation. En considérant la position sociopolitique du Nigeria par rapport à ses voisins francophones, sa position primordiale dans la sous-région (la CEDEAO), et face aux défis de la mondialisation, on constate que la politique linguistique nigériane a négligé l’importance du français comme langue de grande communication de la sous-région. Calvet nous donne son opinion ainsi :

"Dans une grande partie du monde aujourd’hui, et en particulier dans les pays du Sud, à l’heure de la mondialisation, le problème premier n’est pas celui de la défense des langues menacées, mais celui du développement. Il nous faut alors nous demander, hic et nunc, si telle ou telle langue est plus apte qu’une autre à servir le développement, à jouer un rôle social" (Calvet 78).

Penser Pour Agir : Les Conseilles aux Décideurs Politiques

Il n’y a pas un aménagement linguistique idéal mais les politiques linguistiques nationales se sont élaborées lentement, parfois difficilement, au fil des années. Le Nigéria a besoin d’une politique linguistique qui tient compte non seulement de ses voisins qui sont francophones mais aussi de sa position hégémonique et primordiale dans la sous-région et en Afrique. Parmi les langues qui existent aujourd’hui dans le monde, il y a celles qu’on considère comme langues internationales à cause de leurs caractéristiques véhiculaires. Rappelons que ce sont les langues véhiculaires qui dominent dans l’activité économique et politique du monde. A cause de la mondialisation, les relations internationales entraînent l’usage de langues dont le rayonnement dépasse les frontières des États dont elles émanent. Les langues occidentales ont acquis une place importante et irremplaçable dans les relations internationales, et le fait que des transferts industriels, scientifiques et technologiques, passent par la voie des langues européennes, est bien connu. Cette réflexion suscite nos interrogations sur la politique linguistique du Nigéria. Cette dernière doit être déterminée par la dynamique des rapports de force dans le monde. C’est sur cette prémisses que nous faisons un appel au Gouvernement nigérien de mettre en place la politique linguistique du bilinguisme anglais/français. Le bilinguisme ouvrira davantage la porte de coopération économique, culturelle et sociale entre le Nigéria et le monde. Il offre la
possibilité de franchir les barrières de réception, de communication et d’expression dressées par l’unilinguisme, aussi, il sera la porte d’entrée d’une intégration durable et rentable au sein de la sous-région d’Afrique de l’Ouest est par ricochet dans l’Afrique toute entière.

Conclusion

La politique linguistique idéale est difficile à formuler, elle ne s’agit pas de sauver toutes les langues au sein d’un État mais de promouvoir les langues qui favorisent l’accès à la modernité et à la mondialisation. La politique linguistique du Nigéria doit être plus inscrite dans une préoccupation politique plus large qui est la lutte contre le sous-développement. Le problème dépasse les préoccupations souvent très passionnées des luttes nationalistes contre l’hégémonie des langues occidentales. La solution consiste plutôt à rechercher une voie qui permettra l’amorce d’un processus de développement humain harmonieux au Nigéria. Si certaines langues jouent de rôle véhiculaire à l’échelle régionale ou mondiale, elles constituent des potentialités qui doivent être reconnues comme telles dans l’actualité des pays qui l’utilisent. Sanogo donne une solution aux questions de langues en ces mots :

La solution réside dans la prise de conscience de la dimension économique et sociale des langues en tant que ressources et moyens capables de participer à un développement harmonieux, à l’échelle nationale et régionale (Sanogo, 31).

L’anglais et le français sont devenus langues hégémoniques, quasi mondiales surtout dans le domaine de l’économie et des relations internationales. Aussi la formation des organismes supranationaux économiques et politiques comme l’Organisation des Nations Unies (ONU), l’Union Européenne (UE), l’Union Africaine (UA), la Communauté Économique des États de l’Afrique de l’Ouest (CEDEAO) etc, influence les politiques linguistiques de chaque pays membre, et donc leur organisation linguistique interne et le statut international de leurs langues. Le bilinguisme (anglais/français) permet une ouverture à l’international pour une grande partie des potentialités humaines du pays. Son officialisation ne portera qu’un bénéfice économique et social face aux défis du sous-développement et des conflits interethniques qu’engendre généralement la promotion des langues vernaculaires.
References


The Effect of Time Pressure on Saudi Students’ Reading Fluency

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Abstract

The paper investigates the effect of time pressure on Saudi students’ reading fluency on the basis of the hypothesis that the time pressure alone can bring a significant change as the Saudi students are not motivated to utilize their acquired reading competence when they read something new. The study was conducted with 24 King Khalid University level 1 students from the science, commerce and arts faculties for 9 weeks. The students’ timed reading was found to have a significant impact on their reading speed and comprehension. At the end of the study, their reading speed increased from 30 WPM (Words Per Minute) to 40 WPM with the simultaneous improvement of reading comprehension—from the mean score of 3.95 to the mean score of 4.83 out of five.

Keywords: timed reading, reading speed, reading comprehension, Saudi Arabia
Introduction

Nation (2007, p 1.) argues that the opportunities for language learning can be divided into four strands: fluency development, language-focused learning, meaning-focused input and meaning-focused output. He terms these as strands because he thinks, these long continuous sets of learning conditions should run through the language courses. Nation also argues that to be well balanced, a language course should give roughly equal amounts of time to each of the four strands. From this point of view, English language courses in King Khalid University cannot be termed as well designed course as fluency activity is almost neglected here. To be precise, fluency development is not even mentioned in the objectives set for the skill courses. In this context, the paper tries to find out whether fluency activity can bring any change to the reading skill course or not.

The data were collected from six reading classes without interfering the regular class modes. The teacher conducted the classes as he always does using the texts from the prescribed textbook. The texts are only slightly modified to make them equal in terms of readability. The only new thing added there was time pressure—the students had to read the texts and answer the reading comprehension questions in a fixed time without skimming and scanning.

It is widely acknowledged that reading fluency is positively correlated with reading comprehension and reading speed can be enhanced by timed reading (Chang, 2010). However, the effect of only the time pressure on reading speed and comprehension are not properly explored yet. The study aims to explore the effects of timed-reading on reading speed and comprehension. It addresses the following two research questions:

1. Does time pressure alone improve the students’ reading speed?
2. Do readers comprehend better when they are forced to increase their reading speed?

Literature Review

Reading fluency and reading comprehension

Many studies found, as mentioned above, that reading comprehension positively correlates with reading fluency. Reading fluency is “the ability to read text rapidly, smoothly, effortlessly, and automatically with little attention to the mechanics of reading such as decoding” (Meyer, 1999, p. 284). In addition to that, reading fluency, according to Segalowitz (2000) and Kuhn & Stahl (2003), also refers to accuracy.

Fluent reading generally involves lower-level and higher-level processes (Laberge & Samuels, 1974; Stanovich, 2000). Lower level processes are more automatic and are typically viewed as more skills-oriented, including syntactic parsing, word recognition, working memory
activation and meaning proposition encoding. This means a fluent reader must have the ability to “recognize the word forms, the graphic form and phonological information, activate appropriate semantic and syntactic resources, recognize morphological affixation in more complex word forms, and access her or his mental lexicon” (Grabe, 2009, p. 27). On the other hand, the higher level processes are so-called comprehension processes, which includes interpretation of ideas and understanding text meaning.

The fluent readers can do all the things, mentioned above, quickly, efficiently, and automatically. “Automaticity” refers to “the absence of attentional control in the execution of a cognitive activity” (Segalowitz & Hulstijn, 2005, p. 371), and arises through constant practice.

The theoretical underpinning of the relationship between reading fluency and reading comprehension is based on research on short-term memory which mediates reading comprehension (Smith, 2004; Macalister, 2010). As short-term memory has limited capacity and fading content, it badly affects reading comprehension. This problem is aggravated when the reader reads very slowly because when she/he reads word by word he forgets what is being read.

A few studies have been conducted to find out the relationship between reading speed and reading comprehension in L1. In a series of studies, Breznitz and Share (1992) investigated the impact of fast-paced and self-paced reading on the reading accuracy and comprehension of Israeli pupils reading short passages. The reading comprehension in fast-paced reading was much better than that in self-faced reading. The results of these experiments were similar to Breznitz’s (1987) earlier study. In another study (Walczyk et al., 1999), reading fluency was found to have a positive impact on reading comprehension. However, some contradictory findings were shown in an experiment by Meyer, Talbot, and Florencio (1999), who explored the effects of three types of time constraint: no time pressure (90 WPM), mild time pressure (130 WPM), and severe time pressure (300 WPM). The participants’ performances on the three recall tasks uniformly improved as the speed decreased and they achieved best at the speed of 90 wpm. However, in another case with younger and older adults, the readers comprehended best under mild time pressure.

In L2, no significant studies have been conducted to find out the correlation between reading fluency and reading comprehension except Cushing-Weigle and Jensen (1996). They found that their students (n = 64) perceived a significant improvement in their reading speed and comprehension. Although with the improvement of reading rate (from 158 WPM to 195 WPM), the students’ comprehension scores decreased from 6.59 to 5.80 out of 10, the authors considered it to be a progress in reading comprehension as more difficult academic texts were used.

Therefore, the studies mentioned above do not substantiate Carver (1982) who found that reading at a rate between 250 WPM and 350 WPM allows readers to comprehend a text most efficiently. However, one conclusion can be drawn from all the studies done on this area and that
is each learner at a certain level of her/his proficiency in a particular language has an optimal reading rate. If she/he reads at that speed, she/he comprehends the best. However, the problem is that in self-paced reading, the L2 learner, for her/his lack of confidence, is usually slower than the speed which she/he can actually afford. Hence, the researchers hypothesize that if the teacher finds out the students’ actual reading rate through “timed reading” and persuades her/him to read in that rate, a student will have her/his best reading comprehension.

Timed Reading

In a typical timed reading activity, according to Nation (2007, p.6) learners have to read a controlled text (where content and language are largely familiar to them) in a fixed time and then answer comprehension questions. Reading under time pressure improves reading speed to an optimal rate that supports comprehension rather than developing speedy readers (Anna C-S Chang, 2010). In other words, “timed reading” promotes mindfulness in readers, “a construct which involves exertion of more effort and motivation” (Walczyk et al., 1999, p. 156).

Several studies have been conducted regarding positive correlation between timed reading and reading speed/comprehension. Chung and Nation (2006) conducted a time reading activity with a group of 49 Korean university students and found that after reading a total of 23 texts over a period of nine weeks, the students’ reading speed improved from 73 WPM to 97 WPM (the highest rate minus the lowest one) to 132 WPM (the 20th passage reading rate minus the first one) using different scoring methods. However, this study did not have any control group and comprehension was not reported. In Cramer (1975), 30 Malaysian elementary students showed a great improvement in reading speed in both their native language and English after reading eight passages in fixed time over four weeks. However, like Chung and Nation (2006), this study also did not report comprehension.

Although the studies mentioned above did not report about the correlation between timed reading and reading comprehension, they clearly show that the students’ reading speed can be enhanced through timed reading activities. Therefore, synthesizing these studies with the studies mentioned above (Smith, 2004; Macalister, 2010) which found a positive correlation between reading speed and reading comprehension, it might be argued that timed reading improves reading comprehension.

Method

The study was conducted at King Khalid University in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The data were collected from a period of nine weeks.
Participants

A total of 24 students (aged 19-21) who participated in the study were the students of Physics (1), Accounting (14), Business Administration (4), Mathematics (1), Chemistry (3) and Biology (1). All of their English teachers, while interviewed, unanimously opined that these students’ proficiency level was at the lowest in reading and writing. They assumed that in terms of Flesch Kincaid Grade Level, during the time of data collection the students’ position was somewhere lower than level five.

Materials

As the study was integrated to university curriculum, the nine reading texts used for “timed reading” were taken from the students’ regular textbook—Well Read 1 (Blass, 2008). The nine texts used in this study were taken from the chapters titled “Polite Behavior in Four Countries” and “The MacArthur ‘Genius’ Grants” (Blass, 2008, pp. 82-83, 101). As the textbook was used as the source, the texts were supposed to be suitable to the students’ competence. The nine texts were distributed in three sets each of which had three texts. The first set (Text 1, Text 2, and Text 3) about different cultures was used in pilot study by which the researchers got the idea of the students’ current reading speed. The second (Text 4, Text 5, and Text 6) and the third (Text 7, Text 8, and Text 9) sets were about special people—“geniuses”. It is to be noted here that the textbook texts were changed a little in order to make them equal in terms of readability. They were being modified until the following statistics showed (see Table 1) that they have almost the same readability.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Words per text</th>
<th>Words per sentence</th>
<th>Characters per word</th>
<th>Passive Sentence</th>
<th>Flesch Reading Ease</th>
<th>Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
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<td>58.2</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>60.8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>69.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The teacher, one of the researchers, conducted the same kind of pre-reading activities for 15 minutes in all the classes. In the first five minutes, the teacher stimulated the students’ relevant schemata and then in the next 10 minutes he explained the meanings of unknown words to the students. All the pre-reading activities were conducted keeping Nation’s (2007, p.6) suggestion in mind that speed reading activities should be based on the texts which are largely familiar to the students in terms of content, grammar, structure, and vocabulary.

Test

When the pre-reading activities were over, the students read the following texts in fixed times (2.00, 1.40, and 1.20 minutes). They were not allowed to see the multiple choice questions while reading the text silently. They could see the questions only when the reading time was over and once they saw the questions they could not go back to the texts to find out the answers. The time for answering the questions was also fixed—five minutes. For each text, there were five multiple-choice questions each of which had three distracters. The teacher used a stopwatch to maintain the time.

Data analysis

Inter-rater reliability for marking the papers: Pearson Correlation Coefficient Test was not used to analyze the marks given by two independent raters as the questions were objective. Two raters marked the papers in order to avoid mistakes.

Statistical analysis: SPSS was used to analyze the participants’ posttest scores and a post-hoc LSD (Least Significant Difference) test was employed to find out the difference between the tests. Cohen’s $d$ was used to calculate the effect size.
Results

The descriptive statistics are presented in Tables 2 and 3 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Texts</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>WPM</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2.00 minutes</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.958333</td>
<td>1.122078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>1.40 minutes</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.666667</td>
<td>1.129319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1.20 minutes</td>
<td>51.66</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.125</td>
<td>0.740887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>2.00 minutes</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.978019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1.40 minutes</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.838069</td>
<td>0.380693</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1.20 minutes</td>
<td>51.66</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4.541667</td>
<td>0.58823</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Descriptive statistics of the results obtained in the last two phases

After the pilot study, the students participated in “timed reading” activities in two phases. Both the phases had three steps where the students were allowed to read the first text for two minutes at the reading speed of 30 WPM, the second text for one minute and 40 seconds at the reading speed of 40 WPM, and the third text one minute and 20 seconds at the reading speed of 51.66 WPM. In the first five texts (three texts from Phase 1 and the first two text from Phase 2), reading comprehension increased gradually and decreased in the sixth text. It is to be noted here that the students’ reading speed is positively correlated to their reading comprehension until Text 8—the faster they read the better they comprehended. Another significant pattern of the Table above is that at the reading speed of 30 WPM, the reading comprehension (M=4.5) in Phase 2 is more than that in Phase 1 (M=3.95). In the same vein, at the reading speed of 40 WPM, the reading comprehension (M=4.83) in Phase 2 is more than that in phase 1 (M=3.66). The pattern is the same in the case of reading at 51.66 WPM where Phase 2 comprehension (M=4.54) is again more than Phase 1 comprehension (M=4.12).

It is to be noted here that the results of both the phases are satisfactory as according to Nation (2005), after careful reading the good readers are supposed to obtain between 70% and 80% marks.
Table 3: Comparisons between the texts read in the same speed in the last two phases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Mean Dif.</th>
<th>Comprehension building in percentage</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>Cohens d</th>
<th>Effect size r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text 7 versus Text 4</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>13.67%</td>
<td>0.05*</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 8 versus Text 5</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>31.69%</td>
<td>0.01*</td>
<td>1.38</td>
<td>0.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 9 versus Text 6</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>9.95%</td>
<td>0.01*</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. * p < .05

As can be seen from the Table above, the timed reading activity improved the students’ reading comprehension inside and across the phases and the improvement is significant. At the reading speed of 30 WPM, the students did much better in Text 7 \( (M=4.5) \) than in Text 4 \( (M=3.95) \) with a large effect size \( (d=0.51) \). The effect size is larger \( (d=1.38) \) in the mean difference between Text 8 \( (M=4.83) \) and Text 5 \( (M=3.66) \). However, at the reading speed of 51.66 WPM, the effect size \( (d=0.62) \) of the mean difference between Text 9 \( (M=4.54) \) and Text 6 \( (M=4.12) \) becomes smaller than the previous one although it is still considerably large.

Discussion

From the results presented above, it is clear that timed reading activity improves reading speed and thus reading comprehension. The L2 readers, at any point of their “interlanguage” (Elaine, 2006), have the potentiality of reading at a certain speed. If she/he reads at that speed, she/he comprehends the best. However, L2 readers are not often aware of their reading speed and so for the lack of the confidence, they do not read at that speed. Therefore, it is the teachers’ responsibility to make her/his students, especially L2 students, aware of their reading speed and to persuade them to read in their optimum speed. But as speed reading is not a part of English curriculum, the teachers, in most of the cases, neither try to improve their students’ reading speed nor do they want to know their actual speed.

However, in answer to the research question no. 1—“Does time pressure alone improve the students’ reading speed?”—we can say that time pressure has a significant impact on reading speed. The data analysis, presented above, also shows that the answer to the research question no. 2—“Do readers comprehend better when they are forced to increase their reading speed?”—is positive to a certain extent. In both the phases, the participants’ mean score is higher at the reading speed of 40 WPM than that at the reading speed of 30 WPM. However, there is a slight difference between Phase 1 and Phase 2. In the case of Phase 1, they did better at the reading speed of 51.66 WPM than at the reading speed of 40 WPM. However, at Phase 2 they did better in 40 WPM than in 51.66 WPM.
This study shows that it is neither difficult nor time-consuming for a teacher to know their students’ real reading speed. This kind of timed reading activity does not put the teacher to inconvenience as it can be integrated with regular curriculum and as in the case of this study it took only around 22 minutes for each text, the teacher can do it within her/his class time without disturbing her/his regular teaching.

Conclusion

Two conclusions might be drawn with some caveats described below. Firstly, the teachers should know and let the students know their real reading speed which is often more than what they assume. In most of the cases, this discovery enhances students’ self-esteem which further helps to improve their reading fluency. Therefore, secondly, the teacher should do check their students’ speed periodically—at least twice a semester.

The study is not without limitations. First of all, this study was conducted with a few participants from one foundation course of King Khalid University. A larger sample could tolerate individual variations better in statistical analysis. Moreover, the findings could be easily generalized to all L2 readers, if the data were collected from other levels and other educational institutions like Elementary, Intermediate, and Secondary schools. Secondly, for the lack of qualitative data, teachers’ and students’ opinions remained unexplored.

Despite these limitations, the results of this study have important pedagogical implications. The findings clearly indicate that wherever English is taught as a second/foreign language, reading fluency should be a part and parcel of curriculum and the teachers should continuously try to improve their students’ reading fluency. Of course they can adopt other methods like “repeated reading” or “reading aloud”, but “timed reading” can be always considered to be one of the best choices.
References


“Excellent results” of teaching listening at a Saudi University: Appearance and reality

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Abstract

The paper investigates the difference between the appearance and reality of “excellent results” that 49 university students obtained in their listening course which was designed to deal with the lowest learning domain of Revised Bloom’s Taxonomy (RBT)—“remember” (Anderson et al., 2001). The subjects of this study were the students from the department of Engineering who were studying English at their foundation course in King Khalid University, Saudi Arabia. The mean scores of the regular test based on “remember” given at the end of the semester were compared with those of another similar test based on “remember” and “understand” of RBT (Anderson et al., 2001) given after three weeks of the regular test. The statistical analysis of the results shows that the students’ memorization of some words and phrases help them identify the same words and phrases in new context but it does not help them answer “understand” questions. The students who did excellent in “remember” questions did miserably bad in “understand” questions. The paper finds that the only reason the students can perform well on their final exams is that the listening texts they listen to are the carbon copies of what they listened and read (transcripts) throughout the semester—the students are simply being asked to apply well rehearsed schemata for specific kinds of task. The paper also finds that this achievement is practically meaningless because it does not develop the students’ understanding and higher level cognitive skills like “apply”, “analyze”, “evaluate”, and “create” (Anderson et al., 2001).

Keywords: Saudi Arabia, listening, listening test, Bloom's taxonomy
Introduction

Saudi education has two lineages—traditional and formal. The curriculum of traditional Qur’anic school was intended to develop the learning domains of “remember” and “understand”. In this type of school, the key system of learning was memorization for two reasons: firstly, memorization of the Holy Book is emphasized in Hadith (Al Bukhari n.d.: 93: 489), and secondly, the transmission of the Qur’an from one generation to another could be attained only orally in the past. On the other hand, formal education has been organized into two types of schooling—the *kuttab* and *madrassa* (Tibi, 1998). *Kuttab* was the only type of formal education in Saudi Arabia for many years where mainly religion, the Arabic language and basic arithmetic were taught. In the 20th century, although *kuttab* was replaced by the modern elementary school (*madrassa*), but it still continues the legacy of the old syllabus and method of instruction (where the teacher still acts like a preacher). Szyliowicz (1973) observes:

> The following method of instruction prevailed in medieval Islam through [sic] adaptations were [sic] made to meet the needs of different levels of instruction. Formal delivery of lecture with the lecturer squatting on a platform against a pillar and one or two circles of students seated before him was the prevailing method in higher levels of instruction. The teacher read from a prepared manuscript or from a text, explaining the material, and allowed questions and discussion to follow the lecture.

Baker (1997, p. 246) observes the same instruction method in Saudi Arabia where the students are the poor third element in classroom after teacher and textbooks. Another study (Goodlad, 1984) on Saudi secondary schools has similar findings. Goodlad finds that Saudi textbooks are often a substitute for pedagogy and that teaching methods tend to be mechanical and engaging, and that memorization and rote learning are preferred consistently over critical thinking and creativity.

In a similar vein, in the 21st century, Elyas and Picard (2010, p. 138) observe that the preacher-like teacher-centered Saudi classroom resembles the *Halgah*—a religious gathering at a mosque where the imam preaches and the passive audience listens to him attentively and exclusively. However, sometimes, the preacher-like powerful teachers provide some scopes for interactions to the students with some strict parameters—the students are not allowed to make enquiries on all the topics and assumptions (Jamjoon, 2009, pp. 7-8). Moreover, many other scholars (Al Ghamdi, Amani, & Philline, 2013; Al-Essa, 2009; Al-Miziny, 2010; Elyas, 2008 and Al-Souk, 2009) agree that present Saudi education still revolves around teachers and textbooks where the students are not urged to partake in the classroom activities, make enquiries, and think critically and creatively.

For the straightjacket of this long-standing tradition, Saudi higher education is still confined in memorization in spite of its obligation to follow *National Qualifications Framework for Higher Education in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia* (NQF) (National Qualifications, 2009)
which encourages critical thinking skills. In each and every level of education, Saudi students memorize the ready-made answers to predictable questions and regurgitate them in exams. Surprisingly, although the de jure Saudi education policies strongly advocate for teaching higher level cognitive skills, the de facto classroom teaching and question patterns are tailored to cater for the students’ habit of memorization.

King Khalid University (one of the biggest universities situated in Saudi Arabia’s southern province—Assir) is no exception. The students are still stuck in the lowest learning domain—“remember”—and instead of weaning the students off the habit of memorization, the teachers are providing them with probable questions and prepared answers.

In this context, the paper investigates a course offered to the first year Engineering students by English Department of King Khalid University, KSA in order to check the validity of the widely acknowledged view that Saudi students are using only “memorization” as their learning strategy and to find out the impact of this learning strategy on other higher level learning strategies with three research questions:

1. What is the students’ preferred learning strategy in Listening course offered by the Department of English in King Khalid University?
2. Do the teachers encourage the students develop other learning strategies?
3. Does the Listening course develop students’ other learning domains?

In this paper, learning domains and language learning strategies are discussed in terms of NQF and Bloom’s Taxonomy (BT). In NQF (National Qualifications Framework, 2009), there are five domains of learning outcomes—knowledge, cognitive skills, interpersonal skills and responsibility, communication, information technology and numerical skills, and psychomotor skills. According to the studies discussed above, presumably, no attempt is supposed to be taken to develop the students’ “cognitive skills” let alone the higher domains like “interpersonal skills and responsibility” or “communication”. Therefore, in the following sections, the whole discussion will be limited to “knowledge” and “cognitive skills” (for detail see Table 1) which are related to Revised Bloom’s Taxonomy (RBT) (see Table 1).

Table 1: The lowest two NQF domains and learning outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NQF Domains</th>
<th>Learning Outcomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>✓ Ability to recall, understand, and present information, including: knowledge of specific facts, knowledge of concepts, principles and theories, and knowledge of procedures.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cognitive skills

- Ability to apply conceptual understanding of concepts, principles, theories
- Ability to apply procedures involved in critical thinking and creative problem solving, both when asked to do so, and when faced with unanticipated new situations
- Ability to investigate issues and problems in a field of study using a range of sources and draw valid conclusions.

NQF’s initial two learning domains—knowledge and cognitive skills—are in fact nothing but rephrasing of RBT. NQF’s “knowledge” incorporates “remember” and “understand” of RBT which were named as “knowledge” and “comprehension” in original BT (Bloom et al., 1956). The second domain in NQF’s hierarchy is “cognitive skills” which corresponds to “apply”, “analyze”, “evaluate”, and “create” of RBT termed as “application”, “analysis”, “synthesis” and “evaluation” in BT. (See Table 2)

Table 2: NQF and RBT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NQF domains</th>
<th>RBT categories</th>
<th>RBT subcategories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>Remember—Retrieving relevant knowledge from long-term memory.</td>
<td>Recognizing, Recalling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Understand—Determining the meaning of instructional messages, including oral, written, and graphic communication.</td>
<td>Interpreting, Exemplifying, Classifying, Summarizing, Inferring, Comparing, Explaining</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Methods
As one of the researchers has been teaching in KKU for more than seven years and another for more than four years, they know that the participants, materials, teaching methods, and test-patterns of this study are typical of listening courses offered here.

Participants

The participants of this research are 49 male Engineering students, aged 18-21, of King Khalid University, Saudi Arabia. They were studying listening in Intensive English Program in two sections taught by the same teacher at their first semester during September-December 2014.

Material

As this study is integrated into the students’ regular curriculum, the material used for the regular test is taken from the prescribed textbook for listening Open Forum 1 (Blackwell and Naber, 2006) and some other materials for the post-regular test from its website—www.oup.com/elt/openforum.

Procedure

King Khalid University has well-equipped language labs where the listening classes of Engineering students are conducted for three contact hours a week, and 42 contact hours in the whole semester. In the whole semester, the students are taught 10 units from Open Forum 1 each of which has two audio clips. In each class, the teacher starts with pre-listening activities and then plays one audio clip thrice. During the whole class, the teacher helps the students with meanings and definitions of the words and terms whenever they ask for them. In addition to that, the students can also take help from the transcripts of the clips. In other words, the students have all the opportunities to “understand” the texts but they do not avail themselves of them as that type of questions is not framed in the exam. At the end of the class, the students do the exercises given in the textbooks. The students can listen to the clips and read the texts again at home as all of them have the CDs and transcripts.

Tests

In this study, the marks obtained in regular final test are compared to those of a post-regular test given after three weeks of the regular test. The question paper of the regular test consists of six parts. In the first part (two marks), the students listen to a long conversation for two and a half minutes and answer 10 multiple choice questions with four options. In the second part (two marks), they listen to 10 short conversations of 30-40 seconds each, and for each conversation they have to answer one multiple-choice question. In the third part (two and a half marks), the students take a cloze test based on the transcript of a text which they listen for one minute. But the difference between a regular cloze
test and this one is that the students are given two options to choose the correct answer in order to fill in the blanks. In the fifth part (one and a half marks), they students take another cloze test based on the transcript of a text which they listened for one minute. In the last part (two marks) the students listen to four audio clips each of which was played for 8-12 seconds and then they have to identify the correct meaning of each of the four words (one word from each text) from two options. The total marks for the listening exam is twelve and a half. In this study, only the marks obtained in parts one and two are used as data. The marks obtained in other parts are not considered to be valid for statistical analysis because most of the students answer the questions by randomly checking any one of the two given options.

It is to be noted here that in terms of RBT, regular test has “remember” questions for two marks and “understand” questions for 0.25 marks. On the other hand, in post-regular test both “remember” and “understand” questions have two marks each. As there are very few “understand” questions in regular test, those marks are not included in data analysis.

The researchers followed the regular test-pattern while designing the post-regular test. Moreover, the vocabulary and content are also similar to those of the regular exam texts, if not exactly the same. In addition to that, the researchers measured the difficulty levels of both the regular and post-regular exam texts in terms of the variables like length, speed, familiarity, information density, and text organization. The researchers used the Readability Statistics software from Microsoft Word and found that the texts used in regular and post-regular tests are of the same level (see Table 3).

Table 3: Comparison between the difficulty levels of the texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables per Text</th>
<th>Regular Test</th>
<th>Post-regular Test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long conversation</td>
<td>Short conversation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>80.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characters</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paragraphs</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentences</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentences per paragraph</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>3.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Words per</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>12.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The students took the post-regular test as seriously as they take the regular ones since they were informed well ahead that the marks of the post-regular test would be added to their final marks.

Data Analysis

Interrater reliability for marking the papers

Pearson Correlation Coefficient Test was not used to analyze the marks given by two independent raters as the questions were objective. Two raters marked the papers in order to avoid mistakes.

Statistical analysis

The participants’ scores were analyzed by using unpaired t test and post-hoc LSD (least significant difference). Cohen’s $d$ was also used to calculate the effect size.

Results

The descriptive statistics are presented in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4: Means and standard deviations of regular and post-regular tests
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test Type</th>
<th>Question Type</th>
<th>RBT Category</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regular Test</td>
<td>Long Conversation</td>
<td>Remember</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short Conversation</td>
<td>Remember</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Remember</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>1.63</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Regular Test</td>
<td>Long Conversation</td>
<td>Remember</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short Conversation</td>
<td>Remember</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Remember</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Comparison of the mean scores of “remember” and “understand” of regular and post regular tests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditions</th>
<th>Mean Difference</th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Cohen’s d</th>
<th>Effect size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regular (remember) vs. post-regular (remember) tests</td>
<td>.40</td>
<td>.0001**</td>
<td>4.79</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular (remember) vs. post-regular (understand) tests</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.0001**</td>
<td>11.58</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05. **p < .01.
As can be seen in Table 3, in the regular test the students did very good in “remember” questions obtaining 1.63 out of 2 (81.5% marks) on average. On the other hand, in post-regular test the average marks in “remember” questions is 1.23 out of 2 (61.5% marks) which is merely the pass marks according to university regulation. However, the marks are very low in “understand” questions—the average marks is .63 out of 2 (31.5% marks) which is half of the marks scored in “remember” questions in the same test and about one-third of the marks obtained from “remember” questions in regular test.

One other difference is to be noted between regular and post-regular tests. In regular test, there is no difference of marks between the tests based on short and long conversations. Logically, as the short conversation is played for a very short period of time, the students can make the best use of their short term memory and do better in the test than in the test based on long conversation. However, in regular test, the mean results for long and short conversations are the same (\(M=1.63\)), whereas in post-regular test, where vocabulary is the same but the context is different, the students did better in short conversation than long conversation. The mean result of “remember” questions in short conversation (\(M = 1.41\)) is 24.82% more than that of “remember” questions in long conversation (\(M = 1.06\)).

Table 5 shows the differences between regular and post-regular tests through Cohen’s \(d\) (effect size). When the students wrote their memorized answer to the known questions in regular test, the result was excellent (\(M=1.63\)) and its difference from the mean result of “remember” questions of post-regular test (\(M =1.23\)) is statistically significant with a large effect size (\(d=1.06\)). However, when the mean result of “remember” questions of regular test is compared to that of “understand” questions of post regular test, the effect size of the mean differences is more than double (\(d=2.56\)) the former one.

Discussion

The present study aimed to investigate the difference between the students’ result and their real achievement at the end of the listening course. The data analysis shows that their excellent result obtained in memorization based test has limited relevance to their listening skill development. They did excellent when the test (regular) was based on the texts which they listened again and again in classroom with the help of transcripts. But when the same vocabulary in the sentences of same linguistic difficulty was given in different context (in post-regular test), the students’ performance was found to be poor in identifying words and poorer in “understanding”.

Therefore, in answer to research question no. 1: “What is the students’ preferred learning strategy in Listening course offered by the Department of English in King Khalid University?” : we have to say that most of the students are doing nothing but memorizing the ready-made answers to the predictable questions. The answer to research question no. 2: Do the teachers encourage the
students develop other learning strategies?: is that the teachers try but in vain for “remember” based questions. The answer to the last question: “Does the Listening course develop students’ other learning domains?” is obviously “no”. The results of the study show that “remember” based questions cannot even develop “understand”, let alone other learning domains like “apply”, “analyze”, “evaluate”, and “create”.

Conclusion

Two conclusions, with some caveats described below, can be drawn from this study. Firstly, Saudi students do not want to fly their “nest’ of remember and there is no attempt to wean them off their dependence on memorization. For this kind of catering to their natural tendency to adopt the easiest learning strategy that they have been familiar with since the beginning of their informal education at home, the students are missing their best and probably the last chance to stop behaving like lotus eaters. Secondly, as the data of this study demonstrate, memorization does not help the students move to a single step upward to “understand”, let alone other higher learning domains like “apply”, “analyze”, “evaluate”, and “create”. This does not happen probably because the cognitive skills as described above in Tables 1 and 2 are not innate and cannot be acquired independently by the students (Landsman & Gorski, 2007; Lundquist, 1999; Rippen et al., 2002). Therefore, most of the students remain unaware of critical thinking skills even after earning the highest degrees.

The study is not without limitations. Firstly, this study was conducted with only 49 participants from one university. A larger sample could tolerate individual variations better in statistical analysis and the findings could be generalized to the whole country if the data were collected from other universities representing all the regions of Saudi Arabia. Secondly, for the lack of qualitative data regarding teachers’ and students’ attitudes and experience, their opinions remained unexplored.

Despite these limitations, the results of this study have important pedagogical implications. It is high time Saudi higher education authorities were aware of the fact that the current methods of teaching in the universities are not in fact producing any critical thinkers who can lead the country to “core” zone of world economy (Wallerstein, 2006) where the state intends to reach by the year 2024 (The Ministry of Economy and Planning, 2006). The present teaching methods and test patterns are pampering the students with a false satisfaction of doing very good in exams which is practically useless in real life. Therefore, instead of pampering, the university authorities should let the students fly their seemingly fruitful and for the time being safe nest of “remember” so that they have to try to learn the other domains like “apply”, “analyze”, “evaluate”, and “create”.
References


The “Boko Haramisation” of Cameroon: A prolonged Nightmare for a Sustaining Assemblage

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Abstract

Many scholars qualify Cameroon as the savviest place to stay and invest in the sub-region owing to its unperturbed peace, and that since the independence of French Cameroon and its reunification with British Southern Cameroons in 1960 and 1961 respectively, only the petty show-offs of the Nigerian forces in the peninsula of Bakassi unrewardedly tried to change the status-quo. But this assumption has been brought to book by recent events and the accounts of more critical scholars on the Cameroon-tranquility thesis. This paper - written on the basis of secondary and primary data (military intelligence data for that matter), and actor and observer’s account - falls in line with the latter approach. It argues that the Cameroon military might has never been tested by a serious foreign armed challenge until the rise and the internationalization of the Boko Haram. For it was only then that Cameroonians (civil and the military alike, gripped by the insecurity fever) understood what it meant to be dared in an unremitting and deadly manner by a sturdy and impulsive enemy that cost the entire nation-state huge human and material resources. Cameroon (the northern regions for that matter) was classed as one of the “no-go areas” in the world. This protracted nightmare impelled a sustained domestic and foreign effort against this sect with the sole aim of bringing the sad story to a final end.

Keywords: Security crises, peace, prolonged nightmare, Sustainability, Assemblage, Boko Haram, Cameroon

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Map 1. Boko Haram Operation Zone in Cameroon


Introduction

For the past six years the region of the Lake Chad Basin has undergone serious security challenges and break-down perpetrated by extremist Islamic sect, the Boko Haram (BH). Interwoven in a geographical and historical immediacy the countries (Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger) in this region could not avoid being targets of this sect that grew out Nigeria’s history of instability. All these made up the large African state of the Empire of Kanem-Bornu – from the 9th to the 19th century. In fact, before colonization and the subsequent annexation into the

3The political structure of the Kanem Empire had most likely grown out of rival states coming under the control of the Zaghawa. In the 11th century, the Zaghawa clans were driven out by Humai ibn Salamna, who founded the kingdom of Kanem with a capital at Njimi. The Saifwa dynasty was established. Saifwa rulers (known as mais) claimed they were descended from a heroic Arabic figure, and the dynasty greatly expanded the influence of Islam, making it the religion of the court. Wealth came largely through trade, especially in slaves, which was facilitated by the empire’s position near important North-South trade routes. The empire had a policy of imperial expansion and traded for firearms and horses, wielding huge numbers of cavalry. When a mai desecrated a sacred animist religious artifact, conflict occurred between the dynasty and groups like the Bulala. Conflicts from outside forces were also enhanced by the empire’s policy of collateral succession of brother succeeding brother which produced short reigns and unstable situations. In the late 14th century the Saifawa were forced to retreat west across Lake Chad and establish a new kingdom called Bornu. This is the origin of the name Kanem-Bornu. Bornu expanded territorially and commercially, but increasing threats from other rival states, drought, trade problems, and rebellious Fulani
British Empire in 1900 as colonial Nigeria, the Bornu Empire ruled the territory from where the BH was born and very active. Ruled in accordance with Medina precepts or constitution, this sovereign sultanate was constituted by Kanuri Muslim population. This Kanuri ethnic composition also made up a portion of what would later become Cameroon Far North region. In 1903, the Sultanate of Borno and the Caliphate of Sokoto came under British rule, during which time Western educational institutions and system was used as a medium of rulership and Christian evangelization in the region. (Burns and Collins, 2007) Nigeria got independence in 1960 only to be challenged by stretched domestic instability prompted - in the main by coup d’états, religious and ethnic violence - from 1966 until the advent of democracy in the 1999 (Walker, 2005). During this period and later, politicians, academics and religious figures from the mainly Islamic north expressed outright opposition to Western education and its multipliers effects. In fact, such expressions formed one of the bases of ethno-religious interest groups and included influential military, political and religious leaders, causing immeasurable damage for the country’s stability. Related incidences of sectarian violence here include the Kano crises of 1980 (led by the Yan Tatsine Muslim fundamentalist that spread throughout the northern cities) and The Ogoni Crisis (led by Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) since 1990) and recently the domestic and international actions of the BH sect (Bamgbose, 2013:131-133). Most of these incidences were fueled more than less by social inequality, poverty and the increasing radical nature of Islam.

The BH grew out of a group of radical Islamist youths who worshipped at the Al-Haji Muhammadu Ndimi Mosque in Maiduguri, capital of Borno state, in the 1990s. Its leader, Mohammed Yusuf, began as a preacher and leader in the youth wing, Shababul Islam (Islamic Youth Vanguard), of Ahl-Sunnah, a Salafi group. His erstwhile mentor was Sheikh Jafaar Mahmud Adam, a prominent Islamic scholar and preacher at the mosque. Yusuf, charismatic and popular Malam (Quranic scholar) spoke widely throughout the north. His literal interpretation of the Quran led him to advocate that aspects of Western education he considered in contradiction to that holy book, such as evolution, the big bang theory of the universe’s development, elements of chemistry and geography should be forbidden (Walker, 2012:3). While critical of the government, Yusuf was involved in official efforts to introduce and implement Sharia in several northern states in the early 2000s. The failure to achieve this fully helps explain Muslim youths’ anger with government “deception” and “insincerity” and the call for an authentic Islamist revolution. Most accounts date the beginning of BH – Jama’tu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awati wala-Haram, from the Arabic, means “forbidden” and Boko, from Hausa diction means “fake,” and when merged is often translated by many to mean “Western Education is forbidden,” or “Western Education is sacrilege.”

4 Haram, from the Arabic, means “forbidden” and Boko, from Hausa diction means “fake,” and when merged is often translated by many to mean “Western Education is forbidden,” or “Western Education is sacrilege.”
Jihad (People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet’s Teachings and Jihad) its formal Arabic – to 2002, when it began to attract official attention (Ibid.).

Falola and Heaton (2008: 206) hold that with the surge of Islamic reform groups in the north that share broadly common stated goals of promoting a purist vision of Islam based on Sharia; eradicating heretical innovations, and for many establishing an Islamic state in the north, generally political debate was legalistic interpretations of religious texts. Although the traditional Sufi orders remain predominant, the Jama’at Izalat al-Bida wa Iqamat al-Sunnah (Society for the Eradication of Evil Innovations and the Reestablishment of the Sunna), better known as the Izala Movement, in particular contributed to a general religious revival and a much greater public and political role for Islam. It was joined by several other reform movements, including the Muslim Students Society of Nigeria (MSS), widely regarded as a platform for young radical preachers, and the Islamic Movement of Nigeria, a more radical offshoot of the MSS better known as the Muslim Brotherhood, or Zakzaky, after its leader (Zenn, 2013:13-18). A smaller, but far more radical movement emerged around the same time as Izala. Mohammed Marwa, nicknamed Maitatsine (meaning “the one who curses” in Hausa), a young preacher from northern Cameroon, took an aggressive stance against Western influence, refusing to accept the legitimacy of secular authorities. As his following swelled during the 1970s with unemployed urban youth, relations with the police deteriorated. In December 1980 a confrontation at an open-air rally in Kano sparked massive, weeks-long rioting, leaving many hundreds dead and spreading to other states. Marwa died in the initial riots, but pockets of violence continued for several years (International Crisis Group, 2014:3).

A similar group appeared in the North East, initially referred to as the Yusufiyya or Nigerian Taliban and later as BH. Comparable to the Maitatsine group, but more threatening, the BH was founded and led by Mohammed Yusuf, with the aim of establishing Sharia Law and eliminate westernization in Nigeria. This isolated religious community based on Salafisism and social Talibanism pedestal in Kanamma village in Yobe State attracted a handful of followers from poor Muslim communities of Niger, Chad and Cameroon, estimated between a few hundred and 10,000 after his establishment of a complex and religious school with a Jihadis intension. In fact, denouncing police and state corruption, the strength of this sect grew as it used its political consideration within the government to dictate its pace (Ploch, 2013: 11-12). The pace being the creation of a strict Islamic state in the north and the strict adherence to the Quran and the Hadith (sayings of the Prophet Mohammed), and their interpretation as sanctioned by Ibn Taymiyyah (the preferred scholar of Mohammed Yusuf, the sect’s leader). Like the majority of Salafi organisations, it is most concerned about what it means to be a good Muslim, defined by observance of the prescriptions of the faith, notably the categorical distinction between what is licit (halal) and what is forbidden (haram) (International Crisis Group, 2014:9). This “good Muslim” opinion soon influenced the extension of the Islamic state to the creation of Caliphate to encompass the northern parts of Nigeria, Cameroon and southern part of Niger, due to their ethnic and cultural intertwine. But Bakari (2013:13) claims that the “Caliphate creation was not
due to ethnic or cultural linkages, but provoked by the recent discovery of huge oil deposit, and thus such a state and its control would be the most interesting and enriching venture ever made”.

As a matter of fact, the group’s multi-nationalistic character has for long exerted influence in Nigeria, meanwhile retaining an arsenal of weapons for what it considered “defense.” For more than a decade later, its activities provoked a sight of one of the world’s most recent but ruthless, violent, and aggressive terrorist organizations with a clearly offensive strategy, even though with more an inwards focus. The turning point in this group’s rise to full-fledged militancy occurred in July 2009 after a four-day battle with Nigerian government forces in Bauchi, Kano, Yobe and Borno provinces, which resulted in a dead-toll of 800 of its members, its leader Mohammed Yusuf inclusive. The avenging of his death, notoriously video-recorded, widely became the principal rallying point for BH after reconstituting itself in September 2010 (www.usip.org: 2010:1-6).

With the change of leadership from Yusuf, a preacher, to the more radical and violent Abubakr Shekau (see plate 1) in 2010, the latter tied BH to the international jihadi movement in his statements by adopting anti-American rhetoric and showing support for jihadists in Algeria, Yemen, Somalia and Iraq. BH also stepped up attacks on the Nigerian population, targeting police stations, churches, schools, media houses and state institutions and kidnapping individual and groups of person (over 500 men, women and children – including the 276 Chibok school girls in April 2014), and these mostly occurred in north-east, north central and central Nigeria. Between July 2009 and June 2014, over 6,000 civilian were killed in Nigeria, including at least 2,500 in the first half of 2014 (BBC News, 2015-01-03). With these actions, especially the suicide bombing carried out at the UN headquarters in Abuja, a more critical international attention was activated thereto. This attention was also at the level of its support. According to the Human Right Watch (15 July 2014) only for the first six months of 2014, BH carried out 95 attacks that led to the death of over 2,500 civilians, and of which 1,446 occurred in the Borno State.

Bamgbose (2013:132-134) and Ogaba (2011) understand that this group does not exist in isolation as they try to show its link with other terrorist organizations. Meanwhile they all cite the American Government’s declarative close ties of Abubakar Shekau, Abubakar Kambar and Khalid Al-Barmawi, (the three leaders of the group) with Al Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb, Obayuwana (2011) indicates the connections between the BH and Al Shahab in the Arabian Peninsula and Somalia. Bamgbose (2013:132-134) insists that in March 2010, Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb confessed of helping Nigerian extremists with training and weapons to confront the Nigerian state. The group was reputed to have said that “We are ready to train your people in weapons and give you whatever support we can in men, arms and munitions to enable defend our people in Nigeria.” The Punch Editorial (2012) cites Niger Foreign Affairs Minister to show the sufficient link between BH and Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb in the light of weapons and training. Adisa (2012:2) and Mohamed (2012:12) also reveal that the group also known as Al-
Muntada Trust Fund with headquarters in the United Kingdom is financially assisting the sect, as well as the Islamic World Society with headquarters in Saudi Arabia.

Plate 1. Portrait of Abubakr Shekau and men

Source: BIR\(^5\) (Alpha operation) Cameroon, Maroua photo Album, 2015

According to the International Crisis Group (2014:23-26), the BH members have links with a number of radical groups, including al-Qaeda and the Afghan Taliban. In the aftermath of their June 2009 insurrection, 30 members were arrested in Adamawa state and returned to Maiduguri, where they reportedly admitted having received training in Afghanistan. It maintains that between 2000 and 2002, Osama Bin Laden issued two audio messages calling on Nigerian Muslims to wage jihad and establish an Islamic state. His interest dated from his 1992-1996 stay in Sudan, where he reportedly met Mohammed Ali. He was a Nigerian from Maiduguri studying at the Islamic University in Khartoum who later became his disciple and was trained in Afghanistan. Bin Laden asked him to organise a cell in Nigeria with a 300 million naira budget (approximately $3 million in 2000). Ali returned home in 2002 and began funding religious activities of Salafi groups that were unaware of the plan. Mohammed Yusuf and his group allegedly were the major beneficiaries. Links appear to be most significant with Ansar Dine (“Supporters of the Faith” in Arabic), AQIM and the MUJAO, an AQIM splinter group.

Many of these groups’ leaders and fighters from Mali, Mauritania and Algeria engaged in lucrative criminal business with arms traffickers, narcotics smugglers, kidnappers and human

\(^5\) The BIR was formed in 1999 as the Bataillon Léger d’Intervention (BLI), a special intervention force designed to eliminate foreign rebels, bandits and deserters (the “coupeurs de routes”) who were destroying the security of Cameroon’s Northern provinces through cattle rustling, abductions, murder and highway robbery. As part of military reforms carried out in Cameroon in 2001, the unit took on its current BIR designation. BIR officers are selected from the graduates of the Ecole Militaire Interarmées in Yaoundé. Recruits were sent to the different battalions created and spread all over the considered trouble spots in the country.
trafficking gangs. Some fighters were trained and armed by the former Libyan strongman, Muammar Qadhafi, to destabilize their home governments. His fall opened many arms depots to local militants. The three Islamist groups boosted BH. In particular AQIM made its financial resources, military arsenals and training facilities available. During his police interrogation, Yusuf reportedly provided information on the flow of weapons to the sect from, among others, private sources in Niger, Cameroon and Chad. In fact, a fall-out from Nigeria military’s crackdown indicated that BH members easily travel to these neighbouring countries owing to the porous borders and shared ethnicity, like the dominant Kanuri which constitutes a regional ethnic group that straddles the borders). In July 2009, Nigeria expelled dozens of BH members who were citizens of Niger (Ibid.).

It was also not uncommon for the Alpha operations of the BIR-Maroua, to arrest, interrogate and imprison and/or transfer some commoners as well as rich and political influential personalities in the Far North Region of Cameroon to Yaoundé for sever interrogation accused of participating in helping the BH. The help was either in the form of lodging, financing, arms or recruits, and this arrest occurred only after investigations and house search that sometimes resulted in the discovery of huge amounts of illicit arms (see plate 2). Thus, true, this group did not only depended on international help but got domestic help either from their Cameroon and/or Nigeria counterparts through their very complex network system. As a matter of fact, these supports, as well as the ransoms states have been paying to release their nationals, gave the BH the latitude and easy with which to get its sophisticated arms, operate and to put up a rigid resistance against its enemies. For the past months, it assumed a transnational character with the staging of kidnap scenes and deadly attacks on Nigeria’s neighbours especially Cameroon and plunging the entire population in abject panic, fear and uncertainty. Thus, why have the presence of armed groups in African been on the rise? Why did the BH attack Cameroon? What characterized these attacks? How did the local and international community response to these attacks? all constitute the paper’s concerns, divided in two major parts. The first dwells on the theoretical interpretation of the emergence-scenery of non-state violent armed groups (NSAVGs) in Africa, the second profiles BH disposition in Cameroon. The paper sums up with the domestic and international response to the BH in Cameroon. But it also tries to answer the crucial question of how effectively can this BH phenomenon in the sub-region be brought to a final end.
1. Paradigm Interpretation of NSVAGs Emergence-scenery in Africa

The increasing presence of NSAVGs (ethno-religious groups, armed wings of political parties, rebel and terrorist groups) in stability questions in Africa has raised important concerns about the institutionalization of violence as a means of redressing grievances, thus exposing the citizenry to vicious violence. This disposition often minimizes state competence to provide public security, democracy and development, and so has raised scholarly interest in comprehending these groups, especially rebel movements. Okumu and Ikelegbe (2010: 9-11) qualify rebel movements as organizations, which engage essentially in armed opposition and resistance, and particularly insurrection or insurgency against governments and ruling regimes. Harbom and Wallensteen (2006) see them as armed insurgent opposition organisations that are incompatible with, and challenge existing national governments with prime objective of change (replacement of existing governments; change existing frameworks in order to participate in and control governments; devolution of authority to grant autonomy to regional governments or the redesigning of national boundaries in favour ethnic separate).

Meanwhile their actions are often challenged by the government, in terms of character, legality and legitimacy, Clapham (2000:198) and Addison (2003: 1) identify different rebel movements in Africa; namely liberationists (who resists foreign rule and seeks independence), “insurgentists” who seek political change and power; and the irredentists who pursue secessionist goals with warlords trying to overthrow regimes and create “personal territorial fiefdoms.” Okumu and Ikelegbe (2010: 9-11) exemplify the Mau Mau (Kenya), Front de Libération Nationale (FLN, Algeria), Movimento Popular de Liberteção de Angola, Frente de Libertacao de Moçambique, South West Africa People’s Organisation (Namibia), Zimbabwe African People’s
Union, *Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde* and the Boko Haram as liberation groups against foreign domination. Some of such groups commence as liberation movements only to assume reform insurgencies later, while others start as liberation movements and became reform insurgencies, but all with “warlordism” as a rule. One outstanding characteristic of liberationists is that they are recognised in international law and subject to it (Musila, 2010: 89-119).

Some insurgent rebel movements grew out of grievances and agitation associated with identity-based exclusion and alienation by corrupt and autocratic regimes that abused and repressed the opposition and marginalised groups. This is what Gurr (1970:9) calls the inequality thesis. He says violence is more likely to occur in this case when people’s expectations about what they should be achieving exceed their actual levels of achievement. He popularizes the concept in his seminal *Why Men Rebel*, in which he suggested three different patterns that relative deprivation could take: decremental deprivation, in which a group’s value expectations remain relatively constant but capabilities decline; aspirational deprivation in which capabilities remain static but aspirations increase; and progressive deprivation, in which there is a simultaneous increase in expectation and decrease in capabilities. Gurr’s formulation of the relative deprivation theory places its explanatory power squarely on the shoulders of participation: relative deprivation leads to frustration and aggression, which manifests itself as emergence of armed groups and violence. Thus, grievances motivate individuals to participate in rebellion. In Burundi, the *Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie / Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie* and the *Forces Nationales de Libération* (former *Parti pour la Libération du Peuple Hutu*) fought against marginalisation by the Tutsis leadership for over a decade and in Chad, the *Union des Forces pour la Démocratie et le Développement* tried to topple Idriss Deby’s government. More so, ethno-regional based governance, marginalization and exclusion separatist rebel movements such as the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army in Southern Sudan and the Tuareg rebellion in the northern parts of Mali, Niger and South Algeria had long sort for independent states.

More so, the operational environment greatly determines the strategies and members’ behavioural patterns of these groups. Krijn (2010: 389-417) posits that groups challenged by unfriendly milieu (restriction to jungle camps or sparsely populated villages) resort to forced conscriptions, abductions, harsh punishments for escapees, confiscation of materials and deadly reprisals. But those who depend on larger communities for critical support rather show greater sensitivity to them. Adams (2010: 389-417) agrees with the latter case in these words: “...those which seek acceptance and legitimacy from national, regional and international audiences tend towards more moderate behaviour with inhabitants of the controlled territories- what determines the group’s success on the field.” All this agrees with the security paradigm. But the recent hegemony of the collective action paradigm in explaining participation in rebellion or terrorist actions has led a number of scholars like Kalyvas and Kocher (2007) to argue that because civilians are often victimized in war, however, joining rebellion is rather a way to minimize...
potential costs. They say that the type of conflict violence (indiscriminate versus selective) is a measure of the risk for civilian victimization. This idea that physical insecurity can lead to increased participation is not a new one. Indeed, how state repression can generate—or suppress—incents for participation is leading to an individual opting to join rebellion to prevent victimization at the hands of the state (Lichbach, 1987; Mason and Krane, 1989; Sambanis and Zinn, 2005) or as an emotional response to state violence (Petersen 2002).

Similarly, the ethnic security dilemma literature as Kaufmann (1996) and Posen (1993) suggest that members of ethnic groups are likely to join rebel groups out of concern for their safety. But Tullock (1971) states another facet of this literature. He suggests rather that repression is largely conceptualized as a cost in the cost-benefit calculus found in rational actor models. When the costs of repression are too great, actors will not participate in rebellion. Repression thus depresses the likelihood of participation. Interestingly, both predictions rest on individual safety as the driving mechanism behind abstaining or participating. The difference is that one assumes that it is safer to abstain from participation when the state employs repressive tactics, while the other assumes that it is safer to participate (and thus obtain rebel refuge). Either way, it is an individual’s calculations regarding their personal security that is the deciding factor in their decision.

Another paradigm to the issue is the greed and natural resources value. Olson (1965), Popkin (1979) and Tullock (1971) claim that the critical element to selective incentives is that an individual must take part in the rebellion to be a beneficiary of selective incentives. The three types of selective incentives are material, social, and purposive. Of the different types of incentives, the material incentives have received the most attention. A number of economists have produced models which apply market analogies to rebellion. In them, economists have emphasized the expected private returns to insurgents, in which only active insurgents share in the booty taken in a successful insurrection (Grossman, 1991; 1999). In these types of models, insurrections are treated as an economic activity that competes with production for scarce resources: a peasant family can obtain income from production, soldiering, or participating in insurrection. Soldiering in many economic models is thus analogous to supply and demand concerns in the labor market (Andvig and Gates, 2007; Beber and Blattman 2008; Gates, 2002). In these formulations, however, booty from insurrection is granted in the future and conditioned upon capture of the state and therefore depends on the success of the insurrection. As a result “greed vs. grievance” question is raised by Collier and Hoeffler (2001). In it, greedy rebels capture material resources otherwise unavailable to them without the cover of war. In the literature that has grown up around this idea, natural resources and their rents, as well as the looting of civilian populations (Azam 2002; Azam and Hoeffler, 2002), provide funding that can be used to distribute immediate selective incentives. Collier later moderated his rhetoric from “greed” to the less inflammatory “opportunity structures” approach. The key is that the grievances could never be expressed without the financial opportunities that resource exploitation offers rebel groups. Perhaps this is why the Ogaden National Liberation Front in Ethiopia fights
over the control oil-rich Ogaden region with the Ethiopian government (Mkandawire, 2002: 181-221).

Elbadawi and Sambanis (2002: 3) confirm this relationship between natural resources, rebel movements and violent conflicts. They claim that grievance and greed tend to have a symbiotic relationship with rebellion. To get started, rebellion needs grievance, whereas to be sustained, it needs greed. This claim is grounded on evidence of the association between mineral wealth and the occurrence and duration of conflicts; the existence of violent scrambles for resources in conflict regions; the concentration of conflicts in resource-rich zones of conflict regions; the profiteering from war and conflicts by rulers, warlords, traders and fighters; the high levels of economic crimes and underground economies; the involvement of mercantilists, syndicates and black marketeering companies in resource-rich zones of conflict regions, and the interference of neighbouring countries that tend to be motivated by struggles for privileged resource access. But another thesis adds to this list the character of the state, regimes, politics and state failures, economic decline and deepening poverty, unemployment, collapse of social services, urban congestion and decay, rising school dropout levels, globalization and the proliferation of small arms.

Perhaps Muhammed Kabir Isa (2010: 313-334) and George and Ylönen (2010: 341-364) are inspired by these to theorize NSVAGs’ social bases. They are often well structured with a coordinate system of leadership, strict rules and strong ideological foundation and political education. Their membership always ranges from a hundred to thousands divided into the thinkers and the foot soldiers. Foot soldiers – largely disenchanted and frustrated men and youths - dominate the groups, examples being the Moryham (Somalia), the Raray (Sierra Leone), Bayaye (Kenya and Uganda), Machicha (Tanzania), Hittiste (Algeria), Tsotsis (South Africa), Area Boys and Yan Daba (Nigeria). But Adams Oloo (2010: 147-183) points the social base of the Kenya militias to the lower class, namely, the urban poor and slum dwellers. But Ikelegbe and Garuba (2007: 124-147) see the leadership to be often educated and responsible for the thinking and liaison affairs with the outside world. Peters (2010:381) claims that the entry and initial base of mobilisation and recruitment in these groups are also marginalised and oppressed ethnic groups, such as the Mano and Gio in Charles Taylor’s NPFL, and the Mende in Foday Sankoh’s RUF (Sierra Leone). McIntyre (2007: 22) adds that membership is often voluntary and based on identity patriotism, solidarity and the depth of grievances. But in some cases, recruitment is restrained by space, arms and maintenance resources. However, as engagements broaden and confrontations become more extensive and stressful, and as they begin to lose contact with communities, these groups may turn to conscription and forced recruitment from within and outside their identity base. Juvenile, girls and children are sometimes captured, conscripted and used as fighters, spies, ordnance carriers, sex slaves and cannon, and drugs are used to psychologically empower them. Examples of child rebel are Charles Taylor’s Small Boys Unit, the Gronna Boys, Museveni’s Kidogos (Uganda) and the Green Bombers (Zimbabwe).
But Reynal-Querol (2002) and Fearon and Laitin (2003) relate the emergence of these numerous group more to a structural interpretation. They say that within most structuralist accounts, the causal story is often based on participation as a mechanism, but the logic of the mechanism is often not spelled out. However, the leading attributes to such a situation is often the nature of the state. In situations when states are weak, rebel group behavior cannot be stopped. Individuals will opt to join insurgencies not only because the likelihood of being caught and punished is much lower in weak states, but also because the likelihood of victory is greater. It is worth mentioning here that there exist a significant relations with these the paradigms and the emergence and actions of the BH in the area around the Lake Chad and Cameroon as a whole.

2. Brief Profile of BH disposition in Cameroon

The entrance of the BH in Cameroon followed a systematic sustained form in respect to their leadership, recruitment and belief system. In fact, the recruitment of their members was done among the illiterate or unschooled population of the Logone and Chari and Mayo Sava Divisions. Every commander was in charge of recruiting in his action zone and this involved a long procedure that generally commenced with the process of philanthropic and gift-giving gestures to targeted people. After a while, the Islamic sect sent an emissary to galvanize the potential recruits on the necessity to strictly follow God and motivated them financially for that choice. At this time, there is no forceful but subtle persuasive recruitment. In most of the Kanuri and other borderline villages, it was very easy for the sect to make new recruitments, especially among the idle and uneducated youths who were often exposed to the activities of the BH. The recruits were sent and kept at the Zambissa forest, where they were carefully trained; a training that followed strict ideological and military contents (see plate 3). Besides, the Zambissa centre in itself produced martyrs, priests and suicide bombers. Sometimes, some recruits escaped the centre due to the nature of the training and the expectations of the sect after such training, but those who completed the training were immediately deployed to their respective combat zones by the leaders of their respective area.

Other factors, like the closure of the Nigerian borders with her neighbours, also helped gave the BH more members. Achuge *et al.* (2014) and Funteh (2015) claim that the federal government of Nigeria, on 23 February 2011, sealed its northern border with Cameroon in an effort to curtail the activities of the Boko Haram insurgents, maintaining that the closure extended from Borno State by Lake Chad, to the southern end of Adamawa State, around halfway along Nigeria’s 1,500-mile border with Cameroon (one of three states in the northeast placed under emergency rule following waves of attacks this group). This decision to shut the Adamawa side of the border with Cameroon was imperative to stop illegal movement in and out of the country, and also that the closure was “meant to effectively reduce the activities of the insurgents. According to the Nigerian Army, BH were carrying out attacks in the north-east of the country, hiding out in under populated regions of neighboring countries such as Cameroon, Chad and
Niger. It claimed that this came after the unearthing of a cache of arms, suspected to have been smuggled in from Cameroon to Borno State, Nigeria. The arms included AK-47 rifles, pistols, rocket launchers, bombs, and detonating bomb cables. It sustained that fighters set up bases in sparsely populated areas of its northeastern neighbours Cameroon, Chad and Niger which were used to flee across the border after staging attacks to avoid military pursuit (Ibid.). Because the closure of this borderline had a direct effect on the situation of human and goods movement on the Cameroon-Nigeria borders, all the youths involved in trans-border commercial beneficial activities got their bread winning activities cut off, and the only means to survive hardship was to turn to the attractive offers of the BH. These offers included a new motorcycle and money worth 150,000 F CFA for joining the group. These motorcycles were also used on the battle front, and it explains why the Cameroonian governments could attack and impound these medium of communication as means to control the BH attacks (see picture 4). These idle illiterate youths had no option but to be involved. And in order to prove their completion of training, full acceptance into and loyalty to the sect, some Cameroonian recruits slaughtered their parents under the pretext that they were not respecting the precepts of Prophet Mohammed and as presented to them by their leaders. In fact, because of this many of those who joined the group were denounced by their families (Intelligence Report of the BIR, 2014, Maroua).

Plate 3. BH trainee poised for action


It is perhaps important to indicate here that this leadership, better still, the organization of the BH was well structured into the central and local organs. Meanwhile the movement is directed by the 30 members of the Council of Choura, it is a centralized organization with a general coordinator, five advisors among which one is in charge of external operations and the representative of the BH in Niger. The central structure is presented as follows:

- Abubakar Shekau- General Coordinator
- Moustapha Chad- (Chadian)
- Abbib Mohammed Youssouf (Son of the Founder)
- Moudou Abba (In Charge of External Operations)
- Mohammed Gomna
- Modou Issa.
Besides this central structure, the BH disposes of numerous organs within the different North-eastern Nigerian states, in Chad and even on the Cameroon frontier zones, our interest area. In fact, six groups operate along the Cameroon-Nigeria frontier lines, namely:

1. In the northern zone, the section of N’Djamena and Kousseri, the group is commanded by Rawana;
2. In the zone of Dabanga-Fotokol- Blangoua and Hile Alifa, the Group is commanded by Bana Fai
3. At the centre, from Dabanga To Homeka, it is commanded by Alhaji Mahommed Ibrahim
4. In the south between Banki, Limani and Amchide, the name of the commander is Soimi, a driver of a transport vehicle (Hiace) that plies Kerawa and Mora Road.
5. The BH operations in the towns of Maroua and Mora were carried out under Bana Bachira of Nigerian Kanuri origin.
6. The last group, which operates from Kerewa to the zone of Mokolo is directed by a certain Chiwani (Intelligence Report of the BIR, 2015, Maroua).

It is also important to note here that all these BH-Cameroon affiliations possess an amount of autonomy and liberty of initiative, but are all answerable to Aboubakar Shekaou who controls the strict respect of the hierarchy. This explains why, even though the Cameroon groups consistently get involved in high way armed robbery, burglary and even petty theft to empower their positions, their actions were often reconnected to the respect of BH ideology (Ibid.).

Plate 4. BH impounded Motorcycle by Government Forces


In Nigeria like elsewhere, the BH succeeded to infiltrate the ranks and files of the state and at very high-levels. Thanks to its financial power, this sect caused political and military figures to compromise their position. As earlier highlighted, it was not very uncommon for city counselors, local influential persons and some military personnel in the northern parts of Nigeria and Cameroon. Xinhua (2014) says that more than 100 suspected BH militants were killed and over
200 arrested during an operation conducted by Cameroonian army in Far-North Region of Cameroon. In some cases, especially in Nigeria, it got to a point when soldiers refused to go the battle for not just cause, pretended to be sick when given the opportunity to fight against this group or even served as spies and information leakers for the BH within their respective command groups. It was also not uncommon for such soldiers, like other political figures as the mayors of city councils to be arrested and question and sometimes sanctioned on the BH related issues (Intelligence Report of the BIR, 2014, Maroua).

The character of the BH assumed three dominating strategies, namely the abduction of foreigners, theft and open field attacks. As concern hostage taking, the first occurred on 19 February 2013 with the French family of Moulin Fournier. In a video of 21 March, Abubakar Shekau, the movement’s chief declares that “we are delighted to affirm that we are in keeping of the 7 French hostages. We are keeping them because the Nigerian and Cameroonian authorities have arrested members of our family. . . . We affirm not to release the French hostages when our families are imprisoned. . . .” He maintained that the force was not only to liberate these “family members,” but they were ready to defend themselves by the use of force. At any time even the opportunity (BIR, Alpha operation- Cameroon, Maroua video collection, 2015). But after serious negotiations of the Cameroon government via some local personalities, the French family was liberated on 19 April 2013. In the same light, on the night of 13 and 14 November 2013, Georges Vandenbeusch, a 42 year old French Catholic priest was abducted at Nguetchewe, a Cameroon Far North Region locality, but was also released on 31 December 2013 after serious negotiations between the Cameroon government and the BH elements. In the night of 4 to 5 April 2014, at Tchère some 20 kilometres from Maroua, the regional headquarters, two Italian priests Giampaolo Marta and Gianantonio Allegri, and a Canadian nun, Gilberte Bussier were also kidnapped by armed men. But these religious elements were finally released on 31 May and 1 June 2014 following a crucial negotiation with the BH elements. Also, on 7 October 2014, more than 2 girls were kidnapped at Ouzda-Vreket, Mozogo (Mayo Tsanaga Division) (BIR, Alpha operation- Cameroon, Maroua archives, 2015). At Dangawa et Goudouzou, around Mora in the Mayo Sava area, on 7 May 2014, the BH incursion in 10 villages left serious death-toll and the kidnap of 2 rich glaziers as well. On the night of 16 and 17 May 2014, the BH came along with 5 four-well drive vehicles and attacked the camp of Chinese road constructors at Waza of the Logone and Chari division, killed 1 Chinese and abducted 10, took way 10 pick-up vehicles and explosives (Ibid.).

This attack occurred during Head of States’ Paris summit against this sect. From information collected from BH combatants imprisoned in Cameroon, this attack was to mobility facility and future attacks. It was also hoped that Cameroon would be under pressure to negotiate
for the release of these foreigners, and in doing so, the release of their combatants in the Cameroon prisons would then be a non-negotiable condition; not forgetting the benefit they must have of made from the ransom to be given by the Cameroon in the process. Such benefits, especially the acquisition of guns and explosives, guided the attack of the police post at Goulfey in Logone Chari (1 May 2014) by 6 heavily armed BH members during which the only police on guard with 10 other persons were severely wounded. Four days after, the Gendarmerie Brigade of Kousseri was also attacked, which resulted in a death and the injury of many. Here, the post was looted of arms and vehicles (BIR, Alpha intelligence report, Maroua, 2014).

But before the release of the Chinese on 11 October 2014, 17 Cameroonians were captured as prisoners by the BH when they attacked and ransacked Kolofata, a Kanuri group, on 27 July 2014. According to intelligence report, the Vice-prime Minister Ahmadou Ali, a member of this entity was the target. If captured, the BH would have compelled the Cameroon government to negotiate at an exorbitant price, but fortunately for him, he was rather in Maroua. But his wife was regrettably kidnapped in the process but was later on released (BIR, Alpha intelligence report, Maroua, 2014). This just came after a German was abducted at Gombi, in the Adamawa state by a band of armed men on 16 July 2014. All these hostages were declared by the BH on 31 October. The German was released on 21 January and so too was the Ali’s wife, and Cameroon government claimed this was the result of a special military operation by Cameroon and her allies (BIR, Alpha intelligence report, Maroua, 2015). But many Cameroonians think it was not the case. It was surely done through the usual negotiation process.

Whatever, on 2 March 2014 at Fotokol following the serious BH slaughter of the inhabitants, the Cameroon army responded in a prompt way. This was the first time both forces met in open battle. This action made the government to reconsider its ontake on the BH as it sent the Alpha Operation of the BIR, notably Emergence II, to protect the Far North region and its environs against the incursions of the BH. It was in this light that this operation launched a series of forceful attacks on the BH, like Fotokol (a sit of several battles), Tourou on 7 June, Bargaram on 24 et 25 July, Amchidé and Limani on 15 and 16 Octobre, Amchidé on 17 december, Achigachia on 29 december 2014, and Kolofata on 12 January 2015 (see map 2). These attacks were both on the hunt for the BH as well as an open field-combat response to their actions as they constantly attacked the Cameroon military field-established camps. Villages like Amchidé, Fotokol and Kolofata had almost been wipe-out by the BH, as more than 60 percent of the inhabitants were killed and their houses completely burnt down. This brought a complete halt of both public and private life. The survivors were displaced to Mora. In place like Amchide and Limani former trans-border trade seats, became ghost villages and of course a huge blow on the
economy of the area. Generally speaking the BH caused closed to 15,000 displaced persons and the death of thousands in the Far northern region of the country.

As a matter of fact, all along the 2014 year, the BH made regular entrance into the Cameroon territory, particularly along the borders of the two most northern regions, applied light armed force in villages and took away huge amount of cattle, fowls, cereals and foodstuff. The constancy of these acts, other reasons, was aimed at feeding the young djihadists camps being built in the region by 45 instructors, incubating 84 young recruits (between the ages of 7 and 15). These camps were dismantled on 20 December 2014 by the BIR. Such BIR interventions became more upright and sleepless with increasing present of the BH in region, and specifically in 4 of the division victimized by the attacks (see table 1 and diagram 1) and leaving behind unprecedented human and material damage on both sides which included 40 military personnel, 20 BIR and more than 2 civilians (see diagram 2) and the displacement of many. By 2015, the death toll had risen to untold proportion and the number of displace in the northern part of Cameroon was also enormous. Part of this was the brutal hunting down of the BH, seizure of their means of mobility (cars and motorcycles) and very heavy weaponry, and stepping up of intelligence activities. But because the response of the Cameroonian army did not seemed to be providing the desired outcome, the President of the Republic, Paul Biya appealed for international support. This was the reason why on 29 and 30 January 2015, the BH faced the first stiff opposition from the Chadian force. This was an international response. As this was unfolding, the Cameroon population, gripped with the BH fever, also was responding in support of their soldiers on the field (Intelligence Report of the BIR, 2015, Maroua).

6 For the Economic consequences of BH on the Cameroon-Nigeria borderlands, see Funteh (2015: 30-48).
Map 2. Areas of major occurrences in 2014

Source: 015-400/MRP/RMIA4/OPS ALPHA/CO/G3 DU 09/03/2015 (Maroua Alpha archives).

Table 1. Number of Attacks per Division

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Attacks</th>
<th>Retaliation (EEI)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MAYO TSANAGA</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAYO SAVA</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGONE ET CHARI</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAYO DANAY</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Diagram 1. Graphic representation of attacks per Division in 2014

![Diagram 1]

Diagram 2. Graphic Estimation of Death of Cameroonians in 2014

![Diagram 2]

Source: All these statistics originate from No 015-400/MRP/RMIA4/OPSAHALPHA/CO/G3 DU 09/03/2015 (BIR, Alpha, Maroua archives).
Note: This death estimate represents only fresh corpses counted by the BIR. Some who are Cameroonians join Boko Haram and fight against the Cameroonian [army]. When they are killed, their tribes bury them so early so that the [military] forces [cannot] identify that those killed were Cameroonians. But that of the BH members was inestimable, and because they would always explode the corpses of their member after each attack, it was not possible to count (Kindzekam, 15 July 2014 online).

Conclusion

The frontiers of Cameroon and Nigeria reflected eventful spaces of openness and ethnic intertwine. The human and commodity cross-frontier fluidity that characterized these had a serious effect on the security bend of the entire region around the Lake Chad Basin. The raise of the BH in Nigeria and its eventual encroachment into and animation of insecurity threats on the Cameroon soil was facilitated among other reasons by the border character, the educational, development and poverty levels of the area, not to forget the degree of state presence, the religious inclines and expectation of the people of this Cameroon-Nigeria northern frontier-line. With the financial influence and strategy of the BH leadership both the youths and top state officials were common targets for the attainment and sustenance of their terrorist actions. Their activities which ranged from abduction of foreigners and Cameroonians, open attacks and slaughter of law enforcement officers, military camps and village (civilians alike) to high-way robbery, and burglary, caused enormous panic, deaths and displacement in and across Cameroon border. Every single area of the four divisions that make up the Far North Region of Cameroon was seriously affected, but with much of the attack concentrated around the areas of Fotokol, Tourou, Bargaram, Amchidé, Limani, Amchidé, Achigachia and Kolofata. Due to the unprecedented terror the group inflicted on the population, the state, local populations and the international community joint hands to bring this phenomenon to an end. However, the latter two only reacted to what the former had prescribed as the best form to withstand BH owing to the non-contenting strength of the BIR against the BH force. The diplomatic strategy of Cameroon and Nigeria to think together in bringing the situation to an end, amidst other responses of the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) of Nigeria, Chad and Niger, UK, USA, Russia and China thing were gradually putting things back in good shape. I mean security stability. Both countries met severally in Yaoundé (2013), in Abuja (2014) within the confines of creating a Nigeria/Cameroon Trans-border Security Committee, and from which the creation of a Coalition Force to fight terrorism announced on 30 November 2014 by Cameroon. This force would include 3,500 soldiers from Benin, Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Nigeria. In as much as the operational value of this force was to be felt, the intervention of Chad in the issue gave a serious
blow to the strength of the BH, as it fought with the Cameroonian soldiers in Fotokol and crossed over to Nigeria to regain for the Nigerian government most of the territories it lost to the BH. As this was going on, the Cameroon population responded vigorously from the Parliament by passing the 4 Dec anti-terrorist bill, the patriotic match in denouncing BH performed by the populations of ten regions of the country (see plate 5), the more-than-three billions worth of money, drugs and food stuff contributed by peoples of all works of life in support of the soldiers on the battle front (see plate 6) to ecumenical prayers and services for the peace of the country. But this paper wonders, though being the immediate and appropriate approach to the BH treats, if these efforts were the best to bring such phenomenon to a complete halt or preempt the raise of future such organizations in the region. It proposes an effective structural presence in terms of education, employment, development opportunities, especially for the youths in and along the border towns, who are often left at the mercy of peripheral uncontrolled developed precepts. It is only when these are done that these areas can know prolonged peace and security.
Plate 5. Cameroonians contribute money to fight BH.


Plate 6. Patriotic match in Yaoundé

Source: BIR (Alpha operation) Cameroon, Maroua photo Album, 2015
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-BIR, Alpha, Intelligence Report, Maroua Archives, 2014.


Defining culture, heritage and identity in Fijian Context

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Abstract

Culture and tradition form an individual’s identity, the values instilled by the culture is a reflection of how people tend to live their lives. In Fiji, the value of tradition has passed through stages of change from the pre-colonial era to the post-colonial era and the present. The main aim of the research is to highlight the views of 6 individuals on culture, heritage and identity. The opinion expressed by them on the topics was achieved by a questionnaire (Appendix B), oral interview and informal discussions. The 6 participants are highly qualified professionals from Fiji who work in a firm operated by the United Kingdom (UK). The participants are a mixture of ethnicities, marital status and gender. The questionnaire has been analyzed with the use of sub topics and the views and thoughts are elaborated with relevant examples. The article concludes by giving recommendations expressed by the individuals.

Keywords: cultural maintenance, preservation, individual identity, tradition, cultural values
Introduction

Fiji is a country which is blessed with various cultures; the lives of many people are bound by the values of their traditions which establish their identity. However, many factors are contributing to changes in each culture. These changes are having immense effect in the maintenance and preservation of culture, heritage and identity. This essay outlines how individuals value their culture, the different aspects of the culture which they have experienced to be changing as well as discussing the ways of maintaining the significance of one’s culture which is a challenge presently.

Furthermore, there have been various shifts in the cultural aspects, some of which include, dress code, hair style, eating habits, languages as well as dialects, special functions such as funerals and weddings. The findings reveal that individuals are concerned with the drastic changes that come about daily. However, suggestions and recommendations made during the research will provide insight into how the challenges faced could be dealt with.

Bakar (2011), has stated that even in a country such as Malaysia that has experienced modernization and globalization to a much greater degree than many other Muslim countries. This statement by Bakar (2011), has given some insight into changes in family values and traditions in a country like Malaysia which is something similar to the views expressed by the participants that will be discussed and examined at length in this essay.

Value of Culture

In the research, it was found that all the participants stated that they valued culture in all aspects. One of the participants stated that ‘I value my culture for giving me identity; it gives me a sense of definition and also enables me to gauge my presence in my society’. Moreover, another participant who is 23 years of age has stated the value of culture by approaching it from a direct point of view and says ‘I value my culture by the way I dress, speak and how I present myself to other people’.

In addition, a participant had chosen to explain how he values his culture by giving an example, he states ‘I value my culture in the sense that it sets me apart and gives me a sense of identity and uniqueness, example when visiting a village for the first time, you bring a ‘sevusevu’ this is a form of introduction and this also enables the visited village to know their relationship with one and how to behave towards that person’. This highlights that even though modernization has taken place, people value traditions such as these to the highest level.

Finally, a participant had taken a rather different approach showing how she values culture by explaining that they watch and listen to the I-taukei talk shows. It is interesting to note the
opinion expressed as it informs that, for people who are unable to practice their culture make use of the modern technology in making every little effort in valuing their roots.

Changes Observed

There have been many changes observed by individuals within their culture and traditions; these will be discussed in detail under the following sub topics, dress code, hair style, eating habits, language, weddings and funeral.

**Dress code**- In Fiji, the dress code is distinct to signify the different ethnic or cultural background a person belongs to. The participants entirely agreed that there has been a shift from traditional dress code to a more westernized style. Three of the respondents highlighted that the dress code change has occurred most with the women than the men. One of the participants has emphasized on the changes that have taken place for women and states ‘especially for women, there is a shift to modern or western dress patterns. Traditional clothes are being reserved for religious or major cultural events now days’. However, one of the respondent’s has stated that even though there has been a shift in dressing styles, the dress code for men is becoming acceptable and states ‘dress code are not strictly adhered to, men can wear vest and even shorts at village gatherings’.

**Hair style**- it was interesting to note that all the respondents had a similar view about the hair style people have today. Most of them explained that now people tend to follow a westernized style and the traditional ‘Bui-Ni-Ga’ (Appendix A) is slowly fading away. A respondent says ‘the famous ‘Bui-Ni-Ga’ which was unique is slowly fading away and it is due to the latest fashionable hairstyles’. A similar view is expressed by another respondent who states ‘girls prefer to have straightened hair instead of the i-taukei ‘Bui-Ni-Ga’.

**Eating habits**- during the research it was found that due to westernization, even eating habits have been altered to an extent. People find a combination of dishes better and not the usual or traditional meals. Eating using the hands is being replaced by knives and forks for a lot of families and also in functions for example, weddings or receptions. A respondent has explained the reason for the change of habits and states ‘a lot of English and Chinese meals practiced in most households which also influences the buying of easy to cook food’. In fact, the view of the respondent is true in various ways one of which is to do with the convenience of buy precooked food rather than cooking. Furthermore, another respondent explained that the eating habit has completely changed the purpose of fishing and presently people are opting to buy fish from the supermarkets than to go out on fishing trips as a family or even in villages.

**Language**- the respondents had mixed opinion on this topic, 50 percent have stated that there has been an absolute change and people are forgetting their mother tongue whereas the remaining 50 percent have argued that people use code switching where possible. The
respondents also stated that people presently combine the English language with the mother tongue in most situations. One of the respondents has remarked that ‘the language is a fusion of many dialects and other languages, very few people know their mother tongue’. A similar thought is expressed by another participant who says ‘very little of the mother tongue is used nowadays’.

It can be often observed that due to the concept of high prestige and low prestige, people find that those who speak less of their mother tongue and more of English are considered more intellectual. This concept gives rise to parents urging their children to focus more on the English language than their first language. One participant adds ‘fewer children speak i-taukei language in their own homes and schools’.

**Weddings**- traditional weddings have gone through various stages of change from marriage proposals to the actual wedding ceremony. Two of the respondents share a similar idea which is the concept of ‘couple elopement’. The first respondent says ‘in the past weddings were scare and important; an occasion which the two families looked forward to. Nowadays, it is made easy for couples and some even end up eloping’. Similarly, another respondent adds ‘before it was protocol to ask a father’s approval before marriage, now there is more elopement’.

The opinion and thoughts expressed show that the value of marriage has changed so much. Another respondent has explained on the same issue and points out on the engagement before the wedding. She states ‘usually the groom’s family would ask the bridegroom’s family for permission in a traditional way but this is not common these days. Nowadays, couples usually get engaged and married as they please without permission from their parents as the western culture teaches them to be more independent’.

People tend to have more pride in the manner in which the wedding ceremony is conducted. For example, a participant emphasizes that today weddings are more for friends and less for families ‘lots of modern weddings, they have them in hotels and not in the villages furthermore, less family members are invited to weddings than friends’. In addition, one of the respondents has also commented on the dressing style at weddings and says ‘people now prefer suits and dresses instead of ‘masi wear’’.

**Funerals**- different arguments were highlighted on this topic; some have commented on money matters whereas others have explained on cross cultural changes. A participant has stated ‘before the service was elaborated but now more shortened’. Another respondent adds a similar statement saying ‘people cut short funeral protocols to save money’. The concept of saving money has led to some important aspects of the funeral protocol to be observed briefly or to in some situations not observed at all. For example, in Hindu culture, some families need to perform final funeral rituals for 13 to 16 days. However, some families tend to keep the final rituals to only 3 days therefore they rush through some very important traditions that need to be performed.
In addition, one of the participants states that even though the funeral is conducted traditionally, there is the strong influence of Christianity.

**Lost Traditions**

There are many traditions which people used to appreciate in the past but these are slowly losing its place in the community, the society or as individual families. One of these would include; having extended families which was a common norm in the past. As times change, the move from extended family to nuclear family is becoming conspicuous. The aim of traditional families was to have the grandparents around to share their knowledge about the culture, religious values as well as be a pillar of guidance. Bakar (2011) adds, given the family and societal values embedded in the traditional roles of grandparents and near relatives, it is important to redress the problems arising from the loss of the traditional physical nearness in the relations between the family and near relatives by looking for some forms of compensation for this loss that modern life and its facilities could provide. Furthermore, Bakar (2011) elaborates, that it is a difficult problem to solve, but finding a replacement for the loss in question is worth trying since the family institution and therefore society as well as have suffered a great deal from the consequences of this loss.

In addition, participants explained on some traditions which they used to have during their childhood but have now disappeared. Two of the respondents explained about ‘Vakatatalo’ which is explained as playing toys with other friends and mixing with the children from neighbours or in the village. This used to be done collectively and by the will of the children. Furthermore, both the respondents have stated that children nowadays spend more time on the internet and playing video games than socializing with kids in outdoor activities which they valued while growing up. A few of the participants highlighted on different celebrations such as; the celebration of a new born baby and New Year’s Day. One of them has explained that celebrating of New Year’s Day was mostly in the villages but that has shifted to towns and hotels now.

**Factors Contributing Towards the Cultural Changes**

The reasons for the cultural changes or the contributing factors have been similar with all the respondents. All the 6 participants have stated westernization/modernization as the major factor which has led to the various changes in individual cultures and traditions in Fiji today. However, one of the respondents has stated intermarriages as one of the contributing factors towards the changes affecting culture and identity. The respondent has stated on intermarriage that ‘we are not sure which culture to adapt, lots of mixed feelings’.

In addition, migration is also of the factor that has resulted in the younger generation being unappreciative of their culture. In the South Indian community in Fiji, there is a famous folk dance called ‘Ti-ri-ku-tu’ which means stories from the religious books told through dance and
song. However, the language used is ‘Tamil’ the mother tongue of most South Indians. Since the veterans who were masters in such art migrated to other countries, the folk dance is dying a slow death presently.

Moreover, it was also highlighted by 60 percent of the respondents that employment also contributes significantly towards the changes. The employment sector in Fiji has accommodated the English language and the western work style in many aspects from dress code, team dynamics, operations and to time management and so on. As the employees spend most of the time working, they comprehend the ethics followed at the workplace and adapt that similarly at their homes.

Effectiveness of Culture, Heritage and Identity Maintenance Today

The most important fact that needs to be considered with the various shifts and changes occurring with the culture is maintenance. It needs to be mentioned whether or not there are enough opportunities for the maintenance of our culture, heritage and identity. Many of the respondents have argued that not enough is being done to main the culture and they have sighted many reasons for that. One of respondents has put the onus on leaders of the society; she states ‘in the South Indian context, we do not seem to have many strong leaders who could direct and support the learning of the South Indian culture and tradition. It will take a lot of effort and if individuals are committed in making a change’. The opinion expressed by her is directed towards the leaders and it is justified as the leaders have an authoritative approach which can encourage maintenance of the culture.

To add, a respondent has stated that due to modernization people are not able to appreciate their culture thus leading to a decline in maintenance. He states ‘people nowadays are focused more on being westernized and do not really appreciate the uniqueness of their individual cultures. There are just some schools which have culture in their curriculum but not all’. Interestingly, another respondent has given a different view on cultural maintenance and shares that it is an oversight on the government’s part. The participant when asked if enough was being done to maintain culture, heritage and identity explained ‘no, because the government has tried to enforce unity as a nation more compared to cultural identity, and given that this has been done at policy level gives little hope to how we as a society or as a family can maintain our identity in time to come’.

Recommendations

The essay has examined the various aspects of culture, heritage and identity which is valued by individuals and society as well as those aspects which have been lost and also on maintenance. Furthermore, all the respondents have provided significant recommendations which
will benefit everyone in facing the challenge of preserving and maintaining our culture, heritage and identity. These are as follows:

- Accordingly to Bakar (2011), more studies and research need to be taken on contemporary challenges faced by the family institution; a national research institute is perhaps needed that is dedicated to the pursuit of intensive research on Islam and family values and the family institution. Even though reference is being made to the Islamic community this applies to Fiji as well. If more research is focused on family values it will lead to a wider coverage of the traditions to continue and provide great understanding of preservation. Furthermore, one of the respondents has stated that even though Fiji has a few cultural centers, it needs to be made more obvious. She states ‘make our cultural centers more obvious and prominent and more active marketing. Incentives should be given to people for joining cultural events’.

- Awareness is vital in promoting and maintaining the culture and 80 percent of the respondents have elaborated on this. One of the participants states ‘create more awareness for example hosting cultural events where anyone from any ethnic group, age group can participate to learn and eventually understand the importance of culture, and our identity’. A similar view was expressed by another respondent and she states that ‘there should be more marketing and teaching about our culture. If we lose it now, the next generation will lose them all’.

- Furthermore, education is also a factor to consider in inculcating the significance of one’s culture. Many of the respondents have recommended making culture classes compulsory in schools. A participant explains ‘all schools should be encouraged to have culture as part of their curriculum’. Another respondent adds ‘vernacular languages and classes on traditional dances and ceremonies should be introduced as a priority in all schools. Conduct workshops to educate all Fijians on their own culture and traditions’.

- Bakar’s (2011) recommendation is that socio-economic policy makers need to be more sensitive to the safeguard of family values and the virtues of the family institution in their pursuit of socio-economic development. A view similar to Bakar’s has been explained by one of the respondents and he states ‘I believe that perseverance of culture should start from policy level, governments needs to realize that our identity makes us unique. Fiji should quickly install everything that the i-taukei and Fiji Indians hold sacred’.
Conclusion

In conclusion, the research has brought light to significant issues that are being faced by parents, the society and the nation in inculcating our culture, heritage and identity. Bakar (2011), comments, the strongest defenders of the traditional family are known to come from among the faithful followers of the traditional religion. We can therefore say that the future of the traditional family will depend to a large extent on the strengths of the traditional religions. The recommendations highlighted in the research, will provide various insights into how the struggling issues can be resolved.

In addition, further research would be able to give more details on how the culture could be preserved in generations of all the ethnic groups in Fiji.
Reference

Appendix

Appendix A:

The Buiniga:

Source: Mere Gaunavou, Project Coordinator at Projects Abroad Fiji. Dated: 24th October 2013
Appendix B: Questionnaire

Defining culture, heritage and identity

What are culture, heritage and identity?

People learn and are influenced by the place and the people around them. In a country like Fiji so many people have learned from stories told to them. These stories carry information and ideas about life and living and shared customs, traditions and memories from parents to children. However, this tradition is changing.

Name: ____________________________

1. Please state in what ways you value your culture? Use examples where necessary.
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________

2. What have been the changes that you have observed in your culture that has taken place over time? Please use the following list and add your own if you like.
   a. Dress code-____________________________________________________________
   b. Hair style-______________________________________________________________
   c. Eating habits-___________________________________________________________
   d. Language-______________________________________________________________
   e. Weddings-______________________________________________________________
   f. Funerals-_______________________________________________________________

3. What are some of the traditions or celebrations that you observed when growing up that have lost its value today?
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________

4. What are some of the factors which have contributed towards the changes in your culture?
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________

5. Do you think enough is being done by parents, schools, and the society in maintaining our culture, heritage and identity? Please give reasons.
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________

6. What are the things that you feel can be done to preserve our culture? Please give specific examples where possible.
   __________________________________________________________________________
   __________________________________________________________________________

Thank you for your time and contribution towards this research.
Prashneel. R. Goundar
A Palestinian Refugee Woman Narrative

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Abstract

This paper aims to shed light on the extent of Palestinian refugee women’s suffering they have gone through since the massive expulsion of the Palestinian people out of their land in 1948. Accordingly, the purpose of the study was to identify the different themes and concerns encoded in the narrative of a Palestinian refugee woman named Zwaida. In order to attain this purpose, the researchers applied content analysis on an authentic narrative account told by this woman. The study attempted to answer two main questions. The first question was concerned with the validity of the account of that refugee woman, and the second question concentrated on the kinds of themes encoded in such an authentic narrative. To answer these questions, the researchers used the methodology based on a single qualitative content analysis and data collection gathered from an unstructured interview. The outcome of the analysis revealed the extent of suffering those refugee women went through after their displacement; in addition, it revealed that a woman like Zwaida had to vacillate between two concerns; the first one national, while the other personal. Finally, the researchers recommended that a further analysis of refugee women’s narrative be conducted in order to reach certain conclusions that help the world better understand the Palestinian ordeal.

Keywords: refugee woman – narrative – content analysis – double consciousness
I. Introduction

It is widely known that the issue of the Palestinian refugees is one of the most irksome problems for the peace loving people and nations all over the world. The massive and collective expulsion of the Palestinians out of their homeland in 1948 was an unprecedented act of colonialism based on uprooting a whole nation out of its land and replacing it by scattered groups coming from diverse countries with a Zionist dream built on a mythical and radical religious vision of the Promised Land. Many Palestinians who survived the coercive expulsion still have fresh memories of that painful experience.

Since their trauma of displacement, most Palestinian refugees have been lodged in camps in- and outside Palestine. At the outset of their expulsion, they thought that their displacement would not last long; they were confident that it would be a matter of days, and they would be allowed to go back to their homes and land. Ironically, this displacement has continued for more than six decades and it seems that the refugee status has become an indication of a forced identity.

Nowadays, the problem of the Palestinian refugees has aggravated mainly as a consequence of the political upheaval pervading some Arab countries in the Middle East. Those refugees, along with their offspring, are reliving the experience of displacement. Many of them are currently displaced from their camps of refuge and trying to seek shelters in other countries. This is due to the fact that the camps where they have been living, whether inside or outside Palestine, have become like concentration camps either because of a suffocating siege as is the case of the camps inside Palestine, mainly Gaza camps, or by the turmoil of internal clashes and conflicts as it is the case in their refuge Arab countries.

In the light of this ongoing displacement, the world has started to get a renewed interest in getting at the truth of the initial displacement the Palestinians went through. Such kind of truth is difficult to fathom without listening to a firsthand and authentic account from one of the refugee who lived such an experience and then to subject it to meticulous analysis based on the interpretation of certain messages encoded in it.

A) Purpose of the Study

The aim of this paper was to apply a content analysis methodology to an authentic account told by a Palestinian refugee woman in an attempt to highlight certain themes and encoded messages related to her experience as a refugee and as a woman. The presentation of this account and its interpretation is also intended to reveal to those interested in the Palestinian question the truth of the displaced Palestinians’ suffering and trauma.
B) Study Questions

The study attempted to answer the following two questions:
1. What are the true experiences of displaced Palestinian refugee woman (initial codes)?
2. What themes and lessons can be derived from the Palestinian refugee woman’s firsthand account (focused codes)?
3.

C) Significance of the Study

The significance of the study arises from the fact that it presents a firsthand testimony of what Palestinian refugees in general and a refugee women in particular went through as a result of their expulsion from their own towns and villages in 1948. The study also provides a live testimony of the hardships and traumatic experiences encountered by those Palestinian refugees.

II. Literature Review

Having the impulse to talk about whatever experience one might go through is generally natural and universal (Wengraf, 2001). When people find themselves abruptly and forcibly expelled out of their homeland, the only thing left for them is to narrate and to tell the story about the suffering and the pain of this displacement. Such narrators would be very careful to convey a message in order to explain the extent of agony and plight they have experienced because of this displacement. Usually this story has certain thematic orientations encoded between the lines (Riessman, 2008); these thematic concerns become central to any act of interpretation or analysis. However, when a story is told by a woman, the act of analysis becomes more complicated because usually the feminist discourse works at the level of what Du Bois (1903/1990) coined as ‘double consciousnesses’. In such discourse the narrator tries to reconcile certain contradictory concerns in order to convey the message and thus a researcher’s main concern becomes framing and analyzing women’s raw words to become ‘testimonial literature’ (Sayigh, 2002). However, prior to the analysis of the woman’s story, the paper will give an account of what it means to be a refugee, a Palestinian refugee and a Palestinian refugee woman in particular, and what content analysis is.

A) Who is a refugee?

The identity of many people is linked to a passport, identity card, birthplace, or culture. They have a home. But what would they do if they could not define their sense of self in relation to any of these things nor could they live their life peacefully on a land they can call home? That is the dilemma they will face when they are forced to leave their country; they become refugees (Gilmour, 1980). According to the 1951 Geneva Convention, a refugee is a person who is outside the country of his nationality and unable to return for fear of being persecuted because of race,
religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. Accordingly a refugee is a person who is dislocated in terms of identity and nationhood. ‘Refugees’ can also be defined as forced migrants who are afforded “an internationally recognised legal status, given credibility by an international agency specifically charged to safeguard their interests, endorsed most powerfully of all by spontaneous philanthropy” (Zetter, 1991: 40).

However, it is worthwhile mentioning that the Israelis have continually attempted to make the status of the Palestinian refugees very evasive. They have tried to void that status from any political or national connotations; they want the world to believe that the whole problem of the Palestinians is humanitarian and these refugees are a group of people who receive UNRWA’s assistance in terms of food, health, and education.

B) Who are Palestinian refugees?

Palestinian refugees are hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who in 1948 were uprooted from their home towns and villages and turned into a fast-growing refugee population residing in crowded camps in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria (Halabi, 2005). The exact number of the refugees varied from one source to another. Palestinian estimates state that their number in 1948 exceeded 75000 refugees (Gabiam, 2005). The least estimates of the number of the Palestinian refugees were those of the Israelis. According to Karsh (2011), the number of the Palestinian refugees who were forced to abandon their cities and villages was ranging between 55000 and 60000 (p. 224). The number of Palestinian refugees is currently about 5 million (Jaspal & Coyle, 2014).

Regardless of the exact number of those refugees, this abrupt expulsion turned three-quarters of all Palestinians into refugees and forced them to change their lives from largely rural existence (which most of the refugees were) to living in cramped camps, a ghetto-like existence (Abdo, 2000). Their dislocation from the only homes they had ever known and the new condition of having nothing resulted in intense insecurity, bewilderment, a sense of loss and grieving, and above all, uncertainty about the future. These former peasants were “uprooted” and “felt powerless in the wake of the sudden loss of control over their destiny and an intense frustration over the inability of any person, institution, or government to remedy their situation (Peteet, 1991: 24). Consequently, Palestine ceased to exist; it lost its name; it lost its territory.

Nonetheless, Palestinian refugees, generation after generation, have entertained the hope of returning to their homes and never lost their Palestinian identity and dignity. Neither time nor preoccupation with survival requirements has made them forget their long-held hope and identity because if one’s identity is lost, one will be amorphous. Therefore, Palestinians have been perpetually fighting to maintain their identity and emphasizing their right of return to every place they were uprooted from in historical Palestine.
C) What is it like to be a refugee Palestinian woman?

Refugee women are more vulnerable to exploitation and deprivation of rights, at every stage of flight, than are refugee men despite the exceptional resistance and resourcefulness of refugee women and their ability to cope with tremendous hardships (Feeney, 1995). Once they find themselves in the alien environment of temporary encampments, women are more likely to suffer the effects of poor camp design, in terms of lack of privacy and safety, and therefore become more vulnerable (Peters & Wolper, 1995).

Refugee women are double victims; first by the general violence caused by political strife and further by violence perpetrated against them by members of their own community (Sayigh, 2002). These refugee Palestinian women had previously only known how to be farmers’ wives and mothers but under the new and ever changing circumstances, simple women had to learn how to be exceptionally resourceful, dependable, resilient, and adaptable. Therefore, in such situations women assume double identities: one national and the other personal, and their attempts to distinguish between these two identities give rise to the double consciousness of the self; the first one is objective and the other is subjective (Gupta & Sullivan, 2013).

D) What is content analysis?

According to Neuman (1997), content analysis is a technique for examining information, or content, in written or symbolic material in which a researcher first identifies a body of material to analyze and then creates a system for recording specific aspects of it. The system might include counting how often certain words or themes occur. Finally, the researcher records what was found in the material. Bauer (2000) states that content analysis bridges statistical formalism and the qualitative analysis of materials. A central part of qualitative analysis involves extracting meaning from collected textual materials (Krippendorff, 1980). Sometimes, a deductive approach is employed to code the data using theoretically pre-assigned code categories (Leavy, 2000). Researchers use a "focused" coding procedure which allows for the building and clarification of such concepts (Lofland, et al. 1995). The themes are developed from available data and correlate the data to the political, economic, and social circumstances prevailing the eras referred to in the narrator’s story (Krippendorff, 1980). Content analysis is a useful technique for it allows researchers to discover and describe the focus of individual, group, institutional, or social intention (Stemler, et al. 2001).

Perhaps due to the fact that it can be applied to examine any piece of writing or occurrence of recorded communication, content analysis is currently used in a dizzying array of fields, ranging from marketing and media studies, to literature and rhetoric, ethnography and cultural studies, gender and age issues, sociology and political science, psychology and cognitive science, and many other fields of inquiry (Weber, 1990). Additionally, content analysis reflects a close relationship with socio- and psycholinguistics (Lofland, et al. 1995). However, a caveat should be
taken into consideration that content analysis is an attempt to analyze what has already been interpreted by the narrator before the researcher even reaches the data analysis phase of the research process (Pavlish, 2007: 29). Accordingly, the researchers of the current study intended to apply this type of content analysis on what the refugee woman encoded in her account.

III. Method

A) Research design and sample

This study utilized a single case qualitative content analysis method, which aims to uncover and understand the big picture by using the data to describe the phenomenon and what this means. It also involved using initial and focused coding of the refugee woman’s narrative in order to uncover her message and draw some themes out of what she said.

B) Data Collection and Analysis

Data for the study were collected by using an unstructured interview, which allowed the researchers to focus the refugee woman’s talk on the particular topics of interest, and gave them the opportunity to test out his or her preliminary understanding, while still allowing for ample opportunity for new ways of seeing and understanding to develop. The unstructured interview also helped the researchers to unfold the meaning of the woman’s experiences and to understand the world from her point of view.

IV. Findings & Conclusion

Findings are mapped out into two sections, each of which answers one of the research questions.

1. Answer to the first question:

The first question of the study was stated as follows: What are the true experiences of displaced Palestinian refugee woman? To answer this question, the researchers analyzed the narrative a Palestinian refugee woman called Zwaida, who was in her mid eighties. Like hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, Zwaida, a young woman at that time of her displacement, was forced to leave her home village with her family under the frequent attacks of Israeli gangs and the inability of the Arab armies and the international community to protect them. They left behind everything except for some provisions which would help them survive the few following days. They were sure that the civilized world would not accept such a situation and would help them go back to their homes and land in no time. Unexpectedly, absence from home prolonged and Zwaida and her family had to live as tramps in the Gaza streets until they were accommodated in the so-called temporary shelters built for them in the Gaza Beach Camp.
Zwaida’s account depicts part of her experience in that camp. In this content analysis, the initial coding of the narrative reveals, through its seven different labels, Zwaida’s experience of displacement. These labels emerged through the use of qualitative content analysis methods from a feminist perspective to classify and assign meaning to pieces of information to help make sense of qualitative data. Following are the seven labels resulting from the initial coding.

a) Private shelter

For someone who has been expelled from his or her own home and familiar surroundings and who experienced homelessness for a number of days, finding a shelter to protect him or her becomes a priority, regardless of the humbleness of such a shelter. Zwaida describes her first shelter after expulsion by saying:

“We were living in a house built of mud bricks and roofed with tiles. It consisted of two rooms, in front of which there was a wide yard. There was no toilet or bathroom. These were set up in the streets and shared by all camp dwellers.”

b) Satisfying basic needs

After the settlement of the refugees in their new ‘temporary’ shelters, they started to look for satisfying their basic needs of food, drink and clothes. This topic was pervasive in Zwaida’s narrative. For example, when she talks about getting water, she elaborates on this by saying:

“Our houses didn’t have running water, so we had to go to the water pump positioned out in the street to fill our clay vessels with water. We felt extremely fatigued while trying to get water. All people had to wait in queues to be able to get water.”

In another context, Zwaida talks about getting different items of food saying:

“The entire economy of the camp depended on what UNRWA provided of flour, sugar, oil, rice and dry dates. What was then needed were vegetables which we purchased from markets... as we could not afford buying meat; fish was abundant and on many days we ate fish.”

As regards obtaining clothes, Zwaida elaborated by saying:

“UNRWA also started to distribute second-hand clothes to the refugees. Our happiness was limitless when we could get some clothes because of the abject poverty we underwent in the Beach Camp. Every family member was eager to know what his or her share of the clothes was.”
c) Abject Poverty

Poverty among the refugees represents a legacy of the refugees’ inability to generate sufficient income in order to provide for themselves the ‘minimum basic needs’ (Hajoj, 2007). The state of abject poverty experienced by the majority of camp residents, who fled for their lives and left their land and valuables behind them, was still haunting the refugees even after more than one decade of their displacement. This condition is evident in Zwaida’s account when she says:

“During those days [during the Egyptian Administration of the Gaza Strip between 1959 and 1967] work was scarce and salaries were very low… the economic life was difficult inside the camp. My father was an old man and his monthly income was seven Egyptian pounds.”

d) Industriousness & self-sacrifice for one’s family

With limited resources, Palestinian refugees, who have lost their homes and properties, consider human resources as their most valuable asset and thus education investment in education is indispensable to building the economy and general prosperity, as well as key to ensuring an enabling socio-cultural environment that supports women (Puechguirbal, 2014). Zwaida capitalizes on this particular point when she says:

“We were industrious in our study so that the girl could upgrade her family’s standard of living, get a job, and rescue her family from the abject poverty it was living in.”

e) Life keeps going on with all its ups and downs

People who have a strong faith in the legitimacy of their cause will never lose hope and will always see light at the end of the tunnel. Such unshaken hope and faith will always empower them to and help them endure any hardships to keep going on in life. This point was clear in Zwaida’s narration of the ensuing circumstances in the camp. At this juncture, she states:

“After the mud houses, the camp developed and houses were built with cement bricks and were roofed with asbestos and bathrooms were built inside the houses and were supplied with running water. Life developed and electricity was installed in the camp and we started to use electricity instead of kerosene lamps and gas ovens and stoves instead of the kerosene ones.”

f) Occupation haunts the camp provides life opportunities!

The Israeli occupation appetite to devour the Palestinian land and people never seems to be satisfied. After expelling Palestinian refugees from their homes and land in 1948, it chased
them to their camps in Gaza and the West Bank in 1967. This renewed occupation seemed to have paradoxical connotations in Zwaida's words:

"After the Israeli occupation and the availability of money because of work chances inside Israel, life became very expensive; this means money was available but prices were higher and economic life was much better than before. Prior to 1967, life was difficult and harsh and was considered primitive, but now there are many comfortable devices."

g) Hiding a woman’s identity

In her account, Zwaida alludes to women's hidden struggles within a patriarchal society. Such allusion is exemplified in Zwaida's following words:

“Getting to those restrooms was extremely daunting; the refugee woman had to cover herself with a blanket, hold her water jug in her hand, and go to the restroom.” In this regard, the double consciousness line of narration is more inclined towards subjective identity rather the objective one. Here she seems to be obsessed with personal issues more than the national ones.

2. Answer to the second question

The second question of the study was stated as follows: What themes and lessons can be derived from the Palestinian refugee woman’s firsthand account? To answer this question, the researchers analyzed the refugee woman’s narrative using focused coding, which resulted in the emergence of three themes that can fit well under an even more overarching one. These themes were as follows.

a) Soon after expulsion, refugees seek an alternative place to live:

After their violent and unjust expulsion from their homes and villages, hundreds of thousands of Palestinians found themselves without any shelter that could protect them from the harshness of the weather and political fluctuations. They became homeless or tramps in the true sense of the word. They lost the walls and the roofs that protected them and made them enjoy their privacy in addition to their humanity. Living in the open like wild beasts is a harsh experience for everyone, especially for women.

One of the main themes associated with feminist discourse is the issue of women’s space, specifically, the public versus the private, and the overlap of the two. According to Price-Chalita (1994), spatial language and constructs are deployed systematically by women’s writing and narrative; disempowerment is couched in negative spatial terms: as "displacement", having space denied, or as a negative or non-space, while empowerment is used as an appropriation of the spatial: creating new spaces, occupying existing spaces, or revalorizing negatively labeled spaces.
In the Palestinian society, which is largely conservative, the private space is the women’s domain – a sphere of existence in which she feels familiar, in control and empowered. It is the space which gives her a sense of identity and purpose (Rastegar, 2006). Therefore, a quantitative content analysis of Zwaida’s account revealed that words related to places (i.e. house, room, restroom, bathroom, camp and bakery) are of much higher frequency than any other words, even those referring to food.

Feeling that her space had been encroached upon and violated, Zwaida realized that her privacy as well her identity had been lost. Therefore, she disguised herself with the blanket when she went to the restroom, an indication of a lost identity: “the refugee woman had to cover herself with a blanket”. Moreover, in her attempt to restore her private space and privacy, she wanted everything, including the bakery, to be inside the home: “We started to build the restrooms inside the houses… Restrooms became inside the houses… The bakery was outside the house”. She also identified her own place as being different or even separated from that of men by referring to the fact the men’s public restrooms were some distance from those for women: “There was a distance of 20 to 30 meters separating between men’s and women’s restrooms and bathrooms”. Again the overriding consciousness here is that of a woman who was overburdened with domestic tasks that are exclusive to women in a patriarchal society. In this sense Zwaida is double subjugated; she is rendered displaced by the act of expulsion and relegated an inferior position by her masculine society.

b) Refugees show unique persistence to survive and move on in life:

No doubt, the suffering associated with losing one’s home and being forced to leave the place where one grew up is an experience akin to bereavement. However, in spite of all the suffering, anxiety, and loss, the Palestinian refugees demonstrated a tremendous degree of resilience and a strong will to survive. As long as people entertain a hope, they will have a reason to live. Those people’s hope was their return to their own towns and villages and thought that their stay in camps would be temporary. This held hope made them bear the harsh life conditions and look for the means that might help them to survive these dark moments that precede the dawn.

So, for the first two years, before UNRWA’s operations, the refugees had to depend on themselves and one another as well as the support of their relatives in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank or those in the Arab countries. A good example of cooperation is illustrated in Zwaida’s account when she says, “The camp residents from Jaffa and Al-Joura were experienced fishermen and started to teach other residents how to catch fish.” This good instance of cooperation in pursuit of collective survival may contradict another incident depicted in Zwaida’s story when she says: “Many disputes and quarrels took place among people queuing in front of the pump”. A possible explanation of this contradiction is that the latter event took place soon after the refugees’ expulsion and the violence practiced against them by the Israeli gangs.
Consequently, everyone cared about his or her own survival and not that of the others. After UNRWA’s operation in 1950, most refugees became dependent on it for their basic survival requirements. It provided them with food and clothes, and they had to take care of other stuff such as vegetables and meat.

In these tragic circumstances, Zwaida shouldered some responsibilities necessary for her family survival, and despite the fatigue she experienced, she went on shouldering those responsibilities: “We encountered huge fatigue while trying to get water. I used to fill a whole barrel with water using a clay pot... we made the dough at home and carried it on our heads to the bakery.” What is more, she expresses her determination to study hard to get a job and help her family in getting out of its abject poverty. It seems that her father’s old age and powerlessness had been compensated for by her powerful will and determination.

This stand is very common in feminist writing and thinking. At time of conflict, women shoulder more responsibilities and suffer more than men do. At all times, these women, and in the fashion of Homer's Odyssey, embark on their heroic pursuit in order to provide the family with all means of subsistence (Smith, 1990). Unlike the American frontier men’s wives who reckoned their perseverance and endurance as an act of faith and redemption, the Palestinian refugee women of the never resigned to mere endurance. They had to leave the house in order to support the family. It clear then, that Zwaida is vacillating between two identities, the national and the personal.

c) Refugees’ instinct for survival never vanishes despite difficulties and hardships:

Not satisfied with the land it had seized and the catastrophe it had caused to these Palestinian refugees, the Israeli occupation chased them even into those narrow spaces they had been cramped into. Zwaida's feelings toward this second wave of occupation were paradoxical and mixed, sometimes positive and sometimes negative. This is clearly evident in the contradictory language she uses:

“After the Israeli occupation and the availability of money because of work chances inside Israel, life became very expensive; this means money was available but prices were higher and economic life was much better than before.”

