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Consistency and Contrast in the Deployment of Intonation Resources During Oral Presentations by Students of English Language

V. Michael Cribb, (PhD, MA, FHEA.)
Coventry University, United Kingdom

Abstract

Intonation is an important resource in the English language for structuring information and delineating paratone boundaries. This paper reports on a study which investigates the use of this resource by students of English during the delivery of academic oral presentations (monologues) in class. It compares Chinese students with European students of English to determine whether there are significant differences in a number of measures of vocal pitch range. Since Chinese is a tonal language, a hypothesis is that these students will encounter more difficulty in the deployment of intonation resources than their European counterparts leading to monologues which are flat and undifferentiated. The paper also compares the pitch range of the students with more experienced, charismatic presenters who are native speakers of the language to determine whether they use a wider, more expansive pitch range when delivering monologues. The results of the study are mixed and suggest that simple quantitative measures of pitch range are not sufficient to capture the complexity of intonation as a construct. Instead a holistic view of intonation needs to be taken in order to understand how the successful delivery of a monologue requires intonation to be deployed in a consistent and contrastive way regardless of the range of pitch used.

Keywords: Intonation; pitch; presentation; monologue; non-native.

Introduction

Experienced oral presenters are often characterised as having lively and charismatic voices (Rosenberg and Hirschberg 2005). One feature of these voices is an expansive range of intonation falls and rises which, when used in a consistent and contrastive way, help not only to hold the audience's attention but also to segment the monologue and aid understanding. Novice presenters on the other hand tend to use a narrower intonation range and thus have greater difficulty in signalling the hierarchical relationship between foreground and background information. This often leads to their discourse

being perceived as flat and monotonous (Tyler, Jefferies and Davies 1988). In addition, presenters whose first language is tonal in nature (e.g. Chinese) often find the dynamics of the English pitch challenging due to differences in the functionality of tone between the languages (Hincks and Edlund 2009).

The aim of this paper is to investigate the range and pattern of intonation deployed by novice presenters as they deliver academic oral monologues in class. The presenters were all international students of the English language (i.e. non-native speakers of English) who were recorded while delivering presentations in front of their class in a tertiary educational environment. The paper makes comparisons with a set of experienced presenters, represented by English native-speaking lecturers, to see if the intonation range is more expansive in these speakers. The paper also compares the intonation of Chinese students with European students to see if there are any differences. Since the system of prosody of the Chinese language differs significantly from English, one hypothesis is that Chinese students of English will be less effectively in using intonation to signal the hierarchy of information in their spoken discourse compared with European students.

1 Background

Oral presentations in which speakers are required to present a body of material in the form of an academic monologue are common tasks for university students on language and content courses. These presentations often constitute part of the assessment for the course so carry value and significance for the students. Being monologic in nature, a presentation differs from a dialogue in that the opportunities for collaboration (Clark 1996) and negotiation (Foster 1997) with the interlocutors are often circumscribed. The speaker is required to structure their talk in a 'tighter' fashion so that the hierarchical nature of the discourse is conveyed to the listener and the talk is perceived as comprehensible (Tyler 1992, 1994). Speakers need to control and integrate a number of linguistic and non-linguistic systems in order to signal this structure and hierarchy. These systems include the grammar, semantics, pronunciation and prosody of the monologue as well as body language of the speaker and any visual aids used.

Experienced oral speakers are often characterised as having lively or charismatic voices (Hincks 2004; Hincks and Edlund 2009; Rosenberg and Hirschberg 2005). A lively voice is one that engages the audience through the variation of intonation, rhythm and loudness in a "prosodically engaging manner" (Hincks 2004) while charismatic speakers are able to "command authority by virtue of their personal qualities" (Rosenberg and Hirschberg, 2005: 1). For experienced presenters, a charismatic and lively use of intonation can be deployed to demarcate topic boundaries and to signal the

hierarchy of information within a talk. Rosenberg and Hirschberg (2005) found that speakers rated highly for charisma tended to have higher ranges of intonation, as measured by pitch movement.

For novice presenters, however, particularly those who are non-native speakers of English, utilising a charismatic and lively voice is a more demanding task, especially during a monologue where the collaborative nature of the discourse has been largely removed. Producing native-like intonation patterns can be particularly problematic for student who lack L2 proficiency (Busà and Urbani 2011) especially if a student's own L1 has a tonal system markedly different from English. Cultural and motivational issues can also play a part in how these students deliver their talk. Hincks (2004) has suggested that speech analysis software could potentially be used to train second language speakers to vary their pitch by giving them automatic feedback on their performance as they speak.

2.1 Intonation

Within the prosodic system, the use of intonation is often misunderstood in monologues. Intonation can be defined as the rise and fall in the pitch of the voice over a series of words that constitute a tone unit (or intonational phrase) with each tone unit carrying one intonation contour (Brazil 1994). Intonation can display attitudinal and accentual functions as well as disambiguate grammatical information in certain cases (Roach 2009). The discoursal function of intonation is less well recognised however. In this capacity, intonation can be an important cue in signalling segments of monologues, in particular the paratone which acts like a phonological paragraph (Thompson 2003). The paratone is used to separate and segment topics, thus providing the monologue with structure and hierarchy. Pickering (2004) has suggested that paratones in monologues are delineated by a number of features including a lowering of pitch at the end of the paratone, with possibly some larygealisation, followed by a marked pause and then a rise in pitch (high key) at the start of the new paratone. Within paratones there is also a general declination in the pitch of the tone units.

One hypothesis (Pickering 2004) is that non-native speakers may use a narrower pitch range when speaking compared to native speakers, and this reduced pitch range may restrict their ability to signal paratone and tone unit divisions within the discourse effectively. This can lead to monologues that are perceived by the audience as flat and undifferentiated, thus masking any hierarchical structure that the speaker may have intended to convey. Recent research has suggested that non-native speakers do in fact exhibit reduced pitch ranges when speaking English (Pickering 2004; Busà and Urbani 2011). Hincks (2004) has suggested that oral presentations that exhibit

narrow pitch ranges can be characterised as "monotonous" while those with wider ranges can be considered "lively".

2 The Present Study

Much of the research on intonation to date has focused on speakers producing discourse in controlled environments typically by reading scripted discourse under laboratory conditions. The present research attempted to overcome this limitation by measuring the pitch range of students as they undertook a live assessed module at university where the pressures to communicate and perform are at their maximum. The students were all non-native speakers of English (NNS) and novice presenters in so far as this was one of their first experiences of undertaking a formal presentation in English in front of an audience.

2.1 Research questions

The two main research questions for this study were:

RQ1: Do NNS novice presenters exhibit a narrow pitch range compared with NS experienced presenters? (Experienced presenters in this context are English native-speaking university lecturers.)

RQ2: Do Chinese NNS presenters exhibit a narrow pitch range compared with European presenters?

Two hypotheses emerged from these research questions:

H1: NNS novice presenters will exhibit a narrow pitch range compared with NS experienced presenters.

H2: Chinese presenters will exhibit a narrow pitch range compared with European presenters.

There is some evidence for these hypotheses. Research in the past has shown that charismatic and lively speech is often associated with wide pitch ranges in the speaker's voice (Hincks 2004) which leads to sweeping high-low falls in pitch as the speaker emphasises certain parts of the message. This is likely to be the case for the NS lecturers who have spent many years honing their presentation skills compared to the novice presenters (hence H1). Hincks and Edlund (2009:36) concluded that second language speakers of tone languages (Chinese is a tone language) are "particularly challenged when it comes to the dynamics of English pitch". Observations in the author's own classroom had also suggested that European students tend to be more lively when making presentations compared with Chinese students who often use scripts or attempt to memorise sentences (hence H2). The European students investigated here all had first languages (L1) that were non-tonal.

2.2 Participants
NNS Novice presenters

Participants for the project were selected from a large cohort of students (n>400) who were undertaking a third-year undergraduate module in advanced English for business and management as part of their degree course at a university in the United Kingdom. All participants had spent at least two years in their home country studying at undergraduate level before undertaking their final year in the UK. The module was composed chiefly of Chinese students and European Erasmus students. The European students were mostly French but there were also a small number of students from other European countries. Twenty two students volunteered to take part in the research from the cohort on the module. Due to time and cost limitations, this was the maximum number of participants that could be accepted on to the study. Table 1 shows the nationalities of the participants and the gender ratio.

Table 1
NNS student nationalities

Nationality	*no. of students*	*female: male ratio*
Chinese	10	8:2
French	5	2:3
Polish	2	1:1
Czech	1	female
German	1	male
Hungarian	1	female
Romanian	1	female
Spanish	1	male
Total	*22*	*14:8*

NS Experienced presenters

As a comparison, data for NS experienced presenters was taken from the Engineering Lecture Corpus (Alsop and Nesi 2013). This is a collection of recordings of lectures delivered by experienced British tutors. The lectures in this corpus had been recorded in class and formed part of the normal content delivery of the courses at undergraduate level. Whilst it is recognised that there are differences between lectures and student presentations, there is also a high degree of overlap in these two types of spoken activities (i.e. monologic discourse, speaker to audience, planned but largely unscripted) and the comparison is a valid one. Six samples were randomly chosen from the Engineering Lecture Corpus for analysis. Each sample was approximately five minutes in length; five of the samples were male, one was female.

2.3 Presentation task (NNS)

The task for all NNS participants was to deliver a presentation in front of the class as part of the summative assessment for the module. Students had been assigned the task several weeks before the delivery date and class activities had been implemented in order to help students prepare and practice, although specific instructions were not given on the nature of the research nor on the use of intonation. Students delivered their presentation as part of a team of three or four students with each member of the team speaking for approximately five minutes. PowerPoint slides were used in all cases as visual aids. In most instances, the students who volunteered for the study were members of separate presentation teams. The presentations were delivered without scripts although some students did refer to notes as they progressed.

The participants in the research were recorded while making their presentations using an Olympus digital voice recorder (VN-8500PC) and a clip on microphone attached to the lapel at a distance of approximately six inches from the mouth. Microphone sensitivity was set to low to block out audience and background noise, and the recording mode was set to high quality. This produced Windows Media Audio files (.wma) with a bit rate of 128kbps and sample rate of 44kHz. These files were subsequently inspected and digitally edited to remove unwanted noise such as coughs from the speaker and background noises that were not deemed to be part of the verbal stream. Instances of creaky voice (Clark, Yallop and Fletcher 2007) or hesitation phenomena however were not removed. The sound files were analysed using Speech Analyzer software (version 3.0.1) available from SIL International (SIL 2012). The pitch lower boundary was set for analysis at 50 Hz and the upper boundary at 500 Hz (male) and 600 Hz (female).

2.4 Pitch measures

Three measures of pitch are utilised for the purpose of this study (Table 2). Mean f0 is the absolute level of pitch in the voice and is not a measure of pitch range. SD measures the range of pitch movement but since males and females tend to have different levels of mean f0, PDQ is a better measure of the pitch range. This is a normalised measure of the pitch range obtained by dividing the SD by the mean f0 (Hincks 2004).

Table 2
Pitch Measures

Measure	Description
1. Mean f0	Mean value of all f0 (fundamental frequency) values in pitch contour
2. SD	Standard Deviation of all pitch values
3. PDQ	Pitch Dynamism Quotient = SD/mean f0

2.5 Rating exercise

In order to rate the NNS speech samples, a number of judges were commissioned. The judges consisted of English language tutors (NS) who had extensive experience of dealing with non-native speakers of English and of teaching presentation skills. The rating exercise asked the judges to listen to the samples and rate each monologue for intonation and comprehensibility (Derwing, Munro and Thomson 2007). The judges were also asked to give each sample a grade for use of intonation.

Nine tutors took part in the exercise as judges and each was supplied with a CD of the samples and a rating sheet on which a number of statements were given with regard to intonation and comprehensibility (appendix 1). The judges were asked to mark each statement on a scale from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree' for each sample. At the end, they were asked to grade the sample on a scale of 0% to 100% using the marking system employed in the majority of British universities (i.e. 40% = pass; 70% = excellent). In order to limit the time required to complete the rating exercise, a segment of approximately two minutes of each monologue was used. The first and last 20 seconds of each monologue were excluded and segments were chosen to ensure that a full topic was covered. The relevant PowerPoint slides were also provided on the rating sheets so that the judge had some context and background to the samples. Judges were asked to carry out the rating exercise in their own time in a quiet room and at one sitting. After completing the exercises, the judges returned the rating sheets to the researcher, and scores were averaged and correlated.

3 Results
3.1 RQ1: Novice vs experienced

The average values of the pitch measures for novice (student) and experienced (lecturer) presenters are given in Table 3. The two range measures (SD and PDQ) all show higher values for the experienced presenters compared with the novice presenters. For example, the average PDQ of the experienced presenters is 0.230 against an average for the novice students of 0.146. Mean f0 is not a measure of pitch range; this value is different between the groups (160.8 vs 193.0) due to the fact that the lecturer corpus included a higher proportion of male speakers.

Table 3
Pitch values for novice and experienced presenters

	N	Mean f0	SD	PDQ
Novice presenters	22	193.0	33.7	0.146
Experienced presenters	6	160.8	47.1	0.230

Mann-Whitney U-tests (Table 4) show that the differences in the pitch range measures are significant at the 5% level. The significant differences in the measures of pitch range lend weight to hypothesis H1.

Table 4
Mann-Whitney U-tests (Novice vs Experienced)

Measure	U	Z	sig. (2-tailed)	Effect size (r)
1. Mean f0	46.0	-1.120	0.263	0.212
2. SD	18.5	-2.661	0.008*	0.503
3. PDQ	10.5	-3.108	0.002*	0.587

3.2 RQ2: Chinese vs European

The average values of the pitch measures are given in Table 5 for the Chinese and European presenters (NNS). The values show the European presenters have higher averages for SD and PDQ.

Table 5
Pitch values for Chinese and European presenters

	N	Mean f0	SD	PDQ
Chinese presenters	10	206.6	31.3	0.132
European presenters	12	181.4	35.7	0.158

Mann-Whitney U-tests (Table 6) show that all measures are not significant (p>0.05). These results suggest that we can reject hypothesis H2.

Table 6
Mann-Whitney U-tests (Chinese vs European)

Measure	U	Z	sig. (2-tailed)	Effect size (r)
1. Mean f0	52.0	-0.528	0.598	0.112
2. SD	49.5	-0.693	0.488	0.148
5. PDQ	41.0	-1.253	0.210	0.267

3.3 Rating exercise

Seven samples were selected for the rating exercise out of the twenty two in total. This number was deemed to be the maximum that could be rated if the exercise was to be kept to reasonable time and cost limits. The seven samples included a mixture of Chinese and European students, and low and high pitch range values as measured by PDQ (see Table 7).

Table 7 shows the average ratings from the panel of judges for each of the seven samples. The PDQ for each presenter is also shown for correlation purposes. Internal reliability for the intonation construct and the comprehensibility construct as measured by Cronbach's alpha was 0.870 and 0.987 respectively.

Table 7
Average ratings for presenters in rating exercise

Presenter no.	Gender	L1	Intonation	Comprehensibility	Grade	PDQ
Presenter 1	F	Chinese	3.00	3.33	56.4%	0.140
Presenter 2	M	Spanish	4.11	4.75	68.9%	0.183
Presenter 3	F	Czech	2.79	4.00	59.4%	0.073
Presenter 4	M	German	3.58	4.61	67.1%	0.286
Presenter 5	M	Chinese	2.29	1.86	47.1%	0.103
Presenter 6	F	Chinese	2.57	1.39	41.6%	0.187
Presenter 7	M	Chinese	3.23	3.26	54.6%	0.161
Average	3:4		3.08	3.31	56.4%	0.162

Pearson's correlation calculations (Table 8) show that there is no significant correlation between PDQ and any of the three measures obtained from the rating exercise.

Table 8
Pearson's correlation calculations

		Intonation	Comprehensibility	Grade
PDQ	Pearson Correlation	0.368	0.567	0.313
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.417	0.185	0.494
	N	7	7	7

4 Discussion

The results overall suggest that the pitch range of the NS experienced presenters is significantly higher than the NNS novice presenters, but that there is no significant difference between the Chinese presenters and the European presenters. Thus hypothesis H1 is upheld but not H2. The subsequent discussion will consider each research questions in turn.

4.1 RQ1: Novice vs experienced

The results suggest that experienced presenters (in the form of NS lecturers) do exhibit a greater pitch range in their spoken output when delivering monologues to an audience. This is as predicted by hypothesis H1 and is perhaps not surprising since the experienced presenters are not only native speakers of English but have had many years of experience honing their voices while delivering lectures. Their lively and charismatic voices use the full range of intonation, along with rhythm and loudness, in a "prosodically engaging manner" (Hincks 2004) to command authority and retain the audience's attention. The NNS presenters, who are novices by comparison, produce monologic discourse that is flatter and more undifferentiated (Tyler, Jefferies and Davies 1988).

While visual representations of pitch do not always faithfully represent aural perception, a short comparison is given between a novice and

an experienced presenter to highlight the difference in the form of pitch traces taken from the Speech Analyzer software (Figures 1 and 2). The experienced presenter (Figure 2) exhibits a much wider pitch range overall and has higher pitch falls at the end of tone units and paratones. This greater use of pitch range is clearly evident when listening to the experienced presenter's voice and the assumption is that not only does this convey a more lively and charismatic presenter (which impacts on audience engagement and understanding) but also enables the speaker to signal major and minor paratones more effectively (Pickering 2004). The novice presenter (Figure 1) by contrast has a much narrower pitch range.
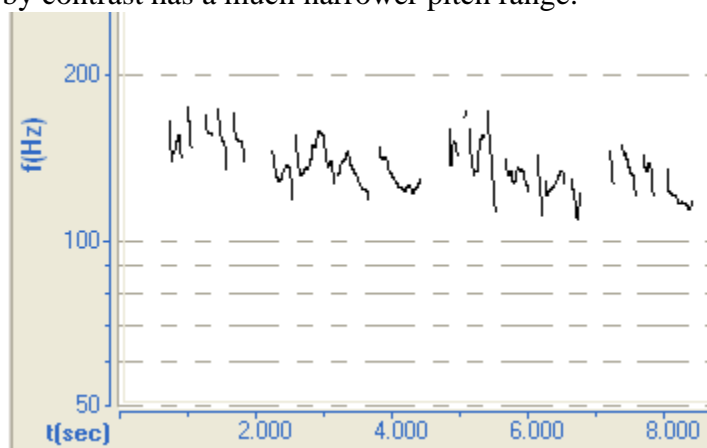

Figure 1
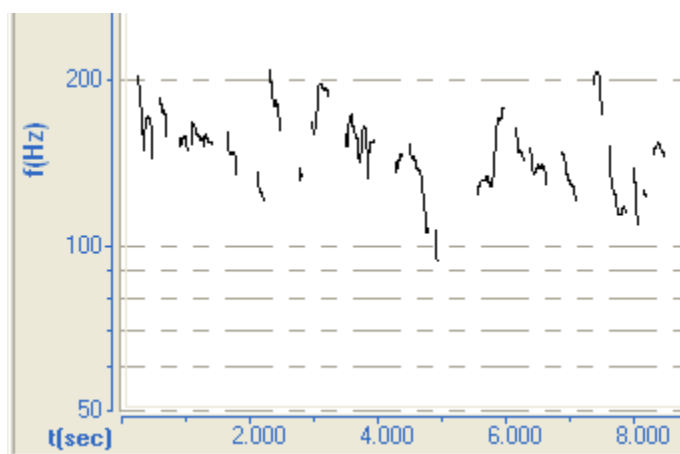Novice presenter pitch trace
[hyperlink to audio1.mp3 here]

Figure 2
Experienced presenter pitch trace
[hyperlink to audio2.mp3 here]

4.2 RQ2: Chinese vs European

The results show that there was no significant difference in the pitch ranges of the Chinese and European novice presenters on all measures which suggests we can reject hypothesis H2. If we look at the results of the rating exercise we can gain some insight into why this is so. The rating exercise showed no correlation between any of the measures (intonation, comprehensibility, grade) and PDQ. This is somewhat surprising because we might have expected at least intonation and PDQ to correlate since both measures are related to pitch: presenters judged to have been rated highly for intonation, we might hypothesise, will have a higher PDQ. However, this was not the case.

One possible explanation is that pitch range as an absolute measure of intonation is perhaps too crude a measure to highlight perceived differences in the two groups of presenters. A better way to conceive of the difference is from a qualitative perspective rather than a purely quantitative one. Thus notions of consistency and contrast might better explain differences rather than simply measuring the pitch range. Consistency would suggest that speakers need to signal tone and paratone boundaries in their output in a consistent way from the start until the end. Contrast would suggest that speakers need to use clear and explicit intonation patterns in order to delineate tone unit and paratone boundaries. Provided that a presenter has consistency and contrast in their intonation, then they are able to work within a narrow pitch range and still be effective. This does not of course exclude the possibility of them extending their pitch range and benefiting from this since, as we have seen, experienced presenters tend to use an expanded pitch range compared with novices. However, it does mean that research should probably look more towards defining and measuring consistency and contrast in intonation rather than simply calculating pitch range measures.

To illustrate the problem of using PDQ as a measure of the effectiveness of pitch range and speaking success, a comparison of two novice presenters is made in more detail here. Presenter 3 (Table 9) is a female Czech speaker with the lowest PDQ value (0.073) but with above average comprehensibility (4.00) and grade (59.4%) scores. Clearly this is a speaker who despite using a narrow pitch range has been relatively successful in making herself understood. Presenter 6 (a female Chinese speaker) in contrast has an above-average PDQ (0.187) but has been rated well below average on scores of comprehensibility (1.39) and grade (41.6%) which are the lowest of the seven samples. The PDQ values here do not represent well the contrasting fortunes of these presenters, and a more detailed consideration of the discourse is required in order to understand how

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the pitch is deployed as a resource within the discourse rather than the simple pitch range measures themselves.

Table 9
Comparison of Czech and Chinese presenter

Presenter no.	Gender	L1	Intonation	Comprehensibility	Grade	PDQ
Presenter 3	F	Czech	2.79	4.00	59.4%	0.073
Presenter 6	F	Chinese	2.57	1.39	41.6%	0.187

Presenter 3 (see Example 1) had a consistent and contrastive deployment of intonation in order to effectively mark paratone boundaries through an interesting style commonly known as "upspeak" in which there is a high rise terminal on the majority of tone units (Warren 2005). At the end of paratones, however, the speaker clearly produced falling tones to signal the division of topics. This is illustrated in example 1 where a major paratone ends in line 3 to complete the topic of 'Nike' before switching to discuss 'Adidas'. The end of the paratone is clearly marked by a falling tone on line 3 which contrasts with the rising tones of lines 1 and 2. The high rise terminal marking then continues from line 4. In this case, paratone division is also helped by consistent pausing and discourse marking ('in contrary'). Despite the non-standard use of upspeak, the judicious use of rising tones and a contrasting falling tone at the end of the paratone, gave this student a simple yet effective way to delineate segments of the discourse despite the narrow pitch range, as measured by PDQ, that she was working within.

Example 1 [hyperlink to audio3.mp3 here]
1. | its tradeMARKS er are er ↗LOgo (0.3) |
2. | that you can see er ↗THERE (0.5) |
3. | and ↘SLOgan just er do it (1.4) | [END OF PARATONE]
4. | in ↗CONtrary (.) |
5. | er ↗adiDAS |
6. | addidas is a GERman ↗COMPany (0.5) |
7. | FOUnded in NINEteen forty ↗EIGHT (0.6) |

Presenter 6 (see Example 2) had less consistency and contrast in the prosody of her speech. The first change in paratone is signalled with falling intonation (line 4) but the anomalous intonation patterns on the surrounding units act to mask this change. There is no clear contrast between the tone unit at the end of the paratone and the surrounding tone units. Anomalous pausing (pauses not at clause boundaries or before/after discourse markers) also contributes to the confusion. Thus the discourse marking that is intended to signal a topic change in line 5 ('and the last point') has to compete with the anomalous prosody that surrounds it. Later on in the monologue (some tone units have been omitted for clarity) at line 9 the prosody of the speaker

signals a new paratone using high key even though the content is clearly linked to the preceding units (7 and 8) through a causal link and no new paratone was intended.

Example 2 [hyperlink to audio4.mp3 here]

1. | and er (1.4) also can HELP the people use er (1.2) →BIcycle (0.7) erm (1.4) |

2. | ↗well (0.7) |

3. | and (1.3) the ↗ne- (0.4) |

4. | er give SOME green ↘imPACT in the environment (0.4) | [END OF PARATONE]

5. | and the LAST point is the use some substain →ENergy (0.4) |

6. | er (0.5) the SOlar energy and the ↘WIND energy |

…

7. | and the third point is the pro- provide the battery rail ↘CAR |

8. | in the tourist er ↘PLACE |

9. | ↗because er it can protect ↘ANimal | [HIGH KEY]

These two contrasting styles were typical of the presenters throughout their monologues and illustrates how despite the relatively narrow pitch range of the first speaker, as measured by PDQ, a successful demarcation of the paratones was achieved and comprehensibility was relatively high. In contrast, the Chinese speaker with a wider pitch range produced less consistent and contrastive intonation which tended to mask topic changes and information hierarchies.

Conclusion

The research presented here has found that intonation pitch range is significantly higher in NS experienced presenters than NNS novice presenters. This expected outcome illustrates how experienced presenters are able to make use of their pitch range to exhibit lively and charismatic voices that are not only able to hold their audiences' attention but which are also able to demarcate effectively segmental boundaries such as paratones, thus rendering the monologue more comprehensible. A significant difference is not observed, however, in the pitch ranges of Chinese and European students, contrary to expectations. This has led to the suggestion that rather than simply considering quantitative measures of pitch range in NNS speech, a more holistic approach is needed in which the consistency and contrast of a range of prosodic features are taken as a whole. Students in effect have an array of prosodic features at their disposal which they deploy with measuring degrees of success in a consistent and contrastive manner. Those students that are more successful in this will inevitably be judged as more lively and less monotonous in their speech, and will enjoy greater levels of comprehensibility. The example presented here was of an unusual case of

'upspeak' which used a relatively narrow pitch range but which deployed the pitch change strategically to effectively segment the monologue into manageable chunks for the listener.

Pickering (2004) has also noted how non-native speakers of English, in her case International Teaching Assistants (ITAs), can struggle to deploy intonation:

> Analysis of the ITA data [i.e. NNS monologues] showed that these speakers were unable to consistently manipulate key and tone choices to create intonational paragraphs [i.e. paratones].
> (Pickering, 2004:38)

She concludes that there is "no simple comparison" between successful and problematic intonation deployment. In other words, there is no simple measure which can arbitrate between successful and unsuccessful use of intonation, suggesting that a holistic approach is more appropriate.

If consistency and contrast in prosody are key features of comprehensibility and liveliness in oral presentations, then future research really needs to consider how these criteria can be defined and evaluated. Simply measuring pitch values, as we have seen, provides little more than a one-dimension view of prosody and perhaps does not capture the holistic nature of success in speech in any meaningful way. For students and teachers of English, an understanding of how these values interact with each other and how they can be deployed strategically is necessary together with an awareness of how they can be acquired. Other considerations include an understanding of how prosody interacts with other linguistics systems such as grammar. Is it the case, for example, that grammatically consistent stretches of speech could carry most of the burden of communication while more erroneous chunks would require a more consistent and contrastive prosodic delivery in order for the same level of communication to be achieved? Knowing this would enable students of English, who often struggle to produce grammatically correct utterances, to fall back on the prosodic system at these times in their monologue. These questions and others raised here in this paper for future research may not have clarified matters so much but then could it really be expected that language learning would be so simple?

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Appendix 1. Sample rating sheet

	Please listen to the whole of the sample first before marking crosses (X) in the boxes which most closely match your opinion.		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1	The sample is easy to understand						
2	The student's voice sounds lively						
3	The message is difficult to follow						
4	The student uses intonation in a native-like way						
5	The student's voice sounds monotonous						
6	The discourse is comprehensible						
7	The sample lacks coherence						
8	The rise and fall in the pitch of the voice helps to segment the discourse						

If you were grading this student, what score on a scale of 0% to 100% would you give for the student's use of intonation?

(NB: Question 2, 4, 5 and 8 relate to the intonation construct while questions 1, 3, 6 and 7 relate to the comprehensibility construct.)

A Rhetorical Model of Punctuation Mark Function in Computer-Mediated Communication

Andrew Albritton, PhD
Missouri State University, USA

Abstract

Punctuation marks perform a variety of functions in computer-mediated communication (CMC). In this paper, a rhetorical model for understanding these functions is delineated. According to the model, punctuation marks can function in three rhetorical capacities. First, they can build or damage the credibility of the writer. Second, they can clarify messages in a number of ways: They can elucidate the grammatical relationships between written ideas, provide conversational implicature, and clarify illocutionary force. And third, they can convey emotional and relational meaning. This model is explanatory, and it can also be used as a guide for analysis.

Keywords: Conversational implicature, emotion, ethos, punctuation, illocutionary force.

Introduction

Punctuation marks are more than mere grammatical expedients. They can function in many ways, especially in the informal digital texts of computer-mediated communication (CMC). In this paper, a rhetorical model is posited that will explain three ways that punctuation marks can function in CMC. First, they can build or damage the credibility of the writer. Second, they can clarify messages in a number of ways. And third, they can convey emotional and relational meaning.

The inspiration for this model came in part from an exchange of articles by Dawkins (1995, 1996) and Hasset (1996). In an article titled "Teaching punctuation as a rhetorical tool," Dawkins (1995) observed that excellent writers often do not follow the punctuation rules enumerated in style guides; rather, they "punctuate according to their intended meaning, their intended emphasis" (p. 534). In accordance with this observation, Dawkins' (1995) offered a method of teaching punctuation that emphasizes the creation of meaning over a slavish adherence to prescriptive rules. Hassett (1996) responded to Dawkins (1995) with an article titled, "Toward a

broader understanding of the rhetoric of punctuation." In this response piece, Hasset (1996) lauded Dawkins (1995) for his ideas, and asserted that additional rhetorical concepts would enlarge and improve Dawkins' (1995) theory of punctuation. In the final article of this exchange, Dawkins (1996) offered Hassett (1996) a concise follow-up response. He wrote that while his rhetorical theory of punctuation did not explicitly make mention of the additional concepts that Hassett (1996) brought up, it did have application to them: In its simplicity, he argued, the theory can be applied toward any rhetorical concept. At the end of his response, Dawkins (1996) addressed the important issue of reader interpretation of punctuation marks, positing that we should view punctuation marks in the same way we view words: There will be some differences of interpretation concerning their meanings, but they do possess general meanings that most people will agree upon.