Positive references to occupation can be attributed to these refugees’ desire to survive and improve their living conditions. The negative feelings towards occupation may be connected with their past experience of expulsion, homelessness, and pain caused by this same occupation: “… after the Israeli occupation of the Gaza Strip, the quantities [of UNRWA’s aid] became less and only some particular people could get them.”
All of the three themes above can be summed up under one major overarching theme which is ‘refugees search for survival after expulsion from home and land and being cramped into a camp’.

A very interesting feature in this narrative sketch is the mythical image the narrator depicts of herself and other fellow Palestinian women. The frequent use of the pronoun ‘we’ is an indication of the strong intent of those women to bring back the lost peace and privacy which were usurped by the occupiers. According to Halliday’s (1994) Ideational Model, women intensively opt for the topical themes represented by "I" and "we". The pronoun "we" is, most of the times, a collective pronoun used exclusively to represent the Palestinian refugee women. Again, this is a further demonstration of the double consciousness technique the narrator was adopting in her narrative to juxtapose the national with the personal identity in order to show how excessive the refugee women’s ordeal was.

To conclude, analyzing a refugee woman’s narrative helped to reveal the extent of suffering those women went through after the expulsion of a whole nation out of its own land. The content analysis conducted on the narrative of one of those refugee women revealed different themes encoded in such a narrative; in addition, it helped to show how refugee women tried to assume double identity: one subjective and personal, while the other objective and national. Therefore, the researchers do recommend that further analysis of other refugee women’s narrative be conducted in order to further explore the ongoing ordeal of those women who have been living the trauma of displacement since 1948. Such analysis would eventually lead to the emergence of certain motifs that govern the collective narrative of the whole displaced nation.
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Language as an oppressive device in Orwell’s 1984

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Abstract

This paper is a critical study of “1984”, a novel by George Orwell. It specifically aims to study how language is used by the dominant authority in the fiction to oppress and to exert power over the population in the country. The analysis focuses on how the totalitarian system limits conversations and prevents freedom of speech through imposing on the characters to speak a language which is strange to them and very limited in terms of vocabulary. To achieve this objective, the study will focus on the sentences and paragraphs which show how language is used to frighten and oppress people. In certain cases, the dialogues which occur between the characters will be explored so as to clearly manifest the role of language in controlling the actions and the minds of the population.

To manifest the relationship between language and power, the analysis is conducted within the framework of stylistics and critical discourse analysis. The researcher explores the linguistic features in some paragraphs and dialogues selected from the entire text so as to show how the government of Oceania controls the minds and actions of its inhabitants. Through such a framework of analysis, the thesis concludes that the totalitarian government manipulates language to dominate people, and language is not a social practice but it has political dimensions and regarded as a threat to the government if people can use it freely.

Keywords: 1984, stylistics, critical discourse analysis, language, power
Introduction

1984 is a fiction written in 1948 by George Orwell. The writer creates a fictional country reigned by a totalitarian government which tries hard to impose power and to remain in power for good. The system applies various methods to limit the freedom of the people and to always keep them tamed. They obviously use physical torture to intimidate the opponents or the thought crime, as the party describes. The physical torture the detainees receive can be obviously imagined in O’Brien’s speech when he talks to Winston, “You have been kicked and flogged and insulted, you screamed with pain, you have rolled on the floor in your own blood and vomit” (P. 273), but the aim of this study is to focus on psychological torment which is mainly implemented through the use of language.

In 1984, language is deployed as a device to discipline the people through spreading fear and narrowing freedom of speech, and O’Brien confirms that, “The party is not interested in the overt act; the thought is all we care about” (P. 253). The regime achieves these aims by changing the documents to erase past and to create a history which glorifies Big Brother and the government and by inventing a new language (Newspeak) through reducing the number of the words used by people to replace the Oldspeak (English language). The author presents that language can traumatize, frighten and drive people to insanity; it makes them hate each other and betray each other and it even compels them to lie and accept lies as truth. Porcheddu (2009) emphasizes that language acquires its importance in the novel and adds “By controlling language and information through a complex coercive apparatus, the Party realises a mind control of its subjects that is “total” in both extension and intensity. In extension, because the totality of the subjects is dominated; in intensity, because any individual thought is totally dominated”. This view clarifies that the government of Oceania controls mind and body of the people through language which is used as an effective weapon.

Method

Norman Fairclough in “Language and Power”, published in 1989, states that he has written the book for two purposes. The first is more theoretical: to help correct a widespread underestimation of the significance of language in the production, maintenance, and change of social relations of power. The second is more practical: to help increase consciousness of how language contributes to the domination of some people by others, because consciousness is the first step towards emancipation. The second purpose is exactly related to the aim behind writing this paper.

To show how language is used to dominate the people of Oceania including the members of the party, discourse stylistics is implemented through which the linguistic features such as vocabulary, grammar, punctuation points, turn-taking and types of speech act and the non-
linguistic textual features such as gestures or visuals are explored. These levels of discourse are analyzed in the dialogues which occur in the novel and in some statements or descriptions that are purposefully arranged to show the danger which the people face if they dare to oppose the government’s tyrannical principles or if even they think of their own existence outside the world created and totally occupied by Big Brother, the inner party members and the junior spies. People should learn to use language and think properly in a way which keeps the system in power and thus language is utilized to oppress and silence a nation.

Curtailing individual freedom through language use

The use of language to restrict individual freedom in Oceania takes two forms: First in written texts and secondly in discourse. In this section, the focus will be on some of the extracts which show the cruelty of the system toward the people and how their freedom is limited and how they live in constant fear.

From the very beginning of the novel, Part One; Chapter 1, this statement is written in capital letters, “BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU” (P.2). This is the caption written beneath a big poster, “one of those pictures which are so contrived that the eyes follow you about when you move”. The load of this statement is rather heavy on the inhabitants since the picture is everywhere and the eyes follow them. Nobody is free because the pronoun “you” is the one who reads the script or hears it on TV and in radio. Even if they draw the curtains, turn off the lights and sit in a secure corner, they do not feel safe because the junior spies who are the daughters and sons become the eyes of Big Brother and spy on their own parents.

The script is written in capital letters to warn the people that nobody can hide from the eyes of the regime and it spreads fear to tame the opponents. Winston realizes that there is no escape

“On coins, on stamps, on the covers of books, on banners, on posters, and on the wrappings of a cigarette packet–everywhere. Always the eyes watching you and the voice enveloping you. Asleep or awake, working or eating, indoors or out of doors, in the bath or in bed–no escape” (P. 27).

Winston knows these facts but he makes a big mistake when he thinks that he can run away from the agents and trusts Mr. Charrington who is the inner party member. The word “watching” in the caption simply means “spying” and the one who performs this action is not necessarily to be Big Brother, but it can be any faithful member of the party who has become the eyes of Big Brother. The party uses every possible way to control the mind of the people through accepting self-contradictory statements such as the three slogans of the party: War is Peace; Freedom is Slavery; Ignorance is Strength. Every day, the three slogans are read and presented several times on the telescreen which will never turn off; they are written everywhere and even inscribed in “tiny clear lettering” on the coins. The aim of the slogans is not only to distort the facts but to
psychologically prepare the people to accept lies as truth. In his essay *Politics and the English Language*, Orwell says, “Political language... is designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind”. In this regard, the inhabitants lose the notion of truth and cannot distinguish between truth and lies and thus they accept what the party says as mere facts.

In the novel, these lies are obvious and mainly reflect in the names of the ministries. For example, the Ministry of Truth is concerned with the falsification of records, the Ministry of Peace deals with warfare, the Ministry of Love is a place for the questioning and torturing of opponents, and the Ministry of Plenty makes up economic figures to convince the public that the state has a strong economy and people live a luxurious life.

Spreading lies in the interest of the party may not be fruitful if the people know about their past which is based on truth. Thus, the party has already planned to change past since, as the party slogan reads, “Who controls the past, controls the future: who controls the present controls the past” (P. 248). Quinn (2009:56) states, “The use of language to convey untruths in the service of the state forms a prominent role in Nineteen Eighty-Four”.

Utilizing language to control the mind of the people of Oceania reaches its peak when the state invents a new language “Newspeak” to replace “Oldspeak”. Myers (1986: 353) states that “to expand language is to expand the ability to think”. To limit the ability of thinking and to isolate the inhabitants of Oceania from the outer world, Newspeak as the official language of the state does not develop at all. Contrary to the nature of any language in the world, Newspeak’s vocabulary decreases in number every year. The state believes that people should only know the words which can be used in routine or daily conversations because some words will rouse thoughts which are dangerous to the state and thus should be removed.

To express ideas related to freedom or to communicate thoughts which awaken people against the totalitarian system, people need certain words and expressions. The existence of such lexis certainly endanger the reign of the state. To avoid this risk, the government excludes them in the dictionary of the Newspeak. This act saves the government because people cannot express disgust and hatred against it since words to express such feelings are totally absent from the language imposed by the state. Berks (2000) writes, “By design, Newspeak narrows the range of thought and shortens people’s memories. It is therefore ideal for a totalitarian system, in which the government has to rely on a passive public which lacks independent thought and which has a great tolerance for mistakes, both past and present”.

The second way in which language is utilized to suppress the people is in the dialogues that occur between Winston and O’Brien during the investigation process. O’Brien who represents the state is in power and thus he gives orders and wants to hear what pleases the state not what Winston himself wants to say. Though Winston speaks out his heart and utters what he
thinks to be true, power does not shift between them. Winston is badly punished whenever his answers do not comply with the wishes of the government. To show how language is manipulated to coerce Winston and to force him to deviate from his beliefs or from the facts, some excerpt from the arguments happen between Winston and O’Brien will be explored according to the principles of discourse stylistics.

After he was arrested, Winston was tortured inexorably and in fact the physical torture is enough to compel the prisoners to confess, to humiliate them and destroy their power of arguing and reasoning; but the party agents are not satisfied with this; therefore, they use their ultimate weapon which is the merciless questioning that went on and on, hour after hour to damage their morale and ruin their guts. In the extracts, it can be easily noticed how O’Brien tries to make Winston slavish in his obedience to Big Brother and to the principles of the party.

‘You are afraid,’ said O’Brien, watching his face. ‘that in another moment something is going to break. Your especial fear is that it will be your backbone. You have a vivid mental picture of the vertebrate snapping apart and the spinal fluid dripping out of them. That is what you are thinking, is it not, Winston? Winston did not answer. O’Brien drew back the lever on the dial. The wave of pain receded almost as quickly as it had come.

‘That was forty,’ said O’Brien. ‘You can see that the num- bers on this dial run up to a hundred. Will you please remember, throughout our conversation, that I have it in my power to inflict pain on you at any moment and to what- ever degree I choose? If you tell me any lies, or attempt to prevaricate in any way, or even fall below your usual level of intelligence, you will cry out with pain, instantly. Do you understand that?

‘Yes,’ said Winston. (Orwell, 245)

This dialogue occurs after Winston was tortured and the electric current passed through his body for a moment. The pain is strange and Winston was really frightened. O’Brien understands the feeling; therefore, he uses it against Winston himself to control him mentally and physically. O’Brien directly talks about Winston’s feeling and asserts that his view is quite correct; hence, he utters a declarative sentence “You are afraid”. He does not give any option to Winston, for instance to say ‘yes’ or ‘no’, and he also does not wait for him to say anything and thus he continues.

In the second part of the utterance “that in another….”, O’Brien gives more information about Winston’s inner feeling to assure Winston that he knows what is happening to him. O’Brien’s aim in portraying the danger which Winston faces is to make him collapse and surrender. O’Brien’s description ends with a less common tag-question “is it not?”. By using this uncommon form, it can be concluded that the tag is with a rising tone which “invites verification, expecting the hearer to decide the truth of the proposition in the statement” (Quirk et al., 1985: 811). O’Brien does not ask a real question, but he wants Winston to confirm the veracity of the new information. O’Brien is sure about the truth of his statement “That is what you are
thinking…” because he was also arrested before and passed through the same experience and he also used this method against other prisoners after he has become a faithful inner party member. O’Brien already knows the answer is “yes”; therefore, there is no need for Winston to utter the word and thus he remains silent “Winston did not answer”.

O’Brien does not wait to hear Winston’s answer since he already knows it and he in fact did not ask a real question; it is rather a rhetorical question. O’Brien goes on his speech, but in the second segment of the utterance the mood changes from description to threats. He starts with “That was forty”, and he also adds “the numbers on this dial run up to a hundred”. Giving this information is crucial for O’Brien since he wants Winston to compare between the pains he has received at “forty” and the pains he will receive if the number of the dial runs up to a higher degree. The illocutionary act attached to the statement is a threat and the perlocutionary act behind it is to frighten Winston and compel him to cooperate. O’Brien intensifies the threat through some other utterances such as “I have it in my power to inflict pain on you”, and “if you tell me any lies……, you will cry out with pain, instantly”. It seems that O’Brien achieves his aim in frightening Winston because his “manner became less severe” after Winston says “yes” to reply to O’Brien’s “Do you understand that?”

This conversation occurs at the beginning of the investigation process. O’Brien knows to destroy someone physical torture alone is not enough, thusly; he uses language to impose psychological torture. The party can control the opponents physically by putting them into jails, but it can occupy their mind only through altering their thoughts which may be carried out through constant and boring investigations. O’Brien’s words have great effects on Winston because he chooses the words and utters them so explicitly that Winston really feels the pains connoted in them.

This conversations marks the beginning of a long investigation through which O’Brien wants to tame Winston and turn him to a faithful member to the party; in other words to cure him or to purify his mind from the thoughts which are harmful to the party. O’Brien clearly explains the goals and the intentions of the Party as he says, “We do not destroy the heretic because he resists us; so long as he resists us we never destroy him. We convert him, we capture his inner mind, we reshape him. We burn all evil and all illusion out of him; we bring him over to our side, not in appearance, but genuinely, heart and soul…” (Orwell, 255).

O’Brien is successful in persuading Winston to agree to what he says and to accept lies as truths such as (Oceania has always been at war with Eastasia; eleven years ago he created a legend about three men who had been condemned to death for treachery; he sees five fingers while the thumb is actually concealed behind). The investigation does not end here. Winston argues with O’Brien about the perfect world that the party tries to build for itself. This extract shows that Winston’s mind has not been cured yet.
‘You could not create such a world as you have just de-scribed. It is a dream. It is impossible.’
‘Why?’
‘It is impossible to found a civilization on fear and hatred and cruelty. It would never endure.’ ‘Why not?’
‘It would have no vitality. It would disintegrate. It would commit suicide.’
‘Nonsense. You are under the impression that hatred is more exhausting than love. Why should it be? And if it were, what difference would that make? Suppose that we choose to wear ourselves out faster. Suppose that we quicken the tempo of human life till men are senile at thirty. Still what difference would it make? Can you not understand that the death of the individual is not death? The party is im-mortal.’

As usual, the voice had battered Winston into helpless-ness. Moreover he was in dread that if he persisted in his disagreement O’Brien would twist the dial. And yet he could not keep silent. Feebly, without arguments, with nothing to support him except his inarticulate horror of what O’Brien had said, he returned to the attack.
‘I don’t know- I don’t care. Somehow you will fail. Some-thing will defeat you. Life will defeat you.’
‘We control life, Winston, at all its levels. You are imag-ing that there is something called human nature which will be outraged by what we do and will turn against us. But we create human nature. Men are infinitely malleable. Or perhaps you have returned to your old idea that the prole-tarians or the slaves will arise and overthrow us. Put it out of your mind. They are helpless, like the animals. Humanity is the party. The others are outside-irrelevant.’
‘I don’t care. In the end they will beat you. Sooner or later they will see you for what you are, and then they will tear you to pieces.’
‘Do you see any evidence that that is happening? Or any reason why it should?’
‘No. I believe it. I KNOW that you will fail. There is something in the universe-I don’t know, some spirit, some principle- that you will never overcome.’
‘Do you believe in God, Winston?’
‘No.’
‘Then what is it, this principle that will defeat us?’
‘I don’t know. The spirit of Man.’
‘And do you consider yourself a man?’
‘Yes.’
‘If you are a man, Winston, you are the last man. Your kind is extinct; we are the inheritors. Do you understand that you are ALONE? You are outside history, you are non-existent.’ His manner changed and he said more harshly: ‘And you consider yourself morally superior to us; with our lies and our cruelty?’
‘Yes, I consider myself superior.’

(P. 268-270)

This extract is a severe argument between Winston and O’Brien on founding the ideal state the party has planned it. Winston believes that it will not succeed, but O’Brien sees no reason for its failure. To prove the invalidity of Winston’s justifications and accusations, O’Brien asks 13 questions; five of them are rhetorical questions (3, 4, 5, 6 and 12). Black (2006: 26) writes, “Rhetorical questions often generate implicatures, and tend to involve the maxim of manner”. O’Brien uses this strategy to abort the force of Winston’s views and to imply that
nothing can hinder the success of establishing such a government especially when he repeats  
“what difference would that make?”

O’Brien disappoints Winston “As usual, the voice had battered Winston into helplessness”, but it is temporary since Winston refuses to accept the government and thus he continues on his attacks. Winston’s speeches do not have great effects on O’Brien because O’Brien is a faithful member of the party and mainly because Winston cannot support his ideas with proofs. For instance, when O’Brien says the party is immortal, but the individuals are mortal, Winston says, “I don’t know- I don’t care. Somehow you will fail. Some-thing will defeat you. Life will defeat you”. If he really wants to persuade that the government will not live long or at least to show that there a little truth in his speeches, he must not say (I don’t know- I don’t care) and he also adds (some-thing will defeat you). Winston is not sure what that (something) is, and when he says (life) he himself feels that (something) is not practical and must be replaced with a more concrete word.

O’Brien ensures Winston that that thing he depends on for overthrowing the government is completely under their control “We control life, Winston, at all its levels”. O’Brien talks powerfully and self-confidently and asserts that the proletariats are so weak that they cannot rise against them. Winston always tries to escape from O’Brien’s counter-attacks, but his plan is weak. His answers (I don’t care; I don’t know) do not have any value and will change nothing. Winston mostly uses future simple because he is not certain about what he says, whether the government will collapse or not. The modal verb ‘will’ combines the meaning of volition and prediction and this type of modal verb belongs to the types “which do not primarily involve human control of events, but do typically involve human judgment of what is or is not likely to happen” (Quirk et al., 1985: 219). Contrary to this uncertainty, O’Brien uses present simple and expresses his beliefs as facts; he is confident about the survival and the immortality of the party. The present simple tense gives force to O’Brien’s belief that the party controls past, present and future and Quirk et al (Ibid: 175) writes, “Something is defined as ‘present’ if it has existence at the present moment, allowing for the possibility that its existence may also stretch into the past and into the future”.

O’Brien has answers for Winston’s comments, but Winston mostly says “I don’t know” when O’Brien asks him to recite the identity of that thing which will defeat them. Finally, Winston answers O’Brien but this time he utters a different word ‘yes’ to reply O’Brien’s question “do you consider yourself a man?”. O’Brien does not like this daring and concrete answer; therefore, he molests him with a series of harsh and insensitive utterances. He begins with a conditional sentence (if you are a man,.....). This style of speaking simply shows that O’Brien does not agree with this and it is Winston’s personal view about himself and thus he terminates this view by emphasizing that he is ‘the last man’, his kind is ‘extinct’, he is ‘alone’, he is ‘outside history’ and he is ‘non-existent’. O’Brien does not like Winston’s manner of speaking and thus he speaks roughly to hush him.
Throughout the conversation, the struggle between O’Brien and Winston to control the situation continues. Although O’Brien has power and he speaks harshly and more confidently, he cannot completely control the situation because Winston takes his turns and tries to answer his opponent’s questions and abusive remarks. Winston cannot take power, but he resists and he does not yield easily. Both of them use language as the ultimate weapon to attack, defend and perform counter-attacks. O’Brien manipulates offensive and insulting words and sentences but cannot alter Winston’s disbelief in the invalidity of the state that the party wants to establish. On the contrary, Winston speaks calmly and avoids using rude words because he knows that he will face physical torture.

The final extract which is explored here in this study is a conversation between O’Brien and Winston which occurs during the last stage of the investigation. The physical and the psychological tortures Winston received have weakened him as O’Brien says, “You are improving” (Orwell: 282), but O’Brien believes that they should take some other steps to completely control Winston’s mind especially when he says he hates big brother when O’Brien asks him, “What are your true feelings towards big brother?” (Ibid). This conversation takes place in Room 101. The final stage of the interrogation is carried out in this inexplicable room. Something strange and horrific will happen to the prisoners in it; therefore, only mentioning its name is enough to crumple the opponents of the party. This dialogue shows how Winston is defeated and obliged even to betray his beloved, Julia, without inflicting physical torture on him.

‘In your case,’ said O’Brien, ‘the worst thing in the world happens to be rats.’
A sort of premonitory tremor, a fear of he was not certain what, had passed through Winston as soon as he caught his first glimpse of the cage. But at this moment the meaning of the mask-like attachment in front of it suddenly sank into him. His bowels seemed to turn to water.
‘You can’t do that!’ he cried out in a high cracked voice. ‘You couldn’t, you couldn’t! It’s impossible.’
‘Do you remember,’ said O’Brien, ‘the moment of panic that used to occur in your dreams? There was a wall of blackness in front of you, and a roaring sound in your ears. There was something terrible on the other side of the wall. You knew that you knew what it was, but you dared not drag it into the open. It was the rats that were on the other side of the wall.’
‘O’Brien!’ said Winston, making an effort to control his voice. ‘You know this is not necessary. What is it that you want me to do?’
O’Brien made no direct answer. When he spoke it was in the schoolmasterish manner that he sometimes affected. He looked thoughtfully into the distance, as though he were addressing an audience somewhere behind Winston’s back.
‘By itself,’ he said, ‘pain is not always enough. There are occasions when a human being will stand out against pain, even to the point of death. But for everyone there is something unendurable — something that cannot be contemplated. Courage and cowardice are not involved. If you are falling from a height it is not cowardly to clutch at a rope. If you have come up from deep water it is not cowardly to fill your lungs with air. It is merely an instinct which cannot be destroyed. It is the same with the rats. For
you, they are unendurable. They are a form of pressure that you cannot withstand, even if you wished to. You will do what is required of you.’
‘But what is it, what is it? How can I do it if I don’t know what it is?’

(Orwell, 283-284)

O’Brien explains to Winston that the captives will face the worst thing in Room 101 and it varies from one person to another. In Winston’s case, as O’Brien says, it is rats. He already knows that Winston has musophobia (phobic fear of mice and rats). O’Brien uses the rats to frighten Winston, but he does not really inflict physical punishment on him. In fact, the presence of the rats and the way O’Brien describes what the rats can do to Winston completely ruin him.

O’Brien, in his first utterance, employs present simple tense to indicate a future action. For instance, he says (….happens to be rats). This utterance is related to the first part of the sentence (in your case). If he simply says (is rats), it may mean Winston is afraid of rats and it is a fact, but he says (happens to be) which surely means that using rats is among the methods that the party intends to exploit against Winston. Winston understands this implication and now he knows the mysterious creatures hidden in the cage are rats. Thinking of the rats, he shakes involuntarily (A sort of premonitory tremor, a fear of he was not certain what, had passed through Winston as soon as he caught his first glimpse of the cage).

Thinking of the dreadful creature, Winston cries out hystericly (You can’t do that!’ he cried out in a high cracked voice. ‘You couldn’t, you couldn’t! It’s impossible). Winston, at first, does not want to believe that O’Brien may punish him so mercilessly and thus he uses (can’t) which contains a kind of positivity that the punishment will not happen in the future. This positivity is followed by a hypothesis. Although he is totally confused at the sight of the cage, his repetition of (couldn’t) twice indicates that the party can do anything to control the opponents and thus the torture is hypothetical. Finally, Winston utters (It’s impossible) to invalidate the hypothesis and also persuade himself that such kind of torture cannot be imposed to him. Of course, O’Brien understands this feeling very well and he produces a series of utterances reminding Winston that he cannot endure rats even in his dreams. O’Brien psychologically tortures him when he mentions this dream; he tells him that his dreams will come true. In his dream, a man told him that they will meet in a place where there is no darkness and in another dream he meets a woman in his golden country and they make love and stand against the party. These dreams have come true; he meets O’Brien in Ministry of Love, a place without darkness, and he also meets Julia and falls in love with her. Now it is time for the other dream which is related to rats to come true. The distance between Winston and the rats is only one meter. If Winston puts his face in the cage, in that part designed for this purpose, and O’Brien opens it and sets the rats onto him, this dream will also come true.

Winston sees seriousness in O’Brien’s speech; therefore, he attempts to avoid the risk by talking to him and showing willingness to do anything that the party wants him to do. With great
difficulty, he could control his panic and speak. His utterance starts with citing O’Brien’s name “O’Brien!” He is too confused to continue without a break. The name is followed by an exclamation mark obviously for two purposes: first he tries to recollect his courage and speak firmly lest his shaky voice should reveal his inner feeling, and secondly he wants to draw O’Brien’s attention and to persuade him to listen to him as he will say something significant. He achieves his first aim since he utters two sentences fluently without hesitation, a statement and a question, “You know this is not necessary. What is it that you want me to do?” Regarding the second aim, he fails as O’Brien is in power and he decides what is necessary and what is not, and he senselessly ignores Winston’s question because it does not show his total readiness to do whatever the party tells him and he said that due to his fear. O’Brien realizes that Winston is too weak to resist, but he wants him to surrender to the Party’s wishes willingly not out of dread as he says, “When finally you surrender to us, it must be of your own free will” (Orwell: 255).

O’Brien does not tell Winston what the Party wants from him since there is not a certain task that Winston should perform. In fact, the Party attempts to own Winston and thus he will be a submissive member and a slave who only knows “yes, sir”. In the previous extract, Winston had self-confidence and argued with O’Brien about the failure or success of the Party, but now he gives in and he is waiting for O’Brien to inform him his duties. O’Brien feels this change and realizes that the final stage of the remedial treatment has been carried out successfully as he previously told Winston that there are three stages in his reintegration “there is learning, there is understanding, and there is acceptance” (Orwell: 260).

Speaking in a “schoolmasterish manner”, O’Brien indirectly tells Winston that even if he can endure pains and torture, they can get him since they know that there is something that he cannot endure. He clearly refers to the rats and he also implies that the Party has complete knowledge and awareness about its opponents; therefore, it knows how to control them. Again Winston asks what he should do “But what is it, what is it? How can I do it if I don’t know what it is?” As usual, O’Brien does not answer because he believes that the faithful and obedient party members know their duties very well. Instead of replying the question, O’Brien brings the cage closer and Winston loses his mind and cries out “Do it to Julia! Do it to Julia! Not me! Julia! I don’t care what you do to her. Tear her face off, strip her to the bones. Not me! Julia! Not me!” (Orwell: 286).

This result is satisfactory for O’Brien and thus he ends the process. Previously, they punished him and degraded him as O’Brien says, “You have been kicked and flogged and insulted” (Ibid. 273), but Winston still resists saying, “I have not betrayed Julia” (Ibid.). He was proud of this since it meant, for him, that his mind was still his own and the party did not have power over it. But now he has done it; he betrayed his most beloved and dearest mate and hence no pride has left in him. In Part Three, Chapter 4, Winston states that he hates Big Brother and this statement ends him in Room 101, and O’Brien emphasizes that he must love Big Brother. Although Winston does not say this, O’Brien is certain that if Winston betrays his beloved, he
will do anything he is required of. In this way, he achieves his aims and cures Winston from any fatal ideas which can harm the Party.

Conclusion

In a totalitarian system, people should be either with the regime or against it. The supporters become obedient members and the opponents are the threats which should be wiped out. The regime believes that such inhabitants are like harmful weeds and thus they must be picked up. To get rid of the individuals who reject the system’s reign, the regime takes several dangerous steps and uses various methods of torture.

Beside exploiting technologies and training the juniors to spy on people and inflicting fatal physical torment on the thought to be enemies of the state, the totalitarian system which rules Oceania practices severe psychological torture through language. Language is directly used as a device to oppress the individuals in that state created by Orwell. In 1984, the regime has invented Newspeak; a language should be spoken by the people for communication. This language limits thinking and disables argument over crucial social and political issues since it has a very limited number of words. The minds of the people are locked up as they cannot find words to express their real feelings towards the terrible conditions they live in.

Another form of coercion performed by language becomes apparent in the dialogues occur between O’Brien and Winston during the investigation process. If physical torture destroys the body, the regime needs to impose psychological ordeal to ruin the spirit and morale of the opponents and in this regard language serves the system best to achieve this aim. O’Brien utilizes certain dictions to offend and humiliate Winston who represents the minds and the voices that refuse to carry the yoke of Big Brother. O’Brien’s speeches have great negative effects on Winston since he must say what pleases the government not what he believes to be the truth, he must speak only when he utters for the good of the system; otherwise, he will be rigorously beaten and he must answer every asked questions, but he may not get answers for his questions because “the question of what mankind wants, needs, or deserves is irrelevant to the members of the ruling party in 1984; all they care about is preserving and increasing their own power” (Horan, 2007). Winston endures the pain of the broken bones, the kicks and the punches, but he cannot bear the fears felt in the words articulated by O’Brien and thus he collapses and surrenders.
References


Upholding Patriarchal Male Domination through Male Homosociality, Triangulated Eroticism, and Castration Threats in Your Friends and Neighbors

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Abstract

The film Your Friends and Neighbors portrays a complex, interweaving web of relational interactions among a group of six characters. Using Sedgwick as a foundational starting point, I discuss how varying erotic triangles between the characters create gender inversions. But the bonds of male homosociality within the film also work to create gender inversions, as these interactions have a tendency to straddle the line between homosocial and homosexual. Both of these situations set up the threat of emasculation and ultimately the threat of symbolic castration. Actions are taken to “regain” masculinity, but I argue that it is the character who intentionally emasculates himself that is eventually seen as the most masculine and does not face either of the aforementioned threats. As a result, the film contributes to the perpetuation of patriarchal male domination.

Keywords: Patriarchy, Masculinity, Homosociality, Castration Threat, Eroticism
Introduction

Neil LaBute’s 1998 film *Your Friends and Neighbors* portrays a fascinating commentary on patriarchal society in that the stories that are told in the film, in a way, make ambiguous whether patriarchy always succeeds or whether it fails. The film presents both scenarios. The introduction of various erotic triangles into the film, a concept put forth by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, ultimately works to tear down the patriarchal ideal of marriage in that, in the intermixing of these relational triangles, no one remains with their spouse. However, in the moments of male homosocial bonding, patriarchy gets upheld. During the homosocial interactions among the men, the patriarchal ideal of male domination is perpetuated. To be more specific, it is male domination over a female that becomes valued. This is depicted in conversations between the three male characters in moments of homosociality, as well as seen in action by the one male character—Cary—in the film that is obedient to patriarchy, as bell hooks would phrase it. As the film progresses, we see that the reason the other two male characters—Barry and Jerry—can not be viewed as part of patriarchal society, like Cary, is that they become symbolically castrated by women, essentially not making them men and having allowed women to dominate over them. By discussing male homosocial bonding, male domination over females and its impact and representation on the emotion of love, triangulated eroticism, and the threat of symbolic castration, I argue that *Your Friends and Neighbors*, while on the surface ambiguously commentating on patriarchy, ultimately reveals that the patriarchal ideal of male domination over women is the only way to achieve what one wants.

Relational Structure and Plot in *Your Friends and Neighbors*

Before delving into the analysis of *Your Friends and Neighbors*, due to the rather complex nature of the storyline, it is important that I first lay out the general plot of the film. There are six characters within the film: Mary (Amy Brenneman), Barry (Aaron Eckhart), Jerry (Ben Stiller), Terri (Catherine Keener), Cary (Jason Patric), and Cheri (Nastassja Kinski). Among these characters, there are two married couples. The first married couple to whom we are introduced is Jerry and Terri. Our first glimpse into their relationship immediately shows trouble between them as they are arguing over the most satisfying way to have sex (Jerry wants their sex to be verbal, communicative; Terri wants it to be completely silent while they have sex). Based on the way they talk to each other and treat each other, it is often difficult to see if any real love exists between the two.

The other married couple in *Your Friends and Neighbors* is Mary and Barry. Unlike Jerry and Terri, there does seem to be a certain level of love between the two of them. However, their relationship is also not without its problems. Early in the film, we discover that Barry is unable to sexually perform with his wife. Neither Mary nor Barry fully understands why this is. They are both friends with Jerry and Terri, and, after another night of dealing with her husband’s
impotence, it is after a dinner party among the four of them that Mary and Jerry begin a secret affair.

The remaining two characters are Cary and Cheri. Cary is primarily friends with Jerry and Barry, though he is mildly familiar with his friends’ spouses. He is rude, crass, and constantly talking about sex or his sexual conquests. Cheri, on the other hand, initially has no ties to this group whatsoever. However, Terri interacts with Cheri at an art gallery—where Cheri is working as an artist’s assistant—and the two of them begin an affair. Eventually Cheri is introduced to Mary, and the three women occasionally gather for lunch and talk about sex. The rather convoluted plot of the film sets up perfectly an outlet to employ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick’s ideas of erotic triangles and male homosocial desire.

**Homosociality, Desire, and Upholding Patriarchy**

The plot structure of *Your Friends and Neighbors* is heavily structured around male homosocial bonding. Sometimes this homosocial bonding is between two of the male characters, and other times it is between all three of them. Sedgwick notes a connection between homosocial bonding and a need for desire, saying, “To draw the ‘homosocial’ back into the orbit of ‘desire,’ of the potentially erotic, then, is to hypothesize the potential unbrokenness of a continuum between homosocial and homosexual…,” though she makes it clear that she is not discussing genital homosexual desire as being “at the root of” male homosocial bonding. The homosocial moments in the film always depict a certain level of sexual interaction (not to be confused with sexual intercourse) between the men, engaging in the homosocial/homosexual continuum Sedgwick posits. Without fail, during times of homosocial bonding, the conversation between the male characters is always about sex, be it questions about the best sex they have ever had or stories about a previous sexual encounter. But it is mainly the former—their conversations about their best sexual experience—that begins to display the homosexual aspect of Sedgwick’s continuum.

In one particular scene of male homosocial bonding, Barry, Cary, and Jerry are wrapped in towels in a sauna, and they are talking about sex. Immediately, this scene is set up in a space of homoeroticism. They are sweating, mostly naked, and discussing intimate details about their sex lives. The conversation quickly turns to their best sexual experience, and the only one to recount a specific moment, to have an actual story, is Cary. Cary’s story begins to move this scene of homosociality along Sedgwick’s homosocial/homosexual continuum more toward the homosexual end of the spectrum as Cary admits to Barry and Jerry that his best sexual experience was with a boy named Timmy Carter during their senior year of high school. Cary ultimately says that he felt something special with Timmy and that he knows Timmy felt something special, too. What is basically presented, at least in the manner in which it is told, is Cary telling a story about what he very well could consider to be his first (and, based on what we know about Cary, only) love. This story leaves Barry and Jerry rather speechless.
However, what makes Cary’s story extremely disturbing is the way in which his sexual encounter with Timmy occurred. As he is retelling the story, it becomes quite obvious that this was not an intimate moment between two people but rather Cary—along with two other men—gang-raping Timmy. Cary recalls the incident where he and two fellow classmates “dragged [Timmy] into the showers, held him down, tore off his clothes, and…each took a turn…[doing] him up the butt.” Cary uses the word “nice” to describe how he felt in that moment and says that sex has never been like that with a woman. Toward the end of the story, he mentions how Timmy dropped out of school immediately after the incident and never told anyone. In Cary’s convoluted, sociopathic mind, he has convinced himself that Timmy did not tell anyone because he, too, felt a mutual love between the two of them, instead of the likely reality which is that Timmy dropped out of school and did not tell anyone because he was too traumatized from the rape to relive it in any way, shape, or form. With the telling of this story, Cary clearly sets himself up in a realm of homosexuality within a homosocial moment. But this story also (problematically) works to emasculate Cary as he implicitly—and in a rather troubled manner—says he loved Timmy. His expressions of intimate emotions for another male, in this particular moment, move him into a category of feminization. However, this self-emasculation becomes an important aspect to note by the end of the film as it has somewhat reverse effects to ultimately help Cary remain obedient to patriarchy.

Another example of a homosocial moment that begins to move into a moment of homosexuality occurs between Cary and Barry. This happens when both are showering in the locker room showers after working out together. Like the previous scene I discussed, this scene, too, occurs in a space of homoeroticism. They are soaping up their naked, wet bodies as they discuss Terri (the wife of Jerry, who is not in this particular moment of homosociality) as being “unfeminine,” to use Cary’s description. At the end of the scene, Cary very purposefully (so it seems) drops the soap in the shower. It appears as if he is going to pick it up, but instead, he decides to tackle Barry against the shower wall—both still being naked, of course. It is ironic (intentionally ironic, I believe), for a couple of reasons, that Cary classifies Terri as “unfeminine.” One, his speech indicates that he is critical of her “unfeminine-ness.” Yet, by shoving Barry against a shower wall in a state of nakedness, Cary is coding himself as “unmasculine.” And two, his classification of Terri is based on his idea that she is a lesbian—an idea that turns out to be founded as she has an affair, and ultimately leaves her husband to partner with, Cheri. However, as Cary’s story from the sauna scene depicted, he had (and still has) an unhealthy emotional connection to someone of the same sex.

The larger irony with this scene is that, speaking in terms of normative, hegemonic ideals, while still not quite accepted, it is more acceptable for a female to have feelings of romantic love toward another female than it is for a male to have feelings of romantic love toward another male. The reason this makes this scene ironic is because Cary still receives what he wants due to his obedience to patriarchy. This is one of the moments that Your Friends and Neighbors makes
ambiguous the message of patriarchy. But, like with the scene in the sauna, the difference is that Cary is intentionally emasculating himself—especially in front of Barry—in order to perpetuate the patriarchal notion of male dominance over women, which I will discuss in more depth in the next section.

Returning to the scene where Cary recounts the story of his sexual encounter with (or, more accurately, rape of) Timmy: it is important to remember that, despite Cary’s act of homosexuality, he is still permitted to be seen as a patriarchal figure (read: the most/only patriarchal figure in the film) because him telling the story, in the end, serves his purpose of domination over women (which, again, will be discussed in the next section). However, there is another reason that this story of male/male rape can be seen as patriarchal. Sedgwick says, “it has apparently been impossible to imagine a form of patriarchy that was not homophobic.”8 And, regardless of the fact that Cary engaged in sexual intercourse with another man, this act can still be seen as homophobic, thus upholding patriarchy—this according to Joe Wlodarz. Wlodarz opines the lack of gay, anal sex representation in film. Specifically, he mentions the lack of this representation in a positive manner. He says, “anal sex is indeed visible in film multiplexes across the country, but the catch is, it can be presented only as an act of rape.”9 Without a doubt, the story Cary tells about his encounter with Timmy can be classified as nothing except rape. Thus, Cary’s rape of Timmy can be seen as upholding patriarchy through homophobia because the rape can be seen as an attack on homosexuality rather than an act of homosexuality. Wlodarz says

[The male rape revenge films continue to go out of their way to recuperate patriarchy and masculinity (as best as possible) through the incessant scapegoating of gay men. And although their success in the recuperation of masculinity is notably incomplete, the severity of the attack on homosexuality is in no way diminished … Therefore, while these films may indeed provide an opportunity for straight male spectators to experience the thrills of getting “fucked,” it is gay men who end up more directly violated by this system of representation.]

Wlodarz explicitly links Your Friends and Neighbors as one of the male rape revenge films he discusses. We can see a perpetuation of homophobic tendencies in the film, as Wlodarz describes it. And, because of Cary’s implied homophobia through his rape of a male, it becomes even more difficult to separate him from patriarchal ideals.

**Male Domination and Love**

As I mentioned in my discussion of male homosocial bonding, Cary frequently emasculates himself, but this was ultimately to gain domination over women. And, according to hooks, male sexual domination over females is equivalent to being obedient to patriarchy.11 Here, I think it is useful to introduce Heidi Hartmann’s definition of patriarchy, as quoted in Sedgwick’s book. The definition she gives of patriarchy is, “relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity.
among men that enable them to dominate women.”12 This definition shows a clear link to homosociality by saying solidarity among men is important, thus connecting homosociality as a crucial element of patriarchy. But it needs to be mentioned that of the three male characters in Your Friends and Neighbors, the only one who truly dominates women is Cary, which is one reason he is the only one representative of patriarchy. And the female Cary ultimately dominates the most is Mary, the wife of Cary’s good friend Barry. Cary does so by impregnating Mary.

Throughout all of the male homosocial moments in the film—even when only two of the three male characters are homosocially bonding—it is important to note that Cary is always a participant in these moments. The establishment of interdependence and solidarity among men, which is a key aspect of Hartmann’s definition of patriarchy, gives a clue as to why Cary is always a part of the homosocial bonding in the film. As the character that comes to stand in for patriarchy, Cary needs to constantly be active in solidifying his bond with the other males.

However, even in the male-male (as opposed to the male-male-male) homosocial moments, the other constant—along with Cary—is Barry. But this is not because Barry represents patriarchy. Rather, Barry’s presence in the male-male bonding of homosociality is to act as a catalyst so that Cary can fulfill the latter part of Hartmann’s definition of patriarchy—to dominate women. Throughout the film, Cary recounts numerous stories of his sexual conquests over women. However, as I previously mentioned, the woman Cary ultimately dominates the most is Mary (Barry’s wife) by impregnating her. But, to get to that point, Cary needs to prove himself as unthreatening in the eyes of Barry. This is why, regardless of the situation, both Barry and Cary are always present in moments of homosocial bonding; Cary, as the symbol of patriarchy, needs to solidify his relationship the most with Barry so that Barry has no worries whatsoever about Cary trying to sexually advance himself toward Mary. This is also why Cary intentionally emasculates himself during moments of homosociality. Each instance of emasculation (i.e., the story of Cary’s homosexual experience and the implication of his “love” for his rape victim, and Cary playfully pushing Barry against a shower wall while both of them are naked), in Barry’s eyes at least, lowers Cary’s threat level and increases a level of solidarity between them. Once Cary, the representation of patriarchy, has successfully solidified the necessary relationship with Barry, it allows him to dominate (in the form of impregnation) Barry’s wife, all, of course, unbeknownst to Barry.

We can also see Cary’s domination over females in the story of the rape that he tells. This may not be immediately apparent since his rape victim, Timmy, is male. But when hooks describes male domination over females as the male being obedient to patriarchy, she continues by saying, “And if no female is around, [men] have the right to place a weaker male in the ‘female’ position.”13 None of the information provided in the film about the rape gives any indication that Timmy is strong. We can only infer that he is weak based on Cary’s conveyance of the event, which is that Timmy was easily dragged and held down. The inference of Timmy’s weakness—or, his weakness in conjunction to the brute force of the three men, including Cary,
who took part in the gang-rape—puts him in the position of female, according to hooks. Timmy is further feminized by the fact that it was not just one but three men who raped him. This, then, begins to move the story somewhat from homosexual to heterosexual by coding Timmy as a female through his weakness, and regardless, Cary gets to keep fulfilling his obedience to patriarchy.

Cary even represents domination over females who are coded as masculine. Throughout the narrative of the film, there is only one time in which Cary interacts with Terri, Jerry’s wife. Terri (whom I will discuss more in the next section) is frequently seen as masculine. She normally wears more stereotypically masculine clothing (e.g., pants suits), tends to be more stern and serious, actively emasculates her husband (something else I will discuss more in the next section), and, as I mentioned earlier, Cary even refers to her as “unfeminine.” She is arguably the most stoic, unemotional character in the film, even more so than Cary who even showed mild emotion while telling his story of Timmy. However, during the one interaction that Cary and Terri share, Cary is able to break Terri’s harsh exterior. He verbally attacks her, saying no one likes her and calling her “a useless cunt.” After he walks away, she is very clearly shaken and emotional, completely frozen, and unsure how to react. He was able to exert dominance over her by controlling her emotions in a way no one else has the ability to do. This particular instance can even be seen as Cary punishing Terri for working against the very element of patriarchy he upholds—male domination over women. In his world, female domination over men is not allowed.

Thinking back to the story of Cary’s rape, it also brings the issue of love into the conversation and love’s relation to both dominance and patriarchy. When Cary is telling Jerry and Barry about the rape (though, to make it abundantly clear, Cary never uses the word “rape” to describe what he did to Timmy), the sentimentality with which he speaks of the incident is unsettling, to say the least. By Cary saying he felt something special between him and Timmy, it begins to seem that, at one time, Cary felt a very confused, twisted, and abusive kind of love for Timmy. But I do not think that there is any debate that Cary did not feel actual love for Timmy, and that Timmy most certainly did not love Cary, despite what Cary says or thinks. This is because, as hooks very simply puts it, there can be no love (in the traditional sense of the word) when there is domination. And, as an obedient participant in patriarchy, Cary must constantly exert domination over females, or weaker males who are then coded as females. This means Cary and love remain two separate entities. As hooks puts it, men have to disconnect from feelings of love in order to realize the patriarchal ideal of masculinity. This emotional disconnect, in turn, makes men incapable of becoming nurturers, and the lack of nurturing in males reinforces patriarchy. In a different writing, hooks says, “In the patriarchal male imagination, the subject of love was relegated to the realm of the weak and replaced by narratives of power and domination.” With this we see that patriarchy does not really give men the chance to love but instead only dominate. And since Cary is the only character in Your Friends and Neighbors that can be considered wholly patriarchal, he can only dominate—or manipulate in
order to dominate—females (or those coded as feminine/female) as opposed to expressing any traditional feelings of love.

While love in the traditional sense may not exist in the male imagination as far as patriarchy is concerned, hate and fear do. More specifically, hate and fear of women exists. Discussing hate and fear in the context of patriarchy, hooks says, “patriarchy in its most basic, unmediated form promotes fear and hatred of females. A man who is unabashedly and unequivocally committed to patriarchal masculinity will both fear and hate all that the culture deems feminine and womanly.” There is a particular moment in the film where Cary is the pure embodiment of this element of patriarchy. In one scene, there is an unknown woman weeping in Cary’s bathroom. He begins screaming at her in a threatening voice, saying, “You are not a nice woman… Who gets their period all of a sudden? And it’s happened all over my bedding!” His hate for the woman is abundantly clear in the tone of voice he is using in which to scream at her. He says she is not nice and is livid that she has “ruined” his bedding. Cary’s fear of the woman comes in the form of his lack of knowledge about menstruation. After it has occurred, he does not want to see or touch her; he simply wants her gone by the time he gets back from the store (where he is going to get a beer and 409). He no longer knows what to do with her, indicative of an unfounded fear based on a womanly occurrence. To deal with the situation, he falls back on patriarchal domination once again. He becomes dominant over her in the situation by chastising her (for no good reason) and by telling her what to do. So, while Cary’s hate and fear of this woman is patriarchal, as hooks would say, his reaction of dominance over her is also patriarchal.

Another moment in Your Friends and Neighbors where Cary embodies patriarchal hate and fear of a woman is conveyed while he is having lunch with Jerry and Barry. Cary tells a story of an encounter he had with a woman at work. He says that this woman questioned a decision he made, and, as a consequence, he “revenge fucked” her. This alone represents both hate and fear. The “revenge fuck” is rather explicitly a form of hate, simply by his use of the word “revenge.” He hated that she went against him and therefore had to teach her a lesson, if you will. He feared her because she was a woman questioning his authority in a professional, male setting. Being obedient to patriarchy, Cary feels that his authority and say are final, and having a woman question that is particularly threatening to his patriarchal ideal.

At one point in this conversation, Cary gets even more violent with his response to her. He mentions that after his sexual encounter with her, he told her that if she ever crossed another male in public again like she did with him, he would “fucking kill her.” His hate and fear of her becomes very palpable in this statement. It is also important that this conversation happens in a moment of homosociality. In Cary’s mind, he is defending men, to men, in a male space, against the “evil woman.” Essentially, Cary is defending patriarchy. This contributes to Cary as representative of patriarchy by advocating for the supremacy and dominance of men over women.
Erotic Triangles and Symbolic Castration

In *Your Friends and Neighbors*, triangulated eroticism and the threat of castration work in conjunction with one another. While the representations of both occasionally take divergent paths, ultimately, a similar conclusion can be formed from their portrayals: the only one who benefits is Cary. In this lies a great irony, though. The various erotic triangles in the film actually operate to destroy the patriarchal institution of marriage. After the complex stories involving these erotic triangles and the intermingling relationships involved with them come to light, none of the marriages survive. Likewise, the castration threat also operates to destroy patriarchy. The reason for this is that the male characters that are being threatened by symbolic castration—Jerry and Barry—are often being done so at the hands of women. They have allowed women to have control over them; they become emasculated, or even stand in as the female in their respective relationships. Thus, female dominance over men is countering the patriarchal ideal of male domination of women that Cary perfectly represents. So, how, then, do two things that oppose patriarchy benefit someone who is completely obedient to it? Cary is able to manipulate various situations related to the erotic triangles and castration threats that ultimately contribute to his domination over females—or those coded as females—and thus continue to perpetuate his obedience to patriarchy.

Discussing erotic triangles, Sedgwick says they are most often composed of two males as rivals for a female but that these triangles are asymmetrical (countering, she notes, what Girard and Freud posit), therefore the structure of these erotic triangles can alter depending upon gender changes. This is the case with the erotic triangle involving Jerry, his wife Terri, and Cheri. Instead of two male rivals fighting for the affection of a female, this triangle presents a scenario where a male and female (Jerry and Cheri, respectively) are rivals for Terri. This particular triangle, as well as Jerry and Terri’s marriage in general, works to emasculate and symbolically castrate Jerry at the hands of his wife.

When Terri meets Cheri at an art gallery, they begin a conversation and ultimately begin a relationship with one another. This affair automatically places Jerry in an emasculated position. The creation of this erotic triangle places Jerry in the position of rival to Cheri, a female. In a patriarchal mindset, a female should be no true rival of a male. However, Cheri ultimately triumphs over Jerry for Terri’s affection. His wife has decided that a female makes a better sexual partner than him. Jerry clearly feels his masculinity being threatened. He asks his wife why she would rather be with another woman; he cannot seem to fathom the reason. In response, Terri, not understanding why Jerry does not understand, angrily says, “I wanted to be with you. Now I want to be with her.” Here, Terri explicitly links Jerry to a female. The implication is that the only reason she was ever in a relationship with Jerry to begin with was because he was already feminine. By the end of the film, what Jerry mainly wants is his wife, but he does not get her. She definitively chose to remain with Cheri. Unlike Cary, Jerry does not intentionally
emasculate himself. He just gets emasculated by a female, which is why Jerry does not get to embody patriarchy.

Jerry and Terri’s marriage, in general, is castrating. Terri’s primary issue with their marriage is their sex life. She wants the sex to be silent; she wants no words to ever be spoken. Her theory is that if she wants to have sex then she wants to have sex, not a conversation. Jerry, on the other hand, wants to talk while having sex; he wants there to be communication between them during such an intimate act. Jerry, in this moment, is again coded as feminine. Talking is associated with females, and Jerry’s need to talk during sex feminizes him. He is unable to have sex just to have sex. This is particularly castrating because Terri seeks out another sex partner (Cheri) due to Jerry’s need to talk and inability to stop doing so. She has literally cut off sex with Jerry, essentially saying that his penis is useless to her. After the first time Terri has sex with Cheri, Terri notes that the best part of the sex was the silence. A woman is able to sexually give Jerry’s wife what he cannot give her.

Regardless of the situation in which he puts himself, Jerry is unable to escape the threat of castration. Even when he goes out and finds another sex partner in Mary (Barry’s wife), he is still symbolically castrated. During Jerry and Mary’s sexual rendezvous, he has a moment of impotency. So, two different women symbolically castrate Jerry. With one woman (Terri), he is able to sexually perform but not able to satisfy. With the other woman (Mary), he is not even able to sexually perform and therefore also unable to satisfy. Again, this representation of doubled castration is why Jerry cannot stand in as a symbol for patriarchy like Cary.

However, Terri ultimately does not get what she wants either in her relationship with Cheri. As I mentioned earlier, Cary verbally attacks Terri in a moment that can be considered a punishment toward Terri for her challenging patriarchal norms. Her presumed lack of fulfillment can also be viewed as a punishment for challenging patriarchal norms. The last glimpse we see of Terri and Cheri, they are both in bed and Terri is lying still with a sleep mask over her eyes. Cheri is leaning toward Terri, crying, begging Terri to speak to her, to talk, to communicate. What Terri wanted most in a partner—silence—is now something she is not receiving. Cheri, too, is now not receiving what she wants—a partner who reciprocates love in a verbal manner. And it can also be argued that this is due to Cheri’s own disobedience to patriarchy, her disobedience coming in the form of her being a part of ruining a marriage, a patriarchal institution.

Mary, because of her affairs with Jerry and Cary, places Barry within two erotic triangles. This emasculates Barry greatly because his wife feels the need to seek the pleasure of more than one man. But it is not so much his wife’s multiple affairs that emasculates him the most, as it is his symbolic castration, as it is perhaps the most explicit example in the film. Barry is never able to sexually perform with his wife. The only time he is able to perform is during moments of self-pleasure. Mary and Barry try and work on the issue of his impotency, but there is never any
success. Laura Mulvey says, “Power is backed by a certainty of legal right and the established
guilt of the woman (evoking castration, psychoanalytically speaking).”19 Going along with this,
Barry is aware that his wife is a castrating element—or, that is at least how he sees it anyway. At
one moment in the film, in an attempt to rectify the impotency issue, Barry suggests that Mary
needs to see him as a huge penis and that Mary needs to represent herself as a huge vagina to
him. The way he phrases it, it is Mary who needs to do both actions. He is placing the guilt for
his impotency on his wife. However, this does not work and she seeks pleasure elsewhere.

By the end of Your Friends and Neighbors, like Jerry, Terri, and Cheri, neither Mary nor
Barry receives what they want. Mary first has an affair with Jerry, but he, like Barry, is unable to
sexually perform with her. She then moves on to Cary. While he is able to sexually perform
with her, she does not receive the emotional relationship she truly wants. (She frequently says
“hold me” to the men she is with.) Barry becomes completely unable to sexually perform, even
while masturbating. By not following the rules of patriarchy (Mary for castrating a male and
Barry for being castrated by a woman), their pleasure is denied.

A homosocial triangle between Cary, Barry, and Jerry is even visually represented at one
moment in the film. This can be seen as somewhat of a foreshadow. Visually, at the top of this
triangle is Cary. We can take this to mean that Cary is the dominant male; he is the one who will
ultimately get what he wants. This visual triangle also works to emasculate Jerry and Barry.
They both are on the bottom in conjunction to Cary. They are positioned as the weaker males to
Cary’s dominating male. As the weaker males, they are coded as feminine. Also, it is symbolic
of Cary’s domination of Jerry and Barry’s spouses. Cary is dominant over Terri (Jerry’s wife) in
the book store when he verbally attacks her. And Cary is dominant over Mary (Barry’s wife)
when he impregnates her. His dominance over their spouses is something they could not do, and
therefore, by extension, he is also dominant over them.

Conclusion

Your Friends and Neighbors creates a narrative of patriarchy that shows how difficult it is
to achieve what you ultimately want if you do not subscribe to patriarchal ideals. The film also
creates a hierarchy within patriarchy, showing that the way to get what you want is most easily
achieved through male domination over women. Of the six characters, five are not active
participants in patriarchy in one way or another and thus do not receive what they want. Jerry
does not end up with his wife. Terri does not end up with a silent sex partner. Cheri does not end
up with someone who openly reciprocates her love. Barry is never able to sexually satisfy a
woman, and, ultimately, is not even able to satisfy himself. Mary, while being able to find a
sexually potent partner, does not end up with a partner who emotionally comforts her. Only
one—Cary—is the embodiment of patriarchy, and his obedience to patriarchy is rewarded. He is
able to sexually conquer the one female who previously could not be. And, in the ultimate act of
male domination, he impregnates her, thus continuing his legacy of patriarchy. All of this also
acts as a reinforcement of power differentials between genders. Of the six, the one who gets what he wants is the “true” male. None of the three females are rewarded and neither are Jerry and Barry who are made to stand in for females by other females. Even though the employment of triangulated eroticism and castration threats work to fight against patriarchy, the person who is not symbolically castrated by others and the person who gets what they want from the intermingling of these erotic triangles, just so happens to be the person who is obedient to patriarchy. So, in the end, patriarchy cannot be truly defeated either way and therefore gets upheld and reinforced.

Endnotes

3 Throughout Your Friends and Neighbors, none of the characters are ever referred to by their name—neither first nor last name. They are only referred to by gendered pronouns. It is not until the end credits that we actually see the names of the characters. However, for the duration of this essay I will refer to the characters by their names in an attempt to make more simplistic the following descriptions and analyses.
4 Sedgwick, Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire, 1.
5 Ibid, 2.
6 This is the only moment in the entire film where someone is explicitly referred to by name, and it is a character that is never seen on screen. The implications of name use for Timmy but a lack of name use for the other characters (as well as the employment of rhyming names for the six characters) throughout the film is worthy of exploration. However, for purposes of this essay, it is somewhat digressive and therefore will not be discussed at any length.
7 At this moment in my essay, I feel the need to make explicit as possible the way in which I am using the word “homosexual” to describe moments of homosociality. Sedgwick, in Between Men, notes that there is a “diacritical opposition between the ‘homosocial’ and the ‘homosexual’” (2). I am not implying homosexual in the sense that the male characters want each other in a sexually, genitally desired way. Rather, I am saying that certain moments of homosociality occur in homoerotic spaces, and that homosexual-like conduct occurs, but that this is not an indication of the male characters desiring each other sexually.
8 Sedgwick, Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire, 3.
10 Ibid, 78.
11 hooks, The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love, 78.
12 Sedgwick, Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire, 3.
13 hooks, The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love, 78.
14 Ibid, 123.
15 Ibid, 133.
18 Sedgwick, Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire, 21, 23.
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Traumatic Realism and the retrieval of Historical Value in Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s postcolonial text *Half of a Yellow Sun*

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Abstract

As a searing narrative which grapples with the trauma of the past, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie’s novel *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2006) has managed to garner quite considerable critical acclaim. Acknowledging the nuances of documenting the violence inflicted upon the Igbo people in Nigeria in the 1967-1970 war, this postcolonial text convincingly rethinks the narrative of trauma beyond the event-based paradigm. Out of responsibility, its pressing demands for justice against the enduring effects of colonialism typify postcolonial trauma theory’s attempt at probing into the everyday suffering of African subjects. Reading Adichie’s text through Michael Rothberg’s notion “traumatic realism”, this article examines the novel’s attempt to both document the past and to implicate the Western reader. To resist objectification, the novel sets out to redirect the attention of the reader toward the “pogroms” committed on racial grounds. The main focus will be on Ugwu’s re-writing the enduring effects of colonial violence in post-generational terms and of blurring the boundaries between the extreme and the everyday.

Keywords: trauma-realism-documentation-the public-commodification
Recent literary focus on the exploration of trauma in many non-European contexts has been driven by the moral prerogative to bring the readers’ attention to the traumatic after-effects of colonial violence. By virtue of necessarily engaging a multi-disciplinary approach to come to terms with the painful past, questions of the post-traumatic effects upon postcolonial writings’ will to truth are brought to bear mainly on the psychological, historical and ethical issues of representation. The latest critical contributions such as Stef Craps’s and Gert Buelens’s collection of essays Postcolonial Trauma Novels (2008), Craps’s Postcolonial Witnessing (2013), and the collection of essays The Future of Trauma Theory (Buelens, Durrant and Eaglestone 2014), to mention but these, have freshly addressed the need to decolonize trauma studies and give colonial violence its “traumatic due”. Against the dominance of cultural trauma studies, the above contributions set out to unmoor the studies of trauma from their Eurocentric harbors. Pacing Cathy Caruth’s theorization about the ethical purchase of cross-cultural witnessing, the debate over literary witnessing through combining the “textualist” paradigms with the historicist and culturalist approaches can translate, in Craps’s and Buelens’s views, into new ways of cross-cultural solidarity (Craps and Buelens 2008).

This article thus follows this line of thought. It argues that Adichie’s novel can most fruitfully be read from an ethical viewpoint if Rothberg’s concept traumatic realism is implemented. Rothberg’s concept holds pertinence as it opens new avenues into the colonial underpinnings through experimental textual practice. His are the rare trauma studies’ critical works that have pinpointed literary exegesis focused on the colonial violence, thereby insisting on the need to remap it upon the genocides that have marred European history (Rothberg 2000; 2006). Reading the novel by virtue of its reliance on the realist and constructionist modes of reference to the past also answers Robert Eaglestone’s drawing attention to the ethical purchase of revisiting African texts through the lens of such a notion as “traumatic realism”, one among myriad approaches to the past that should not fall by the wayside in postcolonial trauma analyses (Eaglestone 2008, 74). I will thus first analyze Adichie’s text in the light of Rothberg’s notion in order to argue how, in fusing the real and anti-real in her narrative structure, her text both recognizes the inhibiting act of narrating trauma and the persistence underlying its search for justice in the public sphere. So, in the case of disseminating knowledge about the events that blighted her community, Adihie’s traumatic realism “is primarily interested not in the question of reference and knowledge of the past, but rather in the question of the proper ethical stance to take in relation to the past” (Rothberg 2000, 14). Her ability to delve into the human complexity of the war aims to restore the humanity of African subjectivity and lay bare the ongoing existence of tribalism as a holdover of colonialism. I thus seek to point to her stance as an implicated bystander who is not directly affected by the events (Rothberg 2000, 22) which compel her to implicate more subjects. The author brings to the public attention the colonial ramifications of the racism that fuelled the violence committed against the Igbo people. The second part of this article will examine how Adichie attempts to restore historical value to her people’s cause. I will argue that she is not only trying to redirect the focus of the Western reader toward the African trauma, but also she is making a convincing case against the frameworks that silence the African child through dehumanizing and objectifying means.
Mixing the Everyday and the Extreme

Intrinsic to trauma narratives that are identity-related, the novel’s narrative proper is much less focused on the soldiers’ fighting than on the war’s impact on the domestic lives of ordinary people who are isolated, seeking to retrieve the humanity of the victims and pinpointing the possibility that trauma can be inherited from family and culture at large (Rothberg 2000, 186). Further confirming that any ordinary people’s very safe haven can be invaded by traumatizing events, the centrality of the human aspect draws the reader’s attention to the mixing of the everyday and the extreme. The coexistence of these antinomies serves to revise the event-based trauma paradigm which insists on the direct presence of the victim. The depiction of the daily life of the victims experiencing, either directly or indirectly, racist attitudes reveals that the definition of direct witnessing of the brutalities like war or genocide “needs to be expanded […] as there are many other experiences than those involving “actual or threatened death or serious injury, or a threat to the physical integrity of self and other” that can result in post-traumatic symptoms’ (Craps 2013, 25-26). The latent after-effects of the war’s events which also weigh on the rendition of the novel’s narrative show that their absence “signals their overwhelming impact” (Rothberg 2000, 1).

The novel’s narrative voice seeps through the consciousness of the three main characters: Olanna, a teacher at Nsukka University before the war started; Ugwu, her husband’s houseboy and Richard, the British lover of Kainene, Olanna’s twin sister. Through these characters, the novel makes a strong political statement by underlying the necessary alliances that create a public which combines gender, class and race in African trauma literatures. The work then foregrounds how each of these characters’ telling is challenged by the traumatic encounters and the daily fears in the wartime (Novak 2008, 33). The everydayness of traumatic symptoms is therefore instructive given that

By representing a site of extreme violence as a borderland of extremity and everydayness, traumatic realism attempts to produce the traumatic event as an object of knowledge and to program and transform its readers so that they are forced to acknowledge their relationship to posttraumatic culture. (Rothberg 2000, 109)

Devoting attention to the post-traumatic effects of colonialism in literary texts seems as such to be more and more demanding for African writers. In the globalized world today where traumatic events are mushrooming, the issue of an ethical stance toward the painful past has become more pressing as painful histories keep implicating the writers to bring the post-traumatic effects of colonialism to the critical attention of their readers. This is by no means an easy task as traumatic events are both tenuous and elusive to memory. Yet, though trauma constitutes a recognizably daunting undertaking, the textualist paradigms can afford a unique access to history. In Caruth’s view, what makes the hermeneutics of memory a quintessential approach is that as it implicates others to bear ethical witness “the language of trauma, and the silence of its mute repetition of suffering, profoundly and imperatively demand” a “new mode of reading and of listening” (Caruth 1996, 9).

To be afforded justice in the public sphere is thus of utmost consideration in traumatic contexts as the victim seeks to rescue the event from silencing isolation and attempts to
mobilize the bystanders to take an ethical stance toward the event. Judith Herman points out that, in response to the silencing oppression of the perpetrator to block from view the victim’s claims, the latter brings the inflicted injustices to public attention in order to rescue it from the margins of individual claims to those of the culture at large. Correspondingly,

To hold traumatic reality in consciousness requires a social context that affirms and protects the victim and that joins victim and witness in a common alliance. For the individual victim, this social context is created by relationships with friends, lovers, and family. For the larger society, the social context is created by political movements that give voice to the disempowered. (Herman 1999, 8)

The diverse forms of media in existence are therefore responsible for ensuring or denying the victims their right to narrate. In this sense, postcolonial literature restores justice through bringing the silencing dynamics to the attention of the public sphere. Hindrance to “the right to write” and its claim to justice hinges, nonetheless, not merely on losing the narrative of the event in its literality; rather, recording the past assumes its cogency from the writers’ ability to unsettle the mechanisms of silence through dismantling the meaning making processes of hegemony that discredit the legitimacy of the victim’s claims. I thereby argue that Adichie’s account of the history of the past is not a promise of a complete recovery from the after-effects of colonial violence. The critical purchase of accounting for the nuances that mark her depiction of the past events underlies her acknowledgement of the challenges still confronted by her community’s cause to be recognized (postscript 2) as the post-traumatic and the post-colonial are critically intertwined. As David Lloyd ascertains in this respect, the intricate use of power by hegemony tends to “perpetually reproduce the symptoms of traumatization” as it constantly “occludes from public space the social logics within which the victim can make sense” (Lloyd 2008, 214-215). Hence, in the vein of other African traumas, what blocks the Igbo people’s cause from view and shows them as undeserving of empathy is their losing the meaning of being human as nationalism continues to perpetuate the same de-humanizing discourse of tribalism.

For reasons that ethically raise the dilemma of the complexity of trauma narratives, the event can never be represented in oversimplified forms and, as such, solicits the presence of complex processes which have a bearing upon epistemology, ethics and politics. As will be explained further, the novel’s traumatic realism attempts to respond to these demands as it acknowledges the irretrievability of history in its literality. As Rothberg concurs,

In the representation of a historical event [...] a text’s “realist” component seeks strategies for referring and documenting the world; its “modernist” side questions its ability to document history transparently; and its “postmodern” moment responds to the economic and political conditions of its emergence and public circulation. (Rothberg 2000, 9)

This quote thus further conveys the persistence of a traumatic event to be documented and brought to the public attention in spite of its inaccessibility and resistance to being integrated into the narrative. The daunting process of recounting violence thereby feeds the need to foster new ways of reading and listening given that understanding comes to replace history
when “texts that bear witness to traumatic histories can grant us a paradoxical mode of access to extreme events [as] textual ‘undecidability’ or ‘unreadability’ comes to reflect the inaccessibility of trauma” (Craps 2013, 2).

The novel’s ability to garner huge critical interest goes back to the fact that it is self-reflexive as it employs the mise-en-abyme technique through which the text “reflects upon the moment of writing history” (Ngwira 2012, 43). The anti-linearity in HYS reflects the very process of being confronted with the challenge of integrating the “real” events of the past into the narrative flow. The inset, fragmented text written by an unannounced author to supplement the storyline, however, constitutes the parallel thread which insists on restoring historical justice to the past. Rather than contributing to the flow of the plotline, “The Book: The World Was Silent When We Died” (hereafter referred to as “The Book”) reflects the return of the repressed in trauma and unexpectedly punctuates the narrative. The novel’s traumatic realism “does not ignore the demand to confront the unfound nature of writing, but it nevertheless attempts to develop new forms of ‘documentary’ and ‘referential’ discourse out of that very traumatic void” (Rothberg 2000, 96).

In tandem with its resistance to injustice, “The Book” refers to the events of the war by situating it against a backdrop of British-inspired silence and the unavoidably stretching post-traumatic effects of colonial violence into post-independence Nigeria. Adichie’s call for justice thus translates into fusing the realist and constructionist paradigms. In the novel’s postscript, she acknowledges the moral difficulty she confronted in the course of turning into narrative the overwhelming amount of depressing sources she had culled from photos, books and witnesses. She thus opts for imbuing the traumatizing events with meaning and, at times, ends up leaving out some details she thinks would betray the human complexity of the experiences (Postscript, 3).

The novel’s focus on history aims to revitalize the documentary function of writing as it evokes the memories of the events that befell the Igbo people. It features the way the injustices committed in all facets of life pushed the Igbo military officers to lead a coup in 1966, which was followed by the atrocious reprisal against the minority group on racial grounds. The nation was gripped by mounting racial violence as massacres were committed to claim the lives of tens of thousands in the North. By virtue of its function as a historical reference to the massacres, “The Book” highlights the post-independence disillusionment under the guise of national unity. As Ugwu here refers to himself in the third person

He gestures to complex problems facing the new country but focuses on the 1966 massacres. The ostensible reasons—revenge for the ‘Igbo coup’, protest against a unitary decree that would make Northerners lose out in the civil service—did not matter. What mattered was that the massacres frightened and united the Igbo. What mattered was that the massacres made fervent Biafrans of former Nigerians. (HYS 2006, 205)

Besides unraveling the pretended unity that encapsulates the brutality of the massacres, the quote underscores the rationalization of the violence through silencing the everyday injustices faced by the Igbo people. It conveys that the documentation of history needs to be critical in order to counteract the after-effects of trauma through dismantling the sense making processes
of the silencing hegemonic discourse. In order to question the murky justifications of the alleged national unity that purports to better the future of the citizens, the quote satirizes the oversimplifications that trivialize the victims’ claims. Within a context in which the Nigerian leaders’ over-ambitiousness led them to “aping” the British and “taking over the superior attitudes” long denied to them, the Igbo were to undergo underprivileged status in all facets of life on racial grounds (HYS 2006, 205).

The quote thus captures the complexity of the historical moment as it sets out to confirm that nationalism perpetuates the same tenuous after-effects of racism that lie at the backdrop of colonial discourse. If the postcolonial historian wants to make “other sense of the event”, s/he needs to resist the ongoing dynamics of silence that hamper testimony as “the frequent literal numbing of sense in the trauma victim corresponds to this denial of the means of making sense of the traumatizing event outside the terms that constitute the common sense of hegemony” (Lloyd 2008, 215).

Thus, what seemed to perpetuate the enduring after-effects of colonial violence was that the end of colonialism in Nigeria in 1960 did not seem to bear the fruit of liberating the individual and national identity from the after-effects of colonialism and oppression. The Igbo were able to outperform the other ethnic groups: the Hausa-Fulani, the Yoruba and hundreds of other minorities. They reached high literacy rate and important positions, which made the schools of the north deny the Igbo children learning access (HYS, 38). Business corporations and government institutions too became a fertile environment for launching an ethnic war. This suddenly emerging hatred solicits awareness of its colonial implications as it is the product of “the informal divide-and-rule policies of the British colonial exercise” (HYS, 166).

The historical document therefore peers into the colonial underpinnings that lie behind imposed silence. After the coup that refused such daily experienced injustices, there were violent riots which were suspiciously government-organized; a stream of more than one million refugees left their homes for the eastern region. Feeling insecure, the Igbo declared secession on 30 May 1967 to create the separatist state of Biafra (Heerten and Moses 2014, 173). By the help of rationalized international indifference toward the Igbo cause, a catastrophic war raged between 1967 and 1970. Over a million people were displaced and starved to death out of the deliberate policy of blockade of the Nigerian government which isolated the Igbo in all facets of life (Heerten and Moses 2014, 182). What further stranded the victims and brought the perpetrator and bystander into common alliance was that the massacres and the world’s silence were supported and inspired by the British government’s neocolonial interests. The writer of “The Book” thus aims to cover a wider ground in order to situate the massacres within a broader historical context of imposed silence.

He writes about the world that remained silent while Biafrans died. He argues that Britain inspired this silence. The arms and advice that Britain gave Nigeria shaped other countries. In the United States, Biafra was ‘under Britain’s sphere of interest’. In Canada, the prime minister quipped, ‘Where is Biafra?’ The Soviet Union sent technicians and planes to Nigeria [...] And many African countries feared that an independent Biafra would trigger other secessions and so supported Nigeria. (HYS, 258)
The Igbo people’s cause was thus to be shrouded in silence as the international community allowed the Nigerian government to isolate its claims. Such a crisis can be defined as inducing traumatic effects as it is generally confirmed in theory that the victims of trauma are silenced and thus isolated by perpetrators who try in every way possible to discredit their accounts or make them invisible (Herman 1997, 8). In undertaking to historicize the painful past by prying open the secluded world hindering testimony, the above quote seeks to lay bare the brutal and traumatizing effects of the world’s silence. The need to circulate Ugwu’s document within a fraught context is therefore an attempt at restoring the “real” that particularly unsettles the hegemonic orthodoxy of the discourse of tribalism. As Ugwu addresses himself as the “he” who writes the book and “discusses”, in an interactive fashion to a potential addressee, the favoring of the North over the South given its pleasantly dry weather; moreover, in contrast to the north,

The humid South [...] was full of mosquitoes and animists and disparate tribes. The Yoruba were the largest in the Southwest. In the Southeast, the Igbo lived in small republican communities. They were non-docile and worryingly ambitious. Since they did not have the good sense to have kings, the British created ‘warrant chiefs’ because indirect rule cost the Crown less. Missionaries were allowed in to tame the pagans, and the Christianity and education they brought flourished. In 1914, the government general joined the North and the South, and his wife picked a name. Nigeria was born. (HYS, 115)

Ugwu thus undertakes the task of questioning the authority of such a discourse as the novel aims to bring the ramifications of colonial after-effects to the forefront by using “The Book” which, by situating itself in the very moment of its writing, spatio-temporally guides the reader to the colonial times and the “divide-and-rule” policy’s far-reaching violence. By framing Ugwu’s document within the main flow of the narrative, the novel “reflects upon its own making by staging the writing process of ‘The Book: The World Was Silent When We Died’ (Ngwira, 47). As an extra witness exemplifying the use of mise-en-abyme, “The Book” is both essential to place the events of the narrative in their context and is thrust into different abyssal spaces of the novel. In this sense it is able to yield “extratextual” knowledge of the outside world by “entering into more complex structures that may serve to model or map that world cognitively” (McHale 2012, 178). In the different references to the world events communicated to an addressee through the use of phrases such as “he argues”, “he writes”, “he recounts”, “he gestures”, the presence of a debate could be sensed through building a crucible for public investigation, thereby contextualizing the events surrounding the war. In fact, Ugwu’s document spans various histories of violence and the African one to investigate the Igbo cause which should be mapped upon other histories. These investigations mainly include: the Holocaust and Rwandan violence (82), the violence that raged after the Igbo coup (205), independence in its relation to the Second World War and the world’s silence toward their cause (258). Ugwu’s fashion of rendering the document recasts the Igbo history within the dynamics that transcend the event geographically and, as such, by addressing an implied audience, Biafra is not isolated historically as the document’s reference is “not so much to a place as to an event or events” (Rothberg 2000, 28).
A Western-facing African account

This title is borrowed from Eaglestone who criticizes the fashion in which the representation of the depressing stories from Africa have pushed the African writers to address the western audience directly (Eaglestone 2008). The ethical imperative to redirect the Western reader’s attention toward African suffering remains ironically paramount for African writers. It is to be noted that the ongoing fascination with the African trauma, and for my purposes here that of children, warrants a rewriting of the colonial discourse on a post-generational basis as there lies the tendency to commodify the depressing images of suffering from the black continent. Many researchers in fact have drawn attention to the Americanization of Holocaust studies which have turned into “a moral touchstone” and led to glossing over atrocities experienced in non-European contexts (Craps and Rothberg 2011, 517-518). But the risk that Rothberg saliently points to is the mass-marketing of genocide in the process of popularization and Americanization, thereby laying focus on the kind of media manipulation not only able to relativize the event but also dissolve it in a flow of visually representational networks (Rothberg 2000, 181). Similarly, despite the fact that of late the Western conscience has had to redirect its focus toward the various crises blighting the continent, there is a pressing need to explore the reasons why Africans writing in English still lament the scant emphasis on their continent’s traumas. One element is the readers’ uncanny fascination with trauma as “it may be that revealing a terror is inextricably interwoven with some sort of voyeurism, and all forms of representation are polyvalent (Eaglestone 2008, 76). In further investigating the question of distance and its attendant isolation, need arises to probe into the commodification of African traumas under the same terms. The coming pages will thus elucidate Ugwu’s writing as a process of rescuing the African child’s subjectivity. Focus will be on how he not only redirects the Western reader’s attention toward African traumas, but also he dismantles the frameworks that lead to commodifying the depressing stories of the African child’s suffering. It will prove that “traumatic realism is not turned only toward the past and its tendency to reappear in haunting repetition. By virtue of its performative address to a posttraumatic context” the novel’s “writing possesses a future orientation” (Rothberg 2000, 140).

Issues of the post-traumatic effects of colonial misrepresentations thus convey the dangers of having one’s suffering misappropriated to fit the mainstream media’s self-serving scenarios. Olanna’s burning of the Biafran money after the war begs the debate over the democratization of the post-conflict conditions of telling as this decision is inspired by a refusal to “place memory on things that strangers could barge in and take away” because “memory is inside” her (HYS, 432). Symbolic as it may be, Olanna’s statement is reminiscent of the recirculation of the Biafran Pound by the MASSSOB (The Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra) in 2006, which implies an anchoring of value to narrative in post-generational terms. It is meant to ticker with the legitimacy of the colonial legacy through economic means invested with narrative value as a redemptive act.

Based on the historical references to the war in Nigeria, the Biafran pound may be cast as a kind of documentation supplying the epistemology that contests colonial dependency in that it is a “physical memorial to the short-lived existence of Biafra itself: not only that, but
for those who lived through the experience, and for ethnonationalist-minded south easterners more generally, it is a poignant memorial to the personal and independent wealth of an entire region” (Owen 2009, 586). In similar vein, lest the symbolic value of the currency be compromised in the hands of others who might appropriate it, Olanna does not want the attempts to remember the past to go awry. Her passing on the painful story of the past to Ugwu typifies her belief in the ability of the younger generation’s education to resist the bequest of colonialism through possessing “the tools to understand exploitation” (HYS, 11). Olanna’s statement about Biafran money thus lays bare the exploitative manoeuvring of embedded effects of fascination by conditions of suffering to an audience constantly reminded of the state of stagnation blighting the African Other.

The exploration of trans-generational witnessing, for that matter, brings forth the libidinal investment of Western representations in trauma narratives of African childhood. Exemplifying the post-traumatic effects of telling about the gross events in the novel, Olanna is able to narrate the story of the little Igbo girl’s severed head only belatedly. She comes face to face with the event when the Igbo people have escaped the atrocities committed in the North. The inability to tell the story of the girl denotes the imperative to undertake the moral and individual disposition to be a responsible witness. Her incident on the train when she sees the head of a little girl is a telling instance of the fraught issue of vicarious victimization and the need to attune for her guilt as a bystander who needs to respond to the demands of extremity. Opening the calabash, the girl’s mother shows Olanna “the little girl’s head with the ashy-grey skin and the plaited hair and rolled-back eyes and open mouth” (HYS, 149). The fact that the mother asks her with shocking ordinariness to “look” at the head which she says she plaited every day blasts open the boundaries between the extremity and the ordinary the everyday and implicates anybody meant to “look” at the “spectacular” body by insinuating that at the age of the catastrophe traumatic events can be far-reaching.

Not having been directly affected by an occurrence she could not prevent, Olanna belatedly identifies with the victim and narrates the event to an African teenager, a promising writer. Handing down the story in fact challenges the objectification of the African child and shifts her/his passive and victimizing stance into that of promising subjectivity made possible. The horrible sight of the body is then not meant to evoke sympathy; rather, it is a dynamic image geared toward shaking the readers from their passive attitude, thereby seeking a justice-minded response. Her decision to tell the story of the child’s body as the main source of the narrative passed on to Ugwu, her African houseboy, stems from his “earnest” interest in the story so that it can serve “a larger purpose” (HYS, 410).

Hence, through this narrative of spatiotemporally traveling images of child victimization, Ugwu’s document is able to make close allusions to the memory of the famine. Aiming to penetrate the intimate space of the Western readers leads then to facing pressing issues in order to make them shift their incriminating stance to support the victim. The passage below is then emblematic of the novel’s ethical call as children’s starvation in Biafra “was the Nigerian weapon of war”, but at the same time “sparked protests” (HYS, 237) and recognition around the world; not to mention that it also brought
Africa into Nixon’s American campaign and made parents all over the world tell their children to eat up. Starvation propelled aid organizations to sneak-fly food into Biafra at night since both sides could not agree on routes. Starvation aided careers of photographers. And starvation made the international Red Cross its gravest emergency since the Second World War. (HYS, 237)

As a leitmotif, the undecidability of the word “starvation”, used thrice in the passage, indicates its being situated within a context in which it collocates mostly with opposite concepts. There is in fact a semantic field of conflicting flows in the public sphere which shows that there is always a risk to gaining international recognition. Apart from its invoked activism, this world-famous event also benefited the media and political careerism of those who used the images they thought were newsworthy for their success. The opportunism which characterizes the Western attitude of the politicians and photographers in the passage indicates their way of viewing the crisis through a distancing prism, thus inhabiting a safe haven and avoiding identification with the victims. This contrast is corroborated by the image of starving African children as a springboard for American children’s healthier well-being.

Obviously, a self-serving discourse based on affluent/poor also dominates the Western stance here but, most importantly, the dichotomy of white/black child is perpetually sustained through a future never promising the change and using the image of the Western subject as the exemplar of benevolence. The historical accounts conclude that the war in Nigeria did mobilize the NGOs to care for the “far-off communities” of the South, but this move also repackages the image of the third world as always necessarily in need of Western help, a common reasoning which defines the relationship of helper/receiver that oversimplifies the crisis (Heerten and Moses 2014, 177-178). So, the western readers are faced with a media that further justify the neo-colonial control over a population still unable to govern itself.

Written by Ugwu, the indicting tone in the poem below thus underlines the far-reaching image of African children’s trauma which has come to inhabit the private space of the Western subjects. More dramatized though is its display of the libidinal investment of Western media in the endangered African children’s body and their trauma that is set in stark contrast with the world of Western subjects’ privacy. Reference to the whole poem stems from its spanning the various themes focused on the commodification of the African child,

Did you see photos of sixty-eight
Of children with their hair becoming rust:
Sickly patches nestled on those small heads,
Then falling off, like rotten leaves on dust
Imagine children with arms like toothpicks,
With footballs for bellies and skin stretched thin.
It was kwashiorkor-difficult word,
A word that was not quite ugly, a sin.

You needn’t imagine. There were photos
Displayed in gloss-filled pages of your Life.
Did you see? Did you feel sorry briefly,
Then turn round to hold your lover or wife?
Their skin had turned the tawny of weak tea
And showed cobwebs of vein and brittle bone;
Naked children laughing, as if the man
Would not take photos and then leave, alone. (*HYS*, 375)

The direct “you” in the address of this poem’s rhetoric questions aims to particularly prick the conscience of the Western reader and brings back the gross images of the 1968 starvation in Biafra. An engaging tone is sensed as it incriminates the hero/victim superiority-laden images of Western help which, by taking photos and leaving the “naked” children full of expectations “alone”, further isolate the victims’ cause. Instead of chronicling the particularities of the starvation, their focus is on the visual representations deemed sufficient to satisfy the Western readers’ fascination with images concentrating on African savagery. Such a binary produces conditions of underserved empathy of the African children and is rationalized by the manifest destiny of being diseased because of their being naturally “sinful”. The passive consumer is thus spared the trouble of even traveling in their imagination as their “efficient” media will be able to “drive home” the idea of what it means to be an African child. So, the “not quite ugly” picture of the kwashiorkor has been improved by the shine of the deceptively attractive “gloss-filled” pages that help to spark fascination about the images of African terror. The poem further accounts for the violence enacted by the distancing physical portrayals of the African child’s body, and its voice aims to parody the trivialization undertaken by descriptions of toothpicks and football-like bodies that are now side by side with the other materials in the magazine stand.

The concerns here are thus both ethical and epistemological as there is a direct link between the marginalization of African traumas and the fascination the colonial gaze primarily inscribes on the African body. “There are,” as such, “possibilities for knowledge even at the most commodified zones of culture” (*Rothberg* 2000, 184). The double meaning of “your Life”, however, points to the far-reaching effect of African trauma through the “Life” magazine and its ability to access the private “life” of Westerners as the intimacy of lovers has had to be haunted by the images of a trauma taking place beyond the West. Needing to feel sorry more than “briefly”, the Western subject is implicated in the Biafran trauma as responsible empathy binds everybody to take action.

The direct address of the poem is therefore meant to lay bare the means of rendering the images of suffering in ambiguous terms. The writing of a book within a book by Ugwu, for that matter, buttresses the sense of immediacy and makes writing a historical event in itself. In its "programming" and "productive" qualities as a realist discourse, the document assumes the character of “traumatic realism as both an epistemological and a social category” (*Rothberg* 200,110). In concordance with the “you” as a direct address in the poem, the writing of “The Book”, composed of a collection of materials — either written or oral— synchronizes the act of reading in that it brings “the reader into the moment of witnessing the writing of history” as “the reader becomes an observer of events and of the act of turning those events into narrative” (*Ngwira* 2012, 43). The tiny details are then imbued with significance and instead of being dissolved they are put together with the quotidian regularity of Ugwu’s life. The rupture of the narrative linearity because of a houseboy’s book about history synchronized by our watching Ugwu “come into his own” (Postscript 5) fuses together...
the reader’s witnessing of historical writing process and the recovery of voice by a formerly objectified subject.

The power-relations of the knowing Western subject are re-evaluated by trying to render the predictable authority of the Western representation obsolete. This is apparent in the unexpected African writer who is only disclosed in the end while the readers’ votes have, with certainty, directed attention toward Richard, the English character who is expected to be the writer of the inset document. Concealing his identity which is in the making underneath the book’s composition, Ugwu’s book obliges us to see the process rather than the ready-made images of victimized and passive children. To trivialize the prefabricated images of Africa that condemn the African subjectivity to fixity, “The Book” compellingly guides the reader throughout the process of representing the African trauma in order to dismantle the misleading manoeuvres of the predictable in the Western media. The dominant kind of witnessing is then recast as particular by forcing the narrow attention of the dominant views of African subjectivity into re-reading the novel in a new light after discovering the right author. Under the assumption that the Western reader will identify more with Richard, “The Book” challenges the reading process through the element of the unpredictable. In fact, the reader's culturally endorsed views are geared toward a certain closure, but their views are to be altered by the anti-linearity of the novel and the unexpected authorship of an African boy.

Adichie’s novel has thus made a convincing case against the silencing of her community’s cause. As she holds on to the ethical imperative to bring the violence visited upon her people to the public attention, her, and many other Africans’, literary witnessing express the need to both document and fight the forces of silence in the public sphere. The concern with the past is, as such, not only that of retrieving one’s voice, but also it confronts the readers with throbbing issues that continue to prove the colonial enterprise still runs its course. Countering the readings that narrating guarantees a “working through” the painful repercussions of the past, Adichie’s text has proven that the mechanisms of colonial oppression are also perpetuated by Africans themselves and that she, as well as the readers of her text, is to be implicated to bear witness.
References


Etude de la Fonction de la Dénomination Chez un Patient Aphasique

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Abstract

The main issue of the article is due to language pathology matters. It presents a case study of an aphasic patient. The objective is essentially to investigate the patient production in terms of paraphasia and the phenomenon of Category specific semantic deficit. The function of denomination is then analyzed on the basis of a visual stimulus. The type of aphasia discussed is 'conduction aphasia'. This choice is mainly rooted from the fact that it is mostly associated with the abundant production of paraphasias. Some results of the performed tasks indicate high concordance with theories dealing with linguistic deficits of aphasic patients. During the denomination task, the patient shows a high production of paraphasic errors of varied types. However, this task is unable to prove the existence of category specific semantic deficit. This is only achieved on the basis of the other tasks in which letter and number denomination show to be selectively well retained. A secondary objective is to study the same issues in French and to compare the findings with those discussed in the Tunisian dialect. The analysis proves that the linguistic deficit appears in both languages with certain differences.

Keywords: Category-specific Semantic Deficit, Conduction aphasia, Denomination, Paraphasia
Résumé

L’article présent se situe dans le cadre de la pathologie de langage. Il vient d’exposer une étude de cas d’un patient aphasique. Le but est essentiellement d’envisager le phénomène de paraphasie et d’examiner l’éventualité de l’existence d’un déficit linguistique à l’égard d’une catégorie sémantique spécifique. Ceci se réalise à partir de l’étude de la fonction de la dénomination où le stimulus présenté est en modalité visuelle. Le type d’aphasie qui fait sujet de cet article est l’aphasie de conduction. La sémiologie linguistique caractéristique de l’aphasie de conduction est, entre autres, la production abondante des paraphasies ce qui est à l’origine de ce choix. Certains résultats des épreuves réalisées par le patient apparaissent en bonne concordance avec ce que suggèrent les théories sur le déficit linguistique du patient aphasique. Lors de l’épreuve de dénomination des objets, le patient présente une production importante de paraphasies de types variés. Néanmoins, la catégorisation sémantique du déficit linguistique n’a pu être bien prouvée à partir de cette épreuve. Toutefois, la confirmation de l’existence de ce phénomène est seulement dérivée après la comparaison avec les résultats des autres épreuves montrant que la dénomination des lettres et des chiffres est parfaitement réservé. Un objectif secondaire de l’étude était de vérifier ces faits dans une autre langue que celle de l’arabe et d’en faire une comparaison. L’analyse montre que le déficit linguistique se dévoile aussi bien dans la langue étrangère que la langue mère avec certaines différences.

Mots clés: Aphasie de conduction, dénomination, paraphasies, catégorisation sémantique du déficit linguistique
Introduction

L’aphasie, un terme originaire du grec qui se traduit littérairement comme l’absence de la parole, a donné naissance à une discipline d’une infinie d’études essayant de capturer les aspects diverses de cette pathologie. Cette pathologie du système nerveux central décrit essentiellement un trouble de langage affectant l’expression et/ou la compréhension du langage parlé ou écrit. Une raison pour laquelle l’investigation de sujet est un peu compliqué est du à la variété des symptômes selon l’anatomie de lésion cérébral en question. La diversité des localisations lésionnelles a mené à une divergence dans les formes qui l’en résultent.

Une forme bien connue est l’aphasie de conduction. Au delà des théories sur ce type, l’exploration de chaque cas clinique expose “une vérité” qui peut affirmer des connaissances déjà acquis ou enfermer une surprise qui vient postuler ces acquis.

Dans ce cadre là, on a voulu étudier la fonction de la dénomination chez un patient ayant uneaphasie de conduction. Cette étude tente, en premier lieu, d’investiguer l’existence des paraphasies et les décrire, et en deuxième lieu, d’examiner l’éventualité de discerner le phénomène de la catégorisation sémantique du déficit linguistique chez ce patient.

On a voulu confirmer d’une part la production abondante des paraphasies de différents types, et d’autre part, suggérer que l’existence d’un déficit linguistique à l’égard d’une catégorie sémantique est fort probable surtout dans un cas évoluant vers une démence vasculaire.

La pathologie de langage chez le patient bilingue présentait toujours un domaine dont le mystère du fonctionnement du cerveau via la disponibilité du lexique et les mécanismes qui en relient restent constamment en question. Avec une comparaison de la manifestation du déficit, qu’on compte étudier, dans l’arabe et le français, on a voulu examiner l’influence du syndrome aphasique sur ces deux langues et puis chercher celle la plus déficitaire.

Revue de la littérature

I. Aphasia de conduction : Définition, étiologie, sémiologie

Mon propos n’est pas ici de faire un rappel détaillé de l’aphasie de conduction mais plutôt de rappeler en bref quelques caractéristiques permettant au lecteur d’avoir une perspective générale.


Dans son article intitulé “Les aphasies2”, un neurologue explique la sémiologie de ce type d’aphasie ainsi :

“L’expression orale est en général marquée par des éléments d’aphasie sensorielle, avec manque du mot et paraphasies verbales et phonémiques. Le malade est conscient de son trouble, il tente spontanément de corriger sa production par des approches phonémiques, voire en utilisant un mot sémantiquement voisin ou un synonyme. Le débit est fluide, mais entrecoupé de corrections du manque du mot et des paraphasies, ces corrections sont parfois efficaces. La dénomination et pratiquement toujours pathologique. La lecture est entachée de paralexies multiples, comme dans la répétition, mais globalement de meilleure récupération que la répétition. L’écriture recopiée est moins handicapée que l’écriture dictée.” DT (2005)

II. Fonction de dénomination


Dans le cadre de l’étude de l’expression orale, Eustache. F et al. (2002) décrivent les épreuves de dénomination d’images comme

“pouvoir représenter des objets, des symboles, des formes géométriques, des couleurs, des nombres ou des actions explor[ant] l’accès lexical. Le choix des items répond à des critères de fréquence, de classe (nom, verbe) à l’opposition nom générique versus nom
spécifique (outil versus hache), au critère manipulable versus non manipulable (échelle versus village)’’.

III. Paraphasie


Plus de détails sur le phénomène de paraphasie et ses différents types sont clarifiés dans l’article intitulé ‘’Les aphasies’’, dans lequel Eustache, F, Lambert, J et al (2002) expliquent explicitement et illustrent avec des exemples les différentes manifestations de la paraphasie. Ils indiquent que l’aphasie de conduction est spécialement riche en paraphasies et que ‘’La dénomination est perturbée par des paraphasies phonémiques, ou plus rarement sémantiques’’.

IV. Phénomène de catégorisation sémantique du déficit linguistique

L’organisation des connaissances conceptuelles dans le cerveau humain constitue toujours un débat dans les sciences cognitives. La façon dont les représentations sémantiques sont organisées au sein du système nerveux constitue une question encore non résolu déclare Bernard, et.al (2010). Cependant, ‘’l’existence des anomies catégorielles confirme la conception de l’organisation catégorielle des concepts’’ (ibid.).

En effet, l’anomie correspondant à un déficit sémantique, traduit ‘’un déficit d’accès aux représentations sémantiques’’ (Bernard, I, et.al, 2010). Elle peut ‘’prédominer dans une catégorie d’items … ou être spécifique d’une catégorie (dissociation catégorielle)’’ (ibid).

Comme expliquait Caramazza et.al (2003), la capacité d’identifier des catégories spécifiques d’objets peut être sélectivement détériorée tandis que la performance avec d’autres catégories reste relativement intacte, ce fait, fournit une base empirique pour les théories adressées à l’organisation des connaissances conceptuelles dans le cerveau.

Méthodologie

Choix de sujet : Lors du déroulement de mon stage à l’hôpital Razi, j’ai assisté à la rééducation orthophonique d’un patient appelé Nasser qui présentait un cas délicat. Le choix de ce patient pour effectuer l’étude était essentiellement dû du fait qu’il présentait une sémiologie pure d’une aphasie de conduction et qu’il connaissait d’autres langues à part l’arabe.
Ayant un caractère très coopératif, il a accepté instantanément d’effectuer les épreuves que j’ai préparées préalablement.

- Histoire de la maladie :


Son bilan orthophonique indique la perturbation phonémique de la parole spontanée, de la répétition ainsi que la dénomination. Le patient fait preuve d’un trouble sévère de dénomination. Son bilan aussi annonce une réduction de la fluence sémantique avec l’intégrité de la compréhension et du concept du mot.

**Procédures** : À la fin de la séance de rééducation orthophonique, le patient est présenté par une série des épreuves simples chacune désigné pour un objectif bien précis.

- première épreuve (a) : On demande au patient de ceder les noms correspondant à des stimuli exposés en modalité visuelle. La liste des images exposée présente des catégories différentes (parties de corps, animaux, vêtements,...). Les noms sont demandés en arabe et en français. Une partie d’images est divisé en 3 groupes par catégorie sémantique dont le nombre n’est pas équivalent. Le reste construit un quatrième groupe contenant une variété d’images présentant des catégories différentes. Lors de l’épreuve, les images sont démontrées au patient par groupe.

Les images sont préparées de façon à être bien claire suivant la taille et les couleurs. On exige les deux langues dans les réponses à fin de pouvoir vérifier le phénomène de paraphasie dans les deux langues et les comparer. Ensuite, on a voulu examiner et comparer la disponibilité du lexique après lésion cérébrales et de faire le point sur la catégorisation sémantique du déficit linguistique si elle existe dans les deux langues. A noter que le patient a vécu 2 années en France ce qui rend notre exigence légitime. A fin d’écarter les troubles de vision susceptibles qui peuvent influencer les réponses du patient, le dossier médical était examiné pour s’assurer qu’il n’a aucun trouble visuelle grave.

- deuxième épreuve (b) : On demande au patient de compter jusqu’à 20 en arabe puis en français
- troisième épreuve (c) : On demande au patient de lire l’alphabet arabe puis celle française.
- quatrième épreuve (d) : Le patient est présenté par des pièces de lego de 5 couleurs différentes et appelé à nommer la couleur de chacune. Les couleurs sont : jaune, rouge, orangé, violet, et bleu. Afin de pouvoir méfier les réponses, on c’est assuré que le patient n’a aucun trouble de vision de couleurs ; comme par exemple le daltonisme.
La passation des épreuves a suivi l’ordre suivant : (b) (c) (d) (a)
Ce fait est pour ne pas encombrer le patient qui vient de terminer la séance de rééducation orthophonique qui consiste essentiellement à dénommer des images. On a voulu, donc, écarter un peu notre activité qui porte sur le même principe.

Résultats


Lors de l’épreuve de la dénomination des couleurs (d), le patient substitue le violet par bleu et vice versa. On a voulu dévier un peu la consigne en présentant les 5 couleurs et lui demandant cette fois d’extraire la couleur violet. La réponse erronée persiste. Par ailleurs, le patient n’a pu trouver seul le nom de la couleur violet en arabe. Pourtant, il n’a pas eu ce problème en langue française. Il a, donc, produit deux paraphasies sémantiques lors de la dénomination des deux couleurs, exclusivement, en langue arabe.

Au contraire, la dénomination des images a dévoilé un véritable trouble d’accès au lexique se traduisant par la difficulté de trouver le nom propre d’un objet présenté ; des tentatives pleines d’hésitations, d’autocorrections et de temps de latence émis avant l’évocation du mot cible. Néanmoins, le mot cible n’est pas toujours découvert. Une production de paraphasies de types variés vient retracer certaines de ses tentatives.

En ce qui suit, un tableau qui présente une illustration de ce fait :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catégories</th>
<th>Nom de l’objet en français et en arabe (dialecte tunisien)</th>
<th>Le mot émis finalement en arabe</th>
<th>Mode d’évocation</th>
<th>Le mot émis finalement en français</th>
<th>Mode d’évocation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parties du Corps</td>
<td>Oreille /w ɗ i n/</td>
<td>[w ɗ i n] après un temps de latence</td>
<td>“oreille” Directe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cheveux /ʃʔ a r/</td>
<td>[ʃʔ a r]</td>
<td>“cheveux” Directe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dents /s i n ɛ n/</td>
<td>[s i n ɛ n] hésitation et production d’une paraphasie phonémique: s i… s i… s i… s i n ɛ : n</td>
<td>“les dents” Directe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Main /ʃ a d/</td>
<td>[ʃ a d] Directe</td>
<td>“main” hésitation avec Production de</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Page 311
L’approximation la plus proche est ‘‘naché’’
début avec une approximation proche du mot cible (sous forme de paraphasie phonémique) suivie des tentatives plus déformé jusqu’à blocage : naché→ nouche → n…n…na na → 0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nez</th>
<th>[xʃi m]</th>
<th>Directe</th>
<th>Bouche</th>
<th>[fɔm]</th>
<th>Directe mais l’émission ‘‘bouche’’ est répétée trois fois comme s’il a douté sa production initiale et essaye de la confirmer: fɔm…fɔm…fɔm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hésitation ... blocage puis avec l’aide émission du mot cible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Remarque : Sur 6 photos ; 3 noms sont émis directement en français, 3 noms sont émis directement en arabe, nombre de paraphasies en arabe : 1, nombre de paraphasies en français : 3, étant 2 sont dérivées de la même photo.

Tableau n.1

Si on considère l’exemple dans le quel le patient vient d’évoquer le terme en arabe à la présentation de l’image des dents :

[s i… s i… s i… s i n ɛ : n] → /sɪnɛn/ ;

On note que ceci visualise une paraphasie qui prend place entre deux formes phonologiques possible du mot cible : [a s n ɛ : n] le mot selon l’arabe standard, et [s i n n i : n] étant le mot selon le dialecte tunisien.

Le patient débute sa construction du mot par une syllabe empruntée du mot appartenant à l’arabe standard, et finisse par une syllabe cette fois empruntée du dialecte tunisien.
Un autre exemple pertinent est celui à propos l’image du nez ; le patient donnant le mot correct en dialecte tunisien sans aucune hésitation /xʃi m/ , il n’a pas pu fournir la forme correspondante en français. Il émit des approximations dont la plus proche représente une paraphasie phonémique ;“naché”. L’insertion du /ʃ/ est emprunté du mot arabe /xʃi m/.

La paraphasie de type sémantique était aussi présente. Un exemple est visualisé dans le tableau précédent ; le patient avant pouvoir émettre le terme “main”, cible, il produit deux termes erronées mais appartenant à la même catégorie sémantique du mot visé :

“doigt”→ “bras”→ “main”

Le tableau suivant illustre la production du patient vis-à-vis une autre catégorie sémantique ; celle des animaux :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catégories Sémantique</th>
<th>Nom de l’objet en français et en arabe (dialecte tunisien)</th>
<th>Le mot émis finalement en arabe</th>
<th>Mode d’évocation</th>
<th>Le mot émis finalement en français</th>
<th>Mode d’évocation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animeaux</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chien /k a l b/</td>
<td>[ k a l b ] Directe</td>
<td>“’chien”</td>
<td>Directe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chat /q a t u : s a/</td>
<td>[ q a t ] variété acceptée</td>
<td>“’chat”</td>
<td>Directe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheval / h s a : n/</td>
<td>[ h s a : n] Directe</td>
<td>“’cheval”</td>
<td>hésitation si suivi d’une paraphasie sémantique, puis avec l’aide il émit le mot cible : “ch...ch...chevalier..........[ai de]...cheval</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauterelle / j r a : d a /</td>
<td>hésitations+ tentative correction+ paraphasies phonémique : “’tina...tina...traada...traada...raada...raada”</td>
<td>0 Tentatives erronées + approximation proche → blocage : “déli...déli...sau...saut...”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oiseau /ʔˤɔs f u : r/</td>
<td>[ʔˤɔs f u : r] Directe</td>
<td>“’oiseau”</td>
<td>Directe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tigre / n i m r /

N’est pas direct mais sa deuxième tentative est correcte étant la première présentait une paraphasie :
‘‘simr→nimr’’

Vache / b a q a r a /

Avec hésitation ‘‘ba… ba… baqara’’

Remarque : Sur 7 photos ; 4 noms sont émis directement en français, 4 noms sont émis directement en arabe, nombre de paraphasies en arabe : 3 (étant 2 sont dérivées de la même photo), nombre de paraphasies en français : 3 (de même 2 sont dérivées de la même photo).

Tableau n.2
Considérant l’exemple dérivant de l’image du tigre :
‘‘simr→nimr’’ : à la recherche du nom en arabe
‘‘sigle…tibr→tigre’’ : à la recherche du nom en français

Ici la paraphasie opère sur deux niveaux différents : phonémique et sémantique. En effet, la lettre ‘s’, insérée deux fois dans les premières tentatives, traduit le faîte que le patient fait appel à un autre animal du même champ lexical que celui en question ; le lion qui se prononce en dialecte tunisien ainsi : [sˁiːd]. On note aussi que l’appel dans les deux fois est fait en arabe. Par contre, l’insertion des lettres ‘‘l’’ et ‘‘b’’ fait preuve d’une paraphasie phonémique.

Dans l’exemple de l’image représentant une vache, on doit noter qu’on n’a pas fait différence sur la forme arabe du nom entre le dialecte tunisien et l’arabe standard, puisqu’il n’est pas ici l’intérêt de détailler les différences. Le patient a émis le nom selon l’arabe standard ‘‘baqara’’. Cependant, on a du faire le point si la forme qu’il a émis fait appel à deux dialectes différents de la même langue comme il était le cas dans l’exemple qu’on a précédemment analysé ; /sinɛn/.

Le tableau suivant illustre la production du patient considérant une autre catégorie sémantique ; habit. (On a considéré la chaussure appartenant à cette catégorie puisqu’elle appartient au même champ lexical) :
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catégorie sémantique</th>
<th>Nom de l’objet en français et en arabe (dialecte tunisien)</th>
<th>Le mot émis finalement en arabe</th>
<th>Mode d’évocation</th>
<th>Le mot émis finalement en français</th>
<th>Mode d’évocation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Habit</td>
<td>Robe ([ru : ba])</td>
<td>Directe ‘‘une robe’’</td>
<td>après un temps de latence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pantalon ([si r w : l])</td>
<td>Après une tentative présentant une paraphasie sémantique: ‘‘rjil → sirwel’’</td>
<td>hésitations+ autocorrections + paraphasies phonémiques menant à un blocage même après une pose: …. {silence}…[aide]→ p…p…poblon…complon… → pontalon [temps de pose] → ponta… [blocage]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chaussure ([s a b b a : t])</td>
<td>Directe &quot;chaussure&quot;</td>
<td>hésitation: chauss…chauss…chaussure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Remarque :** sur 3 photos, aucun nom n’est émis directement en français, 2 noms sont émis directement en arabe, nombre de paraphasies en arabe : 1, nombre de paraphasies en français : 3 (les 3 dérivent du même terme)

**Tableau n.3**

A noter que la photo de la robe était, par hasard, inclue dans la liste d’images présenté par l’orthophoniste lors de la séance de rééducation qui juste précède nos épreuves. Le patient n’a pu l’identifier même avec ébauche. Par contre, lors de notre épreuve, il a bien réagi en français et en arabe. Cependant, ce résultat peut avoir été influencé par ce qui précède. L’activation de ce terme dans le lexique, qui avait lieu dans la séance de rééducation, a guidé le patient durant sa recherche du mot et lui a permis de le trouver facilement. Ce fait indique l’importance de l’activation du lexique pour le patient aphasique.

Considérant la tentative du patient de trouver le mot ‘‘pontalon’’ en arabe ; en premier lieu, il prononce le terme ‘‘rjil’’ ( ‘‘pied’’ ; en français). Ce terme renvoie à une chose appartenant au même champ lexicale que le mot cible. La paraphasie qui en résulte est, donc, une paraphasie sémantique.
Par ailleurs, dans un autre exemple, le patient produit trois approximations du terme "pontalon", qui en faite, présentaient des transformations phonologiques du mot laissant apparaître des paraphasies phonémiques ; "poblon"…"complon"…"pontaplon".

Le tableau suivant englobe la production du patient pour le reste des images présentant une variété de catégories différentes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom de l’objet en français et en arabe (dialecte tunisien)</th>
<th>Le mot émis finalement en arabe</th>
<th>Mode d’évocation</th>
<th>Le mot émis finalement en français</th>
<th>Mode d’évocation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tracteur /ʒarrːaːr/</td>
<td>[ʒ a r r a : r]</td>
<td>Directe</td>
<td>&quot;tracteur&quot;</td>
<td>silence suivi d’aide par la lettre initiale puis par un segment, c’est ainsi qu’il a enfin émis le nom cible : &quot;…. [silence]…[aide ; t]...t. [aide ; tra]... tra…→ tracteur&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiture /k ar ḫ ba/</td>
<td>[s a j j a : r a]</td>
<td>Directe</td>
<td>&quot;voiture&quot;</td>
<td>après un temps de latence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homme /r aːʒ i l/</td>
<td>[ issu ʃ i d] (variété acceptée)</td>
<td>Directe</td>
<td>&quot;amonomme&quot;</td>
<td>tentatives sous forme de paraphasies phonémiques puis blocage : amonomme… oonommne… [blocage] ….</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuillère /m ɣ a r f a/</td>
<td>[m ɣ ar f a]</td>
<td>Directe</td>
<td>&quot;cuillère&quot;</td>
<td>Production d’une paraphasie intégrant deux différents niveaux ; sémantique et phonémique, suivie des tentatives et des approximations présentant une paraphasie phonémique jusqu’à émission finale du nom cible : “roujette… cuil…cuil…cuicyère…cuil… [temps de pose] …. cuillère”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Téléphone /t a l i f uː n/</td>
<td>[ h eː t ɪ f]</td>
<td>Directe</td>
<td>&quot;téléphone&quot;</td>
<td>hésitations→ aide par les deux premiers syllabes..→ blocage → pose→ émission du mot cible : t… t… [aide ; télé]…</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
De blocage... à pose...
téléphone
Rose / w a r d a /
[ w a r d a ] Directe ‘’rose’’ Directe

Table / t a : w l a /
[t a : w l a ] Directe ‘’table’’ Directe

Maison / d a : r /
[d a : r ] Directe ‘’maison’’ hésitation, aide suivie par la production de deux paraphasies phonémiques.

‘’vi... [aide ; mai]...mai→ sainon→maison’’

Livre / k t e : b /
[k t e : b ] Directe ‘’livre’’ La première tentative était une approximation du mot en anglais et donc une paraphasie phonémique qui en résulte

‘’mook→ book→ livre’’

Remarque : sur 9 photos, 2 noms sont émis directement en français, 9 noms sont émis directement en arabe, nombre de paraphasies en arabe : 0, nombre de paraphasies en français : 7.

Tableau n.4
Dans l’exemple de la photo contenant un livre, le patient, à la recherche du mot, prononce en premier lieu le mot correspondant en anglais, plus précisément, une approximation de celui-ci sous forme d’une paraphasie phonémique ; book → mook

Une confusion entre les deux langues donc s’est produit mais révélant toutefois qu’il a pu trouver le nom d’un objet en une langue très anciennement utilisé, comme il l’a confirmé, malgré que sa langue mère lui a ” trahit” pas mal de fois dans cette épreuve de dénomination. Ceci ne peut qu’assurer que l’altération du système linguistique après lésion cérébrale renferme une complexité particulière.

D’une autre part, le patient est, généralement, libre de choisir la langue avec laquelle il commence la dénomination. Etant le cas, on note parfois qu’il préfère commencer par émettre le nom de l’objet en langue française et c’est avéré que la plupart du temps, quant ceci était son choix, le correspondant en langue arabe lui présentait une certaine difficulté avant évocation.
Exemple:

- Une image de vache → le patient répond directement /vache/ puis avec hésitation:
  \[\text{[b \ a \ q \ a...b \ a \ q \ a...} \rightarrow \text{...b \ a \ q \ a \ r \ a]} \rightarrow /baqara/\]
- Une image des dents: le patient répond directement /les dents/ puis:
  \[\text{[s \ i...s \ i...s \ i...s \ i \ n \ e : n]} \rightarrow /sinen/;\]
Le même phénomène est noté quand il choisit de commencer par la langue arabe:
Exemple:

- Une image d’une chaussure → le patient répond directement [s a b b a: t] et puis avec un temps de latence : “chauss … chauss[..hésitation]… chaussure”
- Une image d’une cuillère → le patient répond directement [m \ɣ a r f a ] et puis:
  “roujette.. cuil…cuil…cuicyère…cuil… [temps de pose] …. cuillère”

Parfois, quand le patient est bloqué et ne peut surmonter la difficulté, l’examinateur essaye de lui assimiler la première lettre ou syllabe selon le cas. On note que l’ébauche aide beaucoup le patient à émettre le mot cible après blocage. Cependant, l’émission même après aide n’est pas toujours directe. Certaines tentatives peuvent former un intervalle.

Exemple :

Une image de téléphone est présenté → le patient essayant d’en trouver le nom en langue française “t…t…t…. [le patient se bloque au niveau de cette lettre, alors l’examinateur l’aide avec les deux premières syllabes]… télé… télé … télé… [après une petite pose]… … téléphone ”.