The authors of these article were concerned primarily with the issue of how best to teach punctuation in the context of higher education. They view punctuation in the light of rhetoric, since punctuation marks are written devices that aid in the construction of meaning. Thus this exchange of articles inspired in part the rhetorical view of punctuation explained in this paper. There are, of course, significant differences between the rhetorical theory of punctuation that is preliminarily drawn by the authors of these articles, and the theoretical model presented in this paper. Here, the concern is not pedagogical, but rather is related to the ways people communicate in CMC, which was only in its relatively early stages at the times when the preceding articles were composed. Since the mid-1990s, CMC has altered the ways that people communicate with the written word, thereby contributing to changes in punctuation practices. These new practices call for a new and more thorough theoretical model – one that takes into account the informal nature of much of the text in CMC, and one that recognizes the emotional and interpersonal meanings that punctuation can convey.

Punctuation Marks in CMC: A Brief Literature Review

Punctuation is utilized in many different ways in CMC. It is used in both a standard and nonstandard manner. Any number of factors, from age to culture to digital medium to gender, can influence punctuation patterns (Baron & Ling, 2011). In some cases, punctuation in CMC is minimalistic or even omitted completely (Crystal, 2001). In other cases, traditional punctuation marks are put to new purposes. The ellipsis was formerly used as a sign of omitted words, a pause in verbal dialogue, or as an indication of more to come at the end of a text. In CMC, it has also become a popular conjoining marker (Raclaw, 2006). In the context of text-messaging in particular, ellipses can be used to prompt an interlocutor to reply if he or she is taking too long to respond (Curzan, 2013). In a study of text-messaging

and Instant Messaging (IM), Baron (2008) found that ellipses and dashes were used in place of periods, question marks, and commas, and were used to indicate other forms of pause as well. The exclamation point was formerly used to express excitement; it can now also be used to convey friendliness or to accentuate factual statements (Waseleski, 2006). The asterisk was formerly used as a means to indicate a reference or omission; it is now often added to both sides of a word or phrase to add emphasis (Crystal, 2001; Danet, 2002) or to enclose a description of physical actions related to a written text (Crystal, 2001). Further, in CMC, traditional punctuation marks are often written in strings of repeats, such as !!!! or ???? (Crystal, 2001; Thurlow & Brown, 2003). Kalman and Gergle (2009), in a study of punctuation and letter repeats in the Enron corpus, found that repeats of periods, exclamation points, and question marks were all common. While the authors concluded that strings of articulable letters are potentially a way for writers to demonstrate vocal cues, they went on to make the important point that "the existence of a significant minority of un-articulable repeats, as well as of repeated punctuation marks, remind us that repeats can also be used as purely visual emphasis tools, not necessary linked to an audible counterpart" (Kalman & Gergle, 2009, p. 21).

Baron (2008) found that message-final punctuation was lacking in a preponderance of messages in her samples of text-messages and Instant Messages. This paucity of message-final punctuation is of particular interest – it seems that periods at the ends of sentences in CMC can be construed as an unduly harsh means of terminating a correspondence. Baron and Ling (2011), in an analysis of focus group data collected by the Pew Internet and American Life Project and the Department of Communication Studies at the University of Michigan, found that adolescent girls perceive the terminal period as potentially negative. In addition to the omission of the period, emoticons or exclamation points at the end of messages can also help to avoid any potential negative connotations, and can in fact be viewed as marks of courtesy (Baron & Ling, 2011).

In addition to traditional punctuation marks, texts in CMC are often punctuated with emoticons, which are pictographs composed of sequences of punctuation marks; the smiley :) is an example. Far from being only ornamental devices, emoticons "do have an impact on message interpretation" (Derks, Bos, & von Grumbkow, 2008a, p. 387). They are more often used in social than task-based contexts (Derks, Bos, & von Grumbkow, 2007), and they are frequently used "for the expression of emotion, for strengthening the verbal part of a message, and for expressing humor" (Derks, Bos & von Grumbkow, 2008b, p. 101). In particular, emoticons depicting smiling and laughter are common, and most frequently occur in places which punctuate, rather than interrupt, semantic units, as in

the case of real laughter (Provine, Spencer, & Mandell, 2007). Laughter communicated by emoticons (and by alphabetic representations such as 'haha' and 'LOL') has been shown to have an impact on the perception of personal interaction similar to that of real laughter, and, naturally, both have a positive effect (Vlahovic, Roberts, & Dunbar, 2012). Yuasa, Saito, and Mukawa (2011) demonstrated that the sections of the brain associated with the perception of emotion are in fact activated by emoticons; they furthermore found "that brain sites dealing with both verbal and nonverbal information are activated more strongly when emoticons are added to sentences, than in the case of plain text" (p. 22). While emotion certainly plays a role in emoticon use, emoticons are not always used as symbols of affective information: They can be used, and often are used, as a means of clarifying writer intent (Dresner & Herring, 2010; Markman & Oshima, 2007).

In addition to the punctuation-mark-based emoticons, developing technologies have allowed for the use of premade, stylized pictographic representations known as emoji. Emoji can be used in much the same way as emoticons, although the large numbers of different emoji available – from icons of facial expressions to icons of automobiles, food, plants, animals, buildings, and beyond – give emoji users a great deal of creative freedom in the construction of their messages.

Credibility

Punctuation can contribute to or detract from a writer's credibility. Communication occurs within different genres that have differing conventions (Halliday & Hasan, 1989); departure from appropriate conventions could lead to a loss of credibility, since it would appear that the communicator is ignorant of proper behaviors or unable to actualize them. Even within an individual genre, different contexts may call for different styles. For instance, in the genre of email, different contexts call for different styles of writing. In a case where two close friends fire off emails to one another quickly in an exchange similar to an online chat, a certain informality of language and form would not only be acceptable, but called for: It would be unusual to include proper salutations and sign-offs, and would slow the progress of the virtual conversation. Alternatively, in a case where a potential employee applies for a job via email, formal language and conventional form would be appropriate. It would be unusual, and potentially injurious to the applicant's chances of employment, to exclude the salutation and sign-off, or to write in an unduly casual manner.

These issues of credibility extend to the world of punctuation. In the realm of formal writing, punctuation that follows general principles of standard use can demonstrate that a writer is knowledgeable and articulate.

Contrarily, punctuation which is haphazard and flouts general best practices can demonstrate that a writer is lacking in knowledge and eloquence. In informal writing contexts, on the other hand, nonstandard punctuation can be a way to build emotional, or interpersonal, credibility: A person can use punctuation such as exclamation points, emoticons, and emoji, to demonstrate excitement or affection or other emotive states that are appropriate to the situation at hand. In certain contexts, and depending upon the recipient, the lack of these types of emotive punctuation – or at least some other signs of emotion, such as affective words – might make a message seem flat, insincere, or sarcastic.

The recipient of a person's message is an important factor that should be considered in the decision of whether to use a formal or informal style. Krohn (2004) suggested that students of business communication be taught to consider the generation of the recipient when deciding whether or not emoticons might be appropriate in a message. Furthermore, there are some recipients who might highly prize creative punctuation usage, while there are others who might view such usages as inane or childish. Some may view the use of punctuation at all as stuffy and unnecessary. A knowledge of the recipient can help the sender choose an appropriate punctuation style, such that credibility can be established or maintained.

Clarity

Punctuation marks function as important clarifiers. In the first place, punctuation marks can clarify messages by performing their basic and original function: Namely, creating disjunction between words, phrases, and clauses in such a way as to elucidate the underlying meanings of text, to give emphasis to certain ideas, and to demonstrate (to some greater or lesser degree) the relationships between ideas.

Punctuation marks also clarify texts by conveying conversational implicature. According to Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975/1996), human communication is generally an activity in which interlocutors work together to share meaning. Grice (1975/1996) outlined four maxims which are foundational for cooperative communication: The first is the Maxim of Quantity, which says that messages should not be too brief or too verbose; the second is the Maxim of Quality, which says that messages should be true and that the communicators who offer them should have reasonable justification for believing them to be true; the third is the Maxim of Relation, which says that messages should be relevant to the circumstances in which they are given; and the fourth is the Maxim of Manner, which says that messages should be clear. These four Maxims are sometimes not followed, even in situations where the speaker or writer fully intends to be cooperative. In these situations, there are often implied meanings, which Grice

(1975/1996) terms "conversational implicatures" (p. 161), that make up for the violation and allow whatever is missing to be inferred, or whatever is seemingly amiss to be understood in the correct light. Numerous factors can create conversational implicature; they include linguistic conventions, shared knowledge of the past, non-verbal and paralinguistic behavior, and, for our purposes, punctuation.

Punctuation marks can be deployed in numerous ways to convey implied meanings that can make up for apparent transgressions of the Gricean Maxims. Here is a sample, by no means exhaustive, of illustrative examples of ways that punctuation can function in such a capacity. A message which says simply "lunch" would seem to be lacking in enough information for a recipient to know what the sender is trying to communicate; this message would therefore violate the Maxim of Quantity. When a simple question mark is appended to the word, "lunch?", although the messages is still only a single word, the punctuation mark contributes a conversational implicature which would lead most people to understand the message as asking if the recipient would like to go to lunch. In other situations in which the Maxim of Quantity is seemingly flouted, ellipses can be of help in establishing conversational implicature: When placed at the end of a message which appears to be incomplete, they can let the recipient know that certain things are being left to his or her imagination; or they can let the recipient know that the current transmission has been, for whatever reason, cut short, but there is more to come at some time in the future. The Maxim of Quality is violated in cases of sarcasm and other forms of ironic communication in which the meaning of the words is not intended to be taken as the literal truth; jokes can violate the Maxim of Quality in a similar manner. In such cases, emoticons such as the smiley :) and the winkey ;), or their emoji analogues, can demonstrate that the messages are not meant to be taken at face value; these emoticons help to explicate what the writer is doing with his or her words, a point further discussed in the following paragraph.

Punctuation can clarify the speech acts, or illocutionary forces, of messages. Austin (1962) posited that when people use words they both share meaning and perform social actions; those actions are termed the illocutionary force of the words. (Austin's work gave birth to Speech Act Theory, which was further expanded and developed in the work of Searle [1979]). Question marks are an obvious clarifier of illocutionary force, since they signal questions, thereby showing that a person is performing the speech act of questioning. Emoticons can help clarify illocutionary force as well. Dresner and Herring (2010) asserted that though emoticons are frequently associated exclusively with emotional meaning, they often function to show what a sender is actually doing with his or her words. Dresner and Herring

(2010) give the example of the :-p emoticon, which is a representation of a visage from which a tongue is protruding, and observe that it does not really convey any specific emotion, but rather can conveys illocutionary forces such as teasing, joking, or flirting, depending upon the context in which it appears. (Generally, it should be remarked, this emoticon would convey a certain level of positive affect; however, Dresner and Herring's [2010] point is taken – the emoticon is not merely emotional, since it also helps the reader to understand the illocutionary force of the message.) The authors furthermore gave the winking face ;-) as an indicator of the illocutionary force of joking, and observed that joking is not associated with only one emotion. Dresner and Herring (2010) then went on to assert that emoticons can be used to diminish face-threatening acts (see Brown & Levinson, 1987), a point further discussed in the next section.

Emotional and Relational Information

In face-to-face conversations, ideational meanings are usually conveyed with words and emotional and relational meanings are usually conveyed with nonverbal behaviors (Richmond, McCroskey, & Payne, 1991). Punctuation marks can be used, and often are used, as a way to convey emotional meanings in the informal written texts of CMC, where body language is absent. In this way, punctuation marks can serve a crucial purpose in communication: That of demonstrating senders' feelings.

Emoticons are probably the most obvious form of punctuation that conveys emotion. As discussed above, emoticons can have functions beyond the expression of affective states – in particular, they can help to clarify the speech act of a message – but they do indeed function as indicators of emotion as well. The simple smiley :) and the simple sad face :(unquestionably do correspond to certain respective emotions: Happiness and sadness, or, more generally, varying forms of positive affect and negative affect.

In the current state of CMC, writers often have access to pre-fabricated, stylised pictograms that are often termed emoji. Many smartphones have entire keyboards of emoji, supplying their users with copious pictographs that can easily be inserted into texts. Emoji represent any number of different things: Facial expressions, certainly, but also flora and fauna, vehicles, buildings, food, everyday objects such as tools and writing utensils, common iconic signage, and nonfacial body language such as clapping, giving a thumbs-up and thumbs-down, waving, and pointing. The emoji that signify facial expressions are many and sundry. Because of their great variety, these emoji can convey more specific feelings than the traditional :) and :(and other emoticons. Emoji can, like emoticons, convey both emotion and illocutionary force.

Exclamation points are another possible way of conveying affect in CMC. The exclamation point, as its name suggests, is traditionally associated with the emotions that would accompany verbal exclamations – namely, different forms of excitement. And certainly exclamation marks continue, to some greater or lesser degree, to convey positive or negative excitement. However, Waseleski (2006), in a study of exclamation points on online discussion lists, found that the exclamation point is frequently used, by both genders, as a marker of friendliness; and Waseleski (2006) further found that it can be used as an emphasizer. Baron and Ling (2011) argued that the exclamation point can be viewed as a "courtesy symbol" (p. 54). Friendly or polite uses of the exclamation point may not communicate pure excitement, but they can convey a certain level of positive affect. When an exclamation point is included in a quick message of gratitude such as "Thanks!", it could carry a meaning of excitement, or courtesy, or both. But exclamation points need not always be positive. If someone sent a friend a messages reading "Hurry up!", the exclamation point would not usually be read as a sign of courtesy. It would, rather, be read as a sign of agitated excitement on the part of the sender (if there were not, of course, other circumstances to ameliorate the seeming hostility of the message). Similarly, if someone were textually asked if he or she enjoyed a certain food, and he or she responded with a "No!", the mark would be taken as a sign of emphasis, and it would therefore indicate an especial distaste for the cuisine in question. Once again, context dictates the nuances of meaning that the punctuation carries.

In some cases, exclamation points could be used as a means of giving emphasis without conveying any affect and in a message that has no underlying affect. As was mentioned in the preceding section, the traditional grammatical function of punctuation allows for the demonstration of emphasis; for instance, a dash can set off a phrase and give it special accentuation. Thus, according to the system delineated in this paper, an exclamation point that is purely an emphasizer of a non-emotional message would be classified as a grammatical clarifier, since it marks disjunction or conclusion while demonstrating the prominence of an idea within the discourse.

These discussions bring us to the topic of punctuation strings. If, in any of the cases above, additional exclamation points were appended, and a string was thereby created ("Lunch?!!!", "Thanks!!", "Hurry up!!!!", "No!!!"), the respective meanings of the messages could be seen as being more intense or emphatic. Likewise, if an added question mark were added to the lunch inquiry, as in "Lunch??" or even "Lunch????", the message's meaning could come across as more emphatic. It is furthermore possible that, because of the informality of the punctuation string, the meanings might, depending on the context, come to be seen as less serious, especially in the

examples where there are numerous exclamation marks; if this is the case, then the negative uses in particular would undergo an alteration in meaning: The "Hurry up!!!" may be seen as less agitated and more playful, and the "No!!!" may be read as more funny. In any case, if an outrageous number of exclamation points were added to the messages – as in the case of "Thanks!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!" or "No!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!" or "Lunch?????????????" – the sender would probably in most circumstances be viewed as being humorous. As was shown in the "Lunch?!" example, strings need not always be composed of the same mark. In fact, the combination of exclamation points and question marks (as in, "!?!?") seems to show, on the negative side, consternation, and on the positive side, surprised enthusiasm, or excitement and the seeking of confirmation. Again, because of its informality, even when this string is used for the purposes of conveying a feeling more akin to consternation, the meaning may be colored with a certain playfulness, in which case the feeling communicated would not be entirely negative. Kalman and Gergle (2009), in their study of the Enron corpus, found many examples of punctuation strings. They concluded that the strings can help to make up for the lack of paralinguistic cues and can serve as "purely visual emphasis tools, not necessarily linked to an audible counterpart" (p. 21). Once again, it is clear that, depending on the context, strings of punctuation marks can signify different kinds of emotional and relational meaning.