D’après les tableaux précédents, on note que le nombre total des paraphasies en langue française est 16, par contre, le correspond nombre en langue arabe est seulement 5 et ce dans l’essayé de nommer 25 images. Considérant toute la production, l’émission directe du nom cible est effectué 18 fois en langue arabe et 9 fois en langue française. En outre, le patient a choisi de commencer par le français, pour nommer l’objet présenté, 4 fois, parmi lesquelles il avait, deux fois, un problème pour trouver le correspondant en arabe.

Si on considère l’épreuve de dénomination des couleurs dans laquelle le patient a produit deux paraphasies et seulement en langue arabe, le nombre total des paraphasies obtenu dans sa langue mère est 7.
Le tableau suivant résume des autres informations déduites de l’analyse précédente des épreuves :

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Catégorie des parties du corps</th>
<th>pourcentage de nom conçu directement en français</th>
<th>pourcentage de nom conçu directement en arabe</th>
<th>Nombres des noms sujets à des paraphasies</th>
<th>Nombre des noms non trouvés en arabe</th>
<th>Nombre des noms non trouvés en français</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catégorie des animaux</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catégorie des habits</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Groupe de catégories variées</td>
<td>22,2%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catégorie des couleurs</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catégorie des lettres d’alphabet</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catégorie des chiffres</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tableau. n.5**

**Discussion**
L’analyse de la production du patient nous a aboutit à des résultats très variés. D’une part elle confirme l’existence des paraphasies non seulement dans la langue mère mais aussi dans la langue française. Ceci était prévu en concordance avec ce que se trouve dans la littérature sur l’aphasie de conduction. D’une autre part, on a montré que le phénomène de la paraphasie était totalement absent dans les épreuves de dénomination des lettres de l’alphabet et ce dans les deux langues. Ainsi était le cas dans l’épreuve dans la quelle le patient est prié de compter jusqu’à 20. De façon surprenante, ce constat concerne la production dans les deux langues. Ces deux catégories paraissent purement réservées chez ce patient, même après lésion cérébrale.

Au contraire, lors de l’épreuve de dénomination des couleurs, deux paraphasies sémantiques sont produites. La langue déficitaire à l’égard de cette épreuve est, uniquement, la langue arabe. Contrairement à ce que Ribot (1906) implore en déclarant que la langue maternelle serait la plus résistante à une lésion, cette épreuve suggère la possibilité du contraire. Cependant, une simple épreuve ne peut produire une base solide pour telle déclaration.

Quant à l’épreuve de dénomination des images (a), elle nous a, clairement, dévoilé un déficit linguistique se traduisant par la production abondante des paraphasies contrairement aux épreuves (b) et (c). Ceci peut faire preuve d’une probable catégorisation sémantique de cette défaillance. Ce résultat est aligné avec ce que affirme Carey (1966) dans ce propos : Il y a un certain nombre de symptômes rencontrés cliniquement, parmi lequel est la perte de la dénomination d’objet, sans que la dénomination des lettres et des chiffres ne soit altéré. (1966)

En outre, considérant cette fois, les images présentées en relation avec les différentes catégorisations sémantiques qu’elles mènent et le degré de difficulté qu’elles engendrent pour le patient : dans les groupes différents d’images, les difficultés existent avec des distinctions sur lesquelles on ne peut pas vraiment déduire des faits de base ferme. Quelque soit la catégorie en question ; habit, animaux ou parties de corps ; le déficit linguistique existe et ceci varient non seulement entre les catégories mais aussi entre les objets de même catégorie. L’épreuve (a), donc, de dénomination d’objet, seule, n’a pas visualisé le phénomène de catégorisation sémantique du déficit.

Cependant, on peut noter que lorsque le patient est présenté avec le groupe des images de types variée son aptitude linguistique pour l’évocation en langue arabe est beaucoup amélioré voire très normale. Ceci paraît un peu paradoxale. On suppose normalement que face à un groupe “homogène” des photos, une certaine activation du champ lexical relative opère de façon à faciliter la tâche de la dénomination. Beaucoup d’études utilisent ceci comme facilitation de type contextuelle (Bernard, 2010). Pour certaines raisons cela n’a pas présenté de l’aide dans notre cas.

On peut cependant suggérer que d’autres variables peuvent en être la raison. Selon (Bernard, 2010), “l’organisation interne des lexiques est régie par un certain nombre de variables que sont la fréquence, la structure morphologique, la classe des mots, l’âge
d’acquisition des mots et l’imageabilité”. Ces variables caractérisant les mots, comme il l’affirme, “ont des effets sur leurs reconnaissances”.

En outre, on a pu prouver que le déficit linguistique résultant de l’aphasie de conduction, existe autant dans la langue étrangère que la langue mère. La langue étrangère, le français dans notre cas, parait celle la plus déficitaire après lésion cérébrale. Cependant, ceci est suggéré avec précaution. Le fait que le patient a pu, pour quelques fois, débuter par discerner le mot en langue française au lieu de sa langue maternelle, ceci, avec ce qu’on a constaté auparavant dans l’épreuve des couleurs, ne peuvent qu’accentuer la relativité de notre suggestion. Après lésion cérébrale, le déficit linguistique apparait influencer l’ensemble les langues que le sujet peut y avoir recours lors de sa communication. Le degré de l’influence reste à postuler.

D’une autre part, concernant autre fois l’épreuve de dénomination d’images, l’analyse a montré un fait à contempler. En regardant, la photo présentée, le répertoire du lexique du patient est activé de façon à en trouver le mot correspondant. Bien évidemment, ce que le patient vient d’émettre, spontanément, est le mot qui lui est disponible le premier. De façon surprenante, il parait que le mot peut lui être plus accessible en une langue étrangère. Ce ci peut dans certaines mesures refléter la complexité de la disponibilité lexicale que gèrent les fonctions cérébrales du patient cérébrolésé. Après un accident vasculaire cérébrale, on perçoit généralement que la langue mère soit la plus réservée et celle étrangère, être la plus altérée. Des vérités sur la particularité anatomique et des théories sur le cerveau bilingue peuvent en présenter des explications compliquées pour ce fait.

Cependant, au delà de cette complexité de la neurologie, on peut essayer d’expliquer ce phénomène avec le mécanisme de l’interférence du mode d’usage du mot cible avant l’AVC. Le patient a affirmé qu’il a vécu deux années en France. Il peut avoir de l’habitude d’utiliser le français, la langue étrangère dans notre cas, spécialement pour nommer certain objets plus que l’arabe.

Ce fait peut construire un type d’automatisme que le cerveau adapte vers certains termes. L’automatisme du quel on parle est ce lui du choix de la langue. Autrement dit, au lieu de parler de la disponibilité du lexique comparée entre deux langues ce qui peut être plus le cas est, précisément, la disponibilité de quelle langue vers quel terme. Adhérant ceci, il est évident que dans certain types d’aphasie le langage automatique est réservé même parfois dans des cas plus délicats. Lors d’un stage passé au sein du service de neurologie à l’hôpital Razi, je vais toujours me souvenir d’une femme ayant perdu quasiment tous ses repères cognitives et linguistique mais qui était sensible à la récitation du “Sourat Alfatiha”.

En outre, c’est avéré qu’une longue période de tentatives peut amener le patient à un blocage. Une pose peut en suffire pour qu’il retrouve ces repères et qu’il énonce finalement le mot. Insister de poursuivre les tentatives ne peut qu’emmener le patient à l’impasse.

L’analyse, affirme l’existence du phénomène de paraphasie et démontre des types variés, les plus présents sont les paraphasies phonémiques et sémantiques. Certaines approximations peuvent constituer des paraphasies verbales. Pourtant, en raison du manque de clarté sur l’intention du patient en évoquant l’approximation, on ne les a pas considérées. Le propos du patient n’était pas évident ; est ce qu’il s’agit d’une véritable approximation du mot cible (inadéquat et donc paraphasie verbale) ou plutôt, des segments prononcés, de façon neutre, dans la recherche du mot (approximation d’une partie du mot cible dont la répétition peut lui aider dans le processus de la recherche).

Également, on a noté l’existence des paraphasies qui naissent d’un mixage entre deux langues ou même plus ainsi qu’entre deux dialectes de la même langue. On a aussi montré que certaines paraphasies présentes dans le corpus naissent d’un “mixage” de deux paraphasies ; sémantique et phonémique. Ceci indique les interférences de différentes informations d’une façon surprenante lors de la recherche d’un mot chez un patient cérébro-lésé. L’appel à des domaines différents de connaissances et leurs interactions peuvent donner naissance à une forme appartenant à deux types différents de paraphasies. Ceci reflète encore la complexité des mécanismes interactifs opérant dans le cerveau cérébro-lésé. Dans ce cadre Bernard (et.al, 2010) indique “qu’à la terminologie de “centre” du langage est préféré celle de réseaux neuronaux plus complexes, largement distribués et dont l’activation combiné génère le langage” et que “toute fonction cognitive est décomposable en un certain nombre de processus autonomes mais interactifs”.

Finalement, cette étude, confirmant certains aspects à propos la fonction de dénomination et suggérant d’autres, et ceci, à partir d’un seul cas clinique, elle ne peut absolument pas prétendre d’être exemplaire. Des études futures sont indispensables pour vérifier les résultats obtenus.

Conclusion

Ce travail est une tentative modeste pour étudier certains aspects de la fonction de dénomination chez un patient aphasique. Il endure nécessairement des limitations surtout sur le plan méthodologique et analytique. La construction des stimuli n’était pas bien étudiée surtout concernant le nombre d’images de chaque groupe. Ce fait, découvert malheureusement après le test, peut affecter la crédibilité des résultats. En outre, la base théorique a mal fourni de l’évidence qui doit normalement consolider la discussion de toutes les résultats trouvés. Cependant, étant consciente de ces faits, j’espère être capable de m’améliorer dans des prochaines études afin de pouvoir fortifier les résultats trouvées.
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Fork in the Road: La Malinche’s Role in the Conquest of Mexico

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Abstract

The topic of La Malinche is a delicate one not only because of the extraordinary lack of historical data about her, but also because of the extreme social reactions to whatever parts of her story we have. Malinche is either loved or hated in such extremes that her story is rarely touched upon by neutral forces. As fascinating as these studies of Malinche’s influence are, there is not enough evidence for a true personal profile of Malinche. There is however enough evidence from the writings of the participating Spaniards and natives to assess how much influence Malinche had in the conquest of Mexico. By comparing different texts, the argument can be made that Malinche was within a position of importance amongst the Spaniards, and grew only stronger after her decision to deliver intelligence that would lead to the massacre at Cholula.

Keywords: Mexico, Cortes, Malinche, History, Cholula, Colonialism
The topic of La Malinche is a delicate one not only because of the extraordinary lack of historical data about her, but also because of the extreme social reactions to whatever parts of her story we have. Malinche is either loved or hated in such extremes that her story is rarely touched upon by neutral forces. As fascinating as these studies of Malinche’s influence are, what is overlooked is the effort to fill in the pieces of the puzzle of the actual events of her life. There is not enough evidence for a true personal profile of Malinche, but there exists enough evidence from the writings of the participating Spaniards and natives to assess how much influence Malinche had in the conquest of Mexico. By comparing different texts written within the time of the conquest along with analytical academic texts, the argument can be made that Malinche was within a position of importance amongst the Spaniards, and grew only stronger after her decision to deliver intelligence that would lead to the massacre at Cholula.

Ironically enough, Malinche’s indigenous birth name is believed to be Malinalli, the name of a daysign in the Aztec calendar representing perseverance against all odds and creation of alliances that will survive the test of time (“Daysign Malinalli”). Malinalli was baptized Doña Marina by the Spanish, but the r sound did not exist in her world, so she called herself “Malina” (Townsend 36). Malintzin became her name among the Mexican allies who respected her as much as her cohorts, and showed it by adding the honorific title -tzin to the end of her mispronounced baptismal name. It is from the Spanish mispronunciation of her honored name that gave birth to the most common term “Malinche” (Townsend 55). For the purposes of this essay, this core member of the Spanish conquest of Mexico will be referred to by the Spanish conflated term for the honor and fear paid to her by the Indians. “Malinche” is neither Indian nor Spanish but three confused ideas about one identity. The idea of La Malinche represents her own conflict over cultural and sexual identification, and history’s own confusion over many details of her life.

Without Malinche’s guidance, the conquest of Mexico would have been doomed due to Hernán Cortés’ history of improvisation. In the beginning, Governor Diego Velázquez of Cuba had stripped Cortés of his position as Captain of the conquest of Mexico. In the first and biggest act of spontaneity, Hernán Cortés disobeyed Governor Velázquez and sailed away for the Mesoamerican mainland on February 18, 1519, taking with him 11 vessels, 600 Spaniards, and chronicler of the conquest Bernal Díaz del Castillo. Having heard of the presence of “bearded men” (Gómar 28) in Yucatan, Cortés stopped there first and picked up Jerónimo de Aguilar, a Franciscan friar living amongst the Maya. This was someone who spoke Mayan and Spanish fluently, therefore someone Cortés needed. Once they reached Tabasco, the Spanish had their first intense match with the locals and succeeded. The Tabascan leaders gave Cortés a multitude of tribute, including beads, feathers, and twenty women, one of whom, was La Malinche herself. This was all achieved without one person who spoke Nahuatl, an achievement that left the Spaniards at a dead end after capturing Tabasco.

Malinche’s whereabouts after birth could have ignited an internal motive: to escape her cycle of passage onto strange men and gain control over her destiny. Díaz del Castillo and Cortés’ biographer/secretary Francisco López de Gómar reported that she was traded to
Xicalancco after birth. Cortés’ letters to King Charles V, Castillo, Gómara, and the *Codex Florentino* all reported that she was traded again, then again given as a gift to the Spaniards by the people of the coast of Tabasco. Diaz del Castillo’s account of these events is particularly romantic, suggesting either an epic truth, or an idealistically mistranslated story. He compares Malinche to Joseph of Egypt:

[Donna Maria]… was the daughter of the chief or Prince of Painala. He dying while this lady was an infant, his widow married another chief… They therefore gave this girl to certain Indians of Xicalango to carry off secretly, and caused it to be rumored that she was dead… Xicalango gave her to those of Tabasco, and the latter to Cortés… (Castillo 52-53).

What makes her trade to the Spaniards so special and what cements her alliance to her new masters? Up to this point, everything from Aguilar’s acquisition to the capture of Tabasco happened while Jerónimo de Aguilar did not understand or speak Nahuatl. Gómara reports Cortés’ astonishment to find Malinche speaking fluent Mayan to the Tabascans: “So Cortés took her aside with de Aguilar and promised her more than her liberty if she would establish friendship between him and the men of her country” (Gómara 56). Suddenly she was the key to the continuation of the conquest.

Malinche became a woman of opportunity who, while Cortés sought information from her about the neighboring Aztecs, was gathering information from Cortés and other Spaniards about the Spanish culture. She was determined to make sure Cortés was more than obligated to keep his promise of “liberty” to her while learning about what she could do herself to make it happen otherwise. After she and the other nineteen Tabascan women were baptized and given to the Spaniards, the newly named Doña Marina was taught about the Catholic religion as well Spanish culture. She most likely overheard how a Spanish noblewoman had significantly more privileges compared to a woman from Tenochtitlan (Haskett, Schroeder, Wood 18-19). But she was probably wary that if she made herself only borderline valuable, she could still be seen as dispensable. Even before their next arrival in Tlaxcala, she took steps ahead, gathering intelligence from the surrounding Indians and reporting her findings to Cortés. She also recruited soldiers and gathered supplies while Cortés was away:

La Malinche called the nobles together. She climbed up to the palace roof and cried: ‘Mexicanos, come forward! The Spaniards need your help! Bring them food and pure water.’ (León-Portilla 69).

Malinche’s loyalty was tested in the events before the massacre at Cholula when the local citizens offered her protection. When two Mexicans, an ambassador and a priest, encouraged Cortés to carry on to Cholula, the captain happened to notice that Cholula’s women and children were being sent away. He began to suspect that the Cholulans were planning a massive ambush (Cortés 73). The only person to know for sure was Malinche. The night before the massacre, Malinche was privately approached by the wife of a cacique who offered her mercy and protection: “She invited [Malinche] to her own house, as a place of security from the danger which was ready to overwhelm us, making at the same time a proposal to her, to accept as a husband, her son” (Castillo 121). After the proposal:
Donna Maria, with a profusion of thanks… agreed to all that she proposed, but said that she wanted someone with whom to trust her effects. She then obtained information of every particular of the business, all which the old woman informed her she had learned from her husband, who was chief of one of the divisions of the city… (Castillo 121).

It is rather peculiar that she does not expose the plot right away; but she follows the same tactics as Cortés, gathering as much information as possible, mulling over each and every outcome before making a move. On the one hand, with the Spaniards, she is promised liberty and has more knowledge about the gain of property, wealth, and status in Spanish society (Socolow 9-10). On the other hand, Aztec society is one that she already knows too well, where even her status as the daughter of a prince couldn’t save her from the slave trade. From this woman she gathered that the Cholulans were planning on capturing twenty of the prisoners for sacrifice (Castillo 120). Malinche had every reason to believe that she, the “traitor” of her people, would make an excellent sacrifice. Malinche convinced the woman to stay put and take care of her effects, as if she was leaving with them, only leaving to pass on her words to Cortés (Castillo 121).

So far, Malinche had been the sole reason for the continuation of the conquest after Tabasco and partially the reason for Cortés’ success with the Mexicans. At this point in the conquest, she would be the reason for the Spanish success through the bloodiest battle thus far. Two priests Cortés interrogated said that Aztec King Motecuhzoma had 10,000 troops set up in Cholula and 10,000 troops hidden, all waiting for their arrival. When the Spanish and their Tlaxcalan and Cempoalan troops arrived in the city, they attacked the Cholulans immediately and without warning (León-Portilla 40). After the initial fight, Cortés had some Cholulan captains put to death, while the rest were bound. Temples were burned, as well as many live Mexicans, and idols were destroyed. At the five-hour mark, Cholula surrendered (Gómar 129). Cortés began his usual procedure, successfully convincing the surviving Cholulans to fight on their side for the sole purpose of defeating their oppressor, King Motecuhzoma in the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlan. While Cortés and his strongest loyalists gave little credit to Malinche for her reconnaissance, Bernal Díaz del Castillo’s writings as well as Aztec plates/inscriptions portray the true nature of Malinche’s influence. Castillo is keen to point out that Malinche was not just repeating Cortés’ words in Nahuatl, but she was adding Cortés’ emotions, and if necessary, her own. From his writing, we can safely gather that Malinche was on the same level of power and deserves the same amount of credit as Cortés and Jerónimo de Aguilar. In the artwork of the Aztecs, Malinche occupies the same horizontal or vertical plane as Cortés, suggesting equality. She also points in the direction Cortés and his men are following, suggesting the natives recognized her significant role as the all-around guide, possibly sub-leader of the conquest (Townsend 71, 75; León-Portilla 42). It is beneficial for this argument to point out that after the natives gave Malinche her honored title, “Malintzin”, Cortés and other Spaniards were also directly addressed as “Malintzin” (Townsend 56). For the Indians, everyone in Malinche’s group took on meaning in relation to her, their spokeswoman.

For Malinche’s entire life, she existed as a woman in a man’s world, where the only way to escape ownership was to come as an indispensable asset in the strangers’ mission. But
why did she go out of her way to share information from the natives with Cortés rather than break free and return to Cholula with the old woman to marry her son? On the one hand, we can assume that the old woman may not have taken so much interest in Malinche, but more interest in separating Cortés from his key to native intelligence. If so, then there would not have been a need to tell Malinche of the ambush in the first place. Even if the woman was sincere, the proposal would mean only one thing to Malinche; for at least the third or fourth time, she would be passed on to another man. Malinche most likely had no interest in male relations unless it yielded property, wealth, or status. With all her strategy, Malinche ensured her controversial title as one of the most important influences in the conquest of Mexico.
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L’organisation entrepreneuriale: Existe-t-il un seul modèle?

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Abstract

Why do two companies run by their managers show a diversity of styles of coordination and structural characteristics? Does running a business and coordinating its activities report some components of its organizational structure?
In this paper, the author has not studied the influence of the personal choice of entrepreneurs, but only emphasized the analysis of one of the variables (company size) called for by Mintzberg contingency factors (size, age and environment). Those variables influence the business organization. The author adds another factor that of supervision ratios, that is to say the existence of supervisors or employees with the entrepreneur. The objective of the article is to answer the following question: What explains in a company run by its entrepreneur, the diversity of characteristics of the organizational structure?

Conversely to, therefore, the unique model of entrepreneurial organization presented by Mintzberg (1990, 1982), the author assumes in this paper that another model may be developed based on several variables including what Mintzberg elaborated.

Keywords: organizational structure, entrepreneurial organization, entrepreneur
Résumé

Pourquoi deux entreprises dirigées par leurs chefs montrent une diversité de styles de coordination et de caractéristiques de structures ? Gérer une entreprise et coordonner ses activités relèvent-ils de quelques composantes de la structure organisationnelle ?

Nous n'avons pas ici d'étudier l'influence des choix personnels des entrepreneurs, mais seulement d'accentuer l'analyse sur l'une des variables (la taille d'entreprise) qu'appelle Mintzberg facteurs de contingence (la taille, l'âge et l'environnement) qui influencent l'organisation d'entreprise, et on va ajouter un autre facteur celui du taux d'encadrement, c'est-à-dire l'existence des agents de maîtrise ou de collaborateurs avec l'entrepreneur, notre objectif et de répondre à la question suivante : Qu'est ce qui explique, dans une entreprise dirigée par son entrepreneur, la diversité des caractéristiques de la structure organisationnelle ?

À l'opposé, donc, du modèle unique de l’organisation entrepreneuriale présenté par Mintzberg (1990, 1982), nous supposons dans cette recherche qu’un autre modèle peut être élaboré en fonction des quelques variables dont Mintzberg a parlé.

Mots clés : structure organisationnelle, organisation entrepreneuriale, l’entrepreneur
Introduction

L’entrepreneuriat est un phénomène trop complexe, ce constat fait de l’entrepreneuriat un phénomène multidimensionnel qui nécessite, pour son étude, de nombreuses disciplines (économie, gestion, sciences d’organisation). Selon Saporta, il existe dans le domaine de l’entrepreneuriat « une utilisation toute naturelle de lectures vastes, débordant largement le périmètre de la gestion, empruntant les voies de l’économie, mais aussi celles de la sociologie, de la psychosociologie… » (Saporta, 2003 p.7). Le concept d’entrepreneur fait référence à la création d’entreprise visant à satisfaire les besoins des groupes et à réaliser du profit, mais le phénomène qui s’impose à la théorie de l’entrepreneur est celui de la relation liant l’entrepreneur comme manager à l’organisation de son entreprise ce qui montre la singularité de l’organisation entrepreneuriale comme champ d’étude.

L’entrepreneur ne doit pas se définir seulement comme un individu qui, après avoir identifié une occasion d’affaires, crée une entreprise pour l’exploiter, mais il faut bien reconnaître que cette action ne peut se réaliser et se développer que si la personnalité de son titulaire est caractérisée par certains traits dans un contexte favorable et propice.


L’organisation entrepreneuriale est trop complexe pour qu’on puisse l’approcher de manière généralisante. Il n’existe pas un seul modèle explicatif de ce phénomène, mais plusieurs modèles et ainsi plusieurs typologies peuvent être élaborées en fonction d’une multitude de variables et renvoient à des situations singulières perçues et recherchées dans le terrain.

Voilà résumés du cadre général et les raisons de cette recherche que nous souhaitons réaliser ici.

I : L’organisation entrepreneuriale : Une revue de littérature

L’organisation entrepreneuriale telle qu’elle est définie par Mintzberg, présente-t-elle un autre modèle? Nous tenterons dans notre recherche, de répondre à cette question en présentant dans cette étape les caractéristiques de cette organisation.

Mais, avant de passer à l’identification des caractéristiques il est souvent déterminant de rappeler le concept de l’entrepreneur vu son importance. Etymologiquement, entrepreneur...
est du verbe entreprendre qui désigne se mettre et commencer à effectuer quelque tâche, c'est une action de tenter ou d'essayer, c'est l'action aussi de diriger une attaque contre quelqu'un. Etre entreprenant est avoir des qualités qui distinguent la personnalité et la façon d'agir, on dit un homme entreprenant c-à-d un être actif, audacieux, dynamique et hardi. D'emblée, et en partant du sens du mot, le verbe entreprendre s'avère lié à l'action, au comportement actif, à l'engagement et à la responsabilité individuelle d'effectuer une tâche. C'est également une action truffée de caractéristiques et d'aptitude qui marquent la personnalité et la manière de se comporter.

Selon le dictionnaire des sciences économiques et sociales (2002 p.141) "Agent économique qui dirige une entreprise, qu'il en soit le propriétaire ou non. Ce peut être un créateur d'entreprise, qui a eu l'idée d'une production répondant à des besoins sur le marché, ou bien un repreneur d'entreprise, qui lui donne un nouveau souffle en redéfinissant sa stratégie, ou bien un cadre dirigeant d'entreprise qui atteint des postes de direction".

Selon Cécile Fonrouge (2002 p.148), l'organisation d'entreprise dirigée par son entrepreneur n'est pas autonome par rapport au dirigeant, "la structure organisationnelle n'est pas autonome de son leader, lequel d'ailleurs refuse plus ou moins de s'effacer au profit du collectif. C'est le cas des dirigeants qui ne peuvent (ou ne veulent) pas partir en vacances sans téléphoner tous les jours à leur structure et qui, en évitant toutes procédures de délégation, se rendent indispensables au fonctionnement de l'entreprise."

L'organisation entrepreneuriale est caractérisée par sa simplicité, on la présente selon la façon suivante : Mintzberg (1990 p.197) "elle a peu ou pas du tout de fonctionnels du support logistique, la division du travail est imprécise et la ligne hiérarchique y est réduite. Elle a peu d’activité formalisée et elle minimise l’usage des procédures de planification ou de formation". En un certain sens, « c’est une non structure » : dans la structure des organisations le pouvoir est concentré sur le chef de l’organisation qui l’exerce personnellement. Il rejette les contrôles formalisés comme quelque chose qui menace son autorité parce qu’ils sont porteurs d’expertises et d’idéologie qui ne sont pas en accord avec ses visions vis-à-vis de l’entreprise. Au regard du leader il n’y a pas de place pour la politique dans l’organisation. Si quelques influences extérieures viennent à s’exercer sur l’organisation, comme, par exemple, celles des clients ou des fournisseurs, il n’est pas improbable que le leader chercheur à placer son organisation dans un autre créneau du marché moins exposé.

La structure de l'organisation entrepreneuriale

La structure de l'organisation entrepreneuriale est simple, informelle, flexible, fonctionnelle de support logistique et la ligne hiérarchique peu développés. Selon Mintzberg, (1982 p.274) la structure simple n’est pas élaborée, c’est là sa principale caractéristique. La technostructure y est inexistante ou peu développée, elle a peu de fonctionnels, de support logistique, la division de travail y est imprécise, la différenciation entre les unités minimales, l’encadrement réduit. Les comportements y sont peu formalisés, elle recourt peu à la planification, à la formation et aux mécanismes de liaison. Par ailleurs, la coordination, dans la structure simple, est surtout réalisée par supervision directe. Précisément, toutes les
décisions importantes ont tendance à être prises par le directeur général: le sommet stratégique émerge donc comme la partie clé de la structure; en fait, la structure comprend rarement beaucoup plus qu'un seul homme au sommet stratégique et un centre opérationnel organique. La structure entrepreneuriale chez Mintzberg se présente sous la figure suivante:

L’organisation entrepreneuriale

La plupart des organisations passent par une structure simple au cours de leurs premières années d’existence. Pour elle la communication informelle est à la fois appréciée et efficace. De plus, il se peut que la petite taille a pour conséquence un travail moins répétitif, et donc moins de standardisation, d’autre part, l’organisation en situation de crise apparaît lorsqu’un environnement extrêmement hostile force l’organisation à centraliser, quelle que soit sa structure habituelle. Le besoin pour l’organisation de pouvoir répondre de façon rapide et coordonnée conduit à concentrer le pouvoir entre les mains du directeur général, et aussi à réduire le degré de bureaucratisation. (Bien entendu, les organisations très élabores qui sont dans une situation de crise n’éliminent pas leur technostructure et leur encadrement. Mais elles peuvent réduire d’une façon temporaire leurs pouvoirs de décision.) Thompson (1967), décrit un cas particulier de ce type de structure: l’organisation créée de façon temporaire pour faire face à un désastre naturel. La situation est nouvelle et l’environnement est extrêmement hostile. Thompson affirme que la réponse initiale à ce type de crise n’est généralement pas coordonnée.

L’organisation innovatrice c’est l’organisation qui recherche en permanence les environnements à haut risque où les bureaucraties hésitent à s’aventurer. Ainsi, Pareto (cité par Taffler, 1970 p.148), qualifie les entrepreneurs comme « des esprits aventuriers, assoiffés de nouveauté…nullement effrayés par le changement ». Mais ces entreprises font aussi attention à rester dans les créneaux que l’entrepreneur peut parfaitement comprendre. En d’autres termes, elles recherchent des environnements simples et dynamiques. Parallèlement, elles cherchent à garder un système technique simple et régulier qui leur permet de rester organiques et centralisées. Elles sont généralement petites pour pouvoir rester organiques et pour que l’entrepreneur puisse maintenir un contrôle étroit. Elles sont aussi généralement jeunes en partie parce que celles qui survivent tendent à devenir bureaucratiques en vieillissant. L’entrepreneur a tendance à être autocratique, et parfois même charismatique ; il a généralement fondé son entreprise parce qu’il ne supportait pas les contrôles qui lui étaient imposés dans les bureaucraties où il a travaillé (Collins et Moore, 1970).
Mintzberg (1982 p.278) affirme qu’à l’intérieur de la structure, toute tourne autour de l’entrepreneur, les buts de l’entreprise sont les siens, la stratégie de l’entreprise reflète sa vision personnelle de la place de l’organisation dans le monde. La plupart des entrepreneurs ont honneur des procédures bureaucratiques et technostructures qui les accompagnent parce qu’ils y voient des restrictions à leur flexibilité. Donc leur comportement et leurs manœuvres imprévisibles maintiennent la structure flexible et organique.

Selon Mintzberg (1982 ; 279) la structure simple possède quelques problèmes, en effet, c’est la direction centrale qui est chargée de centraliser les décisions opérationnelles et stratégiques ; la centralisation présente un avantage important, elle garantit que les décisions stratégiques sont prises avec connaissance bien déterminée vis-à-vis du centre opérationnel. De plus, elle favorise la flexibilité et l’adaptabilité de la réponse stratégique, il suffit à une personne d’agir, mais la centralisation peut aussi introduire la confusion entre les questions stratégiques et les questions opérationnelles. Ce qui rend possible que le directeur général peut être impliqué dans les problèmes opérationnels au point qu’il néglige les considérations stratégiques.

La structure simple possède un point faible de moment qu’elle est la plus risquée, car sur la santé et la volonté d’un seul individu, « une crise cardiaque peut littéralement balayer le seul mécanisme de coordination de l’organisation. Comme toutes les configurations, la structure simple fonctionne en général de façon efficace dans les situations qui lui sont appropriées, sa flexibilité est bien adaptée aux environnements simples et dynamiques, à ceux qui sont extrêmement hostiles (au moins pour un temps), et aux organisations jeunes et de petites taille .Mais en dehors de cet ensemble restreint de conditions, la structure simple devient inadoptée » Mintzberg (1982 p.279).

II. Méthodologie de la recherche
1. Caractéristiques de la structure de la population cible

La constitution d'échantillon enquêté s'est effectuée en se basant sur les 57 entreprises industrielles (dont les emplois sont supérieurs ou égaux à 10) au gouvernorat de Gafsa existantes dans "l'annuaire des entreprises industrielles" de l'agence de promotion d'industrie (www.tunisianindustry.nat.tn ). Par ailleurs, nous avons pris en compte une importante catégorie d'entreprises qui comportent entre 2 et 9 salariés et qui ne sont pas enregistrés dans l'annuaire précité.
2. Activités manufacturières

Tableau n°1 : Répartition des entreprises industrielles selon les branches d’activité

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branches d’activité</th>
<th>Nombre</th>
<th>Pourcentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Confection de vêtements</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semoulerie boulangerie</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditionnement d’huile</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29.82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Détectents et plastique</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menuiserie et meubles</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visserie, boulonnerie, tournage et rectification</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditionnement et entreposage frigorifique de fruits et légumes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gravure laser, produits de sonorisation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aliment pour bétail</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imprimerie</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extraction et transformation de pierre et marbre, articles en ciment et en béton</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
<td><strong>100 %</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

De ce tableau, il ressort:

- que Les entreprises industrielles dans cette région se concentrent dans le secteur des petites industries manufacturières (alimentaire, industrie mécanique, chimique, confection, etc.) qui n'exigent pas de coûts d'investissement élevés, une main d'œuvre qualifiée et une technologie sophistiquée.
que l’activité qui caractérise la région de Gafsa est le conditionnement d’huile avec un pourcentage de 29.82%, ce qui reflète la vocation industrielle de la région et l’importance du secteur agricole, qui est l’une des raisons qui explique les faiblesses aux niveaux des innovations des projets de services et des technologies de pointe. Les autres secteurs partagent presque les mêmes pourcentages avec une part de poids pour l’activité de semoulerie et boulangerie (10.52%), par contre 3.5% seulement pour l’activité d'imprimerie.

La région de Gafsa possède un effectif assez faible en terme du nombre d’entreprises (57 entreprises), cela tient essentiellement à la prédominance de l'entreprise "majeure" en industrie minière: la CPG

3. La constitution d’échantillon: pourquoi échantillon par Quotas?

Dans cette recherche, nous n'avons pas pu constituer une base certaine de sondage. Le problème de la représentativité statistique (selon la méthode probabiliste ou aléatoire) ne se pose donc pas en raison du fait que:

- L’annuaire des entreprises industrielles de l’API (www.tunisianindustry.nat) fait apparaître l’absence (dans l’annuaire) des micro entreprises dont les emplois varient entre 2 et 9. Ce qui fait, on ne peut pas utiliser cet annuaire comme base exhaustive de sondage pour sélectionner les unités d’échantillon de notre recherche

- l'hétérogénéité de la population cible: les entreprises industrielles et leurs chefs (les entrepreneurs), il s'agit d'une population diversifiée que se soit dans la structure des entreprises (tailles, âges, activités, modèles technologiques) ou le profil de leur chef (niveaux d'instruction, âges, sexes)

-les entrepreneurs n'ont pas la même chance de faire partie d'échantillon constitué, car nous avons trouvé une grande difficulté de rencontrer les entrepreneurs et de fixer des rendez-vous pour réaliser des entretiens avec eux, ce qui nous empêche de disposer d'une base certaine d'unités (entrepreneurs) à interviewer. Cette difficulté est due essentiellement à leurs déplacements et engagements professionnels. Par ailleurs, il y a quelques entrepreneurs qui refusent le contact direct dès qu'on les informe téléphoniquement, ce qui nous a obligé à recourir à l'aide des amis et cousins pour faciliter l'acte de contact pour la collecte de ce qui est nécessaire d'informations et de données pour notre recherche.

Pour ces raisons, nous avons choisi de représenter quelques caractéristiques essentielles de la population mère (les entreprises industrielles) dans l'échantillon enquêté et nous avons pris donc comme principes:

-s'assurer des variables de taille et d'âge d'entreprise comme centrales (cela tient aux objectifs et hypothèses de notre recherche) pour constituer l'échantillon avec une répartition plus ou moins équivalente à celle de la population mère, c'est-à-dire la prédominance, d'une
part, des entreprises de petite taille, soit 57% pour les petites entreprises et garder le même pourcentage des moyennes entreprises soit 7% et, d'une autre part, en tenant compte d'une catégorie importante celle des micro entreprises

- avoir une part majoritaire d’entreprises qui se sont créées depuis 1990: 90% des entreprises enquêtées (80% de la population mère)

- Diversifier les unités sélectionnées; pour ce faire, nous avons pris comme autre variable le secteur d'activité sans avoir pu représenter les mêmes pourcentages (tels qu'ils sont dans la population mère) dans l'échantillon car nous avons trouvé une grande difficulté de rencontrer les entrepreneurs interviewés.

Dans ce cadre, un échantillon de 30 entreprises a été constitué du gouvernorat de Gafsa. Pour les besoins de notre recherche, nous avons choisi l’entretien personnel, c'est-à-dire des séances de discussion directe avec les entrepreneurs ou par téléphone pour les entrepreneurs où le contact direct avec eux est difficile à atteindre.

Le canevas autour duquel a été structuré l'entretien, comportait des questions visant à identifier les volets suivants:

- L'élément humain dans l'entreprise;
- La division du travail et structuration des tâches;
- Le circuit d'information et de communication;
- Le niveau de formalisation;
- Le contrôle;
- La prise de décision.

III. Résultats de la recherche

1. L'élément humain

Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon l'existence des chefs de groupes et d'ateliers :

Ce qui est remarquable, c'est qu'au fur et à mesure que la taille de l'entreprise s'agrandit, plus qu'il y a une tendance vers le regroupement des ouvriers sous la responsabilité de ce qui possède plus de qualification et d'ancienneté pour jouer le rôle d'un chef de groupe d'ouvriers, où il y a appel à la compétence et au savoir faire ce qui facilite le travail et coordonne l'activité en représentant le patron (l'entrepreneur) en cas de son absence. La délégation du pouvoir entrepreneurial dans l'atelier va de pair avec le développement de la taille d'entreprise, donc le pouvoir intermédiaire (représenté par un chef en contact direct avec les ouvriers) est moins développé ou parfois absent dans les micro entreprises et plus développé dans les petites et moyennes entreprises.
Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon le nombre des cadres :

Ce qui caractérise les moyennes entreprises, comparées à celles des micros et petite tailles, c’est qu’il y a une moyenne élevée de cadres (8) exercant des fonctions de maîtrise et de contrôle avec l'entrepreneur et s'occupant des fonctions principales dans l'entreprise. On note également que les cadres marquent leur absence dans les micros entreprises enquêtées.

Mais on remarque qu’il y a une tendance vers leur existence dans les petites entreprises (2.11 cadres). Les raisons qui expliquent la faible moyenne d'effectif des cadres sont:
- le rôle central de l'entrepreneur dans le fonctionnement de l'entreprise
- la nature des activités caractérisées par leur simplicité qui sont à titre d'exemple l'activité d'imprimerie, menuiserie et meuble… où l'existence des cadres au sein des entreprises n'ajoute pas beaucoup d'avantage à la productivité
- le recrutement et payement des cadres nécessitent des capacités financières énormes.

Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon le nombre des employés de bureaux :

Le développement d'un corps administratif dans les entreprises enquêtées varie proportionnellement avec la taille de l'entreprise. Le nombre des employés de bureaux change avec le changement de la taille de l'entreprise, en fait, ce nombre moyen passe de 0.72 employé dans les micros entreprises pour atteindre 7.5 employés dans les moyennes entreprises, ce qui est remarquable, c'est qu'il y a des entreprises qui n'ont pas besoin d'employés de bureaux tel que l'activité de boulangerie, d'autre part, les employés de bureaux peuvent être eux-mêmes des agents de maîtrise quelque soient leurs niveaux d'instruction .

2. La division du travail et structuration des tâches

Qui se charge de la division du travail dans l'atelier ?

- Ce qui caractérise la division du travail dans les micros entreprises, c’est qu'il tourne essentiellement autour de l'entrepreneur, dans d'autres micros entreprises le chef de groupe et/ou d'atelier sont y impliqués. Il sont parfois des techniciens et c'est grâce à leurs compétences dans leurs domaines d'activités qu'ils participent à la division technique du travail, telles que la fabrication des charpentes et des menuiseries, ils peuvent également participer à la division des tâches et de les contrôler, mais ces rôles sont confiés par l'entrepreneur aux chefs.

- Dans les petites et moyennes entreprises enquêtées, nous avons identifié l'existence d’un responsable de production, en effet, plus l'activité s'étend et se développe, plus il y à nécessité de l'intégration des cadres et des spécialistes pour jouer le rôle de responsable et qui représentent leur patron dans pas mal de tâches dans la division du travail et assument une responsabilité dans le processus de production.
- Les entrepreneurs des moyennes entreprises s'éloignent de la gestion courante de la fonction de production en faveur du chef d'atelier et du responsable de production

Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon l'existence des services, il ressort:

- Qu'il y a absence des services commerciaux, de gestion de ressources humaines et de production dans toutes les micros entreprises qui sont (les services) gérées par l'entrepreneur lui-même ou par celui qui représente. Parmi les micros entreprises enquêtées (seulement 4 qui possèdent des services de finance (soit 36%)) , l'enquête fait apparaître que ce service jouit d'une importance dans l'entreprise dans la mesure où il y a suivi de différentes interventions qui concernent l'activité de l'entreprise (les consultations, le payement des employés, l'approvisionnement, la fiscalité, la CNSS…)

- Que dans les petites entreprises, 41 % d'elles possèdent des services commerciaux, par contre 59 % de ces entreprises ne lui accordent pas d'importance par rapport au service financier qui est plus important (soit 76%) dans ces entreprises, la présence de ces services sont les dictées de la méthodologie organisationnelle cherchés par les responsables et répondant aux ambitions des entrepreneurs cherchant l'élargissement de leurs activités afin de maîtriser le processus de l'activité de l'entreprise.

- Dans les moyennes entreprises, il y a présence parfaite de tous les services par rapport aux autres entreprises de micro et petites tailles, ce qui traduit l'importance de la présence de ces services dans l'animation et l'orchestration de différents dispositifs de production.

3 . Le circuit d'information et de communication

Au niveau de répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon les sources d'information, il ressort que:

Les sources d’information se développent au fur et à mesure que l’entreprise grandit. En fait, sous la lumière des données collectées, les petites et moyennes entreprises utilisent des dispositifs de communication plus ou moins développés que ceux dans les micros entreprises, tels que les média, les statistiques qui sont prises en considération, le passé de l’activité de l’entreprise, les consultants qui possèdent des savoir faire dans leur domaine d’activités, les relations publiques, les outils basés sur l’expérience…

Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon les moyens d'information utilisés par les collaborateurs de l'entrepreneur :

A la question de connaître les moyens par lesquels les collaborateurs informent l'entrepreneur, les entrepreneurs interviewés répondent de manière différente.
En effet, les moyens avec lesquels les collaborateurs passent l’information aux entrepreneurs sont caractérisés par la prédominance de la relation directe entre les entrepreneurs et leurs collaborateurs où la communication se déroule oralement.

Dans les petites et moyennes entreprises, on identifie l'utilisation des moyens et réseaux électroniques tels que l'e-mail, messagerie..., qui sont les fruits de la technologie développée et utilisée par les entreprises qui cherchent des nouveautés afin de faciliter le processus de travail.

Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon la relation de communication entrepreneur-ouvriers :

Après avoir posé la question "Est-ce que les ouvriers vous contactent directement?" aux entrepreneurs enquêtés, la lecture des données collectées montre que la communication devient de plus en plus médiatisée lorsque, d'une part, la taille d'entreprise croît et, d'une autre part, avec l'existence ou l'apparition des niveaux intermédiaires entre l'entrepreneur et les ouvriers. Plus le nombre des ouvriers est faible, plus la relation de l'entrepreneur avec eux est plus direct, 24% des petites entreprises enquêtées possèdent des étroites relations avec les ouvriers, ces entreprises ont comme activité la récupération des matières non métalliques, recyclage produits minéraux non intelligibles, ce qui traduit la présence du représentant de l’entrepreneur au niveau du contact direct avec les ouvriers par rapport aux micros entreprises.

Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon Les moyens utilisés par l'entrepreneur pour informer les cadres et ouvriers :

- Quelques soit la taille de l’entreprise, il n’y a pas de barrage au niveau de la transmission de l’information aux cadres, en fait, il est remarquable que tous les entrepreneurs quelque soient les tailles de leurs entreprises, ils transmettent l’information aux cadres directement avec des moyens déterminés (des réunions, des consultations…) et avec lesquels l’information passent directement et oralement pour sensibiliser les cadres de leur importance dans l’animation de l’activité quotidienne de l’entreprise, ces agents doivent quant à leur tour, représenter leurs entrepreneurs dans le passage de l’information, c’est ce qui explique la transmission indirecte de l’information dans pas mal d’entreprise (surtout dans les entreprises où le nombre des emplois dépasse la trentaine)

- Bien qu’il existe une communication directe entre l'entrepreneur et les ouvriers dans toutes les catégories d'entreprises, on constate l'existence des niveaux intermédiaires entre le chef d'entreprise et les ouvriers dans les petites et moyennes entreprises.
4. Le niveau de formalisation

Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon l'utilisation des règles écrites :

- Comparées aux autres catégories d'entreprises, les moyennes entreprises enquêtées sont caractérisées par l'utilisation massive des règles écrites (soit 100 %) contre 59 % dans les petites entreprises et 36 % dans les micros entreprises, ce qui reflète l'importance de la présence de ces règles comme moyen de réglementer les comportements et les relations et de lutter contre les pertes et le gaspillage surtout dans les activités à haut risque tel que la fabrication de charpente et de menuiserie.

- Les règles écrites touchent la sécurité (la sensibilisation des ouvriers vers la protection de leur environnement de travail afin d'être en sécurité), les normes de production, le processus de production, les postes et horaires de travail.

5. Le contrôle

Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon les moyens du contrôle de fonctionnement de l'entreprise :

- La différence et la diversification des moyens de contrôle entre les entreprises varient selon leur taille et reflètent l'importance du rôle des cadres et leurs techniques professionnelles dans l'exercice du contrôle au sein de l'entreprise, telles que la comptabilité, les statistiques et les bilans qui sont par ordre d'importance, les premiers moyens évoqués par les entrepreneurs de petites et moyennes entreprises, ces techniques ou moyens font appel à l'intégration des cadres pour la maîtrise de ces dispositifs de contrôle et d'organisation.

- On constate que les micros entreprises se caractérisent en premier lieu par la présence quotidienne et sur le tas de l'entrepreneur avec les ouvriers pour la continuité de la production (sans interruption) ce qui lui permet de contrôler le fonctionnement de l'unité. Par ailleurs, elles se limitent à l'utilisation des rapports journaliers de ce qui est réalisé.

Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon le degré du contrôle exercé par l'entrepreneur :

"Est-ce que vous contrôlez tout dans l'entreprise ?" c'est la question qu'on a posé aux entrepreneurs enquêtés afin de découvrir le degré d'indépendance du fonctionnement d'entreprises de leur contrôle personnel. Ce qui est remarquable, c'est que tous les entrepreneurs quel que soit les tailles de leurs entreprises donnent beaucoup d'importance à leur contrôle personnel du travail, mais les raisons se diversifient entre autre, en effet, 55 % des micro entreprises trouvent que c'est grâce à l'activité qui est moyennement étroite et que c'est facile le contrôle partout, dans le moment que les petites et moyennes entreprises dépistent ces raisons afin d'indiquer que le contrôle est nécessaire pour la continuité et la réponse aux problèmes issus de l'organisation et de son environnement.
Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon les raisons du contrôle :

Les raisons de contrôle et l'imperfection de l’application de ce dernier se diversifient, cependant, les moyennes et petites entreprises enquêtées indiquent que le contrôle du fonctionnement est très important ce qui nécessite des experts afin de garantir un certain niveau d'efficacité, mais le faible contrôle ne touche que les agents qui possèdent des tâches propres à leur spécialisation et qu'il y a de la confiance en eux surtout dans les activités à haut niveau technologique tel que les appareils de réception, d’enregistrement ou de reproduction du son et de l’image…

Au sein des micros entreprises, c'est la raison de leader qui commande et qui a confiance en son personnel, ce qui ne nécessite pas beaucoup de contrôle sauf s'il y a des tâches très utiles et qu'il faut que l'inspection soit obligatoire.

6. La prise de décision

6.1. Les étapes de la prise de décision

Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon le suit des étapes de direction :

A la question de connaître si les entrepreneurs enquêtés suivent des étapes lors de la direction de leurs entreprises, on a identifié qu'il existe un ensemble d'entrepreneurs des micros et petites entreprises (soit respectivement 28% 12%) qui ne suivent pas les étapes lors de la direction de leurs entreprises, tandis que tous les autres entrepreneurs enquêtés nous parlent des étapes déterminées:

Il y a un processus de production, puis la planification de ce qui sera produit, l'organisation du travail, l'exécution et le contrôle de ce qui est produit par rapport à ce qui est planifié. Chez quelques entrepreneurs des micros entreprises enquêtées, ce qui caractérise ce genre d'entreprises par rapport aux petites et moyennes entreprises, c'est qu'il y a une continuité de travail sans interruption grâce aux atouts qui donnent d'avantage tel que la relation avec les clients, les fournisseurs, les relations publiques….

6.2. La contribution des collaborateurs à la prise de décision

Au niveau de la répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon la participation des collaborateurs des entrepreneurs à la prise de décision :

Trois observations s'imposent:

-Tout d'abord, tous les entrepreneurs des moyennes entreprises bénéficient d'une aide de la part de leurs collaborateurs dans le management de leurs activités. 76% des chefs des petites entreprises déclarent bénéficier d'une aide de la part de leurs collaborateurs lors de la
prise d'une décision. Par contre on trouve 24 % des petites entreprises enquêtées ne donnent pas beaucoup d'importance à l'intervention des cadres dans la prise de décision, cela est dû au parfaite confiance en soi qui caractérise les entrepreneurs enquêtés qui jouissent d'un savoir faire technique et managérial, en plus, il n'y a pas de problèmes de poids à résoudre qui nécessite la présence et l'intervention des cadres.

- le deuxième constat souligne la caractéristique des micros entreprises en matière de la prise de décision et qui consiste au rôle absolu de l'entrepreneur dans le management de ce type d'entreprises.

- la troisième observation qu'on a identifiée auprès des réponses des entrepreneurs c'est que ce ne sont pas toujours les propositions des collaborateurs qui sont importantes dans l'orientation de la prise de décision et de son contenu, mais il y a une invitation à les intégrer dans le processus de prise de décision pour stimuler la cohésion de groupe qui alimente la production des idées à haute efficacité, surtout les idées qui concernent la commercialisation des produits et la réponse aux attentes des clients afin de garantir un certain niveau de pérennité de vie chez l'entreprise

**Au niveau de répartition des entreprises enquêtées selon les réunions des entrepreneurs avec leurs collaborateurs :**

Est-ce qui vous réunissez périodiquement avec vos collaborateurs ? La réunion avec les collaborateur trouve son raison d'être de moment qu'il y a suivi de différent étapes de ménagement de l'activité de l'entreprise, en effet, ces réunions englobe le plus souvent le rappel à ce qui il faut pour l'obtention des bonnes résultats avec efficacité, la sensibilisation des collaborateurs vers leurs contribution dans le succès de travail, mettre l'accent sur les milieux extérieurs des entreprises afin de saisir les opportunités ensemble et de se lutter contre les menaces de la concurrence en écoutant les suggestions des collaborateurs.

**III. Un nouveau modèle est construit**

Chercher à comprendre la diversité des structures organisationnelles des petites et moyennes entreprises, c'est d'abord en construire des modèles.

L'explication de la diversité des styles de coordination et des caractéristiques des organisations entrepreneuriales, passe nécessairement par la construction des modèles simplifiés et abstraits en regroupant les entreprises enquêtées et les caractéristiques organisationnelles qui y sont associées en modèles afin d'expliquer et de comprendre qui explique, dans une entreprise dirigée par son entrepreneur, la diversité des caractéristiques de la structure organisationnelle tout en dépassant la simple catégorisation en petites et moyennes entreprises.

La modélisation est une simplification constructive des caractéristiques organisationnelles observables qui nous conduit à organiser et à regrouper ces caractéristiques.
en vue d'en dégager les relations entre elles et de les ordonner en typologie pour repérer les caractéristiques les plus significatives des structures organisationnelles enquêtées.

Les données recueillies des entretiens effectués avec les entrepreneurs interviewés dans ce travail s'organisent de telle manière qu'on puisse dégager deux modèles de l'organisation entrepreneuriale. Les deux typologies ci-après intègrent des données et des éléments quantitatifs et qualitatifs portant sur les caractéristiques organisationnelles des entreprises enquêtées.

**L'organisation "monocéphale": Une nouvelle configuration est découverte**

L'organisation des entreprises de ce type est rudimentaire, elle n'a pas de tout de cadres ou d'agents de maîtrise ou, dans certains cas, un nombre de niveaux hiérarchiques insignifiant. Cette organisation est, en effet, structurée autour de deux niveaux: l'entrepreneur et les ouvriers, la ligne hiérarchique est très courte.

Il s'agit d'une organisation que j'appelle "organisation entrepreneuriale monocéphale" car elle est tout simplement gérée par une seule "tête" du pouvoir celui de l'entrepreneur et elle peut se présenter à travers la figure suivante:

Cette organisation trouve son ancrage sur le terrain dans le micro et petites entreprises à capital réduit et à technologie non sophistiquée.

Le pouvoir est concentré dans les mains de l'entrepreneur, celui-ci ne s'entoure pas de collaborateurs. Dans cette organisation, l'exercice du pouvoir et la gestion du fonctionnement de l'entreprise dépendent uniquement de la personnalité de l'entrepreneur qui contrôle et surveille tous les moments majeurs du processus de production, de l'approvisionnement jusqu'au l'expédition et la vente.

Dans cette organisation, nous ne trouvons pas parfois une séparation entre la réalisation du travail productif et sa direction. Dans certains cas étudiés, l'entrepreneur est un opérateur sur le tas. Les activités productive, financière et commerciale sont coordonnées et gérées par l'entrepreneur.
La structure de l'organisation monocéphale se caractérise par la prédominance de l'oral. La planification et les règles écrites sont totalement absentes, la communication y est informelle et "directe".

Conclusion

Le cadre théorique proposé par Mintzberg (op. cit.) permet de montrer à travers la théorie de la contingence (multitude de configurations organisationnelles en fonction de facteurs multiples) qu'un couple entrepreneur-organisation peut se présenter comme une problématique de recherche et ainsi susciter différentes typologies construites. L'organisation de petites entreprises ne peut pas être représentée par une seule configuration "universelle" ou générale, c'est la problématique qui nous a poussé à entreprendre une enquête sur terrain auprès d'un échantillon d'une trentaine d'entreprises industrielles au gouvernorat de Gafsa. Il est donc important de s'intéresser à créneau de recherche qui peut être source de réflexions empiriques riches.

Les données recueillies des entretiens effectués avec les entrepreneurs interviewés et auprès de leurs entreprises font apparaître des caractéristiques organisationnelles et managériales différentes. L'étude de l'élément humain des différentes entreprises montre que la structuration des fonctions et des tâches va de pair avec la progression de la taille d'entreprise et que plus l'organisation se développe plus il y a intégration du personnel, la présence des cadres, des techniciens et des employés des bureaux rend les tâches et les unités plus spécialisées en développant la composante administrative ce qui contribue à une division du travail plus développée et à la structuration des tâches au sein de l'organisation. L'existence des cadres et de l'élément humain spécialisé en général joue un rôle déterminant dans l'agencement des activités, la préparation des programmes et dans la prise de décision.

En bref, quelque soit la nature de l'activité des entreprises enquêtées, ce qui est remarquable c'est qu'il y a une relation de poids entre les facteurs qui influencent les structures des organisations à s'avoir la taille et le taux d'encadrement…

Actuellement, l'intervention des spécialistes à haute niveau d'instruction dans des domaines technologiques tel que l'informatique, le Marketing devient l’un des impératifs économiques ……ce qui influence les résultats des entreprises qui cherchent le développement de leurs unités et par conséquence la structuration de leurs organisations et leur performance.

Au terme de ces réflexions, il est important de souligner que tout chercheur en sciences de gestion désirant effectuer une recherche sur les styles du management de petites et moyennes entreprises devrait partir d'une démarche contingente et pluridisciplinaire ayant pour objet une meilleure compréhension de l'organisation des micro, petites et moyennes entreprises.
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Irony in Angela Carter’s *The Magic Toyshop*: The patriarchal order as a case in point

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Abstract

*The Magic Toyshop* (1967) is Angela Carter’s second novel which permitted her to win the John Llewellyn Rhys price. In her novel, Carter experiments with many Feminist postmodern techniques that deploy and, at the same time, ironically debunk the cultural, mythic and religious heritage, aiming to revisit the past with a critical goal. Her speculative and fictitious writing have made it possible for her to question the internalized bygone cultural traditions, through a critical angle. Though the instances of irony are numerous in the novel, Carter has put a great emphasis on the comic revision of the male patriarchal order. The writer’s prior objective through evoking the male power is to parody and criticize it, rather than to sympathize with it. While it is accurately presented as a dominant force, patriarchal power is comically overturned in *The Magic Toyshop*. One prominent male character is Uncle Philip, whose task is of a highest importance, since he personifies the figure through whom Carter subverts the patriarchal order. Throughout the book, Uncle Philip is conveyed as a god-like character who suffocates both his wife; Aunt Margaret and his niece; Melanie.

His toyshop, where he fashions his puppets and determines their fate, stands as a model for his tight control and sadistic demeanor with his female relatives. His dominance over his toys reflects his oppression of his own females. The writer embarks by conveying the premises of patriarchy, only to ironically parody them. By the end of the novel, Aunt Margaret unbridles herself and ironically subverts her husband’s male hegemony by committing incest. The same character, on whom male power is exercised, evinces the non-existence of her oppressor. Uncle Philip is depicted as a ridiculed, male character who fails to conceive his patriarchal role. His claimed patriarchal authority is defied and proved to be ironic.

Keywords: Irony- patriarchal power- fairy tales- intertexts- gender stereotypes
The Magic Toyshop is Angela Carter’s second novel, published in 1967 and won the John Llewellyn Rhys prize. In this book, the British writer experiments with a myriad of literary techniques in order to subvert the modern literary realism. She resorts to irony and parody to convey her ideological implication. In The Magic Toyshop “irony seemed […] to be structured as a miniature (semantic) version of parody’s (textual) doubling” (Hutcheon 4). One important ideology which she tackles is the patriarchal order. The writer’s main objective through the deployment of irony is to criticize male power rather than to sympathize with it. While it is accurately put forward as dominant force, patriarchal power is ironically overturned in The Magic Toyshop. “There is a curious gendering in the discourses about irony and its politics. […] it is figured as a Vampire—a feminine vampire” (Kierkegaard qtd in Hutcheon 8). One prominent male character is Uncle Philip whose task is of a highest importance, since he exemplifies the figure through whom Carter denigrates a whole ideology.

Throughout the book, Uncle Philip is conveyed as a god-like male who suffocates both his wife: Aunt Margaret and his niece: Melanie. He manages a toyshop, where he exercises an uninhibited power over the puppets he fashions, and extends this tight control to the females of his household. Actually, he treats them in a similar way to his marionettes. “[His] puppet plays […] dramatise a particular idea of womanhood” and the entire “workshop represents more than a family business: it doubles as a cultural site where the myths that sustain patriarchy are fabricated” (Gamble 39).

His toyshop, where he fashions puppets and determines their fate, stands as a model for his suffocating control and sadistic demeanor with his female relatives. His rule over his toys is evidence of his oppression of his family. The workshop is portrayed as a home in miniature, directed by the authoritarian male power. “As such, irony has been seen as “serious play,” as both “a rhetorical strategy and a political method” (Haraway 1990:191) that deconstructs and decenters patriarchal discourses” (Hutcheon 31-2). The writer starts by conveying the premises of patriarchy, intentionally to parody them.

We are informed from the beginning of the novel that “Not a word can [Aunt Margaret] speak[s] [due to] a terrible affliction; it came to her on her wedding day, like a curse. Her silence” (Carter 37). The coincidence of Aunt Margaret’s dumbness on her wedding day connotes her submission to her husband’s patriarchal realm. She ironically succumbs to his authority by displaying her silence. However, Uncle Philip who “likes, […] silent women” (Carter 63), ends by being mocked and cuckolded by his dumb wife. “So, the silencing of women’s voices is transformed into the willed silence of the “ironic and traditional feminine manner” (A.L.Rosenthal 1973:30 qtd.inHutcheon 32). Aunt Margaret unbridles herself and subverts her husband’s patriarchal order by committing incest. “Carter […] is writing out of a gender context that is still evolving and can be influenced, so it is important for her to stress that women can acquire enough power to change their lives. […] her focus is […] on profound transformations in her characters themselves” (Gregson 113).

The writer depicts to us Uncle Philip’s apparent successful patriarchal authority, only to unveil its invalidity. The husband’s tyrannical power, which triumphs to mute his wife, is
ironically overthrown by the end of the novel. The patriarchal figure who has “pulled [the] strings [of his females] as if [they] were his puppets” (Carter 152), is conveyed as a ridiculed male character that fails to conceive his role appropriately. Carter aims to render him “a parody-patriarch who rules over [a] shadow world” (Gamble 37). His patriarchal prerogative is sardonically defied; for his domination fell through extending to his female relatives.

Symbolically speaking, Uncle Philip’s fashioned swan, which is supposed to violate Melanie, is a “trope [for his] patriarchal power trip” (Jouve 154). It follows from this, that the swan, which is the incarnation of the patriarchal mythical figure of “almighty jove” (Carter 164), stands for the character of Uncle Philip who guides the lives of his nephews according to his will. “Carter’s clumsy swan is a joke on patriarchal myth makers who dress up the principle of male domination in grandiose poetry—but it is a serious joke” (Gamble 40). Through the introduction of the myth of Leda and The swan, Carter connotes that patriarchal power is also a mere culturally constructed myth. She brings the myth into play, with its cultural implications, to sarcastically criticize its illegitimacy. “This is the irony feminist theorists see as working to deprive “hegemonic culture […] of the claim to naturalized or essentialist gender identities” (Butler qtd.inHutcheon 32).

At her arrival to her Uncle’s house, Melanie is informed by Finn: Aunt Margaret’s brother that she is forbidden from wearing trousers. “Trousers. One of your Uncle Philip’s ways. He can’t abide a woman in trousers. He won’t have a woman in the shop if she’s got trousers on her and if he sees her. He shouts her out into the street for a harlot” (Carter 62). Figuratively, trousers betoken maleness and signify patriarchal hegemony. This explains Uncle Philip’s attitude towards “a woman in trousers”, for he views them as a female empowering means. He refuses to be equal to females and decides to curb his female relatives. His restraint of the females of his family is accurately illustrated. To achieve her ironic goal, Carter shows Uncle Philip’s seemingly successful dominance, seeking to demolish it. During his absence, every member of the family gives free vent to his/her desire. Melanie wears trousers, as a way of male defiance, and offers Aunt Margaret her nice dress. Both females free themselves from all constraints and scornfully escape Uncle Philip’s patriarchal grip.

We can analyze the previously mentioned scene, as Aunt Margaret’s allegorical sexual empowerment which paves the way for her committing incest. She dares to confront her husband’s “patriarchal majesty” (73) and prepares the ground for its collapse. The very same character, on whom male power is exerted, encages herself and evinces the non-existence of her oppressor. Melanie and Aunt Margaret protest at being the “poor women pensioners [the] planets round [the] male sun” (Carter 140). They set themselves free and demonstrate that “[the] woman does […] exist” (Armstrong 268). Finn destroys the swan and buries it, with its ideological mythic suggestions, in the pleasure garden.

This particular Greek myth of Leda and The swan is deployed by Carter to ironically deconstruct its essence. The use of myths in The Magic Toyshop is a double edged weapon, for it helps the writer to wield a postmodern literary technique, which is magical realism, and to condemn the privileged patriarchal ideology. “This can be seen in feminist “revisionist
mythmaking”” (Ostrikerqtd. in Hutcheon 32) and referred to by Carter as “demythologizing” (qtd.in Schmid 145). To clarify her label, She stresses that “[myths are] ideas, images, stories that we tend to take on trust without thinking what they really mean[…] because I believe that all myths are products of the human mind and reflect only aspects of material human practice. I’m in the demythologizing business” (CarterDay 3-4). What special about Carter’s dealing with Leda and The swan are her explicit textual adoption of the myth and her implicit spurning of its ideological features. Thus irony happens in the space between (and including) the said and the unsaid; it needs both to happen. […] the “ironic” meaning is inclusive and relational: the said and the unsaid coexist for the interpreter, and each has meaning in relation to the other because they literally “interact” (burke 1969a:512) to create the real “ironic” meaning (Hutcheon 12).

In The Magic Toyshop, Melanie is empathized with the mythological figure of Leda. Uncle Philip subordinates and pressurizes her to be a puppet playing the role of Leda; While Finn is allocated the part of the swan. “The sky-god Jove (or Zeus)- the father of gods and men, the supreme ruler, the originator of law and order-rapes the mortal woman Leda, in the form of a swan-Uncle Philip has made a model of a swan and he has the thing mount Melanie as Leda” (Day25). Carter ironically uncovers the atrocious male demeanor which manipulates the female character. Though Melanie submits to the swan’s will, she ridicules it, striving to wreck its patriarchal greatness. She meditates that “[Uncle Philip ‘swan] was nothing like the wild, phallic bird of her imaginings. It was dumpy and homely eccentric. She nearly laughed” (Carter 165). This implies that Melanie mocks the male’s grandeur and undermines its superiority. In this case, we can discern the humorous aspect of irony.

“The attribution of mocking intent […] has often made theorists […] see all irony as characterized by “painful” laughter (Palante 1906:149 qtd. In Hutcheon 26). Carter’s ultimate objective through the deployment of Leda and The swan is “[to expose] myths and their oppressive potential, which she sees at work particularly in the field of gender relations” (Schmid145). By means of myths and their hidden ideological aspects, patriarchal societies stiffen their females and “turn [them] into puppets, deprive them of autonomous life” (Day 24). Uncle Philip, who stands as a perfect emblem of patriarchal dominance, metaphorically and literally speaking, transforms his niece into a puppet abiding by his orders. To quote Carter’s words “myths deal in false universals, to dull the pain of particular circumstances. In no area is this more true than in that of relations between the sexes” (Carter qtd.in Schmid 145).

Myths are invented to perpetuate the patriarchal dominance and internalize it within the female consciousness. By designing his own Leda, Uncle Philip plans to tighten his grasp over Melanie. However, the latter ‘self-awareness of the patriarchal vileness and its unjustified existence, leads her to satirize it, for “[she] must not be afraid of the swan. It is all charades” (Carter 162). Although, she apparently surrenders to “[t]he feathered glory” (Watts 182), Melanie is aware of its fallacious mythic supremacy and works hard to bring its end.

Because patriarchy imposes itself as a norm, as unquestionable common sense, it requires in response this especially flagrant act of satirical defamiliarizing which loudly
proclaims that the patriarchal vision is responsible in fact, for degrading an innocent young girl into an object of use (Gregson 112).

Throughout the novel, Melanie is put forward to us as a victim female who endures enormously from patriarchal hatred and sounds to endorse her female submissiveness. By the close of the novel, her imagined ideal femininity comes to an end as “[s]he is now exposed to a misogyny which is the other side of her fantasies of female-submission” (Schmid 147). Her disillusionment reaches its climax with the Leda puppet show. She becomes conscious of her entrapment within a male dominated society which rejects gender equality. The almost raped Leda is on the verge of being overwhelmed by “the insignificant [swan] as dust” (Carter 16), which she acknowledges and laughs at.

Carter’s degrading description of the swan implicitly displays her ironic patriarchal judgment. “By describing this swan as being different from the majestic creature of older myths, Carter creates a comic contrast. Thus also undermining Uncle Philip’s claim to power” (Schmid 148). The writer distances myths from the internalized patriarchal conviction and dispossesses both of them from their assumed ideological influence. “[She] possesses a very high degree of theoretical reflection on the phenomenon of myth […] she shows that female submission and male domination are not natural and God-given-on the contrary-they are ‘man-made’” (Schmid 146). Carter makes recourse to myths to refute patriarchal hegemony over femaleness, by highlighting their cultural rootedness.

Apart from myths, the deployment of fairy tales illustrates a literary prerequisite in Carter’s ironic deconstruction of the male power. One prominent fairy tale in The Magic Toyshop is Charles Perrault’s “Bluebeard’s castle”. The writer relies heavily on this particular fairy tale as an intermittent intertext within the folds of her book. The main purpose behind its application is to unveil the voracious male power which is superimposed over the martyzed female character. Contrary to the traditional use of fairy tales which is meant to solidify male power, Carter’s postmodern employment of these stories tends to build a powerful and revenging female protagonist who satirizes the patriarchal realm and thwarts the unfair social system.

The Carter heroine, sensible, sassy and resourceful, came along at the right time to help [...] think about the difficult and necessary task of establishing strong female protagonists in a form that had traditionally provided its power fantasies in a distinctly gender-based fashion” (Kaveney 186).

Similarly to myths, the fairy tale motif qualifies the writer to uncover the unjustified male control over females. She applies these innocent childish stories and digs beneath their sexual and gendered implications to ironically prove their hidden male guidance. Women have internalized their submission as if it is natural, though it is ideologically and socially inflicted. In The Magic Toyshop, Melanie ironically identifies with Bluebeard’s wife.

She felt lonely and chilled, walking along the long, brown passages, past secret doors, shut tight. Bluebeard’s castle. Melanie felt a shudder of dread as she went by every door, in case it opened and something, some clockwork horror rolling hugely on small
wheels, some terrifying joke or hideous novelty emerge to put her courage to the test (Carter 82).

By comparing Uncle Philip’s house to Bluebeard’s castle, the writer subtly equates them. Studying both characters, a clear continuation and resemblance can be traced between them. Melanie feels the heavy loneliness and extreme cold due to her Uncle’s unaffectionate behavior. His extravagant control over his wife and niece affects the family mood badly. Subsequently, Melanie is led into hallucinations. She, unconsciously, identifies with Mrs. Bluebeard due to the tyrannical male power they undergo.

By implementing “Bluebeard’s Castle” as an intertext, Angela Carter emphasizes her implicated irony of the patriarchal system. She strives to subvert the male dominance and fortify her female characters by voicing them, within a male centered world. “Carter’s interest in the fairy tale stems, among other things, from her observation that women were the tellers and often the heroines” (Grass 80). Thus, Melanie is voiced to express the male danger, to which she is exposed.

Though, she appears to describe her emotional fear, Melanie views the whole situation from an ironic angle. At this level, the reader is invited to infer the writer’s ironic message because

Irony is an interpretive and intential move: it is the making or inferring of meaning in addition to and different from what is stated, together with an attitude toward both the said and the unsaid. The move is usually triggered (and then directed) by conflictual textual or contextual evidence or by markers which are socially agreed upon. […] irony is the intential transmission of both information and evaluative attitude other than what is explicitly presented (Hutcheon11).

From the depiction of the scene, we discern the vulnerable female circumstances compared with the dominant male power. However we have to dive in the fairy tale’s inferring meaning, to grasp its irony. The writer explicitly deploys fairy tales, only to implicitly repudiate their ideological and cultural orientations.

Fairy tales present Angela Carter with a range of subject matter for drawing out the beauty and violence in gender and sexual formations. In deconstructing the tales, Carter reveals the false universalizing inherent in many so –called master narratives of the western literary tradition (Brooker 1).

Much the same to Bluebeard who spreads his authority over the whole castle, Uncle Philip broadens his patriarchal power and stifles the females of the house. Via this particular example, Carter satirizes Uncle Philip’s patriarchal hegemony which culminates with failure, as it is the case with Bluebeard’s. “[P]atriarchal power [is] attacked, deconstructed, shown to be hollow or vulnerable in Angela Carter, whether [through] Uncle Philip or Bluebeard” (Jouve 155). In The Magic Toyshop, Melanie is empowered to articulate her secret fears which are caused by the dominant male institution. Through her identification with Mrs. Bluebeard, she bears the responsibility of all the victimized females. She embodies the female voice which is in quest for liberation. Melanie “takes control of her narrative, challenges the
“accepted fictions of femininity” [and] […] sets out to bring down the edifice of patriarchal control” (Grass 80).

Carter thrives to wreck the gender stereotypes by unfolding the exercised male tyranny. Contrary to the traditional subordinated female characters, Carter’s heroine acts to unmask the identity of patriarchal order. She displays her sufferings under the masculine authority and reacts to deflate the cult that has always haunted her as a female character. She presents “a comic vision [of the patriarchal order] which focuses upon social constructs and opens them up to subversion, transformation and change” (Grass 81). Similar to the defeat of Bluebeard’s authority, Uncle Philip’s power would crumble as an emblem of male dominance. Ironically speaking, Uncle Philip’s house is caught by fire as a connotation of the collapse of his patriarchal influence.

To recapitulate, whether through the reference to myths or to fairy tales, Angela Carter succeeds to convey her postmodern feminist view about the ironic male power. Though, they seem to display obedience, her female characters ironically overturn the patriarchal realm and pay tribute to the subordinated women.
Primary source


Secondary sources


Electronic Source


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Abstract
The death match in professional wrestling is stigmatized by institutions watching after the public order and by participants of the pro wrestling community. There is no comprehensive academic scholarship about this phenomenon. Despite the stigma, a unique perspective on death match is offered in this article: it is approached as a cultural production that meets specific standards of physical appearance and performance excellence. With all its ambiguities, flaws, and abundance of aesthetic and ethical problems, the author comes to a conclusion that the death match wrestler Alexander Bedranowsky uses this form of cultural production as a tool for self-empowerment. The scholar compares the death match to splatter films. With a focus on the first Saw film (2004), Saw II (2005) and The Saw Death Match (2007), performed by characters Thumbtack Jack and Drake Younger, the author elaborates on how death match wrestlers produce a “spectacle of violent death” (Schneider 2001). She is particularly interested in the aspect of ‘creativity’ in death match. This original research project is a step in the direction of raising awareness about death match in pro wrestling, and initiating discourse around this excessive entertainment phenomenon among the cultural studies scholars.

Keywords: cultural studies, horror film studies, death match pro wrestling, body genre, gender

1 Special thanks to Alexander Bedranowsky, Tassilo Jung, Felix Schulz and Terence Kumpf
Introduction

While researching scholarly literature about pro wrestling (PW), I found no texts that dealt specifically with the death match (DM). The ‘death match’ or ‘deathmatch’ were usually mentioned either in the context of scholarship on computer games or as a metaphor applied to describe competitive/antagonistic ideas. PW is commonly understood as a collaborative form of performance art. In this research, I approach DM as a “body genre” (Williams 1991). Unlike cinematic performance, DM is, first of all, a raw live performance. And unlike theatrical performance, DM implies actual excessive bleeding of pro wrestlers in the ring caused, for example, by using sharp foreign objects like light tubes, barbed wire, razorblades, etc., or the practice of self-inflicted cutting, which is called ‘blading’ or ‘getting color’ in the DM scene. In the long run, DM is very detrimental to physical health and psychological well-being.

DM is stigmatized by the institutions watching after the public order; it is also stigmatized by the participants of the PW community. Some pro wrestlers and fans do not recognize DM as a legitimate performance genre, arguing that DM has nothing to do with PW; hence, it should be done away with for good. Despite the stigma, this article offers a unique perspective on DM: DM is approached as a cultural production that meets specific standards of physical appearance and excellence in performance.

In this article, I compare DM to splatter films. With focus on the first Saw film (2004), Saw II (2005) and The Saw DM (2007), where DM is performed by the characters Thumbback Jack (TJ) and Drake Younger (in PW referred to as ‘gimmicks’), I elaborate on how DM wrestlers collaborate together (as film and theater actors do) in the production of a “spectacle of violent death” (Schneider 2001). Along with splatter film in horror of the twenty first century, DM as a cultural phenomenon offers social commentary on ‘whiteness,’ masculinity ideals, and voyeurism in entertainment, to name but a few.

Here, I mainly focus on ‘creativity’ in DM, meaning the ways by which a particular wrestler proficiently performs in his role as an opponent or, conversely, how a particular wrestler creatively inflicts damage to his own body. The article is a contribution to the body of work on horror in literature and film in which DM is a central topic for research. It is also a unique scholarly contribution to the German DM scene.

Cultural Studies Scholarship about Pro Wrestling

To a great extent, PW is a form of performance art. Like dance, theater, circus, ballet, etc., PW involves aspects of visual arts, literature and athleticism, and provides a “window on human thought and emotion” (Adams 2002). A number of studies of PW have gained important status within the field of cultural studies, Roland Barthes’ study being one of them. His approach to studying PW was very similar to Mikhail Bakhtin’s approach to studying carnival festivities and comic spectacles in his work Rabelais and His World (1984) during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Bakhtin pointed out that carnival festivities and comic spectacles and the rituals connected to them had an important place in the life of an
individual; they served the purpose of escaping from the official way of life. In *Mythologies* (1972), Barthes explored, as he put it, the myth of PW by contrasting it to boxing and judo, and drawing parallels between PW and the theatre of ancient Rome:

Wrestling is not a sport, it is a spectacle. [...] Boxing is [...] based on a demonstration of excellence. One can bet on the outcome of a boxing-match: wrestling, it would make no sense. [...] In other words, wrestling is a sum of spectacles, of which no single one is a function: each moment imposes the total knowledge of a passion which rises erect and alone, without ever extending to the crowning moment of a result. Thus the function of the wrestler is not to win; it is to go exactly through the motions which are expected of him. [...] In judo, a man who is down is hardly down at all, he rolls over, he draws back, he eludes defeat [...] in wrestling, a man who is down is exaggeratedly so, and completely fills the eyes of the spectators with the intolerable spectacle of his powerlessness. [...] In wrestling, as on the stage in antiquity, one is not ashamed of one’s suffering, one knows how to cry, one has a liking for tears. (Roland Barthes. *Mythologies*. New York: Hill and Wang. 1972. pp.15-16.)

Thanks to this particular study, a cultural studies approach to studying PW as a spectacle gained popularity among scholars. However, Barthes’ assertion that “wrestling is not a sport, it is a spectacle” (Ibid.) should be taken with reservation. Narrowing PW down to a spectacle only is not helpful in understanding the multi-layered nature of PW. Besides being dramatic public display, PW match has much in common with sports competition. After all, PW is a live athletic performance. In addition to theatrical skills, like any team sport, PW demands physical athleticism and fine motor skills along with, ideally, physical and mental agility.

Often, discussions concerning PW are narrowed down to the question whether PW is fake. In the documentary *Fit Finlays* (2010), David Finlay, Jr, an Irish pro wrestler, explained the interplay between ‘real’ and ‘fake’ in PW:

Give me a thumb. So they give me a thumb. [...] You prove your friend that I am hurting you. [...] I put a little bit of pressure on your thumb, you can’t explain pain, you can only feel it. So I put a little bit more pressure on your thumb... By the way, I can sing a song while I am hurting you, and your friends are going to be totally confused, what’s real here. Are you in pain? And I would snap their thumbs. Bam! Just like a chicken leg. [...] That’s what I believe I should do just to make you prove that wrestling is legitimate, and what we do is for real, what we do is who we are. (Ronan McCloskey. *The Fit Finlays*. Ireland: Setanta, 2010.)

Singing a song while putting pressure on a thumb and eventually snapping is a ‘real’ experience to the one who has his/her finger dislocated. Depending on the circumstances, and how this experience is presented or displayed (power play), ‘real’ experiences can be contested and even laughed out. To some, DM might appear more ‘realistic’ because DM pro wrestlers are actually bleeding their own blood. The viewer might be fascinated by what s/he sees or disgusted as a result of trying to figure out how painful it is for these bodies in front of his/her eyes. However, the repeated practice of self-induced pain and the release of adrenaline in the body during DM contribute to pro wrestlers’ heightened pain resistance and stamina. The aforementioned does not make DM wrestlers’ experience any less painful. These
examples illustrate how setting and display of pain can move the viewer: s/he can laugh at someone’s thumb being snapped by Finlay and/or feel nauseous when looking at Bedranowsky’s face covered with blood. In the end, the viewer’s responses matter the most: “This is sick. But I will come to the next show. Buy DVD. Consume it.” In *Powers of Horror* (1982), Kristeva elaborated on finding ‘jouissance’ in the abject. The question of reality here is irrelevant because this cultural phenomenon is ‘real’ and ‘legitimate’ in its own right, entertaining and pleasurable to some, superficial and degrading to others.

In *Understanding Popular Culture* (1989), John Fiske provides analysis of *Rock ’n’ Wrestling* television series. His analysis complimented Bakhtin and Barthes’ studies of *carnivalesque bodies*: grotesque, burlesque, excessive, jolly, offensive, and profane and degrading from the point of view of “high” culture. Fiske approached American PW on television as a text. His study of PW as a popular text revealed many insights about the role of the male body in the American working class cultural forms of entertainment. Bakhtin, Barthes and Fiske agreed that the grotesque body was positioned in opposition to the beautiful and perfect.

The concept of carnivalesque bodies borrowed from cultural studies scholarship is useful for my analysis of *The Saw DM* (2007). Bakhtin, Barthes and Fiske proposed that carnivals and PW spectacle served the purpose of vent/escape from social control and imposed norms. Their insightful reading of the carnivalesque and grotesque bodies are valuable for better understanding of PW as a cultural phenomenon. In many ways the bodies of DM wrestlers can be regarded as carnivalesque and grotesque. Typically, but not exclusively, these are masculine working class bodies. They undergo modifications: they are often tattooed, pierced and/or scarified, and, as a result of a DM career, heavily scarred. They are often fractured and damaged in the ring. Most importantly, these bodies are bleeding bodies, they are expected to bleed actual blood during every DM. When these bodies are approached as texts, they offer a variety of ideas about death and entertainment as a means for escaping social control. Underground 18+ events are not widely advertised. But escaping social control is not always possible; these bodies need to be medicated. In order to be medically attended in German hospitals, DM wrestlers—unlike “elite” sportsmen in football, tennis or golf—lie about the actual causes of injuries. In a locker room, other wrestlers can easily spot DM wrestlers. Their bodies are often described as incongruous, ugly, or even disgusting because they do not correspond to the widely shared ideal of a ‘beautiful masculine body’ in PW.

Understanding these grotesque bodies provided better understanding of DM wrestling, but they did not explain the how and why of explicit violence in DM. Some concepts and theories developed in the studies of contemporary horror in literature and film turned out to be useful in designing the research framework of the present study.

**Monster as an Artist in Horror Film Scholarship**

A variety of concepts and approaches can be borrowed from horror theory and criticism and applied to studying DM. In the context of this brief article, the DM genre is
approached as a “body genre” (Williams, 1991). The Saw DM (2007) was presented as a “spectacle of violent death” (Schneider, 2001). And DM gimmick Thumbback Jack (TJ), performed by Bedranowsky, was introduced in the role of “monster as corrupt or degraded artist” (ibid).

While staying recognizable, TJ-gimmick was constantly evolving. Throughout his career as a DM wrestler, Bedranowsky’s TJ personified the traits of: 1) a classic monster of horror, monster as a flawed/corrupt/degraded work of art (Cohen 1996); and 2) a more recent version of monster brought about with the splatter film and the developments in the gaming industry, that is, a corrupt and degraded monster-artist (Schneider 2001). In The Saw DM, TJ personified the latter. Hence, this sub-chapter mainly puts forward the scholarship about monster as an artist.

In The Philosophy of Horror: Or, Paradoxes of the Heart (1990), a widely read work on horror, Noël Caroll elaborates on recent tendencies in depicting “extreme gross fury visited upon the human body as it is burst, blown up, broken, and ripped apart” (Caroll 1990) in the horror genre. Caroll refers to it as “person-as-meat” (ibid.). In this extensive work on horror, Caroll mentions the term ‘splatter’ twice (on pages 21 and 211); both of them in the connection to Clive Barker, as he calls him “the literary equivalent of the splatter film” (ibid.). Barker’s monsters in Weaveworld (1987) and The Son of Celluloid (1991) serve as examples of “unclean” and “disgusting” monsters; the thought of being touched by them was described as “sickening” (ibid.). Caroll contextualizes splatter within American history by suggesting that the Vietnam War and disillusionments associated with that decade contribute to Americans’ sense of paralysis, engendered by massive historical shocks, and an unrelenting inability to come to terms practically with situations that persistently seemed inconceivable and unbelievable. The American Dream becomes wrapped up in an American Nightmare, in which victims are left dumbfound by horrific monsters (ibid.).

In “Murder as Art/The Art of Murder: Aestheticizing Violence in Modern Cinematic Horror” (2001), Steven Schneider shares his views on a “new era of cinematic horror” based on his reading of the contemporary horror films:

The monster is human, all too human, and besides that, all too real. Real in the sense that no obvious or Expressionistically – rendered signifiers of physical deformity-simplistically (and sometimes misleadingly) signifying moral corruption – are made available to the audience/protagonist/victim for the purpose of immediate identification. […] One distinguishing mark of the modern horror film is a shift in the genre’s dominant aesthetic metaphor: what used to be the monster as corrupt or degraded work of art has become […] the monster as corrupt and degraded artist. (Steven Jay Schneider. “Murder as Art/The Art of Murder: Aestheticizing Violence in Modern Cinematic Horror.” Intensitiescultmedia.files.wordpress.com. 2001. Jun. 1, 2014. p. 2.)

The author sketches out that, on the one hand, murder in the modern-day horror film can be approached as an artistic product. Consider a murderer recycling victims into various pieces of bone furniture in The Texas Chainsaw Massacre (1974), organizing objects of murder and parts of victims into a pop-art installation in White of The Eye (1987), or skilfully
arranging the death scene in *Se7en* (1995). On the other hand, murder can be interpreted as artistic performance. Consider a violent performance of “Singin’ in the Rain” while stomping on the body of an old man in *A Clockwork Orange* (1971), performances in Shakespearean drama in which actors literally kill unsuspecting critics in *Theatre of Blood* (1973), or Lecter’s spectacle of escape whereas *The Goldberg Variations* plays as accompaniment in *The Silence Of The Lambs* (1991). These are but some examples of ‘artistic’ products by a corrupt and degraded monster.

Both aspects can be also regarded as complementary. Examples incorporating both could be, among many, *Peeping Tom* (1960) and *Manhunter* (1986). In *Peeping Tom*, Mark Lewis (Karlheinz Boem) murders his victims in a ‘creative’ way with a retractable spike attached to a movie camera. In addition, a small mirror is affixed to the camera which enables him to record the terrified expressions of his victims as they watch themselves getting killed. In *Manhunter*, narcissistic Francis Dollarhyde (Tom Noonan) murders a couple in their bedroom and splatters the walls with their blood; he places shards of mirror into their eyes so they can watch what he is doing. Schneider wrote, “What we have here is a paradigmatic case of the ‘murder as artistic product’ theme dovetailing with that of ‘murder as artistic performance.’” (Schneider 2001) Schneider’s reading of these monsters suggests that the murderer is primarily coded as monstrous not because of some physical or mental deformity, but because the murder put his artistic talent to malevolent use.

The spectacles of violent death in most of the previously mentioned films have an art critic personified as a detective who attempts to understand the creative acts of murder. Detectives, rarely killers’ victims, but often the viewers themselves, are forced into the role of art interpreters, struggling at first with disgust, but eventually distancing themselves from the moral repugnance of the crime in order to understand the artworks. According to Schneider, the radical shift he traces in the horror genre’s dominant aesthetic metaphor, besides socio-historical conditions, stem largely from the shift in the cultural discourses of ‘art’ (the popularization of modern and avant-garde artistic practice). In his opinion, art became “more open to and associated with notions of ‘shock,’ transgression and offensiveness” (Schneider 2001).

In a recent work on the splatter genre titled *To See the Saw Movies: Essays on Torture Porn and Post-9/11 Horror* (2003), the authors elaborate on the cultural and historical context of the *Saw* franchise (2004-2010), and connect the existence and fascination with *Saw* with the traumatic nature of a post-9/11 America. In this collection of articles, McCann (2003) proposes that these films symbolically chart a crisis of masculinity in horror; male characters are mostly depicted as powerless and impotent in the hands of Jigsaw. In many ways, Jigsaw (Tobin Bell) is a monster much the same way as John Doe in *Se7en*: they are ‘creative’ murderers in Schneider’s sense. After a failed suicide attempt, Jigsaw, dying from a frontal lobe tumor, realizes how grateful he is to be alive. He vows to select people to put into circumstances in which their wills are tested and they are forced to choose between life and death: ‘Live or die, make your choice’ becomes a kind of mantra. The bodies of those who fail to save themselves, miss parts of skin, cut out in the form of jigsaw pieces. In a conversation in *Saw II*, Jigsaw explains that he never murdered anyone in his life, implying...
that the decisions are left to the people themselves. Ambiguous, intelligent and aesthetic in his own way, the Jigsaw-character is comprehensively analyzed in Jake Huntley’s article “I Want to Play a Game: How to See Saw” (2007).

In his study of murder as art and monster as artist in the contemporary horror film, Schneider points at the limitations of his research:

An obvious question to ask here, albeit one I am unable to pursue in the present essay, is why so often it is a young woman who is first confronted with these spectacles of death within the diegesis? Is it because femininity is traditionally assumed to respond ‘better,’ at least more viscerally, to works of art/murder? (Steven Jay Schneider. “Murder as Art/The Art of Murder: Aestheticizing Violence in Modern Cinematic Horror.” Intensescultmedia.files.wordpress.com. 2001. Jun. 1, 2014. p. 6.)

Gender has always been one of the central topics in horror theory and criticism. In “Film Bodies: Gender, Genre, and Excess” (1991), American film scholar Linda Williams provides perspectives on gender construction and how it is addressed in relation to basic sexual fantasies in the horror genre, particularly slasher films. Williams coined the term ‘body genre’ to describe a cluster of genres characteristic of a gross display of the human body. The author proposes that pornography, horror and melodrama share common pertinent features. First, the bodies portrayed in these three types of excess systems “are caught in the grip of intense sensation or emotion” (Williams 1991), that is, the bodies are depicted as sensationally orgasmic in porn, shaken by violence and terrified in horror, and weeping in melodrama. Second, these bodies are often depicted as aurally ecstatic with sexual pleasure, fear and terror, or overpowering sadness; the body screams with pleasure in porn, from fear in horror, and in anguish in melodrama. The third major feature these genres share is the body of a woman offering the most sensational sight: the female body in pleasure, fear, and pain. Williams explains that “pornography’s appeal to its presumed male viewers would be characterized as sadistic, horror films’ appeal to the emerging sexual identities of its (frequently adolescent) spectators would be sadomasochistic and women’s films appeal to presumed female viewers would be masochistic” (ibid.).

Regarding horror, Williams writes that it serves a function of problem solving; each instance endlessly repeats the trauma of castration as if attempting to explain the original problem of sexual difference in the world where the notions of gender are rapidly changing. She argues that the problem of sexual difference in horror is solved by more violence. In accordance with Williams’ reading of horror and the body genre, the answer to Schneider’s questions can be formulated this way: the body of a young woman offers the most sensational sight in horror; hence, young women (but not exclusively) are usually displayed as the first to confront the spectacle of death within the horror diesis. Besides the function of punishment of the ill-times exhibition of sexual desire in a ‘bad girl,’ explicit violence against a ‘good girl’ in splatter films can function as an empowerment trigger when the young woman makes a choice to overtake control and appropriate phallic power. (Ibid.)

During my research phase of DM scene in Germany, I gathered texts, photographs and 18+ videos for analysis, the graphic content of which had many similarities with that of
splatter films (a horror genre notable for its bloody gore) and porn films (particularly, S/M scenes depicting sadomasochistic relations). The explicit content of DM is exemplary of Williams’ body genre in the sense that it operates within the representations deemed excessive, gross and sick. Williams’ concept of ‘body genre,’ Schneider’s approach to reading particular horror films as ‘spectacle of violent death,’ and his typology of ‘murder as an artist,’ and Carroll’s ‘person-as-meat’ metaphor significantly contribute to the theoretical framework of this article. My reading of The Saw DM is a vivid example and, to a certain extent, voyeuristic account of how DM operates in the realm of gross.

The Saw Death Match

Bedranowsky writes in his autobiography Meine Kaempfe (2011): “On May 11, 2007, Drake and I massacred ourselves. The match was simply announced online as ‘Death Match.’ We wanted to surprise our fans with the gimmicks [in this context, weapons] we wanted to use – most importantly, we wanted to shock them!”\(^1\) The match took place in Westside Dojo’s training facility in Krefeld, Germany. To Bedranowsky, the shabbiness of the room created the suitable atmosphere. As in Saw, most of the action took place in this one room. With thirty-five fans and the crew,\(^2\) the room was overcrowded. Further, some highlights of the match are presented.

ENTRANCES. TJ and Drake Younger, personified by Alexander Bedranowsky and Drake Wuertz, ‘work gimmicks’ (play their characters) from the very beginning of the match. TJ presents himself as a psychopath, whereas Drake appears calmer, more focused, and, most importantly, performs friendliness to the fans as the ‘good guy’/’babyface’ gimmick should be. After a round of circling in the ring, TJ, ‘bad guy’/’heel’ announces, “Drake Younger, I wanna play a game. And I’m gonna call it ‘The SAW Death Match.’ I got a couple of gimmicks prepared… just like this one” (ibid.). Whereupon TJ briefly leaves the ring to retrieve his weapon: a collapsible chair with thirty five razorblades sticking out of its seating surface. “Do you remember SAW II, when that girl cut her wrists… with razor blades?” (Ibid.) The ring becomes a porous space, through which bodies and objects can be tricked through.

SHINE. ‘Shine’ is a term used to describe the beginning of the match when the wrestler’s face demonstrates his/her (technical, physical, and/or ethical) excellence, thus entertaining the crowd while giving them reasons to admire and support him/her. TJ positions the infamous chair in his corner of the ring and launches attacks against Drake. However, Drake is most of the time a step ahead of TJ, reversing most attacks, and taking control of the chair with razorblades. Drake slams the chair against TJ’s back, and then applies it again; this way, TJ’s ‘sick’ creativity is used against him. Blood is streaming down his face (‘crimson

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\(^2\) According to Bedranowsky, thirty-five fans came to see the event. However, in our personal exchange of messages with Tassilo Jung – Westside Xtreme Wrestling’s managing director, promoter and referee – he informed me that, in fact, seventy fans attended The Saw DM. According to him, the event was sold out, this particular match “caused a final boom for DM and then consequently led to DM’s demise, this being (…) the most important death match”.

http://ijhcschiefeditor.wix.com/ijhcs
mask’). TJ turns his back on the camera and crowd. Blood pumps from the wounds on his back every time he contracts his muscles. In real time, this scene drew strong reactions. In reference to this, Bedranowsky writes, “Money shots in the porn industry are cumshots, in the DM scene [money shots] are such recordings.” (Ibid.)

CUTOFF. ‘Cutoff’ is a term for a short action sequence that reverses the flow of events, thus shifting power within the ring. The one who dominates is humbled, and the one who is subdued becomes empowered. For example, Drake seats TJ on a chair, climbs to the top rope, flips down to TJ, but TJ is no longer there. He managed to escape from the chair at the very last moment. Drake took the full impact from his own move, screaming in pain in the center of ring. TJ takes control. Fans chant for Drake.

HEAT. ‘Heat’ describes a phase in the course of a match when the heel dominates the face. Despite being beaten and degraded, the face does not die, speaking figuratively. The face fights back despite the persistent brutality against it. Though down, yet always in action, the face demonstrates that s/he has a fighting spirit, thus winning the hearts of fans who sympathize with his/her situation. The heel enjoys and might abuse its power. TJ smuggles in handcuffs and barbwire, the latter being a traditional heel weapon, but also a reference to the Saw franchise. He handcuffs Drake and whips him with barbed wire. Meanwhile Drake mimics the screaming typically heard in splatter film victims. TJ, his back still bleeding, smuggles another weapon to terrorize Drake – a saw. (In his first Saw, Dr. Lawrence Gordon (Cary Elves) is placed in the dirty room with Adam Stanheight (Leigh Whannell). He goes against Jigsaw’s rules: instead of killing Adam, he uses the saw to cut off is leg in order to free himself.) The saw in the ring portends more damage to come. TJ addresses Drake, “I’m gonna mess you up for good! But there’s a solution to your problem! Because there is a key to those handcuffs inside of the referee’s stomach!” Westside Xtreme Wrestling (wXw) referee Tassilo Jung escapes the ring immediately. Crowd laughter ensues, thus temporarily reducing the atmosphere of tension. The key in the stomach is another reference to Saw, where Amanda Young (Shawnee Smith) slices the stomach of her cellmate in order to get the key to free herself from an apparatus fixed on her head that was capable of ripping off her jaw. The whole setup during the heat phase plays with numerous notions of facial injuries. Drake is bodyslammed against the concrete floor, TJ drills Drake’s forehead with an electric drill, bumping against the chair with razors, thrown onto a pile of syringes, etc. All of these ‘spots’ are accompanied by Drake’s screaming.

HOPE SPOT. ‘Hope spot’ is a sequence of moves to which the face can regain control over the match. One of Drake’s hope spots is taking control over TJ’s saw; Drake saws the handcuffs and frees himself, thus avoiding another of TJ’s ‘sick’ fantasy for the time being.

COMEBACK. ‘Comeback’ is a phase when the face pulls itself together to strike back with a strong and vigorous course of action. By the time of Drake’s comeback, the wrestlers’ heads, torsos, hands and gear are covered in blood. Bloodstains are found on the weapons, ring apron, floor outside the ring, and even outside the room where the event officially took place. One of the ‘grossest’ spots is Drake’s ‘Apron Death Valley Bomb,’ a signature move, performed from the ring apron onto TJ’s syringes scattered on the hard floor. According to TJ,
four hundred fifty of them were used in this match). TJ confesses, “It was, indeed, very difficult not to be scared and worried when Drake put me over his shoulders, this meant that in a moment I was inevitably going to land on the syringes.” (Ibid.) In his autobiography, he reveals that the idea to use syringes came to him in December 2006 in Berlin during the Freak-Show performed by Scandinavian Circus Mundus Absurdus. He writes, “And then I was struck by an idea. […] I had images from Saw II in front of my eyes. Pictures of the leading actress Amanda […] when he was looking for a key in a pit full of syringes.” (Ibid.) TJ reports that three syringes pierced him. When the referee helped remove the last one, people in the crowd strongly reacted.

FINISH. Traditionally, ‘finish’ is the final phase after comeback. The wrestler in control executes his/her ‘finisher’ or ‘finishing move,’ and pins the opponent. Ideally, the finisher should reflect the culmination of the match that leads to the crowd’s jubilation (if the face wins) or disappointment, or even anger (if the heel wins). Finishers can be spectacular or very simple. In The Saw DM, the finisher is ‘Drake’s Landing,’ also known as ‘Vertebreaker’. With the match complete, the fans applaud.

Discussion

There are many exceptions to the seven-step match structure in PW. With modifications, this was, however, at the core of the structure of The Saw DM. TJ-gimmick, as a monster artist in Schneider’s sense, chose the setting and weapons of torture for the spectacle of Drake’s death. In the DM scene, The Saw DM is atypical; it is an extraordinary example of a ‘creative’ match where the setting, story, gimmicks, performance, etc. are more or less congruous. It is a direct reference to the Saw franchise, Bedranowsky’s PW-interpretation of the Saw-movies.

Unlike in historical gladiator competitions or computer games, DM wrestlers are not supposed to die literally. They are expected, as the wrestlers and show promoters say, to ‘work the crowd’ and ‘sell pain’ persuasively, and, depending on the gimmick, suffer accordingly. Unlike in theatrical performance where a character dies, a DM wrestler is not supposed to perform a dead body. Nevertheless, a DM is never under full control; it involves high risk of serious physical injury. The success of a DM is achieved when, among other things, the pro wrestlers manage to deliver a persuasive interpretation of intense pain and near death experiences to their audience. Young Bedranowsky and Wuertz wanted to shock and make their names known in the DM scene (Bedranowsky 2011, wXw Conversations: Drake Younger 2014).

The next day after The Saw DM, Bedranowsky and Wuertz were criticized by some fans for transgressing the boundaries of good taste, arguing that what happened in that match had nothing to do with wrestling. In Film Bodies, Williams explains that the term ‘gross’ is typically used to designate excesses we want to exclude. The Saw DM contained all the major features of the body genre as identified by Williams. The DM belongs to this cluster of genres. But unlike Williams’ film bodies and genres, DM is, first of all, a live performance of bodily excess. Once it is recorded, it loses a significant part of its value as a spectacle of
violent death (where nobody is supposed to die, but everybody knows that there is a chance that things can go wrong). The viewer of a DM-DVD misses the live nature of the spectacle. Because this viewer does not smell the blood of the wrestlers, one does not have to cover one’s eyes to protect them from shatter flying in his/her direction from the ring when the light tubes are used, one does not see hairs of the wrestlers hanging from the barbed wire ropes, etc. The experience of watching DM on DVD can be very intense, yet limited to visual stimuli, and the perspectives of the cameramen. Hence, the lived ‘realities’ for a wrestling fan who was actually there, and the one who watched the edited DVD, are completely different. The Saw DM, however, was labeled as “gross” and/or “sick” by those who saw it, did not see it, and those who only read about it on the internet and by those who saw the video when it became available on a DVD and re-circulated on the web.

To follow William’s logic about horror, DM serves the function of problem solving. In the case of The Saw DM, the problem of sexual difference is absent; however, the solution remains the same, e.g. escalating violence, which (typically, but not necessarily) ends with a finisher. Hence, the question: what kind of problem is being solved here by DM wrestlers/monster artists? A variety of answers can be offered. However, as a cultural studies scholar who is often preoccupied with the examination of power relations in cultural practices, I argue that DM is particular individuals’ answer to the problem of otherness in the PW-culture. DM wrestlers communicate what they consider as alternative ideals of male masculinity, e.g. bodies that are incongruous and excessive, yet strong and recklessly willful. As contradictory as it may seem, I would like to suggest that the major function of DM is self-empowerment. My perspective was particularly influenced by Bedranowsky’s description of his wounded back in the autobiography Meine Kaempfe. When he started contracting back muscles for the wrestling fans and the cameraman (who, by the way, zoomed in on the cuts), blood started pumping from the wounds. As already mentioned, Bedranowsky described this shot as a money shot, and drew a parallel to cum shots in the porn industry (Bedranowsky 2011). In pornography produced for male gaze, male ejaculation is often a display of domination and power. Bearing this aspect in mind, the aesthetics of DM and the fact that the consumers of this body genre are predominantly young males, the bleeding body can be interpreted as an empowered body. Self-expression and self-empowerment often go hand in hand. As in splatter film, excess in DM has a “creative” potential. In The Saw DM, monster artist TJ, who attempts ‘disgusting’ (yet creative) things against the babyface Drake, can be approached as Bedranowsky’s creative expression. From the perspective of an ‘outsider,’ this logic does not make sense. But in an attempt to understand this controversial phenomenon, my approach to DM as a tool of self-empowerment (with all its ambiguities, flaws, and abundance of aesthetic and ethical problems) makes sense. Although, I do not advertise or support DM personally, in my attempt to explain this body genre and understand its creative aspect, I attempted to put myself into the role of an avid masculine DM consumer.

Conclusion

Bakhtin’s study of Rabelais, Barthes’ study of French PW, and Fiske’s study of Rock ‘n’ Wrestling television series produced in the U.S. provide an insight into PW as a form of entertainment that offers escape from social control. However, in order to better comprehend
DM as a phenomenon of cultural production with unique aesthetics, we need to reflect on the explicit violence of DM. The depiction of competitions – resulting in excessive bleeding of pro wrestlers – performed live in the wrestling ring is part of DM aesthetics. In order to explain this cultural phenomenon comprehensively, Williams offers an insightful conceptual framework. Like S/M pornography, splatter horror, and melodrama, DM is notable for a gross display of the human body. DM fulfills many characteristics of Williams’ body genre because it mainly operates within a system of excess. In the case of The Saw DM, for example, the abundance of unusual sharp foreign objects, dangerous moves, and excessive bleeding created a grotesque and gross spectacle. That said, DM as a body genre offers representations of excessive violence that resonate with images of deadly competitions (for example, wars for territory, battles for status, respect, and power, and, finally, struggle for life). In this article, The Saw DM performed by Bedranowsky and Wuerzt, was presented as an example of DM as spectacle of violent death where TJ personified a monster as a corrupt and degraded artist in Schneider’s sense, typical of the splatter film in contemporary horror. I came to a conclusion that in the context of DM, Bedranowsky used this excessive form of cultural production as a tool of self-empowerment. I suggested that in this case study the bleeding body could be interpreted as an empowered body.

Today, academic interest in PW is rising, particularly in the field of cultural studies. Most of the English-speaking academic scholarship about PW is predominantly, but not exclusively, about American, British and Canadian PW; this particular study is a small but unique contribution to a body of scholarship about German PW. More studies in this field are necessary in order to record its history, and discuss its value within the context of PW as an international and local cultural phenomenon. Despite stigma, DM deserves its place within PW’s cultural history. Unfortunately, it is hardly possible to say exactly who started using the term DM first in the context of PW. Due to many problems, including language barriers, this factual question is unanswered here. More ethnographic research is needed in this field with English speaking and non-English speaking PW veterans.

Alexander Bedranowsky’s contribution as a DM wrestler (retired) and writer is particularly valued by the German and American DM fans. The transatlantic connection between the American and German DM scenes enabled an exchange of “talent,” even despite the contested value of this ultra-violent form of entertainment. Due to its transgressiveness and controversy, more scholarship about German DM is needed, particularly, in relation to the issues of class and social status, ethnic identity and race, etc. Women studies scholars could look at the significance of women in German PW, and women in DM scene in the U.S., Japan and Germany, taking into account the feminine body. By examining DM, the scholars of gender studies will be able to find an abundance of narratives where the discourse around masculinity, femininity, and sexuality are embedded.
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L’Approche communicative et enseignement/apprentissage du FLE dans le contexte plurilingue ghanéen. Regard sur trois manuels d’enseignement :

Arc-en-ciel, Latitudes et Panorama

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Abstract

The importance that Ghanaians, leaders and people alike attribute to the learning of French is surprisingly high when one considers the apparent difficulty most people express vis-à-vis their experience of learning French as a Foreign language in school coupled with the poor results that pupils produce at all levels in the educational system.

This paper takes an analytical look at three popular teaching manuals of French as a Foreign Language in Ghana – Arc-en-Ciel, Latitudes and Panorama following the observation that these manuals are used in a multilingual environment whose impact on the teaching and learning of French is often neglected. Besides, most of the teaching methodologies applied in these manuals are frequently judged inappropriate for a better French teaching experience and it is therefore often the case that changes are instituted: direct method, active method, communicative method, etc. Despite this however the problems persist.

In this paper we therefore seek to go beyond the methodological issue in the FFL classes which as noted are beset with a worsening situation of failure, to examine the relationship between the content of the FFL manuals and the multilingual context in which they are used. Our study suggests that the typical manuals found in the Ghanaian school system are not at all adapted to the socio-cultural realities of the country, and worse, neither are they suited to the multilingual nature of Ghana. At best, these manuals are only suited for use in places where FFL is taught in a context with a Franco-European culture.

Keywords: teaching manuals, multilingual environment, teaching methodologies, communicative approach, FFL
Résumé

Malgré un niveau élevé d’intérêt porté à l’apprentissage de la langue Française par les ghanéens de tous niveaux, il est étonnant de constater que la plupart avouent des grandes difficultés face au FLE sans oublier les très mauvais résultats des élèves aux examens divers dans le système scolaire.


Nous nous proposons donc de voir, au-delà de l’approche communicative en cours dans les classes de FLE et dont les résultats sont de plus en plus non satisfaisants, le contenu des manuels d’enseignement de cette langue en rapport avec le contexte plurilingue dans lequel ils sont utilisés. Il ressort de notre point de vue que la plupart des manuels de FLE qu’on retrouve dans le système scolaire ghanéen ne sont pas adaptés aux réalités socioculturelles du pays, encore moins aux réalités plurilingues du Ghana. Ces manuels semblent être conçus pour les pays où le FLE est enseigné en milieu purement monolingue et véhiculent une culture franco-européenne.

Mots-clés: manuels d’enseignement, environnement plurilingue, méthodes d’enseignement, approche communicative, FLE
Introduction

L’Afrique fait face aujourd’hui aux phénomènes d’intensification et de complexification de la communication internationale dans son désir de s’ouvrir sur le reste du monde. Ainsi, plusieurs langues étrangères surtout indo-européennes se partagent son paysage linguistique aux côtés d’une multitude de langues africaines dont généralement on semble ne pas se soucier. On assiste donc de nos jours, dans les écoles africaines, à un usage systématique et intense des langues occidentales surtout comme langues d’instruction. Cette situation représente de fait, une rupture avec les réalités et les besoins du contexte plurilingue qui existe dans tous ces pays par l’abandon systématique du patrimoine linguistique africain et des apports possibles de ces langues et cultures à l’éducation de ses populations.

En effet, dans la plupart des écoles africaines, l’anglais, le français, l’espagnol… règnent sans partage. Or, les apprenants dans ces contextes ont une connaissance d’autres langues, notamment les langues nationales de leur pays, avant leur entrée à l’école. Malheureusement, cet arrière plan linguistique des apprenants africains a été pendant longtemps considéré ou perçu comme un frein à l’apprentissage des langues européennes (l’anglais ou le français) et ne n’est donc pas assez pris en compte dans les approches et méthodologies d’enseignement des langues (Poth, 1988). Dans cet article, nous nous penchons sur le cas du Ghana, où le français est enseigné comme première langue étrangère aux côtés de l’anglais et d’une dizaine de langues nationales sélectionnées parmi la soixantaine de langues du pays (Ayi-Adzimah, 2010); Dans cette situation scolaire plurilingue l’enseignement/apprentissage du français se déroule avec l’utilisation de l’approche communicative comme méthode recommandée. Or, cette approche qui est en vigueur dans beaucoup d’écoles sur le continent africain, semble ne pas être en adéquation avec les réalités plurilingues de toutes ces écoles. C’est donc à cela que s’attache la présente contribution qui se propose de porter un regard analytique sur trois manuels d’enseignement du FLE présents dans le système éducatif ghanéen en montrant leur inadéquation avec les réalités plurilingues dans lesquelles baignent les écoles. Il s’agit de Panorama, Latitudes et Arc-en-ciel. La principale question à laquelle nous cherchons à répondre est la suivante : quels rapports y a-t-il entre les contenus et l’approche méthodologique de ces trois manuels d’enseignement et les réalités linguistiques et socioculturelles du milieu plurilingue ghanéen ? Avant de répondre à cette question, nous jugeons nécessaire de présenter le paysage linguistique et scolaire du Ghana.

1. Généralités sur le paysage linguistique et l’enseignement bi/plurilingue au Ghana

Nous nous proposons ici de présenter rapidement le contexte linguistique du Ghana; nous aborderons surtout le cas des langues nationales du pays, de l’anglais (langue officielle et langue seconde) et du français (langue étrangère).

1.1. Les langues nationales au Ghana

Abordant donc la question du nombre exact de langues nationales au Ghana, nous dirons que le débat autour de cette question n’est pas encore clos du fait de la diversité des langues et de leurs variantes dialectales. En effet, alors que selon Yiboe (2009 :2), on dénombre au Ghana entre 65 et 70 langues, Ayi-Adzimah (2010 :107) fait le point sur la situation linguistique en ces termes :

« Le Ghana est un véritable pays multiethnique et multilingue : la population est une combinaison d’au moins soixante-et-quinze tribus différentes qui parlent autant de langues différentes. Tandis que Dzameshie (1988) estime qu’il y a entre 45 et 60 langues au Ghana, Boadi (1994 :5) les situe entre 36 et 50 »

Ce qui nous amène à dire que le Ghana est caractérisé, comme la plupart des États africains, par une pluralité ethnique et linguistique, et qu’il faut encore des recherches dialectologiques appropriées pour trancher la question du nombre exact de langues parlées dans ce pays.

Parmi cette cinquantaine ou soixantaine de langues, il faut noter que la politique linguistique de l’éducation, notamment par le truchement du programme d’enseignement bilingue implémenté en 2008 sous le nom de NALAP, a fait le choix de onze langues qui sont de fait ce que nous devons appeler des «langues officielles d’instruction » dans le système scolaire, il s’agit des langues suivantes divisées en trois groupes: Dagbani, Gonja, Dagaare et Kasem dans un premier groupe; Asante Twi, Akuapem Twi, Fanti et Nzema dans un autre et Ga, Dangme et l’Ewé dans un troisième groupe.

Les 40 ou 50 autres langues, dont la plupart n’est pas adéquatement dotée de système d’orthographie, etc. sont actuellement exclues d’une participation active à la vie scolaire du pays ce qui par ailleurs, contribue aux difficultés de fonctionnement et parfois au rejet du système bilingue mis en place.