The period, in this textual milieu of emoji and exclamation marks, has, for some people, come to symbolize negative affect (Baron & Ling, 2011; Crair, 2013; Yagoda, 2012). At the end of a message, especially a short, informal text-message or IM transmission, periods are not necessary to demonstrate the end of the transmission. Often, therefore, they are not used (Baron, 2008). When periods are used, they can be seen as a harsh termination of the message.

Baron and Ling (2011), having evaluated the data of focus groups comprised of adolescent females, concluded that some such young ladies view the terminal period as a potentially negative symbol. It would seem that this sense of negative affect would only be perceived in informal, interpersonal contexts, and in particular in contexts where messages are relatively short (e.g., IM messages and text-messages); it is difficult to imagine a business person being upset because an email they received ended in a period.

There is another very important way that punctuation can be put to an emotional purpose – namely, as a means of emotional identification. Such identification occurs when an interlocutor expresses that he or she is to some degree partaking of the emotional state of the receiver(s) of the message. The notion of identification was a salient component of the rhetorical thought of

Kenneth Burke. In his *Rhetoric of Motives*, Burke (1969) expressed that rhetoric is concerned with the how people connect with one another – with how they recognize their shared substance. Punctuation, as a means of sharing emotion, is a way of demonstrating shared emotion in the form of sympathy and empathy. Two rather obvious examples of punctuation-based emotional identification would be the use of a sad face :(in a consolatory message and the use of a smiley :) in a congratulatory one. When punctuation is used as a means of emotional identification, it not only displays affective meanings, but also relational meanings, in that it shows a closeness between interlocutors as perceived on the part of the message sender, as well as a sense of goodwill and affection on the part of the sender.

In what is perhaps the most famous work in all of the abundant literature concerning linguistic expressions of politeness, Brown and Levinson (1987) built upon the work of Goffman (1967) to theorize that people desire two forms of "face:" positive face, which is personal affirmation, and negative face, which is personal liberty. There are times in human interaction, however, when these faces are threatened. Sometimes, a person will choose to put forward ideas which could potentially hurt the feeling of personal value held by another person or other people, thereby threatening the positive face of the person or people being addressed. At other times, a person will choose to put forward ideas that could seem to importune another person or other people, thereby threatening the negative face of the person or people being addressed. In either case, messages that threaten positive or negative face are termed by Brown and Levinson (1987) as "face-threatening acts or FTAs" (p. 25), and politeness strategies are ways of helping avoid – or, a the very least, helping dimish the power of – FTAs. Punctuation can function to convey politeness in a number of ways in accord with the politeness theory posited by Brown and Levinson (1987). When punctuation marks are used to convey positive affect, they can be affirming for people, and can thus edify positive face; such marks can also be viewed as helping to put other people first and maintain social harmony. Punctuation marks such as the smiley and the exclamation point can furthermore serve as mollifiers of face-threatening acts; by showing an iconic smile, or by demonstrating friendliness and enthusiasm by means of an exclamation mark, a potentially threatening message can be made more palatable. It is fascinating to observe that, given the discussion of the period above, the omission of the period may be a way to be polite. It is clear that the inclusion of a period can be seen by some as a face-threatening act, depending on the context of the message.

Conclusion

Punctuation marks are rhetorical tools that enable people to send effective messages. In particular, punctuation can affect the credibility of the writer, can clarify messages in many ways, and can provide an emotional and relational element that can give messages affective meanings in addition to logical meanings. In these ways, punctuation marks increase the efficacy of interaction via CMC. The theoretical model posited in this paper serves an obvious explanatory function, but it can also be used as a guide for analyzing punctuation in CMC: The punctuation found in a given message in a CMC dataset can be evaluated based on how it might influence the credibility of the writer, how it might help clarify the message, and how it might convey emotional and relational meaning. Examining punctuation marks from this perspective could allow for more robust analyses of computer-mediated messages.

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Cognitive Grammar with Reference to Passive Construction in Arabic

Dr. Bahaa-eddin Hassan

Faculty of Arts, Sohag University, Egypt

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine Cognitive Grammar (CG) theory with reference to the active and the passive voice construction in Arabic. It shows how the cognitive approach to linguistics and construction grammar work together to explain motivation beyond the use of this syntactic construction; therefore, formal structures of language are combined with the cognitive dimension. CG characterizations reveal the limitations of the view that grammatical constructions are autonomous categories. They are interrelated with conceptualization in the framework of cognitive grammar. The study also accounts for the verbs which have active form and passive meaning, and the verbs which have passive form and active meaning.

Keywords: Cognitive Grammar, Voice, Arabic, Theme-oriented.

1. Introduction

In his *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, Chomsky represented each sentence in a language as having a surface structure and a deep structure. The deep structure represents the semantic component and the surface structure represents the phonological approach. He explained that languages' deep structures share universal properties which surface structures do not reveal. He proposed transformational grammar to map the deep structure (semantic relations of a sentence) on to the surface structure. Individual languages use different grammatical patterns for their particular set of expressed meanings. Chomsky, then, in *Language and Mind*, proposed that language relates to mind. Later, in an interview, he emphasized that language represents a state of mind. On the other hand, the cognitive approach to analyze natural language emerged. This approach is manifested in the works of George Lakoff, Ron Langacker and others. Isac and Reiss (2013), in their book *I-Language*, draw heavily on the Chomskyian perspective of cognitive biolinguistics, which refers to language as a human cognitive entity based on the mind of the speaker. There has been a shift to a cognitive and functional perspective of linguistic knowledge.

Langacker (2008) stresses the importance of the relationship between grammatical constructions and mental constructions. "Conceptual semantic description is thus a major source of insight into our mental world and its construction. Grammatical meanings prove especially revealing in this respect" (2008: 4). He states that "grammar is symbolic in nature" (2008: 5). According to Langacker, "linguistic meaning involves both conceptual content and the construal imposed that content" (2008: 44). This study attempts to add the cognitive dimension to Arabic grammar. It shows how the theory of Cognitive Grammar can be applied in Arabic constructions.

2. Research Problem

The research problem of this study is to provide an account of voice construction in Arabic with reference to cognitive construction grammar. It brings the literature on Cognitive Grammar through a consideration of the following research questions:

1- What are the main features of Cognitive Construction Grammar?
2- How can the theory be used to explain passive construction in Arabic?

Most Arabic verbs satisfy the conditions for the passive voice. However, a major source of discrepancies is that some verbs have active form and passive meaning, and other verbs have passive form and active meaning. Cognitive Grammar is used in the study to account for the phenomenon. It pursues two interrelated goals:

1- To establish a cognitive grammatical analysis of voice construction in Arabic that offers explanations for the phenomenon.
2- To account for the mismatch between morphology and syntax found with some passive verbs in Arabic.

3. Literature Review

Cognitive Grammar has received scant attention in Arabic. The study attempts to contribute to the discussion of this theory and its application in Arabic. Cognitive linguistics has been introduced by Fillmore (1975, 1976), Lakoff (1987, 1992), Langacker (1987, 1991). Cognitive Grammar is associated with Langacker's work. Cognitive Grammar is the key to conceptual structure in language. Goldberg (2000) discusses causative verbs constructions as having agentive argument and patient argument.

The passive has been discussed by many grammarians. Halliday (1970) explores voice as a grammatical construction. Halliday (1967) refers to transitivity and theme in English. In Arabic literature, Wright (1975) sketches the grammar of Arabic. Moreover, Khalil (1993) examines the Arabic translation of English passive sentences. Rosenhouse (1988) points out the occurrence of the passive in different types of texts in English,

Hebrew and Arabic". Now, before moving to the analysis of our data, it is appropriate to outline the theoretical framework for the analysis of voice construction in Arabic.

4. Theoretical Framework:

Construction Grammar draws heavily upon Fillmore's work on Case Grammar (1968, 1977) and Frame Semantics (1982, 1985) (Boas 2013: 233). The study utilizes Langacker's (2008) model of Cognitive Grammar as a theoretical framework because it is a concept-oriented approach to grammatical structures. Meanings compose of concepts and are communicated in the form of words and structures. Grammatically speaking, meaning-bearing forms in languages are divided into two different categories; the open-class (lexical) and the closed-class (grammatical). The closed-class includes grammatical patterns, relations and constructions. This theory builds on the initial phase of Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf hypothesis that has stretched out for many decades. The theory is a chance to refine and clarify the relation between language and thought, and to reintroduce this relation more effectively, and to make its rationale more evident. Cognitive Grammar has led to better understanding of the conceptual basis of language structure. It offers a coherent view of language structure. It reinforces the fact that grammar is not a formal system but also a meaningful component of language and it is linked to human cognition and interaction. Linking conceptualization with linguistic expressions is familiar in linguistics as the case is in cognitive semantics. Metaphors, for example, are conceptual semantic descriptions. What might be new here is to link conceptualization with grammatical constructions. Analyzing language from this dimension leads to remarkable conclusions about linguistic construction and human cognition.

It has been a standard doctrine that grammatical classes are not semantically definable. In CG, basic categories – notably noun and verb – have conceptual characterizations at both prototype level (for typical examples) and the schema level (valid for all instances). The schemas are independent of any particular conceptual content, residing instead in basic cognitive abilities inherent in the archetypes: for nouns, grouping and reification; in the case of verbs, the ability to apprehend relationships and to track their evolution through time. An expression's grammatical category depends on the nature of its profile (not its overall content). Thus a noun profiles a thing (defined abstractly as any product of grouping and reification), while a verb profiles a process (a relationship tracked through time). Despite being polar opposites conceptually, the two most fundamental grammatical – nouns and verbs – show extensive parallelism. Both divide into major subclasses: count vs. mass for nouns, perfective vs. imperfective

for verbs. Count vs. mass and perfective vs. imperfective are not rigid lexical distinctions, but are malleable owing to alternate construals as well as systematic patterns of extension.

Grammatical constructions are traditionally viewed as abstract entities. They are represented as meaningful in CG. Grammatical meanings prove to be useful in this respect. CG explains the relation between grammar, meaning and cognition. Langacker assures that CG is a theory of grammar and it is not all about semantics. The main claim is that grammar is symbolic in nature, because it combines the dual property of a linguistic sign (semantic structure and phonological structure). Grammar and Lexicon together form complex expressions. The theory focuses on refuting the belief that syntax is autonomous or a separate linguistic component, distinct from both lexicon and semantics. Cognitive and functional linguists argue that "everything in language is **motivated** in such terms (even if very little is strictly **predictable**)" (Langacker 2008: 14).

Ronald Langacker developed Cognitive grammar as a cognitive approach to language. His approach considers the basic units of language as symbolic pairings of a semantic structure and a phonological structure. He extends the notion of symbolic units (also called constructions) to the grammar of languages. The semiological nature of language pertains that meanings are symbolized phonologically. Langacker assures that there are "three kinds of structures: **semantic**, **phonological**, and **symbolic**" that language needs (2008: 15). The main argument of CG is the interrelation between semantics, phonology and syntax. According to Langacker, the "**Semantic structures** are conceptualizations exploited for linguistic purposes" (2008:15, the '**phonological structure'** includes sounds, gestures and orthographic representations, and **grammar** is a kind of **symbolic structure** which incorporates the other two structures. According to him, symbolic structures incorporate both the semantic pole and the phonological pole.

In his seminal work, *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*, Langacker assumes that linguistics structures are motivated by general cognitive processes. In formulating his theory, he refers to gestalt psychology and draws an analogy between linguistic structures and aspects of visual perception. Grammar is described as assemblies of symbolic structures (form-meaning pairings). He proposes the concept of construal. An expression's meaning depends not only on the conceptual content it evokes but also on the construal on that content. Broad classes of construal phenomena include specificity, focusing, prominence, and perspective. CG introduced the concept of construal to refer to the aspects focusing. It is "the **selection** of conceptual content for linguistic presentation, as well as its arrangement into what can broadly be described (metaphorically) as

foreground vs. **background**." (2008: 57). Focusing or foregrounding is a kind of prominence, or profiling in terms of Langacker. In CG, the primary focal participant is called the trajectory (tr). The secondary focal participant is called the landmark (lm). Langacker (2008) argues that

> The trajector and landmark of a profiled relationship are the participants accorded primary and secondary focal prominence. These two degrees of focal prominence are offered in CG as schematic characterizations of subject and object. A subject is a nominal expression that specifies the trajector of a profiled relationship. An object (when there is one) specifies the landmark. (2008: 378)

In the passive construction, the trajectory is the patient that is the person about whom the predication is being made. It is the only profiled participant. In all passive cases the formation of focusing on the patient is called thematization. In Langacker's terms, the passive provides a construal of choosing another participant than the doer as a starting-point for the message. While the active and the passive have the same content, their structures differ in either profiling the agent or the patient. Langacker (2008: 370-405) also differentiates between theme orientation and agent orientation. Either orientation can be the default orientation in a language. However, according to Langacker (2008: 373), every language makes at least some use of both alignments".

Cognitive Grammar considers grammatical constructions as cognitively-motivated features of language (Boas 2013: 239). According to Boas (2013: 244), "the existence of any construction in the grammar is thought to be by and large motivated by properties of human interaction and cognition, as many facets of grammatical form emerge from social interaction between speakers". Goldberg (2006: 5) also stresses that constructions are composed of pairings of form and meaning. In other words, "most general syntactic constructions have corresponding general rules of semantic interpretation" (Boas 2013: 234). CG discusses both construction-specific and more general constraints.

5. Voice as a cognitively motivated construction

Voice is a grammatical category which describes the relation between the subject and the action. Voice is defined as a verb form or syntactic construction which indicates the relation of the subject of the verb to the action which the verb expresses (Merriam-Webster, 1993). In passive voice sentences, the grammatical subject of the verb is not the agent but it is rather the patient or the recipient of that action. According to Lyons (1968: 376), the active signifies an 'action' whereas the passive signifies a 'state'.

Certain grammatical constructions are affirmed in one language and denied in another. Languages employ different sets of surface structures to indicate the same deep structures. Arabic, for example, does not favor passive constructions (Rosenhouse 1988: 92-93). Arabic is strongly agent-oriented and uses theme orientation to be a focus of attention and attract focal prominence.

> If either agent or theme orientation predominates in a language, there has to be some provision for those occasions when the speaker wishes not to focus the participant in question. The options made available are traditionally referred to as **voice**. In an agent-oriented system, the default alignment is called **active voice**; the alternative (with focused theme) is called **passive voice**. In a theme-oriented system, an **antipassive** construction provides an alternative to the default alignment (which has no standard term). (Langacker 2008: 382-383)

According to Halliday (1970: 161), the choice of the passive results from the speaker's viewing the grammatical subject as the theme of his sentence, thus giving it more prominence. Languages use different linguistic means to achieve this thematization of the patient. Tomlin and Caldwell-Harris (2015: 31-50) argue that Grammatical structures set up regions with different degrees of salience. They point out that a great deal of research is directed at how slaience corresponds to grammatical structures and roles.

> Agent and theme attract focal prominence because each has a kind of cognitive salience that sets it apart from other semantic roles in its experiential realm. Agents belong to the "active" realm—that of action, change, and force, of mobile creatures acting on the world…. On the other hand, themes belong to the "passive" realm of settings, locations, and stable situations, where objects with particular properties are arranged in certain ways" (Langacker 2008: 370)

Langacker (2008) discusses the use of passive and theme orientation in language. They denote cognitive salience in language use.

> If either agent or theme orientation predominates in a language, there has to be some provision for those occasions when the speaker wishes not to focus the participant in question. The options made available are traditionally referred to as voice. In an agent–oriented system, the default alignment is called active voice; the alternative (with focused theme) is called passive voice. (Langacker 2008: 383)

According to Langacker (2008: 384), the function of a passive is "that of **defocusing** an agent…. The agent's identity may be unknown,

irrelevant, or best concealed…." Defocusing means implicit. Yap and Iwasaki (2003: 427) stress that in passive construction "there is lack of volition or willingness on the part of the subject". There are different kinds of passive constructions. Commonly, passives are formed through verbal derivation. The default function served by a passive is that of **defocusing** an agent. Therefore, the passive is a cognitively-motivated construction. Therefore, the passive deserves to be examined as cognitively-motivated.

6. The active and the passive in Arabic

Wright (1975) argues that all verbs in Arabic "have two voices, the *active* and the *passive*" (1975: 49). As for the passive structure, Arabic uses apophonic vowel changes derive a passive verb from an active or affixation of certain morphemes (such as the prefix *in-*). Thus, for example, the verb *kasara* 'to break' can be *kusira* or *in-kasara*. Let us consider the following examples of Arabic active and passive verbs:

كسر زيد الباب (1)

kasara zaidun al-baab-a

broke-PERF-ACT   Zaid-NOM   DEF-door-ACC

"Zaid broke the door"

فتح زيد الباب (2)

fataHa zaidun al-baab-a

opened-PERF-ACT   Zaid-NOM   DEF-door-ACC

"Zaid opened the door"

كتب زيد الكتاب (3)

kataba zaidun al-kitaab-a

wrote-PERF-ACT   Zaid-NOM   DEF-book-ACC

"Zaid wrote the book"

كسر الباب (4)

kusira al-baabu

broken-PERF-PASS   DEF-door-NOM

"The door was broken"

فتح الباب (5)

futiHa al-baabu

opened-PERF-PASS   DEF-door-NOM

"The door was opened"

كتب الكتاب (6)

kutiba al-kitaab-u

written-PERF-PASS   DEF-book-NOM

"The book was written"

In the previous examples there are two inherent roles: the affected participant, and the agent of the action, though the latter is not overtly mentioned. Other verbs are active in form but passive in meaning. They

exhibit one overt participant role. They refer to events that took place on something without giving any role to the agent. Such verbs are called pseudo-intransitive verbs. Ryding (2005: 657) refers to them as derivational passive verbs. They have the verb forms V, VII, and VIII. Consider the following examples:

(7) تمزق الورق

    tamazzaqa al-waraqu

    toren-PERF-ACT   DEF-papers-NOM

    The papers tore

(8) انكشف السر

    ?inkašafa al-sirr-u

    disclosed-PERF-ACT   DEF-secret- NOM

    The secret was disclosed

(9) انصب الماء

    ?inSabba al-maa?u

    poured-PERF-ACT   DEF-water-NOM

    The water was poured

Let us move to the usage of the passive, i.e. when the passive is used in Arabic. Wright (1975: 50) summarizes the situations when the passive is used in Arabic;

1- When God, or some higher being, is the doer of the action;
2- When the doer is not known;
3- When the speaker does not wish to mention the doer
4- When the attention is directed to the patient not the agent

Cognitive Grammar goes beyond the formal properties to justify the occurrence and usage of this construction. Traditionally, the passive is used when the author is unknown. Rhetorically, it is used to thematize the patient. Most Arabic verbs may be inherently bear a feature [+-active] when coming from the lexicon.

This study attempts to reintroduce the usage of the passive in Arabic in terms of cognitive grammar. It argues that there are four profiles of the passive Arabic verbs.

1- Default profile; it is construed as the agent is unknown
2- Theological profile; it is construed as God is the agent
3- Intransitive meaning profile
4- Focused profile; the patient is saliently invoked

The first profile is the agentless passive which means that the speaker does not know who the agent is. Here emerge the concepts of the archetype which is discussed by CG. The archetype pertains to what we apprehend as the default arrangement or the ideal structure. The agent-verb relationship represents the basic conceptual archetype or the "canonical event model". The passive form is an instance of such canonical models which serve as

their prototype. The agent-patient relationship is archetypical with the patient as the trajectory and the agent is the landmark.

Admittedly, the passive is a structure that profiles the relationship between the agent and the verb. The second profile or the theological profile is related to God. Let us take the passive Arabic verb توفى "tuwufia". What is the meaning of the passive form in the sentence "tuwufia al-rajulu"? How does it contrast with the active verb "tawafa"?

(10) توفى الرجل
 tuwufia al-rajulu
 Died-PERF-PASS   DEF-man-NOM
 The man died

(11) توفاه الله
 tawafa-hu allahu
 Died-PERF-ACT him-ACC DEF-God-NOM
 The man died

Since there is no difference in the semantic content between (10) and (11), the contrast must be therefore in the construal. Describing this verb as merely either active or passive would be insufficient, for it has to be described as a salient profile. The passive verb is saliently invoking conceived a theological profile. As explained above, linguistic meaning includes conceptual content and the construal which is the interpretation of meaning. The construal is how individuals perceive and comprehend linguistic meaning. It includes specificity, focusing and prominence. Another example of the theological profile can be seen in the verb استشهد 'ustišhida'.

(12) استشهد الرجل
 ustišhida al-rajulu
 Be martyred-PERF-PASS DEF-man-NOM
 The man was martyred

The theological profile can also be seen in the imperfective passive verb يوجد "yujadu". It denotes existential iconicity. An analysis of these verbs shows that they are cognitively-motivated by the fact that God is the agent and the focus is on the patient. Existential constructions refer to sentences that assert or deny the existence of something. English, for example, uses the unstressed, non-deictic 'there'. It indicates that the profiled relationship is related to God. Consider the following sentences:

(13) يوجد رجل فى المزرعة
 yujadu rajulun fi al-mazraʕa
 exist-IMPERF-PASS   INDEF-man-NOM in-PREP
DEF-farm-GEN
 There is a man in the farm

(14) يوجد الله ما يشاء
 yujidu Allahu ma-yašaaʔu

            exist-IMPERF-ACT   God-NOM   what-RELATIVE

            He wills

            God creates what He wills

(15)   وجد الكتاب

            wujida al-kitabu

            found-PERF-PASS   DEF-book-NOM

            "The book was found"

Sentence (14) presupposes information in (13). Presupposition can be seen as implications which are construed in the background and which are assumed to be already known to language users. Consider to what extent this profiled relationship, i.e. between the agent and the verb is universal and may be applied in other languages. The verb "exist" in English has the same profile but in the active form. It cannot occur in the passive form since it is a transitive verb. It is used as synonymous with the passive "to be created". Arabic categorization schemes are not arbitrary. It is not based on fuzzy logic. The agentless verb "yujadu" which refers to the fact that God is the agent only occurs in the imperfective passive form. If it occurs in the perfective passive form as in (9c), it refers to an anonymous agent.

The third profile, i.e. Intransitive meaning profile can be seen in the deponent Arabic verbs. Deponent verbs are defined as "PASSIVE in most of their FORMS, but ACTIVE in meaning" (Crystal: 2008). A deponent verb is "a verb which exhibit exclusively passive morphology but which functions as an active verb… A label occasionally used to denote any class of verbs in some language whose morphology is at odds with their syntactic behaviour" (Trask 1992: 78). Deponency is a mismatch between form and function. Given that there is a formal morphological opposition between active and passive that is the normal realization of the corresponding functional opposition, deponents are a lexically specified set of verbs whose passive forms function as actives. The normal function is no longer available (Baerman 2007). Consider the following Arabic perfective verbs which occur in the passive:

(16)   دهش الرجل

            duhiša al-rajulu

            Be astonished-PERF-PASS   DEF-man-NOM

            The man was astonished

(17)   عنى راديو القاهرة بالأزمة

            ʕuniya radyu al-Qaahirati bil-ʔazmati

            Be interested-PERF-PASS   radio-NOM   Cairo-GEN   with

DEF-crisis-GEN

            Cairo Radio focused on the crisis

(18)   هرعت سيارات الإسعاف

            huriʕat sayaraat-u al-iʔsʕaaf

hurried-PERF-PASS   up   ambulances-MOM
Ambulances hurried up

These passive verbs are said to be deponent verbs. There are so few languages with deponency. The fact is that it is strongly related to an independent factor of the syntax of the language, namely the question of whether passive voice is expressed in an analytic or in a synthetic construction. In Latin, a passive verb is (usually) synthetic whereas in all of its derivative languages it is analytic. A passive construction that is formed analytically throughout the whole language is incompatible with the concept of deponent verbs.

According to Hassan (1975: 108), the morphology of deponent verbs is always identical to the morphology of regular verbs in passive voice. Semantically they are active. However, their morphological structure does not correspond to semantics. The semantics of deponent verbs is exactly the same as with 'normal' transitive verbs in active voice. Deponent verbs have subjects and hence cannot be passivized. Syntactically, deponent verbs behave consistently. With regard to case assignment, agreement, number of possible arguments, etc., they behave like active transitive verbs. All deponent verbs have identical surface structures. An analysis of these verbs would reveal deep-structure differences. The NPs in the subject positions fulfill different semantic roles. It is worth noting that all grammatical subjects are agents whether human or non-human. The grammatical subjects in these verbs are not the semantic patient but rather the agent.

The fourth profile, i.e. the focused profile can be seen in the location of the theme. In English the passive is used as a rigid transformational system to lay focus on the theme. Arabic follows another transformational system as it has flexible word order. Notice the position of the patient in the following word order:

(19)   الكتاب وجده زيد

al-kitaabu wajadahu Zaidun
DEF-book-NOM   found-PERF-ACT   Zaid-NOM
The book, Zaid found it

Here Arabic utilizes word order to defocus the agent. This sentence is different from the default passive. It is viewed as topic-comment structure. Here the patient (al-kitaabu) is saliently invoked. To sum up, the passive voice in Arabic can be reintroduced within Cognitive Grammar. In addition to the conceptual concept, the construal of focusing and prominence can be considered.

7. Conclusion

The conceptual characterizations for passive construction provide a symbolic account of grammar. According to this study, GC is able to exploit the passive to obtain a deeper understanding of cognitive structure of language. Agent-verb relationships are understood in terms of an image schema. In fact, the concept of construal in CG refers to iconicity. Iconicity entails that different grammatical structures mean different construals. For example, agent iconicity indicates agent versus agentless constructions.

CG characterizations reveal the limitations of grammar that views constructions as disjoint categories. For example, the deponent verbs in Arabic have passive form and active meaning, and quasi-intransitive verbs have active form and passive meaning. The CG account of the passive meets the requirement of grammar as symbolic structure. An additional point in favor of CG description is that it lets us make sense of the Arabic passive construction. The passive choice has been taken for long time as unprincipled. It is based on logic and cognitive construals. In sum, the CG characterizations prove significant in revealing motives beyond the use of passive in Arabic. Passive constructions have related epistemic values; they saliently invoke the ground. CG views the process of the passive by assigning relative prominence to its structure. The study concludes that Cognitive Grammar can be utilized to analyze grammatical constructions.

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Abbreviation

PERF   **perfect**
IMPERF   **imperfect**
ACT   **active**
PASS   **passive**
NOM   **nominative**
ACC   **accusative**
GEN   **genitive**
DEF   **definite**
INDEF **indefinite**

Appendix: Transcription Conventions
In transcribing the examples, the study uses the following symbols:
Consonants

Arabic	symbol
ب	/b/ voiced bilabial stop
ت	/t/ voiceless dental stop
ث	/θ/ voiceless interdental fricative
ج	/j/ voiced alveo-palatal affricate
ح	/H/ voiceless pharyngeal fricative
خ	/x/ voiceless uvular fricative
د	/d/ voiced dental stop
ذ	/ð/ voiced interdental fricative
ر	/r/ alveolar trill
ز	/z/ voiced dento-alveolar fricative
س	/s/ voiceless dento-alveolar fricative
ش	/š/ voiceless alveo-palatal fricative
ص	/S/ voiceless dento-alveolar emphatic fricative

ض	/D/	voiced dento-alveolar emphatic stop
ط	/T/	voiceless dento-alveolar emphatic stop
ظ	/Z/	voiced dental emphatic fricative
ع	/ʕ/	voiced pharyngeal fricative
غ	/ɣ /	voiced uvular fricative
ف	/f/	voiceless labio-dental fricative
ق	/q/	voiceless uvular stop
ك	/k/	voiceless velar stop
ل	/l/	voiced alveolar lateral
م	/m/	voiced bilabial nasal
ن	/n/	voiced alveolar nasal
ه	/h/	voiceless glottal fricative
ء	/ʔ/	voiced glottal stop
و	/w/	voiced bilabial approximant
ى	/y/	voiced palatal approximant

Vowels:

/i/   high front.   /ii/ its long counterpart
/u/   high back   /uu/ its long counterpart
/a/   low central   /aa/ its long counterpart

Sanskrit Mantras as a Medium Between the Human and The Divine

Agita Baltgalve

Director of the Center of Indian Studies and Culture
Associate Professor of the University of Latvia

Abstract

In India and Tibet, like in many ancient cultures, literary and religious heritage was usually handed down in oral form. This is one of the main reasons, why sound and word were attached a great importance. The repetition of the sacred phrases – *mantras* grew to play a crucial role both in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. Mantras represent one of the oldest religious meditation forms, and they function as a medium leading the human mind to the divine truth. These sacred phrases, originating from Indian Vedic culture, were later inherited in Tibet Tantric Buddhism, where they were related to definite deities.

Aryans who came from the North of India, present-day Iranian regions considered themselves as divine people and justified their superiority on the bases of their euphonic and grammatically complex ritual language – *Sanskrit*. It was juxtaposed to the common speech – Dravidian dialects of Central India. Aryans excelled their culture, calling local people *barbarians* who in their opinion had no access to the highest truth, because they could not use the medium of the divine speech.

Tibetan Buddhists inherited the ritual reciting practice of definite Sanskrit syllables and also distinguished them from all other words. Mantras were seen as a medium to combine micro-cosmos of humans with the all-embracing and divine macro-cosmos, for they did not concern with the conventional reality and did not differentiate between subject and object. They referred to the absolute value of things, transcending relativity and dualism.

The author approaches the research subject from two different aspects: firstly, there is a historical overview of the development of Sanskrit alphabet and phonemes and, secondly, an explanation of symbolical and sacred meaning from a philosophical and religious point of view. The article consists of three parts – the first one traces back origins, the second one explains the practice and the third one gives examples of definite phrases.

Keywords: Religion, Language History, Phonetics, Sanskrit, India, Tibet.

Divine origins of phonemes and letters

Words reveal human thoughts and the spiritual world of men. Therefore the role of sound, speech and language is emphasized in many cultures, but holy words and phrases in the form of prayers play central role in many religions and religious teachings. It is believed that the world arose from the sound. The Bible states that „*In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.*" (John 1: 1). In ancient India the word was called the Mother of Gods.[1] Looking at the cultural and spiritual history of mankind, one can conclude that men began to express and identify themselves through folk songs, epic chants, incantations, and oracle spells consisting of strings of sounds and holy words. Sounds and words are often associated with the divine essence, with the manifestation of the eternal truth in the human world. However, each religion tends to see and to explain the divine in a different way. In Indian and Tibetan religious cultures one of the most popular methods to cognize and express the divine truth is the repetition of mantras.