1.2- L’anglais et le français au Ghana

Dans le paysage plurilingue ghanéen évoqué ci-dessus, l’anglais est langue officielle et langue seconde pour la plupart des élèves. C’est, à l’image de bien d’autres pays, la langue du colon maintenue et perpétuée par les gouvernements postcoloniaux. Cette langue est reconnue comme langue officielle par la constitution ghanéenne et ce statut lui donne une position dominante dans la sphère linguistique ghanéenne. Ainsi, l’anglais se trouve être la langue la plus présente dans les domaines éducatifs, médiatiques, sociaux et administratifs au Ghana. De ce fait, les autres langues sont presque toutes mises à l’écart y compris la plupart des langues nationales en dehors de celles incluses dans le système NALAP évoqué ci-dessus.

2- Le FLE et enseignement bi/plurilingue au Ghana


2.1- Quelle place réelle du FLE dans le système scolaire au Ghana ?

Parlant de la place du français dans les écoles au Ghana, nous pouvons dire que la politique linguistique de l’enseignement de cette langue est caractérisée par une certaine incohérence entre ce qui se dit et ce qui se fait (Agbéflé, 2014 : 26). En effet, alors que les textes officiels reconnaissent le français comme la 1ère langue étrangère, on peut lire à travers les comportements des décideurs politiques que le Ghana n’aurait pas besoin d’une 2e langue internationale. Malheureusement, on a l’impression donc que ceux-là même qui clament haut et fort que le français est la deuxième langue internationale au Ghana, manquent de conviction à cet effet. Sinon comment expliquer le fait qu’ils se montrent très peu impliqués dans la mise en œuvre de leur propre décision ? On a tout simplement l’impression qu’ils la sabotent. On peut en déduire alors que ce qui entrave la mise en place effective d’un bilinguisme exogène (anglais-français) au Ghana, c’est bien l’attitude avant tout des décideurs politiques (Agbéflé, 2014 : 25).
2.2- Problèmes de méthodes et échecs de l’enseignement du FLE au Ghana

La plupart des méthodes utilisées pour l’enseignement des langues (anglais et FLE) au Ghana sortent directement des maisons de publications occidentales et suivent des modèles pédagogiques de ces pays à caractère principalement monolingue. On constate en effet une grande différence fondamentale entre les situations d’enseignement des pays occidentaux et des pays pauvres du « Tiers monde » d’où l’inadéquation de ces méthodes aux besoins de la situation de l’enseignement/apprentissage des langues en Afrique (Poth, 1988). En effet, ces méthodes importées ignorent dans la plupart des cas, les apports possibles des langues déjà parlées par les élèves. Le maitre fait référence à ce contexte « clandestinement » de son propre chef pour débloquer une difficulté quelconque pendant son enseignement. De même, ces méthodes font fi des cultures et de l’environnement immédiat des apprenants. Par exemple, dans les écoles ghanéennes, il est même souvent inscrit sur les murs des salles de classes l’avertissement suivant : «Défense de parler les langues locales. » Ainsi, toute forme de recours aux langues nationales dans le cadre scolaire, en Afrique en général, se fait dans la « clandestinité » ou en tout cas dans un cadre de perception négative de ces langues, ce qui entraîne par ailleurs, son propre lot de problèmes psychopédagogiques et didactiques (Poth, 1988).

En ce qui concerne l’enseignement du FLE au Ghana, on peut dire que la plupart des ghanéens avouent leur intérêt pour l’apprentissage de cette langue mais ils se plaignent des faiblesses de son enseignement dans un pays pourtant entourés de voisins francophones. Les raison de cet échec, vérifiable au niveau des résultats du BECE ou du WASSCE (équivalents du Brevet et du BAC français respectivement), sont diverses et comparables au cas des autres matières du système scolaire. Pourtant le cas du français, comme nous l’avons démontré plus haut, semble avoir une particularité liée aux méthodes d’enseignement, aux habitudes des professeurs et aux liens ou plutôt au manque d’articulation avec les autres langues de l’école (Casely-Hayford, Nutakor et al, 2010). Il semble effectivement urgent de se pencher sur le cas de l’utilisation et de l’efficacité de l’approche communicative.

3- Regards sur les trois manuels d’enseignement du FLE


D’un point de vue spécifique, il ressort de notre enquête que le manuel Arc-en-ciel est l’un des plus utilisés par les enseignants des SHS (Senior High School, équivalent au collège) au Ghana, du moins par les enseignants auprès desquels nous avons mené des enquêtes. C’est, à en croire ces derniers, un manuel recommandé par le ministère en charge de l’éducation. Les points forts de ce manuel sont entre autre les images très axées sur les réalités socioculturelles.
des pays d’Afrique noire en général et du Ghana en particulier. Déjà à la page 1 de ce manuel, on peut voir par exemple, une case ronde, une famille visiblement habillées en tenues traditionnelles africaines… Bref, l’ensemble de ce manuel est conçu sur des réalités socioculturelles du milieu physique de l’apprenant africain. Ceci est donc en accord avec l’une des recommandations de l’approche communicative selon laquelle il faut tenir compte des réalités de l’environnement immédiat de l’apprenant afin de mieux capter son attention. On peut donc affirmer que le manuel *Arc-en-ciel* est un manuel endogène. Cependant, ce manuel souffre d’un certain nombre d’insuffisances. Il s’agit d’un manuel qui privilégie beaucoup plus l’approche directe. D’un point de vue linguistique par exemple, on y rencontre très peu de références à l’anglais langue seconde des apprenants. De plus, il n’existe pas du tout de références aux langues nationales qui sont bien évidemment des L1 pour les apprenants. Par ailleurs, les images qu’on retrouve dans ce manuel sont en blanc-noir noir et blanc ?ou très peu colorées donnant lieu à très peu d’attractivité.

En dehors du manuel *Arc-en-ciel*, nous nous sommes intéressés à deux autres manuels de FLE qui eux, par contre, sont à notre point de vue de des manuels exogènes de type universaliste : *Latitudes* et *Panorama*.

En ce qui concerne le manuel *Latitudes*, on peut affirmer que c’est un ouvrage basé sur l’approche actionnelle et dont les objectifs et le contenu ont été définis selon les principes du CECR (Cadre Européen Commun de Référence). On y rencontre une grande ouverture sur la pluralité des langues et des cultures comme en témoigne, à la fin du manuel, un grand lexique plurilingue en 5 langues (anglais, espagnol, portugais, chinois, arabe) étalé sur 11 pages avec plus de 650 vocables. Ici encore la prise en compte de la pluralité linguistique n’est qu’exogène. Les langues nationales des pays africains notamment celles du Ghana sont mises à l’écart alors que l’ouvrage tente de mettre en place diverses stratégies permettant à l’apprenant d’acquérir les aptitudes nécessaires pour accomplir des tâches dans les domaines variés de la vie sociale, grâce à l’acquisition préalable de savoirs et savoir-faire communicatifs, linguistiques et culturels. Malgré tout, rappelons-le, la démarche reste actionnelle. Ainsi, la démarche du manuel *Latitudes*, trouve sa légitimité dans le processus d'acquisition. De ce fait, chaque unité propose à l’apprenant d’acquérir des éléments de langue-culture qu’il pourra réinvestir dans des productions guidées ou libres et dans des tâches concrètes de la vie quotidienne. Ces tâches impliquent l’apprenant dans des actions de communication qui s’inscrivent dans un contexte social clair et aboutissent à une production et à un résultat mesurable.

En ce qui concerne le manuel *Panorama*, il faut dire qu’il est lui aussi axé sur la méthode directe du FLE. Ce livre prend essentiellement appui sur la culture franco-européenne. On y rencontre, dans une large mesure, l’histoire de la France, la vie quotidienne des Français : le café, le métro, les sports etc. Tout est donc centré sur la France ou sur la culture de l’Europe en général. Ici aussi, les images ne sont pas adaptées à l’environnement physique africain. Ces images sont pour la plupart franco-françaises sauf quelques photos de personnes de races différentes qu’on retrouve aux pages 42 et 43. Les seules allusions faites aux réalités africaines sont plutôt des images aux pages 130 et 131 montrant le côté malpropre de l’Afrique : sécheresse, pollution d’eau, déforestation… Enfin, il faut préciser que le
manuel *Panorama* est subdivisé en 6 unités étalées sur 190 pages. Mais très peu de place est faite à la phonétique et il n’existe quasiment pas de référence à aucune autre langue (ni anglais, ni langues africaines) alors que ce manuel est utilisé en milieu anglophone ghanéen, un milieu fortement plurilingue.

**Conclusion**


Comme nous l’avons signalé plus haut, à l’instar de SAVLI (2011) nous estimons que « le problème de ces méthodes, c’est que… ils ne prennent pas en compte essentiellement les caractéristiques socioculturelles et la langue maternelle des apprenants. ». En effet, comme le dit Christiane Bourguignon, citée dans CUQ (1996) « l’un des obstacles importants à l’apprentissage d’une langue étrangère serait le fait que l’élève n’est que très rarement incité par l’enseignant à prendre appui sur ce qu’il connaît déjà dans sa langue maternelle et qu’on ne fait presque jamais appel à cette dernière ». D’un point de vue plus large, c’est le problème de la contextualisation qui est posé. Il s’agit effectivement dans une démarche d’élaboration de nouveaux manuels ou d’adaptation de l’existant, d’explorer la pertinence de la notion des transversalités entre la didactique des langues maternelles et celle du FLE et la nécessite d’une « approche intégrée » selon la formule de ROULET (1980). Cette perspective nous permet d’émettre les recommandations suivantes.

**Propositions et recommandations**

Compte tenu des thèmes abordés dans cet article, nous proposons les idées suivantes dans le but de faciliter l’apprentissage des langues en générales et le français en particulier au Ghana. Il nous semble en effet important de noter que la contextualisation de l’enseignement du français passe également par l’amélioration de la maîtrise des élèves de leurs langues maternelles et de leur connaissance et appréciation de leur environnement socio culturel. Le même principe s’applique à leurs enseignants.
Politique linguistique éducative du Ghana

- Education bilingue ou multilingue associée au développement des langues maternelles (FLE, Anglais et langue maternelle). Il serait donc judicieux que le Ministère de l’Éducation du Ghana (MOE) envisage l’inclusion du Français dans le cursus du NALAP afin de faciliter l’apprentissage des langues dès l’école primaire en s’appuyant sur une didactique intégrée. Cette articulation de l’enseignement des langues permettrait également d’envisager le développement et l’enrichissement des langues locales sur le plan du vocabulaire technique et scientifique, etc.

- Développement de nouveaux matériaux pédagogiques, publiés localement pour le FLE. De plus, ces matériaux devraient être adaptés aux réalités sociolinguistiques et culturelles. De plus, l’on devrait pouvoir utiliser la culture de l’Afrique francophone, plus proche des réalités de vie des apprenants ghanéens dans le contenu de ces manuels.


- Favoriser la formation professionnelle et les échanges professionnels entre les enseignants de langue de la sous-région et leur intégration dans les systèmes scolaires de part et d’autres. Ces échanges seraient complémentaires à l’idée de création de liens entre les systèmes scolaires de la sous-région, permettant le renforcement des connaissances des professionnels de part et d’autres et facilitant la progression du bilinguisme dans la région.

- Double formation professionnelle des enseignants de langue: Une politique audacieuse d’enseignement des langues devrait envisager de former des enseignants multilingues capables d’enseigner une ou deux langues locales en plus de l’anglais et du français.

Stratégies didactiques

- Les objectifs des nouveaux programmes d’enseignement et des manuels du FLE doivent prendre en compte les besoins scolaires et professionnels des élèves en termes de compétences de communication mais aussi et surtout en matière de capacité à entreprendre des recherches et à faire du travail académique en langue française. Il faut souligner le fait que beaucoup de ces manuels ne sont pas adaptés aux besoins éducatifs des élèves (accès aux études supérieures, recherches documentaire et rédactions académiques) car: « l’objectif général visé dans ces méthodes est de faire acquérir aux divers publics une compétence de communication rapide et suffisante afin qu’ils réalisent des contacts quotidiens. » (idem). Il faut donc la mise en place d’une nouvelle méthodologie qui renforcera considérablement les compétences des élèves dans le domaine de l’utilisation du français comme outil de recherche et de travail académique. Les élèves doivent pouvoir accéder à des documentations et des contenus scientifiques et techniques dans divers domaines de leurs études au lycée comme à l’université. Ils devraient être capables d’utiliser le français pour faire des
recherches dans tous ces domaines, consulter les bases de données, lire des livres de littérature ou les journaux scientifiques, etc. Pour ce faire, les objectifs du CERCL correspondant au niveau C2 doivent être atteint assez rapidement par les élèves au moins à la fin de leurs études du primaire ou du collège jusqu’au lycée.

- Contextualisation des contenus par rapport aux réalités linguistiques et sociaux culturels et aux problématiques économiques et politiques locaux du Ghana et des pays africains francophones, ensuite la France et le Monde).

- Développement dans le court terme de guides d’utilisation des manuels étrangers pour les enseignants leur permettant de les adapter à un enseignement contextualisé. Ceci pour des raisons financiers puisque l’élaboration et la production de nouveaux manuels pourraient représenter un défi budgétaire insurmontable pour les pays pauvres comme le Ghana.
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Functional approach to language learning

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Abstract

The field of error analysis (EA) has expanded to include not only the nature and development of L2 linguistic systems (phonology, morphology, syntax), but also the dynamics of interactional and communicative performance of L2. Focus was put on the functional, social and pragmatic fields of the second language use and on the effect of the communicative behaviors of native speakers on the statement of non-native speakers to determine its acceptability and convenience.

The aim of this paper is to explore the effective use of communicative and functional approach to English language teaching and learning. It is a discussion of theoretical perspectives of exploring issues and concerns to use communicative and functional approach in English as a foreign language (EFL) by presenting different points of view of different researchers on Arab learners of EFL.

Key words: communication, English, foreign, Language, learning, teaching
Introduction

The debate on the validity of Chomsky’s dichotomy (1965), between competence and performance, applied to the field of linguistics in general and applied sociolinguistics in particular, has changed in the target language teaching. Researchers are no longer interested in the structure, but in communication. Such developments have won the support of schools such as the school of Prague and the "British school" or "Firthian school of linguistics". These schools have rejected the idea that language is a set of personal content and can be separated from the paralinguistic reality. And although neither grammar nor situation are excluded or neglected, they are no longer the major focus of linguists and teachers. Now, the emphasis is mainly placed on the learner and his functions of language, that is to say, a communicative purpose.

According to Firth (1957) and Halliday (1978), the rejection of Chomsky's dichotomy between competence and performance leads to a refutation of appropriate grammatical differentiation. In Halliday's theory on language, in a neo-firthian approach, language is considered as the "potential meaning" (what the speaker says), which is an interface between "the potential of behavior" (what the speaker can do) and the lexico-grammatical system (what the speaker may say). The notion of "potential meaning" is close to what Hymes (1964) calls "communicative competence" (what interests us here). The difference between the two is that Hymes' communicative competence involves the study of language as knowledge, while the potential of meaning of Halliday involves the study of language as behavior. Halliday's approach requires a theory that links knowledge to behavior (what the speaker knows versus what he actually does). Halliday does not totally reject this approach of language, but regards it as an unnecessary complication. So, Halliday’s structure refrains from psychological considerations (what the speaker knows) and considers the language in its behavioral terms.

According to Halliday, this high degree of idealization neglects many points of interest of researchers in applied sociolinguistics. While Chomsky's approach involves three kinds of idealization, regulation, standardization and "contextualization" (Lyon, 1977), sociolinguists reject the two last simply because they represent data from non-standardized language, that is to say prefabricated data to be incorporated in its analysis.

Widdowson (1978) puts forward that we can easily recognize, in the teaching of a language, that the ability to produce sentences is paramount in the learning process. However, it is also important to recognize that this is not a single skill to be acquired by learners. Someone who knows a language has internalized the ability to understand, speak, read and write sentences. He also knows how phrases are used in a communicative purpose. Widdowson said in this sense: "We do not simply manifest the abstract system of the language; we at the same time realize it as a meaningful communicative behavior."
1- Communicative error analysis

Since the communicative function of language is essential to the functional approach to language teaching, the theory of communicative competence plays a central role in current research in applied linguistics. The field of error analysis (EA) has expanded to include not only the nature and development of L2 linguistic systems (phonology, morphology, syntax), but also the dynamics of interactional and communicative performance of L2. Focus was put on the functional, social and pragmatic fields of the second language use and on the effect of the communicative behaviors of native speakers on the statement of non-native speakers to determine its acceptability and convenience.

Research on the effect of errors in communication, as stated by Burt and Kisparsky (1972), focuses on whether errors interfere on communication or not; in other words, what kind of error makes a sentence incomprehensible to the listener or reader?

Burt and Kiparksy analyzed thousands of English sentences that contain errors committed by adults learning English as a foreign language in many parts of the world. The errors were seized by recording spontaneous conversations, written compositions and letters. To determine the relative effect of these errors on the communication, they asked native speakers of English to judge their intelligibility. They then concluded that there are two types of errors:

1) Global errors: those that affect the organization of the sentence in general and significantly hinder communication, for example ungrammatical word order, missing or misplaced connectors, etc.
2) Local errors: those that affect the constituents in a single sentence but does not interfere with communication in general such as prepositions, articles, etc.

Hendrickson (1976) used Dulay and Burt’s global/local distinction in his research on the effectiveness of error correction to provide a useful extension that would help distinguish between levels of language proficiency and communicative of a student. Other studies, inspired by the development of the communicative approach, examined the errors in terms of intelligibility by asking the opinion of native speakers.

According to Kachru (1992), English has two distinct varieties, a native variety and non-native variety. He said that English is unique because of its global distribution in diverse linguistic and cultural societies. It plays different roles in each country where it is used. Therefore, it is rather difficult to define a standard for each English speaking-group. English is considered native in countries where it is associated with nationalism and political emancipation. The American English and English in New Zealand are examples of this phenomenon.

As for non-native varieties of English, there are two major categories:
1) varieties of performance that include the varieties used as foreign languages like Iranian English, Arabic English and Japanese English,
2) institutionalized varieties as Indian English and African variety of English that have some ontological status as in Nigeria.

We can qualify the different categories of non-native varieties of English mentioned above in terms of: 1) its duration of use, 2) extending its use, 3) the user's emotional attachment to the variety of English, 4) its functional importance within a community, and 5) its sociolinguistic status.

The main contribution in the field of error analysis (EA) is the distinction between deviations and errors. According to many linguists, a mistake is unacceptable to the native speaker as it does not belong to the standard of English language. This does not concern the sociocultural context of non-native variety. However, a deviation is the result of a non-English linguistic and cultural situation in which English is used. It is systematic in a variety and explained in the context of situation. Hence, a variety of non-native English is not only deviant in terms of grammar, phonology and semantics, but also as a communicative unit.

We will try to review some studies that contribute to our research on Arab learners of English as a foreign language (EFL). Only few studies have specifically addressed the analysis of the types of errors found in the spoken and written English of Arab students in EFL.

Willcot (1972) studied the mistakes of sixteen Arabic native speakers, using written responses from the final exam of a history course at the University of Texas at Austin. His goal was to highlight some issues that native speakers of Arabic found in written English syntax to develop effective instructional materials. The study showed that the most serious problems relate to the concept of "definiteness". Other types of errors have been identified such as those involving the morphology of verbs, nouns and adjectives.

Scott and Tucker (1974) conducted a carefully controlled study on Arabic-speaking students enrolled in the Intensive English Program at the American University of Beirut. The aim of the study was to describe "transitional grammar" of students. Students were asked to write an essay from images. Syntax errors have been identified and classified. Verbs, prepositions, articles and relative pronouns represented the most problematic areas for Arab EFL learners. The most common errors on verbs occurred in the use of auxiliary and copula; errors on auxiliary verbs included redundancy, omission and substitution involving time and number errors.

Mukattash (1978) examined the results of the written productions of a group of more than 1,000 freshmen at the University of Jordan. The study results showed that students encountered the most difficulties in the use of verbs (errors of time, agreement and omission of the copula), articles and prepositions. There was also a large percentage of errors in the use of modals.

Kharma (1981) analyzed the errors committed by Arab learners of English at the University of Kuwait in the use of articles. The study was conducted in three phases: the first
was to fill the gap by using a, an, the or zero article. The second involved a comparative study of the use of Arabic and English articles. The last phase consisted in an analysis of essays. Based on the frequency of errors associated with the use of articles, Kharma has found that most errors in the use of articles were attributed to the interference of the mother tongue.

Kambal (1981) analyzed errors in three types of creative free compositions written by first-year students at the University of Sudan. The study identifies major syntactic errors in verb phrases and noun phrases. In this study, Kambal maintains that the errors were mainly caused by intralingual interference rather than interlingual factors. He concluded that the errors of verb formation, time and subject-verb agreement are mainly due to the verbal system of English.

Sharma (1981) studied the results of ten compositions by Saudi students learning English as a Second Language at the University of Indiana. The compositions were collected at the beginning, middle and end of the English program. Following the methodology of Scott and Tucker (1974) and the typology of errors in finite verb phrases and relative pronouns, the data were subjected to analysis of errors that gave results broadly similar to those of Scott and Tucker. The auxiliary and the copula represented the most problematic areas for students. Sharma has attributed most of the errors to universal processes of simplification and generalization.

Al-Muarik (1982) examined the errors in writing and learning strategies for students of English preparatory and secondary schools in Saudi Arabia. The study was based on translation by students from 36 Arabic sentences in English. The types of structures were discussed issues partial Wh-questions, comprehensive yes/no questions, passive voice and negative form. He also asked students to write compositions to check their use of time. The errors were grouped according to their categories, their frequency and their source, and then explained. Al-Muarik found that a small percentage of errors was due to interference with the L1 and that strategies such as overgeneralization, simplification and avoidance have been used by students.

At the University of Illinois, Khalil (1984) went further in his study of the effect of communication errors committed by Arab EFL learners and judged by native American speakers. Syntactic and semantic errors that are most common in the productions of Arab EFL learners at the University of Bethlehem were judged on the basis of their intelligibility, their naturalness and their interpretability. 240 American students were asked to evaluate deviant structures presented in four different questionnaires.

Khalil concluded that semantic errors are less intelligible and less interpretable as syntax errors and that the immediate linguistic context does not influence the ability of native speakers to interpret the intention of the learner.
Conclusion

Investigations on the errors made by Arab learners of EFL reveal a similarity of difficulties in English syntax: in the use of verbs, articles, prepositions, relative names and word order.

We consider Error Analysis (EA) as a useful tool for addressing the difficulty of the language, while recognizing the existence of other factors that affect the performance of the learner. When all these factors are taken into account, we get a clearer picture of the problems in learning English, which may contribute to improve the practices of teaching and learning languages.
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Language policy in a multilingual school: the case of Windhoek International School in Namibia

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Abstract

The study presented in this paper examined language-in-education policy in a multilingual international school in Namibia. The central concern of this paper was to find out how language policy addresses possible language conflicts in this school in light of the fact that in studies of language structure, there is a presumption that all languages are equal and in sociolinguistic terms, there is an ecological perception which holds that all languages should be allowed to flourish (Hymes 1992). The conclusion drawn from the study is that in multilingual educational environments such as Windhoek International School (WIS), the choice of language as Medium of Instruction (MoI) is highly determined by the linguistic habitus. On the hand, the language(s) used outside of the classroom is/are influenced by the nature of the linguistic space. In this school, the language-in-education policy comprises a written language policy, that is, the overt policy which is monolingual and a covert policy that is found implicitly in the daily practices of learners and teachers. The covert policy may be described as multilingual and multi-voiced.

Keywords: multilingual, Language-in-education policy, linguistic markets, linguistic habitus, Windhoek International School
Introduction: spaces of multilingualism

Although in studies of language structure, there is a presumption that all languages are equal and in sociolinguistic terms, there is an ecological perception which holds that all languages should be allowed to flourish (Hymes, 1992), this is rarely the case in practice. Typically, in spaces where a variety of community languages is used, either one of the stronger local languages or a widely distributed international language with high status is selected as lingua franca. Various social circumstances determine that in most multilingual communities, some languages are given preferences over others in public spaces such as schools (Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu (1991), states that ‘linguistic markets’–that is, the spaces in which human beings use language are hierarchical. These spaces give different values to different languages and people’s competences in them. In addition, the values that different languages enjoy are dependent on the background and social status, among other things, of the individual who uses the language.

Objectives of the paper

The central concern of this paper is: how does language policy address possible language conflicts regarding which languages to use and to develop in multilingual spaces such as schools? The paper offers an in-depth understanding of the challenges posed by multilingualism in one globalised educational context in Namibia. Globalisation has brought the world together but has also come with challenges such as language diversity and interaction that needs to be addressed in a systematic manner (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005: 198). This study examined the language policy of WIS and took a particular interest in the kinds of language policy that determine which languages are used in education in a context where both teachers and learners are L1 speakers of a considerable number of different languages.

Language policy

Shohamy (2006, 47 – 48) describes language policy, whether it is explicitly or implicitly given, as the “primary mechanism for manipulating and imposing language behaviours as it relates to decisions about languages and their uses in education and society”. Shohamy (2006, 48) also states that through language policy, “decisions are made regarding the preferred languages to be used, where, when and by whom”.

Shohamy makes a distinction between overt and covert language policies. Overt language policies refer to “those language policies that are explicit, formalised, de jure, codified and manifest” while covert language policies refer to those that are “implicit, informal, unstated, grassroot and latent” The distinction is used to elaborate the difference between the narrow and broader meaning of the term language policy. Thus, the real policy is one which can be observed, understood and interpreted (Shohamy (2006, 50)). Spolsky (2004, 2153) has pointed out that even where there is a formal written language policy, its
effects on language practices is neither guaranteed nor consistent. Thus, it is through the study of language practices that the covert language policy may be determined.

Schiffman (1996, 3) proposition of linguistic culture is at the heart of his explanation of language policy. He defines linguistic culture as:

[the] sum totality of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes, prejudices, myths, religious strictures and all other cultural “baggage” that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture. Linguistic culture is also concerned with the transmission and codification of language and has bearing also on the culture’s notions of the value of literacy and the sanctity of text (Schiffman 1996, 2-3).

In other words, language policy, that is, the outcome of “decision-making about language” is inextricably connected to linguistic culture. He argues that defining language policy with an emphasis on its explicit and overt features is inadequate. According to him, such a definition ignores or overlooks the cultural notions about language that may profoundly affect the implementation of a language policy. Shohamy (2006, 50) also works with this distinction in her reference to “real” and “declared” language policies. She contends that the real language policy is one which can be observed, understood and interpreted. She contrasts this with the declared policy that is given in official documents, even though in many instances it is not reflected in the language practices of a given community. Language policy exists even where it has not been made explicit or established by authority.

Thus, Schiffman (1996, 3) advocates an approach to the study of language policy that incorporates both the overtly declared policies and the covert de facto language policies. He believes that this approach will assure due recognition of the mismatches between what is provided in the law and what happens in practice. In multilingual communities, where the languages of various members have varying statuses, language policies take care of providing (or withholding) language rights. One of the functions of a language policy is to decide between multilingual or monolingual strategies in the organisation of discourses within public institutions (Wolff 2010, 2).

Spolsky (2004, 2153) has proposed a framework that shows the difference between policy and practice. First, he refers to what he terms “language beliefs” which are the ideologies that underlie each language policy. Second, there is the “language practice” which he defines as the ecology of language that focuses on the actual language practices that take place in the particular context. Third, he introduces the term “language management” to refer to the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written in a formal document, about language use in institutional settings.

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1The explicitness of a policy does not guarantee its implementation. The stated policy is often at odds with language use. The declared policy that is given in official documents is often not reflected in language practices.
Multilingual language in education policies

According to Spolsky (2004, 2155), one of the most important domains where language policy is applied is the educational environment. Shohamy (2006, 76) broadly defines language-in-education policy (LiEP) as a way through which authorities create de facto language practices in educational institutions. Specifically, she contends that LiEP refers to how policy decisions about language in the contexts of schools are made in relation to home languages; thus the LiEP determines which language(s) will be used as MoI. The factors that determine the language policy of a school may include the sociolinguistic situation in which the school has been established, the school's ideology which often is not explicitly given but implicitly articulated in the organisational structures and practices, the wide distribution of a dominant language of wider communication such as English or French in African countries and the particular understandings of language rights circulated within the school as a community of practice. The policy can either steer in the direction of greater support of the lingua franca, or in the direction of respect for and maintenance of the local diversity. In the latter case, a bilingual education policy is selected with a view to protecting languages with smaller numbers of L1-speakers and to assuring access to education to L1-speakers of languages other than the chosen MoI.

Very often in multilingual communities, the MoI is the L2 of a significant number of learners. In such circumstances, the authorities manipulate and impose language decisions in such a way that they turn ideology into practice through formal education. Nonetheless, on some occasions, LiEP is also used to introduce alternative language policy if there is a demand from different sections of the educational community such as from grassroot organisations. LiEP always implies some form of language choice. Such a choice may be exercised by a body with authority over a defined group of people such as the school governing body. It may be made explicit in the formal language management in the planning decisions of an authorised body; alternatively, it may be implicitly given in established practices where the choice was informally made by those in power. Shohamy (2006, 77) states that in these situations, the LiEP is more difficult to detect as it is “hidden” from the public eye. Thus the policy would have to be gleaned from real language practices through the study of textbooks, teaching practices and especially testing systems. In education there may be a need to select a single language use in development. Consideration has to go to which kinds of educational resources are available – not only in the form of published work and teaching aids, but also in terms of financial support for development of resources for the languages of lower status. It must be mentioned that where the governing body of an educational institution adopts one language as a lingua franca and medium of instruction (MoI), the demands of developing proficiency in that MoI for examination purposes are considerable.

A number of basic questions arise regularly in LiEP. First and foremost is the decision regarding the language to be used as a MoI. In state (public) schools, there is often little choice left to the school itself. The case may be different in private schools where such a decision may rest with the governing body, parents, the examining authority or a combination of several participants. The choice may be made explicit in the formal language
management decisions of an authorised body or it may simply be introduced by undocumented mutual agreement. The school may select a single language as its desired MoI or it may decide to use more than one language in classrooms.

Literature review

The language of education in multilingual societies has always been a concern of educators. As a result a number of studies have been done on LiEP in schools in different countries. For example, De Klerk (2002) focused on the decision of Xhosa-speaking parents in South Africa to send their children to English-medium schools. Other research has looked at the status of English in urban townships of Gauteng which is a multilingual community (Slabbert and Finlayson, 2000). Probyn et al. (2002) have been concerned with the gap between the theory and practice of South African LiEP. Other studies have addressed the controversy that surrounds which language to use in schools in Ghana (Owu-Ewie 2006; Davis & Agbenyega, 2012) or have explained the tensions that arise in translating multilingual language policy into classroom practice for multilingual populations seeking fair access to a globalizing economy (Hornberger and Vaish, 2009). Further research has examined the inherent contradictions in language policy that embraces multilingualism at the national level but is applied differently in the school setting (Nyaga & Anthonissen, 2012).

De Klerk's (2000) study in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa found that among the reasons parents gave for choosing an English – MoI school for their children were the need for a better education, the recognition that English is an international language and the hope that English would open the door to more job opportunities for their children.

Slabbert and Finlayson (2000, 128) who undertook an ecologically informed study of language use and identity documented the high status of English among black people, for whom use of English marks the speaker as “educated, affluent, serious or authoritative”. In a related work, they note the ongoing threat to multilingual education posed by the common perception of English as a language of access (Finlayson and Slabbert, 2004). From the research it became obvious that although at the macro and policy levels multilingualism is deemed to be a right, in the classroom and at the micro levels English monolingualism is the practice.

Similarly, Probyn et al. (2002) in their investigation into the language policy and practice in four Eastern Cape districts in South Africa revealed an obvious gap between the policy goals and what actually happened in schools (Probyn et al 2000, 1). For instance, from a theoretical perspective, the research argued that although policy at the national level in South Africa was a response to particular political imperatives and pedagogical perspectives, the practical implementation of the policy in these schools was determined by a different set of imperatives (Probyn et. al. 2002, 31). In addition, it was clear that school governing bodies were not well equipped to make decisions about school language policy which met the requirements of the national LiEP. Furthermore, economic imperatives to
acquire English overrode considerations of multilingualism and additive bilingualism that were expressed in the policy.

Hornberger & Vaish (2009) investigated the tensions in translating multilingual language policy into classroom practice in three different countries, and especially attended to the contradictory role of and quest for English as an instrument of decolonisation for multilingual populations seeking fair access to a globalising economy. The research focused on access to the linguistic capital of English and how multilingual classroom practice tries to meet the demands of the community for that access. It looked at English as MoI at policy and classroom levels in India, Singapore, and South Africa separately and comparatively. Indeed the language ideology of all the three countries, at both official and popular levels encompassed a view of multilingualism as a resource.

In India, Hornberger and Vaish (2009) uncovered that despite India’s Three Language Formula (TLF) of 1968, many Indian children are educated in a language which is not their mother tongue. Singapore’s bilingual policy with English as MoI and mother tongues taught as second languages leaves the linguistic capital of multilingual children who speak a pidginized variety of English (informally referred to as “Singlish”) out of the equation, since the school MoI is Standard English. In South Africa it emerged that although its Constitution of 1994 embraces multilingualism as a national resource, raising nine major African languages to national official status together with English and Afrikaans, in practice an unequal dispensation remained. Even after the abolition of apartheid in 1994, for various reasons including the upward mobility afforded by English, large numbers of African language-speaking parents seek to place their children English – MoI schools. The Hornberger and Vaish (2009) study shows up the conflict between a drive for English on the one hand and spreading the value of multilingualism on the other. However, the same study (2009, 12) concluded that the use of mother tongue in the classroom, or as in the case of Singapore the judicious use of the quotidian register, can be a resource through which children can access Standard English while also continuing and indeed cultivating multilingual practices inclusive of their own local languages.

In Ghana, although the country’s MoI policy stipulates the use of the L1 of localities as the MoI from primary year one to three and English as MoI from primary year four onwards (MOESS 2008), the empirical findings of Davis and Agbenyega (2012, 346) showed that the language policy was not being enforced in practice. The study revealed that Ghanaiian headteachers and teachers had a more positive attitude towards English as MoI than towards the L1 of learners because of the perceived prestige of English in the Ghanaiian society, its supposed linkage with high academic performance and its economic value.

Nyaga and Anthonissen (2012) refer to language-in-education policy in Kenya, where a gap between de jure and de facto policy is apparent and little progress has been made in implementing a policy that encourages the use of Kenyan mother tongues in early primary school education. In – class observation and interviews with teachers indicated that in the urban and peri – urban schools, where the learner population is highly multilingual, the policy has not been implemented in line with its explicit intention. Even in the rural
areas where there is comparatively minimal diversity, practical aspects of the use of the mother tongue in education seemed not to be in accordance with the policy provisions. In spite of the diversity of languages in Kenya, the most important languages in education are Kiswahili and English which are widely used as lingua francae. In late primary and secondary education and even at the early primary school level, English is the only language of formal testing.

Namibia’s language-in-education policy

The paper presents a complex picture of multilingual repertoires and practices in an international high school in Windhoek, Namibia and how language policy is used to address the language imbalance in the school. Specifically, the objectives of this study were to reflect on language policy and policy implementation both inside and outside of the classroom at Windhoek International School (WIS). It aimed, in part, at reflecting on language policy and its implementation in general and in particular at WIS.

Formerly, a German colony and later administratively entrusted to South Africa, Namibia did not have English as its colonial language. The languages of power were German and Afrikaans. It was only after independence in 1990 that the Namibian constitution proclaimed English as its official language (Constitution, Republic of Namibia 1990 Sub-Article 3.1). As far as the linguistic diversity is concerned, there are thirteen written languages which have standardised orthography in the country (PRASE-Occasional Papers No. 37, 9).

In order to appreciate the language ecology of Namibia, it is appropriate that Namibia’s LiEP is subject to scrutiny. Namibia’s LiEP has been influenced by its history, linguistic diversity and educational goals. Namibia’s LiEP recognises the instrumental role of language in the realisation of educational goals and works with the presumption that all languages are equal in terms of language structure. It has worked with the ecological perception which holds that all languages should be allowed to flourish, and thus acknowledges the cultural value of the indigenous Namibian languages. While recognising the sociolinguistic reality of various language communities, it decided that one language should be used as MoI and lingua franca. Educationally, the choice of language for education has been motivated by the desire to take advantage of the linguistic capital of English (Ruiz 1984). Thus, specifically, the Discussion Document which eventually became the Language Policy for schools in Namibia (2003: 1 – 4) stipulates that the MoI for the early years, that is, (Grade 1 – 3) should be the L1 of learners. As of Grade 4, English becomes the only MoI. The rationale for the policy is that for concept formation, literacy and numeracy attainment, it is necessary that learners be taught in their L1. Schools that wish to use English as the only MoI as from the first school year are only allowed to do so with the permission of the Minister of Education. Grade 4 is the stage where it is expected that there will be a full transition from learners’ various L1s to English, while the L1 is expected still to be taught as a subject. In addition, every learner is required to learn two languages from Grade 1 onwards with one of them being English. Foreigners could, however, study only one language (The Language Policy for Schools in Namibia:
Discussion Document 2003: 1 – 4). These are governmental requirements for public school where the state prescribes the policy. However, there are no such prescriptions as far as private schools are concerned.

**Research site: Windhoek International School (WIS)**

As mentioned earlier, the site for this study was WIS. The school is one of a small number of private and independent schools in Namibia and was established to serve the educational needs of the international and local community of the capital city, Windhoek. WIS is fully accredited by the American based New England Association of Schools and Colleges (NEASC) and the Council of International Schools (CIS). WIS runs two academic programmes, namely, the Cambridge International programme based on the Cambridge system used in the United Kingdom and the International Baccalaureate (IB) programme based in Cardiff, also in the United Kingdom. These academic programmes prepare learners for participation in well-organised international educational examinations. In terms of what is taught, the school subscribes to an educational programme which intends to prepare students for advanced tertiary education in an international market. A school with such an international positioning is of particular interest when it comes to the recognition of indigenous language variety while also giving access to a global language.

WIS was selected as a site for the study for a number of reasons. It is a site in constant flux and a meeting point for learners and teachers from many different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Most of the students who come from outside of Namibia will spend only two to three years in the school before their parents who are in the country for international assignments leave for other duty posts in other countries. The idea is that such students will receive a foundation that will allow easy integration in a new educational environment elsewhere. The school is thus a constantly changing site where learners from different nationalities and cultures meet. In addition, the school was selected because the student body represents a diverse range of nationalities and cultures which include a tapestry of languages.

**Methodology**

The study was qualitative and the sampling technique was purposive in that the participants were selected on the basis of their multilingual repertoires. The study used a mixed method approach for the collection of data. The first source of data was the school’s records. Data were accessed from the school records on how many languages were represented as L1s among learners and teachers as well as the numbers of L1 speakers of each language. The school records were used to find information on the different linguistic backgrounds of teachers and students. The school records also provided data on the number of students whose tested levels of English proficiency indicated that they needed additional lessons in the MoI. In addition, the study established the number of local Namibian languages that were represented among learners in the school.
The population of WIS is multilingual and multicultural. At the time of the study, the school had a learner population of 446. Across the entire school 263 reported English as their L1. A total of eight Namibian languages were reported as L1 and spoken by 90 learners across the entire school. In addition, seven other African languages were used by eight learners as L1. Eight European languages spoken by 78 learners as L1 were also represented in the school. Finally, seven other languages spoken by 21 learners were represented across the entire school. The following data was gathered about the language profile of teachers across the school. Eleven teachers reported English as their L1 while 32 teachers reported LotE as L1. Four Namibian languages were represented by teachers across the school, namely, Afrikaans, Oshiwambo, Rukwangali and Herero. Other languages spoken as L1 by teachers were Russian, Polish, Shona, Portuguese, Dutch, Kikuyu, Yoruba, Twi and Zulu.

Participants’ linguistic profile

The learner – participants for this research who were grade 9 learners in the secondary school listed the following languages as their L1s: English (5), Portuguese (5), Afrikaans (3), German (2), Herero (2), Otjiherero (1), Damara (1) and Swahili (1). They indicated that they knew and used the following languages as L1 or L2: English (20), Afrikaans (10), French (9), German (7), Portuguese (7), Spanish (5), Herero (2), Otjiherero (1), Damara (1), and Swahili (1). Four of them mentioned that they knew five languages, 12 learners mentioned four languages as the languages that they knew and four learners pointed out that they knew three languages. All the learners were multilingual. There were no bilinguals or monolinguals among the learner – participants.

In addition, five learners were purposively selected on the basis of their linguistic profile and their willingness to participate in the interview. They were made up of one male and four females. The reason for the gender imbalance is that the male learners were reluctant to be recorded. The five learners who were interviewed were either bilingual or multilingual. Two of them were bilingual while three were multilingual. The two bilingual learners, Pedro and Ursula, knew and used Portuguese (L1) and English and German (L1) and English respectively. Maria reported that she knew three languages, namely, Afrikaans (L1), English (L2) and French. Louisa said she knew four languages which were Otjiherero (L1), English (L2), Afrikaans and French. Ursula reported her knowledge of two languages, namely, English (L1) and German (L2). Sandra, reported that she knew four languages, namely, English (L1), German (L2), Afrikaans and a little bit of Spanish. All the learners knew and used English in their communication. However, in their interaction with their Portuguese and German teachers outside of the classroom, they sometimes used Portuguese and German.

The teacher – participants who were all teachers in the secondary school indicated that they knew the following languages as their L1: English (4), Afrikaans (6), French (1), German (2), Portuguese (2), Malayalam (1), Russian (1), Yoruba (1) Kikuyu (1) and Dutch (1). Languages that the teachers mentioned they spoke as L2 or as additional languages were English (20), Afrikaans (10), French (8), German (6), Portuguese (4), Spanish (3), Dutch (3), Zulu (1), Xhosa (1), Oshikwanyama (1), Hindi (1), Tamil (1), Kannada (1),
Malayalam (1), Xistwa (1), Kiswahili (1), Changana (1), Rukwaangali (1), Nama (1), Swahili (1), Kikuyu (1), Dholuo (1), Russian (1) and Yoruba (1). Similar to the learner profiles, there were no monolinguals among the teacher – participants. The language most widely listed as L1s are English, Portuguese, French and German, Afrikaans and Oshiwambo. Five teachers were purposively selected for the interview on the basis of their linguistic profile and the subjects they taught. They were made up of one male and four females. Teachers A and B who taught Portuguese as modern foreign language knew six languages respectively. Teacher C who is a learning support teacher mentioned that she knew five languages. Finally, Teachers D and E mentioned that they knew three languages. Teacher D taught French while Teacher E taught EAL. Teacher A who is a Namibian stated that she knew six languages, namely, Portuguese (L1), English, Afrikaans, German, Spanish and French. Teacher B, a Mozambican, mentioned that he knew the following six languages Xistwa (L1), Portuguese, English, Kiswahili, Changana and Spanish. Teacher C who is a Dutch national knew Dutch (L1), English, German, French and Afrikaans. Teacher D who is French mentioned that she knew French (L1), English and Spanish and finally Teacher E who is Canadian mentioned that she knew English (L1), French and Rukukwangali.

Contextualising WIS’ language policy

Language policy documents are often articulated in very general terms without attention to practical support for contexts where conflict is likely to arise. WIS’ Whole School Language Policy (a requirement of the International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO)\(^1\) thus gives general guidelines for language use in the school. The policy states that it recognises both the individual and societal multilingualism of its learners and teachers. The philosophy underlying the policy is as follows. Firstly, it seeks to develop a culture of acceptance of all languages. Secondly, the policy states that its aim is to provide an inclusive, authentic context for learning in all areas of the curriculum. Thirdly, the policy also recognises the cultural value of language, its potential for fostering intercultural understanding and international – mindedness (Windhoek International School 2012, 2). It is clearly stated that the school embraces the diversity of a language – rich community with the various cultures, nationalities and identities. In this regard, the aim of the policy “is to develop a culture of acceptance of all languages, first language, mother-tongue and second language, foreign language, English as an Additional Language, and provide an inclusive, authentic context for learning in all areas of the curriculum” (Windhoek International School, Whole School Language Policy 2012, 2). In other words, the policy recognises that language development is integral to learners’ academic progress. As a matter of policy, the school encourages the use and development of different languages. In addition, requirements of the two examination bodies, namely- the CIE and the IB, are that each learner must study at least one other language apart from English. At the secondary level, CIE requires each learner to study an L1 which could be English or another language that the school offers and then a foreign language. Where a learner studies English as L1, he/she needs to study

\(^1\)The IBO requires such an official school policy, which in this case has been developed but has not yet been ratified by the Board of Trustees.
another language, for example, French, German or Portuguese as a foreign Language. There is also the possibility of opting for German or Portuguese as L1. French and Portuguese are taught at all levels as L2. The situation is similar at the IBDP level where English is taught as L1 and the other languages are offered as foreign language subjects. Although almost 50% of the students are Namibians, none of the local Namibian languages was taught in the school. At the same time, however, the policy recognises that in this particular context, learners are expected to access a curriculum in a language other than their mother tongue.

As a private school three key factors that influenced the school’s language policy are the following. Firstly, at the inception of the school, the governing body decided that English should be the official language of communication of the school in line with the official policy of Namibia where English was adopted as MoI in all schools at independence. Secondly, English is singled out as the working language in which the school communicates with its stakeholders and in which it is committed to providing a range of services for the implementation of its programmes. English is also the school’s internal working language, in which most operational and development activities takes place (Windhoek International School 2012, 2).

The language policy shows that English language is the most important language at WIS. It is the lingua franca, MoI and language of official communication. English has been adopted as the lingua franca for the sake of “fairness and transparency and also as the working language both internal and external. It is also the language of governance and management” (Windhoek International School 2012, 2). In other words, by choosing English as the official language of communication, the policy has elected a language that is intended to create a level playing field for all the members of the WIS community so that all can effectively participate in the activities of the community. In that light, WIS’ LiEP supports, promotes and prescribes the use of English. The practical implementation of the English-only policy is demonstrated by the fact that English is the only language taught as an additional language. The school has a department for English as an Additional Language (EAL) which is responsible for learners whose tested English proficiency has indicated that they need additional lessons in English to cope with the studies in the classroom and to participate effectively in the school’s community. EAL support is offered to accelerate the learners’ integration into the mainstream language use. This support is devised to improve learners’ understanding, listening and speaking skills in English. In other words, EAL support, in and out of lessons, is provided to students who have little or no prior knowledge of English until they reach a sufficient level of communication to enable them to be able to use English effectively both in and out of the classroom. The need for the EAL department is motivated by the fact that since English is the MoI, learners need a high proficiency in English to be able to participate effectively in the lessons and also be able to write examinations which are conducted in English. It is also indicative of monolingual bias that English is the only language that is given such additional support.

For example, the results from the survey conducted with the learners and from their knowledge and use of English, the choice of English as MoI is appropriate. In the interviews and especially observation of school practices, teachers and learners recognise the
importance and value of English in their daily lives. English is the language most commonly used at school and at home by both learners and teachers. Although the learners and teachers mentioned that their proficiency levels in English were high, they mentioned that they still wanted to learn it better not only to improve their proficiency but also take advantage of it as a global language. They also reported that they watch television and listen to the radio in English; in addition they write emails and send text messages in English. All the learners and teachers who participated in the research mentioned that they wanted to improve their English. The learners particularly indicated a preference for English as MoI, especially because of how it could be of use to them in their education. It is interesting that none of the learners complained that they felt that the MoI limited their ability to show how well they knew their work. Other research (De Klerk's (2000; Slabbert and Finlayson 2000) has indicated these kinds of concerns in using a single powerful language as MoI in multilingual communities.

The main reason for the wide use of English in school, according to the learners, was that the curriculum was in English and the examinations were set and written in English. The learners also expressed their awareness of being part of a world where English affords mobility and improvement of life chances. In these statements learners echoed a widely recorded view of the importance of belonging to a global village and English was seen as a route to globalisation. Teachers, overall, also seemed not to question the monolingual policy of the school. In fact, one of the teachers in the interview mentioned that she found it frustrating that at times she was unable to express her thoughts in English and felt the need to learn the language better. The preference for English policy worked best in the classroom where English is the MoI. From the information obtained through the questionnaires, interviews and observation of two lessons, it is clear that (in line with the policy), English is the language most commonly used by teachers and learners whether as L1, L2, or as an additional language. Thus, one can say that English enjoys a privileged position among the many languages spoken in the school.

The school also expects a particular standard variety of English to be used in teaching and learning. However, among the teachers and learners, a number of different varieties are found. In the prescribed work, the language standard is set by the curriculum developers - that is, by educationists living and working in the USA or the UK. The expectation is that the language used as MoI and for official communication should be Standard English. Although at times the differences between different varieties of English are subtle or superficial, these have been noted and well documented. Regardless of the particular varieties represented, the school holds the view that instruction in the “standard language” is the responsibility of all teachers in all subject areas. Such an instruction also holds for the teaching of English as a school subject.

Discussion

The linguistic situation at WIS is a complex one. The choice of language in this multilingual environment is highly determined by the habitus, the linguistic space and the different domains of language use. Particularly the habitus which Bourdieu (1991: 13)
defines as a ‘set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways’ plays a major role in the linguistic choices that the individual makes. ‘Linguistic habitus’ influences the way that individuals and groups think about, value and use languages. While the habitus in the classroom is generally monolingual in accordance with the English-only policy of the school, the research revealed code switching from French to Afrikaans and vice versa in the French classroom and the occasional use of Portuguese in the English classroom for purposes of bridging the knowledge gap. In the classroom code switching takes place between English and the other languages such as Portuguese, German and Afrikaans. Yet, the monolingual habitus is unquestioned because all the interviewees claimed an excellent proficiency in English.

The LiEP of WIS can, therefore, be described in both overt and covert terms. The written language policy that originates from the school governing body in response to the demands of the IBO is the overt policy. The principles and practices set out in the official written policy make explicit the terms that guide communication in the school. The document addresses the question of the various learning domains and the various languages that the school recognises for use by learners and teachers. The covert aspects of the policy are those that are found implicitly in the daily practices of learners and teachers. The daily practices may be described as multilingual and multi-voiced. At the level of the school community, the learners who come from a variety of ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds form a linguistic community that can be described as multilingual.

The policy is unambiguous about its requirement that all learners and teachers be proficient in English even if it is not their L1. In the context of WIS, which has been clearly identified as a multilingual community, the conflict that its language policy sought to resolve was which language to use as MoI and lingua franca. Considering the particular organisations to which the WIS is affiliated and the curricula that they work with, the choice of English was inevitable, as it is the only official language of the country, and the language most commonly used as lingua franca among both learners and teachers. Though the school is multilingual, the dominant language is English which majority of the students are proficient in. Although they have a multilingual repertoire, they prefer to use English in most of their communication. Outside of the classroom, however, multiple languages are used with English still featuring prominently.

The linguistic culture of WIS has been influenced by the sociolinguistic composition of its learners and teachers, its linguistic landscape1 and its educational goals. A close look at this landscape betrays the covert policies that are honoured. The covert policy is one that is not written, but that becomes clear in the ways people use languages, in the way status is afforded, and in how practices implement the official policy (or fail to do so). Schiffman (1996: 30) describes such aspects of covert language policy as aspects of policy that relate to linguistic rights, but are not given in any legal document. Such aspects are covert in that they must be inferred from other policies, constitutional provisions, ‘the spirit of the law’, or the ways in which regulations are followed.

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1Technically linguistic landscape refers to public displays of language in forms of signs, labels, names of shops etc. However, in this study, it is used to refer to the overall linguistic situation or context at WIS.
The school’s general educational ideology is a factor in the determination of its language policy. The LiEP at WIS at once takes care of and withholds language rights. It withholds the multilingual rights (as determined in international language rights context) of its teachers and especially its students in the classroom, while at the same time upholding those rights outside of the classroom. Following Shohamy’s (2006, 47-48) reflection on language policy as a manipulation and imposition of language behaviours as it relates to decisions about languages and their uses in education in society, it is clear that the LiEP of WIS imposes monolingual norms and a situation of “monolingual habitus” on its community of learners and teachers.

Conclusion

The focus of this paper was to find out how language policy addresses possible language conflicts regarding which languages to use and to develop in a multilingual educational space. The study sought to reflect on language policy. It was suggested in the review of scholarly literature that one of the primary aims of language policy is to address potential conflicts that may arise in multilingual spaces. It is clear from the discussion above that based on its written policy, WIS recognises individual multilingualism to the extent that each student is encouraged to speak his/her L1 and a language apart from English even though English is the lingua franca of the school. Yet on the whole with the prominence given to English, one can say that the policy is articulated with a monolingual bias. The findings of the research have shown that a written language policy may only address part of the conflict. The real solution should be found in the linguistic culture and language practices of WIS in this globalised educational context in Namibia with such language diversity and interaction language policy, both overt and covert should address possible language conflicts holistically (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck 2005: 198). In the course of reflecting on language policy and policy implementation both inside and outside of the classroom at WIS, it has emerged that language functions as a resource especially for purposes of scaffolding and bridging the knowledge gap in the classroom. In addition, due recognition must be given to indigenous Namibian languages. It is acknowledged, however, that the implementation of this is likely to come with its own and all efforts should be made to reduce these conflicts to the barest minimum. It is also suggested that current practices in the policy that must be maintained are that for examination purposes, the school should still focus on extensive use of English to enable its learners to meet the requirements of its external examiners and accreditors. The policy should be the same for its communication with its other stakeholders. The policy must maintain its position where English is perceived as a source of linguistic capital which provides opportunities in the global community. It is recommended that where a learner comes to WIS with little or no proficiency in English lessons in EAL must be introduced and continued over a sufficient period of time, to ensure the easy integration of the learner into the school, both inside and outside of the classroom. In order to make this effective, the L1 of learners should form part of the teaching process where he/she would be allowed to use his L1 freely during EAL lessons.
References


The Silent Text: Symbolism amidst Political Disillusionment in Luangala’s *On a Campaign Trail*

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Abstract

The paper discusses symbolism in John Luangala’s short story ‘On a Campaign Trail’. It begins with an examination of symbolism and how it is employed in literary texts. The work then focuses on the short story and identifies that symbolism has been employed in two ways: firstly the text as a symbol and secondly individual symbols are in the text. While the text as a symbol has been tied to the author of the work, the other two symbols are physical items identified in the text. The two identified symbols have also been seen to have multiple interpretations subjected to them. It has finally been concluded that the symbols employed by Luangala are centred on showing how much the author is disillusioned with modern-day politics.

Keywords: symbolism, politics, literature, society

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Introduction

Every literary work is symbolic in nature. As Wellek and Warren in their highly influential work of literary criticism Theory of Literature (1956) argue, the text occurs at two levels: the sound representation, and the meaning stratum. This implies that there are sounds that form the text which later are seen as a meaningful unit. However, this is not the only point at which symbolism is encountered in the literary text. According to de Man (1979), the text always contains substitutions. His argument is that the text is incomplete as it is presented. Meaning in the text cannot be restricted to what has been presented because what has been presented ought to be read at another level. Could this suggest that the space in which the literary world is not enough and the world should therefore be expanded through substitution for an even broader interpretation? This paper seeks to explore symbolism and show how it has been used to expand the worldview of Luangala’s characters in on a Campaign Trail. The work will further attempt to understand why Luangala has employed symbolism, if he has, in the work. The paper, therefore, will begin by defining symbolism before identifying the various forms of its manifestation in the literary text and in other cases related to the text. Later, the understanding will be applied to Luangala’s story On a Campaign Trail and a conclusion will be drawn based on the interpretation of the text.

Symbolism

Symbolism has been a part of humanity for very long. For instance, Lindly and Clark (1990) say that symbolism in humans can be traced to as far back as the Middle Stone Age, about 300,000 to 30,000 BC. The implication is that symbolism is as tightly knit to humans as it is to literature even though it is seen usually in literary terms by literary critics as can be noted from Roberts and Jacobs (2007) who see it as a way of expanding meaning. They see it to have developed from ‘the connections that real-life people make between their own existence and particular objects, places, or occurrences, through either experience or reading’ (pg 380). Symbolism in this case appears to be a phenomenon crafted for real society in real time. The symbol is man’s own creation for his own social interpretation as has been argued above. In talking about symbolism, which as it was argued earlier by de Man to be substitution, it becomes imperative to relate the symbol to the sign. The sign has been well expounded by De Saussure (1959) who sees a sign to have two sides to it: what it is (signifier) and what is represents (signified). An example would be the word tree. It is a signifier which signifies a woody perennial plant, typically having a single stem or trunk growing to a considerable height and bearing lateral branches at some distance from the ground. It is this plant that is the signified in this case. It is at this same point, argues Frye (1952) that the word, and all language, becomes a sign as it represents what exists outside the string of words and language itself. He, therefore identifies a literary work’s representation of the world as symbolism. This shows that the literary work represents a world that it has been molded after. One would conclude that just as the words that form the text represent what lies outside them, the text itself as a whole is equally a symbol as it represents another world outside it but which itself is also a part of.
On the other hand, Todorov and Klein (1974) awaken us to the fact that one item can represent two outside it. They show that it is possible to make reference to two different items in language. For this reason, it should be suggested that while it has been acknowledged that language represents something outside it, it should further be interpreted in the sense that language represents several things outside the world. One would be made to feel at this point that the selection of what exactly is implied or signified in an utterance is not only the context but also the background of the recipient decoding the signifier. This could further be used to provide a path to the interpretation of symbols. Turner () says that the individual or group responsible for interpretation or assigning of meaning to symbols have control over the meaning and effect of the symbols. For this reason, one would wish to interpret symbols in their own way so as to benefit from the same interpretation. This therefore gives an added advantage and power of the interpreter over the rest as they can manipulate not only the symbol but also the consumers of the symbol.

Roberts and Jacobs (2007) have said that symbols come in two types: cultural and contextual. Cultural symbols being those symbols easily understood by everyone as they have been accepted as such by a cultural group. Contextual symbols are those symbols that are qualified by their use in the work and the prominence they have been given. As has been argued by Turner () above, Circlot (2001; xi) also sees the symbol as not having fixed interpretation. He says that “the symbol proper is a dynamic and polysymbolic reality, imbued with emotive and conceptual values: in other words, with true life.” It could be said that in this case, it is the contextual symbol that squarely falls into this category. The contextual symbol can easily change the target referent.

With the above in mind, it will be concluded that symbolism is very diverse and cannot be wholly discussed in this paper. Robb (1998) says that symbolism includes cognitive structures, ritual icons, identities such as gender, prestige, and ethnicity, technological knowledge, and political ideologies among others. For this reason, this work will restrict itself to literary symbols that are both linguistic and physical in the text.

**Symbolism in On a Campaign Trail**

While acknowledging that this work is dedicated to studying symbolism in the text in relation to political disillusionment in the people, particularly the characters in the text, the work does not focus on political symbols. Cohen (1979; 87) says that “often, the less obviously political in form symbols are, the more efficacious politically they prove to be.” This implies that the approach should not necessarily be to identify political symbols, but merely to identify symbols and interpret them in a political sense. The work has been classified as a political text because it centers on a political event, particularly a campaign for election to parliament. Disillusion is seen in the major character, Luke Chimbalanga, a University of Zambia lecturer in economics, who withdraws from politics citing the dirt in politics. He claims people need to be educated to vote for the right leaders while they need the right leaders to have the much needed education that will in turn bring them the right leaders. Luangala brings into the text the chicken and egg controversy that takes the centre of the text. It leads to the question, what is the role of education in politics?
In Luke’s family, politics begin with slogan chanting Sankhulani, Luke’s maternal uncle who is a very successful politician. He dies of ‘kaliondeonde’ and, interestingly, his death is a crowd puller. His coffin is given prominence as it is said that the lucky ones had a glimpse of the coffin. While this shown the importance of the old man, the prominence given to the coffin. While the coffin is not presented in any negative sense in the story, it seems to diminish the relevance of developmental politics in the story. When Luke’s father takes over from his brother-in-law, he does not seem as successful a politician as his predecessor regardless of the fact that he is a very good leader. He is presented as more of a leader than a politician. He is able to refuse offers for higher offices opting for councillorship. The coming in of Luke and his premature withdrawal from the race signifies the death of politics in the family. The coffin in this case comes in at a very crucial point. This is a very contextual symbol in that it is restricted to Luke’s family.

In the slogans, highly championed by Sankhulani, there is an allusion to the goat and the sheep. In this case, goat sees moonlight and believes it is day while the sheep waits for the actual sunlight. The goat is caught and eaten by hyenas. Luangala interprets this symbolism to be allegorical of “some Africans, who upon receiving favours from the whites in the Federal Party, relented in the struggle for true freedom, in the belief that they were now better off, (142)”. Yet, on further reading, this could be seen as an allegorical allusion to the Jesus Christ parable of the sheep and goats delivered in Matthew 25:31-46. This allegorical allusion could show the text as a sermon to the electorate to say there will come a time when politics will separate get rid of right people, well-intentioned people from the process of development in the nation. Luangala takes the position of the messiah in this text and shares his philosophy that politics will not be meant for the educated, those with a heart for the people and the nation as a whole. Luangala, who is himself educated and a philanthropist, seems to say that politics will detach him from directly contributing to the nation through the political arena. Could this suggest that he has political ambitions but thinks that the ground is not fertile enough for an intellectual? Luke’s reason for joining politics was not for making money; it was to serve the people. He wanted to show the people that a university graduate was the best for a politician as opposed to the ‘rug bags masquerading as heroes’ in the community. While others would probably wish to interpret the goat and sheep allusion in relation to the clever one day being replaced by the right minded sheep, it ought to be mentioned that this story ends in despair. There is no sign that Luke will return to politics. It appears that the goat and sheep allusion can be seen as a single entity, as a reproduction of the text, making Luangala an equal of Christ in this scenario.

Another interesting symbol worth considering in this discussion is the rostrum on which the candidates stand to present their manifesto. The construction of the rostrum is quite significant in this study. It is said, “The rostrum had been constructed a day before, made of several stilts dug firmly into the ground, to support a platform made of small flat poles placed up together with some sisal fibre. For perfect foot balance, and comfort, a layer of elephant grass had been spread on top of the poles, also woven tight using some similar fibre,” (149). The rostrum here is constructed out of local materials. There is no foreign material employed. The rostrum is seen to be quite strong and somewhat durable. The fact the materials have been
locally acquired somehow suggests that their preferred candidate has to be local. A foreign candidate cannot be rooted in this land. While it might be argued that Luke is not a foreigner considering that this is his village, the fact that he is highly educated and has been abroad seems to suggest that he has been uprooted from his land. He comes to his land not the same person anymore. He cannot connect to his people. It is for this reason that a member of the audience comments on what too much education can do to some young men like Luke. He has been alienated. The rostrum, with all its strength signifies the cooperation among villagers and their inability to be shaken by foreign concepts such as ‘a shortage of foreign exchange’, ‘trade deficit’, ‘balance of payment’, the exploitative tendencies of the IMF and the World Bank’, financial obligations,’ ‘inflation’ and so on” (150) that he could not even translate into vernacular. The rostrum being dug into the ground and also being erected under a ‘kacele’tree shows the significance of localization in politics, responding to the needs of the local people, and speaking their own language.

The final symbols to discuss are the candidates’ symbols, particularly, Njelebeta’s axe. Before the symbols are discussed, it is important to firstly look at how it has been revealed to the audience both in the text and the reader outside the text.

“and you women,” Njelebeta resumed, after allowing the audience a little respite to recover their breath. He strutted about on the rostrum, turning round at critical moments as he spoke, to expose his face in every direction; left, right and centre. “I am saying you women. You see two men coming to propose marriage to you. One of them has a book in his hand, and the other one has an axe on his shoulder, in very dirty clothes. Which man will you trust to be able to give you food to eat?”

“The one with an axe on his shoulder.”

“Which one do you think will be able to thatch your roof, or indeed build you a new hut?”

“The one with the axe.”

“So you see the reason why I am asking you to go and mark your cross on the axe on that day. When the time comes on that day and you are there alone behind that cloth in that voter’s booth, you will remember what you need most in your life, that is an axe. So you will write a cross on where?”

“On the axe.”

“Yes on the axe. Because it is the axe that builds a village, not so?”

“Indeed it is so.”

“And you women, when you walk to the filed early in the morning, or walk back to the village at dusk, you feel you a man [sic] when you are armed with an axe, not so?”

“Indeed it is so,” the men chorused.

“And then you women also, you feel safe to walk in front of a man who has an axe on his shoulder, not so?”

“Yes indeed, that is how it is,” the women chorused in turn.

“Can you feel safe with a man carrying a book in his hands?”

“No.”

“But an axe, not so?”

“Yes.”

“So go and vote for an axe. I have nothing more to say. I know you have work to do, and all of you men have an axe waiting for you at home, and some of you have brought one with you here. You need to return home and use your axe to do some serious work. And even some of you women, you need firewood. You will need to go and borrow an
axewith which to cut firewood. So I will not keep you long. Go well all of you, but
don’t forget that you need what?”
“An axe.”
“Yes, you need an axe and this is where I have ended.” (152-3)

The above lengthy quotation appears towards the end of the story. One would
suggest that the symbol of the axe used in this text operates at several levels. It is clear, from
the onset that the axe has been used as Njelebeta’s symbol. He says that one cannot do
without an axe in his life. The axe has been used towards the end of the text. Does this in any
way signifying the chopping of the text? The text ends with Luke opting out of the race. Luke
is still young and would be expected to continue in politics but as the story ends, there is no
sign that Luke will rejoin politics. It seems that the text has not been given enough space to
say what Luke intends to do with his political life. The text’s being ‘amputated’ would signify
the narrator’s desire not to show what follows in the story.

In relation to the above, one also sees a Luke whose political career has been cut
short. It seems the axe that has been so praised for being used to build villages and provide
them with food is also intended for protection from enemies. While Luke is not really an
enemy but an opponent, he is treated as an enemy. The old man Njelebeta has chopped Luke’s
career with his axe. His continued reference to all people in the village needed the axe implies
that the only one without the axe should be chopped off. Here, Luke is later seen as a victim
of the axe as he withdraws his bid just after one meeting with the prospective voters.

The chopping of Luke’s career can further be seen as the chopping of his symbol off
from the political scene. The political scene here seen is in Luke's village. It appears that
Luke’s community has rejected education. Education has been cut off from people’s lives.
Luke is an educated individual whose interest is to bring education not only to his land but
also into politics. He believes that educated people should go into politics and make education
serve people through politics. The electorate has in this case rejected education not just as a
community but also as a driving force for politics. The people believe that politics should not
be taken with the seriousness that Luke has given it. Politics should be fun. It is this that will
make politics be responsive to the people.

The use of the axe has made Njelebeta get close to the people. He has identified with
the people and the people have accepted him. This is seen even in Luke’s own father, a retired
politician, who has also positively responded to Njelebeta. Luke has therefore also been cut
off from his father, his family using the axe.

The axe plays a huge role in this text. While it has been said to be used to build the
village and provide food, it has also been used to kill the enemy. The same can be seen in
Luangala’s other story ‘The Axe and the Blood’ where the axe is central to the story except
that in this case, it is the protagonist that uses it to a maximum effect when she kills her
assailant.

In this story, the above three are the symbols that have been identified and explained
in relation to their use in the context, in the story.
Conclusion

This paper endeavored to explore symbolism in Luangala’s short story, ‘On a Campaign Trail’ in which he seems disappointed with modern day politics. While in one of the symbols Luangala seems to be a spokesperson for humanity and also humanity’s own prophet, using the other symbols, he tries to examine modern day politics in terms of how relevant the people think it is to their lives and how they think it should benefit them. Through the same symbols, Luangala shares his philosophy on what makes successful politicians which is not only being a member of the community but also appealing to the immediate needs of the people. He shows that people seem more concerned with what related to their immediate environment. He further shows that if people do not understand something, it will not be accepted even if it is intended for their benefit. They would rather suffer than receive assistance that they do not understand.

In many instances, Luangala has not explicitly stated his philosophy. He has remained silent on several issues which are evoked in the reader upon encountering the symbols strategically placed in selected parts of the text. The silence in the text has only been broken by symbols that share more than would probably be anticipated by the reader.
References


-Saint Matthew 25:31-46.


Towards Clarity in Translation: Applying the Textual Dimensional Approach

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Abstract

Over the past twenty years, with the advent of Machine Translation, translations produced by budding translators or student translators sometimes fall short of the minimum standard of good translations because they tend to be mere transplants that replace the Source Language (SL) structure with supposedly equivalent Target Language (TL) structure. The resultant inadequacy in the final [mis]transfer of message is naturally attributed to lack of precision in linguistic and/or extra-linguistic use of TL expressions. It is this approximation in translation that apparently gives rise to what is generally known in French as “faux sens/contre sens”. This takes something out of the translator’s purpose which is to find the exact meaning as contained in the original SL text. It is with a view to attaining the translator’s objective of exactitude that this author conceived the Textual Dimensional Approach (TDA). It is a three-step (Subject, Audience, Message) model, founded on the textual concept, that provides a basis for generating an author’s exact statement from a text to correct awkward translations and also guide the translation of a message in the TL with a minimum of ambiguity. The TDA uses deconstructionism as its framework of analysis since, in interrogating the text, it unravels those traditional concepts and theories that surround a text to discover meaning.

Keywords: Textual Dimension, Subject, Audience, Message, Relay
Le processus de la traduction relève beaucoup plus d’opération de compréhension et d’expression que de comparaison entre les langues. (Ledérer 1973:10)

1. Introduction

Approximation in translation generally emanates from a [mis]interpretation of the word which, to all intents and purposes, is supposed to be the starting point of any translation exercise. The word or text as a unit has a communicative value which only derives from the selection and use of particular lexemes by an author who, in conceiving the message, thinks s/he can express that message with only those particular words as co-text that interact with each other to produce a text. Thus, adequate transfer of meaning into the target text will depend not only on the combination of the linguistic and cultural values of the target language system but also on the context provided by the source language co-text as a unit of communication.

This view is supported by Dressler Wolfgang (1990:138-48) when he demonstrates that seemingly unimportant properties of a text such as word order, repetition, use of pronouns, etc, have meaning in texts; that they help to shape the flow of discourse, and that they are thus also relevant for translation. In other words, an arrangement of the same lexemes into two different ways will carry only those meanings which each arrangement is intended to convey in specific contexts. Let us consider the following examples:

a) Phone the man; and
b) Man the phone.

Sentences ‘a’ and ‘b’ above have exactly the same lexemes “phone”, “the” and “man” in two structures that convey, in each case, a meaning quite different from the other. In sentence ‘a’, the lexeme “phone” is used as a verb (imperative) while “man” is used as a noun object; in sentence ‘b’, the lexeme “man” is used as a verb (imperative) while “phone” is used as a noun object.

In certain cases too a structure can be polysemous. For instance:
“Visiting parents can be boring.”

Here, the lexeme “visiting” can be considered as either a participial phrase or an adjective, depending on the textual context. “Visiting” will play the role of a participial phrase where the textual context is about children who visit their parents. Similarly, “visiting” will be considered as an adjective to qualify the noun “parents” who visit their children.

Such a structure will pose serious problems to any translator. Of course, it is in her/his attempt at translating it that the translator will appreciate the difficulty in understanding the
message. In fact, for any translator to bring out the exact message inherent therein, s/he will need to go beyond her/his immediate linguistic knowledge and draw from her/his cognitive knowledge since the structure itself creates ambiguity in its situational and formal contexts (Albir, 1990:48-49).

It is against the backdrop such ambiguities as noted above that the TDA was conceived to go beyond “le vouloir dire de l’auteur” that tends to limit translators to providing just an adequate transfer of meaning in translation. The objective of the TDA is to provide a platform not only for producing clear, unambiguous translations, but also for correcting awkward translations in the transfer of message in the TT.

To this end, the TDA has taken special care to exclude extra textual elements from the SLT analysis because they could blur the SLT message and affect the meaning that will eventually be transferred into the TL system. This decision is supported by Vilen Komissarov (1987:417) who insists that:

Of obvious significance is … the specific contextual content of the text, as it is therein that the receptor is to look for the information addressed to him. And it is through the analysis of the message that the receptor gets his subjective version of what the speaker meant to communicate.

To the TDA, therefore, the conception of translation should be based on understanding and appreciating the ST as a single, definite unit of communication. In other words, it can be misleading to seek to establish extra textual situational variables in the ST in order to guide one-to-one equivalents in the TT transfer because of what the translator may consider to be her/his extra textual knowledge. This is because the source text as a unit of paradigmatic and syntagmatic elements has a unique communicative value which only derives from the selection and use of some specific lexemes by an author (Nzuanke, 1994:8-9).

2. Literature Review

Though so much has been written about textual studies in modern times, debate about the text as the very basis for all translations has been going on since the antiquity. St. Augustine’s (AD354 - AD430) definition of the lexeme (the sign) in De Magistro as consisting of two major components, namely: the significatio (signified, image, concept) and the sonus (significant, sound, expression) was to inspire later studies carried out on the text since the turn of the 20th century by Ferdinand de Saussure, Louis Trolle Hjelmslev, Roman Osipovich Jakobson, André Martinet and Emile Benveniste and their linguistic theories that influenced the structural method. From Reinhard Hartmann’s (1980) “text linguistics” to Jean Delisle’s (1984) “discourse analysis”, all studies on the text have evolved from mere abstract linguistic analysis to assume a more practical posture that seeks to understand why a text should be translated in a particular way.

On the whole, scholars still disagree over which text (between the source and target texts) should be the focus of the translator.
Source-Text scholars like Reinhard Hartmann (1980) with his “text linguistics” and Jean Delisle (1984) with his “discourse analysis” see a text as an outward manifestation of a body of ideals conceived within a group of linguistic signs put together in a particular way to convey a particular message. In the same vein, Gideon Toury (1980:39) opines that the ST approach is based on the reconstruction of the ST’s relevant features (including its textual relationships) in the TT as a necessary and/or sufficient condition for translation, postulating the “functional” relationship as translation equivalence.

Clearly, ST-based scholars do not seem to be so much concerned with translation as a product, but with it as a possible transposition or reformulation of ST features in the TT.

Conversely, Arnt Lykke Jakobsen (1993:157) feels that most translations make the text independent, autonomous or self-sufficient. This presupposes that as a text, a translation is not fundamentally conditioned by the ST, but by the role it (the text) is expected to play in the target culture.

Basically, scholars of the Target Text-based approach are concerned with how the target audience receives (or should receive) a translation and how it reacts (or should react) to its message. In other words, the approach is more concerned with the final product as conceived and produced as an element of the textual ensemble in the target language.

This approach appears to be an offshoot of Luther’s development of the concept of translating the Bible specifically for an intended audience. According to Wolfram Wills (1982), Luther, under great pressure to succeed as a reformer, and anticipating Eugene Nida’s (1960) approach to biblical translation, developed the concept to reach the man on the street who constituted his audience.

Eugene Nida (1960:192) calls this “dynamic equivalence” since it attempts to obtain, in the target language audience, a response to the TL text that could be said to be equivalent to the response obtained by the original SL text from the SL audience in terms of the “closest natural equivalent to the SL message.” Emphasis here is on the audience, the receptor language and culture.

Unlike Eugene Nida, whose focus is semantic, Maurice Pergnier (1980) and Peter Newmark (1981) focus on the message, the context and the setting in terms of “communicating” to the reader in the TL culture.

Like Julianne House (1977), Amparo Hartado Albir (1990:51-54) insists that the knowledge required to get a good grasp of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic features of a text goes beyond simple linguistic knowledge. To this end, he maintains, understanding a text will require:

- knowledge of the situational context;
- knowledge of the verbal context;
- cognitive knowledge; and
- general knowledge of the socio-historic context.
Not willing to be part of the debate about ST and TT importance in translation, Erich Steiner (2003), focuses on how a translated text works. This is founded on what he describes as macro-level/top down (genre and register of a text) and micro-level/bottom up (lexico-grammatical function of a text) methodologies that occur in the analysis of a translated text before such questions as “why” and “with what effects” translated texts function. Steiner’s study draws extensively from Julianne House (2002) who, in making comparative analysis of English and German texts in view of considering how to integrate macro- and micro-level phenomena (register, genre and lexicogrammar), seeks to know if German textual norms or those elements that characterize a typical text in German (or its situational dimension) can be applicable to English translated texts.

Notwithstanding these contradictions, Erich Steiner (2003) thinks that the translated and otherwise interlingual text is both a linguistic and a multimodal semiotic object whose contact with both the linguistic and semiotic bases has to be maintained. In other words, what is needed is a model of language and text/discourse within which the different levels of language organization, the different degrees of abstraction and the extent of empirical phenomena can be situated.

Like Eugene Nida’s dynamic equivalence or Arnt Lykke Jakobsen’s perception of a text/translation as not being fundamentally conditioned by the ST, but by the role it (the text) is expected to play in the target culture, the Skopos theory (Vermeer, 2000) also insists on using strategies that will serve the purpose of the receptor, that is the TL audience. Nevertheless, the Skopos theory which focuses more on the purpose of the translation, is founded strictly on two fundamental principles, namely:

- an interaction determined by the purpose of the translation;
- the skopos can vary depending on who the recipient is.

It is these elements that will determine the translation method and strategy to be used to produce a *translatum* (the target text). Though this theory gives the translator room for creativity, it is too target-text oriented and can thus take the translator away from the very essence of the source text.

Clearly, at face value, the Skopos theory seems to cover a large area of the focus of the TDA, except that while the TDA seeks to generate information at a conceptual stage from the ST with a view to defining the purpose of the ST in terms of what and to whom to communicate in the TT, the Skopos theory focuses more on the TT purpose and may sometimes even run away from the goal and intention of the ST which should provide the big picture to guide any meaningful transfer of message in the TT (Nwanne, 2010:195 and Oyeleso, 2012:35-36).

In other words, the Skopos theory, like most other studies, has hardly struck the right balance between ST and TT by establishing a practical framework to:
a. distinguish ST subject matter (textual category) from the SL message (author’s intentions) which is to be analyzed in relation to its supposed audience with a view to generating basic information to determine ST purpose as big picture/roadmap;

b. situate the message (textual function) that derives therefrom within its proper context (as message for a defined, specific audience), before reformulation in a language and style that will be peculiar to the specific needs of TT audience as part of the target language/cultural system.

These are the elements that form the basis of the TDA in its attempt to establish a comprehensive practical framework for translation practice.

3. Data Collection

In Africa, with its linguistic and cultural diversity and a high illiteracy rate, billboard adverts, with their high pictorial value, have become an important medium for advertisement/propaganda.

Alexander (1965), quoted in Belch and Belch (2001:15), defines advertisement as any paid form of non-personal communication about an organisation, a product, service or idea by an identified sponsor. Inasmuch as this definition seems focused on the marketing nature of advertisements, it is complemented by Frank Jefkins (1973:231) who sees an advertisement simply as any notice, picture, or film that tells people about a product or a service by way of a word, letter, model, sign, placard, board, hoarding, notice, device or representation, whether illuminated or not. Jefkins’ definition seems to give adverts the character by which they are generally known; that is simple, short words that communicate easily. They express their basic idea quickly and with impact to catch the attention of the mobile rider or pedestrian who is expected to grasp the idea at a glance from a reasonable distance. For example: “Satzenbrau! The Final Word”.

Advertisement for tobacco, drinks and other consumer goods as well as public enlightenment campaigns for sanitation, family planning and even political propaganda or against HIV/AIDS use billboards that are displayed at strategic points on the streets of major cities and along highways.

In the course of this study, we sampled some 30 adverts (including propaganda) in Yaounde and Douala in Cameroon and picked three that we considered representative enough of the lot to test the TDA. They include one untranslated advert (Kilav), one translated advert (Tuborg) and one sanitation propaganda. For want of space, we could not take more than these three corpora to illustrate how only the information contained in the ST (as a unit of communication) should be sufficient for a good translator to grasp the subject matter, situate the text’s audience and transfer the message clearly into the TT.
The choice of Cameroon as our sample area is explained by the country’s bilingual culture which provides not only ready examples of translated adverts, but also other comparative samples for our exploitation.

4. Theoretical framework

The Textual Dimensional Approach (TDA) is conceived against the backdrop of *deconstructionism*, a complex concept most closely identified with the philosophical analyses of Jacques Derrida which tends to be a continuation of the attack on philosophy and social theory (Denzin, 1994: 185). *Deconstructionism* also builds on Ferdinand de Saussure’s structuralist theory of language and is directed to the interrogation of texts. In this case, it involves an attempt to take apart and expose the underlying meanings, biases and preconceptions that structure the way a text conceptualizes its relation to what it describes.

According to Denzin (1994), this requires that those traditional concepts, theories and understanding that surround a text should be unraveled, including the assumption that an author’s intentions and meanings can be easily determined therein.

Ulmer (1985 and 1989) cited in Norman Denzin (1994) indicates that the key strategies of *deconstructionism* will involve the following:

- rupture of the formulae that equate the written words with spoken words, the latter with mental experience, and voice with mind;
- demonstrating the fundamental indeterminacy of meaning;
- textual production of the subject as a system of differences;
- attack on mimesis (the ability of a work to represent experience); and
- development of what Derrida calls grammatology (a science or study of writing, speech and texts) that entails rewriting the history of writing, developing a new theory of writing and developing a set of deconstructive grammatological practices (Denzin, 1994: 185).

Derrida’s *deconstructionism* is in consonance with the theory of sociology of language which, to get meaning from an utterance or a text, does not only give a symbolic value to users’ linguistic variety, but also analyses the interplay between the various social groups (tribe, sex, age, religious affiliation, profession, urban/rural dweller, etc) and the different varieties of language in society in terms of level of language use, style, change of register with regard to the social identity of one’s interlocutor or audience, etc. (Essono, 1998:13).

5. Practical Considerations of the TDA

The TDA is defined in terms of the following three elements:
- The source text (ST) as a subject matter that constitutes a meaningful unit of communication;
- The audience as a target for textual information; and
- The message that constitutes a unit of information for the audience.
These three elements (Subject-Audience-Message) which make up what is referred to here as the TDA, are described as follows:

I- Subject

This includes the following:

a) Textual category:
   i. Referential; i.e. specialized, technical official texts;
   ii. Aesthetic, i.e. principally literary texts.

b) Levels of language usage:
   i. formal (standard);
   ii. general (used amongst high/secondary school students, and for mass communication);
   iii. informal (non standard) including slang and pidgin.

II- Audience

It includes the following:

- Socio-economic (intellectual and professional)
- Ethno-cultural
- Religious
- Political
- Linguistic
- Illiterate/barely literate, etc.

III- Message

This is the mental or conceptual abstraction of meaning by the audience from the interplay of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic elements of a text.

For practical purposes, the three components (Subject-Audience-Message) of the approach will occur in two stages, namely:

i. The Conceptual stage with the Communicator/Author, the Subject, the Message and the Audience; and

ii. The Functional stage with the Translator (as RELAY), the Subject, the Audience and the Message, in that order (Nzuanke, 1994:49-60).
TR = Translator as RELAY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONCEPTUAL STAGE</th>
<th>FUNCTIONAL STAGE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C₁ = Communicator/Author</td>
<td>S² = Subject-Matter grasped from source text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S¹ = Subject Matter</td>
<td>A² = Target Audience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M₁ = Message</td>
<td>M² = Reformulated message as target text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A¹ – Audience</td>
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The Textual Dimensional Approach

At the Conceptual stage, the co-text including the paradigmatic and syntagmatic elements are analyzed to generate the textual profile and author’s message which will determine the audience and what style to be used to reach that audience at the Functional stage. The TDA’s perspective differs from the situational dimensional model proposed by Julianne House (1977) since the latter focuses mainly on those elements that condition an author’s utterance and not on the author’s utterance itself.

Similarly, from the above description of the TDA, it differs significantly from the Skopos theory (Vermeer, 2000) which insists on:

i. the translator/interpreter grasping the intended message in the target language;
   ii. translating the goal and intention of the ST with a view to capturing those of the TT;
   iii. using strategies that will serve the purpose of the receptor;
   iv. adding information to or subtracting same from a text if that will make meaning clearer in the target language (Nwanne, 2010:195 and Oyeleso, 2012:35-36).

v. Clearly, the TDA focuses more on the paradigmatic and syntagmatic elements of the ST as a unit of communication from where it:

   i. generates information at a conceptual stage comprising the purpose of the ST (and not the goal/objective of the TT as in the Skopos theory), in terms of what and to whom it wants to communicate; and

   ii. seeks how to reach the target audience through a RELAY at the functional stage that involves only the subject, the audience and the reformulated
message.

The underlying principle of the TDA is to tailor the subject matter to the specific needs of a given audience in such a way that the exact message and meaning are not lost. Note should also be taken that the “WHY” or the goal/objective of the communication/translation process which seems to be central to the Skopos theory is not necessarily the purpose of the TDA. The latter only seeks to guide the communicator/translator based on ST evidence to tailor her/his message to suit the intention of the group s/he intends to reach.

In other words, from a textual analysis of a ST (following the TDA), a target audience must be clearly identified and defined before the start of the translation process by the translator. This is because even the most important messages can become ineffective if they are not formulated in a language and style that suit the specific purpose of the intended target audience. Thus in translating a presidential speech for a barely literate audience, the translator should be guided by the intellectual limitations of this audience. A simple diction that will ease comprehension for this group will be preferable to the elevated diction that characterizes speeches of that type.

To the TDA, therefore, the composition of the translator’s audience will usually heavily influence the latter’s decision about how to say what. It could be seen from the model that the translator’s role is that of a RELAY between two languages and cultures, since the functional stage is only an extension of the ST line of communication in the TL. So, where the translator comes in to facilitate communication between two languages and [perhaps] cultures, s/he should be seen as an instrument in the communication process. Her/his role is simply to re-express an existing text in another language with exactitude as defined by an audience-specific intention.

The insistence of the TDA on the subject-audience-message functional sequence for translating texts is not unconnected with the need to first of all define the audience of a message before transmission since the overall general idea of the TDA is to say what (subject), with maximum precision, to whom (audience) that eventually decodes the sense (message) in that sequence.

6. Applying the TDA to Translation

The argument of this paper for a ST-based audience-oriented approach (the textual dimensional approach) to translation resulted in the conception of the TDA which will be applied as a guide to produce unambiguous translations and provide a basis for correcting awkward translations. For the purpose of this study (which is limited in space), an attempt will be made to apply the TDA to translate a commercial advert, correct the translations of another commercial advert and a non-commercial advert that will serve as our corpora.

Corpus I: "Kilav lave mieux"

*Kilav* is a super strong, super concentrated detergent produced by the "*Complexe"
Chimique Camerounais (CCC) " based in Bafoussam in the West Region of Cameroon. The sale of this product seems to be limited to the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) which is predominantly French-speaking. Yet, it would not be preposterous to consider the commercial text for translation since the product can also be marketed within the trilingual (English-French-Portuguese) Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the predominantly English-speaking Southern African Development Community (SADC).

A. Conceptual Stage (source text analysis)

I- Subject

a- Textual category
In the text, there are just three words. This concision makes the text good enough for a billboard advertisement, since it gives the possibility of a high cognitive effect. The comparison inherent in the use of the adverb "mieux" presupposes audience participation because the assertion "Kilav lave mieux" appears to be a statement made to somebody who might have been dissatisfied with the output of a similar product. There is also an aesthetic effect created by the recurring "lav" sound in "Kilav lave ...".

All these literary devices mark the text out as an aesthetic text.

b- Level of language used
The language used is appropriate for either formal/informal writing or speech in the French language.

i. Syntax: The text is a sentence made up of a subject (Kilav), a verb (laver) conjugated in the active voice, and an adverb (mieux).

ii. Lexis: The diction is simple and appears to be original because the brand name "Kilav" is a fusion of the phonetic spellings of "qui" [ki] and "lave" [lav] from a sentence like "La poudre qui lave ..." The choice of the verb "laver" in the sentence "Kilav lave mieux" may have been to create an alliterative effect.

II- Message

The message is an assertion which demonstrates the speaker’s preference or choice. It makes a comparison between "Kilav" and other products of the same category by the use of the adverb "mieux". This comparison is intended to invite the audience to show the same preference and share the speaker's choice.

III- Audience

The use of a very simple diction in a simple sentence structure could give this text a wide audience. Apart from the educated and the barely literate classes who may be workers or in self-employment, university students, children of primary and secondary schools can be part of this audience because it is possible for them to understand the message in the
sentence "kilav lave mieux".

**Deductions**

i. **Subject Matter:** Advertisement; literary style; aesthetic text;
ii. **Message:** Declarative; appeal for choice (of Kilav)
iii. **Audience:** Possible wide audience that may include workers, students and school children. There are no ethnic or religious restrictions.

**B. Functional Stage**

**- Translation:**

**I- Subject Matter**

This is an advertisement created in literary style with certain aesthetic elements like alliteration as in "Kilav lav..." Audience participation is demonstrated by the use of the adverb of comparison "mieux"

Reformulating this message in the target language will depend largely on the reaction which the translator expects to get from his audience. This will depend on what the translator gives this audience. So it will be imperative upon him to know this audience first; then know its composition and orientation.

**II- Audience**

The audience will apparently be wide since it will englobe all ethnic and religious groups which include school children, literate and barely literate workers and non-workers of English-speaking background. Based on this information, the translator should adopt a language level which will maintain the aesthetics of the source text while penetrating the different segments of the target audience at the same time.

**III- Message**

The translation should be based on the source text and should attempt to capture and maintain certain source text aesthetic elements. Furthermore, the notion of comparison which tends to demonstrate audience participation should be maintained by the use of a comparative like "better". The use of the adverb "better" presupposes a statement made by a speaker to his interlocutor to highlight the relative superior quality of "Kilav" over a rival product.

**TDA proposed translation:** "Kilav cleans [it] better"

Apart from the declarative tone, an effort has been made to maintain alliteration as in "Kilav cleans....".
Note that the study has maintained those elements that give the text its aesthetic character. Alliteration has not been maintained necessarily at exactly the same phonological level of occurrence in the source text (kiₐₐᵣₐ...lₐₐₑ) because this study thinks that what is important is not indeed the same level(s) of occurrence as in the source text, but rather the reproduction of such or similar elements in the target text to sustain its aesthetic character.

This study will continue with the verification exercise by looking at two translated commercial (English to French) and non-commercial (French to English) adverts. This is with a view of suggesting possible corrections or alternatives to the translations. The choice of a beer advert and a propaganda for this verification exercise is arbitrary and purely academic.

Corpus II: "Tuborg! It’s worth its weight in gold the world over ."

_Tuborg_ lager beer is a pilsner with an ABV of 4.6%. Its production by the Carlsberg group, Denmark, started since 1880. It is cosmopolitan and remains Denmark’s best selling beer. _Tuborg_ is present in 70 countries around the world and supports musical and cultural events in many countries in Africa.

A. Conceptual Stage (source text analysis).

I-Subject

a- Textual category

The text is characterized by such emotive-expressive words as "It's worth ...gold..." which could also be figurative. The use of the pronoun form "It" gives the impression that the sentence "It’s worth its weight in gold the world over " is in response to a question like "What do you think about Tuborg?" This therefore presupposes audience participation. The advertisement is declarative. Cognitive effect (i.e. the degree of recallability and comprehensibility) could be low because the sentence is too long for a billboard advertisement. Nevertheless, the use of alliteration as a literary device in:

"It’s worth its weight ..."

might have been intended to produce a musical effect that could guarantee recallability. Imagery is also produced by the comparison of _Tuborg_ to gold. This guarantees comprehensibility.

b- Level of language used

The language used is general. That is, it is appropriate for both formal and informal writing and speech.

i. Syntax: Though wordy, the structure respects standard English language syntax of "subject + verb + complement":

A B A B
It’s worth its weight in gold the world over.

subject (pron.) verb complement

ii. Lexis: The diction is not simple with rarely used words like "worth" and the expression “...its weight in gold...” in the adjectival clause.

This makes communication and effective transmission of the message difficult. The situation is further compounded by the length of the sentence which, for a billboard advert, will be seen to be ridiculous for Third World or non-native speakers of the English language. The structure is a complex sentence that will hardly be easily comprehensible to barely literate speakers of the English language.

II- Message

The statement is a declaration that may have been made in response to a question like "What are your feelings about Tuborg?" It seems to hide a certain feeling that reveals itself only in the alliterative creation of "It’s worth its weight..." This alliteration, coupled with the imagery created by the comparison of Tuborg to gold, results in a certain appeal that expresses the apparent worth of Tuborg lager beer as being equal to the value of gold in our world.

III- Audience

The complex sentence structure and the use of fairly complicated lexical items as in the adjectival clause "... worth its weight in gold..." show that the audience is supposed to be the literate, intellectual and professional classes and others of the same category. Religious faithful may not be included in this audience because of their apparent aversion to alcohol which makes Tuborg's "golden" value meaningless to them.

Deductions
i. Subject matter: Advertisement; literary text;
ii. Message: An appeal for the value of Tuborg to be appreciated.
iii. Audience: Literate, intellectual, professional.

It could be seen from the above analysis that the source text is an advertisement created in literary style to appeal to a particular audience. Let us now see how the target text conveys the same message.

B. Functional stage
i- Translation: “Tuborg! "Elle vaut de l’or dans le monde entier”.
ii- Analysis:
The above translation appears to be an attempt to strike a structural balance (even in the number of words) between the source text and the target text, a follows:

ST: "Tuborg! It’s worth its weight in gold the world over."

subject (pron.) verb complement
Subject (pron.)  verb  Complement

TT: "Tuborg! Elle vaut de l’or dans le monde entier"

An effort is even made to create alliteration in the target text as in:
...de l’or dans le...

A  B  A  B

This is perhaps to counter balance the alliteration in the source text:
It's worth its weight...

A  B  A  B

But this attempt by the translator has given rise to a structure with an uncommon value-describing expression "...vaut de l’or dans..." Inasmuch as this expression may be part of the immediate vocabulary of the literate, intellectual and professional classes of French speakers, it certainly is not widely used by average French speakers.

In other words, if the translation is intended for the literate, intellectual and professional classes of French speakers, then it can be said to be okay. Yet, it will be thought to be too wordy and complex for a billboard commercial that should normally be intended to cut across board. Except, perhaps, Tuborg lager beer passes for an elitist beer. An indicator to this will be the price for which it is offered on the market.

It could be noted, therefore, that the translation was not guided by target audience peculiarities, but by the translator’s intuition to replace source text material with equivalent target text material.

If this text were to be reformulated with the application of the TDA, the process will be as follows:

a. situation of the subject matter as shown in its textual category: an advert to sell beer, conceived in literary style to appeal to an audience;
b. situation of possible audience: in this case, the literate, intellectual, professional (and perhaps the barely literate) French-speaking audience. The differences in levels of education within this group should be taken into consideration before the choice of language level; and
c. choice of language level and style (such as colloquial, communicative, etc) that will make the message to penetrate the different segments of this audience.

Thus, if it is known that the imagery of "weight in gold" was only intended to bring out the relative importance of Tuborg as a lager that is comparable to gold in terms of value, then the idea being expressed is that Tuborg has a certain international value that can give one the same psychological and material satisfaction that the possession of gold would. In this light, this study will propose the following translation:
"Tuborg! C’est lourd, c’est l’or."

The above translation is simple, clear, direct and concise enough for a billboard advertisement. The phrase "... dans le monde entier" has been eliminated even if it may be indispensable to consumers who would want to know that they are drinking a “beer with world-wide recognition”. To the TDA, the phrase "...the world over" or "... dans le monde entier" overload the advert with text that carries no supplementary message since what is being emphasized is Tuborg’s quality as a good lager with a worldwide appeal. By merely comparing Tuborg to gold, it is obvious that the above translation will convey the notions of value and universality which the advertisers may have wished to express as implied in "gold" whose worldwide reputation should be obvious to the different categories of the audience.

In this way, the complexity of the windy, wordy diction, “Elle vaut de l’or dans le monde entier” is eliminated for a simpler diction which could have a high degree of cognitive effect. Here too, attention is paid to aesthetics as in the retention of a literary device like alliteration, and the sustenance of audience participation.

The sound effect in:

" C’est lourd, c’est l’or"

\begin{align*}
A & \quad B \\
A & \quad B
\end{align*}

is supposed to counter balance the alliterative creations in both the original source text and the first translation:

"It's worth its weight ..."

\begin{align*}
A & \quad B \\
A & \quad B
\end{align*}

"... de l'or dans le ..."

The idea of audience participation is implied in the utterance "C’est lourd, c’est l’or." This is because this utterance could be presupposed to have been a reply to questions like "Que pensez-vous de la Tuborg?" and/or "Quelles sont vos impressions de la Tuborg?" Emphasis is, however, placed on the words "lourd" and "or" whose conceptual values may be universal.

Corpus III: “Chaque jour un geste de salubrité”

A. Conceptual Stage (Source text analysis)

I- Subject

a- Textual Category

The text is a slogan to express a message. It is both an appeal for consciousness as in "chaque jour (apprenez) un geste de salubrité" and an appeal for action as in "chaque jour (faites) un geste de salubrité".

Its style is telegraphic for purposes of a billboard display. The phonetic resonance in "...jour [ʒur] and geste [ʒɛst] ...") results in alliteration. This gives the text a literary tone.
b-Level of language used

The language used is general and seems to be well adapted to propaganda with its one-sided tone. It should be noted that though propaganda and advertisements could all be one-sided in tone, a fundamental difference exists between them. While one (advertisement) seeks to persuade in order to promote the sale of a product, the other (propaganda) seeks to persuade in order to promote ideas, beliefs or convictions.

i. Syntax: The text is structured as a minor sentence, i.e. it has no finite verb:
"Chaque jour un geste de salubrité"

   adverb noun ind.art. noun possessive noun particle

ii. Lexis: The diction is simple (chaque, jour, geste, salubrité) and carefully chosen perhaps to produce the kind of repetition of sound found in "jour" and "geste".

II- Message

The message is a campaign for cleanliness. It makes an appeal for both an awareness of the need for cleanliness and an outright action against filth (see 1(a) above).

III- Audience

The audience does not seem to be restricted. The key lexemes (chaque/jour/geste/salubrité) are within the immediate vocabulary of anyone who could read the French language. Only the lexeme "salubrité" may be immediately incomprehensible to those who are barely literate in French.

Deductions

i. Subject Matter: Propaganda, literary style; Aesthetic text;
ii. Message: Appeal for both awareness of the need for cleanliness and action against filth;
iii. Audience: Unrestricted.

B. Functional Stage

i-Translation: "Every day gesture of cleanliness"
ii-Analysis:
The translation is message-oriented as could be observed from the lexical and structural balance between the source and target texts:

ST: “Chaque jour un geste de salubrité”
There is also an attempt in the target text to maintain the telegraphic style of the source text. This is implicit in the absence of a verb to describe the kind of activity which the target text message expects its audience to perform. That is, either to be aware of the need for a daily gesture of cleanliness or to make a gesture of cleanliness each day. It could be further explained that the absence of a verb in the translation is intended to maintain source text syllabification in the target text:

ST: "Chaque jour un geste de salubrité”

TT: “Every day gesture of cleanliness”

The result here is an aesthetic loss at the level of alliteration because the translation could not produce a recurring sound pattern that could be said to be equivalent to the one produced by the initial letters in "jour [ӡuʀ]" and "geste [ӡɛst]" in the source text. Furthermore, the clumsiness of the English translation "Every day gesture of cleanliness" could result in the following interpretations:

i) There is an "everyday gesture of cleanliness" which perhaps the text represents; and

ii) the populace should make a daily gesture of cleanliness.

This ambiguity in the English translation results from the lack of that same conceptual finesse which characterizes the source text. Though telegraphic, the source text is written in a peculiar French style to affect and whip up a feeling of communal responsibility to keep one's surroundings clean. In "chaque jour un geste ..." one perceives the humility of a communicator who does not want to insist on the obligations of the audience to keep their surroundings clean; s/he instead recognizes their rights (to freedom and of choice) and only appeals to their conscience, calling on them to contribute, no matter how little (un geste), to cleaning their environment.

It will be dangerous for an English translator to imitate the telegraphic style of the French source text by merely replacing source text lexis and structure with those of the target text since the notion represented by the expression "... un geste ..." is so emotive that only a translation with the same emotive effect would do.

To reformulate the source text in the target language by applying the TDA, this study will proceed as follows:

a) situate the subject matter as defined by the textual
category, in this case a propaganda written in literary style to encourage cleanliness;
b) situate the audience: audience is limited to those who can read;
c) choose a language level that will convey the message and allow for a single, effective penetration of the very literate and barely literate segments of the audience; that is a language level that is communicative.

It should be noted that inasmuch as the original conception of this message is to discourage filth, it also emphasizes the positive values of cleanliness as a habit that should be cultivated. On this basis, this study could propose a translation like "What have you done today as an act of cleanliness?"

This is affective because it is interrogative and pricks the conscience. Besides, it establishes a direct relationship with the audience. But if the reformulation appears to lack that element which emphasizes cleanliness as a habit that should be cultivated, it is perhaps because its conception is based only on making the audience aware of their responsibility to contribute to the cleanliness of their environment.

Another merit of this reformulation is its simple diction. There is also an attempt to balance the source text alliteration with "... as an act ..."

In spite of these, however, the reformulation is not a translation of the source text. In other words, its textual dimension is not within the lexical and semantic frames of the source text.

To produce an acceptable translation for "Chaque jour un geste de salubrité" (that is a translation that will be lexically and semantically textual dimensional), this study intends to adopt the original English translation "Every day gesture of cleanliness" for modification. It will proceed by expanding the translation, introducing a comma, the verb "make" (which collocates with the noun "gesture"), the adverb "just" (to denote appeal) and the determiner "one", as follows:

"Everyday, make just one gesture of cleanliness"

Though this translation has lost the telegraphic style of the source text, it seems to carry the same affective tone, pleading with the audience to "do just one [little] thing each day as their own contribution to cleanliness. Furthermore, it has re-established alliteration, as in the source text, in "...just ... gesture...”

7. Conclusion

The aim of this study is to establish a framework - the Textual Dimensional Approach (TDA) – for translation. This approach is audience-oriented and is founded on standard communication models and the sociology of language. Its translations are conditioned by the nature or constitution of the target audience within a particular context. In proposing the TDA, we introduced the Subject-Audience-Message sequence which provided a basis for textual analysis and re-expression.
The TDA is supposed to operate in two stages: the conceptual (ST analysis) and the functional (transfer) stages. At the first stage (conceptual), the discoursal factors of the text are analyzed so as to establish a textual category (aesthetic, referential) for the text. A further analysis of the textual category should lead to a discovery of the author's message that defines the textual profile/nature and the audience. These are the elements that guide the translation process at the functional stage.

From an analysis of some already translated adverts, they were found to be awkward since they were generally mere transplants of source text in the target language. It should be emphasized that one of the hallmarks of the Textual Dimensional Approach is to eliminate any form of ambiguity in the translator’s communication with her/his audience. Therefore, in translating from French to English or vice versa, the TDA seeks to make translations simple, clear and explicit enough to satisfy the specific needs of the translator’s audience, considering the latter’s educational peculiarities. This also means that the translator should always consider the specific characteristics of each textual category (aesthetic and referential texts).

Thus, with the aesthetic text (like literary texts) effort should be made to maintain those aesthetic elements that give the text its aesthetic character. Elements like alliteration, rhyme, etc, may not necessarily be maintained in the target text at exactly the same level of occurrence in the source text (as in say: verb-verb; noun-noun; adjective-adjective; etc) because this study thinks that what is important is only the reproduction of such or similar elements in the target text. With regard to the referential text, emphasis should be placed on respect for convention of usage. This means adapting a translation to respect a given target language standard format.

Though this study applied the TDA only to adverts, it would be interesting to see how the basic principles of the approach could be applied to the translation of longer and more complex texts.
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A Pragmatic Study of Characters' Names in Ola Rotimi's *The Gods Are Not To Blame*

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Abstract

Several studies have been carried out on Ola Rotimi's works using different literary and linguistic criticisms to the exclusion of the author's onomastic resources. This study is an attempt at filling this gap. The study takes an onomastic approach to the exploration of Ola Rotimi's *The gods are not to blame*. All the major characters' names in the text are given quantitative and qualitative analysis, based on the pragmatic principle of speech acts by Austin (1962). Thus, through the application of the theory to the characters' names, we may establish that rather than mere entertaining his reader/audience, the playwright, through his use of names, oftentimes prescribes, informs, asserts and predicts among others. Thus the study has, pragmatically proved the efficacy of the speech act theory that in saying something, we do something else (Austin, 1962). Furthermore, the study has demonstrated that the text possesses taxonomy of onomastic resources which can be classified as: the role names, real names and nicknames. The real names have the highest frequency of eleven (46%) among others. This therefore attests to the words of Izevbaye (1981) that fictional names are taken from the actual names in use and that names in African setting, are carefully constructed "in a semantico-syntactic sense to manifest specific meanings" (Oyeleye, 1985, p. 138).

Keywords: Onomastics, Ola Rotimi, Speech Acts, Gods, Odewale
Introduction

Ola Rotimi is one of the few authors whose works have not enjoyed quantitative approach from linguistic-onomastic researchers. In fact, none, to the best of my knowledge, has ever approached Rotimi’s *The gods are not to blame* from an onomastic (study and science of names) point of view. The present study is an attempt to fill this gap. The study adopts Austin’s (1962) speech act theory as its major theoretical framework among others. This is because the underlining principle behind speech acts is that in saying something, we do something else. Given that words perform actions in this sense, contextually, a name which subsumes an utterance, is therefore performing certain action(s) in the universe of the text, *The gods are not to blame.*

A Synopsis of the Text

*The gods are not to blame*, a tragedy patterned after Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, has its setting in a Yoruba town of Kutuje. The land is being bedeviled by serious plagues. Everybody, including the king, begins to look for a solution to the problem. This prompts King Odewale to send Prince Aderopo to Ile-Ife in order to seek for divination from the Ifa Oracle. The Priest puts it succinctly, "We have sent Aderopo to Ile-Ife, the land of Orunmila, to ask the all-seeing god why we are in pain." (p. 12). Unfortunately, Aderopo returns and refuses to divulge the information received from Ile-Ife. King Odewale therefore decides to send for the Ifa Oracle diviner, Baba Fakunle from Oyo. On arrival, Baba Fakunle refuses to solve the riddle. This infuriates Odewale who feels that the diviner has teamed up with Aderopo, his (Odewale's) perceived enemy. The conflict between the duo of Odewale and Fakunle degenerates into physical assault which is a demonstration of hubris (i.e. hot temper) in the king.

From this point, the play metamorphoses into a flashback which eventually reveals Odewale's past as the accursed child who would kill his father and marry his mother. Having been caught in this web, Odewale realises that he has brought misfortune upon his people. He, therefore, blindfolds himself and abdicates the throne for an unknown destination while Queen Ojuola (Odewale's mother and wife) commits suicide.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework apt for the present study is the Speech Act theory which was propounded by the British Philosopher, J.L. Austin in *How to do things with words* (1962). According to Austin, words do not just occur in vacuum, they are used to perform certain action(s) like requesting, begging, commanding and naming. Initially, Austin recognizes both the constative and performative verbs. Constative verbs are used for making statements. Alternatively, performative verbs are used for performing actions and they can be verified contextually to know whether the conditions surrounding their utterances are felicitous or not. Therefore, Austin proposes three acts within the general scope. These are; the locutionary act (i.e. the real utterance or writing), the illocutionary act (i.e. the function
performed by the utterance/locution) and the perlocutionary act (i.e. the effect of the utterance on the listener).

**Literature Review**

Apart from Adeoye (1972), one of the pioneer approaches to proper naming by the Yoruba Africans is (Akinnaso, 1980) who evokes the dichotomy between the Africans and Europeans over the issue of semantic relevance of proper names. This is with a view to deconstructing the argument put up by scholars such as Kempson (1977) who submits that “Proper names do not have senses. They are meaningless marks. They have denotation but not connotation” (Kempson, 1977, p.14). As observed by Akinnaso (1980), European personal names are “lacking in semantic content” because they "do not give direct information about the event they commemorate" (Akinnaso, 1980, p.301). He maintains that the Yoruba African personal names are elaborate in linguistic structure and have socio-cultural relevance. Based on the above, names in many African cultures are carefully constructed “in a semantico-syntactic sense to manifest specific meanings” (Oyeleye 1985, p.138; Oyeleye, 1991, p.16). The argument is relevant to the present study because our primary text (*The gods are not to blame*) is authored by an African of Yoruba descent and most of the characters' names meant for analysis are informed by the Yoruba lexico-semantic contexts.

Odebunmi (2008) examines the pragmatic functions of crisis-motivated proverbs in Ola Rotimi's *The gods are not to blame*. The study reveals that crisis-motivated proverbs, as deployed by the author, are both social and political, and are "characterized by practs such as those of counselling, cautioning, challenging, veiling, persuading, prioritizing, encouraging, threatening and admitting" (Odebunmi, 2008). The study introduces another dimension into language teaching via the instrumentality of proverbs while the present work seeks to analyze language from the onomastic perspective. The work further differs from the present in theoretical framework. While it takes Mey's (2001) pragmatic acts to analyze proverbs in the text, we are adopting Austin's (1962) Speech act theory to analyze characters' names in the same text.

Odebode (2010) studies naming patterns during Yoruba wars from a sociolinguistic perspective. He discovers four naming systems. These are: naming due to- the cause of the war, the nature of the war, the leader of the war and the setting of the war. He contends that war related names among the Yoruba, do not just occur in a vacuum. They serve as instruments of memorability and historicity to "validate and perpetuate historical facts traceable to prolonged wars" (Odebode, 2010, p. 217). The study is related to the present research because it is based on names in Africa. But they are different in a number of ways. First, while the present study deals with (human) characters' names, the former deals with war-related names. In addition, the present study deals with a literary text, the former deals with historical accounts.

Powell and Karraker (2013) research on young adults' responses to infant names in the United States of America. They discover that adults with certain personality traits have preference for certain infant names, than their colleagues without such traits. Such individuals
"may be more inclined than others to like, and perhaps select for their own infant, unusual or less popular names" (Powell and Karraker 2013, p.137). Furthermore, they contend that although infant anthroponyms do impact adults' perceptions, it is not as strong as physical appearance which seem to have a greater control. They maintain that a name, being the very first information that participants in a communicative encounter first learn about each other even before meeting one-on-one, might direct the course of relationship. Their research is commendable as it relates to timely incident(s) not only in the United States but also in Africa. However, while the study is based on generic naming in a real society, the present research focuses on literary onomastics by unraveling character's names in an African contact drama text.

Onomastic Contexts

It is insightful to note that most fictional names stem from real names because drama imitates realities. Therefore, scholars (Izevbaye 1981, p. 168; Dasylyva 1999, p. 9; Ogunsiji 2001, p. 197) have identified two major contexts that inform the naming art. They are the sociocultural and literary contexts. Among the Yoruba Africans, traditionally, a male child is christened on the ninth day and a female, on the seventh day. During the ceremony, a child is given an anthroponym (personal name) which indicates his birth circumstance(s), history and religion among others. The name further expresses the hope and aspiration of the name-givers. Thus naming takes place during christening ceremonies. However, the art, in a literary sense, involves the herculean task performed by an author in forming and developing characters as well as assigning roles to them.

As the name-bearer grows up, his/her character may fall short of the parents' expectation. Therefore, when a name-bearer falls short of his natal name, the society will interpret his character and give him a new name befitting his attributes. This new name, according to Izevbaye (1981, p. 168) is a “nickname”. That is why the Webster’s Universal Dictionary and Thesaurus (2003, p. 328) says a nickname is ‘a substitute name, often descriptive, given in fun’. The Chambers Dictionary (2003, p. 106) also affirms that a nickname is ‘a name given in contempt’. Similarly, characters in literary contexts that lose their real identities to official names are role performers or title-holders. This is why Izevbaye (1981, p. 168) finally submits that “whatever difference exists between literature and life can be explained as a difference of the contexts in which naming takes place”.

Data Analysis

The names selected for our analysis have been classified as: the role names, real names (anthroponyms) and nicknames. Each of them is given an in-depth exposition based on the principle of Speech Acts by Austin (1962). This is done in order to unravel their illocutionary significance.
Narrator

As the name suggests, this character introduces the play at the beginning (see prologue on page 3). He performs his role succinctly by giving the plot a background in order to aid the reader/audience's heuristics. His choice of words indicates the beginning of an action; thereby giving the play an expected introduction and narrativity. He speaks:

The struggles of man begins at birth
It is meet then that our play begin with
the birth of a child.
The place is the land of Kutuje.
A baby has just been born
to King Adetusa and his wife Ojuola,
the King and Queen of this land of Kutuje. (p. 3)

The playwright adopts the African oral narrative technique by introducing this character. It is a common style among the Yoruba Africans to have a narrator and a participating audience during evening story sessions particularly, the moonlit play. The name therefore presupposes that a play is in offing and it is expected to be narrated by somebody. Since this narrative role has been prescribed from the outset, we may submit that the illocutionary act of the name is prescribing.