Mantras represent one of the oldest forms of the meditation, and they emerged in the early Indian Vedic culture several thousand years before the Common Era. At that time word and language dominated as basic elements of the religious practice, and mantras were believed to preserve the anteriority of the sacred speech, even to be pre-linguistic and precede the speech, pointing backwards to the source of language, which was said to be the source of all creation[2]. People stemming from regions of present-day North India and Iran called themselves *Āryans*[3] and based their superiority on a special ritual language – *Sanskrit*[4.] Āryans cultivated a very specific, literary refined and grammatically sophisticated language in contrast to Dravidian dialects used in Central India.[5]

Due to this elitist language and specific rituals they defined themselves as members of higher castes and opposed their cultural zone to that of local residents by calling the latter *barbarians* (Skrt. mlecchas).[6] They believed that through this beautified and purified language, specific literary

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1 **Padoux, André.** Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras. Delhi, 1992, p.x.
2 **Wheelock, Wade T.** *Mantra in Vedic and Tantric Ritual.* In: Harvey, Alper (ed.) Understanding mantras. Albany, State Univ. of New York Press, 1989, p.120.
3 In Sanskrit: excellent, wise, worthy, noble, respectable and faithful men.
4 *Samskrita*: put together, completely formed, perfected, purified, sanctified.
5 **Padoux, André.** Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras. Delhi, 1992, p.xv.
6 **Cardona, George.** *On Attitudes towards Language in Ancient India.* In: Mair, Victor H. (ed.) Sino-Platonic Papers. Nr.15, 1990, p.1, 5.

and grammatical forms they could gain access to the highest truth. Those people who performed rituals using this specific language were said to enjoy the grace and mercy of gods and to become sages. But according to the opinion of Āryans, ordinary people who spoke only Indian colloquial dialects could not contact gods and could not disclose the divine truth.[7]

For a long time Indian religious teachings along with their rituals and sacred words were handed down in oral form. This is also one of reasons why orally uttered words and phrases gained a sacred value and played a decisive role in Hinduism and Buddhism. Only much later Sanskrit was written down in so-called *Devanāgarī* script that can be translated as *divine city writing*. Indian Vedic literature was characterized by two key elements: *shruti* (that what is heard) and *smriti* (that what is remembered). The first term characterized main Vedas, for it is believed that they were created by wise men who could perceive the absolute truth. The second term referred to writings by different authors who had no divine experience. Mantras' syllables were also considered to be divine words revealed by wise men who could hear the speech of gods. [8]

In Indian tradition sound, language and music are clearly associated with the female procreation principle, which was one of central religious topics since Rig-Vedic period. In the „Brāhmana of a hundred ways" from the White Yajur-Veda there is a legend about the language as a girl who first belonged to demons. But then sages kidnapped the girl and demons ultimately lost their power because of the loss of the language, they were left with only the ordinary local dialects.[9] The Sanskrit word *vāk* can be translated as *speech, word, language, tone of voice* and its gender is feminine. In Rig-Veda *vāk* often refers to the divine power. Elsewhere it is correlated with Goddess Sarasvatī who is considered to be either the consort of creator God Brahma or his speech. She has many functions and manifestations, also being the goddess of literary eloquence and learning, as well as the guardian of art and music who leads people to the divine revelation.[10] Later in Tibetan language, sacred culture artifacts and sacred nature sites were added feminine suffixes ***-ma*** or ***-mo***.

In Shaivism and Shaktism there is goddess Shakti – Shiva's consort who also plays a special role related to mantras. She is believed to manifest as a sound of the transcendental power and therefore associated with sounds

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7 **Ibid,** p.7, 12.

8 **Huchzermeyer, Wilfried.** Die heiligen Schriften Indiens: Geschichte der Sanskrit-Literatur. Karlsruhe, Sawitri, 2005, pp.63-64.

9 **Cardona, George.** *On Attitudes towards Language in Ancient India.* In: Mair, Victor H. (ed.) Sino-Platonic Papers. Nr.15, 1990, p.4.

10 **Padoux, André.** Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras. Delhi, 1992, p.7.

of mantras. One of manifestation forms of Shakti is called *Kundalinī* (the Curled One) referring to the indwelling spiritual energy that can be awakened in order to bestow the divine union upon seekers of truth. According to Yoga-Upanishads Kundalinī is lying coiled at the base of the human spine, represented either as a goddess or as a sleeping serpent waiting to be awaked. This is a dynamic spatial power innate to each person. Usually it is stationary at rest and works as a latent psychic energy potential. But upon joining with Shiva the energy of Shakti is waked and gradually climbs upward the human body and central energetic points – cakras, until the top of the head. By the time she reaches the highest point, the man is liberated from limitation of space and time and conjoins all unconscious energies of six cakras in himself, finally merging with the light source and the absolute truth.[11]

When Kundalinī awakes and gradually twines up to the neck and tongue, the activity of her divine energy is believed to produce the sound. The sequence of phonemes in Indian Devanagārī and later also Tibetan alphabet reflects this idea. Letters are ordered according to the formation place of sounds in the human larynx, i.e. from inside to outside and from bottom to top:[12]

Consonants: *guttural* ka, kha, ga, gha, ṅa
palatal ca, cha, ja, cha, ña
lingual ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa
dental ta, tha, da, dha, na
labial pa, pha, ba, bha, ma
Semivowels: *palatal* ya, *lingual* ra, *dental* la, *labial* va

It is believed that exactly this sequence of letters reflect order and harmony of the universe, in meantime generating mental energy in the world of sounds. For this reason Indians attribute the creation of the alphabet to gods and not to humans.[13]

Sanskrit phonemes are called *mātrikā* (little mothers or mother goddesses) and this name refers to a group of seven or eight goddesses of Hinduism. According to Krishna Aryan seven mother goddesses[14] correspond to seven consonant groups; when the vocalic (A) group is added,

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11 **Mookerjee, Ajit; Khanna, Madhu.** Die Welt des Tantra in Bild und Deutung. München, Barth, 1987, pp.124-126.
12 **Whitney, William Dwight.** Sanskrit Grammar: Including Both, the Classical Language and the Older Dialects of Veda and Brāhmaṇa. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1993, pp.2-3; **Huchzermeyer, Wilfried** (Hrsg.) Erlebnis: Sanskrit-Sprache: Mantra-Yoga-Linguistik. Karlsruhe, Sawitri, 2005, p.8.
13 **Stecher, Christine**. Mantras: Die Sprache der Götter. Darmstadt, Schirner, 2007, p.94.
14 Sanskrit: saptamātrikās.

the eight mother goddesses[15] come forth.[16] Fifty letters of Devanagārī alphabet are associated with fifty mātrikās. They represent the subtle form of letters, therefore people believe that they are infused with the power of gods. Letters make up syllables; syllables are combined in sentences. These are also the basic elements of mantras.[17] Thus the power of mantras derives from the fact that letters of the alphabet are forms of goddess.[18]

Both Devanāgarī and Tibetan alphabets are syllabic, and each consonant is automatically followed by the vowel A. Other vowels have to be added extra. Vowel sound A is considered to be the most important one, and it is also a separate letter of the alphabet. The shape of this grapheme can be interpreted as a movement of Kundalinī snake curled up in the form of joining with Shiva. It is believed that after her merging with Shiva other forms of letters and syllables appear.[19]

Tantric feminine and masculine aspect can be implied for all 50 Devanāgarī letters as a whole. Vowels are listed first, and they are associated with the masculine energy. They are followed by consonants, which are related to the feminine energy.[20] In Buddhist „Kālacakra-Tantra" it is mentioned that vowels correspond to five Buddha-families as well as five basic elements (space, wind, fire, water and earth). They play a distinctive role in the calculation of time periods, as well as in astrological forecasts.[21]

In Hindu Tantrism each letter of the alphabet has its own symbolism. The group of consonants from TA to NA are associated with willpower, the group from PA to MA – with insight, the sibilant SA symbolizes the highest bliss of meditation, but semivowels YA, RA, VA and LA create illusion (Skrt. māyā) and cover up the true human nature with mundane affections and worldly knowledge.[22]

However, the most important is the symbolic meaning of the special letters *anusvāra*, *anunāsika* and *visarga*, they are associated with the highest divine power. It is said that only due to them all other sounds can appear. The grapheme of anusvāra is a point, that of anunāsika is a point above a curved line, that of visarga – two points one above each other. These signs

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15 Sanskrit: ashtamātrikās.

16 **Aryan, Krishna C.** The Little Goddesses (Matrikas). New Delhi, Rekha Prakashan, 1980, p.9.

17 **Aryan, Krishna C.** The Little Goddesses (Matrikas). New Delhi, Rekha Prakashan, 1980, pp.24-28.

18 **Woodroffe, John.** The Garland of Letters. Madras, Ganesh & Co, 2001, p.103.

19 **Padoux, André.** Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras. Delhi, 1992, p.127, 242.

20 **Ibid,** p.154, 293.

21 **Berzin, Alexander.** Kalacakra: Das Rad der Zeit. New York, Barth, 2002, p.63.

22 **Padoux, André.** Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras. Delhi, 1992, pp.296-309.

usually stand at the end of phrases and their fading sound symbolizes silence – the sound potential of the absolute quintessence. Anusvāra and anunāsika are nasal sounds, but visarga – a pharyngolaryngeal sound. Visarga sounds like HA and is associated with the breath (Skrt. prāna) and the wind (Skrt. vāyu). In mantras anunāsika is particularly important, for it consists of a growing crescent line and its M sound expresses a kind of vibration. It is used to write the mantra OM.[23] Anunāsika point is associated with a drop, the first mundane sound OM came out of it, and consequently the whole universe.[24]

In tantric practices each cakra corresponds to one vowel and one mantra. During the meditation these letters are usually visualized standing upright on lotus petals. For example, the root cakra below the spine corresponds to letter U that indicates the unification of the lowest with the highest. The cakra of solar plexus is associated with the letter O – solemnity; the heart cakra and letter A represent the unity of the universe. On the neck there is E – joy and happiness, but letter I is located on the forehead as a symbol of focusing and determination.[25] In different texts and religious denominations the symbolic of letters and syllables as well as their compliance with cakras may vary. Indian Vedic researcher Sri Aurobindo interprets Devanāgarī letters as follows:[26]

- A – absolute existence;
- U – progressing existence;
- BA – relative existence;
- KA – skills, creation, activity;
- CHA – rapid action, swiftness;
- MA – limits, extreme, conclusion;
- YA – connections, relations;
- LA – love, loveliness;
- RA – vibration, playfulness;
- VA – apparent existence;
- SHA – tightness of the union;
- SA – peace of the union;
- HA – power, strength.

Letters of the alphabet contain potential interactions of all sounds and all sounds. Syllables and words arise from them, hence the origin of all

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23 **Ibid,** pp.272-286.
24 **Stecher, Christine**. Mantras: Die Sprache der Götter. Darmstadt, Schirner, 2007, p.32.
25 **Ibid,** p 43, 44, 229.
26 **Huchzermeyer, Wilfried** (Hrsg.) Erlebnis: Sanskrit-Sprache: Mantra-Yoga-Linguistik. Karlsruhe, Sawitri, 2005, pp.118-119.

mantras and sacred texts ir to be found here, too. In India there is a well known goddess Mālinī who is adorned with a letter thread (Skrt. mālā) and who personifies letter combinations into syllables and mantras.[27] The symbolism of Devanāgarī alphabet and letters is further extended to mantras which possess also a special ritual and religious value.

Meaning and practice of mantras

In Vedas the word „mantra" usually designates one or more poetic stanzas.[28] However, they differ from ordinary words because they are not *„products of discursive thought, human wisdom or poetic phantasy, but flash-lights of the eternal truth, seen by those eminent men who have come into a super-sensuous contact with the Unseen"*[29] Their value is determined by their bless, energy and application in practice. For example, if a ritual is accomplished without recitation of sacred syllables, if painting is painted without prayers, it is like a good work carried out unconsciously, without beneficial thoughts for others. It results in mere automatic karma. On the other hand, if rituals or other activities are accompanied by holy words and mantras, cognizing their positive and divine influence, the practitioner achieves bliss and spiritual happiness.[30]

In Hindu Tantrism and also Shaivism there is a six-fold cycle (Skrt. sadadhvan), which includes three levels associated with sounds (phonemes, words and mantras) and three levels associated with objects (abilities, principles and places of mundane existence). The level of phonemes is the finest one, but the worldly existence – the harshest one. Mantras are classified as the second finest level after 50 alphabet phonemes.[31]

Tibetan Tantric Buddhism has two kinds of practice: 1) the cause vehicle which is explicated in Mahāyāna scriptures – Sūtras and 2) the effect vehicle which refers to Vajrayāna texts – Tantras. Mantras are an integral part of the latter, so the designations *Tantrayāna* (wheel of tantras) and *Mantrayāna* (wheel of mantras) are often used as synonyms. Sometimes they are even merged together and called *Mantra-Tantra* (in Tibetan: sngags-rgyud).[32]

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27 **Padoux, André.** Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras. Delhi, 1992, p.320.
28 **Ibid,** pp.377-378.
29 **Gonda, Jan.** *The Indian Mantra.* In: Oriens., Vol.16, Dec.31, 963, pp. 244-297, p.247.
30 **Cardona, George.** *On Attitudes towards Language in Ancient India.* In: Mair, Victor H. (ed.) Sino-Platonic Papers. Nr.15, 1990, pp.11-12.
31 **Padoux, André.** Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras. Delhi, 1992, from p.220.
32 **Hopkins, Jeffrey** (Hrsg.). Tantra in Tibet. Das Geheime Mantra des Tsong-ka-pa, eingeleitet vom 14.Dalai Lama. München, Diederichs, 1999, p.100.

In Tibetan Buddhist ethics there are three kinds of vows: 1) the personal liberation or pratimoksha vow, 2) the vow of enlightened beings or bodhisattvas and 3) the vow of the knowledge holder or tantric vow. The first refers to the moral code of Theravāda monks and leads an individual to his own perfection. The second is related to Bodhisattvas who have potential to become Buddhas, yet out of mercy and love for others, they do not renounce the worldly life, but remain to save all living beings. The third vow is also called „the mysterious way of mantra", here the spontaneous energy created through the ritual and meditation practice awakens the divine nature of men that is normally abiding in subconscious and neutral state.[33] However, the recitation of mantras is usually more practiced on the preliminary level or so called „generation stage" (Tib. bskjed-rim), when practitioners focus on the visualization of deities via shapes, sounds and thoughts of the conventional reality.[34]

Etymologically there are two most common explanations of the Sanskrit word *mantra*. The first syllable *man* is translated as „mind" (Skrt. manas). The second syllable *tra* in Vedic scriptures is explained as a suffix of the main word denoting *tool* or *object*. Thus, taken together with the first syllable it means „tool or object of the mind".[35] In Buddhism a more common derivative of the syllable *trai* is „to save" or „to guard".[36] In the translation to Tibetan language we also find this latter meaning – „guardian of the mind" (Tib.yid-skyob).[37] It means that mantras protect human mind from all forms of negative spiritual influences, such as evil thoughts, fear, greed, envy, passions etc. Tantric Buddhism associates the second syllable also with the divine compassion which saves sentient beings from the cycle of rebirth.[38]

According to the traditional view there are around 70 million mantras in India, each of them has its own special meaning and usage. The oldest mantras come from the Rig-Vedic times, that is at least 1500 years B.C. French indologist André Padoux defines the mantra as a transcendental form of energy, that is pronounced by living beings. According to him mantras are

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33 **Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Thaye.** Buddhist Ethics. Ithaka/NY, Snow Lion Publications, 1998, p.23.
34 **Coleman, Graham** (ed.) A Handbook of Tibetan Culture. London, Rider, 1993, p.316.
35 **Mittwede, Martin.** Spirituelles Wörterbuch: Sanskrit-Deutsch. Heidelberg, Sathya Sai Vereinigung, 2007, p.144.
36 **Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Thaye.** Buddhist Ethics. Ithaka/NY, Snow Lion Publications, 1998, p.17.
37 **Coleman, Graham** (ed.) A Handbook of Tibetan Culture. London, Rider, 1993, p.343.
38 **Hopkins, Jeffrey** (Hrsg.). Tantra in Tibet. Das Geheime Mantra des Tsong-ka-pa, eingeleitet vom 14.Dalai Lama. München, Diederichs, 1999, p.101.

sacred phonemes that connect discriminatory thoughts with the pure conscience.[39]

It is possible to conclude that mantra syllables possess dual nature: on one hand they are transcendental, on the other – empirical. Thanks to this characteristic mantras with their innate provide men with the opportunity to join themselves with the macro-cosmic whole, although their human thoughts come from the relative and changing mundane reality. For this reason mantras are often sung in a group, where they create a particularly intense awareness of the unification. Unlike words they do not refer to the conventional reality and are not bound to objects or subjects. They do not differentiate things, but rather denote to the absolute value of phenomena. They serve as a string unifying the mundane micro-cosmos of common people with the divine macro-cosmos that includes everything.

Words and syllables of the mundane language describe things and phenomena, pointing to their role and functions, but mantras affect the human mind intuitively and spontaneously, they embody vibrations of the consciousness and movements of the breath energy. Through their effective implementation the human mind is able to experience much deeper knowledge and wisdom than the one that can be described in ordinary words.[40] Thanks to this transcendental activity mantras release the human spirit from limits of the relativity, from constraints of words and material things. Consequently they offer a way to free oneself from hatred, anger, greed and misperceptions that lead people to mutual misunderstandings and conflicts.

Mantras usually have a religious function and they become active through specific ritual practices. Exactly these religious practices define the fundamental values of mantras, and their resulting influence on the human mind may vary according to the extent of practical application. Mantras do not have much effect, if they are recited only with tongue and lips, they must be recited with a focused and devoted mind.

Mantras play an important role in worshipping gods and divine beings that are usually perceived by people as being different from themselves, located somewhere outside or beyond the human world. Mantras enable men to tear down this mental barrier, showing that everybody has an innate form of the absolute existence and can merge with the divine. Indians believed that in Vedic times there were wise men who had ability to see gods, so they were called *seers* (Skrt. rishi). The form can also manifest in sounds, therefore it was said that seers, thanks to their mental visions and

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39 **Padoux, André.** Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras. Delhi, 1992, p.376.
40 **Staal, Frits**. *Vedic Mantras*. In: Harvey, Alper (ed.) Understanding mantras. Albany, State Univ. of New York Press, 1989, pp.69-70.

spiritual skills, could percept the sonic body of gods and could show it to people via mantras.[41]

As already stated above practitioners often invoke a deity through sound vibrations of mantra, besides they also obtain pride and courage to equalize themselves with the deity and join up with it.[42] In turn, the deity guarantees a person shelter and security, helping to remove certain negative defilements, to obtain positive thoughts and correct behavior.[43] In Tantric Buddhism mantras most often are associated with a particular Buddha or Bodhisattva. Since each Buddha and Bodhisattva have their own specified field of action, it is necessary to realize it when reciting mantras. If the repetition of mantras is performed without this background knowledge, the efficiency and the depth of revelation will decrease.[44]

In ancient Vedic religious practices the knowledge was handed down in oral form, that is, directly from the teacher to the student. Therefore in order to activate vibration and energy of a mantra, it was necessary to receive it directly from the master (Skrt. guru) in oral form with accompanying explanations and initiations. Only in this way disciples could acquire bliss and power of the whole lineage of spiritual masters.[45]

In Hindu Tantrism there are several kinds of rituals where a teacher bestows students with his blessing and energy. One of these rituals is called *māntrī* and during this ritual the teacher gives every practitioner a certain mantra for daily recitation. A good master knows the spiritual advancement level of his followers, he also knows shortcomings of their characters and is able to choose an appropriate mantra for each of them.[46] An auspicious day and hour according to the lunar calendar is selected for this ritual, in some cases, person's birth date and place are considered, as well. The master chooses a specific deity which corresponds to abilities and spiritual needs of the disciple. After the ceremony where the teacher has also recited mantra and prayers to his own protective deity, he discloses the chosen mantra to his student in utmost secrecy.[47]

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41 **Pandit, M.P.** *Mantra Yoga.* In: Huchzemeyer, Wilfried (Hrsg.) Erlebnis: Sanskrit-Sprache. Karlsruhe, Sawitri, 2005, p.55.
42 **Hopkins, Jeffrey** (Hrsg.). Tantra in Tibet. Das Geheime Mantra des Tsong-ka-pa, eingeleitet vom 14.Dalai Lama. München, Diederichs, 1999, p.43.
43 **Lama Dagsay Tulku.** Tibetische Mantras. Freiburg i.Br., Bauer, 2002, p.50.
44 **Pandit, M.P.** *Mantra Yoga.* In: Huchzemeyer, Wilfried (Hrsg.) Erlebnis: Sanskrit-Sprache. Karlsruhe, Sawitri, 2005, p.58.
45 **Ibid,** p.63.
46 **Huchzermeyer, Wilfried.** Die heiligen Schriften Indiens: Geschichte der Sanskrit-Literatur. Karlsruhe, Sawitri, 2005, p.65.
47 **Mookerjee, Ajit; Khanna, Madhu.** Die Welt des Tantra in Bild und Deutung. München, Barth, 1987, p.166.

Further implementation and effecting intensity of the mantra depend on the practitioner's own effort. Mantras never function automatically by themselves, so faith, zeal and consciousness of the practitioner play key role in all cases. The task of the student is to follow teacher's instructions as close as possible and to unify his or her consciousness with the given syllables. Thus gradually it is possible to equalize oneself with the deity of the mantra. Because of these diverse and complex rituals Hindu and Buddhist Tantric practice keep mantras in secret, they can be „awakened" only through the initiation and teaching of masters. It is believed that mantras can lose their efficacy when heard by others or even when put down in written form.[48]

Indians believe that the pronunciation of mantra syllables is closely related with the breath, that they also control and harmonize breathing, affecting both mental and physical body. There is even an assumption that the breath itself is the first and basic mantra. Mantra sounds cause a kind of vibration in energy centers (cakras) of the human body, and in this way they also create a certain effect upon the physical body.[49] Some teachers recommend to do the practice of reciting mantra three times a day – at sunrise, at noon and at sunset, for these are the phases where due to the change of the solar trajectory the cosmic energy is the strongest.[50]

In order to intensify the divine power, mantras must be repeated innumerable times. Tibetan Buddhists may repeat one mantra four thousand, hundred thousand or even million times, and only then its divine influence unfolds entirely. This long-term practice also help to develop concentration, patience and faith, so that these qualities become an inseparable part mantra recitation practice, in meantime playing a crucial role in the spiritual development. Mantras deliberate recitation must grow into a natural process of everyday life, then the human mind merges with the sound and becomes the sound itself. Only in this way one can equal oneself with the deity of the mantra and surpass the conventional reality.[51]

Tibetans use prayer beads (Skrt.mālā, Tib.phreng-ba) consisting of 108 pellets to fix the number of syllables repeated. 108 is a symbolic number, where 1 means the unifying power of the divine, 0 – the absolute perfection, but 8 – the infinity and perpetual changes.[52] Besides there is also one bigger pellet which points out beginning and end of the beads, it symbolizes mount Meru – the center of the universe and the seat of gods.

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48 **Padoux, André.** Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras. Delhi, 1992, p.4, 388, pp.391-394.

49 **Stecher, Christine**. Mantras: Die Sprache der Götter. Darmstadt, Schirner, 2007, pp.62-63.

50 **Ibid,** p.84, 109.

51 **Ibid,** p.13, 82.

52 **Ibid,** p.103.

When it comes to this pellet, one cycle of recitation ends and another one can be started, trimming pellets in the opposite direction.[53] Repeating mantras many times and moving pellets forward and backward, beads are gradually charged with the spiritual energy and thus turn into a sacred object.

There are several methods to recite mantras. Repetition of mantras can be done 1) aloud, so that the sound can be heard; 2) whispering when only lips move, but the sound is almost inaudible; 3) in thoughts without any sound, 4) and in written form. Usually the third way of reciting mantras is considered the most preferable and effective, because it represents the moment when the word passes into silence, exceeding limits of the conventional truth, and bringing the human in direct contact with the divine in its absolute form of expression.[54]

Among believers there are different views about the issue how important is the correct pronunciation of mantra syllables. In ancient India, a precise pronunciation of the sacred syllable was considered to be extremely important. Indian linguist Patañjali (ca. 2nd cent. B.C.) wrote that „*one who knows grammar and uses correct forms thereby practices a type of yoga which gains him merit, felicity, and ultimate union with the absolute being.*"[55]

However, there are some stories about cases where an incorrect recitation of mantras has also brought unexpectedly good results. Once one Buddhist monk came across a lonely ascetic and noticed that his mantra pronunciation was incorrect. He told the ascetic the right way how to say the mantra in Sanskrit. The hermit listened to him very attentively and had a long look at the monk by departure. The monk took a boat across the river, but when he had reached the middle of the river, he suddenly heard a voice behind him: „Listen, is my pronunciation now correct?" Monk turned his head and was taken aback when he saw the ascetic walking easily on the water surface. Faith, perseverance and dedication had played crucial role, but the correct pronunciation of mantras turned out to be just an irrelevant factor.[56]

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53 Compare: **Stecher, Christine**. Mantras: Die Sprache der Götter. Darmstadt, Schirner, 2007, p.104; **Pandit, M.P.** *Mantra Yoga.* In: Huchzemeyer, Wilfried (Hrsg.) Erlebnis: Sanskrit-Sprache. Karlsruhe, Sawitri, 2005, p.60.

54 **Stecher, Christine**. Mantras: Die Sprache der Götter. Darmstadt, Schirner, 2007, pp.81-82; **Pandit, M.P.** *Mantra Yoga.* In: Huchzemeyer, Wilfried (Hrsg.) Erlebnis: Sanskrit-Sprache. Karlsruhe, Sawitri, 2005, p.59.

55 **Cardona, George.** *On Attitudes towards Language in Ancient India.* In: Mair, Victor H. (ed.) Sino-Platonic Papers. Nr.15, 1990, p.13.

56 **Stecher, Christine**. Mantras: Die Sprache der Götter. Darmstadt, Schirner, 2007, p.76; **Too, Lilian.** Mantras & Mudras. Neuhausen/Schweiz, Urania Verlag AGMüller, 2003, p.x.

Mantra recitation played an important religious role in Rig-Veda and the Bhagavad Gita.[57] Later they took central position in Hindu Tantrism and Tibetan Buddhism, where Sanskrit syllables were haloed in an esoteric aura. Mantras traveled a long way, through many lands and cultures, where people spoke different languages. Although they were always transcribed, not translated, Sanskrit pronunciation was forced to adapt to regional languages and thus slightly changed. For example, the mantra of Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara OM MANI PADME HUM in Tibetan language is pronounced as OM MANI PEME HUN, but the concluding mantra of the „Heart Sūtra" in Sanskrit is going as follows: GĀTE GĀTE PARAGĀTE PARASAMGĀTE BODHI SWĀHĀ, in modern Chinese is pronounced as JIEDI JIEDI BOLUOJIEDI BOLUOSENGJIEDI PUTI SUOHE.[58] In order to preserve as much as possible from the authentic tradition, it is usually suggested to follow the advice of the personal teacher. In case there is no live teacher, one is better to look for pronunciation samples, nowadays so abundant in virtual media.

Mantra practices in Hindu Tantrism and in Tibetan Buddhism are highly different. They may be applied in large numbers in rituals, prayers and in individual meditation practices. There are tantric practice texts, called *sadhana* that serve as auxiliary means for meditation and visualization. Sadhanas describe precisely the ritual sequence, application and symbolism of mantras, their deities and the way they manifest during the visualization.[59] Mantras can also be recited during sacrificial ceremonies, invoking definite deities. In these cases mantras emerge as a very essential ritual element. In everyday life mantras can be used to bless various objects, like prayer beads, stūpas, religious paintings, which consequently gain a special energy. With certain mantra syllables one blesses food, dedicating it as a gift for all living beings.[60]

In Tibetan Buddhist culture mantras are often used as a healing spell to drive away evil spirits that have caused an illness. Tibetans recite mantras, circumambulating sacred objects (mountains, monasteries or stūpas), they recite mantras when turning prayer wheels or when hanging out wind-horse flags.[61] Inside all prayer wheels there are rolls of paper imprinted with

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57 **Pandit, M.P.** *Mantra Yoga.* In: Huchzemeyer, Wilfried (Hrsg.) Erlebnis: Sanskrit-Sprache. Karlsruhe, Sawitri, 2005, p.54.
58 **Xuanzang / 玄奘** (transl.). Bore boluomiduo xinjing / 般若波羅蜜多心經. In: Wittern, Christian (ed.) Taisho Tripitaka, T08n0251. Taipei, 1998-2006, 0848c22-0848c23.
59 **Mookerjee, Ajit; Khanna, Madhu.** Die Welt des Tantra in Bild und Deutung. München, Barth, 1987, p.158.
60 **Too, Lilian.** Mantras & Mudras. Neuhausen/Schweiz, Urania Verlag AGMüller, 2003, pp.93-95.
61 **Ibid,** pp.121-133.

Sanskrit mantras, therefore when turning wheels mantras are also set in motion by physical force. There are large prayer wheels, rotated by water or wind day and night, thus spreading the blessing of sacred words all around. Tibetan wind-horse flags are usually in five colors, symbolizing the five basic elements. There are mantras, prayers and a variety of symbolic animals (wind-horse and others) featured on them. Flags are usually hung on the tops of mountains or on the roofs of buildings, so that wind-horses can carry the energy of mantras as a blessing for all travellers.

Essential mantras

Mantras can be as long as sentences, they can contain one or several phrases, one or several words. The basis of all mantras are so-called „seed mantras" (skrt. bījamantra) which consist of only one syllable. They are also most important ones, because longer ones usually start or end with them. Indian yoga tradition maintains that seed mantras connect sound with silence, they arise from emptiness, and therefore they are able to turn the mundane reality into the transcendental absolute form of existence.[62]

A number of mantras come from Vedic times, and have been later incorporated in Hinduism or Buddhism. Primary meaning might be common in all these religions, though their symbolism and application may differ. Most important bīyamantra in all these religious traditions is the syllable OM and its meaning and symbolism has been inherited from one generation to another, from one belief to another. According to Vedas when the creation began, the divine and all- encompassing consciousness took form of the first vibration manifesting as sound OM.[63] In Vedas every text starts with OM and many mantras in Buddhism start with this syllable, too. So this syllable can be viewed as the source of all words, mantras and sacred texts.[64] The syllable OM is first described as all-encompassing mystical entity in Upanishads: „*It is the eternal word [..] Past, Present and Future – all that was, is and will be.*"[65] Today, all over Nepal, India and Tibet OM can be seen virtually everywhere. This syllable symbolizes the infinite universe, so it is metaphorically called „*the space quintessence of all the kings of sound,*

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62 **Pandit, M.P.** *Mantra Yoga.* In: Huchzemeyer, Wilfried (Hrsg.) Erlebnis: Sanskrit-Sprache. Karlsruhe, Sawitri, 2005, pp.60-62.
63 **Maheshwarananda, Paramhans Swami.** The hidden power in humans – chakras and kundalinī. Wien, Ibera Verlag, 2004, p.15.
64 **Padoux, André.** Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras. Delhi, 1992, p.19.
65 **Huchzermeyer, Wilfried.** Die heiligen Schriften Indiens: Geschichte der Sanskrit-Literatur. Karlsruhe, Sawitri, 2005, p.27.

vibration mother, eternal wisdom and the key strength of all living beings" etc.[66]

OM is composed of three sounds: A, U and M. In Buddhist Tantrism they symbolize body, speech and mind, so by saying this mantra, the human body, speech and mind are connect with the universe. In India there are also other explanations for these three letters: [67]

- Vowel A symbolizes the creation of the universe creation, as well as the causal body of deities, it also refers to Rig-Veda and God Vishnu;
- Vowel U or O symbolizes the continuity of the universe, as well as the astral body of deities, it also refers to Sāma-Veda and God Shiva;
- Consonant M symbolizes the disappearance of created things and beings, as well as the manifestation body of deities in the mundane world, it also refers to Atharva-Veda and God Brahma. The sound M is the most important one, because it includes the point or the drop (Skrt. bindu) – a symbol for the potential of the universe.