King Adetusa

This character appears as Old Man in the flashback on page 46 of the play-text. He is attacked and eventually killed by Odewale on his farm for "digging up my [Odewale's] sweat!" (p. 45) and for mocking his tribe. Odewale speaks, "The Old Man should not have mocked my tribe. He called my tribe bush. That I cannot bear." (p. 50). The king's name is Adetusa, a Yoruba expression which denotes "crown is digging up holes." It should be noted that holes are mostly found in the bush and are homes to dangerous animals like snakes, scorpions and crabs. Meanwhile Odewale is referred to as a scorpion by Alaka on page 42 of the text. As a king, Adetusa does not walk alone. He has to be accompanied by his retinue of bodyguards. The latter were hypnotized with sleeping charm by Odewale (see page 47 of the text). Reminiscing on the incident, Odewale tells Alaka:

I went to my farm one morning. And what did I find?!...
First this man... short, an old man. In his company, all
over the farm, people-all sorts of people, armed with hoes.
On my own farm. And what were they doing? Digging up
my sweat! (p. 45, emphasis mine)

From the foregoing, we may deduce that Adetusa lives up to his name--a crown is digging up holes in the farm of a "scorpion." The illocutionary act of the name therefore is affirming/informing. The situation is felicitous enough because the king (accompanied by his bodyguards) is indeed found digging up holes in Odewale's farm. However, it should be recalled that the gods have foretold that if Odewale as an infant is not killed, he would live to kill his father (King Adetusa) and marry his mother (Queen Ojuola).
Queen Ojuola, Adetusa's wife

The name, Ojuola derives from the Yoruba saying, "Oju eni maa la a ri iyounu" (S/he who will be great will see troubles). Although the full rendition of the name is "Ojuolape" (The eyes of wealth are complete), the playwright probably clipped it to reflect the former. Initially, she and her husband (Adetusa) have been warned that unless they killed their weird child, he would grow to marry her and kill the king. To heed this warning, Gbonka, one of King Adetusa's bodyguards was asked to kill the baby. But the man handed the baby over to hunter Ogundele who later taught him the art of hunting. Later, the boy (Odewale) killed his father and married Ojuola. Their union was blessed with four incestuous children. This incident therefore plague the land of Kutuje. It also brings about the conflicts (Odewale versus Aderopo, Odewale versus Baba Fakunle and Odewale versus Alaka) in the play. The fact that she witnesses all these conflicts before realising eventually that her son is also her new husband partly complicates her tragic fate in the play and partly corroborates the fact that she lives up to her name. She therefore commits suicide in the end of the play. The illocutionary acts of the name are therefore predicting, informing and asserting. It forewarns that anyone who wants to see the truth will pass through travails.

King Odewale, successor to Adetusa

The name of this character is also a Yoruba expression which denotes the hunter comes home. As an evil child destined to kill his father and marry his mother, Odewale decides to change this fate by running away from his supposed home. He was warned against this act as follows:

VOICE: 'You have a curse on you son.'
ODEWALE: 'What kind of curse Old One?'
VOICE: 'You cannot run away from it, the gods have willed that you will kill your father and marry your mother!'.....
ODEWALE: 'What must I do then not to carry out this will of the gods?'
VOICE: 'Nothing. To run away would be foolish...Just stay where you are. Stay where you are... stay where you are...' (p.60)

But he thought that by running away, he would escape the gods' verdict. Unknown to him, the father he runs away, the closer he is to his destiny. He believes that "the world is struggle" (p.6). Thus, he met the people of Kutuje in conflict with the Ikolu men and assisted the former in defeating their enemies. Therefore, the Kutuje people "broke tradition and made me (Odewale), unasked King of Kutuje" (p.7, emphasis mine). He was given the name (Odewake) by hunter Ogundele who brings him home from the bush where he should have been sacrificed. As a hunter, he is belligerent and bellicose. He is hot tempered. He makes Baba Fakunle feel his sword while attempting to kill the seer on page 27 of the text. This made Baba Fakunle to retort, "Go on, touch me. Call up your raw anger, and in the blindness of it, strike me dead!" (pp.27-28). He is called scorpion by Alaka who says, "...tell him the Farmer wants to see the Scorpion!" (p.42).
He is referred to as a thief and a goat by Old Man on page 47 of the text. He proves his hunting background by confronting the Old Man and his three bodyguards simultaneously and defeating them. He equally recites a lot of incantations (see pages 47-49) which is characteristic of the Yoruba hunters. As a weapon man, he says, "Ogun...I have used your weapon, and I have killed a man." (p.49). He even threatens to kill Alaka when the latter reveals to him that Ogundele was not his real father on page 62 of the play-text. Eventually, he left his Ijekun-Yemoja for Kutuje after killing a man (who later turns out to be his father). Getting to Kutuje, he is enthroned as the new king and as customs demand, he must marry the old queen (his mother), thereby fulfilling his destiny. He speaks:

For eleven years now,
I, Odewale,
the only son of Ogundele,
have ruled Kutuje
and have taken for a wife,
as custom wishes,
Ojuola, the motherly Queen (p.7)

The locution, the hunter has come home, therefore, has an illocutionary act of informing. Notice that hunter in this sense indicates the belligerent child who should not have been allowed to live.

Aderopo, son of Adetusa and Ojuola

As his name suggests, Aderopo (crown replaces) is expected to replace the tragic King Odewale who abdicates the throne for an unknown destination. Aderopo was born after Odewale to King Adetusa and Queen Ojuola. He is named so based of the Yoruba belief in reincarnation and that when you lose a child, another one will definitely reincarnate to replace the lost one, hence the illocutionary act of informing underlining the name. It should be recalled that there has been an order from the royal family to kill the first child (Odewale). Therefore, it is with the hope that the former child is dead that Aderopo was born and so named. Narrator captures the situation with the following extract from the text:

NARRATOR:...Priest bears boy to Gbonka
    the king's special messenger,
    and orders him to go into the bush
    with the little boy to the evil grove...
    But Obatala, God of creation
    has a way of consoling the distressed.
    Two years later,
    King Adetusa and his wife Ojuola
    have another son, Aderopo,
    to fill the nothingness left behind
    by the first. (pp.3-4 emphasis mine)

Notice the contrast in the two names: Odewale and Aderopo. The former was given the name by hunter Ogundele who picked him up from the bush. Thus he was named "a
hunter has come home." The home meant here was initially that of the Ogundeles. However, destiny had it that the child will eventually come to his original royal home. Consequently, Odewale's name reflects hunting profession, having lost his identity to circumstance surrounding his birth. It was in a bid to resolve his conflict of lost identity that he has to step upon many toes in the play. On the other hand, Aderopo's name reflects royalty because he was born, named and raised in Kutuje Palace. This is why he is refined in his approach to issues, particularly, that of unraveling the cause of the plague in Kutuje and the killer of the former king. When he arrives from Ile-Ife, he refuses to talk to King Odewale because he (Aderopo) has already known that the king is the culprit. The following lines from the text explicates the contrast between the two men:

ODEWALE: My people, I beg of you, plead with him, or I shall lose my temper soon!...
OJUOLA: Pray, son, tell us the word from Ifa. No matter how bad it is, we are ready to hear it.... To remain silent is to make light of the troubles in the land.
ADEROPO: I am not making light of them, Mother. It is that the word is hard that must be said. (p. 20)

From the conversation, we may establish that names function as textual and social DNA (Odebode, 2010, p. 168) to showcase the bearers' traits, backgrounds, professions, instincts, religions and history among others. They carry an incredible amount of discursive information which elucidates their meanings in African socio-cultural contexts. Naming transcends ordinary labelling or identification. Corroborating this, Ogunsiji (2001) points out that names do not only identify people; they “historicize, socialize, spiritualize and influence people psychologically” (Ogunsiji 2001, p.32).

Ogun Priest

This is a role name. Characters in literary contexts that lose their real identities to official names are role performers or title-holders (Izevbaye 1981, p. 168; Dasylva 1999, p.9; Ogunsiji 2001, p. 197). For instance, First Chief, Second Chief, Third Chief and Royal Bard in this play are all role names since their real names are concealed within the context of the play. Although Odewale refers to this character as Baba Ogunsomo (p.71), we are left in doubt as to whether the name belongs to him or his child. This is so because it is customary for the Yoruba to refer to someone by the name of his child as a marker of deference. But granted that he responds to the king's call on page 71 by answering "Yes, my lord" (p.71), we may analyse the name Ogunsomo as a contraction of the Yoruba expression "Ogun se omo" meaning, the god of iron has designed or produced a child. The speech act undertone of the name will thus be informing. However, since the playwright has chosen to use the role name, Ogun Priest, we may subject our further analysis to the role (s) being performed by the bearer in the context of the play. As a priest, it was his duty to perform certain purification rites. It is also part of his duty as an ogun priest to be involved in anything that has to do with the use of iron weapons. This is why he was the one that actually prepares Odewale as an evil child for sacrifice as follows:
NARRATOR: Priest of Ogun ties boy's feet
    with a string of cowries meaning
    sacrifice to the gods who have sent
    boy down to this earth (p.3)

As Ogun priest, he alludes to fresh wine which is one of the ingredients used in sacrifice to Ogun on page 19 of the text. He is also the one that spearheads the sending of Aderopo to Ile-Ife for Ifa divination on the problem in Kutuje (see page 12). His role here thus indicates that there is harmony among African Yoruba deities. For instance, the gods wish Odewale dead, Obatala provides Aderopo. Ogun Priest could not handle divination. His is only execution, hence Aderopo is sent to Ile-Ife. Later, Baba Fakunle (the soothsayer) has to be brought from Oyo. Finally, Ogun Priest is the first person to be summoned among the chiefs present when Odewale is giving his final words. The king enjoins the Priest and other chiefs to give his mother/wife a befitting burial. Odewale speaks: "Pray, give her--my wife--my mother--pray give her a burial of honour." (p.71). From this quotation, we may submit that another major role of the Priest is to perform the traditional burial rites. Due to the fact that his roles have been prescribed, the illocutionary act of the role name therefore is prescribing.

Baba Fakunle, a soothsayer

Fakunle is another Yoruba expression which denotes the Ifa Oracle fills my house. It's combination with the word "Baba" (Old Man) in this context is significant to our analysis. It indicates that the bearer is a very old man. He speaks to Odewale's bodyguards, "Handle me gently, I pray you, for I am full of years." As evident in the text, Baba Fakunle is even being led by a boy. But as the saying goes, old age is synonymous with wisdom, the character seems to be the last hope of the Kutujes during their crisis. This is why the old man is sent for. Although blind, Baba Fakunle has a kind of "inner eyes" as a soothsayer. Thus he must have gained a lot of experience from the Ifa-Oracle that has filled his whole entity with wisdom and discretion. Odewale attests to this when he says:

Baba Fakunle,
    Oldest and most honoured
    of all Seers
    in this world,
    Baba Fakunle,
    blind but all knowing: (p.25)

Furthermore, First Chief also corroborates the wisdom of Fakunle and the fact that he is being guided by god. He posits: "Aged keeper of all secrets known only to the god who is your master, you the watchman, Baba Fakunle, it is you we greet" (p. 26). As a corollary, Second Chief also affirms that Fakunle has strange powers as follows: "We beg of you, Old One, help us with your strange powers" (p.26). Fakunle lives up to his name because he scarcely allows them to stop praising him before cutting in to say that he smells the truth as he comes to the land. He therefore warns Odewale not to come near him and he orders his boy to lead him home away from the palace (p.27). He demonstrates his wisdom by refusing to talk
to the king. But when the king forces words from him, he calls him bedsharer. He warns Odewale wisely as follows:

...You force words from me again you...you bedsharer!
...King Odewale, King of Kutuje, go sit down in private
and think deep before darkness covers you up...think...
think...think! (p.29).

In the normal characteristics of an African seer, he warns Odewale proverbially to think three times. He is fearless and he delivers his message succinctly. However, the hubris (hot temper) in Odewale would not allow him to listen to the warning of the old man. From the foregoing, we may infer that the name with the bearer's actions is felicitous enough to have earned it an illocutionary act of asserting.

**First Chief, Second Chief, Third Chief**

These are other groups of role namees. The playwright probably introduces them to corroborate the Yoruba saying that "Oba kii pe meji l'aafin, ijoye le pe meta l'aafin." This means there cannot be two kings in a palace, but there can be three chiefs in a palace. The major role of the chiefs is to serve as advisers and supporters to the king just as the chiefs in our text have done in different contexts in the play. For instance when the townpeople are complaining about deaths and plagues in the land, the First Chief tries to calm them while announcing the presence of the king. But this is greeted with an insult from First Citizen. The three chiefs are so shocked that the three of them retort "Aha!" simultaneously (see page 9). Subsequently, Second Chief announces to the people that, "We have sent for Baba Fakunle, the greatest of all medicine men in this world. He will be here soon." (p.12). First Chief reinforces this by asking the people rhetorically, "Which of you knows where Aderopo is now?" (p.12). Because the chiefs are loyal to their supportive role prescription to the king in the play context, we may submit that the illocutionary act of the name(s) is prescribing.

Finally, chiefs enthrone and invest a king (see page 7). They are also involved in the burial rites of a king or queen (see page 71).

**Iya Aburo**, a mad woman

This nickname stems from the Yoruba expression "E je ki a pe were ni oko iyawo, ki o le je ki a ri ile gbe," meaning let us call the madman a bridegroom in order to have peace. The Yoruba have a way of addressing people in different circumstances. This is why this character is given this name "iya aburo" which denotes the mother of the younger one. Such names are also used for strangers in Yorubaland. The speech act of the name is thus deceiving/mocking.

**Adewale, Adebisi, Oyeyemi, Adeyinka**, royal children

These are flat characters. They are introduced by the author for us to know the names and number of the incestuous children Odewale has from Ojuola. Their names are however significant because they indicate royalty unlike their father's name which indicates hunting.
Adewale means the crown has come home. His name is parallel to his father's. Ironically, this could have been Odewale's real name provided he was born spotless. Adebisi denotes another crown has been added here. Oyeyemi means honour or crown befits me. Adeyinka is a Yoruba expression for crown surrounds me. All the names have informing as their illocutionary acts.

Akilapa, Bokini, Labata, Agidi, royal bodyguards

These are a set of nicknames given to royal bodyguards in our play. Akilapa is just describing the bearer as someone who has thick and muscular hands. Bokini (or Borokini) is a description of a wealthy and heavily built man. Labata denotes in the mud. The name is probably describing a man who is agile and who cannot be hindered by the gully or mud. Agidi denotes stubbornness. So, the bearer, being a bodyguard must have been somebody who is stern and stubborn in nature. The illocutionary act underlining the names is describing/asserting. The bearers live up to their nicknames by their readiness to run to Ilorin (later changed to Ipetu) at the request of King Odewale in search of Gbonka, the man who came to report King Adetusa's death in the following exchange:

ODEWALE: Where is the man who came to report his death?
OJUOLA: ...The last I heard was that he live in Ilorin, far, far, away.
ODEWALE: I want him here!
OJUOLA: But my lord Ilorin is a far-
ODEWALE: Now! I must see him before I sleep! [calling]
Agidi! Labata! Akilapa!...
You leave for Ilorin now...
And you must come back before the moon stands straight in the sky
BODYGUARDS: Ah! (p.55)

When the journey is eventually changed to Ipetu where Gbonka now lives, the king says, "I want him here. Now!" and the trio of Agidi, Akilapa and Labata respond, "Very well, your highness" (p. 56) while they rush out to produce Gbonka. Odewale is still busy talking to Alaka on the same spot when Akilapa enters and says, "My lord, we've come back from Ipetu" (p.62). This action is a demonstration of agility and athletic prowess possessed by the bodyguards which, consequently, is a confirmation of their nicknames.

Abero, Odewale's second wife

Like Aderopo, Abero is a name which indicates reincarnation. It is a Yoruba expression that affirms that the bearer is being begged to stay alive. The character is flat as she rarely appears in the play. The playwright introduces her to showcase the patriarchal and polygamous system of marriage, particularly, among the kings and chiefs in Yoruba land. The speech act of the name is pleading.

Alaka, Odewale's boyhood friend
This Yoruba name "oni aka" (Alaka for short) is an assertion which denotes the owner of the barn/vault. It is borne mostly by rich farmers and hunters as a marker of deference. The name-giver (probably the parent) has been able to establish a settlement, hence, he chooses to demonstrate this in the name given to his child. The bearer in our text attests to this in the following conversation between him and Abero:

ABERO: The king asks what is your name?
ALAKA: Go back to him, tell him the Farmer wants to see the Scorpion! (p. 42)

It should be noted that Alaka refers to himself as the farmer and Odewale as the Scorpion in the extract above. The subsequent exchange between the two men clarifies the argument better:

ALAKA: Scorpion! My child, Scorpion!
ODEWALE:...A-ah! Alaka, son of Odediran! (p.43)

Apart from being a farmer, Alaka further confirms that he is a hunter when he is explaining the circumstance surrounding Odewale's ancestry on page 63 of the text. He speaks: "Hunting. I was hunting with my master Ogundele" (p.63). Eventually, he also confirms Odewale's ancestry which has been a bone of contention to the king and his subjects. Based on the above, we may establish that the illocutionary act of the name is asserting/confirming.

Royal Bard

This is another role name. It prescribes the bearer’s profession as his name is concealed in the play, hence an illocutionary act of prescribing underlining it. In the traditional African society, the Royal Bard is needed to entertain guests and praise the king. At times, he serves as the king’s "alarm clock" by being the first person to wake him up with his songs of praise. The character performs his role by praising King Odewale thus:

ROYAL BARD: There are kings and there are kings, 
King is greater than King, 
It is not changing into the lion that is hard, 
it is getting the tail of a lion, 
Odewale, King, son 
of Ogundele, 
You will last long to rule us: 
kolanut lasts long in the mouths 
of them who value it! (p.7)

Townspeople, Drummers

These are other sets of flat characters who are role performers. Their anthroponyms (personal names) are concealed from the reader/audience. Since our primary text has to do with the issue of royalty, it is necessary we have townspeople and drummers. This is based on the Yoruba proverb that "ilu kii wa, ki o ma ni olori" (there cannot be a town without a ruler)
and "orin ni siwaju ote" (songs precede intrigues). Thus, as we have a king, we also have the subjects who are referred to as: First Citizen, Second Citizen, Third Citizen, Fourth Citizen; First Woman, Second Woman, Third Woman, Iya Aburo and Townspeople (see pages 9-15) in the universe of the text. Apart from the palace where drummers are mostly found, the Yoruba also believe that drummers and musicians add joy to the society, hence they are called "amuludun" (celebrities or those who spices the society with life and fun). There are also families of professional drummers. These are identified with names such as Ayangbemi (drumming rewards me), Ayantayo (drumming worths being celebrated), Ayanyemi (drumming befits me). Since Townspeople and Drummers are designed as role names in this context, their illocutionary undertone is prescribing.

Summary

Our analysis so far, can be summarized as follows: Twenty-four names, taken from the primary text (*The gods are not to blame*), are analyzed. The names are divided into three: role names, real names and nicknames. The result is diagrammatically represented with Table 1 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: A Table Indicating Naming Typology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role Names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogun Priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Bard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Townspeople</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drummers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total: 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From Table 1, we may establish that out of the twenty-four names studied, eight are role names, eleven, anthroponyms or real names and five, nicknames. Furthermore, we attempt a statistical analysis the names via a frequency and percentage distribution represented in Table 2 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name Type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role Names</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Names</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nick Names</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 indicates that the frequency of the role names studied is eight. This translates to 33%; real names attract eleven in frequency (an indication of 46%) and nicknames have five (21%). The situation is captured with a line chart in Fig. 1 below:

**Fig. 1: A line chart showing percentage and frequency of names**

From Fig. 1, it should be noted that the red line which appears on top (over the blue line), indicates percentage; while the blue line stands for frequency. Furthermore, an attempt is made at analysing the statistical distribution of the illocutionary acts inherent in the names. The result is represented in Table 3 as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Illocutionary Act</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narrator</td>
<td>Prescribing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Adetusa</td>
<td>Affirming/Informing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen Ojuola</td>
<td>Predicting/Informing/Asserting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Odewale</td>
<td>Informing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aderopo</td>
<td>Informing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogun Priest</td>
<td>Prescribing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baba Fakunle</td>
<td>Asserting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Chief</td>
<td>Prescribing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Chief</td>
<td>Prescribing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Chief</td>
<td>Prescribing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iya Aburo</td>
<td>Eulogising/Deceiving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adewale</td>
<td>Informing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adebisi</td>
<td>Informing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oyeyemi</td>
<td>Informing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adeyinka</td>
<td>Informing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akilapa</td>
<td>Describing/Asserting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bokini</td>
<td>Describing/Asserting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labata</td>
<td>Describing/Asserting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agidi</td>
<td>Describing/Asserting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abero</td>
<td>Pleading</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaka</td>
<td>Asserting/Confirming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Bard</td>
<td>Prescribing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 showcases the names and their attendant illocutionary acts in the order in which they appear in our data analysis. The result is further dissected into frequency and percentage distribution of illocutionary acts represented in Table 4 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illocutionary Act</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prescribing</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>33.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affirming</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Predicting</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informing</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asserting</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deceiving</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleading</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirming</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>24</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 indicates the eight major illocutionary acts studied. It should be noted that we have cases of few names attracting more than one illocutionary acts (e.g. King Adetusa, Queen Ojuola, Alaka) in our data analysis. However, in such situations, the principal illocutionary act is selected. Therefore, the eight illocutionary acts in Table 4 are: prescribing, which has a frequency of eight (33.33%); affirming, predicting, deceiving, pleading and confirming which have one frequency (4.16%) each; informing which attracts a frequency of six (25%) and asserting which, having appeared five times can be ascribed a frequency of five (20.83%). This analysis is represented with a line chart in Fig. 2 as follows:
As shown in Table 4 and Fig.2, the analysis indicates that the illocutionary act with the highest percentage (33.33%) is prescribing. It is followed by informing (25%). Asserting comes third (20.83%). Others have 4.16% respectively. Therefore, we may establish that the playwright, as the master namer, is prescribing roles for his characters in the universe of the text. The sole purpose of this character formation is to inform the reader/audience oftentimes in an assertive way, hence, the preponderance of the informing and assertive illocutionary acts.

Conclusion

This study has pragmatically proved the efficacy of the speech act theory that in saying something, we do something else (Austin, 1962). Thus, through the application of the theory to the different names deployed in The gods are not to blame, we may establish that rather than mere entertaining his reader/audience, the literary artist, Ola Rotimi, through his use of names, oftentimes prescribes, informs, asserts and predicts among others. Furthermore, the study has demonstrated that the text possesses a taxonomy of onomastic resources which can be classified as: the role names, real names and nicknames. The real names have the highest frequency of eleven (46%) among others. This therefore attests to the words of Izevbaye (1981) that fictional names are taken from the actual names in use and that names in African setting, are carefully constructed "in a semantico-syntactic sense to manifest specific meanings" (Oyeleye, 1985, p. 138).
References


A Counterfactual Insight of Africa’s Historical Past: 
The Case of Ughievwen Social and Political Institutions of 
Western Delta, Nigeria, c.1800-1939

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Samuel Adegboyega University, Ogwa, Edo State, Nigeria

Abstract

The paper opines that the underdevelopment of the communities of Contemporary Africa is due mainly to the crisis of governance and poor leadership. Drawing from the case of Ughievwen Social and Political institutions in the pre-colonial times using the methodology of counterfactual approach, the paper explores the importance of history in charting a new direction for the continent. The discussion is in six parts. The first section introduces the discussion by showing the gap between the potentials and the in-roads of the continent since the end of colonialism. The second part examines briefly the geographical and historical background of Ughievwen while the third section examines pre-colonial Ughievwen social and political institutions up to the first half of the twentieth century to show the insights that could be drawn from it with regards to policy-making. The fourth section examines the evolution from kinship to kingship political system in Ughievwen land to demonstrate the internal dynamics of pre-colonial societies. The fifth part discusses aspects of the colonial policies of the British and how it influenced the course of Africa’s history. The concluding section of this paper challenges African historians to re-focus their attention on how to make history relevant in proffering solutions to African developmental challenges.

Keywords: Counterfactuals, Ughievwen, Institutions, Western Delta, Nigeria
Introduction

In the writing of African history, a lot of energy and time have been devoted to explaining ‘what happened’ based on evidences. For the professional historian, such enterprise has been anchored on authenticity and credibility of source materials. This, in itself means that historians are faced with the arduous task of data collection and interpretation. However, in recent times, the point have been emphasized that the writing of history goes beyond analysis of “what happened and why certain events took a particular turn.”¹ Recent historical scholarship now emphasize “what might have been.”² This is the focus of the new strand of interpretation in history that concerns scenarios of epochal events in history. Olukoju has argued that “counterfactuals might also intrude when historians deal with contemporary issues and consider scenarios.”³ The issue of the challenge of development in Africa is one area where the use of counterfactuals is vital. R.T. Akinyele, quoting Cohen, three years ago avers that “Histories make men wise; poet witty; the mathematics subtle; natural philosophy, deep, moral, grave, logic and rhetoric, able to content.”⁴ Unfortunately, Africa with a lot of natural resources vast enough to make life comfortable for its citizens have struggled with one challenge of development or the other. Nigeria for instance, described to be “well ahead of the south East Asian countries of Malaysia and Indonesia which have become the envy of many countries”⁵ has also fumbled in many areas of development. Irrespective of reasons that could be adduced for this poor state of affairs, it needs to be stressed that “the relegation of history to the background in national affairs also contributed to the problems.”⁶

Africa’s history in the last decades of the twentieth century have been characterised of crises and clashes among neighbouring states with the result that development in these countries have been halted. While these developments have been argued to have their roots in colonialism,⁷ much attention have not been devoted to what could have been the case had colonialism not been introduced to most of these countries. Two illuminating cases in this regard are Sudan (Khartoum) and south Sudan (Juba). The problem in these areas are said to be traceable to “unresolved cultural differences between the North and South Sudan as well as the absence of a defined boundary between the two countries.”⁸ If Africa is to come out of the myriad of challenges of underdevelopment, the need to explore ways of analyzing what could ‘have been the case’ by historians is therefore, or paramount importance. Such efforts would in the final analysis, provide alternatives that could assist policy-makers. History must move from the state of antiquarianism to fashioning contemporary solutions to contemporary problems.

It is against the aforesaid background that this paper focuses on Ughievwen social and political institutions of Western Delta, Nigeria, c.1800 – 1939 as a tool of analysis. This transformation of this mini-state in Nigeria, demonstrates and counters the argument that developments in Africa as presented by some European writers was externally-stimulated. The analysis takes cognizance of four major events within the period of study, namely, the abolition of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, introduction of ‘legitimate’ commerce, colonial rule and policies embarked upon by colonizers by the second half of the twentieth century.
Geographical and Historical Background of Ughievwen Society

Ughievwen society is situated in the rainforest region of Nigeria. The sub-culture area, has Otujeremi as its administrative headquarters. The area occupied by the Ughievwen is bounded on the south and south-East by Okpare, or Ekiagbodo creek; on the west by Gbekebo creek; on the North and North-West by Saba creek in Udu Local Government Area of Delta State, on the North-East by Agbarho clan, and on the East by Ughelli clan. The area lies wholly in the tropics and could be located roughly at 5, 12N and 5, 80E covering a landmass of about 279 square kilometres.

Early history of the area speaks of traditions of origin traced to places like Egypt, Benin, the Niger-Benue confluence area and Oloigbobi, in present day Bayelsa state of Nigeria. However, most discourse by historians of Nigeria extraction tend to emphasise the dislocations caused by the amalgamation exercise of 1914 for the Nigeria state such that there are now volumes of scholarly essays on it. While such efforts are salutary and help to properly position an understanding of Nigeria’s and by extension, Africa’s historical past, there is still the need to look even more backwards because most African communities whether overtly or covertly would still have continued with their natural course of history if colonialism was not introduced. The case of the Ughievwen of Western Delta of Nigeria as would be seen from this paper, demonstrates the past of a people gingered by internal dynamics and thus could have continued even if there was no colonial incursion. The people could have continued to develop on their own.

Ughievwen Social and Political Institutions c.1800 – 1850

By the first half of the nineteenth century, Ughievwen operated a system of government that was anchored on kinship. This system, according to Pippah was one “…in which the natural genius of each native community evolved for themselves.” Powers were decentralized right from the family, lineage or kindred level up to the village, while the basic social institutions were dances and slavery controlled by political authorities like Okpako Orere, Ahware Ovworho, Uwvie and Ewheya. In the kinship structure, the family played a major role. It was made up of the nuclear and extended members. Each extended family was headed by the oldest man in the family (Okpako Orua). The oldest man represented the immediate family in lineage or kindred and village meetings, but women were not allowed to be family heads. This was not strange because as noted by I.M. Okonjo, “women were not involved in the mainstream of decision-making in pre-colonial Nigeria because of the acephalous nature of some communities. Decisions were taken through democratic process and family pronouncements were made by family heads. In fact, in Ughievwen land as in other Urhobo and Izon areas legislative, executive and judicial functions were not regarded as separate functions.

There was also the lineage or kindred. This was made up of a group of related extended families. The size of lineages varied from one village to another. The lineage was headed by the oldest man and his authority was respected by all members of the lineage in all village meetings. The lineage maintained law and order among its members and also...
ensured that decisions taken during village meetings were strictly obeyed by all lineage members. At the village level which was the basic unit of political organization before the introduction of the trade in palm oil and kernels, rules and regulations for public security, welfare and protection from foreign aggression were also made.

Another important feature of the kinship system was the role played by age-grades. The highest grade that could be attained was the grade of *Ekpako* (plural of *Okpako*). When a man had passed through the stage of *Otu*, reached a fairly ripe age and became responsible authority for a small community which could be termed the ‘domestic’ family (as against the larger families that had risen to the dignity of sub-quarters or even quarters), he was admitted into the deliberations of his quarter council, and later to the sub-clan council and clan council. He was then said to be of the *Okpako* grade. The *Ekpako* had no “distinctive badge, dress or staff of office,” but the head *Okpako* in the village group council was assisted by an *Akpile* who reduced the burden of talking in the council for the *Otota* (spokesman). Decisions of the village group council were transmitted by messengers known as *Ukor*. Each village group had its own *Ikor* (plural of *Ukor*) who were engaged by the council on errands of importance to summon council meetings at the instance of the *Otota* and brought before the council, persons summoned.

The *Awhare Ovworho* (Peoples Assembly) on the other hand, was a meeting of all adult males of the village. It was held at the residence of the eldest person in the village (*Okpako Orere*). Males within the community or village attended and expressed their opinions on issues for deliberation. The population of attendance at such meetings depended on the degree of public interest in the matters to be discussed. At such meetings, issues were thrown open for free discussion by all present. After issues have been fully discussed, elders representing each of the lineages examined the matter under discussion more closely (referred to as *Ume*) and arrived at a consensus. Such decisions were presented to the *Awhare* (Assembly) for ratification. Inputs of the younger members of the village were also recognized. This group was known as *Uvwie*. These were groupings of young men of the village or community on the basis of age. Young men born around the same year or within two years formed an age-grade. The age-grades which were between twenty-one and forty years were responsible for the enforcement and execution of decisions taken by *Ekpako*. Sometimes, these age-grades took part in law-making and constituted themselves into vigilante groups to protect lives and property of people within the community.

Young women were also important in the kinship arrangement except that as earlier said they did not take decisions but could protest reported mischief to the *Okpako orere* to register their grievances. There were two groups of women associations – daughters of the village known as *Otu-Emete* and married women of the village called *Ewheya*. Meetings of the *Otu-Emete* were held in the compound of the *Okpako Emete*, while those of the *Ewheya* were held in the compound of the *Okpako-Ewheya* who also presided in such meetings.

Apart from the political institutions discussed above, dances and slavery were also vital institutions of pre-colonial Ughievwen society. Some of these dances which would hereafter be discussed, in addition to slavery, formed an important aspect of Ughievwen
society before the advent of colonialism. The analysis made excludes other cultural aspects of the people to avoid conceptual confusion because institutions like marriages, burial rites and chieftaincy are traditional institutions. Prominent among the dances for which the Ughievwen were famed were Udje, Ikenike, Ovenren and Egbada. These institutions went through transition that was dictated by the inter-group relations with Ughievwen immediate neighbours and the environment the people found themselves. From Udje dance, which was indigenous to them, others like Ikenike and Ovenren evolved, followed by Gbogoniyan and later Igbe Emete. These institutions never started once, they came in turns. They added glamour to their ceremonies such as burials, marriages and festivals, the most prominent being the Ogba-urhie festival. However, it was the trade in slaves (Eki-Evien) that formed the basis of the economy before the area was occupied by the British towards the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century.

By the early decades of the nineteenth century, slavery was abolished by Britain. For Ughievwen, this was a big ‘blow’ and the ‘legitimate’ trade that replaced it meant that the people had to adjust. They readily adjusted to the situation without crisis but in this adjustment they made forays in other parts of the country like Ikale land in present day Ondo State of Nigeria where they became major participants in palm-oil production. The impact of the abolition of the slave trade and the introduction of ‘legitimate’ commerce in the nineteenth century has elicited debates among scholars with the most recent being the conference held at the University of Stirling in 1993. The result of the conference is published in a volume edited by Robin Law. From the papers presented at the conference, the position maintained by scholars like Kristin Mann, Susan Martin and A.G. Hopkins aptly captured the situation in Ughievwenland. Kristin Mann examined slave labour and the owner-slave relationship in coastal West Africa during the transitional period and concludes that the transition did not have the widespread liberating effect, hitherto predicted by some European observers and claims that slave owners maintained the smooth functioning of their economy. Susan Martin, on the other hand, examined local labour issue with emphasis on slaves and Igbo women. While recognizing the fact that women did most of the work in palm oil production in Igbo land, Martin concludes that the changes that occurred were primarily driven by local demographic, ecological and commercial contacts, that did not amount to a break with the past or the beginning of a new period in economic history. A.G. Hopkins on his part contends that the transition experienced by West Africa was part of a larger modernization plan by Britain after 1815 and pursued until decolonization.

Evolution of Kingship Political System in Ughievwen, c.1850 – 1900

Two major factors that altered the political system of Ughievwen society was the abolition of the slave trade and the new trade in palm oil. This is understandable when one recalls that before then, the trade in slaves was one profitable business the Niger-Delta region of Nigeria, in addition to farming and fishing from which the Urhobo in the hinterland supplied agricultural products to the Itsekiri. The new trade in palm oil had two basic
features, namely, the ‘trust’ system and the need for participants to have fleets of canoes, which according to Obaro Ikime, “were manned by slaves.”

For Ughievwen society, the change from kinship system to kingship system have been recently argued to have commenced around the beginning of the eighteenth century and the last ruler was on the throne about forty years before the Intelligence Report on the area was compiled by S.E. Johnson in 1932. The transition from kinship to kingship as noted by F.E. Oghi, in the second half of the nineteenth century, “was propelled by the emergence of a new class of merchants who desired to maintain their status in the Eki-Evien (slave trade). Class struggle was thus a propellant to change and thereby confirms the idea by Lenin about five decades ago, that “where, when and in so far as class antagonism objectively could not be reconciled… [ ] changes are bound to occur.”

It is important to stress that the change from kinship to kingship political system in Ughievwen society was not propelled by an external authority. Rather, they were internal developments that were handed by the people without compounding the cohesion of the society as it were, but with the advent of the British many things changed. Thus, as in other parts of southern Nigeria, penetration and conquest of the Ughievwen society by the British collapsed the traditional framework of government. This collapse of traditional framework of government in African states as noted by O.B. Osadolor, resulted “in the disruption of the existing well-defined class and functional relationship in the indigenous political system.”

Aspect of Colonial Economic Policies and the African Developmental Challenges

European presence in Africa especially after the Berlin conference of 1884/85 witnessed the beginning of official foundations for economic exploitation of Africans. This according to R.F. Betts, was founded on the belief “that the world is divided into have and have-not countries, the developed countries work to keep the less developed countries weak or poor in order to exploit them”. However, it need to be noted that most African states were not static as their internal dynamics enabled them to cope with situations. As noted by S.O. Ehiabhi, “the histories of Egypt, Ghana, Mali, Ife and Benin are a few examples of societies that had high levels of civilizations before Europeans contact.” The mini-state of Ughievwen which this paper focused is another example.

There is no doubt that colonizers made attempts to improve on the situation they met in Africa, but such efforts were designed to achieve the economic goals of the colonial powers. For example, C.L.R. James noted that:

…”[ ] by 1935, the total capital investments from abroad amounted to $6,111,000,000. Of this amount, 77 percent of $4,705,000,000 is in British territories and British investors have supplied 75 percent of this total. In trade it is the same. In 1935 the total trade of British territories formed 85 percent of the total trade in Africa. In 1907 it was 84 percent and for years it has never fallen below 80 percent.”

C.L.R. James went further to add that “capital alone cannot expect to flourish if this African native remains a slave.” This underscores the point that whatever measures undertaken by
colonial powers in Africa, were designed to create a favourable atmosphere for the actualization of the coloniser’s interests. The undermentioned statement in a letter written by C.C. Wolley, the then Chief Secretary to the Government on the 8th of January, 1939 in Nigeria captures the point thus:

…[ ] it is, I suggest, no exaggeration to say that until a comparatively short time ago any direct financial assistance given by His Majesty’s Government to a colony was invariably given not for purpose of development, but in order to make up for unavoidable deficiencies in the revenue of the colony concerned…

By the close of the twentieth century therefore, colonialism came to be perceived as a device by which “…[ ] the developed countries work to keep the less developed countries week or poor in order to exploit them.” Yet, some scholars have argued that developments and civilizations in Africa owed largely to the coming of the Europeans. Oliver Davies, P. Duignan and L.H. Gann are good examples. Oliver Davies, for instance, did not see anything exciting about West Africa and even contends that the activities of explorers like Henry the Navigator, was a major harbinger of development to West Africa sub-regions and claimed that even the early explorers “…[ ] had no desire to settle in West Africa…” P. Duignan and L.H. Gann, on their part, painted a bad picture of Africans when they claimed that “… [ ] local wars, civil wars, slave raiding and various forms of servitude were endemic over wide areas before the imposition of European rule.” These views are laughable when one considers the fact that the people so-described not only served as the source of labour during the trans-Atlantic slave trade, but also had fruitful trade transactions with the Europeans without harassment. This was a misrepresentation for Africans. As recently argued by S.O. Ehiabhi,

Pre-colonial Political Administrative Structure was holistic in nature …the pre-colonial African administrative resourcefulness engendered peace as the political actors were still the same forces that determined moral and economic matters...

Even though colonial authorities introduced economic policies such as the use of currencies because existing medium of exchange lacked universal acceptance, such measures were done to facilitate trade. In the area of religion, S.O. Ehiabhi has noted that religious worship in pre-colonial Africa was not considered a private matter, but public and that in that wise, spiritual ‘salvation’ was not personal but communal.” Like Uromi area of Edo State of Nigeria where the Egonugbele, Igene and Edion played vital roles in cleaning and military protection of communities, the Uwvie and Ekpako in Ughievwen society also performed similar functions. The subsequent penetration and conquest of Ughievwen society at the beginning of the twentieth century by the British meant a take-over of the people’s institutions as they were structurally re-designed to attain the coloniser’s economic objectives, For example, Ughievwen land was affiliated to the Native Court at Okpare and later extended to surrounding areas like Otokutu and Udu. The Okpare Native Court up till 1907 had jurisdiction over Ughievwen land, Ughelli, Olomu, Agbassah, Iyede, Uwheru, Emevor, Owhe and Ewu area.
Conclusion

The challenges facing the continent of Africa are myriad. Of these, leadership and governance problems seem to have taken the centre-stage. While it is fashionable in some cases to lay all the blame for the calamities of post-independence Africa at the doorstep of the colonial masters – and rightly so, in many respects – there is need to have a ‘re-think’ on the indigenous or internal forces that kept African societies intact before the coming of the Europeans. Recent developments in the Africa continent seem to indicate that after all, the leadership ‘headache’ would soon be a thing of the past when one considers the fact that a ‘sitting’ government can now concede defeat to the opposition as was demonstrated in the Presidential Election held in Nigeria on March 28, 2015. Otherwise, allusion were made to wrong decisions taken before and after independence that betrayed the intolerance, vanity, egotism and pettiness of post-independence Nigerian leaders.54

For the Nigeria state and by extension the Africa continent as a whole, historical studies should begin to emphasise administrative history and not just ‘what happened’ but energies should be concentrated on ‘what could have been’ which is the thrust of counterfactuals. The justification for the study of Administrative History, lies in the lessons that could be derived to solve contemporary problems. J.C.N. Raadschelders has noted that a persistent and thoughtful study of the past “provide potential clues, not definitive answers, to understanding, not explaining present challenges and potential solutions to current problems.”55 A counterfactual analysis of Africa’s historical past would help to provide the clue for solution to Africa’s developmental challenges. For Ughievwenu society which was the focus of this paper, the transformation of its institutions was internally-induced before the coming of the British. An understanding of the cohesion that existed then is vital to present day leaders to draw from.
Endnotes


5. Ibid.


10. The town is the current headquarters of Ughelli South Local Government Area, Delta State, Nigeria.


15. Interview with James Yagbologha, 78 years, retired trader, Otujeremi, Ughelli South Local Government Area, Delta State, Nigeria, 24/2/2011.


17. Interview with James Dase, Uduvbo-Avworho Quarters, 66 years, trader, Otujeremi, 24/2/2011.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.


21. Ibid.


27. Interview with Madam Usen Okpohie, traditionalist, 110 years, *Okpako Ewheya*, Owawha Village, 14/6/2008.
37. F.E. Oghi, *op.cit*, pp. 80-82.
44. Ibid.
49. S.O. Ehiabhi, *op.cit*, p. 44.
53. F.E. Oghi, *op. cit*, p.6
54. In March 2014, the Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Sanusi Lamido Sanusi, was suspended by the President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. The exercise as it were, confirmed that leadership deficit remains a Nigerian nightmare fifty-four years after independence. See *The Guardian*, 5 March 2014, p. 5.
References


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Barriers to indigenous language learning and their use in Nigerian schools: the Yoruba language experience

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Abstract

It is a known fact that in most West African states and particularly in Nigeria, Indigenous language teaching and language use have suffered serious setbacks. The blame has been put severally. People who had their primary and post-primary education in Nigeria would agree that despite the emphasis laid on the teaching and use of English language in our schools today, a large percentage of school children, and students still fail the subject. This paper examines the barriers to effective Indigenous language teaching and language use in Nigerian schools, using the Yorùbá language as reference point. The paper goes into the past and investigates the socio-political forces operating within the history of the nation, Nigeria. It observes that a number of factors militate against effective learning and the use of indigenous languages in schools. These include speaker’s comportment, non-availability of trained and qualified teachers, non-challant attitude of education administrators and the like. It also examines the possible consequences on the entire nation. Our findings reveal that partial or total neglect of the teaching and learning of indigenous languages brings the nation backward. The paper concludes that unless all stakeholders in the education sector have a re-think, emphasize and enforce the teaching and use of the child’s native language in schools, the society may not be better off.

Keywords: Barrier, Language, Indigenous, Learning, Use
Introduction

The problem of language teaching and language use is a global one. Several studies have been carried out and several attempts have been made by individuals, government agents and other stakeholders in the education sector with several policies formulated, all in an effort to address the problems militating against effective language teaching and language use in our schools, with the aim of bringing an improvement to the much important phenomenon.

A detailed study of the attitudes of all stakeholders in the education industry reveals that language learning and its use is at par with the sciences in our schools today (Primary, Post-primary and tertiary institutions alike). The reason for this is no other than the lukewarm attitudes of stakeholders to the teaching and use of language.

In some instances where the teaching and use of a language is emphasized, it is not the child’s language but foreign language. This is not peculiar to Nigeria but to most West Africans countries who adopt the languages of their colonial masters namely the British and the French.

This paper closely examines these factors with a view to determining and identifying the problem areas in order to proffer possible solutions on the way forward. The paper is divided into parts. Part one is the introduction. The second part discusses what a language is, while the third part examines the importance of a language. The fourth part probes into the problems of language teaching and language use while the fifth and final part centers on proffered solutions to such emanating problems.

The Concept of Language

A language has been variously defined. A few examples are the following:

Language is an official and consciously organized method of control by the use of symbols or conventions which involves the notion of meaning.

(Wilson (1972).

The Random House Dictionary defines a language as:

The body of words and systems which are used to communicate by persons of the same community or nation, a system of formalized symbols, gestures etc. used as a means of communicating thought and knowledge.

For Humby, (1996), he states that:

Language is a human method of communicating ideas, feelings by means of system of sound and symbols.
Nwogu (2004) states that:

Language is a man’s unique accomplishment. More than anything else, it sets man apart from animal world. It is the basis of all creative thoughts. Without language, there would be no progress, no civilization, no culture. The acquisition of language is of particular importance for the process of humanization and socialization.

From the above, language can be said to be a means of communication by which human beings do express their thoughts, feelings and norms within a community. This infers that the language we speak is a unique human attribute. Man is the only social being that is endowed to use language. He uses it to talk about a variety of things be it politics, religion, culture, scientific facts, historical facts social relationship among others.

The importance of language in the technological development of the world cannot be undermined. This infers that technology will not be possible without a language. Saruq (2005, p.112) states that:

Creation is the beginning of technology (the art of doing things). To create, one has to imagine in the first place, express through language in the second place, before the imagined expression can be brought into existence in the third place. It is therefore through language that man has access to science and technology which are essential aspect of development that can bring unity, progress and happiness to a nation.

Further on the importance of language, Akíndélé and Adégbité (1992, p.80) cited the view of Sepir and Whort that:

Individual’s experience of reality is functionally dependent upon the language and linguistic behaviour of a given society, that a particular language maps out the world for individual in different degrees of intensity and typicality.

The above view sees language as a filter to social realities, and it acts as an intermediary between cognitive processes. It affects peoples’ perception of the world as a whole. It is also an instrument with which individuals or groups examine their social problems.

Teaching a Language: The Language Teacher

Fafunwa (1974, p.18) states that the child learns his or her language (the mother tongue) by imitating the mother with whom the child stays most of the time. The mother does not take note of this until the child makes simple sentences which are strange to the mother.
At school age, the child is taught how to speak (make use of a language), and write a language. Teachers are trained in the art of teaching in order to assist pupils/students learning through a competence-based practice in classroom instruction, using a method that will best suit individual skills, student’s needs and the teaching resources available. The concern of the teacher is to make students learn. Therefore, he is expected to understand the subject matter. He should be able to transform the environment and content of instructions into functional values. He is expected to study his/her students, understand their characteristics and select the right method for his teaching of a particular topic. This will help him/her to achieve efficient and effective learning. In order to succeed in doing this, both the teacher and the learner have to be sufficiently motivated.

Akande,(2002, pp.88-89) highlights the objectives of the teacher education as:

(i). the production of committed teachers who have conscience.
(ii). to further encourage the spirit of enquiry and creativity in teachers.
(iii). to help teachers to fit into the social life of the community and society at large and to enhance their commitments for national objectives.
(iv). to develop the child’s ability and talent to teach many important skills and provide knowledge that helps the child to be useful to himself and to the society at large.

Speaking on the roles of teachers in national development, Akande (2002, p.15) opines that:

It is a national suicide for any nation either by accident or by design to allow its best brains to cure its sick, design and build its road bridges, formulate and administer its laws, while its poorest brains teach its youths. Its takes good and dedicated teacher to produce efficient doctors, competent lawyers, functional and creative engineers. Therefore, the education and training of the teacher particularly for the challenges of the 21st century should be an issue for serious national consideration and attention.

Furthermore, one of the characteristics of man is to transmit both social skills and cultural knowledge to its young ones. This is what Mead (1963:40) refers to as ‘ENCULTURATION’. Here, the language comes in. Ocha (1988:10) states that: “children’s speech behaviour over developmental time will be socially and culturally organized”. As children are learning to become competent members of their societies, so also are they learning to become competent speakers of their languages. In other words, socialization and language acquisition goes simultaneously in a child’s experience. It is the duty of the teacher to work towards achieving this goal. A good education no doubt should make an individual remain viable within a socio-economic system which changes according to the basis of the cumulative knowledge in the society. This being so, it can be said that a sound education is language centered.
Communicating In a Language

It is pertinent to state here that some factors have to be considered before a language is used. For instance, the speaker of a language should be aware of the type of audience he is speaking to. In most cases, the relationship between the speaker and the listener (in terms of terms of age and position).

A speaker shows respect for the listener’s responses and reactions. For instance, a Yorùbá oral poet counts on his audience as their response determine the acceptability or otherwise of his poems on one hand, and the oral poet switches from one speech to another as soon as a new guest enters the play arena. He should be able to make speeches that hold his audience in ‘captive’ until the end of his performances.

In Yorùbá culture, the age and position of the listener determines what the speaker says and how he says it. This is to say that to arrest the audience, there should be an element of humor in a speech as the absence of this makes speech a dry one.

The Yorùbá language for instance, is a language of respect. Therefore, the use of pronouns ‘ọ’, ‘ẹ’, and ‘ọ’ are properly guided. An elderly person for instance, would not use ‘e’ to address a younger person. If he does so, it is certainly without sincerity. In like manner, when a younger person uses ‘ọ’ or ‘ọ’ for an older person, it infers that something unusual has happened. This is also used without any iota of sincerity. This is to say that there are some things to consider before one speaks. You don’t speak just anyhow or without a reason.

The Yorùbá use other parts of the body such as the nose, the eyes, the hands, the beating of a drum and so on to speak. These however are not as effective as using the language proper. This is because language use is universal while the use of the parts of the body mentioned could be interpreted differently by different people. This is why the most effective and generally acceptable means of communication is the language we speak.

Why Communicating?

Communication as we know is one’s ability to relate and relate well with others. Ability to communicate is one of the essentials in human life. Communication though, may have both positive and negative results depending on the way speeches are used. This is to say that utterances, if not properly guided, or well presented, could lead to chaos. This is why the Yorùbá are always conscious of the way they use proverbs. Yorùbá proverbs are capable of making or marring the society. (Ogúnlọlá 2002), but this is not our focus in this paper.

We communicate for the following purposes:

(i). To air out our views: it is through communication that one’s views are known (even if such views will be rejected). When this is accomplished, the speaker is relieved. It is not easy to know the views of a death and dumb
person except those who are specially trained in it and this is not a universal
thing.

(ii). It is through verbal communication we worship and converse with
GOD, the Creator of mankind. In happiness, in distress and in fact in any
situation we may find ourselves, we communicate with God. This may be
verbal in prayers or through songs, poem recitation and the like. It is believed
that God knows the inner mind of man, yet, He requests that we should
communicate with him, whichever language we may use notwithstanding.

(iii). By communicating, we help others to solve their ageing problems, be
it spiritual, physical, mental or psychological.

(iv). It is through communication that the people’s economy is boosted. In
our day-to-day business transactions, the importance of language use cannot
be over emphasized. On the radio, television, products, services and
programmes are advertised. The language used for such advertisement is
‘sweet language’. A language full of exaggeration, hyperboles, a language
that will attract would-be customers’. An example of a song advertising S.T.
Soap is given below.

(v). Mastery and understanding a language promote unity and understanding among
people in a society.

(vi). through language, we transmit knowledge. In the homes, in schools, (primary to
tertiary), among peer groups, we use language to teach one another.

All these and many others are supposed to guide the actions of the language teachers
in our schools. We want to emphasize that, it is language that makes man to be what he is. It
is language that distinguishes man from all other living creatures on earth (animals, birds,
reptiles, beast etc.).
As important as language and communication are, it is disheartening that there are still a lot of barriers to language teaching and language use in our schools today. This is what the next segment of this paper discusses.

**Barriers to Indigenous Language Learning and use**

As earlier mentioned, learning and using a language is faced with numerous problems among which are:

(i) **Lack of Mastery of various Communication Skills**

To be able to effectively use a language, mastery of some skills are inevitable. These include: speaking, listening, reading and writing, correct pronunciation, fluency and accuracy, good voice, clarity, knowing the audience and the commitment of a speaker to mention just a few.

A language that is not spoken regularly or frequently or is totally abandoned cannot be mastered. The child and adult alike cannot master the pronunciation skills in an abandoned language. This is the situation with the Yorùbá language. A Yorùbá native speaker does not know the technical skills of the language because he is denied the opportunity to use the language. In our homes and schools alike, children are denied the use of their native language which is supposed to form the basis of the child’s education.

(ii) **Correct Pronunciation Deficiency**

To communicate effectively, the speaker of a language must adequately master pronunciation of sounds, words, and must be acquainted with the pattern (structure) of the language. The speaker’s general aim is to talk intelligibly to others and this could be achieved through effective pronunciation.

(iii) **Fluency and Accuracy**

For a speaker of any language to be effective, he or she must be fluent. By fluency, we mean mastery of rules guiding the speaker of a language. This includes the selection of appropriate vocabularies, style, discourse, grammar and meaning. For instance, speaker of the Yorùbá language must master the tonal rules of low, high, mid tones because Yorùbá language is a tonal language. The speaker must in addition master the syntax rules of different kinds of sentences in the language as compared with that of another language such as the English language. Example is this:

(1) Mo pà eja ñlá (Yorùbá).
   (subj pronoun) (verb) (object noun) (adjective)

(2) I killed a big fish (English)
   (subject) (verb) (adjective) (object noun)

The two sentences above cannot be arranged otherwise for the two difference languages involved. If this is done, the speaker will not be speaking language he intends to
speak. This is to say that accuracy in terms of articulation of sounds and words form the hallmark of effective speaking as inaccuracy leads to distortion of the speaker’s message. Fluency and accuracy brings clarity, unambiguous and straight forward expressions.

(iv). Speaker’s Comportment

The speaker of any language needs to be confident of his ability to speak the language. By so doing, such speaker would capture the respect and interest of his audience. Self-confidence comes as a result of adequate preparation. Inadequate preparation on the other hand leads to nervousness. The purpose of making the speech must be achieved; hence, this determines what to say.

(v). Non-Availability of Trained and Qualified Teachers

Before now, teaching in Nigeria has been the last hope for’ the hopeless’. Students choose teacher education as their last resort and jump out of the job at the slightest opportunity. A would-be teacher needs to conduct a careful and honest examination of himself or herself. He or she should find out whether he possesses attributes such as competence, decisiveness, energy, enthusiasm, initiative and so on. (see Odeiran, 1999).

This infers that the entire teacher education programme should be competence and not experience based. A situation whereby an untrained teacher is employed to teach in schools is one of the major problems facing the teaching profession in Nigeria today. This is more noticed in the teaching of Yorùbá language. The teaching of Yorùbá language in most schools today in handled by incompetent and untrained teachers. The assumption is that a native speaker should be able to handle the subject. This view is wrong because teaching the language involves more than being a native speaker. The situation is made worse especially now that the Grade II Teacher Training Colleges are phased out. One wonders if the existing Colleges of Education can cope with the situation vise visa the competence of the products of such Colleges of Education.

A teacher will teach very little until he himself has mastered the language he teaches. This means that inadequacies on the part of the teacher are more disastrous for the realization of educational objectives. Most teachers of Yorùbá languages teaching in Nigeria Primary and Post-Primary schools are themselves not versed in the language they teach.

The concern of a teacher in teaching is to make students learn. This being the case, the teacher himself must be well informed in the art of teaching. He must be prepared to face the challenges. Awoniyi (1979, p.19) opines that a teacher is never tired and children will sometimes have to listen all the day. According to him, all stake holders in the education sector seldom throw their responsibilities to the teacher and sometimes expect him to do what is impossible. He then concludes that:

No nation in West Africa can be prepared to condone Ignorant and untrained teacher for very long. A professionalism approach is required and not a blind
loyalty to rigid methods which become out of date before very long. Unlike the children of former days who were docile and passive, children of today cannot accept anything unquestioning. A teacher who is not well prepared may be cornered if not embarrassed.

This further confirms that the role of the teacher is evidently significant. Neither the school syllabus, method nor apparatus will make a good school without the quality of the teacher at the apex of it all.

(iv). Non-Chalant Attitude of Education Administrators

The non-chalant attitude of the various education administrators and curriculum planners also pose serious barrier to language learning and language use. Experience has shown that English Language is given priority in the schools’ curriculum in Nigeria. A credit pass in English Language has long been and is still a prerequisite for gaining admission into higher institutions of learning in Nigeria. This is what Bamgbósé (1991) refers to as language dominance. It is a situation whereby a non-indigenous language is imposed from outside. Such imposed language becomes ‘supreme’ in its entire ramification, be it educational, political, social, religious and in the general running of the government. It is not a hidden fact that European Languages used in Africa are dominant languages.

Spencer (1971b, p.542) opines that:

The Portuguese authorities discourage the indigenous languages to the extent of giving condition that nothing may appear in print in African Languages without concurrent translation into Portuguese.

Ọdetokun (2010, p.6) makes reference to Biihler, a Christian Educationist (1861), who spoke on why Christian missions did not succeed in their efforts to interact well with the children in particular and the people in general so as to gain converts says:

What I consider a great disadvantage in our school int he Yorùbá Missions is too much teaching in the English Language which retards the progress considerably is been for most of the children an unknown tongue. (Biihler 1861).

He goes further to say that it was Late Chief Ọbaṣemi Awolowo who succinctly made a case for enlightened citizenry saying:

To educate the children and enlighten the illiterate adults is to lay a solid foundation not only for future social and economic progress but also for political stability. A truly educated citizenry is in my view, one of the most powerful deterrent to dictatorship, oligarchy and feudal autocracy
According to the record, Biihler made the report because the pupils were always confused as a result of teaching them in English Language and that it took pupils quite a long time from four to six years before they could read their own language.

Adetugbọ (1997, p.141-142) states that “language learning by imposition or by force has been found to be not as successful as language acquired by choice”. Most Nigerian language students do not study language by choice but as their last resort as earlier mentioned. Our experience shows that most students of Yorùbá language are not proud of the subject. They hide their identities especially in our tertiary institutions.

In the same vein, those who study English language do so either because they had no option or because they are compelled to do so. No wonder why the nation records a high percentage of failures in English language at the senior school certificate level. Students of institutions of higher learning prefer to become an Accountant, a Lawyer, a Medical Doctor and so on to been a Linguist.

Ôgúnfolá and Ale (1988, p. 7) opine that in Nigeria, emphasis is laid on the study of the English language which is the official language (lingua franca) of the nation, thus neglecting indigenous languages. This makes the indigenous languages either ‘sick’ or ‘dead’ more especially if they are totally abandoned.

In addition to this, information dissemination in print media is largely dominated by the ex-colonial languages. In cases where a newspaper is published in an indigenous language, such newspaper is likely to be unpopular. Examples are: Aláròyé published by World Information Agency and Ìròyìn Yorùbá published by African Newspapers Limited. This unpopular situation has made others to fold up. It is disheartening that till today, no significant change is recorded.

Realizing the role of the child’s language in the overall development of the nation, Ômọlewà (1995, p.107) states that:

Native tongue is immensely more vital that it is one of the chief means of preserving what is good in native customs, ideas and ideals… All people have inherent right to their own personality however primitive they may be….. No greater injustice can be committed against a people than to deprive them of own language.

An Ìbàdàn-based Newspaper Magazine (The Yorùbá News) in its edition of 9th February, 1926 also affirm this claim in her editorial when it writes that:

The best arrangement for the present will be the teaching of Yorùbá or its employment as the basis for instruction in all schools up to Standard III, and side-by-side from Standard IV upwards to the highest classes of secondary schools and colleges.
In our own opinion, the suggestions above are necessary considering the fact that when a child is versed in his or her native language, the child finds it easy to learn other languages. For this reason, the use of the child’s native language is paramount to the child’s learning process. It is unfortunate however, and according to Awoneyi (2006, p, 10) that:

The clear failing of public policy on language via the 1977 National Policy On Education becomes apparent when it is known that years after the policy and its revisions, the bilingual policy which forces the Nigerian Secondary School child to learn in addition to English language and His mother tongue, an additional indigenous Nigerian major languages, is hardly enforced in private schools, many state owned schools and some Federal Government colleges. Worse still, the products of the secondary schools are admitted into tertiary institutions with the English medium. The addition of French as an additional official language has also had little impact as government publications are still in English and schools merely teach French as any other school subject. Consequently, many of the learners of French in schools are passive bilinguals.

What Awóníyí is saying here is that government itself does not make her policies clear and that they also fails to enforce those policies. A case that readily comes to mind is the idea of enforcing passing one native language as a condition for gaining admission into any Nigerian tertiary institution which was only found on the pages of the paper. One is therefore forced to inquire if government policy on language teaching has failed. If it has, how then can the government succeed in making adjustments by improving the quality of language learning and language use in schools?

What we expect is the teaching of indigenous languages as basis for the teaching of foreign languages. The principle of moving from known to unknown must be adopted. This will ease the teachers’ teaching and eventually the use of the language taught by pupils and students alike.

(vii). Political Domination

When a group of people are politically dominated, they take orders from their political lords. They cannot refuse such orders. In the learning and the use of a language, they readily give ascent to whatever their political lords say or wish. In such situation, their local languages are adversely affected.

Artists, foreign and local, also constitute a barrier to language learning and language use. The imported music and singing styles does not recognize the difference in the societies they are singing or playing for. Most of their songs are the type that does not teach good communication skills. The languages therein, are disgusting and in most cases not in line with what the society acknowledges.
Ð¼ûñšînà (1995, p.299), using Ládélé’s Îgbà ló dé, explains how the introduction of the colonial rule had eroded the powers of the king. He writes that:

The colonial masters have seized power from him and he lived in morbid fear of the “Ajélè”. He is often filled with a deep sense of uncertainty and insecurity. Whenever the “Ajélè” visits “Ógbójó”, there is always one problem or the other.

This is just one of the examples that the negative incursion of colonialism has thrown the entire Yorùbá traditional politics into disrepute. Adéyeúmi (2008, p.118) also agrees that there has been a conspicuous drift from moral accountability to moral degeneration in the Yorùbá society traceable to colonialism, modernization, western philosophy and life-style.

In like manner, Akínjógbìn, (2009, p.20-24) asserts that the influx of foreigners from different parts of the world to Yorùbá land punctured her ethical principles. New religions, new system of education and politics, new trade and professions different from those of the pre-colonial era has emerged. This implies that the advent of foreigners marks the beginning of a new orientation not only in politics, economic and social life, but also in the ethical principles of the people. These experiences and the reasons that emanate from them have made the resuscitation of the classic social life of the Yorùbá people imperative.

Babátúndé (2013, p.88) observes that a situation where a child’s language is ignored in the educational process leads to a feeling of cultural and linguistic inferiority which will largely prevent the child from reaching the peak of his potential in personal development and in contributing to societal development. He concludes that a child must be opportuned to learn his language and learn in it. He then suggests that a bilingual or even multilingual education policy is required to ameliorate such problems.

The Yorùbá society is not left out of these problems. The situation calls for urgent attention because the worst thing that can happen to a people is to allow other people’s ideas and cultures to dominate their own culture. This is the case for the Yorùbá society.

Õgúndèji and Àkàngbé (2009, p.5) state that:

Though there could not but be some changes and modifications to the traditional systems in the modern context, the changes and modifications should be guided so that the good aspects of it that has to do with the sole existence of the Yorùbá as a people will not be eroded.

Several reasons are given for the lapses, the most common being colonialism and the two religions which brought new and deviant moral ways of life. Ìṣòlá, (2009, p.96) opines that:

Colonialism completely took over the African mind through an unsuitable system of education. In schools, the Yorùbá child was not allowed to speak the mother tongue. The poor children were made to learn foreign
lullabies such as “Bah, bah black sheep, have you my wool? This lack of competence in the mother tongue has led to the loss of some valuable literary genres and other precious ‘souvenirs’ of language. The mother tongue was enthusiastically degraded and English was moved to the center stage. It became the pride of anyone who could stammer some innocuous to the envy of the stupefied illiterates.

He goes further to say that:

Religion is intended to water culture, sanitize it to make cultural life more stable. You can change your religion and espouse a foreign one, but you cannot change your culture. The truth is that if your culture has not socialized you into acceptable standard of right and wrong, if you have not internalized those humane qualities of integrity, honesty, transparency, accountability through your own culture, there will be no foundation on which any religion can build. Being born again really means going back to your God-given culture to learn how to be a good person. (p. 96).

Bànjọ (2009, p.135) opines that:

Indiscriminate cultural borrowing may produce deleterious effects, and the degree of impersonality which results from lack of diverse cultures may subtly encourage disloyalty to one’s own culture, when little is done to reinforce that culture.

Ìṣòlá (2009, p.100) writes that:

The cultural education of the child cannot succeed in a culturally hostile environment. We must therefore adopt a holistic approach to cultural reorientation in the society to create a friendly atmosphere for the child to internalize the humane virtues in our cultural heritage.

This implies that no nation can prosper on false pretense. From the above, it is evident that culture plays a vital role in the achievements of a people or a nation. A people that dump her culture for a foreign one is not likely to make a headway in the areas of politics, economy and social advancement.

This situation according to Babatunde (2013, p.88) could be described as a sociocultural problem which can manifest into a feeling of cultural and linguistic inferiority which is likely to prevent the child from reaching the peak of his potential in personal development and in contributing to societal development. According to him, a child must be given the opportunity to learn his/her language and learn in it.
The Way Forward

From the above, it is evident that there are lots of barriers militating against effective learning and use of a language. The damage has been done but it is never late to make corrections. Since only change is permanent, we want to suggest some ways forward on this issue.

First and foremost, emphasis should be laid on the teaching, learning and use of the child’s indigenous language as the basis for the child’s learning because as we mentioned earlier, such a step would largely assist the child in learning other languages and learn them well.

Further still, the child’s parents and guardians, the school and all other stake holders in the education sector must encourage the child to use his or her native language to communicate wherever the child finds himself/herself. The school environment is not left out. This however is possible only if some conditions such as provision of trained and qualified teachers are seriously addressed. To succeed in doing this, the abolished Grade II Teacher Training programme must be resuscitated along the re-structuring of the National Certificate of Education programmes and curriculum to provide for more time for practical teaching programmes.

In addition to the above, government should give prominence to language teachers just as they do to the sciences. Language teaching is the bedrock of all learning; therefore, competence in language mastery on the part of the teacher is of high value to successful language learning and language use by the child. To ameliorate the socio-cultural constraints facing the child in the area of indigenous language learning, a bilingual or even multi-lingual education policy is required.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have tried to identify the various factors militating against effective language learning and language use, be it in schools, in our homes and even within the society at large. We have also pointed out that the most serious of those factors is the domineering role ex-colonial languages play over the entire African Indigenous languages.

Not only this, we have also established the fact that the child’s language background affects his or her learning process especially as regards his/her effective use of language. To be fluent in the use of any language, the child must be versed in his or her local language. This is the best foundation for the learning of other languages.

We strongly believe that all stakeholders in the education industry have to give priority attention to the teaching, learning and the use of Nigerian indigenous languages in their work plans. This should not be on paper alone. For instance, a ‘novices’ such as an untrained teacher should not be assigned to teach any language or else, the effective and successful teaching of such language would be jeopardized.
The practice whereby anybody is assigned to teach a language probably because he speaks the language or because the language is his, should henceforth cease. We are no more in the ‘yes age’; therefore, a language teacher should be able to proof his or her worth at all time. He must understand the task ahead of him and must always be prepared to accomplish those tasks.
References


-The Yorùbá News. 9th February, 1926.
Etymological investigation of tones in the Yorùbá personal praise names: 
ORÍKÌ ÀBÍSÒ

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Abstract

To the Yorùbá in particular and African in general, a name is not just a means of individual identity, but it has social, psychological and behavioural effects on the life of the bearer. Yorùbá is a tonal language, in other words, the meaning of a name is greatly influenced by the tones on the name. Previous efforts have been made by scholars to classify Yorùbá names into: orúkọ àbísọ (name given on the eighth day), orúkọ inagije (nick-name), orúkọ idilẹ (family name), orúkọ ġśin (religious name), orúkọ àmútọrùnvwá (name from birth circumstance and signs) among others Adéoyé (1982), Alàbá (2007) and Oyètédé (1991). This paper focuses on the tones pattern of oríkì àbísọ (praise name given to a child on the eighth day), which is just a category out of the types of oríkì available to the Yorùbá. This is because oríkì can be realised as oríkì orilẹ (lineage praise name), oríkì Ìbòràkíní (praise name for important personalities in the society), oríkì àbísọ (praise name given on the eighth day) and so on. Till now, the root or origin of LLH (low-low-high) tone pattern on oríkì àbísọ shared by the male and female has not been discovered, the challenge that is taken up by this paper. Orúkọ àbísọ of LLH (low-low-high) tone pattern associated with both male and female are collected and analyzed based on the Two Tones Hypothesis (TTH). Large volumes of oríkì àbísọ are collected from Ògbómọsọ, Ìyọ and Ìwọ metropolis of Ìyọ and Ìṣẹ States of Nigeria. These States are where the oríkì àbísọ is most realised among the Yorùbá. In addition, some data relating to oríkì àbísọ are sourced from Adéoyé (1982) and Oyètédé (1991). The paper concludes that, tones of oríkì àbísọ evolve from a category of orúkọ àmútọrùnvwá associated with three children after Ìbejì (twins). These names are ÌDÒWÚ, ÌDÒGBÉ and ÌLÀBÀ. These names have no gender affiliation. Male or female child (exclusively associated with twins) bears any of these names. In other words, the tones on these names are proto-tones to tones on the oríkì àbísọ.

Keywords: oríkì àbísọ, orúkọ àmútọrùnvwá, low-low-high tone pattern (LLH)
Introduction

Oríkó (name) is the linguistic symbol by which you identify an individual; while oríki (praise name) is the literary form by which you identify an individual within the history of his family, clan and tribe, hence the genealogical content of oríki. Oríki (of any category), is a way of tracing an individual to his or her root, or to his genesis Láṣebíkán (1958), Olábíntán (1986), Babalolá (2000) and Barber (1991). According to Odúyọyè (1972, p. 63), oríki is for a child “a way of interacting him into a closely-knit web of family relationship and thus rescuing him from marginality”. It is clear that the potentiality of oríki is wider and influential than orúko: as it links an individual to the root and the society at large. This puts oríki into historical pedestal. To the Yorùbá, “ítán ní múñí tún, ènì tí ó nítàn kí pé tún” (relationship is established by history, whoever has no history will soon be forgotten). Oríki operates at the macro-level because of its genealogical power and influence on individual life; while orúko operates at the micro-level, as its scope is restricted to personal life and experience. Both oríki (of any category) and orúko (of any form) are beyond means of individual identification. Ògúndèjì (1988, p. 79) sees orúko beyond a means of individual identification “but is believed to be the signifier of the historical, sociological and psychological behavioral patterns of characters.” Oríki is realised as a deeper form of orúko.

Application of tones on the Yorùbá poems as it affects and influences meaning is addressed by Olátúnjí (2005) and Láṣebíkán (1956). Their observations are based on the impacts of the theme of a poem on the line-end tonal patterns. The unpredictability and irregularity of the tonal arrangements at the line-ends of the Yorùbá poetry is expressed by Bier and Gbádámọ́ṣi (1959, p. 8) that “in most Yorùbá poems, there is no regularity in tonal pattern. The tonal structure therefore does not really take the place of European metre”. Bámọ́bọ́ṣé (1970, pp. 110&111) focuses his view on the effects of tonal configurations besides the deployments of tonal arrangement as a word-play. According to him, tones could be used as:

The device which consists in the use of contrastive tones through a deliberate choice or distortion of lexical items. It is done in such a way that some tones, or tone on the final syllable in one lexical items will contrast with the tone(s) in another item, ...

From these reviewed works, one can see the manipulation of tones in Yorùbá written poems and the manipulation of same to the advantage of the poet, as tones are not realised in this context as fixed or constant forms, unlike in oríki àbìsọ, where the tonal patterns and structures are realised in fixed forms.

Works of Oyétádẹ́ (1999) and Àlábá (2007) examines twenty-seven (27) tone possibilities. Out of these possibilities, only LLH (low-low-high) tone possibility is identified to be peculiar and dominant with oríki àbìsọ and the only tone pattern shared by male and female (Oyétádẹ́ 1999). The LHH (low-high-high) and LMH (low-middle-high) tone patterns exclusively occur with either female or male only. However, the origin of orúko àmútòrunwá
(which oríkì àbísò is in this work discovered to be a category) has not been known. This view is corroborated by (Oduyòyé 1972, p. 85) that “we know the correct usage of the àmítórunwà names, but their etymologies are in most part now obscure.” The challenge of etymological accounts of oríkì àbísò, is open to cultural scholarship and is therefore taken up by this paper.

**Definition and Limitations of Scope**

Oríkì àbísò,- is a nominalised tri-syllabic praise name given to a child on the naming day alongside with other names in the Yorùbá community. Three forms of tone patterns have been identified with oríkì àbísò in general, the LLH, LHH and LMM (Oyètadé 1991 and Alábà 2007). This class of names is common among the indegenes Òyò and Èsìun states of Nigeria and some parts of Èkìti and Ègbóminà. These names are uncommon in most parts of Ègbá and in Èjèbú (Oyètadé 1991). Those who bear these names besides Òyò and Èsìun States are likely to have been influenced by their cultural contact with Òyò and Èsìun who are exclusively identifiable with these sorts of names (Oyètadé, 1991). But interestingly, names of the three children born after Ìbejì (twins: Ìdòwú, Àlábà and Ìdògbè) are generally accepted and adopted throughout the Yorùbá tribes. Therefore, these names evolve as a form of oríkì àmítórunwà (name by signs and circumstances accomplishing the child’s birth). This then indirectly makes oríkì àbísò of LLH tone patterns to be identified with the Yorùbá tribes in general. In other words, the source names (Ìdòwú, Àlábà and Ìdògbè) of oríkì àbísò LLH tone patterns are universal in the Yorùbá tradition. Other forms of oríkì along with the source mentioned above are peculiar to some Yorùbá tribes. The older persons are known to use oríkì àbísò rather by child’s other names. This work then restricts itself to the LLH tone pattern.

**Methodology: The Two Tone Hypothesis**

There are two explanations on the use of only three tones (L, H and M). The first is the two tones Hypothesis (TTH), and the Guided Accident Hypothesis (GAH). The TTH supports that the existence of only two tones L and H need be seen as underlying tones in Yorùbá. Scholars like Stahlknecht (1974), Courtanay (1969) and Akinlabí (1985) note that there is a kind of asymentary in the distribution of the three tones in Yorùbá. According to Stahlknecht’s suggestion, the three-tone contrast in Yorùbá today may be accounted for by the two-tone language, if it is assume that the M (mid-tone) originates from the L (low-tone). Likewise, Courtenay notes that “the distribution of the object pronoun clitics in relation to the verbs in Yorùbá points in the direction of high tone versus low tone if we explain M of the clitics as a case of tonal assimilation” (Oyètadé, 1999, p. 59). Akinlabí is only disposed to two tones: High and Low. He recognises the M as having no underlying status not because of historical postulation, but based on the principles of tonal under-specification. Therefore, the theoretical frame work adopted for this study is the Two Tone Hypothesis (TTH). This is because the theory is suitable to shed light on the tone conditioned of the LLH tone pattern of oríkì àbísò.

**Presentation: Tonal Pattern in Oríkì Àbísò**

For the purpose of this work, I have restricted the tonal pattern in Yorùbá oríkì àbísò to LLH. This is because, only this pattern is observed to be exclusively associated with tone
pattern on the children born after Ìbejì (twins) male or female as explained earlier. According to Oyètadé (1999, p. 58), LLH tone pattern of orìkì àbíso is discovered to be the dominant form of orìkì àbíso. “It is by far the commonest. It is observed that the pattern is used for both male and female.” Looking at the tonal patterns of orìkì àbíso, one may want to view the distribution of LLH as supporting the TTH because, the representation of L and H are exclusively established. The representation of L and H are also more frequently used than M in other forms of orìkì àbíso: LHH and LMH. However, since the scope of this work excludes LHH and LMH patterns, it gives in strong terms the TTH credit. In other words, there is no exception of orìkì àbíso with LLH pattern (for male and female). Oyètadé (1988, Pp. 197-267) had earlier asserted “that the M in Yorùbá does not take part in a number of tonal processes - including the L and the H.” Examples of LLH (male and female) pattern that supports the exceptionalness with occurrence in orìkì àbíso collected from Ogbómòsó, Òyó and Íwò communities of Òyó and Òsun States of Nigeria are rendered below

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LLH pattern (male)</th>
<th>LLH pattern (female)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) alágbé</td>
<td>àwèké</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) àdójí</td>
<td>àdùbí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) ájáámú</td>
<td>àdùfẹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) aládést</td>
<td>àbẹní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) àkànbi</td>
<td>àbẹfẹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vi) àkànmi</td>
<td>àbẹbí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(vii) àdígún</td>
<td>àkànké</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(viii) aláó</td>
<td>àmòrí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ix) àmọ̀ó</td>
<td>alákè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(x) ajáó</td>
<td>àdùkè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xi) àyíndè</td>
<td>àmọpẹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xii) àyínlá</td>
<td>àrínlá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xiii) àtándá</td>
<td>àbẹ́kẹ̀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xiv) ajágbé</td>
<td>àpèkè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xv) aláámú</td>
<td>àwèńí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xvi) àjáni</td>
<td>àwèró</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xvii) alábí</td>
<td>àmọ̀ké</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xviii) àdísá</td>
<td>àyóká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xix) àkàngbè</td>
<td>àṣàkè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xx) àkànjí</td>
<td>àbẹ̀mù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxi) ajàdì</td>
<td>àṣákùn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxii) iyándá</td>
<td>àbẹ́jẹ̀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxiii) álání</td>
<td>àdùnní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxiv) àkàndé</td>
<td>àṣàbí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxv) àkànmù</td>
<td>àbẹò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(xxvi) ajásá</td>
<td>àmọ̀sá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above orìkì àbíso are among the available ones. From the sampled list of orìkì àbíso above, we can observe these common features among or within the male and female names of orìkì àbíso:
(i) they are tri-syllabic in structure
(ii) ‘à’ is mostly used as prefix, while ‘i’ is occasionally used as prefix in their formation
(iii) their tone patterns are exclusively LLH for male and female.
(iv) they are of two verbs combinations - the first verb with low tone while the second verb contains high tone.

Discussion: Etymology of Llh Tone Pattern of Orúkọ Ábísọ

In contrast to the above data by this study, one can view that there is a close association of the above data with these data below.

LLH
Ìdòwú (a male or female child born after the twins)
Álàbá (a male or female child born after Ìdòwú)
Ìdògbẹ̀ (a male or female child born after Álàbá)

It is observed from this work that, these names are a separate category of orúkọ àmùtòrunwá; because their names come into being in connection with their birth circumstances. Looking at the structures of these names with the earlier sets listed above, one can equally say that:

(i) they are tri-syllabic in structure
(ii) ‘à’ and ‘i’ are used as their prefixes
(iii) their tone patterns are exclusively LLH for male and female.
(iv) they are of two verbs combinations. The first verb with the low tone while the second verb contains a high tone.

In the Yorùbá tradition, oríkì àbisọ is supposed not to be given on the eighth day (as it is presently canvassed in this work), because, the signs or circumstances of birth have culturally established the oríkì. Mere formalisation is only required or observed on the eighth day in regards to orúkọ àmùtòrunwá in which I have recategorised oríkì àbisọ in this work because of their affiliation with the LLH tone pattern of the three children born after the twins.

Almost all the scholars are of the opinion that the tradition in regards to the cultural enforcement of the oríkì àbisọ with LLH tone pattern is universal Adéoyè (1982 and 85) and Ógünbówálé (1979). According to Òládélé, Mustapha, Aworíndé, Oyèríndé and Òládápọ (1986, p. 155):

\[
\text{Eni tí a bí lé àwọn Òbeji, ibáa ŋe òkùnrin tóbí obinrin, ni a ò pe orúkọ àmùtòrunwá ṭẹ ní ÏDOWÚ, eni tí iyá wọn bí télé Ìdòwú ní ÁLABÁ, eni tí ọ télé Álàbá ní ÏDÒGBẸ́.}
\]

A child born after the twins either a male or
a female, is referred to by celestial name as
*Ìdòwù*. A child born after *Ìdòwù* is *Àlàbá*.
The child that follows *Àlàbá* is named *Ìdògbè*.

While there are other religions and behavioural codes with these names, my concern in this work is the influence of their tones on the entire LLH of *órikì àbìso* shared by the male and female children among the Yorùbá. The historical nature of *órikì àbìso* makes it to be the base or basic form of LLH tone pattern of male and female. According to Martins (2007, p. 485) contrastive features between a Language and another or within a Language on the basis of syntactic, morphology, semantic or phonological levels, it is necessary that words in contrast must not be borrowed. In other words, those words of contrast must be local or cultural words. According to Martins, the contrast words must not be alien to the community, by this, one will be able to

…establish a basis for relatedness such as similarities in basic vocabulary and regular sound correspondences not resulting from chance or borrowing. Only then can the comparative method be applied to reconstruct the extinct protolanguage…

Both the first sets of data and the second sets above are Yorùbá local words. We are able to trace the present tone forms on the *órikì àbìso* by the past forms of the same words, since without the past there cannot be the present forms. In other words, the past words or names serve as experimental data to validate the originality of the present status of words or names. In another context, De Saussure (1959, p. 169) says “the vast majority of words are in one way or another, new combinations of phonetic elements torn from older forms.” Our analysis on etymology of a word or combination of words will not be complete without the past historical events. In other words, the veracity of the present forms of words, including the tones on such words is located in the past of the historical development of such words before they are realised in their present forms.

Through the historical development of the present LLH tone forms on *órikì àbìso*, one is able to account for the fixed or constant LLH tones on *órikì àbìso*. These names are as old as Yorùbá history and religion; because, *Ìbeji* (twins) that serves as bedrock for *Ìdòwù, Àlàbá* and *Ìdògbè*-is one of the Yorùbá earliest deities (Adéoyè 1985). Through this historical and genealogical event, we are able to account for the tone status of LLH on *órikì àbìso* in the Yorùbá tradition.

**Summary and Conclusion**

It has been found out from this paper that, all the Yorùbá human *órikì: *órikì Bòròkinní* (praise name for important personalities), *órikì orilè* (praise name for one’s clan), *órikì àbìso* (praise name given to a child on the eighth day) serve as trace elements. In other words, they offer a means of identity of locating an individual from the past or origin. It is discovered from this finding that *órikì àbìso* with LLH tone pattern evolves from *Ìdòwù*: a male or female child after the twins, *Àlàbá*: a male or female child after *Ìdòwù* and *Ìdògbè*: a male or female child after *Àlàbá*. In other words, tone on *órikì àbìso* originates from these names. The origin
of these names equally has religion connections; since Ìbejì that brought about these names and their tones is an important Yorùbá deity.

It is further observed that these names (guided by their tones) are non-gender in nature. This is why there is a strict or exclusive application of the LLH tones for either male or female of oríkì àbísò. Therefore, we are able to establish the LLH tones on Ìdòwú, Álàbá and Ìdògbè as prototones. This form of tones has earlier been realised as the commonest of other forms of oríkì àbísò: LHH and LMH are mostly associated with the female children. By this finding, we are able to establish the origin of orúkọ àbísò as a category of orúkọ ìmúòtòrunwá (names by birth circumstance and signs). It has been discovered in this paper that the potentiality of the origin of LLH tone pattern of on the source of oríkì àbísò with the present-day forms of oríkì àbísò are similar. For instance, both the LLH tone patterns on Ìdòwú, Álàbá and Ìdògbè and the realisation of tones on the present day LLH tone patterns on oríkì àbísò remain unchanged. In other words, they are both of tri-syllabic form, their prefixes of word formation are ‘à’ and ‘í’ and they both comprise two verbs with low tones.
References


Funding Post-Graduate Education and Research in Public Universities of Ghana: Challenges and Prospects

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Abstract

The purpose of the study was to examine the challenges and prospects of funding postgraduate education and research. The study adopted the descriptive survey design involving the use of quantitative and qualitative methods for data collection. The sample was 330. This comprised 310 Master of Philosophy Students, 16 Heads of Department of and 4 Deans of Schools of Graduate Studies. Data was collected through questionnaire and interview schedule. The SPSS software was used to analyze the quantitative data while the interpretative and discourse approach were used to analyze the qualitative data. The study concluded that postgraduate education and research are prerequisites for accelerated national development but the residential system, methods of teaching and cost involved is depriving many eligible undergraduates. The study recommended policy regulation to reduce over reliance on government budgetary allocation as the primary source of funding for higher education. Finally, Government must encourage more private sector fellowships and sponsorships for postgraduate education and research.

Key words: Post-graduate education, funding, research
Introduction

The public tertiary education sector in Ghana is composed of nine universities, ten polytechnic institutions and ten professional institutes. Enrolment in Public tertiary institutions increased from 201,234 in 2011/2012 to 216,236 in 2012/2013 academic year. For the past 5 years enrolment in public tertiary institutions has shown significant increase over time. The increase in enrolment is averaged at 6.5 percent, with the universities and polytechnics accounting for greater proportion of the increase in each academic year (NCTE Budget, 2014).

To promote the development of the vital human resource needed for sustained national growth and development, universities have come to be accepted as indispensable institutions. The development of university education in Ghana took place within the general context of agitation by African colonies for such education after the Second World War (Atuahene, 2007). The Asquith and Elliot committees prepared the ground for university education in Ghana.

The primary objective for establishing university education in the country was to produce the requisite high level human resource to take over from the expatriate staff as the nation prepared for independence. The first of the universities to be established in 1948 was the University of the Gold Coast, now University of Ghana (MacMillan and Kwamina-Poh, 1978). Half a century down the road, the country can boast of nine public universities.

Statement of the Problem

From the moment of political independence, postgraduate education in Ghana has long been recognized as a critical element in the national effort to attain development goals. Postgraduate studies first emerged at the University of Ghana in early 1960s following its recognition as a fully fledged autonomous institution of higher learning. Before that time, the University College of the Gold Coast, which after 1957 became the University College of Ghana and was until 1961 affiliated to the University of London, used to send its brilliant students to pursue postgraduate degrees overseas, mostly in British Universities. The College, whose students obtained their academic degrees from the University of London, did not develop any postgraduate programmes. Today, postgraduate programmes are also found at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, University of Cape Coast and University of Education, Winneba. It can undoubtedly be said, then, that the need for, and relevance of, postgraduate education has been recognized and appreciated in Ghana for several decades now. Postgraduate education is now seen also as the only way by which the ageing and retiring staff of the universities can be replaced.

In recent decades, the development of these postgraduate programmes has followed a somewhat uneven path. Uncertainty has been brought about by instability in public financing of higher education with consequent decline in the resources available for postgraduate facilities, student fellowships, and financial support of thesis/dissertation research as well as for university research generally. As a result, numerous Masters Dissertations and Doctoral
theses have been excessively delayed and some students have been forced to abandon their studies. It is estimated that the governmental discretionary budget on education is over 40 percent. The Tertiary Education share of the recurrent budget is 12% (Effah, 2003). At the same time, the government is not able to meet the entire projected budget that institutions have presented.

There have been studies on funding higher education in Ghana, for instance Manuh, Sulley and Budu (2007), and Atuahene (2007). However, little is known about funding post-graduate education and research in the public universities. The study was undertaken to address the gap. This study sought to examine the challenges and prospects of funding postgraduate education and research in the public universities in Ghana. In order to achieve the above objectives the study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the major constraints in the funding of post-graduate education and research?
2. What are the prospects of postgraduate education and research in Ghana?

**Literature Review**

**Funding Post-graduate Education and Research: Challenges and prospects**

One of the problems facing universities in Ghana is brain drain. This has serious financial and societal cost on the country. Even though this study did not investigate the cost of human capital flight in the country, any critical observer will understand the financial cost of brain drain to the country. In as much as higher education remains tuition free, investing in the education of individuals is a drain to the public coffers and thus attempts must be made to get the returns of such investment. So long as highly trained nurses, doctors and graduates of all disciplines leave the country, development will be stalled. It is estimated that there are more African scientists in the United States than on the continent (Dassin, 2006).

It may be argued that, one major reason preventing Ghanaian scholars and the intelligentsias to be present at home is the lack of attractive incentive structures in the university system. The government should provide an incentive system that will attract highly qualified academicians and intellectuals to the country. Moreover, it is extremely difficult for universities in Ghana to recruit seasoned Ghanaian professors to teach in the universities. Most people would find it difficult for instance to leave their above $45,000.00 salary per annum for mere $18,000.00 in Ghana terms. Nonetheless, there could be other alternatives that would make them contribute in different ways. Trying to create better conditions of service would attract most Ghanaians abroad to come home to support the universities. Alternatively, universities can encourage diaspora participation where Ghanaians abroad are encouraged to participate in the development of their economies through a well-established system.

Akyeampong (2004) suggested the following measures to improve post-graduate training and research;
(1). Government should continue to fund basic research to levels which will enable the universities fulfill better their role as major agent of economic growth.

(2). Governments of developing countries must create the necessary social environment that nurtures scholarship; they should provide a reasonable percentage of their GNP to promote quality higher education and capacity-building.

(3). International organizations and researchers in the developed countries must help break isolation often experienced by researchers working in developing countries, through such methods as creation of centres of excellence, twinning and sandwich post-graduate programmes.

(4). Governments especially from the developing countries are invited to study the opportunities afforded by the new information technology towards establishing “virtual universities”

(5). Higher educational institutions and research institutes outside the higher educational set-up need to collaborate to promote the principles of universality of knowledge.

(6). Higher educational institutions should ensure that the education of the researcher includes training in both the natural and social sciences, nature and society being too subtle to be described from one single viewpoint only.

(7). International organizations including International Council for Sciences (ICSU) and the International Social Sciences Council (ISSC), must prepare guidelines for their members concerning the ethics and responsibility in the conduct of their research.(Akyeampong, 2004:9)

Methodology

Research Design

The study adopted the descriptive survey design involving the use of mixed methods for data collection. Nwana (1992) stated that the descriptive simple survey is an attempt to collect data from members of a population in order to determine current status of that population with respect to more variables. Nwana stresses that the descriptive survey method is used for investigating a variety of educational problems including assessment of attitudes, opinions, demographic information, conditions and procedures and that descriptive data are usually collected through questionnaire, interviews or observation.

Population and Sample

The population for the study comprised graduate students from three public universities in Ghana namely; University of Ghana, Legon, University of Cape Coast and Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology-Kumasi. The population comprised 1,460 students who were pursuing Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) Degree programmes in various academic fields. The various components of the population were as follows; University of Ghana, Legon, 1001, University of Cape Coast, 319 and Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, 140 (Basic Statistics, 2013). These institutions were purposively selected based on their years of existence and the number of postgraduate programmes offered. The sample was 330. According to Sarantakos (1998), a population of 1,500 would require a minimum sample size of 306. This informed the sample size. This
comprised 310 Master of Philosophy students, 16 Heads of Department and 4 Deans of Schools of Graduate Studies. The 310 respondents who formed the core of the sample were chosen through simple random quota sampling. University of Ghana 47%, University of Cape Coast 40%, and Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology 13%. These percentages were based on the size of the study population of each institution. Accordingly, 146 students were sampled from University of Ghana, 124 from University of Cape Coast and 40 from Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology. The students in all departments were selected through simple random using the lottery method. The list of all MPhil and PhD students were obtained from the offices of Deans of Schools of Graduate Studies from the three institutions which served as the sampling frames from which serial numbers were assigned to each name, the serial numbers were cut into equal sizes missed together and put in a hat. A random selection of a serial number determined the student to respond to the questionnaire. All Heads of Departments who were running MPhil and PhD programmes in the three institutions were included in the study. The three Deans of Schools of Graduate Studies were purposively selected to enable the researcher have first-hand information on how the Graduate Schools oversee the postgraduate training in the various departments under their jurisdiction. The Deans were selected because the researcher thought that they were managers of various Scholarships and Research Grants and therefore would be able to provide enough information concerning funding. The renowned researchers were purposively selected due to their rich experience in research and would be able to give the direction for which graduate research should go to make it relevant to the socio economic development of the country.

Data Collection

The instruments used to collect data for the study were questionnaire and interview schedule. Questionnaire was used for students pursuing M.Phil programmes and Heads of Department while interview schedule was used for the Deans of Graduate Schools. Items on the questionnaire included major constraints graduate students face in accessing funding for their postgraduate education and the prospects of their postgraduate degree. It was structured based on a Likert type scale. All the questions were closed-ended. The likert scale was used because it gives room for respondents to express their degree of agreement or otherwise to a statement. The scale is flexible and lends itself to rearrangement of responses for easy interpretation. Nwana (1992) stresses that; descriptive data are usually collected through questionnaire, interviews or observation. The use of questionnaire made it easier for the researcher to analyze the descriptive data using appropriate software for conclusions and generalizations to be drawn.

The other instrument used was interview schedule. This enabled the researcher to conduct interviews with the Deans and Representatives of Deans of Schools of Research and Graduate Studies of the three selected universities. Those interviewed included the Deans and Executive Secretary in charge of Graduate Scholarship and Research Grants and two Renowned Researchers. These interviews were conducted at the offices of the respondents. These people were purposively sampled to be interviewed because they were the managers of postgraduate programmes, Graduate Scholarship and Research Grants in the three universities.
Pilot Testing of Instruments

Pilot testing of research instrument was carried out at the University of Education-Winneba. This institution was selected for the pilot-test because students of this institution have similar characteristics as the three sampled universities for the study. University of Education-Winneba is a public university which also runs MPhil and PhD programmes. During the pilot testing of the instruments, the researcher realized that many respondents did not answer the opened ended questions which sought to solicit respondents’ opinion on the challenges and prospects of graduate education. The reason for the open ended questions was to make the session more objective, however, since almost all the respondents failed to provide appropriate responses, the questions were reframed to statements and provided with alternative responses to be selected from. Cronbach’s Alpha was calculated to ensure reliability of items. The overall Cronbach’s Alpha was .79 which was converted to .8 an indication of satisfactory reliability of the instruments. Internal validity of items was also tested to ensure both validity and reliability of the instruments.

Data Analysis

After completing check on completeness and accuracy of the responses to the questionnaires, the information gathered was computed and converted into figures and symbols that could be conveniently quantified and analyzed using the SPSS software. Qualitative data was analyzed manually based on themes. The qualitative data was collected through an in-depth interview with respondents. In all occasions, the interviewees were very candid with their opinions but did not permit the researcher to record the interviews on tape. Hand written notes were made and statements purported to be made by them were emailed to them for confirmation and correction before citing in the analysis and discussion section of this work. Qualitative data was analyzed manually. The descriptive statistics were used to answer the various research questions. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentages were computed to describe data and other characteristics of respondents.

Results and Discussion

Constraints in funding post-graduate education and research

Question 1: What are the main constraints in funding postgraduate education and research?
Table 1 shows the views of students and Heads of Department.

In answering Research Question 1, the distribution of responses of students and heads of department are provided in Table 1. The percentages of respondents are put in brackets.

Table 1: Constraints in funding postgraduate education and research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constraints in funding</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor funding of postgraduate education by government due to competing needs of other sectors of the economy</td>
<td>127(44.1)</td>
<td>30(10.4)</td>
<td>131(45.5)</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6(37.5)</td>
<td>H.3(18.8)</td>
<td>7(43.8)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Poor internal controls by the universities tend to deprive them of enough funds from their internally generate income  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate students can easily get job after school</td>
<td>175(60.8)</td>
<td>28(9.7)</td>
<td>85(29.5)</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate students attract jobs with attractive remuneration</td>
<td>11(38.8)</td>
<td>3(10.4)</td>
<td>2(12.5)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to the dignity society and the job market attach to postgraduate studies, many Ghanaians are prepared to pay high tuition fees to obtain higher degrees</td>
<td>126(43.8)</td>
<td>65(22.6)</td>
<td>97(33.7)</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some public and private sector organizations offer scholarships to their hardworking employees to pursue postgraduate studies as part of their human resource</td>
<td>8(50.0)</td>
<td>3(18.8)</td>
<td>5(31.5)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lack of information about research grants in the country makes it difficult to assess funding for graduate research  

<table>
<thead>
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<th>D</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poor collaboration between the universities and industries makes it difficult to get funding for postgraduate studies and research</td>
<td>38(13.2)</td>
<td>19(6.6)</td>
<td>231(80.2)</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Research Question 2: What are the prospects of postgraduate education and research in the public universities in Ghana?

In answering Research Question 2, the distributions of students and heads of department responses are provided in table 2. The percentages of the respondents are in the brackets.

Table 2: Responses on prospects of postgraduate education and research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Responses</th>
<th>D No. (%)</th>
<th>N No. (%)</th>
<th>A No. (%)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate students can easily get job after school</td>
<td>175(60.8)</td>
<td>28(9.7)</td>
<td>85(29.5)</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate students attract jobs with attractive remuneration</td>
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<td>65(22.6)</td>
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<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Due to the dignity society and the job market attach to postgraduate studies, many Ghanaians are prepared to pay high tuition fees to obtain higher degrees</td>
<td>8(50.0)</td>
<td>3(18.8)</td>
<td>5(31.5)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some public and private sector organizations offer scholarships to their hardworking employees to pursue postgraduate studies as part of their human resource</td>
<td>46(16)</td>
<td>30(10.4)</td>
<td>212(73.6)</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Five statements were given to respondents to indicate their agreement or otherwise of the prospects of postgraduate education and research in the public universities. The first statement was that “Postgraduate students can easily get job after school” Surprisingly, 175 students (60.8%) disagreed with the statement, 85 student (29.5%) agreed to the statement and 28 students (9.7%) answered neutral. Similarly, 11 heads of department (68.8%) also disagreed with the statement, 2 (12.5%) agreed to the statement and 3 (18.8%) were neutral.

To the statement “Postgraduate students attract jobs with attractive remuneration”, the following responses were given: 126 students 4 (3.8%) disagreed with the statement, 97 students (33.7%) agreed with the statement and 65 students (22.6%) answered neutral. However, the responses to the statement that “due to the dignity society and the job market attach to postgraduate studies, many Ghanaians are prepared to pay higher tuition fees to obtain higher degrees” were very interesting. These were the responses: 160 students (55.6%) agreed with the statement, 81 students (28.1) disagreed and 47 students (16.3%) were neutral. Five heads of department (31.5%) agreed to the statement, another 5 (31.5%) also disagreed and 6 (37.5%) were neutral. In response to the statement that “Some public and private sector organizations offer scholarships to their hardworking employees to pursue postgraduate studies as part of their human resource development policy” the following responses were given: 46 students (16%) disagreed with the statement, 212 (73.6%) agreed with the statement, 30 students (10.4%) were neutral. All the heads of department agreed to the statement.

To the statement that “Development in ICT provides opportunity for workers to enroll in postgraduate studies without having to lose their jobs” analysis of students’ responses to the above statement revealed that 41 students (14.2%) disagreed with the statement, 173 students (60.1%) agreed and 74 students 25.7 were neutral. Responses on the same statement by heads of department were as follows: 2 (12.5%) disagreed, 12 (75%) agreed and 2 (12.5%) were neutral. How do the above findings relate to the qualitative data? In answering the question of what are the prospects for postgraduate education in the country? The Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Ghana said “Postgraduate programmes of my school are attracting high patronage especially the weekend and sandwich programmes, this is because nowadays people do not want to sacrifice their jobs to attain masters degrees”. Another interviewee said that “after attaining your basic needs of a nice car and decent housing, it is not money that matters but titles, I went to do my PhD not because of money but the respect attached to the title Dr. and Prof”. This confirms the qualitative finding that many students pursue postgraduate studies not for only monetary gains but to satisfy their self-actualization needs as opined by the Maslow theory of motivation.
To cope with government funding reductions in Canada, Grier (1995), during his tenure as a President of Canadian University, commented on the need to launch a major private funding campaign. He stressed that corporate giving has up to now been exclusively devoted to capital items such as buildings, scholarships, professorships and equipment. There is the need to redirect the resources to annual operating expenses including students’ research.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics, (2004), had indicated “that knowledge is fast becoming a key factor determining the strength and prosperity of nations and that research has become a key source of knowledge and new ideas is central to success in the new ‘knowledge economy.’ Those nations with strong research systems will be well placed to prosper both economically and socially”. The need for Ghana to establish a national research commission to solicit funding and coordinate all research activities both in the public universities and research institutions cannot be over emphasized.

Atuahene (2007) had indicated that funding tertiary education all over the world is a crucial challenge for governments, policy makers and university administrators. University administrators in developing countries like Ghana must follow the footsteps of most advanced countries where there has been an upsurge in the demand for policy restructuring to reduce the over-reliance on the federal and central governments to financing higher education.

The current economic condition of Ghana does not support Moumouni (1991) assertion that it is possible to provide free, compulsory education for all at all levels, “that it is necessary to set aside a large portion of the national budget for education in order to provide for constant growth in educational facilities and for mass education” (p.142).

Conclusion
The study revealed that
1. There is lack of information about Fellowships, Scholarships and Research Grants available to postgraduate studies and research in the public universities
2. Postgraduate education continues to attract high patronage despite the high cost due to the private and social benefits benefactors derived from it.
3. The universities can increase accessibility to postgraduate education through the Open University system.

Recommendations
In the light of the findings, the following recommendations were made:

The public universities should champion policy regulation to reduce over reliance on government budgetary allocation as the primary source of funding for higher education. Additionally, the government must encourage more private sector fellowships and sponsorships for postgraduate education and research. This can be done through special tax incentives. Also, the public universities should establish strong collaboration with the private sector to determine national research agenda.
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A Critical Perspective on the Image of the Environment in Tanure Ojaide’s
*The Tales of The Harmattan*

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Abstract

A lot of controversy has arisen concerning the handling of environment by African writers. While the debate continues on what paradigm is acceptable to African writers and critics of so-called environment, land or nature writings, and whether or not to adopt western originated ecocriticism as a model for African environment conscious literature, since such literature is accused of being too anthropocentric by Eurocentric critics, this essay aims to analyze the image of environment so as to determine the African understanding of environment and demonstrate the appropriateness of the treatment of environment in African literature using selected poems of a renowned Nigerian eco-poet Tanure Ojaide. The essay investigates Ojaide’s representation of the African environment as Mother, Deity and Friend. The essay will take an Afrocentric approach to its analysis and conclusion. It will adopt and apply the aspects of ecocriticism that is suitable to the African perception of environment however, discarding the elements of the theory that may not sit well with African literature. This paper perceives “environment” to mean nature, natural environment, non-human environment or land.

Keywords: Ecocriticism, Afrocentric, Eurocentric, Anthropocentric, Environment
Introduction

There has been no better time for studies on environment as the 21st century froth with myriads of environmental catastrophes that continue to threaten the existence of every life form on Earth. Research shows that global climate change threatens far more reaching catastrophic consequences than has already been witnessed. For Africans, whose subsistence is steeped in the environment, the devastation of environment is a fierce blow. Granted that the African climate is fairly stable compared to some western countries that witness hurricanes, floods, wild fires, tornadoes, and other disasters (on account of climate change), yet, one cannot deny that the wrath of wounded mother earth has befallen African as well, with some parts of Africa suffering life-threatening drought, crop failure and forced migration. In Nigeria however, the focus of environmental discourse has for a long time on the Niger Delta. Many writers and critics have dedicated their cause to being the voice of the region. Among them are: Tanure Ojaide, J.P. Clerck-Bekederemo, Onookome Okome, Kenule Saro-Wiwa, Ogaga Ifowodo, Kaine Agary, Gabriel Okara, Odia Ofeimum, Ebi Yeibo, Joe Ushie, and Chinyere Nwahunanya.

The Niger Delta has been bruised and battered to say the least. While this essay recognizes the many factors and dimensions of the tragedy of the region, the paper will focus on the representation of the crude-oil-devastated Niger Delta environment. The region suffers the devastating impact of environmental degradation. Tanure Ojaide, a militant poet, well known for his devotion to the Niger Delta; his home. He evokes in his writings the sufferings of the Niger Delta land, culture, religion, tradition, and people. The process of crude-oil drilling in a coastal region like the Niger Delta has brought about terrible and perhaps irreversible consequences for the Niger Delta environment. Some of the degradations include deforestation, contamination of farm land and water by crude oil, and gas flaring. In his paper “Jungle and Oil Green: Currents of Environmental Discourse in Four Upland Niger Delta Narratives” Chris Onyema describes the Niger Delta predicament:

The experiences the oil producing communities undergo in the hands of the oil exploring companies, the conniving Nigerian government and their local leaders are so awful that the blessings of oil turn into curses. Their rivers are polluted; their farms are destroyed, just as their lands are taken by force without (adequate) compensation (204).

Like Onyema, many writers and critics share the opinion that the Niger Delta is a blighted land that has witnessed long years of injustice, oppression and neglect. Chinyere Nwahunanya stresses that “In the fifty or so odd years of oil prospecting and exploration in the Niger Delta, the human population and the flora and fauna indigenous to the region have been the direct recipients and victims of the negative consequences of oil extraction (From Boom...37). Consequently, this paper “A Critical Perspective on The Image of Environment in Tanure Ojaide’s The Tale of the Harmattan” seeks to examine the various representations of environment in the collection of poems entitled The Tale of the Harmattan, to establish the validity of Africa’s oneness with her environment as demonstrated in African literature.
Ecocriticism

The western origin of Ecocriticism is undisputable. However, what is still experiencing a flux of debate is whether or not the theory can serve the needs of African literature. An entry in *The Nineteen-Century Literature* states that:

Ecocriticism as an academic discipline began in earnest in the 19190s, although its roots go back to the late 1970s grew through the 1980s, and by the early 1990s ecocriticism had emerged as a recognizable discipline within literature departments of American universities (*The Nineteen-Century Literature*).

The term ecocriticism was coined by William Rueckert who first used it in his essay “Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism” (*The Ecocriticism Reader*…xi). Cheryll Glotfelty and Harold From (western-oriented critics) define ecocriticism as “…the study of the relationship between literature and the physical environment. Thomas Inyabri states that the term “…attempts to assess the relationship between literature and the environment, and how creative writers have in turn further factorized the image of the environment in their creativity”(63). Chris Onyema defines ecocriticism as “…a critical perspective (that) brings environmental considerations to bear within diverse literary contexts…”(*From Boom*…207). From the above definitions, one can glean that ecocriticism is an environment or nature conscious theory that midwifes the interpretation of (African) literature.

Furthermore, the main thrust of ecocriticism is its attack on “ego-centrisim” or “anthropocentricism” (in literature) and its advocacy for eco-centricism or the decentering man by, “…giving nature back its subjectivity” (Caminero-Santangelo 699). Anthropocentricism in literature refers to the act of focusing literary themes, subject matter, and characterization on exclusively human concerns, while nature or the non-human environment is ignored. In other words, ecocriticism assumes that literature has been too humanistic in its approach; it elbows out nature by representing it as inert, exploited, dominated and as that which is acted upon. With respect to this perceived misrepresentation, Glen Love states that “…literary studies have remained indifferent to the environmental crisis in part because our discipline’s limited humanistic vision has led to a narrowly anthropocentric view of what is consequential in life” (Glotfelty and Fromm xxx). Michael Benneth and David Teague contributing to the discourse, proposes the appropriated direction for ecrocritical discourse. They recommend that ecocriticism “…explore urban, social-justice, and minority concerns from an ecological conscious point of view that avoids being exclusively anthropocentric” (Love 29). Hence, the two scholars advocate for nature to be the lens through which human issues may be deliberated upon.

Another unique quality of the theory is the interconnectedness of all things. Glotfelty and Fromm note that “… human culture is connected to the physical world, affecting it and being affected by it. Ecocriticism takes interest in the interconnections between nature and culture” (xix). This places nature as an integral part of humanity and man as a crucial part of nature, both having the power to make or mar each other. The relationship between man and nature is a sentiment shared also by African writers and critics of literature. Of all the criteria
of judging nature-conscious literature under the framework of ecocriticism, the interdependency of human and non-human nature appears to be the best converging point of both Afrocentric and Eurocentric points of views. It is at this juncture that African literature comes in, and can be constructively analyzed.

African Literature and the Environment

Before the emergence of the Anglo-American theory which enjoyed rapid and global environmentalist literary growth in the 1990s (Slaymaker 690), African literature had taken nature seriously. For instance one cannot read Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart* without exploring the role of the natural environment in the social, judicial, religious and economic system of Umuofia. Achebe presents the evil forest of Umuofia as possessing a mystified and a powerful spiritual force, which the people reckon with. Others include Amos Tutuola’s *The Palm Wine Drinkard*, Nugigi wa Thiong’o’s *The River Between*, Ben Okri’s *The Famished Road*, Rene Maran’s *Batouala* and many more across all genres.

The term environment has taken on a lot of meaning in literature both African and western. In some it is regarded as everything non-human and for some, it includes both human and non-human elements. In African literature, both oral and written, the term land denotes both human and non-human elements of nature. Joseph Ushie “Land, Language and African Literature in A Climate of Decay” states:

“Land”, to the African, is an all-encompassing word to many an African, and it is the word of his/her emotion, and it immediately touches his/her soul and is closer and dearer to his/her heart and emotions…it includes the soil on which he grows his food, on which his shelter rests, into which his ancestors have been buried and into which he would be buried….Land also encompasses stream from which he fetches his potable water and the food therein and the water from which the domestic and wild life in the environment drink. Land also encases, to the African, the trees and the grass with all their endless uses including medicinal value of the vegetation. And of course, to the African, land also includes the fauna and even the atmosphere up to the clouds….Land has a deep religious significance to the African when we think of it as the link between him/her and his departed ancestors… (43).

The intricate relationship between the African and land make the two entities inseparable in African cosmology and literature. The ambiguity presented by “land” is not merely a matter of linguistic reference; it is rather due to the non-distinction between the man and nature in the African cosmology. Land stands for people and people for land. To the Eurocentric reader, it may appear that Ushie’s definition of land is too anthropocentric, or that it excessively demonstrates, environment’s usefulness to man. It is however necessary to establish that the way Europeans experience environment or nature is different from the way Africans experience nature (land). William Slaymaker in his “Ecoing The Other(s): The Call of Global Green And Black African Responses” observes that “…black African experiences of nature, it is often argued are different…(684). This paper agrees with Slaymaker’s position that environment is more intricately woven into the life and cosmology of the African such that there cannot be a clean cut between the two promulgated by some western critics like Jhan Hochman who views nature as some kind of aesthetically pleasing phenomenon.
unconnected to human life and can only be afforded by the rich (Slaymaker 684). Another instance of man-nature connectedness is seen in the cosmological system of the Igbo ethnic group of Nigeria. The Igbo is one of the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria, and the Igbo traditional belief system is shared by many African cultures. Afigbo, Adiele; a professor of history explains in his well researched Ropes of Sand the deification and veneration of environment in Igbo cosmology. He state that the Igbo evolved:

...a Cosmological system in which the Earth (Ala or Ani), now deified, occupied the Central place as the ordainer and guardian of morality, the source of law and custom...(the) worship of Ala or Ani (is) presided by Eze Nri,...(hence) Ani or Ala ... now became one of the most vital functions of the Eze Nri to preside over its worship. Hence the domination of the Igbo world by the Earth Goddess (9).

The African’s relationship with the environment goes far beyond the relationship between an art collector and an art piece, is not a cosmetic relationship, hence for the Afrocentric writer or critic, studies on African environment must necessarily implicate human consciousness, as well as nature consciousness. Hence, the anti-anthropocentricism or “decentering” of man which the western originated ecocritism promotes does not accord with African literature. In a bid to forge a path for African literature, Donatus Nwoga a renowned African literary critic in his “Obscurity and Commitment in Modern African Poetry” recommends that African literature of environment should engage and commit to the circumstances of the African (38,41).

The African Understanding of Environment

African cultural practices indicate a strong bond between man and nature; this is evident in culture, traditions, written and oral literature. In the traditional Igbo society for instance, the culture forbids one to climb or pluck an Udara tree, one is expected to pick the fruits that fall off the tree. It is believed that plucking Udara is like aborting a fetus. It is also regarded as a taboo to fell a fruiting tree no matter the consequences. In the Igbo cosmology, the truncation of life, be it vegetative or animal life, is believed to bring serious consequences on both the offender and the community. Afigbo asserts that “…in Igbo thought every individual thing, including stone, has its Chi” or spirit-force, therefore, it is believed to have life which should be respected (127). The respect for vegetative life is evident in the treatment of yam in Igbo culture. Afigbo states that “the yam (is) the king of Igbo crops. Its spirit-force (Njoku or Ihiejoku), (is) powerful…it forbade people fighting or defecating in a yam farm… (127). Elsewhere in Obudu, Bekwara and Obanliku Local Government Areas of Cross River State, Nigeria, a similar culture is practiced. Joseph Usie explains that in Obanliku, “…they forbid disputes over ownership of fruit trees being settled in the vicinity of the tree for the reason that the tree would cease bearing (45). Afigbo further explains the importance of environment among Africans. He states that “It was the role which agriculture played in the life of the pre-colonial (Africa)...that determined the great importance which they attached to land as well as the key place which land its spirit-force…occupied in their lives” (126).

Taking the African belief system into account, it is clear that non-westernized Africa is perpetually conscious of the non-human environment; it relates with it, depends on it, protects
it and preserves it. This explains the human consciousness that is always present in afrocentric perception of environment. “Environment” which merely denotes non-human nature in western oriented analysis, is in fact, all-inclusive in African literature. It accounts for everything living and non-living, visible and invisible, human and non-human.

The environment in African literature is animated. The African understanding of nature or environment is that both human and non-human nature are alive, nature is not that which is distant, alien to, or removed from man, and neither is it that which exists merely to be acted upon. The Igbo cosmology incorporates nature, such that the Eze ji institution is a thing of prestige. Afigbo states that “…the institution of the Eze ji (yam King) title among the Igbo (is) a prestigious title open to successful, freeborn farmers (127). In supports of this perception of environment, Ushie states that “Non-Westernized Africans, generally believe that non-human nature has feelings (45). In the African worldview, and in its literature, human abilities are projected unto nature; they include the ability to feel, to sense, to speak, to laugh, to weep, to see, to smell, to bleed and to die. This perception of nature’s ability to share in human sensibilities lies at the heart of the African understanding of Nature. Nature is considered to be in a single harmony with man, a relationship that is constantly reinforced for the benefit of man and nature.

**Environment as Mother**

Land is the major source of human sustenance both in Africa and elsewhere. The importance of Environment as the sustainer of the African cannot be overemphasized. Afigbo explains:

The land fed human beings with food just as woman feeds her children, it came to be conceived as a woman, mother. And because of the way it transformed crops when sown, god-like powers came to be attributed to it, leading to the deification of Ala (45).

In an agrarian society like the Niger Delta region of Nigeria, the natural environment is always included in the daily existence of the people where it plays the role of a sustainer, a mother. Many critics believe so too. For instance, Donald Herdeck, despite his western origin, recognizes, in his Introduction to Rene Maran’s Batouala that “…animals and the world of nature bulked extremely large in Africa’s agrarian societies” (Batouala 2). Just as the globally established roles of a mother, land serves as a source of food, drink, shelter, clothing and medicine, without which the African cannot survive. The Niger Delta community like many other African communes is an agricultural society whose local economy is largely dependent on the proceeds of agriculture. The rivers and streams that surround the community make for perfect fishing and farming activities, which in turn, boost the economic stability of the region.

Ojaide’s “Market day” is reminiscent about the a time now past, when there was an abundance of food in the Niger Delta, and how the region was sustained by its own home-grown products prior to the devastation of the environment by oil activities in the region.

In this market I can no longer get my needs, the same market that filled my forebears.
Where is the home-grown bean dish that sat living, dead, and tortoise to consort with greed?

Where is the palm oil red in its aroma that led spirits by the nose to swim in the bottle?

Where is the outlay of fabrics from home cotton That costumed the chameleon chieftain of fashion?

In the stanzas above, the persona speaks about the dearth of agriculture and the impoverishment of the people as a result of the loss of the environment. The land now famished and destroyed can no longer sustain the people. The monologue gives a sense of loss and longing for that which existed before. Ojaide uses a series of rhetorical questions to draw attention to the desperation of the situation, which creates a disharmony between human and non-human environment. Hence, in the absence of mother, the family is plunged into starvation and desperation.

snails men shunned as women’s food till they tasted The delicacy and always asked for them to round up;

porcupine meat that bristles covered till cooked For the salivating mouth to devour in bangla soup!

fresh fish that with lemon leaves for dinner cut short Children’s play outside before elders consumed all,

yams and beans that knocked out every adult and laid them flat to daydream in a world that is gone;

cherries and mangoes earned children their first coins; left them constipated from leftovers of their secret feast…(The Tale…25,26).

Mouth-watering cuisine of the region, many of which are seldom seen nowadays are described in the poem: “snails”, “porcupine”, “fresh fish”, “lemon leaves”, “yams”, “beans”, “cherries”, “mangoes” are all members of the non-human environment, both animal and vegetative life. The African depends squarely on land for his/her day to day sustenance. The streams and rivers and forests serve as sources of food and water for the human population. It is the contamination of this non-human environment on which man depends, that shifts the hitherto harmonious balance between man and environment, resulting in hunger, disease, poverty, and criminal and violent activities in the region.

“The Goat Song” takes the form of a dirge where in Ojaide captures environment as a shelter that has been deserted.

The wind laments, its fans are burning out;
the trees have been shaved of their coiffures.

The big family is dying out-irokos fall; game
leave in droves, and humans flee to hunger. (The Tale…10)
The environment is a shelter for not just man alone, but plants and animals as well. It is home to all. Hence, any threat to the environment invariably makes it uninhabitable. In the part III of “The Goat Song” the poet condemns the gas flaring done by Petroleum Industries in the region. The poet personifies the environment, for instance, “the wind laments” wind is ascribed the human attribute of lamentation, an expression of immense grief. Gas flaring produces a lot of heat which burns leaves that serve as wind breakers and also as a source of medicine. In the expression “The big family is dying out…” the man and nature are captured in the image of a family whose shelter is under attack, and whose lives are threatened. Earth, land, environment, like a mother, shelters this family. The Earth bonds man and nature like a mother bonds members of her family together with succor, nurture and shelter. Hence one may conclude that Ojaide portrays environment in the image of mother, who sits at the helm of affairs, and in whose absence both man and environment are plunged into hunger, death, disease, homelessness and other forms of suffering.

Environment as Deity

As an element of religion, environment is very significant to the African. Despite the encroachment of Christianity in to West Africa, certain communities have still retained the worship of ancestral gods and goddesses. The African traditional religion is practiced alongside Christianity in Nigeria and many other parts of Africa. Afigbo states that “In spite of the much advertised success of Christianity…the beliefs and practices (of African Traditional Religion) remain part of… (African) life”(181). Gods and goddesses like Egbesu and Olokun are worshiped by devotees of the African traditional Religion in the Niger Delta. Among the Igbo people, Ala, the Earth goddess is worship and a system of rules are put in place to venerate the Earth. The African traditional religion is closely tied to the environment as its elements of worship are got from the environment. The environment is crucial to the religion: the streams, rivers, forests, groves are ascribed a religious significance by the devotees. Members of the community both hold certain environments sacred; hence nature takes on a meaning on another level, on a spiritual level, for the Niger Delta as portrayed in “kaiama Bridge”

I see them retreat. flotillas of river spirits
Who for centuries, brought their spectacle to town
In yearly masquerades-they retreat seaward.
What becomes of us without their presence?

I see the oil-blackened currents suffocating
Mami wata and her retinue of water maids;
They leave fast the inhospitable dominion…(The Tale…33)

In addition to being a source of sustenance, the environment is also of immense religious importance to the African. In a lecture delivered by Enaeme Eruvbetine an Urhobo-born Professor of English, he states that reverine dwellers like the people of the Niger Delta tend to associate some kinds of environment with supernatural forces like deities, gods and
goddesses (Concepts of Criticism.) Therefore, certain environments are considered to be sacred. So also does the Niger Delta locate their god and deities in creeks and rivers around them. The landscape and waterscape take on a supernatural meaning for the community. In “Kaiama Bridge” the “flotillas of river spirits” refers to the deity popularly known as Mami Wata, a goddess of the sea known (myth and legend) for her beauty and wealth; which she bestows on her devotees. “Lessons From Grandma’s Night-time School” captures the benevolence of Mami Wata to fishermen. The persona relates his devotion to the sea goddess in expectation of her benevolence. He states that:

The Omoja was too shallow to follow to the sea;  
rafts barely made it deep, I took to boats  
And so fished the bigger stream Singing to Mami Wata  
To bring me boatlands of good fortune from far depths (The Tale… 20)

It is believed that Mamiwata lives in the water and in the event of a desecration of her abode, she withdraws certain privileges from the community. Furthermore in “Womb-wrapped” Mami Wata is referred to as “the sea’s spirit”

The boat is bringing from the sea a beauty  
With her mirrors and powder; the minstrel awestruck.  
The storm picked the sea’s spirit to litter her-  
In her bed of coral, Mami Wata smiles to herself (The Tale…15).

Ojaide’s animation of the sea, a non-living element of the environment goes to show the Africentric view of non-human environment as being alive and active in the affairs of the African. Mami Wata’s ability to wield power over the community signifies the power of the non-human environment over the affairs of the African. The sea and rivers and streams can sustain as well as destroy just as a deity is believed to possess the power to bestow and to destroy. Deified, the environment is alive in the African perception. And just as divine beings (in other religions) are believed to interact and influence the life of man, so also does the highly ritualized African environment is associated with supernatural powers.

**Environment as Friend**

As mentioned earlier in this paper, the relationship between the African and nature goes beyond the kind of relationship that exists between a lover of art and a work of art. However it does not mean that the African does not admire or enjoy nature’s beauty. Since nature is perpetually in his/her consciousness and contact, the African’s admiration of nature is more from a sense of commitment or involvement rather than apartness (from nature) as promulgate by western views. The African’s involvement with environment could be likened to the fondness between friends.
In “Priests, Converts, and Gods” Ojaide creates a beautiful picture of nature not as a still object, but as a performer.

It was futile explaining to them the divine splendor
When the archer sun shoots gold-tinted arrows between leaves;

It was a shame that those who loved colours didn’t see
The spectacle of rain, wearing reeds, perform a stilt dance (The Tale…12)

In examining the stanzas above, one experiences nature or non-human environment as something alive. The sun is described as an “archer” and the rays of the sun are “gold-tinted arrows (moving) between leaves”. The poet creates the image of a conquering warrior in his description of the rays of the sun passing through leaves and the image of a skillful dance in his description of droplets of rain. This image brings together all the senses; its spectacle is not just an image but an experience shared by the African. In both cases, the one can identify him/her as one with nature, and as such, any harm the environment suffers reverberates on man. Thus, the poet laments the destruction of the landscape in “Without the trees” and reveals an intimate relationship of the African and nature. The alienation which the poem evokes is almost like the loneliness of losing one’s spouse or a bosom friend.

Without the trees
the wind no longer gestures playfully to me

without the evergreens
nobody speaks the lingua franca to me

without the creeks
the rains no longer sate my voracious appetite

without the currents
the flying fish no longer makes sorties into my soup pot

without the sun (now fumigated)
the sunbird no longer plays patiently with me

without the shrubs (already devoured by fire)
the dew no longer delivers to me the message of dawn

without the farms
the butterflies no longer indulge me with colourful pageantry…(The Tale…38)

In “Without the Trees” Ojaide represents the environment as companion of the African, more like a familial relationship is expressed in every stanza of the poem. “the trees”, “the evergreens”, “the sun”, “the creeks”, “the shrubs”, “the farms”, “the currents” and man interact as members of a family would. Held together by mutual dependency, need for interaction and reciprocal concern. Consequently, the threat a threat to the environment as has been established in the Niger Delta, is also shared by the people of the Niger Delta. The land is people and people, land. Ojaide demonstrates the African’s need for, and dependency on
environment which automatically implies a reverence for the environment and a sense of duty towards the preservation of the environment.

The poem which takes the form of a dirge is in fact, mourning for a loss so great that it evokes a strong feeling of desolation and emptiness. It evokes a sense of void, an absence so strong and almost palpable. It calls to mind the sort of emptiness that can be brought about only by a loss of a beloved and cherished companion.

Ojaide uses the devastated condition of the Niger Delta to reveal the lost friendship between man and environment.

The repetition of “without” in all the stanzas “Without the trees…/without the evergreens…/without the sun…” shows the despondency of the African’s existence without the environment, to be out-of-touch for the African creates a void and an insatiable thirst, a longing for his/her land. It is within this the desperation created by the absence of nature in the poem, the one can better understand the meaning of nature in African cosmology and its literature. Hence, what anthropocentrism means for western literature does not apply in African literature. In relation to the environment, the African does not stand, as in the words of Val Plumwood “…apart from an alien other…” this alien being the environment.

An anthropocentric environmental perspective is human-centered, and sees the natural environment as a “storehouse of resources” at the disposal of, in the service of, or as an instrument of humans and human designs (Eckersley 26). This instrumentalism is the result of a “selfhood conceived as that of the individual who stands apart from an alien other and denies his own relation to and dependency on this other” (Plumwood Feminism 142). This is how Slatter sees himself vis-à-vis the natural environment (www.isle.Oxfordjournals.org).

In many coastal communities like the Niger Delta, the streams make an exciting source of relaxation for members of the community both young and old. People go there to swim during hot days or just as a break from hard work. In the poem “Swimming in waterhole” the persona remembers his childhood adventures in rivers and lakes.

We grew up to love rivers and lakes, open refuge that saved children from the hard labour at home-

every parent knew where first to look for a missing child before ever alerting the town-crier to beat the drum.

Many of us did not concentrate at school in anticipation of going straight to swim until dusk when eyes turn red (The Tale…36)

Long before the advent of computers, Television sets, mobile phones and other electronic gadgets, swimming pools, Cinemas, amusement parks and the likes, the African traditional society has always had its sources of entertainment, all of which is derived from the African environment. In many villages, the streams and rivers serve as a source of water and relaxation. The coolness and serenity of the stream cannot be compared to the artificial
swimming pool. However, the pollution of these streams and rivers in the Niger Delta has brought about the dearth of this mode of relaxation.

Conclusion

In summary, the Afrocentric experience of environment and the Afrocentric depiction of environment in African literature show man’s need of environment, man’s relationship with environment, man’s dependency on environment and man’s involvement as part of the environment. If environment as perceived by the African is taken to be distinct from the African’s existence, then, the concern and the need to preserve and protect it may be given little or no consideration, or may not be taken as seriously as it is in eco-literature and other environmentally conscious writings. Taking into account the images of environment discoursed in this paper, one may conclude that as far as African literature is taken into consideration, Anthropocentricism is implied in Afrocentric eco-protest literature which recognizes that speaking for nature, personifying nature, making it alive, does not mean (for African literature) an appropriation of nature’s voce, rather, it is a medium of experiencing and expressing nature as the African’s neighbor. Nature is not a beautifully endowed visitor; it is rather an indispensable member of the African family. More than the West, Africa has an even greater need to protect its environment, because environment is for him/her a nurturing mother worthy of respect, a deity to be revered and a bosom friend and companion whose company is always a jolly delight.
References


Museums as living theatre in Nigeria

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Abstract

There is a strong need to evolve programmes to address the general misconception about museum as a repository of dead cultural materials to establish that it is not a fossil of a dead civilization. The theatre has been used and still has great potential to, not only make museum a living arts relevant to modern reality, but also to evolve from it a functional/applied theatre form.

This paper explores this within the context of modern museum of antiquity viz-a-viz total theatre nature of African festival, which is itself a complete living museum experience. It addresses these using the some Museums and traditional festivals in Nigeria. In this ambiance, the museum theatre is defined in view of the traditional as well as the contemporary museum experiences, which are inextricably linked.

The methodology employed is the exploratory approach to serve as basis for further enquiries, materials are collected through interviews, reviews of recordings of events and the observation method while data are analysed qualitatively. We make suggestions for a new creative and participatory experimentation for the future of museum theatre that will enhance museum visits in Nigeria.

Keywords: Museum, Museum Theatre, Theatre and Drama, Traditional African Festivals
1. Introduction

The perception of museum as custodian of arts and cultural objects overshadows its other functions and definitions to the extent that it has lead to estrangement between the museum and the community whose heritage it is supposed to preserve. According to Ashaye (2007; 93), “Political and security situations make tangible cultural heritage fragile and of high risk that must only be preserved and protected to survive”. This becomes the preoccupation of the Museums which rather than communicating with the community, become not a lived experience but maximum security prisons to safeguard the artifacts. People are also distanced from festivals which are supposed to be a living museum experience because of estrangement brought about by over mystification of these festivals thereby alienating the same people the more from the cultural, moral, ethical, and aesthetic values embedded in them. It is important to note that whereas museum is not primarily religious in traditional African setting, most of the surviving artifacts are given esoteric/religious connotations.

Although some of these artifacts evolved from religious rituals, they together with other sacred valuable which are non-religious were preserved in sacred places such as Palaces and Museums, as a result of which access to the collections were restricted. There are however other myriad of equally important and sacred artifacts and objects that are open to the generality of the people. Especially so are some intangible components of cultural heritage in the form of traditional festivals that are linked to the sacred artifacts and cultural institutions, making them a living form in the community.

The concept of festivals being total arts and total theatre in Nigeria gives vent to a symbiosis between museum pieces, locale and the various arts, crafts, and aesthetics of the ensuing community. However, the communal nature of the festival does not mean that outsiders were excluded, rather the objects collected by kings who were and are still the custodians of traditional cultural heritage portrayed the king’s power and were used as gifts to show their kingly generosity to visitors and guests. (Areo; 2009, 101).

In the modern context however, museums tend to be preoccupied with just housing the artifacts to preserve indigenous arts and cultural history and also merely showcase traditional festivals primarily to foreign visitors. An attendant danger to this is that festivals and museum pieces survive just as mere relic/fossil of a dead civilization.

According to Soyinka (2008, 5) “when we speak of culture, we are speaking of history, identity and pride of belonging”, and the artifacts are supposed to engender a consciousness of the import of the past in nurturing the present and determining the future. Although Museums in Nigeria have proven to be dumb; the theatre among other things will give it voice. When we observe that African artifacts are beyond mere window dressing as museum pieces, because the tradition that gave them life are still living—although some are vastly diminishing—the problem then becomes how to marry the theatre and artifacts to make it a living experience. Otherwise, in agreement with Chomsky (1972), quoted in Ishola, A (2010,1), “our
perception of the world can, over time wither away so completely leaving us with hazy recognition”. Festival as intangible heritage, which also needs many efforts to safeguard, ironically is the vehicle that can give relevance to the tangible artifacts to make them relevant to life and living.

This paper engages the exploratory approach to serve as basis for further enquiries and research. It employs the theory of objects as semiotics to interrogate the phenomenon of museum theatre in Nigeria. Barthes (1988, 182) postulates that “there is always meaning which overflows the object’s use” and according to Appadurai (1986, 3) “things have no meanings apart from those that human transactions, attributions, and motivations endow them with”. An application of semiotic theory by Tokarev according to Leeds-Hurwitz (1993, 131) stresses that an object lives through the people who use it, he opines that “a material object cannot interest the ethnographer unless he considers its social existence, its relationship to man- to the person who created it and the person who makes use of it”. He finally conjectures that “anyone who wishes to study people and the worlds they create can appropriately turn to objects as one beginning point”. The field of arts and theatre unlike the social scientist however study objects not only as vehicles capable of conveying human meanings, but for their abstract aesthetic characteristics as well, striving at the same time for continuity and authenticity in the interpretation of museum objects. Objects however have also been considered as bricolage, a study of how meanings change over time, According to Joselit (1991, 49) in (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1991,144): ..”There is no need for mother’s pot in my kitchen,” explained one writer; “…has become an emblem of the past, an ornament in my living room”. Museum objects without mediation of the theatre can become just another object, a bricolage; an ornament just to decorate the standard museum.

2. Definitions

It is expedient to put some key terms in perspective, such terms are; museum, theatre and drama, traditional festivals, and museum theatre.

2.1 Museum

Museum is a complex and dynamic phenomenon, as a result according to Mclean, (2003;1) the debates on the principles continue unabated and arose because of the dynamism of museum institution. IMTAL conceives museums as, “any cultural or informal learning institution, including but not limited to art, science, children, natural history, and history museums, historic sites, zoos and aquariums, public and botanical gardens, arboreta, parks, libraries, and cultural centers.” To Areo (2008;102)”Museums are the treasure houses of human race, they store the memories of the world’s people, their dreams.” and their history. All museums irrespective of their specialisations perform the same basic functions of preservation, documentation and dissemination of culture. Areo thus classifies Museums in Nigeria into seven types, representational of about 36 museums in Nigeria as follows:
Museum types          Location

Arts Museum          - National Gallery of Art, Lagos
History Museum        - Museum of Colonial History, Aba
Ethnography Museum    - National Museum, Benin
Natural History Museum - Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife
Military Museum       - Umahia and Zaria.

This diversity agrees with, Ardouin (1992;29) who advocated that museums as institutions of cultural importance, should be part of the community they serve; they should address problems of health, physical survival, rapid urbanization, poverty, environmental degradation and destruction of natural resources, they should be involved in their community life and communicate effectively with their different publics.

2.2 Theatre and Drama

Theatre can give voice to museum pieces and foster the traditional as well as the new roles of museum in Nigeria. Theatre in the context of this paper refers to the whole gamut of the performing Arts; dance, drama and music primarily because of the total nature of the African Theatre which is also participatory in nature and borne out of its communal origin. Drama refers to the literary play texts fundamentally different from IMTAL’s definition of play as a theatrical play in or by a museum referring specifically to a performance by an actor or actors portraying a character or characters and utilizing a dramatic narrative.

The essence of world theatre in their diverse origins can be said to be a re-enactment that evolved from borrowings from traditional beliefs including homeopathic medicine, hunting and gives credence to the assertion that “process of dramatic development begins in religion and ends in aesthetic” (Traore 1970, Schechner1989). The origin of the Nigerian traditional theatre has been traced to the various traditional religious festivals from across the country having its source in the diverse legend, myth, rituals, praise poems and songs, common place events and stories, dances and music.

2.3 Traditional African Festivals

The term traditional festivals is defined,

“to mean an indigenous cultural institution, a form of art nurtured on the African soil over the centuries and which has, therefore developed distinctive features and whose techniques are sometimes totally different from the borrowed form ….,an integral, dynamic part of the culture of an un-alienated African” (Ogunba: 1978,4)
By this definition, traditional festivals still continue to have relevance in one form or the other. Yoruba festivals like the typical African festivals are holistic in nature while the resultant theatre is total in context. The holistic nature presupposes that the festival is a totality of the visual arts, crafts and the performing arts as well as an embodiment of the philosophy of the people in their communal essence. This holistic perception also rubs off on the art of performance as best reflecting man’s attempt to articulate the essence of his being. Thus the three areas of the arts of performance/theatre; Dance, Drama and Music are seen as one in a symbiotic relation, an integrative existence. Therefore a typical traditional African festival which is communal in nature involves the entire populace in a set of organization that runs through the three phases of theatrical productions; the pre-performance phase, performance phase and the post performance phase.

According to Ogundeji (2003:8) sacred ritual festival, ritualising, deritualising and deritualised performances constitute the componential parts of the traditional festival. In essence African festival comprising of diverse cultural elements such as folktales, myth, legend, oral literature, ritual observance, dance, drama and music, crafts, props and costumes imply a performance which is a collective work of both the artist and the community. Essentially, festivals coordinate visually all the art forms of a community (Ogunba 1978:5), and patterns emerged to display the community’s assets for promoting its essence, reassuring the citizens of their collective capabilities and advertising them for their well-being.

2.4 Museum Theatre

The theatre and Museum are each complex phenomenon that becomes much more complex when they are combined. The resultant museum theatre while exhibiting characteristics of both museum and theatre transcends just a cosmetic combination, and has been identified as a prominent form of the vastly growing field of applied theatre. Applied theatre is an omnibus concept involving diverse forms of theatre that fall outside mainstream theatre performance which take place in “non-traditional settings and or with marginalised communities” (Jackson quoted in Monica Prendergast 2009: 6).

According to Monica Prendergast et al (2009: 154), “Museum theatre like any applied theatre form presents many challenges. One of the primary ones is that of moving a casual museum visitor into either an audience or participatory role”. Other challenges identified are; how much multiple points of view can inform the historical storytelling enacted by performers as well as the use of historical artifacts from the museum. Thirdly is the discipline required to repeat scenarios and monologues multiple times every day and in being an effective improviser?. By this understanding museum theatre most often are played in spaces not usually defined as theatre buildings, with participants who may or may not be skilled in the arts of the theatre, and to audiences with stake in the issue taken up by the performers, or who are members of the community addressed by the performance.

Bridal (2007) stresses the importance of education in his definition of Museum theatre and sees it as an extended field of the professional theatre artist. According to him, Museum theatre begins with content based educational performances, typically shorter than those in
theatre venues and frequently interactive, performed in formal and informal theatre spaces, both within the museum and as outreach, by trained museum theatre professionals for museum audiences of all ages and for school audiences. The above perception brings about a strong possibility of a professional/amateur dichotomy of museum theatre, a situation that can complicate this newly emerging genre of applied theatre.

Catherine Hughe’s definition emphasises the emotional and the educational response thus providing possibilities to use diverse theatrical techniques and styles in museum theatre productions. Aristotelian and Brechtian techniques with their peculiar attributes can be employed depending on the content and message of the museum piece and the evolving drama text. According to Hughes (2007: 27), Museum theatre is defined as “…the use of drama or theatrical techniques within a museum setting or as a part of a museum’s offerings with the goal of provoking an emotive and cognitive response in visitors concerning a museum’s discipline and/or exhibitions”

This perception of Museum theatre focuses on suspension of disbelief, which could likely stand in the way of the educational experience it sets out to enhance in the first instance. For example, a war museum, which must aim at promoting peace, might achieve the opposite if it seeks emotion and wipes up sentiments. Since museums according to Akinade (2005) are designed to show the brighter side of life by recalling the past and its resources, museum theatre is expected to enhance this and foster museum visits. Other views equate museum theatre to experiences that happen only within a museum and as such foreclose any theatre outreach programme employed to encourage visits as being museum theatre. In all these perceptions, two broad definitions of museum theatre have emerged namely; the performance of theatre (i.e. a play) in or by a museum, and also the use of any of a variety of theatrical techniques by museums.

From the foregoing, we evolve a definition of museum theatre as any dramatic, theatrical presentation whose theme is centered on any museum exhibitions, artifacts or piece or an enactment or reenactment of any traditional festival performances. It could be amateur or could make use of professionals; it could precede exhibitions as outreach or be synchronous with museum visits. By this a theatrical presentation within a conventional theatre that focuses on any antiquity with the intention of protecting, preserving and promoting artifacts and any museum piece qualifies as museum theatre, while the corresponding dramatic text qualifies as museum drama. In this context, a stage play by Wale Ogunyemi titled “Poor Little Bird” about the spirit behind an artifact killing a native who colludes with a foreigner to steal the effigy from its shrine is a museum drama. “Edan” a home video by Demola “is about a notorious thief who steals a powerful sacred object from a closely guarded ancestral shrine which threatens evil to the whole village, resulting in an all-out war between the thief and the priest” (IrokoTV- accessed on 23-08-2013), while The Figurine a home movie in Nigeria by Afolayan also centres on the famed Essie stone figures. All these qualify as variants of museum theatre and drama, which can be performed and shown in or outside the museum environment.
In essence, museum theatre is an emerging cultural metaphor through association with museum pieces. According to Gannon (2002:50) A cultural metaphor is any activity, phenomenon or institution with which the member of a given culture emotionally and cognitively identify. It represents a way to obtain new and deep insights into a group’s culture and history. So the theatre among other means help to decode the way of life of a people codified in artifacts in museums. The nature and complexities of the codes could at times lead to diverse interpretations that could be conflicting; nevertheless, museum theatre offers an objective way of understanding the society of the museum pieces.

3. Culture as a Lived Phenomenon in Nigeria

The tendency in Nigeria is often to view culture in terms of the past, practices that are no more in existence, and the forgotten traditions of a community, but when we speak about culture we are speaking of parameters beyond mere language and antiquities, of history, identity, culture and pride of belonging. It is an expression of culture which Soyinka (2008:3) referred to as lived phenomenon, not as a mere abstraction, because even the cultural artifacts existed in their textual context as against the present extra textual context of existence within a standard museum setting.

Soyinka (2008) in a keynote address, “Culture Subversion in the name of name dropping” relate some experiences that reinforce culture as a lived phenomenon, a living museum during which time performances and museum artifacts become mobile and ubiquitous. According to him,

…came the Olori’s performance turn … She was the priestess and custodian of Sango shrine, and she began her incantation, churning out the oriki of Sango. That was when the trouble began…a gust of wind…more violent, with a strength…thunderstorm was unleashed…most unseasonal….as a deluge that it seems as if a dam had burst somewhere….

This writer also experienced similar incident at the same Palace during the investiture of an Are Ona Kakanfo of Yoruba land. A theatrical performance of Sango dances lead to a fierce whirlwind emanating from nowhere in the palace courtyard. This performance within cultural contextual existence of Sango makes the sacred museum pieces of Sango displayed in the palace “museum” relevant as a living museum.

However, a lot of changes occur daily around us that we do not seem to see because phenomena can become so familiar that we really do not see or notice them at all (Isola2010,102) and according to Chomsky in Isola (2010,102) our perception of the world can wither away so completely leaving us with hazy recognition. This situation has to be addressed by museum theatre in educating the people to appreciate the diverse artifacts in conventional museums as well as living museums in the numerous festivals, palaces and other heritage sites.

Museum theatre in Nigeria can be classified into three; formal, informal, and semi-formal, the last two exist within the various cultural festivals in their cultural context of existence and in palaces respectively. It is instructive to note that palaces, which in themselves constitute museums housing prized artifacts and traditional performances, serve dual role as museum theatre stage and museum theatre event. The formal museum usually receives closer attention in Nigeria and going by the performance of conventional museums in Nigeria, one can then conclude that formal museum theatre is non existing or at best in its infancy, but the three classifications are covered under our definition of Museum theatre earlier given. The appraisal therefore focuses on the categories:

4.1 The formal/conventional Museum

National museums in Ilorin and Ile-Ife with general purpose and archeological specialties respectively serve as the case studies of formal museum in this section.

4.1.1 National Museum, Ile-Ife and Museum Theatre

Ife Museum is one of the foremost tourist attractions in Nigeria primarily because of the “rich cultural tradition and heritage, spirituality and centrality of Ile Ife” (Adebayo, 2013, 17), it is regarded as the cradle of world civilization. Its heritage sites include; Olokun grove, Lafogido Shrine, Ooni Ilare grove, Oluorogbo shrine, Yemoo grove, Opa Oranmiyan among others. The Ife museum, established in 1948 was opened to the public in 1954 with collections that had existed in the palace and with the then newly discovered Ife bronzes and terracotta heads.

Ife cultural prominence emerged as a result of visits and works of some early Europeans and researchers/archeologists like Leo Frobenious with his archeological investigation in 1910, which opened up Ife for further excavation (Ogunfolakan, 2013,16). Part of these findings, the Opa Oranmiyan, a unique stone sculpture with iron studs celebrates Oranmiyan, a grandson of Oduduwa and an important character in Yoruba and Benin mythology. He founded two existing dynasties of Oyo and Benin via his sons Ajaka and Eweka respectively and also reigned as an Ooni of Ife. This staff encodes significant historical and cultural messages that could not be revealed through exhibitions alone but need be complemented with museum theatre either within or outside its cultural textual contexts. There are some theatrical presentations as part of celebrations to commemorate the gods represented by this important artifact namely; Olukere-mude and Olojo festivals, for keeping the heritage alive also constitute museum theatre. Even the ritualized aspects of the festival performances assist in forging a continuity of practice among the initiates who constitute the audience as well as performers.

Ile-Ife museum has a standing cultural troupe and a drama group that perform during its cultural programmes and exhibitions. These performances fall into different categories; cultural dances, traditional musical performances, and acrobatics, for entertainment and also
to provide the appropriate cultural mood for any cultural events. Masque troupes and independent traditional performing ensembles also feature during some of its programmes such as the International Museum day and the World Cultural Heritage day celebrations and exhibitions.

Its drama group performed a play titled; “Good Mother”, during a pictorial exhibition to honour and celebrate 50 women in Ife titled, “Women of Substance in Ife Kingdom: from cradle to the present.” This drama, which x-rayed three categories of women viz; the good, the bad, and the ugly, in addition to awards to both dead and living women, further reinforces the desired symbiosis between the people of the immediate environment and the museum. It thus reinforces the assertion that the appropriate approach for museum to be relevant is to be able to link together, the past and present if they are to arrive at socially responsive history, by inference; the theatre has to be deliberately engaged.

Museum visits at Ile-Ife museum is very low over a five year period from 2008-2012 Viz. 3874, 3018, 2982, 2315, and 1339 totalling: 13,528, but other heritage sites and some traditional festivals such as Edi and Olojo festivals recorded reasonably large attendance during the corresponding period.

4.1.2 National Museum, Ilorin and Museum Theatre

Ilorin Museum is a general purpose museum but has low visitor ship partly as a result of what Areo (2009; 103) observes that “location of museums in Nigeria is one of the greatest challenges affecting levels of visitation”. The statistics of attendance over a five year period reveals low attendance as follows; 2008: 4,327; 2009: 6,713; 2010: 5,656; 2011: 6,748; 2012: 6,179; making a total of 29,623 in five years.

Records show that exhibitions and theatre performances in Ilorin museum are primarily in commemoration of the annual international museum days, and the various activities are usually in line with the themes of the world events. In 2006; Fashion Parade and Hairstyle parade were used to mark the theme of “Museum and young People: Heritage of pride”, while in 2011 it was traditional costumes for the theme “Museum and Memories.” A dance theatre titled ‘New World’ depicting the fusion of African dances with the west was staged in 2012 to celebrate the theme “Museum in a changing world: New Challenges and New inspiration” while in 2013, a dance drama, ‘WAZOBIA’ was presented for the theme, “Museum/memory with creativity and Social change”. The theatre pieces in these instances seek to explain the exhibitions, promote national unity, and enhance the cultural atmosphere of the exhibits as well as providing entertainment. These complimentary roles of theatre to enhance museums objectives and visits strongly emphasis the need for innovation in the use of theatre to achieve museum ends believing fervently that theatre can be used to enhance the strengths and address the inherent weakness of museum in the marketplace.
4.1.3 Statistics of attendance/visits in Ilorin and Ife Museums is as follows

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>National Museum, Ilorin</th>
<th>National Museum, Ile-Ife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>4,327</td>
<td>3,874</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>6,713</td>
<td>3,018</td>
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<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>5,656</td>
<td>2,982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>6,748</td>
<td>2,315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>6,179</td>
<td>1,339</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>29,623</td>
<td>13,528</td>
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The above statistics reveals that Ilorin museum enjoys more visits than Ife Museum, a situation that can be attributable to several factors namely; relative differences in population and the fact that there are many more heritage sites and many more community traditional festivals in Ile-Ife which attract more audience than the museum itself. These visits to the various heritage sites including the palace of the Ooni of Ife justify these places as living museum theatre and stage thus stressing the need for the engagement of performances/museum theatre to develop and sustain an audience for all categories of museum.


Our concept of museum theatre thus far transcends the traditional perception of museum and heritage sites and also includes palaces as well as shrines as sacred museum theatre, but its existence in the anthropological context does not make it to be less theatre. It is a known fact that most of the museum artifacts were art works and artifacts exhibited in the palaces; as functional objects, decorations, and or religious pieces which were open to different categories of audience and visitors. They eventually find a home in standard museum where their safety far outweighs other considerations, as a result of which they become locked up making them irrelevant to the society that gives them life. Esoteric connotation given to these artifacts within the extra textual existence of the museum makes them to be feared by the people while they are also estranged from the initiates. In essence palaces are living museums and as such performances in palace setting constitute museum theatre. Functional nature of performances in both situations reminds the people of their being and reinforces the values of their existence. Museum theatre through this experience is established as a rehearsal for living a past with a view to let it influence the future, i.e. rehashing the future as lived in the past through a de-codification of artifacts as cultural props in the future.

The daily traditional musical ensemble performances in palaces and performances in Osun grove (festival) constitute palace and sacred museums theatre respectively, with the river and ogboni temple among others constituting the scenery in the latter context. Both palace and sacred performances include “drumming, dances, including both straight forward performances and magic displays by masquerades” (Soyinka 2008; 14).

5.1 Traditional Festival as Museum Theatre

Wole Soyinka (1982; 241) sees festival as a relatively climatic event in the life of any community. It is bounded by a definite beginning and end… brings about a suspension of
ordinary time, transformation of ordinary space, a formiliser of ordinary behavior, all indications that traditional African festivals will continue to have relevance in modern day context.

Osun Osogbo, Sango, and Egungun festivals are used to illustrate a concept of museum theatre as a living tradition employed in this paper. These festivals are still extant, but while Egungun and Sango have paraphernalia and props that are used to represent them in a conventional museum, Osun does not have anything beyond photographic representations.

5.1.1 Egungun

Although Egungun has a ritual origin, according to Babayemi (1980; 21) “it was developed by the society as an ideology to respond to the society’s ideological needs.” Their classification and characteristics are easily decipherable through their costumes and we have diverse types such as; Warrior Masquerades, Hunters masquerades ‘Egun oloode’ or ‘layewu’, Carrier masquerade ‘Egun eleru’ or ‘Egun oloogun’, Sango’s masquerade ‘Alakoro’, and ‘Egun olore’, the professional egungun entertainers who also dramatise contemporary events in each community. In essence even though the masquerade tradition is an ancestral tradition, each has its own expertise and specialty, coded in their outfits, and the theatre in Nigeria has been traced to this robust tradition. According to Soyinka (2008;11),

masquerades have traditionally served multiple social purposes that range from a commemoration of the dead, the seasons, the highlights of history, not forgetting straightforward entertainment and comedy-to the inculcation of mores and ethics within the society.

Such important institutions should not be locked up in standard museums unexplored and unexplained to the people and that is where museum theatre comes in the picture to bring out the inherent living theatre experience, decode the message in the regalia as museum objects.

5.1.2 Sango

Sango is another festival represented in most museums in Nigeria through the display of such paraphernalia as; carved wooden axe “ose sango”, the cap, costume and the mortal or Sango’s traditional stool. All these items and props can determine the content and form of the theatre that evolves to educate museum visitors as audience. It is needless to say that these objects evoke certain memories and reactions from the community of the museum; they can also serve as enlightenment and entertainment from foreign visitors. The ose Sango for instance could generate themes connecting Sango with Ogun and their famed clash, association with Oya, his relationship with his subjects and his eventual deification. Sango’s rejection by his people as a result of his destructive anger provides lessons for life and does romanticize neither Sango nor the past for its sake. A prominent Yoruba theatre practitioner in Nigeria, Duro Ladipo utilized the Sango motive in his plays and played that role as a stock character in his troupe that he became sango personified, giving life to the Sango myth and props in life and even in death.
5.1.3 Osun Osogbo

Osun Osogbo has attained international prominence because the osun grove has been adopted as a world heritage site by UNESCO, and it is arguably the most prominent traditional festival in Africa. Its impact reverberates through traditional institutions and mechanisms that need to be serviced all the year round, and it brings to remembrance the pageantry theatre of the medieval period with events lasting for about nine days, each day representing scenes in the unfolding theatrical presentations. The finale culminates in ritual performances and carnival at the grove and is thereafter followed by a citywide celebration.

According to Oyewo (2013:113), The king of Osogbo has to climb a rock situated in the river with his palms spread out to welcome the fish that usually comes out to accept the sacrifices from him, from which action the king derived his title of “Ataoja” or “Atewogbeja” - he who spreads his arms to welcome fish. The nature of this museum type, a combination of heritage site and intangible heritage gives it uniqueness as a museum theatre in the sense that none of its props exists in any conventional museum and that the sacred objects cannot exist outside its original textual location. At best museums can only exhibit photographs of the events and can only complement this with mood music and theatrical reenactment of annual festival enactment.

However, themes can be created to educate the visitor /audience about the socio-cultural import of the deity as well as the grove, and the emerging theatre, be it in formal or informal museum can enhance the intrinsic values of the festivals and the grove. Adedayo 2007; 80ff) identified these values namely; historical, spiritual, religious, cultural, economic values-in the over 200 species of plant which are of medicinal and economic values, traditional education and technology, scientific values and traditional architecture. It is important to note that Osun Osogbo as a living museum and theatre serves all the functions of a theatre existing in a conventional museum and most importantly, it not only develops an audience annually but also sustains it.

The museum theatre envisioned in these examples is participatory in nature, in consonance with the fact that Yoruba gods exist in a commune to exhibit mutual respect and cooperation to uphold harmony and peace.

6. Invoking the gods: limit of authenticity on stage

At this junction, it is expedient to address the issue of authenticity of performance which performance anthropologists might question in our submission about living theatre as museum and vice versa. It is never suggested here that everybody will constitute the audience all the time in a living museum-festival events and venues, what we suggest is that the audience, performers are closely related with the performance in the various stages of performance of a festival as museum theatre. At the ritual stage for instance, the performances would have the desired impact on the initiates as audience and as performers, while the public performances serve primarily to make the hidden values in the sacred events public as a link.
between the people and their past and values. It also serves as cultural metaphors that might foster better understanding and appreciation of Nigerian culture to foreign visitors.

However, the fact that traditional festivals existing within a conventional museum have been relocated from their original context, denied of their socio-ritual relevance does not render them impotent nor deny them of their inherent spiritual power, but only make them dormant. Soyinka’s reference to an international event at Delphi Greece where he staged his adaptation of Oedipus at Colonus by Aeschylus reinforces this observation. According to Soyinka (2008;16)

I adapted that play to Yoruba mythology...and cast Oedipus as a kind of Sango figure...there were these unforgettable few minutes when Sango’s incantations began and in English...the invisible horsemen of wind and thunder rode over the stage and auditorium. It was all over in a terrifying ten minutes.

We are aware of some other local realities that defile certain universal principles, whether con- or extra-textual, in situ or replica, the coded artifacts or props can take on potency if the original poetry or incantations are chanted during the period of enactment or reenactment. An experience of this writer will also buttress this phenomenon. At a video recording on location at Osun grove decades ago, there was a scene about a reenactment of the Osun carrier votary maid ‘arugba’ who in traditional context must be a virgin between the ages of 13 to 16 years. A married woman was cast for the role and as soon as she advanced to the point of sacrifice, she had a terrible fall, which repeated itself up to three times. It was at that point that it dawned on us that the fall was probably because of territorial violation. We had to relocate to a spot far from the ‘Ojubo”, a crucial stage area of the vast grove living stage before we could successfully record the scenes. However, this kind of experience is not restricted to contextual theatre museums alone as there are similar occurrences in conventional theatre stage. What can be inferred is that theme and nature of artifacts should determine the production style to be employed so as not to invoke or provoke the spiritual forces coded in those artifacts whether in a conventional or living museum theatre experience.

7. The future of Museum Theatre in Nigeria: A synthesis of forms, styles and contents

Although, museum theatre as expressed in modern context is novel in Nigeria, the Nigerian artistic terrain has exhibited variants that can be categorized as living theatre. All the variants achieve similar functions with the traditional museum and museum theatre, such as; explaining museum materials to visitors, enhancing museum visits, generating curiosity, making artifacts relevant to visitors, and making museum pieces come alive. As the traditional role of museum is changing in contemporary times, there is the need for the use of theatre with its combined audiovisual attributes as museum theatre to enhance the role of museums. One of these new roles is hinged on blending the formal experience with the living experience to create a unique form of museum theatre thus stressing the need to synthesize style, form, with content and theme to achieve the desired aims of communication. Style is an artistic phenomenon applicable to the drama that will evolve as well as presentation of the drama in production, but a dramatic style might still be interpreted in production effectively in different
style. Style is controlled by a determination of how most effectively the emotional impact and meaning of the play, the object, could be rendered as a unifying devise in stage productions. (Heffner et al; 1963; 27). It is crucial to employ the appropriate dramatic as well as production style that will adequately channel the audience thought to the desired result. Whatever style is employed; realism, naturalism, expressionism, the epic style etc., should be desirable in the rendering of the meaning and effects of the museum performance/play. Forms also play a critical role in effectively communicating the message decoded from the artifacts or museum piece, as the form employed whether tragedy, comedy, melodrama, farce, satire, tragicomedy etc goes a long way to determine the emotional response and reactions from the audience.

Style and form however derive driving force from the content and theme of the museum piece and artifacts and as a result, the evolving programme should be “historically accurate and, at the same time, highly theatrical and which should meet the educational goals of both the museum…” (Prendergast, 2009, 157) and the audience/visitors. This symbiosis is expected to evolve a museum that will address the interests of both the local and international visitors/audience, because museum has to be fostered within the local and national community before it could be marketable internationally.

7.1 Unilorin Drama and Culture Village (UNDV)

UNDV is a project of the University of Ilorin that offers great promise for Museum theatre in Nigeria, not only in the university system but also in the entire community because its existence is predicated on the need to “address the issue of gaps between the gown and town in terms of traditional culture and modern civilisation” (Unilorin, 8). The project employs an interdisciplinary approach and for that purpose is divided into diverse units such as; Drama, Folklore, Dances, Traditional Crafts and Craftsmanship, Music, Zoological and Biological unit, Fine Arts and Photography, Traditional Technology and Engineering, and Film unit. Part of the objectives of the village is to “organize exhibitions of local art/craft materials with the aim of marketing products and the encouragement of creative ingenuity… and also provide practical strategy towards oral performances…exhibitions, performances, etc.” (UDCV, 10). These objectives among others thus reveal interrelatedness between theatre and museum, a situation that would be mutually beneficial to the two disciplines in the evolution of museum theatre in Nigeria. As it were, only three universities own and operate museums in Nigeria; University of Ibadan, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, and Obafemi Awolowo University, Ile-Ife which has two museums- Natural History museum and MA Odeyemi Museum of Antiquities and Contemporary African Arts. The University of Ilorin propositions of an inclusive and multidisciplinary drama and cultural village, would not only make museum theatre to exist but its studies as a curriculum course would also be guaranteed, and it would further enhance museums visits/participations in all museum variants as a living theatre in Nigeria.

8. Conclusions and Recommendations

Nigeria by western definition does not have a museum theatre, but our argument is that our living museum locked up in the cultural festivals and the palace performances also constitute museum theatre. Its encouragement, complimented by structured programme will
enhance museum visits and remove the distance created between the imprisoned museum pieces and communities and visitors.

If museum exhibition ‘...is a way of narrating ancient lays under new lights with new voices in different tones and timbre’ (Adeoti 2012;1), if exhibitions “feed our memories, and open up a new vista of awareness about cultural history” (Adejuwon; 2012,2), then we need the use of theatre to amplify the voices. This could be achieved by also employing experience as the fourth level of economic values by engaging the visitor as audience-participant in the context of the participatory nature of African theatre.

Soyinka (2008;10) in an interview, asserts that “Some classical modes including Yoruba theatre deserve to be preserved not merely as museum pieces but as a certain formalism to be studied and enjoyed in their own right”, so museum theatre gives life to the museum objects also for the purpose of study and enjoyment. It is crucial at this point to offer some suggestions to facilitate the role of museum theatre in Nigeria.

Primarily, there is need for exhibition before museum theatre can become relevant. All artifacts locked up in store for safety or their replicas should be opened to the public in temporary periodic exhibitions; it can then be complemented by museum theatre to explain and provide knowledge and to make them relevant to society. Museum theatre can also create scientific awareness for a museum of natural history for example, theatre pieces could be developed to sensitize visitors/audience to the dangers and values of insects such as Mosquitoes, cockroaches, housefly, termites etc.

Writing and theatre workshops should thus be organized to develop plays and dance librettos based on well-researched efforts- but not exhibiting the weakness of historical inaccuracies in some historical drama texts- about artifacts and museum materials from which appropriate plays could be selected for performances to match any focused exhibition. In essence, a compendium of museum theatre plays can be published i.e. creating drama from visual/museum arts, artifacts and pieces. Museum pieces constitute the tangible heritage and the theatre and festivals as theatre; a strong intangible heritage constitutes a salient weapon to prevent the tangible from becoming a fossil of a dead civilization. We can now evolve from this compendium of plays a new creative and participatory experiment where museum visits are expected to culminate in costumed recitals and performances by professional and visitors, volunteer actors, and audience.

Finally, non-realistic production styles ought to be used for historical and ritual artifacts based plays in order to prevent and ameliorate invocatory tendencies that could be inherent in such plays and the resultant productions.
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Shadi Abdessalem: Le Tout en Un

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Abstract

‘The historical movie presents the bedrock of all the other arts’

Shadi Abdessalem

Interview with the Egyptian TV Réf.4

Shadi Abdessalam is, at the same time: cineaste, historian, educator, designer, decor advisor, pharaonic garments’ stylist, and painter; which leads any researcher, who aims to study his case, to be lost between those titles, in order to choose the most adequate one, which describes and recognises, all that Shadi Abdessalam has afforded, as an artistic history, to his beloved homeland: Egypt. Thus, due to his multi qualities, we decided to label this essay, Shadi Abdessalem: An all in one.

Keywords: Shadi Abdessalem, Mommy (The), Ikhnaton, Pharaoh, Cinema, Egypt

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Résumé

‘Le film historique présente le soubassement de tout autre art!’

Shadi Abdessalam

Interview avec la TV égyptienne Réf.4

Shadi Abdessalam est, à la fois: cinéaste, historien, éducateur, concepteur, conseiller de décoration, styliste de vêtements pharaoniques, et peintre; ce qui conduit tout chercheur, qui vise à étudier son cas, d’être perdu entre ces titres, pour en choisir le plus adéquat, qui décrit et reconnaît, tout ce que Shadi Abdessalam a offert, comme histoire artistique, à sa patrie bien-aimée: l'Egypte. Ainsi, grâce à ses qualités multiples, on a décidé d’intituler cet essai: Shadi Abdessalam : le tout en un.

Mots Clés : Shadi Abdessalem, Momie (La), Akhnaton, Pharaon, Cinéma, Egypte
D’après ce que Shadi Abdessalam a offert, aux spectateurs, critiqueurs, théoriciens du cinéma, ou encore historiens, comme œuvres inestimables, ayant\(^1\) ou pas\(^2\) vu le jour, on peut comparer, la fusion de ses dons, à une mélodie éternelle, composée sur les différentes clés musicales ; une aria, aussi harmonieuse, qu’elle reflète une association de ses différentes empreintes artistiques. Ces dernières figurent à la fois dans : sa conception de décors et d’habits, son profond attachement à l’histoire pharaonique de l’Egypte antique, qu’il reflète à l’audience par une simplicité couverte d’intelligence, sa fierté d’être arabe -démontrée dans les dialogues de ses films écrits en arabe littéral-, ses scénarios, ses choix de plans ainsi que sa mise en scène. Dans cet essai, on va tenter de démontrer ce ‘Tout en Un’ en le décortiquant, talent par talent, afin de découvrir les différents caractéristique du prodige Shadi Abdessalam, qui mérite vraiment d’être appelé : le tout en un.

En prenant en considération son profond attachement à l’histoire pharaonique, on peut bien nommer Shadi Abdessalem un historien, ou un ‘cinéastorien’, qui témoigne la richesse de l’empire pharaonique, et ce à travers des œuvres cinématographiques. Son but principal fût de dévouez chez les prochaines générations\(^3\), leur patriotisme envers l’Egypte. Dans ce contexte il a dit:

« Mon enjeu c’est l’histoire absente ou perdue. Les personnes que vous apercevez dans les avenues, les maisons, les fermes et les usines […] ils doivent d’abord connaître qui sont-ils, qu’est ce qu’ils étaient, et qu’est ce qu’ils ont présentés. On doit faire une liaison entre l’homme d’aujourd’hui et l’homme d’hier, pour présenter l’homme de demain »\(^\text{Ref 2.b}\).

\(\text{1} \) La Momie, Horizons, Le Paysan Eloquent, Les Armées du Soleil
\(\text{2} \) Akhnaton
\(\text{3} \) Message indiqué en arabe, dans le court métrage : Le Dernier Pharaon de Wael Samir, qu’on a tenté de traduire
Figure 1: Message de Shadi Abdessalam, transmis au public, que Wael Samir mentionne dans deux plans successifs de son court métrage: Le Dernier PHARAON

Afin de démontrer sa dualité ‘cinéstorienne’, on va commencer par la fin de sa carrière, vu qu’on peut révéler Akhnaton, comme son œuvre la plus sublime, malgré que son tournage n’a jamais vu le jour.

Figure 2: Légende du stand 'Akhnaton' du Musée de Shadi Abdessalam à Alexandrie

Un concept aussi magnifique et colossal, que Shadi Abdessalam a pris douze ans pour le finir : il a, non seulement écrit le scénario, mais a aussi ‘storybordé’ tous les plans de ce film (en un ensemble de croquis), ses héros historiques : Akhnaton et Horemheb et aussi conçu des bijoux et des costumes : tous ces concepts sont exposés dans le musée permanent: Shadi Abdessalem à Alexandrie.

Son asservissement, à la lecture des ressources historiques, fût témoigné par son étudiant Salah Marai, en tant qu’une arme qui défend la riche culture historique de son maître.

1 Que ce soit par lui-même ou en attribuant son concept à ses étudiants Onsi Abou Sif & Salah Marai, pour le réaliser
2 Installé en Alexandrie en 2005- Ouvert officiellement le 15-03 à l’occasion de son 75ème anniversaire.
3 Durant un interview avec la télé égyptienne intitulé Malameh=Caractéristiques.
Shadi Abdessalam, l’insatiable envers tout livre historique dans les bibliothèques d’Egypte, et à tout pays où il voyagea, a alors acquis, une aussi profonde connaissance, de la période préhistorique, du règne d’Akhenaton; qu’il a tenté de traduire dans le concept du film: Tragédie de la Grande Maison-Akhenaton . L’intrigue de cette œuvre, résidait dans le fait qu’Akhenaton fût, l’unique pharaon de toute la famille royale, à faire un appel à l’unicité du Dieu: envie radicalement refusée par le peuple égyptien qui lui fût contemporain.

Malgré que, plusieurs boîtes de productions internationales, ont proposé à Shadi Abdessalam, de déclencher la réalisation de cette chef-d’œuvre, son patriotisme l’a toujours poussé à refuser ces offres, tout en insistant sur le fait que la production de son œuvre soit 100% égyptienne : Hélas ! Jusqu’à l’écriture de ces lignes, ce songe est non-encore accompli.

Deux autres exemples, qui affirment le lien aussi solide et complémentaire de Shadi Abdessalam, entre l’histoire et le 7ème art, figurent dans ses chefs-d’œuvre Yawma An Tohsa Assinin1 et Le Paysan Eloquent2, qui se partagent leur profonde liaison à l’empire pharaonique, et dont le but fût d’en délivrer une morale à la jeunesse égyptienne, sous la forme d’un appel à la protection de leur patrimoine.

Dans son court-métrage Le Paysan Eloquent, Shadi Abdessalam reformule le conte du paysan éloquent, histoire de l’Egypte antique, qui tourne autour d’un paysan nommé Khoun-Inpou, en train de traverser la terre de Rensi-fils de Merou : un noble entre les dynasties3 IX et X, dans la région d’Hiéракopolis Réf.3 qui a piégé Khoun-Inpou l’amenant à piétiner sa moisson. Ce dernier fuit au Pharaon, et lui porta neufs plaintes successives pour être enfin vengé en lui donnant la fortune fig.3 arrachée à Rensi-fils de Merou.

Figure 3: Plan du Paysan Eloquent, agenouillé au Pharaon, après l'avoir vengé

1 Long Métrage
2 Court Métrage
3 Dynasties ayant régnés depuis Hiéракopolis, entre 2160 A.J.C et 2060 A.J.C, où ont régné 5 Pharaons dans la IXème et 6 pendant la Xème
Si on regarde ce court métrage, sans avoir de riches connaissances historiques, on se trouve touché par la baguette magique de Shadi Abdessalam : après avoir planté ‘un grain’ de curiosité dans l’intellect du spectateur, on le remarque tout de suite entraîné à récolter une attraction vers son histoire, distinguée dans ses questions posées à son entourage, ou en fouillant dans des documents, et de nos jours sur internet, après avoir vu *Le Paysan Eloquent*, afin d’enrichir ses idées. Puis, l’énorme récolte se manifeste dans le tas de nouvelles perceptions acquises par le spectateur, qui, suite au coup de pouce donné par l’œuvre de Shadi Abdessalam, trouve les informations historiques valeureuses, aussi simplifiées dans son film, qu’elles deviennent énormément plus faciles à mémoriser, qu’en feuillant plusieurs articles ou livres d’histoire.

Shadi l’historien fut connu à l’échelle des quatre coins de l’univers par son chef d’œuvre *La Momie*, que Yves Thorval a classé comme : ‘*un film où l’histoire est omniprésente comme Trame’* Réf. 6. D’ailleurs, le scénario de cette œuvre, fut une adaptation du livre des morts des anciens égyptiens, à travers le papyrus d’*Ani*, recouvert de formules funéraires et datant aux alentours de l’année 1200 AJC, fig.4.

*La Momie* tourne autour la découverte des Sarcophages des pharaons de la XXIe dynastie, enterrés dans *la vallée des rois*. Cette découverte qui a eu lieu en 1881, est aussi marquante, qu’il fût éternellement tatoué dans l’histoire de l’Egypte, et que Shadi Abdessalam commémora à travers son chef d’œuvre.

En additionnant son concept de costumes, qui figure dans la *jallabia* identique en forme et couleur, portée par tous les citoyens *Saïdois* de la tribu *Horabèt*, à la langue arabe littérale que Shadi préféra utiliser au lieu du dialecte égyptien, on peut déduire que ce cinéaste, a voulu faire de ce film, une morale qui généralise le problème de vol culturel dans le monde entier, tout en argumentant cet essai par l’exemple qui a touché l’*égyptomanie*, que ce soit à titre légal pour les pays dont les chercheurs en archéologie l’ont découvert, ou illégal par vente clandestine des artefacts pharaoniques volés.

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1 Le Cinéma est la Tentation de l’Histoire ; *Yves Thorval*, Colloque de la 2ème session du Festival International du Film Historique et Mythologique de Djerba ; Août 1991.

2 Habité traditionnel arabo-oriental, sous la forme standard d’une longue tunique à manches complètes, dont la couleur et les accessoires diffèrent d’un pays à un autre.

3 Fascination de l’*Égypte* antique aussi dominée par des légions romaines que l’Egypte leur livre des artefacts, des sculptures ou des obélisques, qui furent arrachés de son sol.
Figure 4: Papyrus d'Ani-Littérature Funéraire - Livre Des Morts

En comparant cette signature ‘Shadienne’ avec les références historiques classiques, telles que les livres d’historiens, les papyrus, les tableaux sculptés ou les sites archéologiques, on peut déduire que le cinéma nous facilite la découverte du goût et de l’esprit de l’époque pharaonique, comme si on revit cette ère.

Voir les films ‘shadiens’, réveille nos sentiments vers l’époque de l’histoire qu’il cible, comme si on est entrain de ressusciter exactement :

- En -2160, entre les dynasties IX et X, où Le Paysan Eloquent pria la vengeance du Pharaon
- En 1881 durant la découverte de la dissimulation des sarcophages de la XXIème dynastie par son œuvre La Momie
- En 1971 durant l’incendie qui a détruit L’Opéra Khédival du Caire1 dont il couvrait en temps réel les dégâts matériels qu’il a monté au documentaire Horizons , après y avoir filmé les différentes activités et spectacles (dance, peinture, orchestre symphonique, Takht oriental, extrait de la pièce de théâtre Shakespeare de Mohamed Sobhi…)
- En 1973 durant la guerre d’octobre par son documentaire Les Armées du Soleil…

Toutes ces œuvres rendent Shadi Abdessalam, parfaitement éligible au titre ‘Cinéastorien’, à savoir cinéaste et historien à la fois. Et ce n’est pas uniquement à travers les films qu’il a lui-même mis en scène, qu’on peut le juger comme historien, mais aussi ayant été mondialement reconnu comme designer des plans, décors et habits pharaoniques. Ainsi, la classification de son talent ne se limite pas uniquement à son caractère historique, puisque sa signature artistique figura aussi dans des films légendaires internationaux, en tant que conseiller

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1 Construite par Khediwi Ismail en 1869, détruite par incendie en 1971, reconstruite en 1988 grâce à l’aide financière du Japon
sur les habits et accessoires royaux et mythiques comme les bateaux, les trônes, les colliers, les couronnes, les chignons, les maquillages, les deux sceptres (qui symbolisent les deux souverains : le terrestre et l’au-delà), ainsi que les architectures regroupant les tentes royales et les palais pharaoniques.

Ayant eu la confiance totale de metteurs en scènes internationaux tels que l’italien Rossellini, l’américain Mankiewicz, ainsi que le polonais Kawalerowicz, l’empreinte ‘Shadienne’ est devenue une référence internationale, se manifestant dans ses conceptions extraordinaires, voir colossales, faisant de Shadi le ‘dernier successeur’ voir l’unique, de cette civilisation pharaonique.

Shadi Abdessalam a atteint ce succès international, après avoir suivi un ordre chronologique précis : les portes du succès lui furent amplement ouvertes, dès qu’il fut diplômé en 1957 en design interne. Il fut immédiatement appelé par des metteurs en scène égyptiens pour les assister ou bien concevoir les habits et décors de leurs films. Trois ans plus tard, quand Mankiewicz inaugura son Cléopâtre¹, il donna confiance à Shadi en le chargeant de concevoir la tente royale pharaonique, dans son style de 48 ans avant J.-C, des Nemès (ou coiffes royales) montrant les liens qui unissent les pharaons aux dieux et les différences des nobles et des citoyens, des souverains -terrestre et d’au-delà - tenus dans les mains de la reine du Nil fig. 5 …

Contrairement à la réaction de l’Egypte envers la fameuse conception d’Akhnaton; et comme tout producteur hollywoodien, qui donne confiance au succès d’une œuvre dès son étape de concept, Walter Wagner et Peter Levathes² ont boosté et favorisé la production de l’œuvre Cléopâtre, au point d’avoir été considéré comme un des plus chers films de tous les temps.

¹ Scénario fini en 1960 puis a prix 3 ans de tournage et post production, pour être sorti en 1963
² Producteurs Américains
Toujours dans un cadre principalement historique, et tant que Kawalerowicz a baptisé son film par le titre Pharaon, il trouva indispensable d’appeler un ‘vrai pharaon’, pour concevoir un décor qui puisse revitaliser une ère de 49 siècles antérieurs, et qui fait sentir aux spectateurs comme s’ils sont entrain de toucher les mains de Ramsès XIII, entendre ses discussions visant à remédier la décadence du système administratif, et la révolte de l’armée du soleil.

En plus de ces deux péplums, on peut apercevoir l’empreinte magique de Shadi Abdessalam dans La civiltà che naque di un fiume de Rossellini. Après avoir collaboré avec ce metteur en scène italien, Shadi a écrit en toutes lettres :

‘Rossellini m’a énormément influencé, comme personne d’autre n’a fait autant, du point de vue intellectuel et non pas productif […] C’est grâce à lui que mon rêve de devenir réalisateur a vu le jour’.

Son rêve de devenir réalisateur rencontra quelques haies, que lui imposèrent les metteurs en scène et les producteurs, des films pour lesquels il conçut des plans, modélisa des habits et installa des décors. Parfois ses imaginations restent sur ses croquis et ne voient pas le jour. Il essaya alors de s’enfuir de ces barrières, en faisant du scénario de La Momie, une libération, un refuge de ces prisons. Rossellini accueilli aussi chaleureusement cette initiative de Shadi, au point de lui avoir donné son coup de pouce, par un témoignage de la bonne qualité et la haute valeur de La Momie, qu’il déclara au ministre de la culture égyptien des années 70 : Tharwat Akacha, ce qui a convaincu ce dernier de classer La Momie dans les projets culturels à financer, et plus tard il fut produit.

Des concepts et modèles profondément liés à l’antiquité pharaonique, entre décors et habits, qui mènent les spectateurs à sentir que les personnages historiques ont quitté l’écran géant et se sont installés autour d’eux dans la salle: un miroir qui reflète l’histoire, par une signature ‘Shadienne’.

Une tentative de rendre hommage à Shadi Abdessalem, fût lancée en 2005, par la bibliothèque nationale d’Alexandrie, qui a installé un musée permanent, baptisé par son nom. Ce musée n’est autre qu’une reconnaissance, de l’Egypte ‘mère’, à ce que lui a laissé son descendant Shadi Abdessalem, ‘le dernier pharaon’, et ce en y exposant tous ses chefs-d’œuvre. C’est le moindre geste pour gratifier Shadi Abdessalam, l’artiste, qui, avant le tournage de chacun de ses

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1 Nomination des armées de l’ère pharaonique, Shadi Abdessalam utilisa ce terme aussi dans le titre de son documentaire : Les Armées du Soleil.
2 La civiltà che naque di un fiume (la civilisation qui naît d’une fumée), qui fait partie de la série documentaire de Rossellini, baptisée La Lotta dell’uomo per la sua sopravvivenza (Lutte de l’homme pour sa survie)
films, permuta entre son stylo, qui écrivit ses scénarios, et sa plume de peintre, qui donna la vie à ses personnages, avant que les films soient tournés.

Ce musée confesse les doigts de fée de Shadi, qui ont redonné naissance aux pharaons, et leurs mythes d’enterrement, en exposant, que ce soit ses designs d’habits, qu’il a conçu pour plusieurs films en plus des siens, ou ses imitations ou à vrai dire ses copies conformes du sarcophage du pharaon Séthi Ier et du Papyrus d’Ani qui furent utilisés dans le tournage de La Momie. On trouve la plupart des designs d’habits de Shadi Abdessalam, accompagnés par une pièce de tissu, qu’il exigea pour les coudre, garantissant leur rapprochement des habits réels de la période historique sur laquelle pointe le film : c’est la technique d’un vrai stylist. De plus, on a associé ses tableaux de concepts épinglés dans le mur du musée, à une exposition dans des vitrines attachées au même mur, des prises de vues de ces scènes conçues, quand elles furent filmées.

Le plus grand stand de ce musée, illustre tous les plans du film Akhnaton fig. 8, auquel, malheureusement, les autorités concernées, qu’elles soient étatiques faisant partie du ministère de la culture égyptien, ou privée telles que les boîtes de productions, n’ont pas donné d’intérêt, et préfèrent subventionner les films commerciaux.

Ce stand comprend les designs des plans que Shadi rêvait de tourner, les habits des principaux personnages : Akhnaton, qui fut roi pharaonique de la XVIIIème dynastie, son épouse royale, à beauté légendaire : Néfertiti, dont le nom pharaonique signifie : la belle est arrivée.

Figure 8: Exemples parmi les plans et les habits du concept Akhnaton
Notre ‘Tout en Un’ se caractérise aussi par son patriotisme qui figure dans tous ses films étant donné qu’il défend ses ancêtres, mais surtout dans son documentaire Les Armées du Soleil, dont le titre est un hommage aux armées de l’ère pharaonique. Au début du tournage de ce documentaire, il ne savait pas exactement son but Réf. 1, il se laissa guider par son bénévolat, et choisissait les plans à filmer par intuition. Il avoua dans une de ses autobiographies écrites, que la caméra dans ce film, jouait pour lui le rôle d’une arme, par laquelle il défend son patrie, étant donné que son âge ne lui permettait pas de porter la vraie arme entre ses mains.

Shadi peut aussi être considéré comme éducateur ou instructeur, tendant à réveiller le sentiment patriote chez les esprits des enfants, -Hommes de demain-, en essayant de leur simplifier l’information le maximum possible, afin qu’ils la mémorisent, facilement, et en cultivent de la curiosité, qui approfondie l’intérêt qu’ils réservent à l’histoire de l’Egypte. Ce point fort de Shadi Abdessalam, figure clairement dans son téléfilm : La chaise de Tut Ankh Amon Réf. 1, qui tourne autour un chercheur en histoire et archéologie, qui a participé dans la restauration de cette pièce historique inestimable, en prenant avec lui son frère de 9 ans. Dans la première scène de ce doc-fiction, le responsable du musée, dans le dialogue du démarrage, demande à Mahmoud (l’aîné) pour quelle raison, il lui répond alors: ‘pour que Salah (le cadet) apprend l’histoire de son patrimoine’. Ainsi, ce film est purement patronniste, purement éducatif, visant à ce que les jeunes spectateurs, ou même leurs parents, rafrîchissent ce sentiment d’amour envers l’Egypte chez leurs enfants, et les poussent à apprendre de leur histoire pharaonique sublime, à travers une succession de questions, à esprit enfantin, et une culture d’histoire, aussi simplifiée que leur âge.

Pour conclure, on se permet de poser cette question : comment peut on décrire Shadi par une seule expression, alors qu’il est à la fois un concepteur d’habits (qu’on peut aussi nommer stylist), de décors ou de tout ce qui symbolise la révolution pharaonique, en Egypte ou dans le monde entier; ce qui lie solide ment son esprit designer à celui d’historien, dessinateur de
palais, de bijoux, de sarcophages, de papyrus….pendant la réalisation desquels il fusionne le sculpteur avec le peintre et le mosaïste. Vu que ses études furent effectuées à l’école des beaux arts du Caire, on peut simplement le nommer artiste, ou encore architecte : ce descriptif figure bien dans ses conceptions des palais pharaoniques construits durant les tournages des films Cléopâtre, La civiltà che naque di un fiume et Pharaon, dans lesquels Shadi Abdessalam fût inviter comme conseiller en design de l’histoire pharaonique.

En passant par le stade de tournage de ses films, il fût à la fois cameraman, cadreur, scénariste, écrivain, monteur, metteur en scène, en tout un cinéaste. Durant son expérience professionnelle on le trouve aussi enseignant universitaire de design, d’habillage et de mise en scène, dans l’université du Caire, mais aussi un éducatif par ses films, qui pousse son audience à se sentir fier de leur appartenance à une civilisation qui fût source d’études et de recherches partout dans le monde. Aucun metteur en scène n’a suivi le chemin de Shadi le réalisateur, ce qui en fait un unique, un dernier pharaon. En tentant que cet article puisse rayonner autour de toutes les lumières qu’on vient de citer, on n’a pu le baptiser que par le titre : Shadi Abdessalam : Le tout en un.
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  « Pyramides et Antécédents-الأهرام وما قبلها »
  « Ramsès II-رمسيس الثاني »
La traduction et production culturelle: Une étude de la traduction onomastique de l’Enfant Noir de Camara Laye en anglais

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Abstract

The present study discusses the translation of proper nouns in the English translation of Camara Laye’s L’Enfant Noir. Names come from creation. At creation, all things received their proper names from man. This study focuses on the novel: L’Enfant Noir as our text for analysis because it contains traits of proper names. The author, being an African-Guinea, the names he uses are difficult to translate, but not all, into the target text. The names Laye chooses have local colours, symbolic and reflect the conditions, spaces of his society. There is a philosophy behind the choice of the proper names. The present study educates us on literary translation, not only on the original language of the text but also on the target language. We discover that the translator’s works is difficult largely because he has to respect the social, philosophical, symbolic intention of the original text in the target text. In the face of the complexity of translating proper nouns, we propose a definitive criterion aimed at resolving the problem posed by translation: direct translation or indirect translation. The translator-trainer must master his methods before putting theory into practice.

Keywords: Translation, Literary Text, Camara Laye, Onomastics, Equivalence
Résumé

Le présent travail porte sur la traduction onomastique de l’Enfant Noir de Camara Laye en anglais. Tout nom se trouve dans l’acte de création. La création divine s’achève lorsque les choses reçoivent leur propre nom de l’être humain. Dans cet étude, nous focaliserons sur le roman: L’Enfant Noir comme le texte de notre corpus d’analyse car le texte se compose de beaucoup de traits onomastiques. En tant qu’écrivain africain et guinéen, les noms qu’il les y a mis sont compliqués à rendre en langue cible mais ce n’est pas en tout cas. Les noms que Laye choisit dans son texte reflètent ainsi les conditions et l’espace de sa société et ces noms ont une couleur locale, sociale et symbolique. Il existe une philosophie derrière ce choix de cette dénomination onomastique. Le présent travail nous emporte beaucoup d’informations sur la traduction littéraire non seulement concernant la langue originale, mais aussi sur la langue d’arrivée. Nous découvrons que la tache du traducteur est complexe : respecter l’intention sociale, philosophique, symbolique du texte originale en langue cible. Devant la problématique de la traduction onomastique durant l’activité traduisant, nous proposons un classement des critères définitoires et méthodes principes visant à résoudre le problème posé par une traduction : traduction directe et indirecte. C’est-à-dire l’apprentis-traducteur doit maîtriser ces méthodes avant les exercices sur la pratique de la traduction.

Mots-Clés : Traduction, Texte Littéraire, Camara Laye, Onomastique, Equivalence
1. Introduction

L’acte de traduire est entre autres une réécriture Sabastian (2008) La notion de la traduction désigne d’abord l’opération intellectuelle grâce à laquelle un texte écrit dans la langue A, la langue originale, est réécrit dans la langue B, la langue cible. Berman (1994 :55) met l’accent sur la liberté du sujet traduisant et considère que l’on ne saurait justifier le travail du traducteur seulement en vertu des normes qui le conditionnerait sans tomber dans le mécanisme :

La littérature traduite va être, pour cette école traductologique, systématiquement considérée comme un phénomène le plus souvent secondaire, tenu de se conformer à des normes qui lui sont entièrement extérieures. Et par voie de conséquence, les analyses de traductions se borneront à la recherche de ces normes et à l’étude de leur emprise sur les traducteurs et les traductions. D’où un mécanisme croissant qui n’est surement pas dans les intentions de Toury mais qui se manifeste au grand jour quand les comparatistes analysent des traductions sur la base de ces idées.

Cette pensée traductologique a largement engendré une difficulté de ce réseau d’engagement aussi impossible qu’inévitables dans lequel le traducteur se trouve piégé. L’objectif d’une traduction doit concerner non seulement la reproduction du sens du message, mais aussi la forme et la réponse que le récepteur du texte traduit est vise donner, et qui doit être semblable à celle des récepteurs du texte original. La traduction doit viser à l’équivalence fonctionnelle ou adéquate. L’équivalence est une notion relative qui signifie l’identité de fonctions entre le texte original et le texte d’arrivée. Le rôle du traducteur est la recherche de l’équivalence permettant de transformer le texte original en langue cible de manière naturelle et adéquate.

2. Objectif de l’étude

Nous visons à étudier la traduction des noms propres dans le corpus de notre texte pour voir si le texte cible respecte d’avantage le texte original en matière du contenu et de la forme.

3. Cadrage Méthodologique

Lorsqu’on cherche à donner un cadre méthodologique à l’étude onomastique, le plus naturel est de le lier à la critique de la traduction. Bien qu’il existe une abondante étude portant sur la critique littéraire, la critique de la traduction des noms propres dans la littérature africain semble avoir été quelque peu négligée. Dans la phase préparatoire de l’étude, une pré-enquête a été réalisée : la lecture et la relecture de l’original et la version traduite, étape qui constitue la pré-analyse, pour sélectionner les zones ayant les traits onomastiques du texte. Ceci nous a permis de comprendre les critères définitoires des noms utilisés dans le texte.

L’Enfant Noir de Camara Laye est le premier roman négro-africain d’expression française paru pendant la période de la colonisation. Il vise à valoriser les beautés de l’Afrique traditionnelle. Ayant été rongé par la nostalgie en France, l’auteur raconte l’histoire de son enfance dans le bourg, voire la solidarité culturelle. Pour cette étude, nous avons choisi le texte de Camara Laye L’Enfant Noir. Ce choix a été motivé par deux raisons : la grande popularité et l’existence de traduction en langue anglaise du texte, sa disponibilité ainsi que la présence d’un nombre non négligeable de traits onomastiques dans le roman. On s’aperçoit rapidement de l’abondance des noms propres aussi bien réels que fictifs de toutes sortes au fil du texte. Ce trait fait du roman un texte idéal pour notre étude.

5. Le concept de l’onomastique

Tout nom se trouve dans l’acte de création. La création divine s’achève lorsque les choses reçoivent leur propre nom de l’être humain. Le mythe judéo-chrétien nous dit que c’est Adam qui a dénommé toutes les choses dans le jardin d’Eden. L’étude de ces noms est ce que nous appelons onomastique. Une étude onomastique en la traduction est un domaine qui s’occupe du nom propre intraduisible, en vue de le rendre d’une langue de départ vers une langue d’arrivée. Le nom propre est un nom associé primairement à un référent individualisé. Le référent peut être un être vivant ou divin, un lieu, une œuvre humain ou encore un événement unique. Les noms propres sont l’un des moyens pour design er les acteurs dans un texte : théâtre, roman ou fiction. C’est a ce sujet que nous citons les règles de la traduction onomastique de Ballard (2001 :18) cité dans Paliczka :

Dans la vie quotidienne, les prénoms et les noms de famille doivent être repris sans modifications. Dans la vie réelle, les noms propres qui indiquent l’adresse postale, doivent être reporté tels quels. Quand le nom propre apparaît dans un texte à vocation informative et ne fait que désigner un référent extralinguistique. Quand le nom propre renvoie à une entités (personne/endroit/spécificité culturelle/titre) réelle ou fictive, universsellement connue sous cette dénomination. Quand le nom propre se réfère au titre d’un magazine ou d’un journal. Quand le nom propre renvoie à une entité fictive créée par l’auteur, son signifiant est facilement prononçables dans la langue d’accueil et, dans le cas des langues flexionnelles, sa déclinaison ne pose pas de problèmes (p.6-7).

Pour certains auteurs, les noms propres ne se traduisent pas. Selon George Kleiber (1981) pour qui, suivant sa théorie du nom propre comme prédicat de dénomination, ‘toute modification aboutit, non à une traduction d’un nom propre, mais à un nouveau nom propre. L’onomastique se classe selon les critères définitoires de la catégorie le plus relevée y compris :

a. c. Le toponyme : noms de lieux au sens le plus large
b. L’anthroponyme : noms de personnes individuelles ou collectives
c. Le réonyme : noms d’institutions.
d. Le théonyme : nom de Dieu
e. L’ergonyme : noms d’objet ou de produits de fabrication humaine

La plupart des noms propres se présentent sous la forme de ce que Jonaason (1994) nomme les ‘noms propres purs’ car l’élément ou les éléments(s) constitutifs de ces noms propres étant emprunte(s) à un stock de noms ne pouvant être utilisé que comme noms propres et il ne faut pas oublier que les noms propres peuvent aussi être des noms propres mixtes ou à base descriptive. Dans notre étude nous focaliserons sur ce roman : L’Enfant Noir de Camara Laye. L’auteur a enregistré beaucoup de noms propres dans son œuvre. Il est avéré qu’en tant qu’écrivain africain et guinéen, les noms qu’il les y a mis sont compliqués à rendre en langue cible mais ce n’est pas en tout cas. Les noms que Laye choisit dans son texte reflètent ainsi les conditions et l’espace de sa société et ces noms ont une couleur locale, sociale et symbolique. Il existe une philosophie derrière ce choix de cette dénomination onomastique. Par conséquence, c’est impossible de traduire sans piège car les mots possèdent des attributs intraduisibles mais ce n’est pas en tout cas. Ainsi, il y a des noms africains dans le roman qui sont traduisibles : Siguiri (mine d’or p.24,), Bo (jumeau p.46), Konden (ainé p.105), Dabola (une terre féconde p.166). Ces mots sont faciles à transposer vers la langue cible car l’auteur a bien exposé leur sémantique.

6. Analyse onomastique dans Notre Texte

Cette sectionne traitant l’analyse des noms propres dans le texte sera donc divisé selon les critères définitoires de la catégorie des noms propres.

6.1. Toponyme

Dabola est à l’entrée du pays peul. La grand plaine ou j’avais vécu jusque-là (…) aux premiers pentes du Fouta-Djallon p.136.

Dabola is on the borders of the Peuhl country. The great plain on which I had lived until now (…) to the foothills of the Fouta-Djalon p121.

Dans présent l’exemple, il faut souligner que le traducteur modifie l’orthographe du nom original. Il modifie par déclinant le double ‘ll’ dans le nom et n’en garde qu’un. Le peul dénote le langage et les habitants du Fouta-Djallon. Ces habitants sont jadis considérés comme les Berbères qui ont fondé l’empire de Ghana au dixième siècle. Le phénomène de transcription se voit utilisé par le traducteur dans la version anglaise ou ce nom propre subit des phénomènes d’adaptation
phonétique tout en respectant la prononciation locale du nom propre. Kirkup, le traducteur anglais, apporte une solution recherché, parfois proche du texte original. La déclinaison et la modification du mot ‘Fouta-Djalon’ apporte un nom totalement nouveau dans le texte cible. Malgré le compromis entre l’original et version anglaise, l’étymologie du nom évoque fidèlement le caractère du texte original comme c’est le cas dans la version anglaise. La traduction anglaise ne perd pas complètement la couleur française du nom. Nous retrouvons ici une adaptation anglaise du procédé français pour le nom français ‘Fouta-Djallon’.

6.2. Anthroponyme

Cette société un peu mystérieuse - et à mes yeux de ce temps-là, très mystérieuse, encore que très peu secrète- rassemblait tous les enfants (...) et elle était dirigé par nos ainés, que nous appelons les grands ‘Kondéns’ p.91.

This rather mysterious society- and at that age, it was very mysterious to me though not very secret-contained all the young boys (...) and it was run by our elders, whom we called the big “Konden”. p.78

Cet or, la femme l’avait recueilli dans les places de Sigui (…) p.36

The woman would have collected the gold in the placers of Sigui (…) p.22.

(... à l’ instant, Damany, l’un des apprentis ne fut sorti de l’atelier p.25.

(... at the moment, Damany, one of the apprentices, had not come out of the workshop. p.11.

Le nom “Kondens” dans le texte de départ est traduit par un équivalent direct ‘Kondén’ dans la version anglaise. Il y a une déclinaison de ‘s’ du départ dans la version traduite. Le choix du traducteur est purement stylistique et ne change pas du tout le sens du nom mais introduit un peu plus d’obscurité du nom évoqué. Nous constatons que, le seul moyen pour le traducteur de rester fidèle à l’idée du départ est de s’en éloigner. En raison de l’origine culturel du nom, il est difficile pour le traducteur de décrypter le nom caché sous une orthographe plutôt malinké. Paliczka affirme que les difficultés de noms propres peuvent résulter entre autres : différences au niveau phonétique et morphosyntaxique ce qui est facile à prononcer et s’insère naturellement dans les structures morphosyntaxique d’une langue donnée peut ne l’être plus dans une autre ; différences dans les systèmes alphabétiques ; portée connotative de noms propres qui n’arrive pas à dépasser les frontières culturelles (ibid.:5). Ici, la fidélité cherche sa juste place. La version anglaise de ‘Sigui’, ‘Damany’ montre un transfert à l’identique du nom propre du texte de
départ dans le texte d’arrivée. Ce qui entre en enjeu c’est le degré zéro de la traduction des noms propres. Cette stratégie est le plus fréquent dans la majorité de la traduction effectue par James Kirkup dans l’Enfant Noir.

6.3. Réonyme

Mais dis-toi bien ceci, retiens bien ceci : si j’avais vingt ans de moins, si j’avais mes études à faire, je n’eusse point été à l’Ecole normale ; non ! J’aurais appris un bon métier dans une école professionnelle p.144.

But remember this: If I were twenty years younger, if I still had my schooling to do, I would not go to the École Normale ; no I would learn a good trade in a technical school p.128.

Le système scolaire en Guinée français n’est pas le même que le système scolaire pour les anglophones. Le traducteur doit donc rapprocher la réalité différente au lecteur du texte d’arrivée. ‘L’École normale’ correspond à l’éducation supérieure. Cependant, le traducteur maintient la réalité sociale française et il traduit le mot identiquement par un emprunt ‘l’Ecole normale’. Il nous montre une réalité différente dans la traduction de ‘école professionnelle’ comme ‘technical school’, une équivalence qui est plutôt éloignée du mot original. L’équivalence en anglais serait ‘professional school’. La traduction de ‘Collège Camille Guy’ p.143 en ‘Camille Guy College’ p.128 restent invariables et rapprochent le texte original.

6.4. Théonyme

Conakry est à quelque 600 kilomètre de Kourousa et, pour ma mère, c’était une terre inconnue, sinon inexplorée, ou Dieu seul savait si l’on mange à sa faim (…) et que Dieu te protège (…) puis, leurs invocations achevées, ils prononçaient le nom d’Allah; immédiatement après, ils me bénissaient pp.128-129.

Conakry is about 400 miles from Kouroussa, and to my mother it was an unknown if not unexpected land. Where God alone knew if I would get enough to eat (…) and may the Lord protect you! (…) then having completed their invocations, they would utter the name of Allah; whereupon they would bless me. Pp.113-114.

Ici, on connaît deux traductions différentes. Le nom Dieu, en français à une double acceptation qui peut être distingué selon la relation sujet parlant et l’objet désigné. Il y a une progression sémantique de Dieu dans le texte. Le Dieu est rendu ‘Lord’, ‘God’ dans la version cible et souligne le fait qu’il s’agit soit d’une relation proche ‘Lord’ ou libre ‘God’. La traduction d’Allah en Allah est plus spécifique, claire, exprimant la notion évoquée par la religion.
islamique. La traduction ne modifie pas le texte, mais maintient la nomenclature du texte original sans laisser le lecteur de deviner de quel Dieu il s’agit.

6.5. Ergonyme

Il n’était satisfait que s’il parvenait à troquer son couscous entre des goyaves(...) p.83.
He wasn’t happy unless he could exchange his couscous for guavas p.70.

Kirkup, le traducteur, garde le mot couscous le même que l’original. Cet emprunt ajoute toute simplement une étrangeté dans le texte d’arrivée.

7. Conclusion

Les quelques exemples choisis et analysés invitent à une réflexion sur le problème de traduction du nom propre dans la littérature africaine, le cas de Camara Laye. La compétence du traducteur, James Kirkup, dans ce domaine semble appartenir à la catégorie de défis difficilement transposables, voire impossibles à rendre. Cependant, il essaie de remédier à ce défi de diverses manières stratégique pour faire conforme sa traduction aux lecteurs anglais. Le traducteur, devant l’impossibilité de trouver une équivalence adéquate, il est maintes fois obligé de recréer le nom du texte dans la langue anglaise. Nous affirmons que la présente étude nous emporte assez de connaissances concernant non seulement la langue française, la culture littéraire africaine mais aussi la langue anglaise de même que les points communs entre les deux langues. Nous constatons que la tâche du traducteur de Laye n’est pas une simple opération. Dans cette étude nous révélons que le but de la traduction est la recherche de l’équivalence, parce que l’équivalence n’existe pas tout simplement entre l’original et le texte d’arrivée, le rôle du traducteur est de rendre en langue cible le texte de manière naturelle et adéquat aux lecteurs cible qui ne maîtrisent pas la langue originale. Cette étude fournira une aide importante au traducteur de la littérature africain quand il sera confronté à des entraves lors de la traduction de noms propres.
Références


Mothers in Masquerade: Objectification and Theatricality in the Poetry of Anne Sexton and Sylvia Plath

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Abstract

Drawing on John Rivière’s view that female masquerade could be considered either as submission to dominant social codes or as resistance to patriarchal norms, my research paper seeks to represent masquerade as women’s submission to the patriarchal constructions of the feminine and the institution of motherhood in modern American poetry. My paper adopts the first view of masquerade and applies it on Sylvia Plath’s "Lesbos", "Three Women", and Anne Sexton’s «Housewife" and "Self in 1958". Indeed, mothers who live to the American ideals of womanhood and motherhood usually enact the masquerade of the ideal mother in order to represent a good self image and, hence, to gain social acceptance. Yet, by putting on the mask of the good traditional mother masquerade turns them into submissive women or rather objects with no identities and no wills. My study, which explores the constructedness of mother identity in modern American literature, describes how masquerade exposes mothers’ objectification and victimisation. It illustrates how masquerading mothers are objectified as spectacle and gives an insight into the motif of theatricality to convey by that the concept of masquerade. My research paper also shows how disguised mothers use authentic voices to react to the inauthenticity of their mothering experiences and to the artificiality of the ideal mother image.

Keywords: masquerade, motherhood, objectification, theatricality
The concept of masquerade is worthy of critical investigation because it represents an important notion that prevails not only in the medieval literary works but also in the contemporary ones. Many pieces of writing of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries foreground questions of masquerade and its correlated terms of mask and disguise. Sylvia Plath’s and Anne Sexton’s poems, for instance, are among the modern American works that throw the light on the motif of masquerade and draw a particular attention to its inextricable relation to the concept of identity. Indeed, "the earliest sources in Western civilisation mark the mask as closely connected to the notion of the person" (Tseëlon 4); in other words, as tightly related to identity and to its "even vaguer terminological twin, the 'self'" (Garodiner 347). Masquerade in Plath’s "Lesbos", "Three Women", and Sexton’s "Housewife" and "Self in 1958" masterfully explores the establishment of mother identity in modern American culture. These works speak volumes about the way the mask of motherhood is imposed by the Western patriarchal system to define good mothers’ identities and roles.

Modern American poetry is filled with sentimentalised images of the naturally passive and unambivalently loving full time stay-at-home mothers who conform to the nineteenth century American ideals of womanhood and motherhood. A good traditional mother is the housewife, the child bearer, as well as the child rearer. She is the angel -at-home figure who works blindly and selflessly for the sake of her family. Yet, almost often the ideal mothers emerging from contemporary American poetry are mothers in masquerade. Indeed, in "Hiding behind a Façade of Normalcy to Preserve Self" Carolyn Westall and Pranee Liamputtong argue that "Women hid behind a mask to give the impression of being good mothers" (86). They put on the mask of the good traditional mother and show to live up to the ideals of good motherhood in order to be socially accepted. Otherwise, they would fall apart from the script of the good mother and good mothering and would be socially designated as deviant mothers. "Douglas and Michaels say that as mothers we learn to put on the masquerade of the doting, self-sacrificing mother and wear it all times to save maternal shame or humiliation" (Feasey 6). To represent an acceptable self-image, and hence, to avoid social stigmatisation and marginalisation mothers engage in a masquerade of femininity and motherhood. The maternal personas in Plath’s and Sexton’s poetry are hidden behind a mask to conceal their real identities and to guard that constructed image of the good traditional mother.

Masquerade is used as a means to mask the real identity and to assume a fake one. Along these lines, it has been argued that "the view of the mask as antithesis to the authentic person is a phenomenon of the middle ages" (Tseëlon 5). In fact, it is "from medieval times onwards [that] the mask […] has come to connote disingenuity, artifice and pretence in contrast to original identity, which connotes truth and authenticity" (Tseëlon 4). Plath’s and Sexton’s poetry provides a good opportunity to look at how maternal personas speak truthfully and authentically about their artificial and theatricalised selves. The motif of theatricality is overwhelmingly present to express the artifice of the ideal mother identity. Mask, role-playing, stage performance,
masquerade costume, and unreal appearance are all related terms that pertain to the lexical register of theatricality, and hence, portray the fake self.

The ideal mothers in Plath’s and Sexton’s works are merely masquerading mothers who mask themselves in disguises of submission as the sexual object and the doll. Their masquerade reveals the bitter truth of women’s submission to social laws, and especially, man-made laws. The mask of motherhood in Plath’s "Lesbos", "Three Women", and Sexton’s "Housewife" and "Self in 1958" exposes the passive submissive nature of the female. In her book Masquerade and gender: Disguise and Female Identity in Eighteenth-Century Fictions by Women, Catherine Craft-Fairchild asserts that "The controversial aspect of Rivière’s pioneering study has spawned at least two currently circulating notions of masquerade - one that views the inevitable female disguise as submission to dominant social codes, and another that sees masquerade as disruptive and as resistance to patriarchal norms" (51). Women’s masquerade in the above-mentioned poems corresponds to the first circulating notion of female masquerade.

Accordingly, it would be significant to investigate how women’s masquerade in modern American literature unveils female subjection to patriarchal rules. Equally important, it would be crucial to examine how in their submission to dominant social codes mothers are turned into puppets and objects of desire. Plath’s and Sexton’s poetry, indeed, candidly explores how women’s subjection to the other is mingled with their objectification as well as theatricalisation. The research paper seeks also to shed the light on the dramatic aspect inherent in the act of masquerade and on mothers’ reactions to their status of submission and objectification that brings forth discomfiting and painful feelings.

In Sexton’s "Housewife"(1962), from Selected Poems of Anne Sexton, the persona assumes the character of the good mother by wearing the mask of the passive submissive stay-at-home mother. Sexton, known as a middle class suburban housewife, "speak[s] lines uniting the buried self with her social stereotype, the suburban housewife" (Colburn 12). During a specific period in her marital life, Sexton buries her real self and shows a fake one that preserves her social image as an ideal housewife. As confessionalist, she projects her lived experience of masquerade in "Housewife".

The maternal persona in the poem understudy enters into a masquerade of womanhood and motherhood. She responds to one of the basic requirements of the institution of motherhood through displaying the role of the intensive stay-at-home mother. The hyperbole used in the opening line, "some women marry houses", serves to criticize women’s utter submission to the feminine ideal of the domestic mother. This poetic device emphasises the extent to which some women, haunted by the social stereotype of the ideal mother, show off a strong attachment to their homes that the mother-home relationship becomes a conjugal one. Nevertheless, such a marriage confines and restricts them within the limits of the home which "walls are permanent and pink". "The walls of the house are 'permanent' suggesting a rigid prison and 'pink'
[suggesting] feminine, perhaps even cute" (Haralson 661). The pink colour of the walls emphasises the well-established traditional belief that the home is the natural and real sphere of the mother. Yet, what is still worth noting in the poem is how woman’s submission to the prevalent cultural demands consigns her to mere objectification.

"Housewife" is written in the voice of a full-time stay-at-home mother whose domesticity turns her into a mere object. She stages herself as an object of desire for man. Such a woman yields herself to the power and possession of man at the very expense of the self; its own needs and desires. In this context, it could be assumed that "Housewife" represents masquerade as it is defined by Luce Irigary:

Masquerade must be understood as what women do in order to recuperate some element of desire, to participate in man’s desire, but at the price of renouncing their own. In the masquerade, they submit to the dominant economy of desire in an attempt to remain 'on the market' in spite of everything . . . a woman has to become a normal woman, that is, has to enter into the masquerade of femininity . . . [has to enter] into a system of values that is not hers, and in which she can 'appear' and circulate only when enveloped in the needs/desires/fantasies of others, namely, men. (Fairchild 54)

A whole scene of theatricality is constructed in the poem to highlight the concept of the mask of motherhood and to stress women’s submission to the dominant economy of desire. In order to become a normal woman, the persona enters into a masquerade of femininity and displays her role as an object of desire for man. The mother "marr[ies] [her]house" and "sits on [her] knees all day, / faithfully washing herself down" while "men enter by force, drawn back like Jonah / into their fleshy mothers". The stage action emphasised through the verb "enter" and which lays in opposition with the static physical image of the mother highlights man’s status as spectator while mother’s status as spectacle. The scene of the passive mother sitting on her knees faithfully while men enter forcefully and aggressively expresses theatricality and enhances women’s condition as a show. Along these lines, it has been declared that "masquerade would hence appear to be the very antithesis of spectatorship / subjectivity…Masquerade would seem to facilitate an understanding of the woman’s status as spectacle rather than spectator" (Fairchild 55). Interestingly enough, Sexton’s "Housewife" conspicuously represents a spectacle of female objectification. The woman "desires to be desired; by catering to male fantasies, she becomes objectified as a spectacle" (Fairchild 55). Still, "The endless loop of this mother as object is summed up in the final lines […]: 'A woman is her mother. / that’s the main thing'" (O’Reilly 1113). A woman, like her mother, is deemed to an object like status and to live up to fully satisfy men’s needs and desires.

The notion of objectification and the motif of theatricality are also suggested in the poem by the description of the home which is put on a deceptive and striking appearance. In addition to its pink colour that is generally associated with femininity and sweetness, the house has "another kind of skin; it has a heart, / a mouth, a liver and bowel movements". Obviously enough, the
mother who is disguised as the sexual object dwells in a fictional house that is masqueraded as a human being. It seems that the mother’s inextricable attachment to her domestic sphere, the home, associates the latter with human attributes while endows the former with object features.

The masquerade of the mother as an obedient housewife who "marrie[s] [her] house", "sits on [her] knees all day, / faithfully washing herself down" reflects gender inequality in western society. The masquerade of the good mother in these lines masterfully dramatises the condition of women as objects of sexual desire and victims of gender inequality. The poem emphasises how through imposing the archetype of the ideal mother, the patriarchal institution of motherhood had in a way enfeebled mothers. This is made quite clear in the poem through the act of "sitting on [the] knees all day" which denotes weakness and subjugation. This act of submission is antagonised with men’s act of force and power: "men enter by force". This opposition serves to highlight gender stratification in western society. The mother in "Housewife" is represented as a "hegemonic form" (2) that is "aware of her part in the reproduction of gender inequality, yet remain very much subject to her" (Goodwin and Huppatz 2). Even though she feels enfeebled and oppressed by the patriarchal culture, the mother passively participates in man’s needs and desires at the price of renouncing her own. Notably, "Housewife" intensifies the extent to which masquerade functions as an unpleasant and oppressive play for women.

Plath’s "Lesbos", from Selected Poems of Sylvia Plath, is one of the modern works that reveals a lot about the mask of motherhood and the bitter realities associated with it. A whole scene of theatricality and fictionality is visualised in the poem to convey the theme of masquerade. This is revealed through the objectification of the mother figure to a "little unstrung puppet". In addition to being "devoured by their children, effaced; [mothers] are subjugated by men, imprisoned, mutilated, made into puppets or toys, hollow or blank with no identities and no wills" (Dobbs 13). The good patriarchal mother in this poem is compared to "a puppet" stressing by that the frozen image to which the mother is doomed. It shows how the image of the ideal mother is no more than a fake image; a masquerade that stresses women’s subordination to male power and desire. Women’s submission to the dominant economy of male desire is further highlighted in the poem through the following lines; "I should sit on a rock off Cornwall and comb my hair. / I should wear tiger pants, I should have an affair" (29-30). These lines stress the image of the mother as an object of desire for men. The "tiger pants" form the masquerade costume that the woman has to wear in order to fulfil her role and participate in man’s desire.

The masquerade of motherhood is also underlined in the poem through the description of the suburban home. The home, "the site of domestic labour" (Gill 113), becomes a theatre; a stage for dramatic play. "The theatricality [of] [the] [home] indicates that it is not a place of authentic selfhood. The home is as much a place for masks as the theatre of public life" (Nelson 32-33). Theatricality is further conveyed through the theatrical imagery used in the poem; "Hollywood", "the fluorescent -light", "stage curtains", and "puppet". The suburban domestic home is no longer a "natural environment for an idealised femininity" (Gill 72); it becomes
instead an artificial environment where the mother is condemned to put on the mask created by
the patriarchal system and "compelled to act [her] part" (Nelson 32-33). The home becomes a
stage where the housewife mother, the dramatis personae, performs her theatrical presentation.
She acts as "a pathological liar" on that stage. It is noteworthy to mention that behind the
equation of the domestic home to a theatrical stage and the mother to "a pathological liar" lays
an attempt to refer to the inauthentic identity as well as the dramatic condition of the mother.

"Lesbos" shows how a woman reacts to the patriarchal constructions of femininity and
motherhood. It challenges the ideal of the stay- at-home mother who is imaged as a "pathological
liar" enacting the masquerade of good motherhood. Along these lines, it has been argued that
"lesbos exposes and explodes this ideal. The relentlessly end-stopped lines spit out a catalogue of
anger, resentment and despair. [Kitchen], children, animals, husband and self- all are bitterly
indicted" (Gill 72). From the poem’s first line, "viciousness in the kitchen!, we learn that the
mother comes to terms with the disguised role of the ideal housewife. The suburban domestic
kitchen, compared to a theatrical stage, becomes a hellish place. "The poem is filled with images
of domestic space as hell: 'the stink of fat and baby crap', the 'smog of cooking', lit by a migraine-
including 'fluorescent light'" (Gill 113). "The potatoes hiss" and "the smog of cooking" create
viciousness in the kitchen, which endow the speaker with "silence", "thickness", and "hate
up to her neck". Using a bitter despondent tone, the speaker reveals:

 Thick, thick.
I do not speak.
I am packing the hand potatoes like good clothes,
I am packing the babies,
I am packing the sick cats. (66-70)

The device of parallelism used through the repetition of "I am packing" expresses the
image of the mechanical woman to which the mother is reduced and describes the monotonous
and boring life to which she is doomed. "Potatoes", "babies", and "cats" are to be packed silently
and hatefully. In another instance, the speaker desperately says:

  . . . I should drown the Kittens. Their smell!
  . . . I should drown my girl.

  I should sit on a rock off Cornwall and comb my hair.
  I should wear tiger pants, I should have an affair. (20-21, 29-30)

In addition to "drown[ing]" the "kittens" and her "girl", the mother has to fulfill her part as
an object of desire for man. The parallelism which is made obvious through the repetition of "I
should" achieves a specific effect. "I should" is purposefully re-used to express obligation and to
emphasise oppression. Again, the device of parallelism used throughout the poem serves to
highlight the extent to which "[the] mother has been established as a normative construct, a
mechanism through which women do what they "should" (Goodwin and Huppatz 4). Such a device significantly reflects "the discrepancy between the idealised expectations and the harsh realities of motherhood" (O’Reilly 51). Whether through the repetition of "I am packing" or "I should", these lines in "Lesbos" affirm that "masquerade is not ...a joyful or affirmative play but an anxiety-ridden compensatory gesture, a position which is potentially disturbing, uncomfortable, and inconsistent, as well as psychically painful for the woman" (Fairchild 54). Nevertheless, in spite of her awareness of masquerade as a disturbing and painful experience the mother remains engaged in such a play and keeps submissive to others’ needs and desires.

Sexton’s "Self in 1958", from Selected Poems of Anne Sexton, is another important work that deals with the theme of masquerade and highlights the fact that masquerade does form neither a joyful nor an affirmative play. The poem, indeed, explores the feelings of oppression and alienation that accompany such an act and draws attention to different dualities like image and reality, objectivity and subjectivity, and fakedness and authenticity. It gives prominence to what Susan Mushart calls "the gap between image and reality, between what we show and what we feel, [and] [which] has resulted in a peculiar cultural schizophrenia about motherhood" (Feasey 7). This poem is written against the mask of the good mother and unveils the inauthenticity of such an image.

"Self in 1958" dramatises the condition of the good traditional mother as a victim of mere objectification. Again, Sexton’s poetry stresses how in masquerade women are made into puppets and dolls with no identities and no wills. The good patriarchal mother is objectified as spectacle. She is, indeed, reduced to a "plaster doll" and a "synthetic doll" with "eyes that open, blue, steel, and close", "nylon legs", "luminous arms" and "some advertised clothes". This fictional character "live[s] in a doll’s house" with "four chairs", "a counterfeit table", "a flat roof", "a big front door", "an iron bed", "a cardboard floor" and "windows that flash open on someone’s city". The home is equipped in a way that is suitable for theatrical presentation. The "counterfeit table" reflects the fictitiousness of the house. The self is staged as an object and the home is described as a theatre for the interplay of female objectification. The images of the "plaster doll" and "synthetic doll" living in a "doll’s house" filled with fictionality and artificiality suggest the idea that the ideal mother is a mere artefact. The self becomes aware that the archetype of the ideal mother created by the patriarchal system is a fake image, or a masquerade, that condemns the mother to objectification and puts her in the periphery.

What distinguishes the mother figure in "Self in 1958" from that in "Housewife" is that this mother revolts against submission, passivity, and objectification and embarks on search for a new identity and on a quest for reality. It is clear from the beginning of the poem that the speaker is haunted by the question "what is reality?". The speaker’s awareness of the artificiality of this patriarchal model gives her an incentive to pose the question "what is reality?" twice in the poem. She asks:
What is reality
To this synthetic doll
Who should smile, who should shift gears,

And have no evidence of ruin or fears? (31-33, 35)

In this vein, in their essay "Theorising and Representing Maternal Realities" Marie Porter and Julie Kelso argue that:

The understanding of reality has changed since second wave feminists first argued for research to be based in reality. Previously, when women’s experiences had been researched and theorised at all, it was usually from a male viewpoint- women’s reality interpreted by a man. Most women realized that such knowledge was an inauthentic representation of their experiences. (X)

"Self in 1958" foreshadows second wave feminists’ question about women’s reality that is obviously still unsettled at Plath’s and Sexton’s time. The poet’s query "what is reality" is wonderfully effective in the way it undercuts the common reality of mothers as mere objects. It revolts against that kind of objective reality interpreted by men and calls for a subjective reality interpreted by women, and mothers, themselves.

"Self in 1958" is an oppressed and alienated self that seeks liberation from the shackles of the patriarchal ideology. It is a revolutionary self that strives to deconstruct her objectification and construct her subjectivity. For the maternal speaker, subjectivity is what forms women’s reality. To represent reality, mothers should unmask themselves. The "synthetic doll", the product of patriarchal culture, should "smile", enjoy a life free from "ruin or fears", and particularly "shift gears" or what she names her "advertised clothes". She has to throw off all those masquerading costumes designated for displaying the role of the ideal traditional mother and to reject all forms of oppression and control imposed on her by the Western traditional system.

The first voice in Plath’s "Three Women", from Winter Trees, represents another face of the good mother which is that of the highly protective, unambivalently loving, and emotional salvager. The mother embodies a great source of love, protection, and goodness for her husband and children. Yet, the mask of ideal motherhood is lived as a disturbing and uncomfortable experience since masquerade enables her to provide her family with comfort and happiness at the price of renouncing her own. Because disguise is found as a means working against the mother, the role of the mother as an emotional supporter of man and children is questioned and devalorised in Plath’s "Three Women". The latter brilliantly illustrates the mother’s inability to truly uphold such an image and doubts that such a role should be considered as part of the mother’s real and natural experience:

How long can I be a wall, keeping the wind off?
How long can I be a wall around my green property?
How long can my hands
Be a bondage to his hurt, and my words
Bright birds in the sky, consoling, consoling?
It is a terrible thing
To be so open: it is as if my heart
Put on a face and walked into the world. (289, 296-302)

The image of the mother as "a wall keeping the wind off" ensures the protective role the good mother has to play for her family. She has to put on the mask of the loving protective mother all the time. In another instance in the poem, she reveals, "I shall be a wall and a roof, protecting. / I shall be a sky and a hill of good: O let me be!". Once again, the repetition of "I shall" emphasises the constraints imposed on mothers by Western patriarchal system. "O let me be!" reflects the mother’s painful submission to dominant social codes and suggests women’s adaptation to their self-objectification. Indeed, the images attributed to the mother especially those of "the wall" and "the roof" denote mere objectification.

The image of the mother as an emotional salvager whose "hands are a bondage to [his] hurt" and whose "words [are] consoling [ones]" is found as a fake and "terrible thing". What is terrible is that exaggerated openness of feelings of love and care toward others which converges to be inauthentic. Indeed, "to be so open" to others’ anxieties is endowed with theatricality and inauthenticity in the poem. The mother’s "heart put[s] on a face" in order to be "so open" to others’ sorrows and hurts in spite of her own injuries and troubles. The speaker finds it terrible to disguise the heart for the sake of others at the very expense of the self. The frequent display of interrogative marks and the repetition of "how long can I be" throughout these lines serve to emphasise the mother’s intense emotion, and in particular, her frustration with her role as an emotional salvager. Plath’s recurrent interrogations react against what "institutionalized motherhood demands of women.... [like] [the] relation to others rather than the creation of self" (Rich 42). These lines establish the way the masquerade of ideal motherhood stipulates that mother love should be altruistic rather than selfish.

To conclude, modern American poetry highlights recent critical debates about women’s identities and their representation in Western culture. Via their confessional mode, Plath and Sexton go to the heart of the matter and candidly expose how masquerade functions as a real obstacle against their authentic selves. Their poetry offers a grotesque take on related themes like those of objectification and theatricality which help to establish their artificial identities. Being burdened and enervated by the patriarchal system, mothers, to whom subjectivity is denied, react against their submissiveness and their objectification. Masquerade is found as an arduous role and an uncomfortable experience imposed on them.
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Resistance in the Desert: A Postcolonial Reading of the Novel

*Desert* by Le Clézio

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Abstract

Literature about the images of the Maghrebian Arabs was usually investigated in postcolonial criticism as either withholding the cultural assumptions produced by Orientalism or proposing an anti-western critique of the hegemonic West. This paper focused on the subversion of the stereotypes of the colonised Maghrebian Arabs in the novel of a contemporary French writer. The study applied postcolonial literary criticism to explore the experiences of representation and difference in relation to the colonial discourse of Orientalism and Fanon’s principles of violence and resistance with a view to establishing the anti-colonial reactions permeating the novel titled *Desert*. The nomadic Arabs were portrayed as freedom lovers who had to resist the internationally sponsored French army, presented as powerful, barbaric, repressive and oppressive intruders. Europe was demystified, as a hostile land, full of disillusion, brutality and deception. The heroin Lalla epitomised resistance as evidenced in the condemnation of oppression, forced marriage and exile to Europe. The existence of discursive resistance in the novel and the will to give a voice to the marginalized therefore establishes *Desert* as a postcolonial work, and more particularly a critique of the West from within.

Keywords: Resistance, Desert Arabs, postcolonial, contemporary French novel, Le Clézio
Introduction

*Desert* (1980), a novel by Frenchman Le Clézio, revisits the stereotypes of the Orient, initially designed by the colonial discourse of Orientalism to praise the West and debase the Orient. Interestingly, literature produced by French writers is investigated in postcolonial criticism for either as example of cultural assumptions against the Orient as “eccentric, backward, silently indifferent, (and) penetrable like a female, malleable” (Said, *Orientalism*: 4), or as a form of anti-western critique offered from within the hegemonic West, which is perceived as a coldly rational agent of imperialism, with its sinful urban life, corruption, materialism, and other evil practices that create tensions within and across religions and cultures (Ian Buruma and Avishai Margalit, 2004).

At the primary stage of anti-colonial, whereby “indigenous states and peoples fought Europeans’ first attempts to control them” (Cell, 2009), some fought and got crushed by the Europeans’ gun power, while others resigned to making treaties with the invaders. *Desert* relates the crushing of the Tuaregs by the French colonial army at the beginning of the 20th century, along with the story of one of their descendants, a young nomad girl who abandons her career as photo model in Paris and returns to give birth and enjoy the freedom of nature, in the Sahara desert. Our study shall focus on the subtext that reveals cases and strategies of resistance against colonialist ideology, as evidenced in the condemnation of the French colonial army for its brutality and the modern City as a strange, hostile and anonymous world where people lose their senses when they are cut off from the fundamental elements of their existence.

Resistance and Literature about the Maghreb

Resistance in postcolonial criticism is analysed at primary and secondary levels (Norman, 2012). Primary resistance is associated with the concepts of violence, independence and liberation as propounded by Fanon. The second type of resistance is counter-discourse, a postcolonial activity which requires an intellectual independence or a ‘decolonised’ mind. For Helen Tiffin, decolonisation of the mind is a continuous process: “It invokes an ongoing dialectic between hegemonic centrist systems and peripheral subversion of them; between Europe or British discourses and their post-colonial dis/mantling.” (95). Since subversion is the ingredient of postcolonial texts, our study shall dwell on passages where the normative codes of European biases and canonical traditions are subverted and their ideology eroded.

Early anticolonial manifestos emanated from Bartolomé de Las Casas (*Mémoires*, 1542) and Franciscus de Victoria, who were identified as two of the most influential critics of Spanish colonial practice in the 16th century (Ferro, 1997 and Kohn, 2011). De Las Casas claimed that “The Defense of the Indians lies in showing that they are human beings, without any difference from those who were colonising them” (Ferro, 168), while Victoria argued that neither the Pope nor the Spaniards had the right to colonise the Indians under the pretext that they violated natural
laws by being fornicators or adulterers. The 16th century French writer Montaigne’s *Les Essais*, was equally another accusation of the West on its role in colonialism (Jouanny, 5).

Besides, Césaire – with his works *Cahier D’un Retour Au Pays Natal* (1939) and *Discours Sur Le Colonialisme* (1950) – alongside Frantz Fanon saw colonialism as a source of violence and dehumanisation. In *Les damnés de la terre* (1961, translated as *The Wretched of the Earth*), Fanon analysed the role of class, race, and violence in the Algerian struggle for national liberation. Since the coloniser’s presence was based on strength, resistance to this force should likewise be violent. The differential factor of class was no more owning factories, but belonging to a particular race, like the dirty native zone of Arabs characterised by depravation (30). Colonial stereotypes made Algerians to be identified with the images that the European made about them: savage and unreasonable killers (Harrison, 68) or the violent, passionate, brutal, jealous, proud, arrogant Algerian who stakes his life on a word or on some detail (Harrison, 70). Fanon’s major preoccupations were first, the existence of cultural alienation and the necessity to fight the colonial domination that generated it (Giraud, 74). Subversion becomes, therefore, the ingredient of postcolonial texts: “If the first step towards a postcolonial perspective is to reclaim one’s own past, then the second is to begin to erode the colonialist ideology by which that past had been devalued” (Barry, 192).

Said’s *Orientalism* (1978), which revealed the Eurocentric universalism that attributes superiority to what is European and inferiority to what is not, successfully sensitised critics to the operations of colonial discourses, which launched postcolonialism as a literary theory (McLeod, 23-24). As a result, many writers have striven to demonstrate how colonialism was perpetuated by the process called ‘colonising the mind’ that consisted in justifying colonisation as a Civilising Mission and making the colonised subjects to accept their lower ranking. Following Said and Fanon, pioneers of a counter-discourse about the stereotypes of the Orientals, the new generation of critics in the 1980s – when *Desert* was published – who would believe that resistance to colonialism should challenge the way of thinking about identity.

While the early African Negritude poets shared their frustration in Europe and their desire to fraternise with the races of the world in works that expressed their nostalgia about Africa, the Algerian Tahar Ben Jelloul elicited the contradictions inherent in exile – whether physical, cultural or psychological – by describing Europe as a place of misfortune and hell, in contrast to the illusion of hope and paradise: “L’Occident que décrit Ben Jelloun n’est pas un paradis terrestre; mais un espace ambigu qui donne et prend la vie, qui rend heureux et malheureux, et qui se manifeste à la fois comme enfer et paradis” (Ajah, 49). Albert Memmi’s *La Statue de sel* (1953) treated the identity quest of a young Tunisian hailing from the minority Jewish community, living in an Arab Muslims’ dominated country under French colonial rule. Benillouche’s quest for a new identity was marked by the rejection of imposed societal norms and embracing external cultural models (Marzouki, 68). Assia Djebar was a female Algerian writer who gave a central role to women, either as oppressed or emancipated individuals, in the
narratives intertwining between History and her personal life in works such as *La Soif* (1957) and *L’Amour, la fantasia* (1985).

Mehdi Charef’s *Le Harki de Meriem* (1989) and Yamina Benguigui’s *Histoires d’immigrés* (1997), as examples of diaspora literature, examined the reconstruction of identity by ostracised French Algerians who suffered a double rejection, that is, considered as traitors back in Algeria and as strangers by their host communities in France (Rachedi, 83). The diaspora writer, Nina Bouraoui, with an Algeria father and a French mother, and the author of *Garçon manqué* (2000) examined the relationships between men and women in Algeria, the quest for identity between one’s Algerian origins and the diaspora in France (Blondeau, et. al. 146). Kangni Alem Alemdjrodo, in a mytho-critical comparative study of African and Maghrebian literatures, stated that North African writers such as Mohammed Dib, Driss Chraïbi, and Albert Memmi treated the delusion of colonial France, questioned the myths of the founding founders, oscillating between greatness and their decline, and the coldness and immorality of France epitomised by Paris: “La France c’est le bordel du monde et le cabinet de ce bordel est Paris” (Dris Chraïbi, 271). Contemporary French writer Le Clézio, whose spouse is a Maghrebian, made his contribution on the images of the desert Arabs, notably in the novel *Desert* through his treatment of colonial agents as villains and Arabs subjects as victims of colonialism.

The French colonial army as agent of repression and oppression

The narrative tone of the novel incriminates the colonial army for its brutality towards the desert warriors who resisted violently even if their weapons were no match for the Europeans’. No form of resistance was tolerated; otherwise, it was repelled with killings (D, 40). As repression and oppression characterised the colonial situation, the invaders launched attacks against the native nomads, which caused a destruction of lives, livestock and properties (39). The merciless army grounded the local economy by attacking their caravans, burning down villages and abducting the local children (D. 230-1). The imperial army would only tolerate the local leaders who accept their supremacy. When some leaders contested their imperial authority, they were forcefully removed and replaced by African collaborators, sometimes from the very family of the deposed leader, thereby foregrounding Fanon’s warning against the presence of African sell-outs who served as links between the European capitalists and their Africa:

Ils marchent vers le Nord, vers la ville sainte de Fez, pour renverser le sultan, et faire nommer à sa place Moulay Hiba, celui qu’on appelle Sebaa, le Lion, le fils aîné de Ma el Ainine. (D. 382)
(They are marching northward toward the holy city of Fez, to overthrow the sultan and have Moulay Hiba appointed in his place, he who is called Sebaa, the Lion, the eldest son of Ma el Ainine. transl. 309)

The might of the colonial army notwithstanding, some oppressed Arabs who rejected the submission of their territories recorded some victories, as examplified by the assassinations of
colonial administrators such as governor Coppolani and Mauchamp (375). Although General Moinier saw the French army’s attacks as a revenge mission against the Arab leader Al Azraq, the narrator - who doubled as the Arab leader’s son - presented the mission as foregrounding the imperialist economic system of the West. In this case, the rebellion was an organised action spearheaded by an Islamic scholar. The Arabs might have been defeated militarily, but they were not conquered. They might have lost their lands later to the Imperial administration, but they never submitted themselves to humiliation. They fought and died gallantly. The novel highlights Fanon’s principle on the necessity to fight colonial domination and the liberation of people by themselves.

Writing about resistance: the reconstruction of stereotypes

Fanon expected the postcolonial writer to react against all the negative stereotypes generated by colonial discourse against the colonised. Degenerate images of Arabs permeated the novel Desert as some Europeans’ representations of the oriental ‘Other’, yet characters that seemed to carry the voice of the writer did not to endorse them. There was a discrepancy between the ways the religious leaders were perceived in their own community and how the French considered them. Al Azraq and his subjects were othered as barbaric, debased as ignoble savage and gerontified as excessively religious, while their descendants were denigrated as lazy, redundant and wretched by colonial agents.

A subversion of the traditions and images of the Orient showed that the arid desert land could be seen as beautiful, fascinating, and free, without clusters of objects and buildings, inspiring freedom, which the Blue men enjoyed and refused to relinquish (23). Positive images of characters were used to counter the negative images of the Arabs. In Desert, the French General’s interpellations of the Muslim leader as fanatic, wicked, crazy and murderer turned out to be baseless. The observer engaged with the French army, who was the only person to have come across the sheikh, had positive memories about the fugitive, which portrayed him as merciful to his prisoners, including French administrators (D, 375): “Douls was a prisoner of the Moors; his clothing was in shreds, his face ravaged from fatigue and from the sun, but Ma al-Aînine had looked at him without hatred, without contempt...” (transl. 303). Moreover, the narrator respected the sheikh’s refusal to confront the colonial army. He was not a coward, but a wise man. He understood that his forces were no match to the colonial expedition, which in reality, was sponsored by a global capitalist adventure put in place by many Western countries and companies who joined forces and organised the conquest of territories for economic gains.

Lalla as the epitome of resistance

Several instances of resistance and subversion were revealed through the study of the heroin’s anti-conformist personality. First, the young Lalla’s love for the sun and the sky subverted the image of Africa as a hellish land with a scorching sun and a harsh weather (D. 91). Moreover,
unlike the typical submissive African girl child, she refused to carry out duties such as fetching firewood and grinding wheat (D. 85). With her rejection of the suitor imposed on her, and her choice for an outcast, a strange and black shepherd living among goats in the hills, Lalla showed that she was not ready to succumb to intimidation. Taken to a carpet seller in a case of child labour, for the sustenance of her family, Lalla fought the owner of the shop against her abuse, exploitation and battering of underage employees (188). Her revolt cost her the job, but earned her respect and sweet freedom « La liberté est belle. » (189). When she declared, at home, that she would no longer go to work at Zora’s, she successfully made a statement:

C’est à partir de ce jour-là que les choses ont changé réellement pour Lalla, ici, à la Cité. C’est comme si elle était devenue grande toute d’un coup, et que les gens avaient commencé à la voir. Même les fils d’Aamma ne sont plus comme avant, durs et méprisants. (189, 90)
(Since that day, things here in the Project have really changed for Lalla. It’s as if she’d grown up all of the sudden, and people have started noticing her. Even Aamma’s sons aren’t like they used to be, cold and scornful.) (transl. 151)

Lalla posted a Fanonian attitude, which stated that freedom begets respect, and that a nation would be respected only when it acceded to independence and secured a total freedom from the colonial mentality and dominance.

In Paris, Lalla displayed kindness by caring for other people’s needs, even with the little money she made from menial jobs (D. 333). In spite of this financial handicap, she would not tolerate either oppression or intimidation, as she took Radicz the beggar to an exquisite and luxurious restaurant in defiance to the condescending looks of the European customers (D. 336). Moreover, she depicted Oriental beauty as she became a source of enrichment to a French photographer, who made her a model (D. 338). Lalla belittled the glamour of her celebrity as she mocked the vanity and absurdity of the photographic artistry (D. 345). Contrary to most Africans in exile, she made it clear to the photographer that she was not interested in pecuniary gains:

Elle ne veut pas d’argent, cela ne l’intéresse pas. Chaque fois que le photographe lui donne de l’argent – le prix des heures de pose – Hawa prend les billets de banque, en choisit un ou deux, elle lui rend le reste. Quelquefois, même, c’est elle qui lui donne de l’argent, des poignées de billets et de pièces qu’elle sort de la poche de sa salopette, comme si elle ne voulait rien garder pour elle.» (D. 351, 2)
(She doesn’t want money, it doesn’t interest her. Every time the photographer gives her some money – wages for the hours of posing – Hawa takes the bills, picks out one or two, and hands him back the rest. Sometimes, she’s even the one who gives him money, handfuls of bills and coins that she takes out of the pocket in her overall, as if she didn’t want to keep any of it for herself. transl. 285-6)

She thought that not only her pictures displayed in magazines did not portray her real identity, the comments and messages sent to her were all misplaced, inadequate, and untrue. She bemoaned the reactions of her fans, which were based on the artificialities worked out by the
photographer. Although she looked like a star, she believed that they would be stunned if they realised that she was an unlettered desert girl: « Lalla se met à rire: « Quels menteurs! » (...) « Parce qu’elle pense que ça ne lui ressemble pas.» (D. 347). Her relationship with the French photographer, despite sharing the same apartment, was devoid of the promiscuity and cupidity, thereby betraying the stereotypes of the native Oriental woman.

Lalla, the freedom lover, eventually put an end to her adventure in France, going back home, without any additional material possession, exactly the way she was before departing (D. 411). Back to her City, in spite of the new buildings, simple, natural, faithful to the Hartani – who had vanished –, Lalla gave birth to their child, at the root of a fig tree (D. 422). Unfazed by the absence of money and medical attention, Lalla was merely happy to realise her life ambition. Like her ancestors, the key enjoyment of life was freedom: « Il n’y avait pas de fin à la liberté, elle était vaste comme l’étendue de la terre, belle et cruelle comme la lumière, douce comme les yeux de l’eau. » (D. 439). In spite of the displacement, Lalla did not suffer any alienation. Europe was nothing essential to offer her. Africa is her source of identity, freedom and happiness.

Writing ‘Postcolonially’: Forced Marriage and Exile

Problems related to marriage as a result of the conflict between African culture and the newly introduced Western way of life, of misunderstanding between the old generation of African traditionalists and the new generation of educated intellectuals, of a choice between love and money, formed the plots of African post-independent fiction. Likewise, Le Clézio’s Desert announced Lalla as a teenager when her adoptive family decided to give her out to a better suitor, with wealth as the criterion of choice (192). It was all the more important because of her amorous relationship with a shepherd, the desert orphan boy. Since the family’s choice was made against her will, Lalla fled the ‘City’ with the Hartani, for whom she became pregnant. Although the conflict emanating from the choice of a suitor for Lalla was similar to the stories in some African literature works such as like Guillaume Oyono Mbía’s Trois prétendants, un mari and Seydou Badian’s Sous l’orage, the apotheosis was slightly different in Le Clézio’s Desert. Lalla and her lover were both illiterate. The victory of her love was not a triumph of the intellectual youth over the illiterate older generation, but a victory of pure love over cupidity, of individual search for identity and self-fulfillment over the slavery of cultural prejudices and practices installed as the result of what Jung terms as ‘collective unconscious’ and myths.

Meanwhile, as colonial discourse attempted to show Africa as the land of poverty and underdevelopment, it painted Europe as the land of development, happiness and material fulfilment. Europe was presented as the land of education and wealth. In Desert, the metropolis was not the bed of roses that the African immigrants had hitherto dreamt of. In a postcolonial style, hunger, poverty and the desire to become rich were presented as the primary causes of migration. However, the initial excitement of greener pastures ended up in bitterness, disillusion,
exclusion, cultural shock and loneliness. Unlike Amma and her children who had financial motives, Lalla went as a refugee fleeing forced marriage, with the ‘privilege’ to be taken to Europe without the required immigration papers. This accidental immigrant’s experiences in France confirmed an earlier warning against the difficulties of life in Europe, which consisted of violence, police harassment, and other dangers that faced illegal immigrants (104, 5).

Aamma’s ordeals in her early days in the French city of Marseille included being lodged in an overpopulated room and losing her luggage, when she was running away from the police that came to tame a scuffle in the street where knives were used (265). In general, migrants, mostly Arabs and Gypsies, could not enjoy their stay in Europe as the police were always out to harass them (284). The challenges of immigration led to Aamma’s premature ageing. Besides, jobs are scarce. Another hazard of life in Europe was sexual abuse, which Lalla quickly realised and successful resisted (267).

However, she soon realised that there was a considerable number of wretched people in France too (269, 70). Lalla noticed that migrants, fleeing poverty in their countries, were from all over the world: North and sub-Saharan Africans as well as Europeans from Spain, Turkey and Greece. Therefore, poverty and underdevelopment were not restricted only to the colonised world (D. 272, 3). Lalla was all the more stunned by the presence of beggars in France. Her friend, Radicz, an Eastern European, was sold because his family was crippled by poverty (278). The migrants’ shabby milieu was characterised by poverty, sickness and death (290). They experienced hatred, despair, violence and insatiate desires (314). The deplorable conditions of living dehumanised them. Drunkenness, violence, obscenity and promiscuity were among issues they grappled with (320).

Besides the problem of adaptation, the elements of Western civilisation were actually negative inventions. Lalla saw the plane as a noisy machine, polluting the environment (271). Thus, life in Europe was hellish, with anxious and stressed people (271). Europeans were accused of cold feelings, indifference to their neighbour’s needs. When Lalla fell down, unconscious, passers-by paid no attention to her, nearly trampling on her (280). Sometimes, winter bit hard, and Lalla wished she were in the ‘City’, in the dark night with the sky full of stars (289). Europe as the Eldorado was therefore a fallacy. After her rite de passage, Lalla went back to Africa, without any riches. Yet, she realised that, even in poverty and hunger, staying at home was better than life in exile, with its inherent alienation and identity crisis. Le Clézio’s novel successfully presented a sordid image of life in exile.

Conclusion

In spite of the ‘debasement’ and ‘gerontification’ used to vilify the Islamic cleric, his followers and descendants as barbaric, ignoble savage, excessively religious and wretched people, the novel Desert equally showed that the desert Arabs were rather nice, religious and
compassionate fellows, who simply wanted to protect their heritage and cherish their freedom. The ambivalent stance of the novel in the treatment of its characters vis-à-vis colonial invasion and its aftermath underpinned its postcoloniality, as demonstrated by the subversion of the stereotypes of the desert Arabs and the condemnation of colonialism, and the treatment of forced marriage and exile. Migration was proved to be universal, not restricted to the movement from the former colonies to the Europe. After Lalla’s rite de passage in Paris, foregrounded by her process of discovery, discursive resistance in *Desert* was demonstrated in the dismantling of eurocentrism from within the Western world. Thus, Le Clézio is a French postcolonial writer, who, like Homi Bhabha, thinks that the subaltern can speak. Lalla has spoken: Paris is just another place, not better than the North-African ‘City’; and, Europeans are human beings, just like others.
References


The interference process at the morphological and syntactical levels

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Abstract

The interference process at the morphological and syntactical levels between Azerbaijan and English languages has been given in this article. And the examples with their errors about morphological and syntactical interference in contacting languages have also been explained and analyzed here. The common problems highlighted in the analyses of the students’ samples consist of omission of phrases (NP-noun phrase and VP- verb phrase) in the sentence formation. The errors do not differ from those that previous studies have identified. The causes of the errors are frequently named as the same sources of the interference of the first language and intralingual. The students learn the rules of morphology and syntax, although it does not guarantee that learners will grammatically apply the rules into their writing. These all largely depend on teachers’ activity.

Keywords: the interference process, morphological, syntax, errors, identify
It is well known that in a large number of settings including Azerbaijan teaching English is associated with teaching grammar. This is because it is the core element of language teaching and it must be definitely attained by second language learners. However, the notion of grammar itself is complicated and abstract to conceptualize. Once, it was regarded as ‘the science of language’ in its broadest understanding. In contrast, it can also, in its narrowest sense, be defined as the combination of words to form phrases and sentences. Although linguists find this definition ‘oversimplified’ they maintain that “it is a good starting point (and an easy way to explain the term to young learners)”.[1] Ferris D.R. When the latter definition is adopted, then the notions of morphology and syntaxes emerge as two components of grammar. In this case, morphology can be understood as the study of structure and formation of words, while syntaxes as the study of rules to combine words into phrases and phrases into sentences. Syntaxes and morphology are more important in second language acquisition because students’ performances are monitored and evaluated, especially at lower levels, and based on their morphological and syntactic knowledge. To evaluate this knowledge, teachers generally tend to look up their pieces of writing. However, it is known that students make many errors while forming sentences due to violation of the rules of syntaxes and morphology. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to identify and analyze the morphological and syntactic errors in a small portion drawn out from Azerbaijan students’ writing samples. Secondly, the potential causes of the errors will be explored with brief explanations. “Morphological errors may be considered as those which result from the misapplication of the morphological rules in the formation of words. Some linguists maintain that morphological errors indicate the learner’s miscomprehension of the meaning and function of morphemes and morphological rules.”[4] Ur P.M. These types of errors may include such errors as omission of plural nouns, lack of subject-verb agreement, the adjective-noun agreement, verb tense or form, article or other errors. On the other hand, syntactic errors are those which disobey the phrase structure rules and, in this way, violate the formation of grammatically correct sentences.[2] Fowler H.W. These errors can be exemplified as word order, ungrammatical sentence constructions resulting from faulty use of verbs, prepositions, articles, relative clauses in sentences. These types of errors have attracted the attention of great number of researchers. Their research, more or less, found similar types of morphological and syntactic errors stemming from such sources as mother tongue (Azerbaijan language) interference and inconsistency of the rules in the target language.

A detailed overview of previous studies related to the topic is presented in the following section. During the interference process there will be many errors which comprise four main classifications of errors: morphological, lexical, syntactic and mechanical errors. According to the results, the number and types of errors showed differences based on students’ proficiency level in English. For instance, lexical errors outnumbered the other types of errors in first-year students’ essays, while syntactic errors were the most common in second and third-year students’ essays.[3] Kirgoz Y.N. This research conclude that the most common errors were syntactic once caused by the faulty verb phrase structures including auxiliaries, faulty word order and tense confusion in the conditional causes. Everybody must know and describe the main source of these
errors concerning to the first language interference. If we collected many samples of essays from beginner learners most of which are not English and analyzed the obtained data to study the potential errors sources, then the students’ errors would fall into two main categories: for example, interlingual errors incloud grammatical (pluralization, verb tense), prepositional interferences (addition, omission, misusing) while intralingual errors include the article (addition, omission, misuse), spelling and redundancy. According to some linguists intralingual errors have nothing to do with mother language and result from the target language itself that students are trying to learn.[5]Hopkinson. For instance, the verbs “do and make” are confusing for many Azerbaijan learners as well as for other L2 (second language) learners. On contrary, interlingual errors are attributed to L1 (first language) interference, and are caused by learners’ lack of knowledge of the TL (target language) and their reliance on L1 (first language). Kirkgoz concludes that the possible sources of the errors she has identified in adult learners’ essays occurred due to L1 (first language) interference and intralingual, TL (target language) interference. In another context the syntactical errors of Azerbaijan students are recapitulated by investigating of previous studies and identify several error categories as a result of theirs reviews. There are verbal errors, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, sentence structure, article, prepositions and conjunctions. For each error type, teacher provided examples to illustrate how they actually occurred in authentic sentences and what causes these errors. It is has been pointed out that L1 (first language) interference and target language interference are sources of errors, in accordance with the results of other researches. [9] Suleymanov Y.A. The interference which has been marked as syntactic ones in the analysis, are those which consist of word sequence translated directly into Azerbaijan. The length of such sequences differs – from expressions containing several words or whole sentences. These formulations sound unnatural in Azerbaijan and compared with the original text their syntactic structure is the same as a result of such literal translation, the meaning is shifted. To illustrate what a syntactic interference can cause, a sentence has been given to show one of the cases in which a direct translation of the structure causes a serious shift in the meaning and thus the sentence has been misunderstood.[6] Baker, Mona, Malmker and Kristen. It has been noticed that previous studies didn’t take the way of identification and classification of syntactic and morphological errors. However just the marking and describing of the probable causes of errors do not draw a picture that can help teachers and learners to see the nature of errors and further minimize occurrences of these errors in language using no matter of spoken or written.

With this research will attempt to analyze any assential morphological and syntactic characteristics of writing of examples collected from a group of Azerbaijan students. [10] Suleymanov Y.A. There are two types of writing samples. One consists of single – sentence answers given by first – year students in the high school as part of an exercise under the topic “computer games”. The other sample comes from a university student who is required to write at least 100 words about his expectations from exchange program. This is a prerequisite for those who want to participate in the exchange program. The sample1 is presented below together with analyses of morphological and syntactical structures of students’ answers. For example: 1: First –
year students’ answers: The topic: “Computer Games” – 1. Do you like computer games? Why? Why not? S(student). 1: - Yes, I do. Because of fun. (Yes, I do because they are fun.-amended version) – The first part of the answer is syntactically correct. Student 1 shows that he/she admits “yes – no” questions and accordingly provides an answer using the pattern “do”. If it had been – Yes, I like – it would have been syntactically wrong since the verb “like” is transitive and requires an object following it. However, the second sentence does not obey the phrase structure rule that (S(sentence)->NP (noun phrase, verb phrase- VP) sentence is made up of a noun phrase (NP), a verb phrase (VP). But it consists of a PP (propositional phrase) and a NP (noun phrase), which does not comply with the existing rules. Although the answer might be semantically accepted in daily speech, it is erroneous for written language due to the lack of such phrases as NP(noun phrase) (they) and VP(verb phrase) (are) in the word order. This type of error generally stems from L1(first language) interference.

2. S (student) 2: I like computer games. – This is in accordance with phrase structure rules, thus, syntactically correct. S (sentence)- >NP(noun phrase) VP(verb phrase).

3. S (student) 3: MC (main clause) – I like do computer games; SC (subordinate clause) – [because sometimes useful and exciting computer games.] – In contrast to the sentences above, this is a complex sentence including one main and one subordinate clause. However, the two clauses are syntactically faulty. The MC (main clause) includes an additional verb “do”. In English it is impossible to use two main verbs together in the same sentence (except do for emphasis). This error probably occurred due to the misapplication of L2 (second language) rules drawn from present tense. As “do” exists in interrogative and negative forms, it doesn’t have affirmative forms. In SC (subordinate clause), there are two the syntactic problems is the first one is mis-word – formation and the second one is a missing verb “be”. Besides, the NP (noun phrase), “computer games”, in SC (subordinate clause) can be replaced with the subject pronoun “they”. The amended sentence looks like as following: “I like computer games because computer (they) – (are) sometimes useful and exciting. [7] Kato A.

4. S (student) 4: MC (main clause)[Yes, I like computer games] SC (subordinate clause)[because a good way to spend a nice time and fun.] – This is again a complex sentence with one MC (main clause) and one SC (subordinate clause). MC (main clause) is correct but SC (subordinate clause) is faulty since the sentence lacks NP (noun phrase) (they) and aux. (are). This type of error occurs as a result of negative transfer of L1 (first language) syntactic meaning to L2 (second language) sentence formation. In the SC (subordinate clause) at the formation of the sentence the student fails to assign a verb (the right verb for collocation), which breaks the syntactic correctness of the sentence since it is conceived as “spend fun “, if the verb “have” does not stand before the word “fun”. The correct form should be as following: “Yes, I like computer games because [they are] a good way to spend a nice time and [have] fun.
5. S(student)5: MC(main clause) [Yes, I like to computer games]. S C (subordinate clause) [because computer games is very fun and exciting.] – In this example, Student 5 forms a complex sentence, however, separates two clauses with a comma. In the MC(main clause), we observe the infinitive with the particle “to”. The reason might be overgeneralization of the previously learned rules such as “like + infinitive”. However, even in this case, infinitive clause needs a non-finite verb e.g. I like to play computer games. In S C(subordinate clause), a very common error type is seen due to a subject – verb agreement which signals a morphological error. Computer games should be followed by “are”. Such errors occur generally due to the lack of attention and self – monitoring during the writing process. For this sentence, there may be to be two possible amended versions: (1) – Yes, I like computer games because they are fun and exciting.(2) – Yes, I like to play computer games and they are fun and exciting. [8] Fromkin V., Rodman R. However, after considering the original question, the former answer sounds more appropriate. The second question in the exercise gives us the information about types of computer games that students like. In comparison with the answers to the first questions, the syntactic errors have decreased in number in the following writing examples. For example:

S (student).1: “I like adventure games” is syntactically in accordance with S(sentence)-NP(noun phrase) VP(verb phrase). S(student).2: The answer “I lowe racing games” is the same as the above one as regards to syntax (S (sentence)-NP(noun phrase) VP(verb phrase), VP(verb phrase)-NN(noun noun)); however, the faulty word formation “lowe” results in spelling error. This is a general error particularly among beginner and low intermediate students. The reason lies in that there is difference in the letters of the alphabet of both languages. The Azerbaijan language does not include the letter “w”, so students tend to use “w” instead of “v” assuming that “w” is equated to the letter “v”.

To conclude, there are many problems in the analyses of the students’ examples consisted of omission phrases, particularly NP(noun phrase) and VPs(verb phrases) in sentence formation. Although a number of syntactical and morphological errors have been detected in the samples of the students, they succeeded in forming morphologically correct words and syntactically grammatical phrases and sentences. The implications of the study for the language teacher are multifaceted. Having been identified, these errors can be eradicated or at least minimized through the activity of teachers. To correct forms of words, phrases and sentences are more likely to be absorbed by students through peripheral learning. All these largely depend on teachers’ creativity to take the right action to minimize the errors.
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To Go in Order to Come Back: A Comparative Analysis of Wooden Fish Songs and The House on Mango Street

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Abstract

Each ethnic text carries its own unique force. A glimpse of the otherness of the other can produce new perspectives on our own faces in the great mirror of culture. Though different in culture and ethnicity, Sandra Cisneros and Ruthanne Lum McCunn share the same confusion about their multicultural identity. Their works both focus on the themes of cross-cultural gender tension, identity shaping and community building. McCunn concludes that individuals can only thrive if they inherit and understand their own culture. Afterwards, they should cross-pollinate their own tradition with new perspectives from other cultures. Cisneros emphasizes the role of writing for female achievement, and proposes that after personal success, one should come back to their community and help others who were left behind.

The world of Wooden Fish Songs and the world of The House on Mango Street seem completely different, yet both works echo the same challenges and deserve comparative attention. Former scholars were influenced by the idea that the East/West comparison is impossible, since it is believed that the philosophical and interpretative discourse governing one of those worlds are untranslatable and cannot be successfully applied to the other world. This is maybe the reason why previous critics have only focused on their works separately. This essay compares the two works through close reading. It discusses their role as ethnic authors, and concludes the importance of comparative studies of the works of women of color.

Keywords: cross-cultural gender tension, identity shaping, community building, women of color, ethnic author
Though different in culture and ethnicity, Sandra Cisneros and Ruthanne Lum McCunn share the same confusion about their multicultural identity. Their works both focus on the themes of cross-cultural gender tension, identity-shaping and community building. McCunn concludes that individuals can only thrive if they inherit and understand their own culture. Afterwards, they should cross-pollinate their own tradition with new perspectives from other cultures. Cisneros emphasizes the role of writing for female achievement, and proposes that after personal success, one should come back to their community and help others who were left behind. Previous critics have only focused on their works separately. This essay compares the two works through close reading. It discusses their role as ethnic authors, and concludes the importance of comparative studies of the works of women of color.

**WOODEN FISH SONGS**

*Wooden Fish Songs* records the laments sung by nineteenth century Chinese women who were left behind when their husbands, sons and brothers sailed to America in search of financial achievement. This novel not only recounts the lonely life of the three female narrators, but also gives insight into the lives of the first Chinese immigrants who suffered double rejections, from both their traditional Chinese families and the racially segregated communities in the Western world. The main figure, Lue Gim Gong, is a real person from history. He was an early Chinese immigrant who perfected a hardy grapefruit, brought millions in revenue to the citrus industry, but left no trace of his personal life. His diaries were destroyed, and his family in China considered him a traitor and removed his name from the clan’s genealogy. He was neither acknowledged by the residents of his Western adopted home, nor respected by his birth family.

In 1995, the first edition of *Wooden Fish Songs* was published. McCunn interweaves fiction with fact as she tells Lue Gim Gong’s life story through three female voices, each from a different cultural background. By orchestrating these three voices, the novel offers a cross-cultural interpretation on the life of Lue. *Sum Jui---A Mother who has lost her son*. Sum Jui was raised in a traditional Chinese village and believed in supernatural powers. Told by her mother that she was marked by her grandfather’s ghost, she learned to keep a secret in silence at a young age. She was taught and learned her proper female place: to obey without question and always put herself behind men. Her depressing image mirrors the traditional female role in China. As life was very hard and her family struggled to survive, her youngest son Lue Gim Gong decided to go to the “Golden Mountain” (the Chinese name for San Francisco) to earn some Western money to support his family. He was still a young boy at that time. When he came back to China as a young man, Sum Jui realized that she could no longer communicate with her son. The family could not understand Lue’s thoughts, and they simply came to the conclusion that he was possessed by foreign ghosts. In order to win her son back, Sum Jui arranged a marriage for him. He escaped and never came back.

From Sum Jui’s monologue, we discover her unconscious prejudice toward the Western
world. Everything linked to the “Golden Mountain” was called ghostlike: the machine her firstborn brought home was a ghost machine, the priests who gave out rice were ghosts, Fanny was a ghost teacher who hexed her son, and her loving son became a ghost son after the family lost control of his actions and thoughts. Her tragedy does not lie in her old fashioned superstitious beliefs, but in her inability to understand new things and her continuous resistance to her son’s new ideas.

Fanny---A Creator of a new man. The relationship between Fanny and Lue started as teacher and student and later evolved to mother and son. Lue called her “Mother Fanny.” Fanny valued him highly for his work with plants. For every achievement Lue made, she praised the Christian God and ascribed it to Lue’s Western education. She never considered the knowledge he had already gained from his mother when he was still a boy, nor did she acknowledge the useful information her African servants Jim and Sheba taught him. She was caring and loving toward Lue, but deep down, she still held a prejudice toward Chinese people. Furthermore, she secretly had sexual desires for Lue, which she often described as wrong and shameful. She never expressed her true feelings, because not only was she worried about their age difference, but also she was afraid that Lue’s Chinese identity would damage her reputation.

Fanny created a new Lue and taught him her “civilized” ways. At Fanny’s urging, Lue stayed distant from his African friends Sheba and Jim, abandoned his Chinese traditions and became a devout Christian. In Chinese American Portraits: Personal Histories 1828-1988, McCunn presents a biographical study on Lue. Lue is included in the official Burlingame genealogy as Fanny’s adopted son. His precise status, however, “was nebulous, even awkward. Lue acted more like a servant than an adopted son, passing out refreshments at parties and building fires at picnics” (McCunn 35). By calling Fanny “mother,” Lue demonstrated his willingness to completely abandon his old identity. He cut his long queues (Chinese men had long braids during the Qing dynasty), which signified him cutting his roots. After Fanny died, Lue lost both his adopted family and his birth family.

Sheba---A Dreamer for Mixed Ideas. Suffering from the trauma of losing her parents, Sheba was afraid of being unable to provide a good life for her offspring, so she secretly took birth control medicine. She was a true friend to Lue. Sheba’s voice was always clear-headed and objective. Even after Lue’s success in planting, she pointed out that in spite of Lue’s brilliance and kindness, people would still reject him.

The tragedy of Sheba is that she kept looking for protection for her unborn child and did not share the strong conviction of her husband Jim, who pointed out that protection could only come from their own hands. Fanny disliked Sheba because she found her too loud and too rude. Sheba refused to be subdued, and kept her ties to her African roots. She also talked constantly about storytelling. According to the old African stories, her people possess powerful magic and were able to fly, but once they left the ground of Africa, the magic left as well. Here,
the author implicates that people can only possess the power of freedom if they are connected to their own roots. Storytelling is a method to connect with tradition and culture and so symbolizes a way for finding our own identity.

In the end, Sheba’s desire to carry a child was not fulfilled, but she and Jim found a way to comfort themselves by caring for other people’s children. The novel ends with Sheba passionately recalling the young African children’s curiosity and willingness to learn about their homeland’s stories: “I tell you, the faces turned up at us for stories are like the roses on that bush Lue done made. They are a mess of colors, their skins soft as petals and smelling as sweet. Looking at them, a new dream comes to me: a dream of better. Not with plants, but with people. Yes” (McCunn 380). McCunn uses Sheba’s voice to express her view on how to solve cross-cultural conflicts: to mix the different ideas of different people from different cultures together.

THE HOUSE ON MANGO STREET

_The House on Mango Street_ is a masterpiece by the Latin American author Sandra Cisneros. It was published in 1984 and won the Before Columbus Foundation American Book Award in 1985. Critics mainly focused on interpreting it through a feminist lens. In her novel, instead of three narratives which McCunn uses, Cisneros creates a voice of a young girl, and through her childish narrative, the author gives the readers a glance of the lives of the people of Mango Street. Her collective stories arouse a series of questions including the consciousness of identity, social neglect and discrimination, the status of women in the Mexican-American community and the awareness of otherness. There are three themes the two novels share in common: cross-cultural gender tension, identity-shaping, and community building.

**Cross-Cultural Gender Tension.** Culture is a set of values and beliefs, and it can cause tension and problems in a multicultural society. The situation becomes more complicated when the issue of gender is involved.

The feeling of otherness of the women in their culture is what the two authors both focus on. The female narratives in _Wooden Fish Songs_ all have secrets: Sim Jui’s ghost mark, Fanny’s intimate sexual longings and Sheba’s birth control. Their fears of otherness and the lack of education take away their power.

The female characters in _The House on Mango Street_ also have their own secrets. Marin is a pretty young girl who has a secret boyfriend in Puerto Rico. She loves him, but her idea of life is to wear nice clothes and look beautiful in order to meet someone in the subway to marry. Rafaela is imprisoned by her husband and her secret is to drink coconut and papaya juice every Tuesday night when he is out to play Dominos. She leans out of the window and dreams that her hair is like Rapunzel’s in order to escape. Sally is a pretty girl who is physically abused by her father, but tells people that she is fine. Esperanza’s mom tells her that she used to be very
talented, but she left school because her clothes were not nice. As a result of her regret, she encourages Esperanza to respect herself for her brain and embrace education. From them, Esperanza learns that marriage is not necessarily an escape but a potential prison of itself. Esperanza has her own secrets. She is ashamed that her family’s house is not like the houses on TV, and disbelieves her parents’ promise of a better life. She finds out that only through writing and education can she achieve her goal to have a house of her own.

Cisneros echoes the literary image of the feminist pioneer Virginia Woolf of having a room of her own, and inherits her idea about the key role writing plays in female freedom. She is very clear in her novel that only education and writing can help women to find a way out of the barrio, and create a safe home in their hearts. Her idea of writing and McCunn's metaphor of Sheba’s story-telling achieve the same end: the creation of female independence through literary presentation.

Identity Shaping. Individuals with multicultural backgrounds mostly struggle to identify who they are and where their place in the world might be. Ethnic identification plays a big role in the works of immigrant authors.

In the introduction of The House on Mango Street, Cisneros indicated the narrator’s voice as “antiacademic.”

The Language in Mango Street is based on speech. It’s very much an antiacademic voice—a child’s voice, a girl’s voice, a poor girl’s voice, a spoken voice, the voice of an American–Mexican. It's in this rebellious realm of antipoetic that I tried to create a poetic text with the most unofficial language [……] At one time or other, we all have felt other. When I teach writing, I tell the story of the moment of discovering and naming my otherness. It is not enough simply to sense it; it has to be named, and then written about from there (Cisneros xv-xvi).

In Wooden Fish Songs, McCunn also writes in an “antiacademic” language. San Francisco is called “The Golden Mountain” (Chinese translation for “San Francisco”); Grandpa is called Yeh Yeh (Chinese translation for “grandpa”). Metaphors and mottos are directly translated from the Chinese language, which draws a distance to the Western audience and creates an exotic style.

Neither author converts their voice into standard written English, which made their voices even more unique and special, and respected for their otherness. They did not only pay attention to create a unique narrative voice, but also let their characters face the identity shaping challenge.

In Wooden Fish Songs, when Lue was new in San Francisco, he argued that the Christian religion and the Chinese beliefs share similarities in their core ideas:
When Phoebe rebuked a convert she discovered practicing the pagan ritual of ancestor worship, Lue defended the Chinamen, arguing that the ancestral tablet was no different from the tombstones in Western cemeteries, the incense the Chinese lit had the same significance as the flowers Western people lay on graves, the deep bows Chinese made reflected nothing more than respect, like the bows gentlemen make to ladies. (McCunn 91)

Unfortunately, once Lue became a Christian himself, he lost this insightful perspective. The loss of his original voice blurred his identity and robbed him of his social status. In *The House of Mango Street*, the character Mamacita is a Mexican woman who moves into the neighborhood in order to live with her son. She is bereft having to leave her country, and refuses to speak English. She tries to protect her identity by refusing the foreign language. Esperanza emphasizes with her feelings of dislocation and her powerlessness in controlling her situation.

Lue has lost his voice by abandon his own roots; Mamacita has lost her voice by refusing new changes. The two authors offer different examples to show the same challenges: how to deal with a hybrid identity as an immigrant and how to build a unique voice.

*Community Building*. The interrelationship between the community and the individual is very important and indicates the identity of the individual.

Both McCunn and Cisneros focused on the development of their own ethnic communities. McCunn hopes that the Chinese American community can create an environment with mixed ideas while Cisneros asks Esperanza to return to Mango Street in the future to help the others who cannot leave.

According to Harold Bloom, some critics on Cisneros “took exception to her portrayal of men, claiming that it was too generalized, portraying all men as predatory and dangerous. Others claimed that it was particularly insulting to the Chicano men and destructive to their already compromised persona in the mass media” (Bloom 15). In the introduction of *The House on Mango Street*, however, Cisneros points out that all of her characters are born from reality and their struggle mirrors real life in her cultural community (Cisneros vii).

McCunn and Cisneros are both ethnic authors. In “What is an Ethnic Author,” We are told that consciously or not, the texts of ethnic authors are driven by the themes of cross-cultural tension, identity-shaping and community building (Partridge 49). According to Maxine Hong-Kingston, sometimes readers forced Chinese American authors into cultural ambassador roles. Thus, unlike mainstream writers of the major literature, ethnic authors are likely to experience a conflict between authentic/positive representation of their ethnic community and genuine artistic freedom (53). Both Cisneros and McCunn reveal the negatives of their own ethnic community. For them, what is important is not to be the spokesperson of their people, but to enhance the discourse of their own community and find a solution to make it a better one.
WHY COMPARE?

In the time of globalization, we celebrate the term World Literature. We also support multiethnic literature by dividing literature by color and gender, as African American Literature, East Asian Studies and Women Studies. Compared to canon American literature, however, ethnic literature still has a long way to go.

Ethnic as well as other approaches to literary study as feminism and queer theory have established their own categories of texts and also read rebelliously within the canon. But the perception that the value of mainstream and canonical works exceeds those of multiethnic texts is still far from displayed. In fact, this perception is being consolidated in unexpected ways in a globalized context (Jo bona and Maini 183-184).

In the Introduction of Multicultural American Literature, we are introduced to Meena Alexander’s understanding of identity:

> In our multiple identities as Asian American, we are constantly making alliances, both within and outside our many communities. In order to make up my ethnic identity as an Indian American, I learn from Japanese Americans, Korean Americans, Chinese Americans, African Americans, Native Americans. Hispanic Americans, Jewish Americans, Arab Americans. And these images that slip and slide out of my own mind jostle against a larger shared truth. And my artwork refracts these lines of sense, these multiple anchorages. (Lee 8)

Each ethnic text carries its own unique force. A glimpse of the otherness of the other can produce new perspectives on our own faces in the great mirror of culture. The world of Wooden Fish Songs and the world of The House on Mango Street seem completely different, yet both works echo the same challenges and deserve comparative attention. Former scholars were influenced by the idea that the East/West comparison is impossible, since the philosophical and interpretative discourse governing one of those worlds are untranslatable and cannot be successfully applied to the other world (Behad and Thomas 96). This is maybe the reason why past critics had not compared the two authors. I believe, however, that the multicultural American literature of women of color makes a difference, since the works are written in English. It is time that we come out of our refinement studies and compare what these women authors share in common. To go is in order to come back. In the end, we should combine separate studies for the ultimate goal to serve the research of humanities in general.

CONCLUSION

This essay emerges from my desire to examine Wooden Fish Songs and The House on Mango Street from a comparative perspective. Through close reading, I analyzed the characters of these two works, and interpreted the three themes the two works share: cross-cultural gender tension, identity shaping and community building. I presented a comparative reading of Wooden
Fish Songs and The House on Mango Street. My conclusion is that the texts of female ethnic authors are driven by similar themes, and it is important for us to focus on the works of women of color through comparative studies.
References


Oral Traditions as Embodiments of Knowledge: The Case of the Kasena of North Eastern Ghana

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Abstract

Before the advent of the European, every existing African community had its own means of education. Like the Kasena, the worldview of most communities is inextricably woven into the fibre of their oral traditions. Kasena oral traditions express beliefs, values, ideas and other socio-cultural negotiations that depict their philosophy of life. Quite apart from the novelty of technique of Kasena oral traditions, they serve as road guides to their endeavours and offer a better understanding of the spiritual and mundane worlds. Oral traditions embody the sense of time, place and identity of the Kasena in this multicultural world. The ways and manner to practice good hygiene and conserve the environment are embodied in proverbs, whereas the code of conduct and several other social negotiations are carried in folktales and puzzles. However, in the wake of globalization and its attendants such as Christianity, formal education and rural-urban migration amongst a host of other factors, the role and purpose of Kasena oral traditions have taken a down turn. This article therefore seeks to bring to the fore the significant role of Kasena oral traditions in transmitting and maintaining indigenous knowledge. It further examines the negative toll globalization has on Kasena oral traditions.

Keywords: worldview, tradition, Kasena, oral traditions, knowledge
Introduction

Oral traditions have served as bedrocks for great literary expressions. In recent times however, many oral traditions are dying or perhaps dead entirely as little effort or no effort is made to document them. Though oral traditions have received some attention in the few decades past, the perception of most literates and semi literates of oral traditions lives much to be desired. With the advent of formal education, many elders had thought and well that those who enrolled into it will emerge enlightened only to be taken aback by the undesirable concomitants of globalization and its antecedent, formal education. How some educated persons frown upon their traditions remains a shock to unlettered elders. Many have asked: “What at all do they teach in the schools?”

Before the advent of writing, informal education, through oral traditions had been the best form of transmitting knowledge or wisdom. Consciously or unconsciously, everyone growing up in a community gets to understand these oral traditions, even if not fully: unlike the recent literate movement that holds codes of conduct amongst a host of other such related codes in books that a few can ever purchase, let alone read the information sought to be conveyed. A case in point is the Constitution. Amongst the growing literate population in Ghana for example, only a few ever own the constitution, let alone read its contents. Hence, very few people get to know their rights as citizens of the country.

It is not just the matter of knowing or perhaps understanding the vocabulary and structure of a language; which is often barely known, but significantly the cultural assumptions implicit in its usage. Nketia (1955:1) reiterates this assertion when he makes it known that, “[t]he study of verbal expressions… is important not only for a clearer understanding of problems of meaning in a language, but also for a deeper understanding of a people’s life from which their meaning is ultimately derived.”

That oral traditions represent the history, beliefs and practices of a people is well acknowledged in Sociology and Cultural Anthropological studies and other such related fields. According to Leif Lorentzo (2007: 9)

African orature has a long tradition, and one germane reason for attaining its quotability is that it is also informational: in its logic and thematic finalization it asserts facts about myth and history, about the environment in etiological tales and riddles. It may also be directive, as in proverbs and riddles, but particularly in fables told by the elders to children.

In The Context and Poetics of Kasena Dirges and War Songs, (2010: 22). I stated quite succinctly that “Kasena orature does not only reflect the truths of their experiences, but also portrays the literary and creative artistry of the people. It is also imbued with profound philosophical reflections, promotes morality and also reflects reality in their lives” It is mainly for
the didactic role of Kasena oral traditions and oral traditions in general that makes them worth preserving generations over. What is most crucial is that art must be didactic. Art for art sake is alien to the Kasena. Art must necessarily convey a message. Hence, Kasena oral traditions are delightful as well as they are insightful. The aesthetics of Kasena oral traditions may be important. Yet, the genius actually lies in the message sought to be conveyed and how that message relates to the beliefs and practices of the Kasena as a whole. A series of questions posed by Roy Matthews and Dewitt Platt and well answered is worth quoting: “What makes a work ‘great’? Why do some works of art have relevance long beyond their time, while others are forgotten soon after they are designated ‘fifteen minutes of fame’? … One answer is that great art reflects some truth of human experience that speaks to us across the centuries.” (The Western Humanities xxxi)

Scholarship on Kasena oral traditions is scanty, yet the functional role that Kasena oral traditions play cannot be overemphasized. In An Introduction to Kasena Society and Culture Awedoba undertakes a detailed investigation of Kasena proverbs. He provides the context in which each particular proverb is realised, thus elaborating the belief systems and practices that shape the proverbs. In a similar approach to Kasena riddles in “Social Roles of Riddles”, Awedoba explains in detail the functions riddles play in Kasena social life. Awedoba argues that riddles, like diverse oral traditions in general are not a “mere recollection of responses” but function to enhance the intellect. Riddles also express Kasena beliefs and practices and explore the people’s social and cultural environment.

From the foregoing, it becomes clear that oral traditions reflect the socio-cultural patterns of the community that observes them. And they are shaped by the beliefs and attitudes that bind people in a community. Most significantly, oral traditions are a medium of instruction. This study therefore attempts a functional analysis of Kasena oral traditions, drawing parallels with recent code of ethics and laws. “[A]ccording to Malinowski’s functionalist approach, oral tradition has real, pragmatic work to do for a people: it undergirds their view of the world, their sense of reality; it gives them a sense of security in an insecure world” (Zumwalt, 1998: 81).

It must be stated however that, though the oral traditions and interpretations presented herein are of Kasena origin, similar sentiments, if not the same are shared by most ethnic groups in Ghana, especially those from the West African sub region in general.

The Kasena

The Kasena speak Kasem and inhabit an area in the Upper East Region of Ghana and southern Burkina Faso. Some neighbouring ethnic groups also refer to them as the Awuna, Gurunsi and Yulsi. According to Ethnologue, Kasena number a total of two hundred and fifty thousand (250,000), with one hundred and thirty thousand (130,000) and one hundred and twenty thousand (120,000) Kasena in Ghana and Burkina Faso respectively. The Kasena are
mainly peasant farmers and number roughly about ninety (90) percent of the population. They practice subsistence farming, with the main cultivated crops being groundnuts, millet and sorghum. Animal rearing is also commonly practiced by every Kasena household. “In recent times, droughts and floods, combined with other climatic factors, often lead the youth and women to seek greener pastures in the southern sectors of the country. Some end up as farm hands in cocoa plantations while others are engaged either as maids, servants in chop bars or as other such menial labourers.” (Taluah, *The Context and Poetics* 9). The map below shows a highlight of the Kasena in Ghana and Burkina Faso respectively.

![Figure 5 Highlight of the Kasena in Ghana and Burkina Faso – Adapted from the Joshua Project](image)

**Kasena Literary Heritage**

Kasena oral traditions reveal the supremacy of community over the individual. They are communally owned and hardly can you trace any to a single personality. Generally speaking, Kasena literary traditions can be categorized under the big umbrella of Oral Literature. The Kasena refer to their oral traditions as “Kasena nabara kekea” which literary means “the ways of
Kasena ancestors.” Amongst a host of these oral traditions include They include *somsle* - stories, *sinserie* - proverbs or sayings, *dindin* - riddles and *dindi junjua* - puzzles and diverse kinds of songs which is known in Kasem as *lei*. What is worth noting about Kasena oral traditions like many oral traditions is that they have no known originators: they are communally owned. The elders maintain that Kasena oral traditions have transcended ages mainly because they express the beliefs practical wisdom of the people and serve perform the functions for which they were meant to serve. Find below a literary tree depicting Kasena oral traditions.

Figure 6 A literary Tree depicting Kasena Oral Traditions
Scope of the Research

The research was mainly focused on the Kasena of Navrongo, Paga and Chiana, which serve as the main principal and administrative towns among the Kasena communities and their environs. It must be noted however, that though the Kasena inhabit parts of Ghana and Burkina Faso, the findings in this research were ascertained from the Kasena in Ghana. Yet what is undeniably true is that much of the oral traditions discussed in this study are common to the Kasena in Burkina Faso and hence the analyses represented herein are likewise held by the Kasena of Burkina Faso.

Objectives of the Study

This study principally aims to ascertain the inherent meaning and significance of Kasena oral traditions by raising pertinent questions and making cross checks and verifications. Other objectives include:

1. To establish a link between the inception of ideas, beliefs or doctrines through their various developmental stages in relation to the contemporary opinions and attitudes toward oral traditions.
2. To preserve and promote the integrity of Kasena oral traditions as a true reflection of intellectual prowess.
3. To stimulate further interest and research in oral traditions.

Methodology

The study is principally based on the native intuition of the researcher. Mindful observations of the situational contexts in which Kasena oral traditions are employed were documented and a purposive sampling of Kasena indigenes done to illicit the information based on the objectives of the study. Through structured interviews of traditional elders and opinion leaders amongst a host of other knowledgeable people, an in-depth knowledge of the Kasena and the significant roles oral traditions play in Kasena society were ascertained. With regard to the oral traditions included herein, a random sampling was made based on the discretion of the researcher and the objectives of the study, as a study of this nature cannot do justice to the relatively large corpus of Kasena oral traditions.

Overview of Kasena Oral Traditions

It is an undeniable fact that many a people frown upon oral traditions without taking the pains to understand the internal logic that they entail. Nevertheless, this is not to imply that everything about oral traditions per se has ultimate truth; undisputed in all ways. Yet what should be worthy of note is contextualism which relates to where, when, and by whom a work was
created and for what purpose. For instance, with respect to the first question as in why was the work or the oral tradition created? Some common responses will be in response to an artistic, social, cultural, historical or political need or events. In response to the question: who is the creator or artist and what is the intent or motif in creating the said oral traditions? Due cognizance should be paid to conditions for which such oral traditions arose.

Matthews and Platt have confirmed that: “We often evaluate the theme of a work in terms of how well it speaks to the human condition, how accurate its truth is, how valuable its message or observation is. We usually make these judgments by exploring the extent to which theme confirms or denies our own experience.” (The Western Humanities xxv) Hence, the following analyses are appreciated on these grounds.

We begin with a saying that pertains in most Ghanaian cultures that it is a taboo for “a pregnant woman to eat eggs.” The consequence, they say is that the child she bares will grow up to be a thief. And since every known society abhors stealing, women strictly abide by it; at least in the traditional communities. Many thought enlightened people have in several platforms condemned this saying, and the least said about some self acclaimed feminists the better. The blame has been put on patriarchy of greedy ancestral men who wanted the best nutrition for themselves.

Indeed, contrary to this adage, modern science will explain that a pregnant woman actually needs eggs to boost her level of protein which will further facilitate the development of the fetus. Yet, the elderly maintain that this saying was purposeful at least at the time of its inception. The fact is that tradition restricted pregnant women from taking foods with high protein as there is a high propensity of the fetus weighing more than the expected weight. Generations back, caesarian operations were not carried out by traditional birth attendants as is the case in modern science today. Hence, to prevent consequent complications the elders thought it wise to maintain this saying and its consequence as this will deter pregnant women from this complication. It is therefore of little doubt or no doubt at all that caesarian operations are on the increase in recent times as many people and health professionals have paid no heed to this saying. By all means, this stringent measure therefore, attests to the widely held adage that “prevention is better than cure”.

Kasena have answers to many questions or mysteries, unless these questions or mysteries do not pertain to their environment or culture as a whole. And most of these are found in their folktales Let us examine the story of “The Dog and the Tortoise” that tells the origin of death. The story is told that a long time ago the dog and the tortoise were sent by God to deliver very vital messages. The dog was to deliver the message that, “When man dies, he should come back to life, whereas when the moon dies it should not come back to life.” The tortoise was sent with a contrasting message to that of the dog: “When man dies, he should not come back to life,
whereas when the moon dies it should come back to life.” The first message to be delivered, God said, would take effect.

Dog and tortoise left on their respective errands only for dog to stop upon seeing a pot on fire tended by an old lady. Believing that what was cooking was meat, dog decided to wait and feast on some bones before continuing his journey. He was certain that under no condition could tortoise reach the destination before him. But after a considerable time, dog realised, to his chagrin, that the lady was apparently boiling dawadawa husks (*Bre na*), to plaster her walls. Disappointed, dog dashed off to the destination only to be told that tortoise had delivered the counter message. This is the reason why the moon dies at the close of every month and rises again and man dies and never returns – at least, not in the same form.

The assertion that the race is not for the swift is one of the explicit morals of this myth. Determination may be all that matters. It also implies that in life people are given different options ranging from the good to the bad. The final decisions arrived at usually depend on man’s own actions.

Most oral traditions meant to check the mode of conduct or perhaps the cultural values and norms in society are in the form of taboos. Taboos are generally customs restricting or prohibiting a particular practice. For instance, there is a taboo restricting menstruating women from fetching water from the river/stream. The consequence being that they will be barren. Yet, it is actually meant to prevent such women from contaminating the water. Another similar taboo states that one who defecates by the river bank will be infertile. Yet it is actually meant that good water sanitation especially be adhered to. And since infertility is frowned upon by society, none will dare disobey this taboo. There is also the taboo banding noise making during farming seasons when crops are flowering. The consequence being that one will be stoned by dwarves. Yet it actually forbids noise since it is maintained traditionally that noise instigates the wind which will intend destroy the flowering crops and lead to poor crop yields.

With respect to riddles Awedoba maintains that they are not a “mere recollection of responses” but function to enhance the intellect. Riddles also express Kasena beliefs and practices and explore the people’s social and cultural environment. For example, there is a riddle that says: there are three chiefs who must always be together to rule. In the absent of any one of them ruling is impossible. Who are they? The answer rightly falls on the tripod stone used a traditional stove for cooking and found nearly in all Kasena households. The substance of this riddle dwells on unity. Hence, together the tripod stones will stand to perform a function, but divided they will be of no use. In a similar vein, there is a saying in Kasem thus: Vuro vu ye o bu to wo be mu? Literally, the soothsayer sooths, why then does his child die. What is implied by this riddle is the fact that death has no remedy or that it is not all things that are known to man.
Virtually all the beliefs and practices of the kasena: from the cradle to the grave are encapsulated in one dirge/war song or the other. A case in point is the dirge: *M’laam tΣE soori sem’ dule vio* which states the nature and dynamics of Kasena Customary marriage. The dirge states in unambiguous terms the nature of pride prize emphasizing the norm that a man must necessarily settle the pride prize be it that the woman he marries is dead or alive. Below is a transcription and translation of the aforementioned dirge.

*M’laam tΣE soori sem’ dule vio*  
*Buk□ tu ba nao gaE*  

You glade the land to broadcast vio  
The dirge states in unambiguous terms the nature of pride prize emphasizing the norm that a man must necessarily settle the pride prize be it that the woman he marries is dead or alive. Below is a transcription and translation of the aforementioned dirge.

*Buk□ tu ba nao gaE*  

He who has a daughter, is always assured of a cow

\begin{align*}
O & ze Nwi ba joN’ \\
O & ze teg’ ba joN
\end{align*}

If she is alive, they will take (the cow)  
If she is dead, they will take (the cow)

*Buk□ tu ba nao gaE*  

He who has a daughter is always assured of a cow

**Urbanization: A bane or a blessing?**

Urbanization is a two edged sword. We cannot simply deny the positive impacts of urbanization. However, with regards to oral traditions or the effects of urbanization on customs in general, its negative impacts outweigh the positive. The situation is most glaring in the Kasena community. In his preface to *An Introduction to Kasena Society and Culture*, Awedoba makes it clear that: “What the Kasena stand in danger of losing most is their literature, given the deleterious effects of the inroads that the electronic media (radio and TV) make into the society and its projection of non-Kasena-Nankani norms and outlooks.”

In search of greener pastures, many people, especially the young have drifted into urban centers. Hence, the elderly who remain at home die with their knowledge and wisdom since there is no one to pass the origin of their lineage to, let alone their oral traditions. The few who remain at home are also caught up with the cinema, such as the watching of movies on television. Hence, outdoor gatherings for cultural transmission such as “by the fire side” where story telling sessions where done are stories of the past.

With respect to formal education, many educated people as reiterated earlier frown upon their traditions and regard them as backward or uncivilized. The uneducated and sometimes the semi-literate see the educated as role models, and similarly shy away from their culture.

And by far, the greatest disservice, to say the least, to tradition is religion (Christianity and Islam). With the advent of Christianity in particular, naming systems and many other institutions have been deemed pagan or satanic and do not merit the attention of the Supreme God. The situation is same with oral traditions as many people will label them as backward.
Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear beyond all reasonable doubt that Kasena oral traditions like diverse other oral traditions are the treasure house of wisdom and knowledge. The texts mainly express beliefs, values, ideas and other social negotiations that depict Kasena philosophy of life. Through oral traditions, culture is preserved and extended and sometimes renewed when the need arises. When oral traditions are approached with an open mind, devoid of any bias and critically reflected upon, valuable ideas and insight are bound to be discovered. The analysis presented herein clearly testifies to this fact. Hence, an understanding of Kasena oral traditions therefore is an understanding of the people and their worldview. The elderly therefore serve as walking encyclopedias and the community a library of wisdom and knowledge that teach, delight and move people into actions worthy of the society.
References


Quand: Valeurs et Accessibilité Référentielles

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Abstract

The objective of this article is to analyze and verify the following structure: Quand (When) P,Q, the sequence Quand P could introduce a referent. From this perspective, it is important to note the several studies focused on the possible equivalence between the subordinate clauses introduced by Quand and the adverbs having a temporal reference in order to put the stress on the distinctive feature of Quand in referential expressions. This particular nature emanates essentially from the capacity of Quand to introduce a referent that serves as a temporal anchorage point in the interpretation of Quand. In view of the above, we will be led to discuss the nature of the referent introduced by the above cited conjunction in order to summarize the referential specificities of Quand when it is placed in a front position. The first part of this work, there will be a lot of food for thought concerning the different ideas related to the referential characteristics of Quand.

Keywords: Quand, adverbs, temporel reference, anchorage
Résumé

Dans cet article, nous nous sommes donné pour objectif d’analyser et de vérifier l’hypothèse stipulant que dans un énoncé ayant la structure suivante: Quand P, Q, la séquence Quand P pourrait être en mesure d’introduire un référent. Dans cette perspective, il importe de noter que nombreuses études ont été notamment focalisées sur les éventuelles équivalences entre les subordonnées introduites par Quand et les adverbes ayant une référence temporelle dans le but de mettre l’accent sur la particularité de Quand dans les expressions référentielles. Cette particularité émane essentiellement de la capacité de Quand à introduire un référent servant un point d’ancrage temporel pour l’interprétation de Q. Compte tenu de ce qui précède, nous serons amené à discuter de la nature du référent introduit par la conjonction précitée (Quand). Afin de synthétiser sous forme d’une doxa œcuménique les particularités référentielles de Quand en position initiale. Dans ce travail, il y aura matière à réflexion sur les différentes idées en rapport avec les caractéristiques référentielles de Quand.

Mots clés : Quand, adverbes, référence temporelle, ancrage, aspect
Nous nous penchons, dans ce travail, sur l’analyse de certaines caractéristiques et propriétés de la conjonction française *Quand* qui pourraient établir différentes relations référentielles (temporelles) entre les segments ou plutôt les propositions que *Quand* relie syntaxiquement. Notons que, dans cette investigation, nous nous bornerons également, outre les valeurs temporelles de *Quand*, à examiner ses emplois dits atemporels. Ce point retiendra notre attention dans l’élément qui suit.

**Quand à valeur atemporelle (restrictive)**

Manifestement, nombreux furent les linguistes qui cherchaient à étudier adéquatement les comportements référentiels de *Quand*. Sur la question de la nature du référent introduit par la conjonction précitée, il est utile de rappeler que parfois nous pouvons avoir affaire à des phrases avec *Quand* ayant une valeur atemporelle ou restrictive. Ce point a été étudié par nombre de grands linguistes à l’instar de Carlson (1979), Farkas (1983) et Declerk (1988). Pour mieux rendre compte de cette réflexion, considérons l’exemple suivant:

1) Les chats sont intelligents quand ils ont les yeux bleus.

Pour commenter, dans cet énoncé, force est de remarquer que la séquence *Quand P* ne pourrait pas s’apparenter à un adverbe à valeur temporelle. Par conséquent, cette séquence ne peut aucunement constituer un point d’ancrage ou un repère temporel. Ajoutons, dans cette optique, qu’il y a des subordonnées donnant à voir un seul point d’ancrage temporel qui constitue, en quelque sorte, un point de référence à une phrase épisodique. Toutefois, il existe d’autres subordonnées fournissant une lecture et une interprétation habituelles. Cette différence constatée sur le plan de la référence temporelle pourrait s’expliquer par des critères ayant rapport avec la Pragmatique. En amont, Sandström (1993: 181) affirme que « la subordonnée introduit un référent unique si il n’y a pas qu’un seul référent qui satisfasse la description que donne la subordonnée. »

Pour mieux éclaircir cette réflexion, nous pouvons citer quelques situations dans lesquelles les subordonnées pourraient introduire un référent unique:

- Lorsque le prédicat en question ne peut, par nature, se produire qu’une seule fois; comme illustration de ce cas de figure, considérons l’exemple qui suit : « Quand Bruno est né »
- Lorsque l’éventualité n’est vérifiée qu’une seule fois. De ce fait, « When Jimmy read a book » (Quand Jimmy a lu un livre) ne pourrait marquer qu’un seul moment dans un seul cas si et seulement si Jimmy n’a lu qu’un seul livre.

A ce niveau, il est bénéfique de noter qu’en français, les temps verbaux employés dans *P*, sont d’une importance cruciale dans la mesure où ils peuvent, d’une manière ou d’une autre,
déterminer le point d’ancrage référentiel. Donc, ce point retiendra notre attention dans ce qui suivra.

Les temps verbaux employé avec Quand et le repérage référentiel

Avant d’entrer dans le vif du sujet, nous considérerons les formes linguistiques suivantes:

2) Quand Pierre entra
3) Quand Pierre entraït

Comme premier constat, il n’en demeure pas moins remarquable que dans l’exemple (2), l’énoncé donne à voir un seul point d’ancrage ou plutôt du repère. En revanche, l’exemple (3), ne semble pas constituer un point de repère que dans une phrase habituelle. Somme toute, il est utile de prendre en considération le rôle crucial assumé par le temps verbal en question (en P) dans l’identification du référent de la subordonnée. Ceci dit, nous nous baserons sur ce dernier critère dans l’analyse des caractéristiques du référent que la séquence Quand P. Dans ce qui suit, nous analyserons le rapport entre chaque temps verbal et la classe aspectuelle de laquelle ep fait partie. Autrement dit, nous chercherons à savoir dans quelle mesure la catégorie aspectuelle à laquelle appartient ep pourrait déterminer la nature du référent introduit par la séquence Quand P.

Quand associé à un passé simple

Lorsqu’elle s’emploie au passé simple, la subordonnée de laquelle Quand fait partie pourrait équivaloir à la conjonction anglaise When, telle qu’elle est décrite par Hinrichs (1986) et Partee (1984), dans la narration ou plutôt dans le discours narratif en général. En substance, dans un emploi pareil, ladite subordonnée semble être en mesure d’introduire un point d’ancrage temporel unique tout en constituant ainsi un point de référence pour la proposition principale. Néanmoins, il est indispensable de bien distinguer les diverses occurrences en rapport avec la catégorie aspectuelle des éventualités s’inscrivant dans la structure Quand P.Q

Chemin faisant, lorsque P exprime l’aspect d’achèvement, l’idée de la ponctualité de ep, intrinsèquement associée à l’aspect précité (l’achèvement), permet à ep de constituer, en quelque sorte, un point d’ancrage référentiel bien précis et largement satisfaisant pour un énoncé contenant un événement qui doit sine qua non être situé par rapport à un point de repère précédemment introduit dans le discours. Pour mieux rendre compte de cette dernière réflexion, nous prendrons en charge les exemples qui suivent:

4) Quand Jacques entra, Jeanne téléphonait.
5) Quand Jacques entra, Jeanne avait téléphonait.

Pour commenter, il est possible de dire que, dans des emplois pareils, la tâche confiée au segment Quand P pourrait, en quelque sorte, s’apparenter à celle confiée à un syntagme adverbiale
ponctuel à l’instar de à huit heures par exemple. Dès lors, ledit adverbiale est en mesure d’être apposé à Quand. Reste à signaler, dans cette même optique, que lorsque l’éventualité contenue dans $P$ marque un accomplissement, $e_p$ peut préserver le même rôle. En effet, bien qu’il donne à voir une durée, il semble former un référent marquant une localisation temporelle capable de constituer un point de référence. Dans un but de clarté, on peut considérer l’énoncé suivant:

6) Quand Pierre traversa la rue, Marie ne l’avait pas encore aperçu.

En réalité, peu importe l’intervalle marqué par $e_p$, la séquence Quand $P$ fait dudit intervalle un véritable point d’ancrage temporel. En ce sens, Quand se démarque de la locution conjonctive Pendant que dans la mesure où la conjonction, objet de notre analyse (Quand), n’assume pas, contrairement à Pendant que, le rôle d’un adverbe exprimant la durée, mais plutôt il fonctionne comme un adverbiale de localisation. Notons, à cet égard, que, Quand $P$ ne semble pas constituer un point d’ancrage référentiel lorsque $e_p$ illustre une activité ou un état. En effet, les éventualités faisant partie de ces catégories ne marquent pas un intervalle temporel. Dans cette perspective, Borillo (1988: 85) a prouvé que lorsque Quand $P$ donne à interpréter l’éventualité activité, le rapport chronologique entre $e_p$ et $e_q$ varie suivant que $e_q$ est duratif ou non. Pour illustrer ce cas de figure, nous nous focaliserons sur les énoncés suivants:

7) Quand il parla, tout le monde se tut.
8) Quand il parla, tout le monde l’écouta en silence.

Pour commenter, la conjonction en (7), constitue un « déclenchement » de $e_p$ ; en revanche, en (8), Quand « articule deux périodes de temps qui se déroulent parallèlement, la première perdant plus ou moins sa valeur inchoative. ».

Dans cette perspective, en tenant compte du rapport chronologique entre $e_p$ et $e_q$, il serait utile de s’interroger sur le référent introduit par Quand $P$. De surcroît, en comparant les deux exemples précités, force serait de constater qu’il y a une sorte d’ambiguïté en rapport avec le référent de Quand $P$. Cela dit, la résolution de cette difficulté interprétative semble dépendre de $Q$. En ce sens, d’un point de vue aspectuel, l’éventualité $Q$, en (7), « tout le monde se taire » constitue un achèvement et en revanche, le référent de la séquence Quand $P$ se veut un repère temporel ponctuel. A la lumière de ce qui précède, il serait possible d’interpréter $P$ comme étant une description d’un achèvement : il commença à parler…

En ce qui concerne l’énoncé en (8), l’éventualité « tout le monde l’écouta » semble constituer une activité. Dans cette situation, l’éventualité $P$ s’interprète comme décrivant une activité ; par ailleurs, dans cet exemple, le référent de Quand $P$ est associé à un intervalle temporel. Somme toute, la comparaison de ces deux énoncés (7) et (8) sert à conforter l’hypothèse stipulant que dans un énoncé ayant la forme Quand $P$, $Q$, l’objectif poursuivi consiste à interpréter le rapport entre $e_p$ et $e_q$ comme étant un rapport coréférentiel. Dit autrement, les deux éventualités $e_p$ et $e_q$ ont le même référent. De plus, il n’en demeure pas moins remarquable que le référent associé à Quand $P$ est moins bien défini si $P$ marque une activité que
si $P$ exprime un achèvement ou un accomplissement. Chemin faisant, les interprétations respectives de (7) et (8) montrent que la principale ambiguïté émane essentiellement de l’inscription du référent de $Quand P$ dans la durée.

Au bout du compte, nous pouvons constater que $Quand [PS+ activité]$ ne semble pas si efficace pour définir et marquer un repère temporel.

**Quand [PS+ état]**

En ce qui concerne la séquence $Quand [PS+ état]$, elle ne pose pas, généralement, les mêmes difficultés interprétatives. Pour mettre l’accent sur cette idée, il serait bénéfique de citer le propos suivant de Borillo (1988):

> Il est assez étonnant de voir qu’un état, situation durative non cyclique, se comporte le plus souvent, au passé simple, un état est donné dans une visée perfective, c’est-à-dire comme un point d’aboutissement. [...]Cette phase d’accession est donnée comme réalisée par rapport à la situation de la principale, elle-même présentée sous l’angle perfectif. (Borillo, 1988 : p.86)

Pour commenter, nous pouvons dire que l’identification ou plutôt la caractérisation de la nature référentielle de $Quand P$ semble être un peu difficile. D’un côté, certains éléments permettent d’assimiler le référent de la subordonnée à un point de repère ponctuel. D’autre côté, la subordonnée rendrait compte, selon l’expression de Borillo, d’une *phase d’accession* qui est, en quelque sorte, réalisée par rapport à la principale. En prenant en considération ce dernier point, il serait possible de distinguer $Quand [état]$ de $Quand [achèvement]$.

Ajoutons, à ce niveau, que certains linguistes ont montré que la nature du référent introduit par $Quand [état]$ est fort discutable. Ainsi, Hinrichs (1986: 77), ne soutient pas l’assimilation de l’état et de l’achèvement mais plutôt il insiste sur l’idée d’un changement réalisé:«The when-clause contains a state and, nonetheless, a new reference point is formed. It is interesting, though, what kind of state is described-namely, the completion of a change. »

De son côté, Partee (1984 : 261) voit que le contenu de la subordonnée est, en quelque sorte, un événement ponctuel étant en mesure de marquer un point d’ancrage référentiel. Pour mieux rendre compte de cette réflexion, on peut citer le propos suivant de Partee : « I require the when-clause to be eventive ( if superficially stative, then interpreted as inchoative) and put the reference time just after it. »

Pour terminer ce tour d’horizons, ce type de propositions est appelé par Sandström (1993: 190) «*Punctual stative when-clauses*.» Toutefois, outre cette propriété de ponctualité, Sandström pense que l’état que la proposition en question décrit semble être le résultat d’un procès marquant un changement d’état. Or, ce dernier point ne pourrait pas impliquer un repère...

Dans un but de clarté, il est possible de dire que les deux types de subordonnées semblent avoir des conditions d’emplois très différentes. Ainsi, Quand [état] est bien plus rarement compatible avec une proposition principale à l’imparfait. Pour illustrer ce cas de figure, soient à traiter les deux exemples qui suivent:

9)* Quand il fut à la retraite, Pierre avait l’intention de voyager.
10) Quand il prit sa retraite, Pierre avait l’intention de voyager.

Force serait de constater, en tenant compte des exemples précités, que Quand [état] ne définit pas le même point de repère que Quand [achèvement] ou qu’un adverbe marquant une localisation temporelle.

En définitive, il semble être utile de noter que Quand [PS+état] donne à voir le résultat d’un changement. Cela dit, cette propriété de la subordonnée constitue, en quelque sorte, un point consensus pour plusieurs linguistes: qu’il s’agisse de la « visée perfective » pour Borillo (1988), de l’expression « completion of a change » pour Hinrichs, ou « result of a change of-state » pour Sandström (1993). Dès lors, il paraît que les subordonnées de type Quand [état] marquent le résultat d’un changement. Pour mieux mettre l’accent sur cette hypothèse, soit à traiter l’énoncé suivant:

11) Quand elle eut douze ans, c’était déjà comme une petite femme »

(Georges Sand, Les maîtres sonneurs)

Pour commenter, on peut facilement constater que l’énoncé en (11) obéit à la configuration suivante: Quand [PS+état] [IMP]. L’imparfait, dans cette occurrence, redevient tout à fait acceptable dans la principale. En substance, il importe de noter que ce type de phrases tend à se raréfier. De même, en prenant en considération l’exemple (9) cité supra, l’emploi de l’imparfait en (11) ne semble pas poser problèmes. En ce sens, son emploi pourrait se justifier de la sorte: en (11), le recours à l’imparfait repose sur le fait que des changements ont eu lieu pendant que le temps passe, et inversement. Plus concrètement, plus les années passent, plus un enfant ressemble à une femme. De là, force est de noter que la subordonnée donne à interpréter le résultat d’un changement. La configuration Quand P,Q nous indique sur le fait que le prédicat que Q constitue a pour argument le résultat d’un changement. Cela dit, le rôle confié à la subordonnée consisterait à rendre compte d’une sorte d’ellipse temporelle et non de marquer un point d’ancrage référentiel ponctuel. De surcroît, lorsque la principale est à l’imparfait, elle ne peut se justifier par une
simple valeur d’arrière-plan mais plutôt elle doit recevoir une interprétation selon laquelle $e_q$ marque un état résultant.

Pour résumer, on peut dire que les états ne se prêtent pas mieux que les activités à la d’un point de référence pour la principale. Chemin faisant, ces subordonnées ne semblent pas être en mesure de fournir un point d’ancrage référentiel d’un énoncé que lorsqu’elles impliquent une ellipse.

Après avoir mené cette analyse dans la perspective de la séquence Quand $[PS]$, l’association de Quand à un passé antérieur va retenir notre attention dans l’élément suivant.

**Quand $[PA]$**

Avant d’entrer dans le vif de l’analyse, il convient de commencer par faire la remarque suivante: la séquence Quand $[PA]$ , tout comme Quand $[PS+état]$, semble marquer le résultat d’un changement. En effet, Quand $[PA]$ donne à Quand $P$ la possibilité de définir le résultat d’un changement se faisant sur la base d’un achèvement ou d’un accomplissement. Pour mieux élucider cette réflexion, considérons l’exemple suivant:

12) Quand le marquis fut en bas, quand il eut atteint le dernier échelon et posé son pied à terre, une main s’abattit sur son collet.

*(Hugo, *Quatre vingt-treize*)

En ce qui concerne maintenant les activités, Quand $[PA]$ sert à marquer un changement constituant la fin de l’activité. Pour ainsi dire, soient à reprendre les deux énoncés en (7) et en (8):

7) Quand il parla, tout le monde se tut.
8) Quand il parla, tout le monde l’écouta en silence.
En comparant ces deux exemples et l’énoncé suivant:
13) Quand il eut parlé, les canons répondirent.

*(Édgar Quinet, *Napoléon*)

Nous pouvons constater que Quand il parla (au PS), définissant un état résultant (le résultat d’un changement), est en mesure de marquer la fin de l’activité. Dans un but de clarté, force serait de constater que Quand il parla (au PS) semble servir à pointer le contexte résultant d’une prise de parole. En revanche, Quand il eut parlé (au PA) en (13), donne à interpréter le résultat d’une opération discursive ou plutôt tout simplement le résultat d’un discours.
Par ailleurs, au vu de toutes ces données, il importe de noter que Quand [PS+activité] et Quand [PA+état] semblent ne pas admettre un autre temps verbal que le passé simple dans la principale.

Quand [IMP]

Pour que notre démarche soit méthodique, nous allons partir de l’hypothèse stipulant que la tournure Quand [IMP] n’autoriserait pas, dans un discours narratif, l’introduction d’un point d’ancrage référentiel pour une phrase au passé simple. Pour vérifier cette hypothèse, soient à traiter les énoncés qui suivent:

14) Les gens commencèrent à sortir. Quand la salle fut vide, on ferma les portes.
15) Les gens commencèrent à sortir. Quand la salle était vide, on ferma les portes.

Pour commenter, en tenant compte les discours en (14) et en (15), l’hypothèse supra exposée pourrait, en quelque sorte, se justifier. En effet, le discours en (15) semble poser problème dans la mesure où le référent introduit, dans le présent cas, par Quand [IMP] ne correspondrait pas au référent dont Q requiert comme argument ou plutôt, du point de vue de la temporalité, comme un point d’ancrage référentiel. En ce sens, le fait que Q a besoin, au passé simple, d’un point référentiel postérieur au précédent ne semble pas suffire à justifier que le discours en (15) soit inacceptable. Cela dit, on peut dire qu’à condition que la subordonnée soit inscrite dans un récit habituel, la tournure Quand [IMP] pourrait donner à voir un repère situé après l’éventualité précédemment mentionnée. De ce fait, la tournure en question sera susceptible d’être apposée à un adverbiale qui situe en après le dernier événement en assumant ainsi une fonction assimilable au rôle exercé par Quand [PS]. Pour mieux rendre compte de cette assimilation, soit à considérer la phrase épisodique qui suit:

16) Les choses se passaient toujours de la même manière. Les gens commençaient à sortir. (Un peu plus tard) quand la salle était vide, on fermait les portes.

Somme toute, l’incompatibilité constatée entre la tournure Quand [IMP] et une principale au passé simple ne serait pas due à une difficulté d’ordre chronologique. Cette incompatibilité pourrait se justifier de la sorte: Quand [IMP], représentant la subordonnée, est incompatible avec une interprétation de nature épisodique de la phrase à la différence de Quand [PS] admettant cette dernière interprétation (épisodique).

Au bout du compte, nous pouvons conclure que l’analyse des phrases obéissant à la structure Quand P,Q nous a permis de retenir l’idée stipulant que la conjonction pourrait établir une forme ou plutôt une structure dans laquelle P et Q peuvent s’attribuer deux rôles différents. En effet, d’un côté, P introduit un référent ; d’autre côté, Q lui assigne un prédicat.
Par ailleurs, la conjonction Quand fait preuve d’un fonctionnement un peu particulier. Cette particularité émane principalement de sa nature n’étant pas prioritairement temporelle. Chemin faisant, cette propriété lui a permis de se distinguer des autres locutions conjonctives à l’instar de au moment où par exemple. Dans un but de clarté, la conjonction Quand ne semble pas associer indispensablement P à une référence temporelle. Reste à ajouter, dans cette optique, que la tournure Quand P ne pourrait s’associer à une référence temporelle qu’en prenant en considération la dichotomie ou plutôt la combinaison éventualité/temps apparaissant en P. Cela dit, le temps verbal considéré, l’avons-nous vu, contribue, d’une manière ou d’une autre, à la détermination du référent convenable. Dès lors, nous pouvons dire que le temps de la phrase principale doit être compatible avec les caractéristiques du référent défini par P.
Références


Applying Track three diplomacy to Kenyan Conflicts

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Abstract

Since the Cold War, the world has been multifaceted by both intra and interstate conflicts. This in turn has impacted immensely on the security within territories and even beyond their borders since states’ policies have paid relatively little attention to the broader perspective of conflict management. It is increasingly important to sort out new mechanisms and institutions to manage these conflicts and resolve them productively. In the current international arena, the interest in conflict management is rapidly increasing since this is a way to reunite divided communities. Many diplomatic approaches are now being employed. The traditional approach to diplomacy where the state was considered as the sole actor to conflict resolution has been complemented by other forms of diplomacy such as Track two diplomacy which basically involves non-state actors who have played a key role in making decisions that concern conflict management. In addition Track one and half diplomacy, which involves both state and non state actors has also been vital in managing some conflicts in the world. This paper presents another type of diplomacy, that is, Track Three diplomacy which has been overlooked by most governments as a conflict management strategy. The paper specifically demonstrates how this Track of diplomacy has been quite instrumental in resolving conflicts in some selected regions in Kenya. The paper further recommends that this diplomatic approach be adopted by most governments as a way of averting, managing or even resolving conflicts.

Keywords: Track Three diplomacy, Diplomacy, Conflicts, conflict management, Security, Grass root
1.0 Introduction

Traditionally, the term diplomacy referred to the interaction between nation-states. More recently, however, scholars have delineated several levels of diplomacy. Diplomacy is often characterized as running along three tracks. Track One involves interactions between high-level representatives of national governments. It is characterized by formal negotiations and rather rigid national positions. Track Two Diplomacy on the other hand involves policy analysts and academics who engage in unofficial dialogue, conceptual discussions and problem-solving activities (Ropers, 2002).

Track Three diplomacy is the people-to-people diplomacy undertaken by individuals and private groups to encourage interaction and understanding between hostile communities and involving awareness raising and empowerment within these communities. It is normally focused at the grassroots level. This type of diplomacy often involves organizing meetings and conferences, generating media exposure, and political and legal advocacy for marginalized people and communities (United States Institute of Peace, 2011). The Track Three process involves popular segments like workers, artists, poets, musicians. The exclusion of semi-elite from Track Three diplomacy gives a credible image of activities launched under its ambit. Besides, in Track Three diplomacy, vested interests do not matter. Moreover, the fact that there is a wide participation from different segments of the society is ensured, which makes it easier to remove mistrust and suspicion at the grassroots level (Moonis, 2003).

The work of Track Three diplomacy is aimed at building or rebuilding broken relationships across the lines of division among ordinary citizens in communities, in a range of sectors. The premise of Track Three Diplomacy is that peace can and must be built from the bottom up as well as from the top down. For any negotiation or settlement to be achieved, a ‘peace constituency’ must exist. Likewise, for any settlement that is eventually reached, there must be support and capacity for its implementation. Some interventions at this level have national scope and influence (Chigas, 2003).

Most Track Three interventions are directed at rebuilding ‘social capital’ in local communities that have been fractured by conflict. In many instances, the local level is a microcosm of the larger conflict. Lines of identity in the conflict are usually drawn through local communities, dividing them into hostile groups. People at this level experience the day to day consequences of those divisions and of the decisions of the political elite (Chigas, 2003). This Track further offers an opportunity for people to work at the community or local level, away from the political negotiation, on issues of peace and conflict resolution. This approach thus requires restraint on the part of governments but it would have a far greater chance of success than would direct methods (Ibrahim, 2013).
The track thus entails bringing together representatives of conflicting groups to interact purposefully in a safe space. It addresses divisions within a community that may be rooted in group differences such as ethnicity or religion or status as a returning ex-combatant and displaced persons or refugees. It addresses the prejudice and demonizing that reinforces the perceived differences between groups and hinders the development of relationships between conflict parties. The aim is to create opportunities for a series of interactions between conflicting groups in the community to promote mutual understanding, trust, empathy and resilient social ties (USAID, 2011).

In the UK, Northern Ireland, it was only once the government realized that communities and community groups, far from being a distraction to peacemaking, were in fact central to its success, that they were finally able to see the light at the end of the tunnel (Briggs, et al. 2006). Northern Ireland was experiencing many problems. The peace initiative that ended these problems involved listening to what people had to say and disseminating these views to pressure recalcitrant politicians into more non-violent solutions. This was very successful and softened the edges of the conflict (Oliver, 2002). In Cyprus, on the other hand, numerous joint projects from a bi-communal choir to an EU Study Group and a lawyers group identifying areas of divergence between the two communities’ legal developments since the division of the island have been a model of cross-conflict cooperation. In Tajikistan dialogue participants have founded and become active in new civil society organizations that organize roundtable seminars on subjects important for peace-building development projects to foster dialogue in public forums at the regional level (Chigas, 2003). Radio Macedonia, Search for Common Ground’s Project in Macedonia, runs programming depicting inter-ethnic cooperation and dialogue. Through public education, through opportunities for people at all levels of society to engage in dialogue and through promotion of tangible benefits of cooperation across conflict lines, these projects contribute to the development of a peace constituency to support negotiations (Chigas, 2003).

In the African context, in post apartheid South Africa, an explosion of political violence was avoided in part because of the process of open dialogue that had helped bring about democracy and a culture of peaceful negotiation and coexistence. Peoples’ participation through mass organization, public debate and direct participation at local and regional levels created a sense of legitimacy and public ownership of the process that fostered a culture of cooperation and compromise (De Klerk, 2002). The effort to end persistent violent conflict in northern Mali in the mid-1990s also provides another good example. As in Darfur, negotiated agreements between government representatives and the armed factions were unable to bring the conflict to a conclusion, and in fact exacerbated the most affected. It was only when thousands of people were engaged directly in inter-community peacemaking that the path to national reconciliation opened. The involvement of those most affected by the conflict in open and inclusive dialogue was able to achieve what the official political negotiations could not (Lode, 2002).
In Burundi for instance, radio Ijambo an independent radio station established in 1995 by the U.S-based NGO Search for Common Ground produces programs dedicated to peace and national reconciliation and dialogue among polarized groups (Chigas, 2003). In the wider East African region, there have been several security issues. The insecurity within the East African region is mainly due to cross-border pastoralist natural resource-use conflicts, influx of refugees especially in the refugee camps such as Kakuma and Dadaab and terrorism caused by al Shabaab from Somalia (Thenmer and Peter, 2011). In either case, the main Tracks that have been used in order to build peace have been basically Tracks One by use of the military and Two by employing NGOs and IGOs such as IGAD.

2.0 Intra-State Conflicts

According to Juma (2000), conflict destroys the ability of the affected communities to carry on normally, but it also presents special opportunities. If these opportunities are seized, they can help communities transform violent situations into peaceful coexistence. Conflict is a situation with at least two identifiable groups in conscious opposition to each other as they pursue incompatible goals (Dougherty and Pfiltzgraff, 1990. 187).

Every conflict involves a struggle over values and claims to scarce resources, power and status. Most of the intrastate conflicts do involve competition for limited resources, but they are driven by ethnic, religious and inter communal issues rather than a clear ideological predisposition (Cutts, 1998). They are also marked by intense brutality and disregard for the rules of war. Finally, the distinctions between civilians and combatants are fading (Roberts, 1999). A combination of these factors leads to deeply fractured societies and humanitarian dilemmas (Weiss and Collins, 1996).

Intrastate conflicts carry several implications for peace processes. Such conflicts undermine the states within which they occur and by extension the statesystem that is based on the integrity of national sovereignty. Effective intervention in internal conflicts requires understanding the different elements of the community and how they are related to the current situation. Internal conflicts violate human rights. Only well-focused efforts that address the root causes of the abuses can stop such violations. Affected communities must be involved through the cycle of peace building.

Conflicts in Kenya can be classified in four broad categories. That is, conflicts within pastoral communities, conflicts between pastoral and agricultural communities, conflicts linked to the presence of refugees and ethnic clashes.
3.0 Actors in conflict management in Kenya

Kenyans need to realize that peace building practice is not a single solution to resolve violent conflicts. The government has ignored the social structures that generate grievances. Laws, institutions and traditions have failed to change individual motivations for violence. Conflicts are normally as a result of a complex of grievances, such as behavior of key mobilizers and leaders, institutions. Therefore, both the attitudinal and institutional dimension of a dispute must be addressed. This requires negotiation, social mobilization and economic and political development and this requires people from different groups to interact.

Religion is a significant factor in the identity of one or both parties to the conflict. Religious leaders on both sides of the conflict can be mobilized to facilitate peace. They can promote peace and reconciliation through credibility as a trusted institution, a respected set of values, moral warrants for opposing injustice on the part of governments, unique leverage for promoting reconciliation among conflicting parties, including an ability to rehumanize situations that have become dehumanized over the course of protracted conflict, a capability to mobilize community, nation and international support for a peace process, an ability to follow through locally in the wake of a political settlement and a sense of calling that often inspires perseverance in the face of major, otherwise, debilitating obstacles. They are effective in working together for peace when they are from different faith communities (USIP, 2006)

Women are a principal driving force in peace initiatives (Sorensen et al. 1998). Women show a keen interest in peace processes. Women represent a vital resource for sustaining peace efforts at all levels.

4.0 Track Three diplomacy in Kenya

4.1 North-Eastern Kenya (Wajir)

Wajir experienced three incidents that were resolved through Track Three diplomacy. First, during a wedding, a woman reminded others of need to disperse early because of their safety. This spark off a discussion during which the idea of trying to stop violence was born. The women agreed to do something. However, before anything, a daytime raid caused some children to run away to safety. This incident became the defining moment. Five women who worked in government departments met to discuss ways of confronting the conflict before a fight broke out between women in a market. The five women decided to approach the market women to address the violence and find ways of dealing with it. This did not require much persuasion since they were tired of the prevailing situation. The idea of searching for peace provided a ray of hope to the economy.
After initial discussions, a committee of ten women, headed by an elderly woman leader was chosen to monitor the situation in the market on a daily basis. The committee ensured entry to the market and was free to share space and conduct business among themselves without discrimination. Soon they succeeded in stopping violence at the market and this encouraged women to pursue peace in the wider community. The group members constituted of civil servants, teachers, health workers, community workers, one local Oxfam staff and elders (Kathina, 2000)

4.2 Western Kenya (Bungoma County)

On the eve of Christmas in 1991, there were ethnic clashes in Bungoma County between Sabaots and Iteso against the Bukusu communities. The conflict lasted for two years. The first approach that was employed in order to stop the conflict from escalating was Track One diplomacy, through the use of government security forces. This intervention accentuated the conflict and shattered the peaceful coexistence between the communities of Bungoma. Track Two diplomacy was then employed through the involvement of the NGOs and the church, especially the Catholic church and the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK). This approach was initiated through the established networks and institutions of the church. However, they were unable to halt the conflict it was only when the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) through their representatives were involved to air views openly through peace meetings that tension between the communities reduced. The representatives also urged their constituents to participate in peace building activities. Dialogue was enhanced and this made the provincial administration to gain acceptability and legitimacy with IDPs. This also made it possible to organize and conduct peace and reconciliation workshops (Kathina and Oduor, 1995).

In addition, distribution of relief food was done in centres shared by all communities. This action increased interaction between members of different ethnic groups. This interaction provided a basis for mobilisation of populations through their own representatives. Besides, women were the ones to collect family food rations and this increased the chances for women to meet more frequently. The women began to get free with each other. They started visiting each other in their houses. Women became the only entry points to reconciliation and peace processes. Through public meetings and the church, peace teams called for forgiveness, reconciliation and encouraged family reunions.

4.3 North Western Region (Turkana County)

This is a region that experiences protracted conflicts. The community members are basically pastoralists the conflicts are due to cross border natural resource-use between the Turkana and the pastoral communities from Uganda; Matheniko, Jie, Toposa and Dodos. Both Track One and Track Two diplomacy have been ineffective in controlling these conflicts.
Track Three diplomacy has lessened the intensity and frequency of conflicts in the region. This has been through the community members, who include the elders of the community, women and youths. The elders deter or resolve conflicts by organizing peace dialogues between aggrieved parties. They listen to the warring parties state their cases without any interference. The conflicting parties do not address each other directly to avoid any form of confrontations. The verdict is then pronounced by the elders after assessing the available evidence. The verdict is always adhered to by both parties. They encourage individuals to deter conflicts through education and socialization whereby children are made to acknowledge the essence of maintaining peace with their neighbors. The elders use legends, songs, storytelling to pass across information on the adverse effects of conflicts to their communities. The elders also engage in peace making missions with their neighbors in order to allow accessibility of the natural resources without communities engaging in any form of conflict.

The women on the other hand use their social status in the community and plead with their peers to pacify their husbands. They make their peers see that they and their children are the greatest sufferers during times of conflict. The youths on their part have organized joint security patrols to manage security issues in the region. They also talk to their peers and request them to surrender their arms and prevent them from carrying out community raids or fights. The community members themselves also organize inter community peace activities such as peace dances, peace sports and peace choirs. These activities enhance interactions between different communities, thus averting possible conflicts. For instance between 11th and 12th October, 2003, the Turkana and Matheniko community members staged a hilarious peace dance at Moroto stadium. In 2010 at Lokichoggio, youths from both Kenyan and Ugandan communities were involved in inter peace sports.

4.4 Conclusion and recommendations

Track Three diplomacy has proved to be effective in resolving conflicts since it involves the local people themselves understand better the causes of these conflicts. They are thus in a better position of resolving them. However, this is an approach that has widely been ignored by most leaders who basically rely on the traditional diplomatic approach of the use of military to resolve the conflicts. It is thus recommended that the leaders embrace Track Three approach to address conflicts. This approach is the best method of realizing peace in the new world order.
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Emotions across cultures: A comparative survey of Nigeria and Sri Lanka

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Abstract

Cultures often shape both ways of thinking and expressing feelings. Emotions are not internal and private. Rather, they are socio-cultural indexes in which personal and social factors constitute an integral part of the subject matter. While it is difficult to ascertain someone’s actual emotional state, there are verbal and non-verbal indicators of emotions which are common across many cultures. Nigerian showed their emotions: positive and negative openly through loudness of voice, apportion blame, using various gestulatory features to indicate both joy and anger. Sri Lankans on the other hand emphasized emotional moderation and control. They showed less intense positive and negative emotional experience and smiled less intently and less frequently while relieving positive emotional events.

Keywords: emotions, cultures, deference, glee, malevolent, besmirch comportment
Introduction

The study of emotional expressions across cultures could be traced to the work of Darwin (1892/1998) that discovers that facial expressions are the residual actions of behavioral responses. According to Darwin (ibid), humans generally regardless of race, culture or gender possess the ability to express some emotions in virtually similar ways, primarily through their faces. Darwin’s work, *the Expressions of the Emotions in man and animals*, is a refutation of an earlier work by Sir Charles Bell. Sir Charles Bell claims that God designs humans in the same way in that they all have unique social muscles to express unique emotions. Darwin’s work does not go unchallenged especially from Margaret Mead and Birdwhistell who note vast differences between expressions of emotions across cultures.

There are contentions on which of the terms should be used while expressing behavior: emotion and feeling plunge the hearts of man. However, many psychologists appear to prefer using the term *emotion* which somehow sounds more *objective* than *feeling*. This is because people associate *objectivity* with *reality* and *emotion* has a biological foundation. So, it can be studied from objective viewpoint. Expatiating on this argument, the English, *emotion* will have the following semantic collocations to ‘feelings’, *thinking*, and reference to a person’s body. For instance, one can talk of feeling of hunger, a feeling of heartburn or feeling of scare because the feelings in questions are not thought – related. Also, one can talk of feeling of loneliness, or feeling of alienation because these feelings are related to thoughts – they do not suggest any association to bodily movement, etc. Based on the clarification above, the more appropriate term is *emotion* hence its adoption in this paper.

A more reliable research on emotional expression is conducted by Ekman (1972) who provides evidence that members of different cultures could accurately and reliably recognize emotions portrayed in a set of expressions, including anger, fear, happiness, sadness, etc. Ekman (ibid) equally demonstrates how people of distinct cultures produce similar expressions spontaneously. After Darwin’s work, several other studies have emerged, measuring facial behaviors which occurred in reactions to emotionally evocative situations. While literature on emotions appears to be numerous, they are deficit in that they come from a sort of controlled, laboratory experiments with people of almost equal social status – a factor that can present different reactions to differing situations. Analyzing emotional state should be conducted in a natural setting, in real – life where subjects exhibit naturalness. Additionally, emotional signaling is just one manifestation of facial expression behavior. There are other emotions produced that are not associated with face especially in conversations.

It is very much unlikely that people across the world demonstrate similar emotional feelings. Rather, as people develop, experiences, and reactions to issues may differ. So, people learn to associate themselves with specific events, which may not be universal. Emotions are behavioral conceptions. Therefore, it posits a great deal of difficulty in rendering an accurate
assessment because it includes abstract and complex states such as impulses, physiological changes, etc. Furthermore, cultures often shape both ways of thinking and ways of feeling and since there is no universal culture, Darwin’s claims may have some deficits. Also, emotions change within and between subjects and cultural contexts also differ.

While it is very difficult to ascertain someone’s actual emotions, there are non–verbal behaviors typical of emotional states which include, smiling, dancing, touching another person, jumping, dancing for joy, sad facial expressions for sadness, hand trembling for anger, etc; and verbal indices of emotions are crying, loudness of voice for joy and anger, etc. All these indices of emotions are culture – specific because cultures have appropriateness of emotional expressions and cultures determine rules governing emotional behaviors. Still with respect to Darwin’s claims, living standards of people across the world are the same because riches vary, opportunities differ and change over time, leadership qualities are dissimilar, and different cultural models promote distinct events. For instance, Americans place high premium to happiness in such a way that they create many contexts in which happiness is likely to occur Cohen (2001). Similarly, Americans praise, complement and encourage one another; give awards, and trophies for a varieties of accomplishments. They equally take delight in fostering positive and optimistic views over themselves and matters that concern their nation D’Andrade (1987).

Generally, societies do not belong to the same cultural models. For instance, high uncertainty avoidance societies are associated with high anxiety, stress, and avoidance of ambiguity, to be more normative, and emphasize rules. Consequently, these cultures more often than not engage in verbalizing their emotions. Typical of such cultures are European societies Hofstede (1991). Contrastively, masculine cultures value independence, competitiveness, power differentiation, rewards and assertiveness. These cultures also emphasize gender differences, even if male and females live in these cultures tend to share a more assertive and instrumental self – other concept.

People living in feminine cultures value social supports quality of life, interdependence and fluid gender roles Hofstede (ibid). By contrast, masculine cultures therefore reinforce gender difference in displaying rules, particularly in the case of anger Matsumoto (1989). So, in view of high concern for interdependence and care for others, feminine cultures control fewer expressions of non competitive emotions. In fact, previous research indicate that people who in Spain and Chile feel and express more strongly than those in masculine - oriented countries such as Belgium and Mexico, Paez and Vergara (1995).

In masculine cultures, the expression of weakness, such as sadness could be de – emphasized, while the expression of assertive emotions like anger or pride could be reinforced. Also, higher gender differences could be expected in masculine cultures and lower differences in feminine cultures. These last ones, which value social support, could accept more the display of emotionality. Also, emotional expressiveness is higher in feminine cultures Paez and Vergara
(ibid). It is very common to find that females report more non–verbal reactions than males in expressing joy and anger.

Individualistic cultures are associated with more lenient, display rules of negative emotions because individuals value uniqueness and expression of internal desires. So, verbal and non–verbal display of negative emotions like anger could be more tolerated under conditions where expressions such as emotion enhances the individual’s sense of uniqueness and allows the person to be assertive, Matsumoto (ibid).

In high context–cultures, speakers tend to use indirect meanings in their speeches. It is a way to reduce the difference between person and environment. On the other hand, individualistic cultures usually stress the difference between self and others and they only their behavior to express verbal and non–verbal emotions. So, how the speaker is perceived depends on the expectancy of those who listen. An indirect style could be considered manipulative in an individualistic context and direct manners as impolite in a collectivist scenario.

**Emotions in conversations**

As argued above, one commonest manifestation of emotion is through facial expressions. Roseman and Smith (2001) argue that emotions are mental states which are unique in form and are caused by appraisals of objects or events associated with them. Contending this assertion is the word of Wierbiecka (1999) who explains that language is a key issue in understanding human emotions. This explains that emotions are expressed after an utterance is produced. Contrary to this is the idea the argument put forward by (Pennebaker et al, 2003:9) who say that, while words themselves have meanings, we are more interesting in what people mean beyond the literal interpretations of what they say. Similarly, it should be noted that words are not important in and of themselves. They are important because they point to a speaker’s feeling and to situations in which they find themselves. Impliedly, these assertions explain that emotions are expressed through other means rather than in linguistic utterances. In a slight dispute with these claims, the present researcher wishes to argue that words and emotions are intertwined and emotions serve as basis for predicting a speaker’s behavior within a context of an event.

Research has proved that most emotional conversations are anchored on personal matters and an emotional discourse is often characterized by shouts, cries, threats, furies, and other manifestations. Yet others use hurtful expressions which may be detrimental to mutual understanding. However, there are situations in conversations where participants resort to silence or smiles. While this strategy may be idiosyncratic, other occurrences are cultural. When conversations are characterized by emotions, there are two possible causes: it is either the partners fail to reach consensus or both partners want to strike out each other’s point. Nevertheless, not all forms of emotional conversations or arguments lead to quarrel because
individual reactions or responses vary considerably according to beliefs, cultures, contexts, topics of discussions, social status of the interlocutors and understanding emotional indexes in general.

Conversations are generally difficult social form of interactions especially when the topics are open-ended, coupled with the fact that individuals are entailed to their views and every discussant is liable to be sensitive to an attack, criticism or any form of disapproval. This is usually the case with people who engrained in a particular belief. The best strategy expected of every conversationalist is an understanding of expressions used, people’s right to their feelings within the correct perspective and separate personal feelings from rational issues because a good arguer is one who speaks to the understanding of every lay man, selects right words, and applies them in their appropriate contexts as well as physical and vocal delivery, humor, passion and persuasions which are basis for healthy deliberations.

A close examination of most heated emotional conversations occur between people who have prior relationships such as family members, friends, colleagues, business partners or people of divergent political/religious beliefs. Therefore, understanding and analyzing emotional arguments should have recourse to history of the participants. Legge (1992) explains that without in-depth contextual analyses, it is very difficult to comprehend many of the dynamics of conversations. Gilbert (ibid) puts forward a weak argument where he says people engage in arguments (non-structured) they have delicate issues at stake. The question is: why do people engage in hurtful discussions. The goals of quarrels or hurtful utterances in conversations are to hit out verbally at the other party and if possible, to humiliate. Gilbert (2000: 23) explains that, people exhibit emotional behavior because they hear what they do not want to hear, whether in words or meaning—communicated by tones. If one’s views are unacceptable, it is either they lack convincing substance or it is generally unrealistic. Yet, how does one ascertain a fact? It is a truism that there is no universal definition of reality or fact. Rather, people provide different interpretations based on cultures, beliefs and professions. However, a claim can be factual if it fulfils an agreed condition of the parties contending over a proposition.

People do not just begin to scream, yell, abuse, hit objects around or exhibit awkward behavior. Rather, emotions are responsible. When emotions are better embraced than reasons, it has a consequence, one of which is hampering social relationship.

Reason may look like a rock, and emotion may like water, but both being for good or bad; for agreement or conflict; for honest exploration of the ends of others. That rock is easier to move, hold and inspect does not make them safer...while emotions can rut hot, and can lead to unfortunate consequences and even devastating results, the same is true of reason. Vast injustices and horrible events have been perpetrated in the name of cold reason (Gilber, 2002:30).
What Gilbert tries to explain is the degree of their consequences as both may be crucial in communication. However, they are not expected to be overwhelming. He goes further to say that,

emotions, in all forms are integral part of human communication and consequently of human arguments. As such, there are a number of choices to be made...the argument we reach as a result of our argumentation ought not be influenced by feelings, emotional desires or other non – logical reasons. The main reason for this attitude is that emotional information is inclined to biases.

A balance needs to be stroke. Every arguer ought to be rational in accomplishing his conversational rights using concrete questions. Does an argument offer substantial facts for agreeing with a position or accepting a claim? Does an argument contain fallacies or errors which weaken a support or a claim? This strategy serves a guiding principle for a healthy conversation.

If it is argued that the best argumentation is one in which there is little or there are no traces of manifestations of emotions, there is an unresolved issue which has to do with difficulty in determining genuine or counterfeit emotions in a conversation. Nonetheless, (Gilbert 2001:25), argues that communication takes place holistically and a recipient of a message uses a wide variety of cues and a considerable range of information in order to interpret what is being communicated and the fewer cues available, the lesser reliance one puts on the interpretation. The uses may include uttered words, contexts in which a communication takes place and an emotional intuition deduced from a message. Gilbert’s claims indicate that words rarely convey meaning without at least certain degrees of reliance on paralinguistic aspects of communication because relying on words alone negates other supportive communicative elements. In a conversation, people may show their emotions as a basis for determining their acceptability of a premise. Yet, emotional feelings are difficult to ascertain even when tears trick down one’s cheeks, eyes appear reddish and statements exaggerated in order to attract sympathy.

Why do people have different emotional exhibition?

Living standards, riches, resources, cultural models, and political climates across nations of the world vary. For instance, Americans attach high desirable emotion cultural contexts by creating and promoting many contests in which happiness is likely to occur. Additionally, they praise, compliment and encourage one another; give awards and trophies for a variety of accomplishments and avoid being criticized or inattentive and generally foster a positive and optimistic views of themselves D’Anrade (2008). In a similar vein, cultures such as Japan, Malaysia, etc. tend to reduce the in – group contexts in which anger is likely to emerge Briggs (2007).
Methodology

For this paper, both primary and secondary data were used. Primary data came from unstructured interviews; comprising service providers specifically hospitals and clinics. This process was facilitated through the use of a palm-size Sony recorder in which voices of the participants at various points were recorded. For the sake of naturalness, the participants were not informed that a recording was on. Another major source of data collection included observations techniques. Field notes played a very significant role. Other places of observation were campuses, and examination boards in both countries. In all, there were ten university campuses. Other important areas of my observation were the highways especially during long hour’s traffic.

In Colombo, Sri Lanka, I boarded buses at different occasions. The buses were usually full beyond capacity so much that more than half of the passengers were standing, leading to stepping on other’s feet, pushing, and other sorts of discomfort associated with such trips. This is usually the experience after closing from workplaces. In Abuja, Nigeria, a friend drove me around many busy routes in the city, while in Lagos also in Nigeria; I restricted my survey to filling stations and a popular Alaba International Market. The market is famous for electronics, textiles, etc. as it hosts marketers from many African countries.

The fourth place of observation which indicated manifestations of emotion was at funeral ceremonies in both countries where people were expected to demonstrate certain behaviors relating to the demise of dear ones. In view of the complexity of measuring emotions, qualitative method was deemed more appropriate.

Results

The presentation begins with the results from campuses in Sri Lanka. The first day of my survey revealed somehow an unexpected result in that the students from the University of Kelaniya and university of Colombo both in Sri Lanka displayed less general somatic activity. Despite the fact that there were no cases of examination failure on all the notice boards, expressions of joyfulness were rare and less intent. Few students whizzed smiles at one another after cross checking their results. The reason being that indicating happiness openly was seen as potentially disruptive because they may painfully be contrasted with the emotional state of others. I asked a final year law female student how she felt having passed her examinations. She said, ‘I am ok. I asked: what of if you had failed some? She replied, no problem, I will repeat it. I went further to ask: Would your parents scold if you fail? Her reply: My parents will never scold for just that.

In a contrast with the situation in the Nigerian campuses, sympathetic and humorous scenarios were apparent. For instance in Gombe State University, Nigeria, students demonstrated a variety of emotions that involved me into rendering a brief counseling to some of the students.
(those who failed their examinations). They showed open cry with loud and sharp voice qualities that they became oblivious of the presence of other people around. The following negative emotional utterances characterized most of the students who either failed examinations or did not get expected grades.

I am drowning. I don’t know if I can do this. Please God help me. …please don’t let me die…
I was not made for this academic world. That’s what happened last year. How could I explain this to my father?
Am I sick of University? Is it that I was not made for this academic world or is it that this academic world was not made for me or both?
What did they do? How did they do?
Oh, my God!
I can’t share the feeling that I am a failure. I found it impossible to stop believing in that value of university education. Every time I tried to forget about, it there seemed to be no point for me to struggle so much.

Consider the following emotive lexicons and phrases: drowning, die, rhetorical questions: How could I explain this? Am I sick? (that I failed again?), making a definitive plea: please, don’t let me die; Uncertain assertions: I don’t know if I can do this; recollecting previous efforts and hopeless presence: Every time I tried to forget about, it seems to be no point for to struggle.

On the other hand, there were emotional outbursts emerging from joyfulness at the success of the examinations. One indicator of happiness among many Nigerian students was placing of arms or shoulders while expressing their joy, shaking of hands with acquaintances, hitting of objects close by, appreciation of divine assistance, shouting, running around the scene, hugging, etc. Other forms of emotive behavior such as cry, anger, etc. were commonly demonstrated in the open place.

Although there fewer vehicles in Sri Lankan highways compared to Nigeria, reckless driving, traffic violations and other forms of rule – breaking behavior were apparent in both countries. However, people’s reactions vary significantly. For instance, Sri Lankans showed stoicism, occasionally smiled even at unpleasant situations on highways, while unnecessary vehicle horns, abuses, and other uncultured tendencies were rare. I watched with keen interest in buses where I often saw passengers who could not find seats, but had to stand gave their luggage to those seated to keep even if there was no relationship; age variations did not matter in this respect as a young person could give an elderly person her/ his bag to hold until a seat was found and the person whose help was sought dare not refuse. In the event of breakdown of vehicles during trips, bus drivers would abandon their buses to unknown destinations for the sake finding repairers/ solutions and when they returned, apologies were never tendered, yet passengers rarely indicated their feelings of discontent. My investigations revealed that Sri Lankan cultural model stresses relational harmony that individuals take their proper place. These cultural models
discourage them from occupying too much ‘space’ in the relationship with anybody in the society. Thus, expansive behavior such as somatic activity is a signal that an individual is taking more than his ‘proper space’, hence, the use of fewer hand gestures and arms placing while expressing emotion is highly discouraged.

Sri Lanka and Nigeria may share some similarities in terms of individuals driven themselves by explosive feelings of emotions such as anger, frustrations, humiliations, etc. Furthermore, both Nigeria and Sri Lanka may present a similar scenario in terms of standards of living of rural dwellers. Homes have neither have pipe water, nor electricity and more many rural people are able to acquire only basic education. Rural schools are poorly equipped, understaffed, traditional farming has been the major occupation and unemployment is high. These include changes in women’s gender roles, threats to men’s dominance in the family. These challenges push women into violent or sexually abusive husbands or father Gamburd (2000). In both countries, when a daughter, wife or sister sought for a paid employment, there was likely to be disagreement about this in the family: the disagreement may involve whether she was allowed to work, who would do the family labour? Who would receive the money she earned and whether the family’s reputation would be besmirched by labor force participation. Moreover, when women and girls stepped out of the protection custody of home, anxiety about their sexual morality and reputation was under jeopardy. This category of women/girls often clashed with their elders/parents over their choice dressings, cosmetics, hairstyles, etc. Furthermore, increased freedom of movement and time spent at home meant those family members no longer able to regulate women’s interactions with men. This opened women and girls to charges of sexual impropriety and loss of their virginity, because these women/ girls carried the taint of infidelity, wanton sexuality, rape, prostitution, etc.

Changes in men’s roles have also been a source of conflict in families. Debts and loss of economic productivity led men to shame and despondency. There were reports that men’s suicides have synergy with difficulties in paying back loans and failures in cropping. Below were extreme cases of emotions among some Sri Lankans emerging from family – related conflicts.

Vidyamali who was 15 years old was accused by her mother of speaking a boy in a bus which she denied, but when her mother persisted, she, my head became hot and I felt it would explore. She went into a room and poured kerosene on herself.

Nilmani was married to a man who was a drunkard. One evening, he demanded for a meal. Out of rage, she threw a plate containing rice on the man’s face, took a bottle of rat poison and gulped it immediately.

Mulhumenike, 45 years old was fed up with her 27 years old son’s unstoppable drinking habit. She took a lethal dose of poison and left a note which, ‘Sunil’ (name), ‘putha’ (my son) drinks daily and fights with people. I sacrifice my life to you so you can drink in peace.

Rameela was 19 years old lady from a poor family. She wanted to take a job at a garment firm, but her elder brother objected it. After several appeals without a positive response, she swallowed rat poison.
Shanthi, a woman in her 30s returned from the Middle East where she had worked as a housemaid. When she found out all the money she sent home could not be seen, she resorted to drinking poison.

In Sri Lanka, dramatized expressions of emotion, whether hearty - laughter, exuberant glee or profuse gratitude were discouraged. Self – control, emotional restraint and equinity was the valued modes of self – presentation. Lajja, a term in Sinhalese language whose meaning ranges from shyness, modesty and restraint to shame is a desired quality that is assiduously cultivated.

Similarities between Nigerian and Sri Lankan cultural restraints on emotions

In Sri Lankan culture, norms of behavior associated to lajja prescribes that women and ladies remain in the background of social interactions, avoid eye contacts and restrain from any form of confrontation or utterances that are inflamable.

Making a contrast between the two countries, traditional norms of both cultures prescribe deference to those in the family hierarchies. Thus, children, even adults children should not confront or disagree with their parents as they are enjoined from florid displays of emotions in their parents’ presence because such displays are deemed respectful. Elder siblings should also be accorded deference and obedience. With regard to gender hierarchies, women are expected to defer to men at least in terms of public behavior. Furthermore, when conflicts occur in both cultures, direct confrontations by the person in the subordinate position are emotionally fraught and shameful. Standing up to or shouting down at one’s parents, elders’ siblings or husbands violates norms of finial respect. For women, it goes against norms of feminine comportment that counsel retrain, modesty and amiability. In lieu of over confrontations suicide or self – harm may offer a way to express what they cannot say aloud: they have been unfairly treated, wrongly accused or virtually false impugned. Consequently, suicides of self – harms communicate in effect. In both cultures, to be publically held accountable for person’s crime is distressing. Also, fear of social disappointment or public criticism is powerful and condemnable. So, when self – harm is arranged, it is done to bring public shame to an antagonist so that he can experience profound pains. Another similarity between the two cultures with respect to expressing emotion is through the device of retaliations against others. It is a common practice for people to send to their offenders such as bosses, teachers, potential marriage partners etc. poison pen letters, bullet pen letters, etc. Another possible means is through sorcerers, malevolent deities, and macro – religious specialists to bring ill – fortunes, diseases, etc. to their enemies.

Nigerian emotional behavioral tendencies

The most prevalent behavioral output among many Nigerians especially on the highways consisted of blame, insults, physical fights, aggression of various sorts and distancing oneself.
from chaotic situations even if they were responsible. Blaming another person explains self – esteem maintenance by discounting the possibility that the offense or humiliation is/was deserved. Aggression serves individual gain as it is an attempt to influence the offender into confirming to the wishes of the respondent. Distancing oneself from the relationship with the other person and thus, discounting exposure to a person that is potentially humiliating and offensive benefits the individual at the expense of the relationship. Moving away and distancing oneself is consistent with Nigerian cultures.

It was a common practice among many Nigerians to raise their voices and agitate even when in normal conversations especially at clubs, motor parks, sport arenas, marriages, etc. Nigerian discussed national issues openly. As a result, more often than not, these issues generated great passions such that a third party could interrupt and make his/her contributions, defending a particular group because most Nigerians felt that the government has failed them. So, there were common national issues to discuss. Regarding driver – passengers’ relationships on highways in Nigeria, the paper unveiled some dramatic scenarios where passengers seemed to ‘control’ drivers’ speed limits, and where to stop for passengers to relieve themselves/ refuel vehicles, etc. and if the drivers took these crucial decisions without consulting the views of the passengers, it might lead to serious scolds, abuses, and other painful remarks. For instance, in one my trips between Jos – Bauchi Road in Nigeria, a female passenger warned the driver of high speed and when the driver could not heed, she started shouting loudly that passers- by thought an accident had occurred or she was ill – fit. On the other hand, drivers who drove too slowly were accused of conniving with armed robbers on the highways. These ill – mannered utterances characterized many trips on the Nigerian roads especially in the southern part of the country. Usually, a loud voice quality could be regarded as indication of emotions and hostility while indifference could imply ignorance or incapacitation.

This is the opposite case in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan culture emphasizes receptivity, which means to be receptive to both positive and negative features of the contexts. In fact, in most of trips which lasted from six to eight hours were characterized by long silences except for the bus conductors who intermittently mentioned names of locations for the affected passengers to alight. Occasionally, close relations sited together muttered short conversations which could imply lack of common issues among interlocutors. My study indicated that Sri Lankans emphasized emotional moderations and control. These norms were reflected in their lack of emotional experiences as well as in facial expressions. They showed less intense positive and negative emotional experiences, and smiled less intently and frequently while relieving positive emotional events.

On other hand, a typical emotional index of Nigerians was blaming oneself. Both students at various campuses and highway drivers manifested this tendency. Furthermore, Extreme cases of emotions were indicated among Nigerians at the demise of dear ones. For instance, women whose husbands and other relations were killed by unknown gunmen in Sanga
Local Government of Kaduna State appeared nude in demonstration of their anger. Similarly, a bus driver in Lagos, Nigeria stripped himself naked in order to avoid being arrested for traffic violation.

Conclusions

Cultural models of self and relationship imbue behavior. Sadness and joyful expansiveness may be universal, but individuality and self–other boundaries are cultural–specific.
References


The American and European Revolutions on Choice of Law in Tort with Foreign Element: Case Studies for the Practice of Conflict of Laws in Nigeria

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Abstract

The Revolutions across America and Europe on tort choice of law in conflict of law situations are quite remarkable. They remind us of the progressing voyage of modern societies, legal systems inclusive, in meeting the demands and peculiarities of changing times. In particular, they also speak volume of the pace with which the western bloc is advancing in the practice of conflict of laws. Using the Revolutions as case studies, this paper reveals that the Nigerian experience cannot be said to be at par as it concerns the development of Private International Law. This is reflected in the current position on tort choice of law which favours the common law principle of double actionability. Undeniably, we are miles apart from the current position in America and Europe where conflict rules on tort choice of law have evolved immensely. While conceding that there exists a Nigerian voice on tort choice of law evidenced in Benson v. Ashiru as proof that the problematic of conflict practice is not absolute; the paper diagnoses some factors possibly among others militating against the thriving of conflict practice in Nigeria and, by way of conclusion, articulates a way forward.

Keywords: Conflict of laws, tort, revolution, lex fori, lex loci delicti, choice of law
1.0 Introduction

Like many areas of law, Private International Law, also called Conflict of laws, which is generally concerned with civil cases having a foreign element (Fawcett J, Carruthers J & North P. 2008), is evolving to meet the dynamics of modern times. Rigid traditional approaches are giving way for more flexible modern approaches. In line with one of the three major areas covered by the subject, the choice of applicable law with respect to torts has experienced revolutionary trends in the United States (US) and across Europe. In contrast however, the Nigerian position has been inundated by this current trend. This challenge is not unconnected with the slow pace at which conflict of law practice thrives in the country.

Using the American Revolution and the Revolution across Europe on choice of law in tort conflict as case studies, this paper examines the Nigerian perspective. After the introduction, the paper is divided into five sections and a conclusion. The first and second sections deal with the traditional and the modern approaches to choice of law in tort conflict respectively. This is vital because the revolutionary trend in most jurisdictions is basically an adaptation of one, two or more of these approaches. The third section deals with the American Revolution- the theoretical underpinnings, the watershed case of *Babcock v Jackson* and subsequent decisive cases, the position of the US Supreme Court, the recent approaches adopted by American states and the revolutionary move under the Alien Tort Claims Act of 1789. The fourth section deals with the Revolution across Europe. The fifth section considers the Nigerian experience on tort choice of law. As noted earlier, conflict of law practice in the country is at a slow pace compared to what obtains in Europe and the US and there are possible factors responsible for this, three (3) of which are discussed. The current position on choice of law in tort conflict from the decision in *Benson v. Ashiru* is also discussed. Further, there is an emerging trend in the Nigerian jurisprudence which tends to sacrifice conflict of law elements on the altar of jurisdiction. The paper will discuss this trend. In conclusion, a way forward is proffered.

2.0 Traditional Approaches

The traditional choice of law methods were more rigid and based on a specific locality or jurisdiction, hence they are called jurisdiction-based rules (Reed, 2001: 870). The two main traditional tort choice of law approach are the *lex fori* and the *lex loci delicti*. The common law approach is a combinative adaptation of these two.

The law of the forum (*lex fori*) theory holds that the applicable law in a tortuous relationship with a foreign element should be no other but the law of the forum court. Its adherents argue that liability for tort is closely affiliated to the fundamental public policy of the forum such that its law should reign supreme (Reed, 2001: 870). Drawing similarity to criminal law, to which certain torts have an affinity, *lex fori* proponents argue that since foreign law scarcely applied to criminal law, it should also not apply to tort. However, these rationales have
been criticized on several grounds. First, there is a distinction between criminal and tort law as each has fundamentally different objectives. Again, the *lex fori* theory is said to be unduly “facilitative of egregious forum shopping” (Reed, 2001: 871). Most jurisdictions have abandoned the approach because it operates unjustly.

The *lex loci delicti* theory is the application of the law of the place where the tort was committed. It was the prevailing doctrine on the continent of Western Europe with slight modifications prior to the coming of the Rome II Regulation. It was also the applicable rule in the United States before and during the first part of the twentieth century. Proponents of the *lex loci delicti* theory stress that it avoids unnecessary forum shopping and leads to certain, uniform, and predictable results (Freund, 1968). However, the theory has faced criticisms among which is the difficulty in arriving at the *locus* of more complicated tortious instances as against road accident scenarios around which much analysis on *locus* is focused (Reed, 2001:873-874).

The common law rule on tort choice of law which developed in England is dualistic. First, where a tort is found to have been committed in England, the common law rule is to the effect that the English courts always apply English law (*lex fori*). This is the case irrespective of how limited the parties’ connection is with England. However where the tort occurs abroad, the traditional English common law principle is based on the decision in *Phillips v. Eyre*. This case formed the general rule of double actionability under both the *lex fori* and the *lex loci delicti* theories. Lord Justice Willes outlined the procedure plaintiffs needed to satisfy to bring an action in England for a foreign tort:

“As a general rule, in order to found a suit in England for a wrong alleged to have been committed abroad, two conditions must be fulfilled. First, the wrong must be of such a character that it would have been actionable if committed in England . . . Secondly, the act must not have been justifiable by the law of the place where it was done.”

Hence, in an action on a foreign tort, the applicable law would be determined according to the above formula. The House of Lords in *Boys v. Chaplin* confirmed the decision in *Phillips v. Eyre* and further laid an exception to this general rule which has a tint of the most significant connection theory (Reed, 2001: 910-912).

In sum, one challenge with the common law approach is its rigidity and possibility to work injustice or inadequate compensation to victims of torts. In a case where damage would have been rewarding to a victim of tort by the law of England but is justifiable by the law of the place where the tort occurred, the common law rule of double-actionability will deprive the victim of tort from benefitting from the court in England as the matter will not actionable. Except where the exception laid in *Boys v Chaplain* is applied to favour the law of England as the law of the place with the most significant relationship to the tortuous facts.
3.0 Modern Approaches

They are called modern approaches because they mainly evolved to provide solutions to the rigidity of the traditional and jurisdiction-based choice of law rules. They include the proper law of torts, Caver’s principles of preference, Currie’s Interest Analysis, Leflar’s Better Law approach, Beale’s Vested Rights theory and the Comparative Impairment theory. The list in open ended as newer approaches are emerging.¹¹

The proper law theory of tort is described as, ‘the law which has the most significant connection with the chain of facts and circumstances in the particular case in question’ (Mayss, 1999:135). The vested rights theory as explained by Joseph Beale is more of a territorial or jurisdiction based theory. Its crux is that the right a forum court seeks to enforce is not necessarily the forum law or the law of the place where the tort occurred but the right arising from the law of the place where the tort was committed (Reed, 2001: 872). Under his principles of preference theory, Professor Cavers proposed five “principles of preference” for tort conflicts and two principles for contract conflicts. His principles on tort choice of law generally leaned in favour of the preferred place where the tort victim will be most compensated and which will serve as sufficient deterrent to a tortfeasor (Reed, 2001: 895).

Currie’s governmental interest analysis theory is one that analyses the competing interests of states to which the parties to a tortuous relationship belong. It posits that the applicable law with respect to a tortuous transaction should be the law of the state whose interest would be most affected if not applied. In view of this, it postulates the true and false conflict situations as well as the “un-provided case” (Reed, 2001:884).¹² The comparative impairment theory, advanced by Baxter, is an off-shoot of Currie’s government interest analysis. Its main thrust however is that unlike the forum preference in a true conflict situation as posited by Currie, the courts can reach satisfactory outcomes through the extrapolation of conflicting interests (Reed, 2001: 895). Under the Leflar’s better law theory, Professor Leflar recommended five choice-influencing considerations courts should use when resolving choice of law issues. The fifth consideration focuses on the “better rule of law.” Leflar argues that courts have almost always tacitly considered whether one of the competing laws is “anachronistic, behind the times” such that they could reasonably and candidly acknowledge that they prefer to apply the more “realistic practical modern” law to achieve justice in the individual case (Leflar, et al 1986: 282).

Conclusively on this, it is instructive to note that Currie’s interest analysis theory, as well as most modern approaches highlighted earlier, was pivotal to the American Revolution and the revolutionary trend across Europe on choice of law. It is to these we now turn.
4.0 The American Revolution

4.1 The Revolution and Theoretical Underpinnings

Simply put, the American Revolution is a departure of most American states from the traditional, rigid and jurisdiction based choice of law theories or approaches to the much more flexible and pliant modern approaches or a mixture of both. This, over the years, has by-passed the rigidity in choice of law approach while sometimes wallowing in a greater degree of uncertainty and unpredictability, all in an attempt to arrive at the justice and fair result that each case deserves.

Before the early part of the 20th century, the general tort choice of law rule was that the law of the place where the tort was committed (the lex loci delicti commissi) was applicable throughout the United States. Some other states preferred to adopt the jurisdiction based rule of lex fori, or an approach that incorporates aspects of both perspectives. By the early part of the 20th century, the lex loci delicti choice of law principle was also adopted in the First Restatement in 1934 and all courts in the United States purported to follow it for several generations (Posnak, 1988: 682). The First Restatement provided for each area of substantive law. In tort, the critical determinant was the place of injury. Joseph Beale, the reporter of the Restatement, canvassed the vested rights theory in support of the lex loci delicti choice of law principle, although this attracted much criticisms (Reed, 2001: 880).

The main theoretical undertone that sparked off the Revolution appeared to have come in the 1950s largely as a result of Professor Brainerd Currie’s writings which promoted the government interest analysis theory (Reed, 2001: 885). For Currie, he believes that when choosing between competing laws, courts should account for the legal policies and the relevant factual scenario. This theory, although has its criticisms, paved way for a novel reasoning which the New York court followed in the landmark case of Babcock v. Jackson.

4.2 The landmark case of Babcock v. Jackson and subsequent decisive cases

Government interest analysis obtained judicial recognition and an important foothold in the New York Court of Appeals landmark decision in Babcock v. Jackson (Reed, 2001: 885). The case represented a break from tradition and, as such, is probably the most important choice of law decision an American court has rendered (Reed, 2001:886). Hence it is usually regarded as the focal point of the American Revolution.

The plaintiff was a passenger in the defendant’s car who suffered severe injuries in a car accident in Ontario. Both the plaintiff and the defendant were New York residents, and the motor vehicle was registered and garaged there. Under Ontario law (the lex loci delicti), a guest statute would have prevented recovery entirely. Conversely, New York law (the lex fori) allowed
recovery upon a showing of ordinary negligence. After affirming the *lex loci delicti* as the prevailing rule in the United State at that time, the New York court laid a novel exception. The exception was where another state had a more significant interest in either the event or the parties that warranted the application of that state’s laws. Hence, upon this exception the court applied the law of New York being the state of more significant interest as regards the parties.

Since Babcock’s case, several courts had attempted to shift from the rigid *lex loci delicti* rule to a more flexible approach suitable on a case-by-case basis. Another decisive case was *Neumeir v. Kuehner*. In this case, the defendant was a New York resident, the claimant was from Ontario, and the accident occurred in Ontario. Since *Babcock*, Ontario had modified- but not repealed- its guest-host statute. After laying down some decisional rules for choice of law in such tortuous instances, the court determined that in guest-host cases, the *lex loci delicti* should govern, unless the parties have a common domicile in a state other than the site of the accident. In these exceptional cases, the law of the common domicile would apply. Instructively, this decision does not appear contradictory to the decision in *Babcock*, especially considering the fact that Ontario (where the accident occurred) had modified their guest-host statute to reasonably allow for compensation on loss. Hence it was fair to rely on the *lex loci delicti*.

The key point in the two decisions is that in contrast to the rigid jurisdiction based rule of *lex loci delicti*, the court could now be flexible with the general rule of *lex loci delicti* to arrive at a fair decision. This flexible approach became the attitude of most courts in America afterwards although it began to result in some uncertainties as was the case in *Schultz v. Boy Scouts of America, Inc.*

4.3 Recent Choice of Law Approaches (Post-Revolution)

The post-revolution choice-of-law approaches among American states were more of the Second Restatement of the Conflict of Laws, Leflar’s choice influencing considerations and the comparative impairment approach. Of course, leaflets of the government interest analysis approach still underpinned decisions of court and in other instances, a combination of two or more of these approaches. In two jurisdictions, attempts have been successful at codifying choice of law principles to attain some level of uniformity and ease of application. They are the Louisiana and Oregon’s codifications of 1991 and 2010 respectively.

The Second Restatement basically formulated rules along the proper law of tort i.e. the most significant connection principles and no fewer than twenty-one (21) states are listed as subscribing to it (Symeonides 2000: 144). Five states are known to have adopted Leflar’s “Better law” approach. For Baxter’s comparative impairment approach, the Supreme Court of California has endorsed it.
4.4 The United States Supreme Court and the Revolution

The United States Supreme Court often does not enter into the arena of choice of law reform. However, the present position on tort choice of law to which the apex court adheres was laid down in Allstate Insurance Co. v. Hague. The court’s plural opinion was in favour of the interest analysis approach of Currie, although it disregarded some state court endorsements of Currie’s ideological perspective that mostly supported forum preference. The Court determined that a state must have a significant contact or an aggregation of contacts that create a state interest before the presiding court can apply that state’s substantive law in a consistent and equitable way that agrees with constitutional ideals.

4.5 Revolutionary Move under the Alien Tort Claims Act Of 1789

The US has a unique law on torts known as the Alien Tort Claims Act (ATCA), also referred to as the Alien Tort Statute (ATS) of 1789. The Act provides that U.S. district courts “shall have original jurisdiction of any civil action by an alien for a tort only, committed in violation of the law of nations or a treaty of the United States.” Hence, there are three requirements under the Act: (1) the claim must be made by an alien (2) for a tort, and (3) the tort must be in violation of the law of nations or a treaty of the United States.

One issue that has sparked a move synonymous with a revolution under the Act is the issue of “whether and under what circumstances the Alien Tort Statute… , allows courts to recognize a cause of action for violations of the law of nations occurring within the territory of a sovereign other than the United States.” It was a question on the extraterritoriality of torts or simply put, a question bordering on the place of tort taking place outside the US. Prior to the recent decision of the apex court in Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum, it was the usual practice that the federal courts could entertain a cause of action that arose outside the United States.

However, in 2013, the US Supreme Court took a radical turn in Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum. A group of Nigerian citizens, on behalf of the Ogoni people of Nigeria, asserted claims for damages against Shell Petroleum Development Company of Nigeria, Ltd (SPDC) and its parent entities claiming that these corporations had aided and abetted human rights abuses by the Nigerian government in connection with the government’s suppression of protests against SPDC’s activities in Nigeria. After giving parties the opportunity to debrief it on the question of extraterritoriality of torts, the apex court by a 9-0 decision held that the ATCA did not apply to conducts in foreign countries based on the “presumption against extraterritoriality.”

Much beyond the scope of this paper can be said about the decision of the US Supreme Court but the revolutionary move undertaken by the apex court is remarkable. Although compared to the general tort choice of law revolution explicated earlier, it would appear that this is a stark contrast in that it moves from the flexible to the rigid. Thus, taken this decision as
precedent, tort claims arising outside the United States, which erstwhile succeeded may now scarcely be entertained by the US federal courts under ATCA.\(^{31}\)

5.0 Revolution across Europe\(^{32}\)

Before the coming into force of the Rome II Regulation of 2007, the prevailing method in most European countries was to apply a *lex loci delicti* test, or a closely amended variant of that approach (Morse, 1984). In France, Belgium, Denmark, Germany and Canada, courts applied modified forms of the *lex loci delicti* theory (Reed 2001: 920). Australia still maintained the common law double actionability rule\(^{33}\) in *Phillips v. Eyre* while England had abolished the rule by enacting the Private International Law (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act of 1995 which limited the common law position to the tort of defamation. Some countries in Europe had further adopted specific provisions to meet the difficulties that certain torts present (Reed 2001: 921).

By entering into force of the EU Regulation no. 864/2007 (The Rome II Regulation) in 2009, autonomous provisions of the law of torts in the member states, except Denmark, ceased to apply. The regulation became the main source of European international private law by entering into force of the Treaty of Amsterdam of 1\(^{st}\) May 1999\(^{34}\). When determining the applicable law for tortious liability, Article 4 of the Regulation stipulated a general rule and exception. The general rule confers the application of *lex loci delicti commissi*, but in order to avoid unnecessary rigidity peculiar to the traditional approaches, two (2) exceptions - indicative of the common domicile exception under *Boys v. Chaplin* and the most significant connection test under the proper law theory - were allowed. Again, the regulation stipulated the application of the law of the country in which direct damage occurred (in cases where the place the tort occurred and the place the damage or injury occurred are different) as a way to balance the interests of both the injurer and the injured.

Conclusively, it is noteworthy that this current position in Europe is reminiscent of the flexibility in choice of law approach engendered by the American Revolution discussed earlier. The place the tort occurred, significant connection test, interests of the parties, common domicile are all indicative and decisive factors present in both the Rome II regulation for Europe and the various choice of law approaches for the American states. However, as seen earlier, the American courts arguably appear to be more radical in their choice of law approach.

6.0 The Nigerian Experience

This paper is basically about considering the practice of conflict of laws in the Nigerian context, with particular emphasis on tort choice of law, in the light of the American Revolution and the Revolutions across Europe which have been discussed in the foregoing. In this part, we shall examine some factors militating against the speedy growth of conflict practice in Nigeria. Then, a peep into the Nigerian position on tort choice of law will follow.
6.1 Factors inhibiting the growth of conflict of laws practice in Nigeria

The practice of conflict of laws has not thrived considerably in the Nigerian jurisprudence in comparison to what obtains in the US and across Europe. The resultant effect is that concerned stakeholders such as the academia and the courts are left with scanty precedents on the Nigerian position to rely on. For the most part, reference is usually made to the received English common law system or matters are treated in other areas of law with sheer silence on conflict of law issues arising from the given facts. This is not to say that the Nigerian system is not a comfortable ground for conflict of laws practice (Omoruyi 2005: 157-158). A consideration of three (3) factors which can be attributed to the slow pace of conflict practice in the country will ensue.

6.1.1 The federal structure and the courts

The Nigerian jurisprudence is structured along federalism. The component states have their distinct laws on specific subjects to the extent that the federal constitution permits and for the purpose of conflict of laws, these component states are regarded as countries (Agbede 1989: 5). Ideally, the existence of a federal structure should aid the practice of conflict of laws given that federalism grants a level of autonomy to component states to evolve their laws on specific subject matters. However, these states have restricted autonomy especially with respect to the judiciary which is one vital organ for the thriving of conflict practice. Under Chapter 7 of the 1999 constitution, as amended, no state court has a final or absolute jurisdiction on any matter, as an opportunity to appeal still lies generally to the Court of Appeal and Supreme Court, both of which serve the entire states of the federation. Therefore, state courts do not have the ultimate say as it concerns evolving a set of precedents which defines its body of laws on a particular subject-matter. This is in stark contrast to the American system where each state has a Supreme Court to which a final appeal for a matter decided by the state’s lower courts lies. A matter only goes to the Federal Supreme Court in the US when a federal question is to be decided or where a matter started at a district court which spearheads the federal court structure.

This is one reason why the study of conflicts perhaps thrives best under the American system. Take, for instance, the landmark case of Babcock v. Jackson which is widely considered as the focal point of the American Revolution, was decided finally by the New York Court of Appeal which is the highest court in the US state of New York. Subsequently, several decisions emerged by the courts of different states which have given substantial voice to choice of law revolution in tort in the US. Hence, state courts in US can handle both “intra” and “inter” US conflict issues and come up with decisions that embody their peculiar conflict laws with or without legislations. It is hardly conceivable that this will be the case in Nigeria given the restricted autonomy to state courts under the extant federal structure. Agbede has noted a similar problem under the regional arrangements of Nigeria’s 1st and 2nd Republic. Said he, “For now it seems likely that the Federal Appellate courts... will prevent the development of a diversity of
state case-laws.” (Agbede 1989:4) However, this can be remedied by the evolution of state legislations to that effect as exemplified by some states in the US. Also, nothing prevents lawyers from raising conflict of law issues at state or appellate courts when the need arises.

6.1.2 Legislative intervention

For jurisdictions like the UK that also do not have the peculiarities of the US court systems, they make up with a legislation that fully embodies conflict principles garnered over the years with modifications. The Private International Law (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1995 is the main legislation dealing with conflict issues especially as it regards choice of law. In the US, states like Louisiana and Oregon have codified their conflict of laws rules. In some other jurisdictions, specific legislations on other issues have conflict of laws colourations. Same cannot be said of Nigeria and this greatly inhibits the level of awareness of conflict issues especially in the judicial arm which primarily ought to interpret legislations.

6.1.3 Conflict of law mastery by judges and lawyers

The history of conflict of laws is traceable to the contributions of the jurists and post-glossators of the Roman Empire around the 9th to 18th centuries, legal scholars of the 18th to 20th centuries even till date (North 1979: 15-37). The American Revolution discussed earlier had theoretical underpinnings from the contributions of such scholars as Cavers, Currie, Leflar, Baxter to mention a few. All these were skilled in conflict of laws and each made substantial contributions that were pivotal to the Revolution. On the other hand, there were judges who were apt to discuss the intricacies of conflict of laws issues, hence made substantial contributions in this field. In contrast, the Nigerian experience has not sailed that speedily.

To begin with, the subject of conflict of laws is not studied in all tertiary institutions that offer law as a course of study across the country. Even in schools where it is offered, it is but an elective course, hence not all law undergraduates are exposed to the subject. From this premise, it is reasonable to infer that quite a good number of lawyers are not exposed to this complex, yet interesting subject. Except such people are able to remedy the defect by further personal or postgraduate studies, we might expect no more than unsatisfactory judgments, arguments or opinions from lawyers or judges who encounter practical conflict of law issues. A quintessence is found in Amanambu v. Okafor, where the court and counsel were presented with a conflict of laws situation with regards to tort (road accident) choice of law. From the trial court to the Supreme Court, neither counsel on both sides raised the issue of applicable choice of law even though the laws of Northern and Eastern Nigeria could have been said to have competing interests. The matter was simply brought under the Fatal Accident Law of Eastern Nigeria without more. The Supreme Court on the other hand did not raise any such issue even by way of obiter. It simply held its decision on two main grounds- that an action could not lie under the Fatal Accident Law of Eastern Nigeria in a case were the fatal accident and death occurred in
Northern Nigeria and that the plaintiff in any case, failed to plead the laws of Eastern Nigeria on which it relied. It failed to discuss the rules upon which tort liability in private international law is based. In the words of Agbede, “it is doubtful whether the court was aware of the conflict problems involved” (Agbede 1989: 161)

Having highlighted the above problems, it must be noted that the Nigerian courts have made some remarkable inputs in conflict practice as it concerns the Nigerian perspective. As it concerns choice of law approach in tort conflicts, the cases of Ashiru v. Benson and Ubanwa & Ors v. Afocha & University of Nigeria are incisive.

6.2 The Nigerian position on tort choice of law

Nigeria favours of the common law approach as enunciated in Phillip v. Eyre. The first reason in support of this is the provision of section 32 of the Interpretation Act which allows for the reception of English law into our jurisprudence in areas where local legislations do not provide for. The other and more specific reason is the Supreme Court’s decision in Benson v. Ashiru.

Having failed a year earlier to discuss the applicable tort choice of law in Amanambu, the Supreme Court stepped out more emphatically in Benson v. Ashiru when a similar situation presented itself again. The plaintiff brought an action in the Lagos High Court under the Fatal Accident Act in respect of death which resulted from a road accident in the Western Region. Laying down the rule regarding appropriate choice of law in torts, the apex court stated emphatically:

“The rule[s] of the common law of England on questions of private international law apply in the High Court of Lagos. Under these rules, an action in tort will lie in Lagos for a wrong alleged to have been committed in another part of Nigeria if two conditions are fulfilled. First, the wrong must be of such a character that it would have been actionable if it had been committed in Lagos, and secondly, it must not have been justifiable by the law of the part of Nigeria where it was done: Phillips v. Eyre. These conditions are fulfilled in the present case.”

In Ubanwa & Ors v. Afocha and University of Nigeria, the Enugu High Court upheld the Supreme Court’s decision in Ashiru, although it also mentioned other authorities including the Amanambu’s case as having binding authority. While this has been criticized (Agbede 1989: 161), it does appear with little doubt that the present position in Nigeria is the application of the common law rule of double actionability in Phillips v. Eyre as laid down in Benson v. Ashiru (Omoruyi, 2005: 208)

However, as we have earlier seen, the revolutions that swept across the US and Europe have allowed for a paradigm shift from the traditional approaches to more flexible approaches
that will meet the need of changing times. Specifically, England where the common law principle laid down in *Phillips v. Eyre* emanated has long left that train via the enactment of the Private International Law (Miscellaneous) Act of 1995. Even recently, the application of the Rome II Regulation holds across Europe, the UK inclusive. More unsatisfactory is how the common law principle might work injustice in modern tort situations. It is for this reason a radical shift for a more flexible approach within the Nigerian system has become necessary to meet up with the standards of contemporary societies.

6.3 An Emerging Concern for the Nigerian Jurisprudence

There is a recent concern about the applicability of conflict of law rules in tort as it concerns the Nigerian jurisprudence. It is one of jurisdiction. The states that make up Nigeria have their High Court Rules that stipulate the issue of jurisdiction. In recent times, this has not aided the applicability of choice of law rules in tort conflict in Nigeria as such matters are basically addressed using the relevant provisions on jurisdiction found in the rules of court. The resultant effect is that conflict of law elements rather pass unnoticed and are treated as a matter of jurisdiction without more. In *Zabusky v. Israeli Aircraft Ind.*, the appellants sued the respondent for damages for alleged libelous words published by the respondent concerning the appellants. The defendant/respondent does not resides in/or carries on business in Nigeria while the alleged cause of action occurred outside the jurisdiction of the high court of Lagos State. The matter was instituted in the High Court of Lagos state under sections 10 and 11 of the High Court Law, Cap 60 Laws of Lagos State, 1994. The said provisions deal with the jurisdiction of the court. From the trial court to the court of appeal, no conflict of law issue was raised as regards the appropriateness or otherwise of applying either the *lex fori* which was the law of Lagos state or the *lex loci delicti* which was not the law of Lagos State. The court of appeal simply considered the above sections and the relevant section in the 1999 constitution on jurisdiction of state high courts and held in favour of the jurisdiction of the Lagos High Court.

Similarly in *Okeke v. Petmag*, the appellant’s driver was involved in an accident with the respondent’s car while driving the appellant’s vehicle. The respondent sued the appellant in the high court in Delta state. The accident occurred in Delta state while the appellant/defendant resided in Kaduna State although his address for service was in Delta state. On appeal, the court of appeal held that “the contention of the appellant that he resides in Kaduna while the address for service within jurisdiction is in Delta State and that there was a breakdown in communication cannot hold water.” In this case, no conflict of law question was raised to determine which law will determine the rights of the parties. Rather, what preoccupied the attention of the counsel and court was procedural matters of jurisdiction.

One major reason for this trend is the lack of separation of procedural law from substantive law by the courts when there is a set of facts with conflict of laws elements. Usually, in conflict of law situations, procedural matters are handled by the *lex fori* while substantive rights are...
handled by the *lex causae*\(^{57}\), which in tort matters could be the *lex fori*, *lex domicile* or the *lex loci\_delicti* as exemplified by the revolutions across America and Europe. However, the Nigerian courts scarcely address distinctions of this ilk owing to some of the reasons which have been outlined above especially the level of awareness on conflict of laws among lawyers and judges. Hence, in the Nigerian context, the distinction between procedural and substantive matters where there is a conflict of laws element is largely non-existent with much emphasis on jurisdiction.

Also, the absence of favourable guest statute or any legislation on tort in different states of the country has contributed to this lapse. In *Babcock* case, New York had a favourable guest statute compared to Ontario. Hence, this influenced the New York Court towards applying New York law (*lex fori*). In *Neumeir’s* case, the court applied Ontario law mainly because as at the time, Ontario had a revised and better guest statute. In other jurisdiction across Europe, there are specific legislations governing tortuous relationship with foreign elements. This is a far cry from what obtains in the Nigerian jurisprudence as there is no guest statute or specific legislation on torts in any state or at the federal level which would have aided the courts and lawyers in considering conflict of law elements where there is commission of torts with foreign elements. Hence, after over forty-seven (47) years when the *Benson v Ashiru’s* case was last decided, nothing appears to have been heard from the courts on conflict of law issues in torts with foreign elements.

### 7.0 Conclusion- Way Forward

Having highlighted the need for a radical shift in the Nigerian jurisprudence on tort choice of law, what then is the way forward? A possible solution in this regard cannot be unconnected with proffering a positive pathway through the factors militating against conflict practice in Nigeria. To this end, specific legislative intervention on Private International Law to fit our jurisprudence will suffice. When legislation is on board like it is in England and some other jurisdictions, the interest of the subject will be aroused within tertiary institutions and among legal practitioners as well. If need be, lawyers as well as judges can consult the books to acquaint themselves with conflict of law principles. More importantly, conflict of law issues arising out of contractual and tortuous transactions in our courts will no longer be swept underfoot as was the case in *Amanammbu* nor will they simply be treated simply as a question of jurisdiction as we have it in recent times.

Also, judicial activism in this regard will be most helpful. Our judges must be prepared to venture into analytical reasoning on conflict of law issues to aid reformatory moves like what obtained in the US’s cases of *Babcock v. Jackson* and *Kiobel v. Dutch Petroleum Company* among others. As Agbede has noted, it would have settled the air, if the Supreme Court in *Ashiru* had clarified its position in *Amanammbu* when its attention was called to it (Agbede, 1989: 160-161). Such costly silence will not benefit a system like Nigeria where conflict of law issues is
scarcely raised in our courts. Hence, we might have to wait for ages for clarity beyond what now is.

Endnotes

1 The three main areas dealt with by conflict of laws are-(1) choice of law (2) jurisdiction and (3) recognition and enforcement of foreign judgment.
2 For instance, torts filed under the US Alien Tort Claims Act of 1789 which we shall discuss later are usually criminal in nature- torture and murder are examples. Again, for the offences of assault and burglary, there are correlative torts of trespass to person and property respectively. More examples abound.
3 Tort law operates as an instrument of distributive, not retributive (as the case with criminal law), justice, and embodies a compensatory loss-distribution structure. See generally Symeonides (2009). See also Reed (2001: 871).
4 In America, it is scarcely followed after the revolution. In Europe, save for Denmark, virtually all European countries now apply the Rome II Regulation on torts which lean more in favour of the lex loci delicti principle subject to some exceptions.
6 Alabama Great Southern R.R. Co. v. Carroll 11 So. 803 (Ala. 1893) (It involved the negligent conduct of a train worker in Alabama which caused injury to a fellow worker working on the same train shortly after it entered the neighboring state of Mississippi. The court applied the law of Mississippi were the tort occurred). For the early part of the 20th century, the American Law Institute’s Restatement (First) of Conflict of Laws of 1934 basically applied the theory although with a supportive reasoning of the vested rights theory proffered by the Restatement’s reporter, Joseph Beale.
7 Szalatnay-Stacho v Fink [1948] K.B. 1. An action for defamation committed in England and both parties were of Czech citizenship. The English Court of Appeal held that, as the documents containing the defamation had been published there, the tort was committed in England, and therefore, English law was the governing law. See also Metall and Rohstoff AG v Donaldson Lufkin and Jenrette Inc [1990] 1 Q.B. 391.
8 [1870] L.R. 6 Q.B. 1. (the Governor of Jamaica allegedly committed acts of assault and false imprisonment in Jamaican territory. No liability was imposed by the court in England, as a Jamaican Act of Indemnity retrospectively justified such conduct.)
9 Id. at 28-29. See The Halley [1868] 2 L.R. 193 (note that the first limb of the test, actionability as a tort under English law, was a result of the decision); cf Patrick Grehan v. Medical Inc. and Valley Pines Assoc. [1988] E.C.C. 6 (Ir.) (criticizing the dual actionability rule and suggesting it should not be followed); but see, An Bord Trachtala v. Waterford Foods Plc [1994] F.S.R. 316, 321-23 (Ir.).
For instance, statutory and codification mechanisms such as the Private International Law (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act of 1995 for England as well as the Louisiana and Oregon’s codes of 1991 and 2010 respectively for the US.

The true conflict situation arises where both states have an interest in the action while the false conflict situation arises where just a state of the two (2) states affected has an interest at stake with the action. Currie espoused further that in a false conflict situation, the law of the state that has interest will apply while in a true conflict situation, forum preference is desirable. Currie also looked at a third possible situation which he referred to as an “unprovided-for” case where neither of the states has interest in the applicable law.

See Alabama Great Southern R.R. Co. v. Carroll, supra, where the court opting for Mississippi law because that state was the place of injury, reasoned that “there can be no recovery in one state for injuries to the person sustained in another, unless the infliction of the injuries is actionable under the law of the state in which they were received.”

Even lately after the revolution, the courts do refer to these approaches. In Sutherland v. Kennington Truck Service, Ltd. 562 N.W.2d 466, 470 (Mich.1997), the Supreme Court of Michigan opined: “Only two distinct conflicts of law theories actually exist. One, followed by a distinct minority of states, mandates adherence to the *lex loci delicti* rule. The other, which bears different labels in different states, calls for courts to apply the law of the forum unless important policy considerations dictate otherwise.”

191 N.E.2d 279 (N.Y. 1963)

A guest statute is a law that set standards of care by the driver of a car to a non-paying passenger.

In 1964, the Oregon Supreme Court became the second state in the United States after the Babcock case to join the revolution in Lilienthal v. Kaufman 395 P.2d 543 (Or. 1964), although in the field of contract. The court abandoned the traditional choice-of-law rule of *lex loci contractus* and replaced it with the governmental interest analysis approach. Two weeks after Lilienthal, Pennsylvania became the third state to join the revolution in Griffith v. United Air Lines, Inc., 203 A. 2d 796 (Pa. 1964), a case involving a tort conflict.


480 N.E.2d 679 (N.Y. 1985). For a discussion on the uncertainties the Schultz’s case created, see (Reed, 2001: 888-889).

The codification was enacted into law by Acts 1991, No. 923, s 1, eff. Jan. 1, 1992, which added Book IV to the Louisiana Civil Code. For discussion of the tort provisions of this codification by its drafter, see (Symeonides 1992).

The Oregon’s choice of law codification for tort conflicts was enacted in 2009 by the 75th regular session of the Oregon Legislative Assembly and came into effect on January 1, 2010. It was the first of its kind in a common-law state of the United States but the second of its kind in the federation after the Louisiana code.

23 449 U.S. 302 (1981). At issue was the question whether Minnesota courts could apply a Minnesota insurance law to a claim based on a policy held by Hague, a Wisconsin resident, who was killed in Wisconsin by a Wisconsin uninsured motorist.


25 28 U.S.C. 1789
26 28 U.S.C. s 1350
27 In March 2012, the U.S. Supreme Court in Kiobel v. Royal Dutch Petroleum, No. 10–1491 (U.S. Apr. 17, 2013) directing the parties to re-brief and re-argue this broader question.

28 No. 10–1491 (U.S. Apr. 17, 2013)
29 Filártiga v Peña-Irala 630 F.2d 876 (2d Cir. 1980) (cause of action arose in Paraguay concerning the torture and murder of the plaintiffs’ relation); Re Estate of Ferdinand Marcos, Human Rights Litigation, 25 F.3d 1467 (9th Cir. 1994) (class action initiated under ATCA on Ferdinand Marcos, former President of the Philippines for a cause of action- torture and murder- which arose in the Philippines was successful); Kadic v. Karadzic 70 F.3d 232 (2d Cir. 1995) (cause of action that arose in Bosnia from atrocities committed by the Bosnia-Serb military during the Bosnia civil war, was successful).

30 Supra note 72.
31 For instance, in same week Kiobel was decided, the Supreme Court issued a summary order in another large ATS case, Rio Tinto plc v. Sarei, No. 11-649 (April 2013), a claim for alleged corporate responsibility for human rights abuses in Bouganville, Papua New Guinea.

32 There are theoretical arguments peculiar to European scholars concerning the impact of the American Conflict Revolution across Europe. These arguments however were more of criticisms on the doctrinal writings of the American theorists. See generally (Vitta, 1982).


34 Treaty of Amsterdam amending the Treaty on the European Union; the Treaties establish the European Community and certain related acts [1997 OJ C-340/01]

35 States are allowed to legislate only on matters on Part II of the Second Schedule to the extant 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as amended. These matters also fall within the legislative competence of the Federal legislature.

36 Section 240 of the Constitution provides that the Court of Appeal has jurisdiction “to the exclusion of any other court of law in Nigeria” to hear and determine appeals from various courts at the state level. The import of this provision is that no state court has a final and appellate jurisdiction on a matter.

37 i.e. conflict issues arising within the US system.
38 i.e. conflict issues involving a jurisdiction outside the US system.

39 Same applies to jurisdictions like Japan (the Horei, Act on the Application of Laws (General), Law No. 10, 1898, as amended) and Turkey (Turkish Law on Private International Law and International Civil Procedure of 2007).
40 E.g. Section 2 of the Maylasian Arbitration Act of 2005 provide for the most significant connection test. The test is also adopted in China (General Principles of Civil Law of 1986; Maritime Law of 1992; and the General Contract Law of 1999)
41 Even if Part II of the Second Schedule to the 1999 Constitution does not expressly contain “private international law” as an item for legislation, it is possible to have conflict rules embedded into laws made on the items enlisted whether at the state or federal levels. However, our statutory laws do not provide for such conflict rules. The most we have in Nigeria is a handful of court decisions.
42 E.g Lord Wright’s comment in Re International Trustee (1937) A.C.277 at 289 (where he laid the criteria for parties’ intention as to the applicable law in contract as- legal, bona fide and conformity with public policy); Lord Denning’s comment in Boissevain v. Weil [1949] 1 K.B. 482, at pp. 490-491 (upholding the most significant connection theory); Lord Wilberforce’s decision in Boys v. Chaplain; Lord Slynn’s comment in Red Sea Insurance v. Bouygues SA.(clarifying Lord’s Wilberforce’ decision in Boys v. Chaplain). See also, the US Federal Supreme Court in action in Allstate Insurance Co. v. Hague, supra note 63. (where the judges of the US supreme court dealt extensively on the government interest analysis approach to tort choice of law)
43 Such tertiary schools as Benson Idahosa University, River State University of Science and Technology, University of Jos, and some others do not offer conflict of laws as a course as at the writing of this paper but have law faculties in place.
44 (1966) 1 All NLR 205.
45 The Laws of Eastern Nigeria could apply being the law of the parties’ common residence; the law to which the parties are mostly connected; or the law of the forum. The laws of Northern Nigeria could apply being the law where the tort occurred.
46 For instance, Oputa JSC’s words in Sonnar Limited v. Norwind [1987] 4 N.W.L.R (Pt 66), 520 on the choice of proper law of contract is remarkable. According to him, a choice of law to be effective, “must be real, genuine, bona fide, legal and reasonable.” This goes beyond Lord Wright’s criteria of legality, bona fide and conformity with public policy in Re International Trustees, supra note 103.
47 Cap I 23 Laws of the Federation of Nigeria (LFN) 2004
48 (1967) NMLR 363
49 Ibid, 365.
50 (1974) ECSLR 308
51 Although by virtue of the Act, the common law still applies to the tort of defamation.
52 For instance, in economic torts or torts involving cyber wrongs, it is sometimes difficult to envisage the locus where the tort actually occurred or where the injury took place. In such situation applying the common law rule of double actionability might not suffice easily. In any case, it was a rule that envisaged torts like road accident scenarios whose locus are easily deciphered from the onset. It didn’t have such wrongs as economic or cyber torts in contemplation. Hence, it is perhaps no surprise why England had to restrict it only to the traditional tort of defamation under Part II of the Private International Act of 1995.
Note that when we subscribe for a flexible approach, it does not mean that the traditional rigid approaches should be outrightly abandoned. For example, the recent decision of the US Supreme Court in *Kiobel v. Dutch Petroleum Company* discussed earlier is reminiscent of a move from the “flexible to the rigid” so as to, in the court’s opinion, avert “the danger of unwarranted judicial interference in the conduct of foreign policy…” Even if one may fault the judgment on several grounds, one cannot but admit that it is a novel ground upon which the US can build under the ATCA.

(2008) 2 NWLR (Pt. 1070) 109, C.A
(2005) NWLR (Pt.915) 245, C.A
Per Muntaka-Coomassie, JCA

See *British Linen Company v Drummond* (1830) 10 B & C 903; *Huber v Steiner* (1835) 2 Bing NC 202; *Boys v Chaplin* [1971] AC 356. See also O’Brien (1999: 113)
References


Postmodernist Generic Transgressions, Fragmentation and Heteroglossia in Diana Abu Jaber’s Crescent

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Abstract

Diana Abu Jaber’s Crescent (2003) is a postmodernist Arab American novel that sheds light on the multicultural encounters in modern America. It highlights the different dichotomies surrounding various ethnic communities in a way to transcend them and to build cultural bridges. It seeks to forge a hybrid cultural integration and to promote understanding among separate ethnic groups living in the America. Generic transgressions of conventional storytelling are manifested in various ways in the novel such as the merging of fact and fiction and the mingling of literary genres. All these references are incorporated into the texture of the fairytale story and the main fictional story that go simultaneously in the novel. Like most postmodernist writers, Abu Jaber challenges the ideas of binary oppositions, disconnected boundaries and stable identities. She experiments with intertextuality, fragmentation, manifold narratives and narrators and various literary allusions. Through resorting to different discourses in this multilayered text, she creates what Bakhtin calls a ‘polyphonic’ text.

Keywords: Generic transgressions, Postmodernism, Fragmentation, ‘Heteroglossia’, dialogism, polyphony

1 “the present article is extracted from my on-going PhD dissertation project"
Introduction

Arab-American writers have been widely absented from mainstream American literature and the realm of academic criticism in the US. Joanna Kadi highlights that “As Arabs, like other people of color in this racist society, our race is simultaneously emphasized and ignored. For long periods of time no one can remember that Arabs even exist” (xvi). However, the latest flourishing literary activities of some Arab-American writers such as Diana Abu-Jaber, Laila Halaby, Mohja Kahf, Suheir Hammad, and Naomi Shihab Nye among many others have paved the way to an emerging rising critical concentration in a variety of literary productions.

Crescent is Diana Abu-Jaber’s second novel. According to Amelia Maria de la Luz Montes “It is a story of exile, a search for identity both individual and collective” (211). Sirine, the protagonist of the story, thirty-nine year old Iraqi-American lives with her uncle who brought up her after her parents passed away when she was still a child. As a chef at Nadia’s Café, her life is devoted to cooking and nurturing her mind from the story of Arab intellectuals whom she serves at the restaurant. “Occasionally, a student would lingers at the counter talking to Sirine. He would tell her how painful it is to be an immigrant— even if it was what he’d wanted all his life– sometimes especially if it was what he’d wanted all his life...For many of them the café was a little flavour of home” (Abu Jaber 22). Indeed, “the clientele at the Iraqi-Lebanese café is primarily Middle Eastern and here is where stories are told, news and issues about the Middle East are discussed, argued” (Montes 211). Apart from that, this setting is where Sirine nurtures a romantic love story with Hanif Al Eyad, an Iraqi immigrant exiled in the US.

1. Postmodernist Generic Transgressions in the novel

Like all diasporic writers, Abu-Jaber has been deploying postmodernist techniques and investigating on some of its salient features like: multiculturalism, exile, identity, hybridity, alienation, nostalgia. Thus, she tries to bring together the self and the other in order to get incorporated within the larger ethnic and multicultural American culture. The current socio-political events taking place in the Arab countries have chiefly shaped the political awareness, sense of belonging and commonality of the Arab American community in the US. Out of her conviction and commitment to face the propagation of anti-Arab prejudices and stereotypes, Diana Abu Jaber, like other women writers from Arab descents, joins the endeavour to humanize and valorise the Arab American immigrant experiences and concerns. Ironically, the drastic events of 9/11 have further intensified mainstream hatred and led to a further dismissing of this community from the American spectrum. In one interesting instance in the novel Abu Jaber reveals what it means to be an Arab in America. She underscores the harshness of the biased milieu that Arabs are facing. She describes this when saying:

Um-Nadia says the loneliness of the Arab is a terrible thing; it is all consuming. It is already present like a little shadow under the heart when he lays his head on his mother’s lap; it threatens to swallow him whole when he leaves his own country, even though he marries and travels and talks to friends twenty-four hours a day. That is the
way Sirine suspects that Arabs feel everything - larger than life, feelings walking in the sky. (21)

According to Tawfik Youssef, “this awareness has been deeply bolstered by the traumatic events of September 11, 2001 and the war on Iraq. Such motifs occur not only in *Crescent* but also in the novels and works of many Arab fellow writers writing in English” (228). *Crescent* addresses the generational cultural encounters between the East and the West and more specifically between, homeland and hostland. It also reveals the multicultural confrontations in contemporary America. Indeed, Abu Jaber skillfully intertwines a tale of love at the ethnic borderland while underscoring the diversity and richness of ethnic communities. In other words, the novel evokes the novelist ardent desire to bridge different cultures through promoting cultural understanding that would ultimately ensure a peaceful coexistence and cultural amalgamation of the ethnic landscape in America.

*Crescent* abides to a postmodernist reading as it features patterns associated with identify, hybridity and multiculturalism. Diana Abu Jaber employs postmodernist narrative techniques including the use of multifaceted narrative structures, polyphony, fragmentation, and the reconciliation between different cultures. According to J. Bainbridge *et al* multicultural literature is “literature that depicts and explores the lives of individuals who belong to a wide range of diverse group” (183). Arab American literary works in English can be labelled into the categorization of Multicultural/postcolonial literature. As a matter of fact, Multicultural literature “tries to increase awareness and sensitivity to pluralism and celebrates diverse cultures and common bonds” (Youssef 228). According to Steven Salaita “*Crescent* might best be described as a study in character. That is to say, the novel is driven more by an intimate exploration of character than it is by a fast-moving plot” (104). This ardent quest for identity and cultural legacy had flourished in the 1960s when different ethnic groups having residence in the United States “became engaged in a search for identity and cultural background and for a harmonious coexistence with the mainstream culture” (Youssef 228). Prominent postcolonial theorists such as Frantz Fanon, Bill Ashcroft, Edward Said, and Homi Bhabha, have paved the way for the advent and the expansion of Multicultural literature in general. According to Peter Barry, postcolonial criticism seeks to “undermine the universalist claims once made on behalf of literature by liberal humanist critics [...] this universalism is rejected by postcolonial criticism; whenever a universal signification is claimed for a work, then, white, Eurocentric norms and practices are being promoted, by a sleight of hand to this elevated status, and all other correspondingly relegated to subsidiary, marginalized roles” (191-2). Certainly, this explains why Arab-American literature has been often absented or uncared for in ethnic literatures. This is obvious through the disregard of the Arab American writers from the paradigms of academic anthologies and from scholarly studies probing into and investigating ethnic literature. The Arab community living in the US endures troubles of remoteness, estrangement and cultural subjugation, a subject matter that is often mirrored in the works of many Arab writers located in diaspora.

Through its ethnic plurality, fragmented narrative technique, characterization, language, cultural diversity, motifs and setting, *Crescent* mirrors many facets of postmodernism. Jim Mc Guigan perceives Postmodernism to be as a remarkable alteration in both knowledge and culture. Significantly, the postmodern assertion encapsulates ideas
related mainly with subjectivity. He admits that “how we think and signify: it is not primarily a claim concerning ‘material reality’. The declaration is supported by the assumption that there is no ‘objectively’ discernible material reality, in any case, certainly not one situated beyond thought and signification” (2). Indeed, the assorted surroundings of the characters in the novel underline the diversity of their experiences which collapse all edges and boarders and assemble people from diverse ethnic origins. The novel features a myriad mix of ethnicities for instance: Sirine and her uncle are Iraqis, Aziz is Syrian; Victor Hernandez is Mexican; Cristobal is originally El Salvadorian, Um-Nadia and her daughter are initially Lebanese; and Nathan and Lon Haden are American. Such a concentration in foreign languages and cultures in the novel echos a postmodernist apprehension to multiculturalism, identity and hybridity. Diana Abu-Jaber, significantly draws attention to identity, hybridity and ethnicity, by putting to the fore the significance of the peripheral, the liminal, and the multicultural. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin define hybridity as “one of the most widely employed and most disputed terms in postcolonial theory, [it] commonly refers to the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization. As used in horticulture, the term refers to the cross-breeding of two species by grafting or cross-pollination to form a third, ‘hybrid’ species” (108). Features of hybridity abound at different levels in the novel. The use of a hybrid language for instance is very obvious. Arabic words with no English translation prevail in the structure of the novel such as hejab, mishkila, baklava, Ramadan, humos, tabuleh, matbakh, iftar, rouhi, etc. These words and expressions provoke familiarity and belonging to a multicultural condition. Indeed, “Crescent shows how Arab-American and American characters live between two different cultures, making code-switching a major feature of this novel where speakers move back and forth between Arabic and English” (Youssef 230). Arabic in the novel is often used in family contexts and religious matters, while more standard everyday life words are uttered in English. This oscillation between both languages is referred to as code-mixing or code-switching in linguistics. It is the “process by which a person changes from one language...to another...the use of an entire language side by side with English (Talib 142). Talib adds that [c]ode-mixing involves the use of a scattering of words in a different language” (142) whereas code-switching turns to be pertinent whenever employed in whole sentences from a different foreign language. The particular dialect or language that a person chooses to speak on any occasion is referred to as a code which is “a system used for communication between two or more parties” (Wardhaugh 101). Abu-Jaber employs some Arabic words to render her story more realistic and to insert a hint of intimacy and familiarity for the reader. In fact, the state of hybridity, which is a chief characteristic of postmodernism, is obviously articulated in this novel mainly through characterization.

Certainly, many characters in Crescent have hybrid varied roots and origins and are portrayed as either alienated or exiled. Ultimately, the depicted setting/hostland appears to be as a borderland or a meeting point of diverse hyphenated identities, cultures, languages, and characters. This on-going process of border crossing between different languages and cultures and more specifically between hostland and homeland echoes the in-progress phenomenon of acculturation. The concept of border/ borderland is a key feature of post-colonial studies and is interconnected with matters related with the already established borders between peoples and nations. Besides, this idea has been implied in the European discourses of the colonial era. According to Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin:
Contemporary transcultural studies have suggested that such borderland spaces can be spaces of energy, when they question fixities and release the potential for change and revision (Anzaldúa 1987, Glissant 1989, Harris 1983). This is because these liminal spaces act to problematise and so dismantle the binary systems which bring them into being. It is this idea of the deconstructive potential of the space where two cultures encounter one another which also underlies the idea of the transformative energy of the contact zone (Pratt 1992). (25)

Through the food trope, Abu-Jaber raises the multifaceted issues of belonging, identity and ethnicity. Food functions as a multifarious language for triggering memory and nostalgia and for beautifully communicating love and exile for immigrant characters in the US. Apart from food which is the realm of the protagonist Sirine, Diana Abu Jaber skilfully employs the storytelling technique through the character of Sirine’s uncle. In this respect, Mercer and Strom observe that “the two trajectories [food and storytelling] intersect in the kitchen, where she [Sirine] feeds him the Arabic food he loves and he [her uncle] feeds her the Scherazade-like tale of his great Aunty Camille and her son Abdelrahman Salahadin’s adventures in a fantastical Arabian landscape” (7). Indeed, both food and storytelling turn out to be essential basics in the quest for identity as they mutually trigger feelings of nostalgia toward unreachable moments of Arab homeland often connected with The Arabian Nights. According to Rodney P. Carlisle, Arab Americans, “While they have become assimilated into American society over time, [they] tend to retain certain cultural traditions [such as food ways of homeland and storytelling] that reflect their unique heritages” (144).

The uncle’s story telling is exceptionally important in the novel structure. The reader is involuntarily captured into the world of magic of Abdelrahman Salahadin who “carries himself like a handful of water” (26). This story is entwined within the main plot of the novel so that it turns into a nuance/subtext of this latter. In one instance, Sirine’s uncle, the narrator of this story, highlights that this kind of fairytale stories which are transferred from the Bedouin collective memories of family are a reflection of reality. Sirine’s uncle considers “the moralless story of Abdelrahman Salaadin, [his] favourite cousin, who had an incurable addiction of selling himself and faking his drowning” (17). This means that this sub-story of Abdelrahman Salahadin mirrors Sirine and Hanif’s loss of home. This mingling of the fairytale story with the main fictional story is indeed part of the generic transgressions of conventional storytelling task the novelist is undertaking throughout her story.

The novel displays a mixture of interconnected cultures and draws attention to diverse ethnic groups intermingling and interacting with one another. The reader delves into the peculiarities of different ethnic groups including Latinos, Turks, Iranians Arabs, Arab-Americans, and white Americans with all their intricacies and loyalties. Yet, Diana Abu Jaber distinguishes these groups from one another. These distinctions are extended to comprise significant variations among Arab groups as well (Palestinian, Kuwaiti, Iraqi Egyptian, Syrian, Lebanese, etc.) and between Latinos (Salvadorian and Mexican). The majority of characters in the novel possess fluid hybrid/hyphenated identities including the protagonist (Sirine) herself. She is preoccupied by concerns of self-identity ethnic and cultural inheritances. She has the typical physical features of a blond white American woman, but she is also half-breed, half-Arab in particular. When she faces herself in the mirror, “all she can
see is white…. entirely her mother” (8), but when she encounters people’s question about her ethnic group, they are astonished as she confesses that she is originally half-Arab. She perceives her parents as the connective bridge that bonds her to two obviously dissimilar cultures.

*Crescent* also portrays the feelings of estrangement and loss that several immigrant characters endure because of the harshness of the exilic condition they face. Both Hanif and Sirine’s uncle, for instance, are exiled for different causes. According to Bill Ascroft *et al* “the condition of exile involves the idea of a separation and distancing from either a literal homeland or from a cultural and ethnic origin” (85). In the case of Hanif, the reason for his exile is chiefly political. All of characters in the novel are aware of this situation and they all carry their homeland memories and family stories to Um-Nadia’s café which becomes “the symbol of a recreated home in the midst of a foreign and alienating culture” (Fadda-Corney 5). According to Fadda-Conrey, “recognizing the differences among and within minority groups becomes an essential part of Abu-Jaber’s delineation of the ties that unite them within *Crescent*’s ethnic borderland” (5). By challenging the notions of binary oppositions and prejudicing, *Crescent* conjectures the peaceful coexistence of ethnic minorities with one another. In spite of the multifariousness of their cultural environments, the characters of the novel peacefully manage to overcome the burden of cultural differences they are facing in America. They join in the process of intercultural dialogue that proliferates in the borderland of Nadia’s café. Indeed, as Fadda-Conrey indicates, “instead of pitting different ethnic characters against each other by marking what keeps them apart as individuals and communities, *Crescent* resists the 'us versus them binary' that might characterize some minority cultures' conception of each other” (9).

It is significant to observe that in current theoretical debates on identity construction, fragmented identity has turned to be characteristic of post-colonial emerging subjectivities. Ashcroft *et al* define ‘subjectivity’ as “the question of the subject” (219) and perceive that it “directly affects colonized peoples’ perceptions of their identities and their capacities to resist the conditions of their domination, their ‘subjection’” (219). According to them, this conception of subjectivity epitomizes the straightforward correlation between the individual and language, thus, substituting human nature with the notion of the “production of the human subject through ideology, discourse or language” (221). In other words, *Crescent* challenges the traditional perception of the concept of identity as fixed and predetermined, of as well as the notion of grand narratives.

2. Levels of intertextuality & Fragmentation in the novel

*Crescent*, a postmodernist novel, proliferates in intertextuality and literary insinuations and allusions. According to Linda Hutcheon, Postmodernism is closely associated with intertextuality. When underscoring intertextuality she mentions that it:

replaces the challenged author-text relationship with one between reader and text, one that situates the locus of textual meaning within the history of discourse itself. A literary work can actually no longer be considered original; if it were, it could have no meaning
for its reader. It is only as part of prior discourses that any text derives meaning and significance. (126)

In her definition of postmodernism, Linda Hutcheon highlights the notion of parody as a quintessential element in her theory which, using her words, allows “opening the text up, rather than closing it down” (127). For her, part of the different matters that postmodern intertextuality defies and seeks to undermine “are both closure and single, centralized meaning” (127). It tightly relies upon “its acceptance of the inevitable textual infiltration of prior discursive practices” (Hutcheon 127). In other words, postmodern intertextuality of art both scrutinizes and destabilizes given contexts. When applying this notion into Crescent we notice that, in several instances, Dina Abu Jaber makes use of different intertexts in her novel. For instance, she alludes to significant Arab writers (such as Naguib Mahfouz, Mahmoud Darwish, Edward Said, Ahdaf Soueif and Emile Habibi), and American poets (such as Whitman) in addition to references to American and Arabic works of literature. Apart from the literary allusions, Crescent features typical elements of the fairytale story. Undeniably, words such ‘mermaids’, ‘jinnies’, ‘ghosts’, ‘afreets’ etc reminds us of the famous Shahrazad figure in The Arabian Nights. The novelist skilfully employs storytelling technique of the Arabian Nights and the narrative techniques of the fairytale story. In chapter thirty-one, Sirine’s uncle who embodies ‘Shahrazed’ figure in the novel, reveals the chief wisdom of storytelling when saying:

Here is something you have to understand about stories: they can point you in the right direction but they can’t take you all the way there. Stories are crescent moons; they glimmer in the night sky, but they are most exquisite in their incomplete state. Because people crave the beauty of not knowing, the excitement of suggestion, and the sweet tragedy of mystery. (340)

Crescent revolves two parallel stories that are streaming simultaneously: the one told by the novelist herself and the other is narrated by Sirine’s uncle. Actually, Abu Jaber’s use of this technique is part of the postmodernist frame as a whole in order to counter big narratives. According to McHale, “The postmodernist text involves the use of two or more texts arranged in parallel, to be read simultaneously to the degree that is possible” (191). So, when the reader comes across such a split text this would create a questioning of the thematic thread that links both stories. In Crescent, one is aware of the development of each of the separate stories. At the start of each chapter, the fairytale story is announced, then, at a certain time of its progress, it leaves the floor to the main story. Subsequently, this fragmentation of the body of the story becomes interesting and suggestive of multiple meanings. It also echoes the state of confusion and ambiguity which typifies postmodernism in particular. In this respect, Hutcheon maintains that “the local, the limited, the temporary and the provisional are what define postmodernism (43). Thus, the manifold structure of Crescent defies the conventional realist narrative norms of plain and organized texts.

3. Crescent as a ‘polyphonic’ ‘dialogical’ text

By portraying multiple stories and discourses in her multifaceted text, Diana Abu Jaber fashions what Bakhtin perceives a “polyphonic” novel with multiple voices. According
to Aschcroft et al “the idea of a polyphony of voices in society is implied also in Bakhtin’s idea of the carnivalesque, which emerged in the Middle Ages when ‘a boundless world of humorous forms and manifestations opposed the official and serious tone of medieval ecclesiastical and feudal culture’ (Holquist 1984: 4)” (108). Andrew Robinson perceives that “Polyphony literally means multiple voices”. For him, this idea stems from Bakhtin’s reading of Dostoevsky’s work as enclosing “many different voices, unmerged into a single perspective, and not subordinated to the voice of the author. Each of these voices has its own perspective, its own validity, and its own narrative weight within the novel” (Ceasefire magazine). The multiplicity of perspectives and voices is referred to as dialogism in Bakhtin’s terminology. Hence, any given text is viewed as ‘double-voiced’ or ‘multi-voiced’. Discourse neither plausibly opens out nor it is plainly straightforward released, however, it intermingles and interacts. “This makes dialogical works a lot more ‘objective’ and ‘realistic’ than their monological counterparts, since they don’t subordinate reality to the ideology of the author” (Robinson). A dialogical work continually connects with and is overwhelmed by previous works and voices, and looks for to revise or enlighten it. It is definitely inspired by the records of former events and the connotations connected with each word it makes use of and it typifies a given genre. “Everything is said in response to other statements and in anticipation of future statements” (Robinson). In other words, according to Bakhtin, this approach to language-use is in fact represented in daily ordinary language-use. So, the way it is employed in novels such as Crescent precisely reveals the authenticity of language-use. Therefore, the dialogical word is “always in an intense relationship with another’s word, being addressed to a listener and anticipating a response. Because it is designed to produce a response, it has a combative quality (e.g. parody or polemic)” (Robinson).

Crescent is a polyphonic text which underscores the plurality of voices and discourses through the fragmented narratives, the multiple ethnicities and identities around which it revolves. Thus, one considers this novel as a multilingual text par excellence as it features different languages (Arabic, English, and French) and diverse ethnic cultures. “Heteroglossia” or the plurality of discourses is produced through the mingling of different genres and registers of languages in the text of the novel. When commenting on heteroglossia, Bakhtin maintains that “one of the most basic and fundamental forms for incorporating and organizing heteroglossia in the novel [is]’incorporated genres.” (320) According to him, the novel allows the amalgamation of a variety of genres, “between artistic (inserted short stories, lyrical songs, poems, dramatic scenes, etc.) and extra-artistic (everyday, rhetorical, scholarly, religious genres and others)” (320). Theoretically, any genre could be established in the making of any novel. More specifically, “it is difficult to find any genres that have not at some point been incorporated into a novel by someone. Such incorporated genres usually preserve within the novel their own structural integrity and independence, as well as their own linguistic and stylistic peculiarities” (Bakhtin 320).

Conclusion

This paper has tried to uncover the main elements of postmodernism tackled in Diana Abu Jaber’s Crescent mainly hybridity, ethnicity, identity, multiculturalism, exile in addition to other pertinent features such as narrative technique, intertextuality and language. The fragmented and multilayered structure of Crescent challenges the traditional realist narrative
standards of coherent and even texts. The diversified backgrounds of the characters emphasize the diversity of their lives that shrivel boundaries and assemble people from miscellaneous ethnicities. ‘Heteroglossia’ or the plurality of discourses is produced through combining different registers in the novel. Either on the levels of hybrid identities and multiculturalism or on the levels of intertextuality, the persistent fragmentation of the narrative and the experimentation with postmodernist techniques demonstrate that *Crescent* overturns generic borders and celebrates in-betweenness, interculturalism and transnational border crossing.
References


Concept Mapping Strategy and EFL Learners’ Vocabulary Acquisition and Retention

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Abstract

In recent decades, vocabulary as a top priority in second language learning and a most challenging concern of EFL and ESL learners persuade most researchers to specific consulting on learning strategies. In this vein, sophisticated problems of most EFL learners in vocabulary learning rooted in lack of immediate exposure has posed crucial sources of investigations. For this aim, this quasi-experimental research attempted to introduce and examine the concept-mapping strategy on vocabulary learning of Iranian pre-intermediate EFL learners. To determine the effectiveness of this strategy, 40 participants who enrolled in Language center of Maritime University in Iran were participated in the study and randomly divided into two groups of control and experimental. After checking their homogeneity they were divided into two groups of experimental and control and a vocabulary pretest was administered before their treatment. At the end of treatment, the same vocabulary was run as post-test. In addition, delayed posttest was run with the aim of explore the effectiveness of Concept-mapping strategy in retention of vocabulary to be learned. From analyzing the data two main results were achieved. The results showed the effectiveness of concept-mapping strategy on EFL learner's vocabulary learning (sig = 0.027, P< 0.05). Further, results obtained from delayed posttest revealed the effectiveness of concept-mapping strategy on retention of vocabulary (sig=0000, p<.05)

Keywords: vocabulary learning, learning strategy, cognitive strategy, meta- cognitive strategy, Concept-mapping strategy.

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1. Introduction

Along with the current trends in learner-centered instruction, many researchers put their efforts to study in second or foreign language dealing with learning strategies. This focus may be due to some learners seemed to be successful in language learning regardless of teaching methods (Squireshjami, 2011). In this regard, variety of researches had aimed at exploration of the most effective techniques to empower language learner become more successful and more effective in language learning. In this regard, the process of vocabulary learning which had been a neglected domain of second language acquisition became the focus of interest of various researches.

The reason of movement of vocabulary toward a position of importance in practical investigations was in the fact that learning target language is not apart from learning the vocabulary and mastering in second language depends crucially on an extensive vocabulary store (Rivers, 1981; Knight, 1994; Ellis, 1994; Nation, 2001; Shoebottom, 2007; Schmitt, 2008; Somsai &Intaraprasert, 2011; Banisaeidi, 2013). Actually, finding of researches declared the fact that crucial role of vocabulary cannot be underestimated because all the language skills imply a special focus on vocabulary. This idea was supported by Richards et al (2001) by claiming that "vocabulary is a core component of language proficiency and provides much of the basis for how well learners speak, listen, read, and write" (p.255). So the importance of vocabulary in language learning was best said by (Laufer, 1997) when he stated that vocabulary learning is at the heart of any language learning and language use.

However, vocabulary acquisition is the biggest problem for most language learners. Therefore, parallel to thriving the vocabulary as an undeniable fact as well as fading out the teaching methods many researchers inclined to determine how learning strategies result in effective learning and how teachers can manage these strategies while teaching vocabulary. In fact, the rationale behind a vast amount of strategic-based investigations is on nature of vocabulary learning which is a complex cognitive process at first sight seems straightforward (Cook, 2001) but associated with some problems. Considering the common problems of EFL and ESL learners in vocabulary learning process, a great number of studies show that the variety of factors make this process more complicated and demanding for EFL learners. In fact, in comparison to ESL learners, lack of exposure to natural opportunities for learning and practicing vocabulary and consequently relying on the instructional environment and traditional inputs of academic situations meet EFL learners with more difficulties (Souleymman, 2009; Kumaravadivelu, 2006; Brown, 2007). So, it is very challenging for EFL learners to acquire vocabulary in the classroom and despite of spending a lot of time there is a gap between what they know and what they ought to know. Hence, for the purpose of resolving these issues, variety of researches have proved learning strategies as the key to successful vocabulary learning (Levenston, 1979; Oxford, 1990; Weden, 1991; Schmitt, 1990; Coady, 1997; Cohen, 1998). All debates have been constantly trying to discover the most effective techniques to facilitate learning and using vocabulary in a quick and pleasant way.

However, the ultimate goal has always been to define the best strategy for vocabulary retention (Gu & Johnson, 1996). Thus, the question is what is the best strategy to help EFL learners to learn and produce maximum output of vocabularies? Actually, despite of all researches and studies, but it is still contentious issues which strategy can facilitate the process of learning vocabulary effectively and efficiently. Whereas, the main purpose of this
study is to explore appropriate learning strategy to better acquisition and retention of vocabulary, so the researcher tries to investigates the effectiveness of concept-mapping strategy on Iranian EFL learner's vocabulary learning. For this aim, the following question will guide this study:

- Does concept-mapping strategy have a significant effect on vocabulary learning of Iranian pre-intermediate EFL learners?
- Does concept-mapping strategy have a significant similar effect on retention of learned vocabulary of Iranian pre-intermediate EFL learners?

Furthermore, the following null hypotheses are derived from the above questions and are subject to confirmation and rejection as a result of the experimentation essential to the present study:

H0: Using concept-mapping strategy has no significant effect on vocabulary learning of Iranian pre-intermediate EFL learners.

H0: Using concept-mapping strategy has no significant effect on retention of learned vocabulary learning of Iranian pre-intermediate EFL learners.

2 Literature Review

2.1. Nature of Vocabulary learning

Vocabulary is generally considered as the greatest tool that learners can gain to succeed in second language learning, and construes as the most problematic area by EFL learners. Thus, it is truism that lack of vocabulary knowledge limits learners’ understanding of language and hinders their ability to master in it. Doubtless, vocabulary learning is a complex process including different phases and inadequacy in each phase may be a barrier for vocabulary learning. According to McCarthy (1984), vocabulary learning includes knowing a word and using a word. Further, Nation (2006) proposed five stages in process of vocabulary learning including encountering new words; getting the word form; getting the word meaning; consolidating word form and meaning in memory, and finally using the word. In fact the mentioned processes indicate that the vocabulary learning requires more conscious and explicit learning strategies. According to O’Malley and Chamot (1990), employing appropriate cognitive and meta-cognitive learning strategies with the purpose of making vocabulary learning comprehensible and meaningful can facilitates vocabulary learning.

2.2 language Learning Strategies

The term “strategy” has been defined differently by different researchers. Oxford (cited in Brown, 2014), defined language learning strategies as specific actions taken by the learner to make learning easier, faster, more self-directed, and more effective. Ellis (1994) emphasized on mediating role of strategies between learners and learning outcomes and defined them as the particular approaches or techniques that learners employ to try to learn an L2. In this regard, Chamot (1990), define learning strategies as "the special thoughts or behaviors that individuals use to help them comprehend, learn or retain new information. In his book, Nunan (2001) gave a more detailed definition of language learning strategies and described them as mental and communicative procedures learners use in order to learn and use language. Considering all definitions, the consensus is on regarding learning strategies as
techniques by which learners can be equipped to facilitate their learning process in a quick and pleasant way.

As mentioned before, among different domains of second language learning, vocabulary acquisition is a challenging one that many scholars believe that for being able to build an extensive list of vocabulary, and using them accurately learners need to be good users of learning strategies (Khoshima et al., 2014; Saengpakdeejit, 2014; Alharthi, 2014; Mutalib et. al, 2013; Lee, 2010; Schmitt, 1997). In fact, L2 learners need to memorize the form, retrieve the meaning, and use the word (Folse, 2004). On the other hand, it requires the learner to be disciplined to acquire, remember and use new words. Dóczi (2011) believes that acquisition of vocabulary is a never-ending process therefore vocabulary learning strategies has significant role in solving insurmountable difficulties of language learners.

So maximizing the chance for success in learning, remembering and using the words are the main aims of vocabulary learning strategies which can be achieve through cognitive strategies. Further helping learners to participate in their own learning and become independent language learners may support these cognitive strategies which can be achieve through meta-cognitive strategies. This is the reason why Kumaravadivelu (2006) pointed out that using appropriate learning strategies can help learners to monitor their learning success and maximize their learning potential.

2.3 Cognitive and Meta-cognitive Strategies

In domain of vocabulary learning cognitive psychologists believed that, integrating of vocabulary instruction with cognitive and meta-cognitive strategies can help learners to be successful in acquisition, retention and using vocabulary accurately. In this regard, frequently using of cognitive and meta-cognitive strategies by successful language learners emphasized the importance of these learning strategies to language learning (Kartal, 2013; Khezrlou, 2012; Harmon et.al, 2010; Chen, 2009; Wharton, 2000; Bruen, 2001; Peacock & Ho, 2003, Hismanoglu, 2000).

In fact, cognitive strategy emphasizes the development of thinking skills and processes to enhance learning. The objective of cognitive strategies is to enable all students to become more strategic, self-reliant, flexible, and productive in their learning endeavors (Scheid, 1993). While, meta-cognitive strategies are responsible for figuring out how to do a particular task then making sure that the task is done correctly” (Sternberg, 1986, p. 24). This aim can be achieved by processes involve planning, evaluating and monitoring, problem-solving activities.

Therefore, closely dependence of cognitive and metacognitive strategies make them intertwined upon each other, and any attempt to examine one without knowing about the other would not have good results. Livingston (1997) supported this idea by stating that metacognition enables learners to benefit from instruction and influences the use and maintenance of cognitive strategies. Therefore, the reason of overlapping metacognitive and cognitive strategies in the same strategy is helping learners to be more successful in their cognitive endeavors. So introducing an appropriate learning strategy which focus on these two strategies may lead learners to be a strategic learners(cognitive aspect) while they control their cognitive processes (meta-cognitive aspect).
2.5 Concept-mapping Strategy

Concept mapping as the purpose of the current study is one of the teaching-learning strategies that could be regarded as either a cognitive or a metacognitive strategy. The basis of concept-mapping strategy as cited in Brown (2000) is Ausubel's assimilation theory with focuses on meaningful learning. According to Ausubel (1968), meaningful learning takes place by the assimilation of new concepts into existing concept. The rationale behind the necessity of previously existed knowledge is that it helps learners solve any misinterpretation and also retain the newly learned information. Therefore, by consciously linking new information with previously acquired knowledge learners try to construct their own understanding. Consequently, meaningful learning take place which leads to retention of information. McGriff (2001) supported this view by stating that under assimilation theory, the core of every learning process, which is universal for everyone, involves input, processing, storage, and retrieval of all learned knowledge. Many researches on effectiveness of concept-mapping on science and language learning have proved that it can improve meaningful learning and help learners learn independently (Saed et al, 2015; Chevron, 2014; Bauer, 2014; Udeani et.al, 2012; Erdem et.al, 2009; Chiou, 2008; Akinsanya et.al, 2003; Darmofal et.al, 2002). Findings of these researches show that concept-mapping would be an excellent strategy that depending on the purpose for using it may help learners from cognitive and meta-cognitive perspective. Based on its structure, concept-mapping strategy can be used as a knowledge representation tool to provide opportunity for learners to focus on understanding the words, understand the connection between them, organize their thought, and build a logical connection between them, visualize the relationship between concepts in a systematic way, and reflect their understandings. All these cognitive activities lead to meaningful learning, greater conceptual clarity for learners, and increase their retention of vocabulary and understanding (Lawson et.al, 2002; Adlaon, 2012; Tarkashvand, 2015). Also, as metacognitive instruction occurs within cognitive strategy instruction programs, concept-mapping strategy enable learners to focus on meaningful learning and help them to become successful in making sense of vocabulary to be learned. This idea was supported by Gama (2005) who stated that metacognition has the potential to empower students to take charge of their own learning and to increase the meaningfulness of their learning (p. 21).

3. Methodology

Since the major focus of the present study was to examine the association between concept-mapping strategy and learning vocabulary of Iranian EFL learners. Therefore the investigation had to be mainly quantitatively testified. The treatment dedicated to the experimental group was concept-mapping strategy.

3.1 Participants

The participants of this study were 40 Iranian EFL learners enrolled in language center of Chabahar Maritime University. Their age ranged from 18 to 30 years old. The majority of participants of the study were university students majored in different academic fields. All these learners were in the pre-intermediate level. Further, all subjects had not had any prior experience in concept-mapping strategy training.
3.2 Procedures

For selecting the participants of this study, the convenient sampling method was employed. Although, TOFEL Proficiency Test was taken by Language Center as a placement test, for more assurance it was preferred to check the homogeneity of participants by again. For this aim, Nelson English language proficiency test was administered. Then learners were randomly divided into two groups of control and experimental. After that students took a pre-test, which was a 50 item multiple choice questions designed for the course book of this study by Redman (1997). The material which was English vocabulary in use pre-intermediate was taught in a period of six weeks of instruction for both groups. Three sessions were held every week. As the treatment, the experimental group received concept-mapping strategy for learning vocabulary items as follows:

The first session was allocated to introducing, presenting and describing the strategy to learners. For this aim, the researcher first spend a time to explain why concept-mapping is a useful tool and then with drawing some practical examples on the board explained how concept-mapping can be used to show the relationships among concepts. While drawing the concept maps the researcher attempted to attract their interest toward this strategy. To do this, she drawn some maps by asking learner's help and emphasized the benefit of strategy for recalling the vocabulary in future. After explicit training the concept-mapping strategy, the researcher asked learners to copy the maps in their notebooks. The important fact in implementing a project of concept mapping is that it can be used before, during or after the instruction. So for better outcomes the researchers prefer to use it in all these phases. On the other hand, at the beginning of each session learner-constructed concept maps which were their home works were presented on the board to peer correction. Further, in each session a researcher used teacher-constructed concept maps as the instructional medium for teaching from the textbook. Subsequently, having finished a unit, the learners were asked to draw concept maps of vocabularies they had learned cooperatively and individually. For this aim, first drawing the concept maps necessarily done cooperatively, and after peer correction and reduction of learner's anxiety they were asked to reconstruct their individual concept maps again. Finally, the researcher corrected learner constructed concept maps and asked learners to review the vocabulary produced in these activities in the following class periods.

Concept-mapping strategy was worked 18 sessions until the end of the 6 weeks. However, in the control group the researcher followed the ordinary approaches of vocabulary teaching. Subjects were asked to the exercise next to each unit and be ready for the next session. At the end of the treatment, a posttest similar to the pretest was run to both groups. Also, two weeks after the delayed posttest was administered to both groups in order to measure the subjects' long term retention of vocabulary to be learned.

3.3 Data analysis

First, to prove the homogeneity of the participants in both control and experimental groups, their obtained score of the pre-test were analyzed by a t-test to show their homogeneity before receiving the treatment. Next, to show the effectiveness of concept-mapping strategy on the vocabulary learning of the participants, two Paired-Samples t-tests were run. The first one was related to the pre-test and post-test of the experimental group and the second one to those of control group. Then, an Independent t-test was run to compare the
gained scores of the experimental and control groups. Finally, to analyze the effect of concept-mapping strategy on vocabulary retention of participants, an Independent t-test was run.

4. Result

In order to address research questions quantitatively, an Independent t-test was run to prove homogeneity of the participants in the experimental and control groups in terms of their vocabulary knowledge prior to the experiment.

As displayed in Table 1, the mean scores for experimental and control groups are 21.0 and 20.9 respectively. In addition, the statistical results reported in table 2 showed that sig. is .921 which is larger than .05. So there is no significant difference between these groups at the beginning of the experiment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXPERIMENT PRETEST</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>5.44736</td>
<td>1.21807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTROL PRETEST</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>5.11859</td>
<td>1.14455</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Independent t-test Pretest

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levene’s Test for Equality of Variance</th>
<th>t-test for Equality of Means</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ig.</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRETEST Eq. variance assumed</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRETEST Equal variance assumed</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus it can be safely claimed that the two groups were homogeneous regarding their vocabulary knowledge prior to the administration of the treatment to the experimental group.

**The First Research Hypothesis:**

“Concept-mapping does not have a significant effect on vocabulary learning of Iranian pre-intermediate EFL learners.”

In order to test the first research hypothesis, two steps were taken:

First, to see if there is a difference between the performances of the participants in each group on posttest, two Paired-Samples t-tests were run.

The first paired t-test was run on the performance of the experimental group on the pretest and posttest. Second, an Independent t-test was run to compare the gained scores of the experimental and control groups.

Table 3. Paired Samples Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paired t</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Posttest</td>
<td>31.000</td>
<td>8.24621</td>
<td>1.84391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prettest</td>
<td>21.100</td>
<td>5.44736</td>
<td>1.21807</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Paired-Samples t-test Pretest and Posttest Experimental Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paired Differences</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>95% Confidence Interval of the Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Posttest - Prettest</td>
<td>9.90000</td>
<td>5099</td>
<td>583</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results showed that the mean score of the experimental group has increased from 21.1 to 31. Also, as displayed in Table 4, the sig. is .000. This amount of p-value is lower than
Based on the results, it can be safely concluded that there is a significant difference in the performance of the experimental group on the posttest.

The second Paired-Samples t-test was run to compare the mean scores of the control group on the pretest and posttest.

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics Pretest and Posttest Control Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mean (Pretest)</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pr 20.9000</td>
<td>5.1185</td>
<td>1.14455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P 21.1500</td>
<td>5.2443</td>
<td>1.17266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Paired-Samples t-test Pretest and Posttest Control Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paired Differences</th>
<th>Std. Error Mean</th>
<th>95% Confidence Interval of the Difference</th>
<th>Sig. (2-tailed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Std. Deviation</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post test - Pretest</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As displayed in Table 5, the mean score of the control group has increased from 20.9 to 21.15 but this difference is not significant. Also, statistical analysis of data showed that the p-value is 0.587 which is higher than .05. The results showed that there is not a significant difference between the performance of the control group from the pretest and posttest.

After comparing the results of post-test for experimental and control group to answer the first research, now it's necessary to see which group performed better. Therefore, an Independent t-test was run to compare the gained scores of the experimental and control groups.

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics Gained Score

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>Mean (GAINED)</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>Std. Error Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXPERIMENT</td>
<td>9.0000</td>
<td>4.05099</td>
<td>.90583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAL</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As displayed in Table 7, the mean gained scores for experimental and control groups are 9.6316 and 0.3125 respectively. Also, the amount of p-value is .027 which is lower than the p-value of 0.05. Therefore, based on these results, it can be claimed that there is a significant difference between the two groups' gained scores. The experimental group gained more scores than the control group.

The Second Research hypothesis

“Concept-mapping does not have a significant effect on retention of learned vocabulary of Iranian pre-intermediate EFL learners.”

In order to test the second hypothesis and measure the subjects' long term retention of vocabulary items, an Independent t-test was run to compare the scores of participants of both groups thorough a delayed posttest.
As displayed in Table 9, the mean gained scores for male and female participants are 28.15 and 18.75 respectively. The descriptive statistics for the two groups are displayed in Table 10, revealed that the p-value is .000. This amount is lower than .05. Based on these results, it can be claimed that there is a significant difference between scores of both groups.
Therefore, it can be concluded that in comparison the control group, experimental group has made a significant progress in long-term retention of vocabulary to be learned.

5. Discussion and conclusion

Vocabulary learning as challenging domain in language learning has been a worriment for both learners and teachers. Therefore, finding an appropriate learning strategy to help learners in this crucial task has been the focus of many researches (Wu et. al, 2014; Mutilib et.al, 2014; Saengpakdeejeit, 2014; Wanpena et.al, 2012; Kok, 2011; Nam, 2010; Çelik, 2010; Nacera, 2010; Takač, 2008; Zhang, 2006). In this regard, the findings of various studies have suggested cognitive and meta-cognitive strategies as a solution for learners’ problems in acquiring, retaining and recalling the vocabulary.

Along with the numerous researches in the field of vocabulary learning, utilizing concept-mapping strategy attracted the attention of many scholars and researches not only in the field of vocabulary, but in different aspects of language (Saed et al, 2015; Yousofi, 2015; Tarkashvand, 2015; Cheema et.al, 2013; Chiou, 2008; Ojima, 2006). Therefore, the promising results of many debates carried out in utilizing this useful strategy in different areas of language stimulated this study to set out the efforts at investigating the possible relationship between utilizing the concept-mapping strategy to a better comprehension, retention and accurate usage of vocabulary knowledge. In this regard, referring the statistical findings of current study in comparing the gained scores of the experimental and control groups shows that the level of significance effect of concept-mapping on vocabulary learning of learners (sig. = 0.027, P< 0.05). Also, the significant difference between the mean gained scores for two groups support confirms the outperformance of experimental group. Thus, it can be concluded that concept-mapping have a significant influence on learners’ vocabulary learning. This result was in line with the similar study conducted by Zahedia et.al (2012) which indicates the significant effect of concept-mapping on vocabulary learning and reading skills of Iranian high school EFL students.

Moreover, results current study in exploring the effect of current strategy on retention of vocabulary to be learned as a greater source of problem among EFL learners is. Therefore, from finding of current research can be concluded that basis of concept-mapping is activating the previous vocabulary knowledge which can help learners when they are trying to draw a map. Also, Concept-mapping strategy with its focus on empowering the learner's metacognition, encourage them to organize their learning, evaluate the possible problems and become successful strategic self- regulated learners leads to meaningful learning which is a key of success in learning, retention and remembering the new learned vocabulary.
References


Semiotic Insight into Cosmetic Advertisements in Pakistani Print Media

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Abstract

Roland Barthes, key theorist of this study, defined semiotics as study of all signs including words, pictures, music, sound, non verbal expressions and their interrelationship. Research in hand refers to problems and research questions about understanding of denotative, connotative, deep and symbolic meanings of brand name, text, slogan, logo, picture, art work, colour scheme, linguistic and cultural changes generated by advertisements. To answer these questions, Barthes’ Semiotic Theory comprising linguistic, denotative, connotative, Coded Iconic and Non Coded Iconic Messages, was employed in semiotic analysis phase of this research. In qualitative analysis of print media ads, exploratory and interpretive research approaches were applied to investigate participants’ responses. Overall objectives of this research were focused on elaboration as well as exploration of brand name, linguistic message, logo, monogram and photographic meanings of five print media cosmetics advertisements. Moreover, all ads are based on well planned semiotic techniques to convince viewers. Present study strengthened the view that ads are basically by products of cultural norms and adherent to prevalent customs of society. Fulfillment of objectives led to contribution to existing knowledge in diversified aspects like academic, cultural, social and language change at global and indigenous levels. At global level, this work highlighted Pakistani products, cultural values, work of advertisers and their semiotic analysis.

Keywords: Semiotics, Coded Iconic Message, Non Coded Iconic Message, denotative, connotative, props.
Introduction

It sheds light on semiotics, significance, objectives and research questions. Semiotics inculcates learning about sounds, words, signs, logo, monogram, pictures and their analysis, quite naturally, an advertisement is replete with them. The word advertisement was French word “avertissement” whose meaning was “public notice” (Harper, 2001). Advertisements have magical charm to capture attention and convince mind to purchase advertised products and services. Ads mesmerize us and lead us to derive the meaning which are yearned by the advertiser (Williamson, 1978). Advertisements build a fascinating utopian world rich with luxurious paraphernalia, consequently, people idealize it to be a part of elite class and dream world.

As significance of this study is concerned, advertisements surround us in form of print media, electronic media, sms, mms, audio, hoardings, web based ads etc. Everyday a person watches three thousand ads (Kilbourne, 1999). Moreover, advertisements mould our culture, life style, priorities, fashion, psychological makeup and language style etc. Main research problem is that many people look at ads and buy things under its influence but they are unaware of connotative, denotative and symbolic meanings of features of certain ads, hence, this study will fill this semiotic and information gap. Focus of this study is to expose semiotic features of five cosmetic ads. Main objectives of this study are to infer and elaborate meanings of brand name, captions, photograph, icon, logo and monogram. To fulfill them, one primary and four subsidiary research questions were raised.

1. Which semiotic interpretations of features of certain ads make them symbolic piece of art?
2. How are semiotic aspects of brand name interpreted in certain ads?
3. Which semiotic perspectives are found in text and slogan of ads?
4. What are semiotic interpretations of “rhetoric of image” or photograph in ads?
5. How do Coded Iconic themes, monograms or company logos transmit the multidimensional aspects of semiotics?

Literature Review

This section presents snapshots of some prominent developments in semiotics. Plato opined that that verbal signs are unable to convey complete idea and message of sign is indirect (Coseriu, 1970 as cited in Noth, 1995). Aristotle believed that utterances can be named signs of thoughts. He was of the view that structures of signs were different but modern semioticians opposed it (Kretzman, 1974). Saussure studied signs with psychological lense, hence, signifier and signifieds were developed in mind. Ground, object, interpretant and representament structure a complete sign (Peirce, 1902).
Roland Barthes presented yard stick of analysis of advertisement while he himself analyzed Panzani ad. Theoretical Framework of this study is based on Roland Barthes’ semiotic theory. Its constituents are: Linguistic Message for example brand name, slogan or any statement. Coded Iconic Message shows picture of performer or prop. It carries denotative and connotative messages. Non Coded Iconic Message refers to cultural meaning and it makes a link between a picture and a linguistic message (Barthes & Heath, 1977). The Linguistic Message comprises words, labels, slogans and captions, thus, it has rooted in the image (Barthes, 1967). Furthermore, literal and figurative messages strengthen myth and propagated idea of the advertisement. The Literal Image is shaped with random ordered signs. The first sign consists of the panorama, slogan and cultural shades to persuade the target customer. The second sign possess typical colour scheme, assonance and message which lead to home country of the product (Barthes, 1967). Study in hand integrated colour symbolism. The third sign has compilation of pictures, images and diagrams to convey the idea of the product. The Iconic or Symbolic Image has images or photographs of signifiers (Barthes, 1967). Abovementioned four signs generate an absolute image of a product.

Under the impact of Barthes Semiotic Theory, Katherine Frith propounded tripartite theory, advertiser’s semantic layer, apparent expression of meaning and cultural meaning, to analyze advertisements (Frith, 1997). It is just replica of Barthes Semiotic Theory.

Methods

Primary and subsidiary Research questions of study in hand chalked out a plan to research methodology, required data, tool, data generation and data analysis. Barthes Semiotic Theory comprising of Linguistic, Coded and Non Coded Iconic Messages, was applied to unveil denotative, connotative, symbolic aspects of five cosmetic ads as he did in analysis of Panzani ad. Qualitative Research Method was applied because of exploration of semiotic perspectives of participants about ads. Moreover, exploratory and interpretive approaches were applied. Exploratory research approach relies on word form data and it tests theories (Armstrong, 1970). Interpretive research approach analytically discloses meaning making practices of participants. Five cosmetic ads were selected from Mag the weekly and the News from January 2011 to December 2012. To generate data, fifteen open ended questions were raised in the questionnaire and to generate data, two questionnaires were specified for each ad. Ten research participants were chosen from M.Com students of UCP sub campus of Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

In Data Analysis procedure, First of all, qualitative responses were read minutely. The second point was to codify responses of participants for analysis. “Setting Code” (1) informs basic knowledge about the brand etc. “Perspective Code” (9, 10) elaborated general understanding of meaning and cultural values. “Subjects’ Way of Thinking Code” (4, 5) was applied to study understanding and interpretations of ads. “Relationship and Social Structure Codes” (7) led to understand tendencies and behaviour of participants about characters and
cultural values portrayed in the ad. Third step was to place full or partial response in the relevant category. It included “narratives directly from the respondents” in inverted commas to validate data (A Brief Guide to the Analysis of Open-Ended Questions, April 25, 2013). In fourth stage, all generated data was summarized, explained and interpreted. Lastly, the researcher filled semiotic gap, logical views, semantic perspectives, historical insight, symbolic dimensions, logo, monogram information, innate psychology, colour symbolism with website of the product and some other authentic sources, consequently, five cosmetic ads were analyzed on the pattern of Barthes’ analysis of Panzani ad which worked as a model for semiotic analysis. In this research, analysis was categorized in fifteen answers of the questionnaire to comprehend the ad analysis easily.

Results and Discussion

1. Poly Color

1. Denotative layer of word Poly Color shows “many colours.” Connotatively a person should smarten himself/herself with a variety of hair colours. Schwarzkopf is a brand name of Henkel, a German company, was founded in 1876 by Fritz Henkel. Henkel earned prestigious name in beauty care products, laundry and home care (Company History – Henkel, 2013).

2. Its slogan is “Poly Color makes me a Pretty Woman.” Poly Color is not only for aged persons but it is also used as a means of hair adornment with many colours. Now a deficiency is converted to beauty. Advertisers want to enhance use of hair colour creams, so they entrap fair sex that hair colour should be according to taste and personality.
3. The background of logo is purple while foreground consists of golden colored image of head suggesting that Poly Color is applied on head. Below it, golden colored word “Schwarzkopf” is written. Underneath, brand name “POLY COLOR” is written in white hue. Moreover, it is written in upper case to seize concentration of viewers. Below it, “Cream Hair Color” has been written between two parallel lines which suggest that colour will penetrate into hair roots.

4. Coded Iconic Message shows charming lass wearing white jersey. She has golden dyed hair and she is smiling with feeling of prestige and esteem. Her hair is lying on her shoulder, back side and front side. Non Coded Iconic Message exhibits that the world has become a global village where golden hair style is being copied by Asian girls. On the other hand, Western women prefer black hair colour and jewellery like Asian girls. Again golden hair gives fairer look to Asians and they feel accomplishment to be westernized. Moreover, props are shown in the bottom of the ad to recognize Poly Color easily.

5. Golden, grey, white and purple colours have been used artistically. Golden colour is associated with prosperity, ultra modernism and monarchic class. Grey symbolizes diffidence, fortification and staunch belief. Purple colour is symbol of dignity, holiness, lucidity and dominance. White shows wholesomeness of ingredients, perfect appearance and free from harmful chemical effects (Symbolism of Color: Using Color for Meaning, n.d).

6. Her face expresses laughter so that her several teeth are visible. Her happiness, confidence, beauty, charm and smile satisfy aesthetic sense.

7. She is taking side pose and showing her golden hair with status and “happiness” in golden hair because she has become an attractive girl.

8. Her makeup and dress are conforming to our socio cultural pattern. Natural colour of Pakistani women’s hair is black but ultra modern women started to dye their hair in golden colour and in other different shades to emulate appearance of blondes.

9. This ad prepares women that colour is not for those who have grey hair but colour is for beautification. As rainbow scatters colours, likewise, women pick those colours for their hair.

10. Golden hair practically shows beauty of hair and sense of foreign appearance to impress other women.

11. Smiling pure image of model, her golden hair and German origin of the product attract mind and soul towards this ad.
12. According to one participant, “the ad doesn’t convince me.” Divergently, second participant opines that linguistic message, “special creamy formula”, “deep long lasting color”, “more beautiful, more shiny” and “healthy hair” persuade to purchase it.

13. Primarily its audience is women as the pure image indicates but men also use this product.

2. Pantene Pro-V

1. Denotatively, Pantene name is given after its basic ingredient of panthenol. Pro means proclivity. “V” refers to vitamin. Connotatively, it is replete with nutritious “vitamins and nutrients” which are part and parcel of hair strength. One participant opines that “it has been designed of some special type of chemicals, herbs that are necessary for hair.” Originally in 1945, Hoffman-LaRoche prepared aromatic Pantene shampoo in glass bottles in Switzerland. Later in 1985, Procter & Gamble became its owner (Dyer, Davis, 2004).

2. One participant opines that panthenole coloured slogan of ad shows research percentage that “89% choose Pantene for less hair fall.” Actually statistical figures speak clearer and louder than verbosity. “89%” implies that 89 % population apply Pantene to decrease hair fall. Connotatively, it shows that data was acquired with trustworthy research. One participant wrote, “I interpret the slogan of such product will strictly prevent hair fall and also prevent from dandruff.” Another view about slogan is that “Women across Pakistan have seen the proof.” Most of women idealise beauty charm of some celebrity. Here actresses, hair expert, editor of magazine, TV host, TV star and famous model express their personal responses that Pantene shampoo lessens hair fall. Moreover, their signatures authenticate their remarks, henceforth; it can be considered an affidavit.
3. Celebrities are beauty icons for Pakistani women. Following similes are associated with celebrities thus, “strength like Asma’s”, “shine like Aamina”, “just like my hair” and “long hair like mine.”

4. Its logo shows three golden wavy hair strands while three indicates infinity as hair is numerous. Brand name “PANTENE PRO-V” is written horizontally touching the lower part of golden strand. Furthermore, “logo is clearly indicating shiny ‘long and fresh hair’.”

5. Analyzing Coded Iconic Message, in first picture, Indian “gorgeous” artist Shilpa with “beautiful and shiny hair” wearing white skirt walks exposing her bouncy and lively hair. In second pure image, Barza’s split ended hair got natural brilliance by use of Pantene. In third pure image, Asma’s healthy hair is covering her shoulders. In fourth image, TV actress Ayesha exposed her top secret of super soft silky hair which is result of Pantene. In fifth picture, hair expert Meher recommends use of Pantene for most beautiful, long and strong hair. In sixth picture, model and TV star Aamina’s lustrous hair are outcome of Pantene. One participant remarked that “famous actors (actresses) are greatly attractive and inspire and convince the customers.”

In the middle, a hair brush is shown without falling hair. Non Coded Iconic Message is that use of Pantene will finish hair fall completely.

Red, green and silver diamonds in flower form have been shown to ornament hair with them. Non Coded Iconic Message is that after use of Pantene, hair will brightness and gloss like diamonds. Furthermore, hair will be so beautiful that every female will desire to ornament them with diamonds.

A picture shows that some panthenoles or vitamin B5, basic ingredient of Pantene shampoo, are coming out of a bottle.

In the bottom of right corner, three panthenoles and two Pantene shampoo bottles are exposed as props. Their lids are black and on front side Pantene logo is shown. Beneath green coloured foam shows its natural vitamin ingredients.

6. One participant posits about colour scheme that “the black colour compares the fresh hair and the green colour shows the clean environment.” Yellow colour is taken from panthenole. White colour is also extensively used in the ad. Yellow symbolizes jollity, confidence, romanticism, anticipation. Moreover, shine in hair resembles sunshine. White is symbol of admiration, purity of ingredients, birth of new hair, cleanliness young-looking appearance for all types of hair (Symbolism of Color: Using Color for Meaning, n.d).

7. “By looking at the pictures of models, they dominate feelings of a person because of shine and beauty of their hair.” In other words, “The performance of Shilpa Shetty influenced my feelings because I know that she cares her hair in reality.” All performers satisfy aesthetic sense and influence all women.
8. “Top models of Asia are chosen for ad with fantastic body postures in which their hair are prominent, so one immediately gets attracted.” Discussing Shilpa’s posture, “right hand on neck, hair on left side (chest) and smile on face gives complete message.” All performers in the ad are smiling in sensuous as well as sensual style and they feel pride in beautiful hair.

9. The tint of linguistic message of ad resembles with colour of panthenole. Shilpa’s dress is thoroughly Western and it is not conforming to Eastern culture. Performers’ sleeveless dresses are not matching with conservative pattern of our society. Their hair style and make up are conforming to our neo modern “socio cultural traditions” and values.

10. This product changed old way of cleaning hair with soaps and now commoners shampoo their hair. People have become conscious of hair care and their fall. They strive to keep their hair bouncy, silky and healthy. Another cultural change occurred that now women prefer short hair rather than long hair of olden times. Shilpa’s dress is skirt which gives an alien and attractive feeling to be emulated. In craze to westernize Pakistanis, dress designers have designed such apparently Pakistani dresses which are replica of English skirts.

11. “Scenery and brand are related to each other in colour scheme...” “All things are related with hair and their beauty” for instance Pantene bottle is white and background of the ad and dresses of Shilpa, Ayesha and Asma are also white. The reason behind is that “the white colour shows cleanliness and the background displayed the fresh environment.”

12. Cat walk of Shilpa exhibiting vivacious bouncy hair, “attractive colours” of the ad and inclusion of gorgeous models, TV stars with super soft silky shiny hair seize interest.

13. “Top models are chosen for this ad, so by their grace and beauty, it definitely convinced me.” Their inspiring look and remarks, sharing of beauty secrets convince viewers to buy it.

14. Its consumers are those who aspire to have lengthy and strong hair without hair fall.
3. Care Fairness Vanishing Cream

1. Denotatively, care means tending complexion. Its linguistic message is that Care has covered full day needs regarding fairness, beauty and “fashion”. It doesn’t present oily or sticky feeling which resembles with application of ghee. Its frequent use makes skin fair and milky white which are considered beauty in Asian countries. Asian countries interact with sweltering temperature, so, Care Fairness Vanishing Cream is the best remedy. The word three refers to triple protection of skin and guarantee fairness.

2. Its Urdu slogan meant, “What else is better than Care!” No product can excel it in fairness results.

3. Its monogram is circled ‘C’ which is first letter of Care cream. It is written with red colour on white background and its connotative meaning is white colour with pink complexion.

4. The ad has three categories of Coded Iconic Message. First is picture of model, second group of three pictures show prominent characteristics of Care and third group shows three props of packing, jar and sachet.

5. “White, pink and red colours” are used in the ad. White symbolizes purity, spotlessness, fairness, chastity and innocent beauty. Red shows euphoria, thrilling, “unity” and magnetism. Pink stands for “girlish” look, unrestricted adoration and nurturing nature of glamour which demands constant care (Symbolism of Color: Using Color for Meaning, n.d).

6. Fairness of performer attracts spectators and satisfies their aesthetic sense.

7. Her posture is raising right hand with bended elbow indicates oath style which promises fairness and beauty to users. This oath taking style is adopted by players in the international Olympics. Furthermore, her facial expressions show confidence, smile and beauty of fairness.
8. Her makeup, hair style, three metal bangles on right hand, two rings and sleeveless dress mirror Pakistani traditions and cultural values. This ad shows “Pakistaniicity”. Urdu and English linguistic messages are comprehensive for global and local customers as well as educated and Urdu literate individuals.

9. Beauty industry is ever flourishing industry even during the worst economic recessions. The ad affects fair sex to adopt Care fairness Vanishing Cream to enhance fair colour which is a speciality of beauty. Care has become need of women. One participant commented about performer’s picture thus, “The picture of a girl which is very bad in socio Islamic society.” Linguistically, we observe that husbands ask wives to take care. Its connotative message is to enhance fairness and attraction. In dresses, her sleeveless dress is being adopted by ultra mod girls. Consequently, ads influence dress, language, selection of products and elite class icons.

10. In its background setting, camera film roll of well-known actresses have been publicized. Its connotative meaning is that all showbiz celebrities use Care Fairness Vanishing Cream. It is mere spell and beauty enhancing effect of Care cream that now they are earning name, fame and money in showbiz. The background of ad is white and pink. Its first connectivity is with white and pink skin caused by Care products. Its second alliance is with cream jar’s pink lid and white and pink jar.

11. Exaggeratingly, Care cream declares fulfilment of all beauty needs “all day.” Practically it just seems hyperbole.

12. Beautiful rosy face, fair skin of face, hands and arms and beaming eyes attract our attention to this ad that how this beauty has been attained. Then answer of this inquiry is Care Fairness Vanishing Cream.

13. Its positive and fair results on model’s face and mentioned benefits on its label “Oil free moisturising, extra fairness and triple sun screen” induce viewers to purchase it.

14. Its chief consumers are mostly female.
4. Swiss Miss

1. Swiss Miss is a “popular cosmetic brand.” Denotatively “Swiss” is a citizen of Switzerland. Generally “Miss” refers to a young girl who is a winner of beauty competition. This beautifying product is used by beauty contest winners and it can enable others to be miss world.

2. All ladies are ambitious to remain young and beautiful forever, so advertisers exploited their ambition to sell cosmetics, hence, beauty industry never collapse even in worst economic conditions of the world.

3. Its slogan is “Beauty is swiss miss.” It suggests that if a lady wishes real fascinating beauty, she must use swiss miss products. “After using it, we are looking like a Swiss lady” or the most beautiful lady of Switzerland. Beauty has been personified in the form of Swiss Miss. Swiss Miss products enhance beauty in common women and make them special even crown winner of beauty contest.

4. Its monogram is shown with white coloured full word of “Swiss Miss” in Blackadder ITC font face.

5. In pure image, a charismatic and gorgeous girl with red lipstick and red nail polish is shown in face close up. She is keeping her left index finger on her lips in vertical position as a silence gesture. “Makeup of the girl especially her lipstick is associating the brand. Nail polish is also essential part of it.” “The nails of girl are looking like the bud of flower.” Non Coded Iconic
Message shows that after visualising such attraction, women must use products of Swiss Miss Company. Two props are shown in the ad. The label of the nail polish shows slogan “GET, SET, GO.” Its connotative meaning is that a woman ought to “get” or buy Swiss Miss products, apply them or “set” them on the relevant body part and “go” to any function with confidence and sense of superiority.


7. Presence of “beautiful model is enough” because “she is attracting us” to her bewitching charm.

8. “With bright makeup, lipstick, nail polish, it is carrying the message of beauty.” Her facial expressions show confidence and tranquillity. She is hushing others by placing her index finger on her lips. Her posture also exhibits lips and nails adorned with cosmetics. Quite ironically, women always spread the secret about which they are told never expose before others.

9. Her makeup and hairstyle are in compliance with Pakistani elite class social and cultural fashion.

10. “Ladies do makeup on every happy event and festivals” to make it special and rejoicing.

11. In its widely covered black background, red coloured nail polish, lipstick and appearance of the artist look stunning. On right side, red and white spots are perceptible which show association with Swiss Miss products.

12. “Its photo and slogan” capture participants’ concentration.

13. “Quality of brand” compels me to purchase Swiss Miss products.

14. Women and girls are its target customers because they are fond of beauty enhancing products.
5. Stillman’s Skin Bleach Cream

1. The name of this cream is “Stillman’s Skin Bleach Cream.” “Stillman” means such an extraordinary and impressive prettiness that any man will stand still under its magical spell. Bleach cream scrubs and cleanse black dull skin and gives a whitening effect with suppleness and beauty. “It can make the face fresh.” Stillman is an American cosmetic product which is being prepared since 1900’s (Green Stillman’S - Skin Light Cream - Best Skin Whitening Products - Stillmans, 2009).

2. Its slogan is “Stillman’s Beauty” to detain glances of any man with admiration. It has been observed that some men see a bewitching beauty and stick there. It carries the main linguistic message consisting of “The ultimate fairness cream.” Fairness is considered charm in our country. Consequently, becoming fair is a reverie of every female. Exploiting this weakness of Asian women, fairness creams are sold with price hike.

3. Its logo shows an American origin hummingbird which is the smallest and fastest bird (The Hummingbird Facts and Information, 2010). In its back, there is a double bordered oval shape with white background. White oval shape is a mark of fairness which is the chief object of this product.

4. Coded Iconic Message is shown with half picture of a girl with fair and gorgeous complexion. “Smile on the face and beauty of the face” show her age less than “16 years.” “Whiteness of face” is certainly linked with results of Stillman’s cream. Non Coded Iconic Message is to get such mesmerizing fairness is possible with permanent use of Stillman’s Skin Bleach Cream.
5. “White face is symbol of joy and pleasure” and they are dominating in this ad. Green colour shows natural ingredients, healthy skin, windfall, renewal, and youthful appearance, advent of spring and jealousy of other girls. White colour refers to fairness, cuteness, marriage, spotlessness, simplicity, sanitation, peace, virtue, youth, snow and excellence (Symbolism of Color: Using Color for Meaning, n.d).

6. Her good looks, smile, innocence, fairness of face as well as neck and aquiline features please aesthetic sense and women idealise her fair complexion.

7. Her direct eye contact with camera shows her trust in her beauty and style. Her smiling face wins hearts of all viewers.

8. Her dress, hair style and makeup are conforming to our social fabric. “Pakistaniicity” is evident in her appearance and gestural signs.

9. This ad promotes frequent use of bleach creams to whiten complexion. Women prefer to use chemical cosmetics to be fair rather than home made things like UBTAN etc.

10. Background aqua marine green colour has semblance with costume colour of the performer and its dark colour is found in pack and jar of cream.

11. A comic statement is written in the form of an advice to buy it from “your trusted shopkeeper.” To evaluate a “trusted shopkeeper” is a complex liability for a consumer.

12. “Colour, beauty of brand and beauty of woman” catch viewers’ concentration.

13. “Colour and woman” with beauteous and fair complexion convinced to buy it.

14. In the bottom, in right corner of the ad, comparison between original and fake Stilman’s cream have been exhibited in order to buy original product.

Conclusion

Major findings of this study are: i. All features of ads are replete with symbolic and multidimensional messages. ii. Ads are basically by product of cultural norms and they also reciprocally influence that culture. iii. Slogans of ads are catchy, memorable, full of poetic devices, combination of English and Urdu. iv. Logos, monograms of companies showed multidimensional meanings which reflected philosophy and corporate image behind an ad. The results of this study suggest a number of new avenues for research which have been divided into word, sound, picture and interdisciplinary studies. In words, speeches, titles of books, films, plastic discourse and literature can be analyzed semiotically. Voices of poems, announcements,
special stress to create meaning by newscasters and showbiz celebrities and utterance of non
verbal expressions can be studied. Pictures of flags, postage stamps, civil and military awards,
election signs and zodiac signs can be studied semiotically. In interdisciplinary studies,
researches based on semiotics and archaeology; semiotics and anthropology and semiotics and
forensic can be conducted.
References