Graphically the syllable OM is depicted as a Sanskrit or Tibetan letter. The grapheme consists of three curved lines and a point on the top. The first curved line represents the state of wakefulness, relative phenomena and worldly activities. The second curved line represents the state of dream, mental visions and images. But the third shows the state of deep sleep, when the subconscious is the closest to the absolute reality – the point M. The curved line below the point is left infinite, thus symbolizing the eternity of the universe. Three curved lines do not touch the point, because humans, while still living in the mundane world of relativity, are restricted by apparent phenomena and thought conventions. Only when one has gone beyond all these three states – awakened state, dream and deep sleep, his or her consciousness can merge with the eternity of the universe.[68]

A very important bījamantra is also HŪM, in Tibetan Buddhism it is related to the wrathful deity Vajrakilāya. The name Vajrakilāya means „diamond scepter" and this deity can remove all obstacles, destroy all enemies. It is known that around the 5th cent. B.C. in Pakistan region of Gilgit a dagger was used as a ritual weapon for repelling demons. Later, when Vajrayāna Buddhist teacher Padmasambhava came from Uddiyāna[69] to

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66 **Mookerjee, Ajit; Khanna, Madhu.** Die Welt des Tantra in Bild und Deutung. München, Barth, 1987, pp.169-170.

67 Compare: **Mookerjee, Ajit; Khanna, Madhu.** Die Welt des Tantra in Bild und Deutung. München, Barth, 1987, p.41; **Mittwede, Martin.** Spirituelles Wörterbuch: Sanskrit-Deutsch. Heidelberg, Sathya Sai Vereinigung, 2007, pp.167-168; **Padoux, André.** Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras. Delhi, 1992, pp.402-411.

68 **Stecher, Christine**. Mantras: Die Sprache der Götter. Darmstadt, Schirner, 2007, p.32, 128.

69 Situated in Swat valley, today belonging to Pakistan.

Tibet he gave his disciples the first teaching and handed down „Vajrakilāya-Tantra" that could be used to repel wild spirits and harming demons.[70]

Bījamantra HŪM in Sanskrit and Tibetan languages consists of 5 parts that symbolize five kinds of wisdom:[71]

- Basic letter H is the equanimity wisdom;
- Vowel U is the all-accomplishing wisdom;
- Long vowel sound of Ū is the discerning wisdom;
- Curved line of the letter M is the mirror-like wisdom;
- Point of the letter M is the dharmadhātu wisdom.

Some Tantric schools divide bījamantras into masculine and feminine syllables: HŪM and PHAT refer to male deities, but SVĀ HĀ to female deities.[72] Besides, each deity has its own bījamantra, for example Avalokiteshvara – the most important Bodhisattva in Tibetan Buddhism manifests himself in the syllable HRĪ. In Tantric Buddhism the meditation practice five Buddha-families are often invoked. Each of them is represented by one main Buddha who are visualized through the following bījamantras:[73]

- Vairocana – OM;
- Akshobhya – HŪM;
- Ratnasambhava – SVĀ;
- Amitābha – Ā;
- Amoghasiddhi – HA.

Bījamantras OM, Ā, HŪM in Buddhism symbolize three aspects of Buddha: Buddha's body, speech and mind. But bījamantras A, SU, NRI, TRI, PRE and DU refer to the six worldly spheres of existence: gods, asuras, humans, animals, hungry spirits and hell creatures.[74] In the human body a certain bīyamantra corresponds to each cakra:[75]

- Root cakra (below the spine) – LAM;
- Sacral cakra (below the navel) – VAM;
- Solar plexus cakra (above the abdomen, between breasts) – RAM;
- Heart cakra – JAM;
- Throat cakra – HAM;

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70 **Beer, Robert.** The Handbook of Tibetan Buddhist Symbols. Boston, Shambhala, 2003, p.99.
71 **Tharchin Rinpoche.** *Teaching on Dorje Phurpa*. Tibetan Language Institute. Los Angeles, California May 1997, p.1.
72 **Mookerjee, Ajit; Khanna, Madhu.** Die Welt des Tantra in Bild und Deutung. München, Barth, 1987, p.167.
73 **Coleman, Graham** (ed.) A Handbook of Tibetan Culture. London, Rider, 1993, p.375.
74 **Ibid,** p.375.
75 Compare: **Stecher, Christine**. Mantras: Die Sprache der Götter. Darmstadt, Schirner, 2007, p.49; **Mookerjee, Ajit; Khanna, Madhu.** Die Welt des Tantra in Bild und Deutung. München, Barth, 1987, pp.190-194.

- Third eye cakra – OM;
- Crown cakra includes all above mentioned bījamantras.

The first mantra every person acquires already at birth is breath. Consequently, in Indian Tantrism there are two bījamantras HAM and SA which symbolize the finest sonic energy: breathing-in corresponds to HAM, but breathing-out – to SA. In the reverse order the two Sanskrit syllables form the statement: „I am That", pointing to the divine power or the highest god.[76] These two bīyamantras help the believer to merge with the visualized deity. In Vedas one can also find the word *hamsa* – divine swan who lives in the clear sky, in the endless space and symbolizes the freedom, the true reality and the complete unity of the individual with the universe.[77]

Except for single-syllabic bīyamantras, there are other extremely short mantras, for example A HAM. In India these two sounds are very significant, because they represent all sounds of the sacred language. A is the first letter and the main vowel in Devanāgarī alphabet, it represents all vowels. But HA is the last consonant, so it symbolizes all consonants. The letter M is graphically depicted as a point above the letter H. It represents three special letters (anusvāra, anunāsika, visarga) and as a drop symbolizes the potential of the universe.[78]

In Tantric Buddhism the three-syllabic mantra OM Ā HŪM is used most often and these three syllables refer to three levels of reality: the absolute, the ideal and the individual reality. They may as well show the perfected body, speech and mind of Buddha, in this way purifying the human body, speech and mind. They may represent three main Buddhas: Vairocana, Amitābha and Akshobhya or in Tibetan Buddhism also the Buddha of the endless light – Amitābha together with Bodhisattva of compassion – Avalokiteshvara and the founder of Tibetan Tantrism – Guru Padmasambhava. This mantra is often used in rituals and then it has the following symbolism.[79]

- Syllable OM is visualized on the crown cakra of the summoned deity and symbolizes innumerable amounts of offerings;
- Syllable Ā is visualized on the throat cakra of the deity, all offerings flowing through it turn into the nectar of immortality;

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76 Compare: **Pandit, M.P.** *Mantra Yoga.* In: Huchzemeyer, Wilfried (Hrsg.) Erlebnis: Sanskrit-Sprache. Karlsruhe, Sawitri, 2005, p.62; **Mookerjee, Ajit; Khanna, Madhu.** Die Welt des Tantra in Bild und Deutung. München, Barth, 1987, p.171.

77 **Padoux, André.** Vāc: The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras. Delhi, 1992, p.140.

78 **Ibid,** p.287, pp.386-387.

79 **Stecher, Christine**. Mantras: Die Sprache der Götter. Darmstadt, Schirner, 2007, pp.132-133.

- Syllable HŪM is placed in the heart cakra and purifies all human misconception about the lack and plainness of offerings.

Most mantras consist of longer phrases and sentences. They also have a multi-layered symbolic meaning. Without doubt the most famous in the world is OM MANI PADME HŪM which has become so popular due to Tibetan Buddhist practices. Here this mantra is associated with Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara. Religious people in Tibet recite this mantra all the time and it can be heard everywhere – both in the streets, in monasteries and at people's homes. One often sees it carved or painted on stones and printed on wind-horse flags. People believe that if a person repeats this mantra 100,000 times, he or she acquires strength to get free from all the fear, worries and doubt, besides, one can then hear all prayers that are being said.[80]

Literal meaning of the mantra can be explained as follows:

- OM – essence syllable of the mantra;
- MANI – jewel;
- PADME – lotus;
- HŪM – exclamation syllable that indicates arrival of the deity.

One should pay attention to the two symbols – jewel and lotus. The lotus is one of eight auspicious Buddhist signs. It grows in ponds, often in muddy water, but regardless of that its flowers are clean and beautiful. Thus the lotus symbolizes purity and asceticism. Wholesome activities flourish in its blossoms, they are done without attachment to the cyclic existence and lead living beings to the absolute freedom. Many deities, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are depicted in paintings sitting on a lotus throne. This is their manifestation form in the world of men, for their body, speech and mind are perfect and transcend the conventional reality. Besides, Buddhas often hold a lotus flower in their hand lifted to the heart cakra, this shows how sincerely and willingly Buddha preached his doctrine for living beings.[81]

The jewel symbolizes various spiritual and material values that are offered to gods and Buddhas. In Tibet the word „large precious stone" (Tib. rin-po-che) is an epithet for incarnate lamas, it is also used in the meaning „precious" for important ritual accessories. In Buddhist art jewels or gemstones are one of eight main decorative elements for Bodhisattvas. They can often be seen in Tibetan Buddhist paintings – thangkas, depicted as round or oval stones with a number of lines on them showing their magnificent glitter. As offerings for Buddha they symbolize objects of unchangeable value. Gemstones often decorate head cakra of deities. There

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80 **Too, Lilian.** Mantras & Mudras. Neuhausen/Schweiz, Urania Verlag AGMüller, 2003, pp.32-33.
81 **Beer, Robert.** The Handbook of Tibetan Buddhist Symbols. Boston, Shambhala, 2003, pp.7-9, 168-171.

is also the wish-fulfilling jewel in Tibetan ritual practices; it is one of seven accessories of the ruler of the universe – Cakravartin.[82]

Lotus is also the symbol of purity and energy intersection in the heart cakra, but the jewel is associated with Three Jewels of Buddhism (Buddha, Dharma and Sangha). Therefore, the mantra OM MANI PADME HŪM also highlights the fact that Buddha's heart (that is – the potential of enlightenment) dwells in the heart of every person.[83]

In tantric practices this mantra can also be interpreted as a union between man and woman. Indians believe that God Brahma was born from lotus, Tibetans called their first master –
Padmasambhava which literally means „Lotus born". A gemstone can also point out the male organ, but a lotus flower – the female pudendum. So it is possible to translate the two words of the mantra as a phrase – „the jewel in the lotus".[84]

The main objective of the mantra OM MANI PADME HŪM is to cause indiscriminate love and compassion towards all living beings: both to friends and relatives whom we are attached to and whom we love; as well as to enemies whom we dislike or even hate; and to strangers to whom we feel indifferent. With the help of this mantra Avalokiteshvara – Bodhisattva of compassion plants into people hearts the wish that all living beings may experience happiness. Moreover, it eliminates hatred, anger and indifference, in meantime developing compassion and desire to help others. Mantra is composed of six syllables that symbolize six spheres of the mundane existence, indicating that one should think not only about the people around, but also of those beings in other spheres.[85]

One of the most important mantras both in Indian and Tibetan Tantrism is OM TARE TUTTARE TURE SVĀHĀ, which is associated with Goddess Tara. Her name in Sanskrit means „Savior" or „Liberator". Therefore, the mantra gradually intensifies and invokes Tara every time on a more intensive level. It can be literally translated as follows:

- OM – essence syllable of the mantra;
- TARE – liberator;
- TUTTARE – supreme liberator;
- TURE – the most supreme liberator;

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82 **Ibid**, p.192.
83 **Stecher, Christine**. Mantras: Die Sprache der Götter. Darmstadt, Schirner, 2007, p.133.
84 **Tenzin Gyatso** (The Fourteenth Dalai Lama). On the meaning of: OM MANI PADME HUM.
http://www.sacred-texts.com/bud/tib/omph.htm (last accessed 25.01.2015.)
85 **Lama Dagsay Tulku.** Tibetische Mantras. Freiburg i.Br., Bauer, 2002, pp.86-88.

- SVĀHĀ – to worship respectfully (concluding syllable of the invocation).[86]

A legend tells that Tara was born from tears of Avalokiteshvara's compassion, therefore she can hear all prayers, eliminate difficulties, troubles and disasters, thus and so she rescues and liberates all sentient beings. She protects living beings from eight dangers:[87]

- Anger that is like fire;
- Desire that is like water;
- Pride that is like a lion;
- Envy that is like a snake;
- Ignorance that is like an elephant;
- Stinginess that binds like shackles;
- Incorrect views that are like thieves;
- Doubts that are like ghosts.

By reciting the mantra of Tara, it is possible to ward off these defilements, evil thoughts, and to gain spiritual freedom. On the first level, when the deity is called by word TARE, she sets people free from external obstacles and calamities. On the second level, when she is called by word TUTTARE, she removes internal limitations, such as ignorance, evil thoughts and bad behavior. On the third level, then she is called by word TURE, she saves people from the conventional reality, from dualism and differentiation. At this level she also sets free the most advanced practitioners, when they get attached to the wish for the personal liberation and for the attainment of Nirvāna.[88]

The supreme goal of mantras is best illustrated by the mantra that has been added to the most often recited Buddhist prayer – „Heart sutra" revealing the nature of emptiness. Mantra goes as follows: GĀTE GĀTE PARAGĀTE PARASAMGĀTE BODHI SVHĀ. Just like Tara's mantra, it signifies spiritual progression in three stages with a culmination in an end:[89] *gone, gone* (GĀTE GĀTE), *gone beyond everything* (PARAGĀTE); *completely gone beyond everything* (PARASAMGĀTE). So step by step the mantra guides practitioners towards the awakened state or enlightenment (BODHI).

The word GĀTE can also be translated from Sanskrit as „understand", so the whole mantra can as well indicate the insight or understanding, which reminds the enlightenment experience of historical Buddha Shākyamuni.

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86 **Ibid,** p.95.
87 **Ibid,** pp.96-97.
88 **Ibid,** p.98.
89 **Lopez, Donald S.** *Inscribing the Bodhisattva's Speech: On the „Heart Sūtra' s" Mantra.* In: History of Religions, Vol.29, No.4 , May, 1990, p.364.

Then it can be translated in the following way: *„understood, understood; understood, what is beyond; completely understood what is beyond".*[90] 19th cent. Tibetan Gelug master Gung-thang translated the verbs in imperative: *„Proceed, proceed, proceed beyond, proceed completely beyond, be established in enlightenment!"*[91] In all cases the mantra contains a code for the whole gradual path to enlightenment. In the end it brings to the unification of opposites, merging subject and object into the emptiness. [92]

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90 **Ibid,** p.358.
91 **Ibid,** p.365.
92 **Ibid,** p.356, 367.

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Replication of a Pilot Study of the Effectiveness of ESL for Adult Refugees Aided by MP3 Recordings of Lessons

Holly C. Bellah, LMSW
Dr. Beth Garcia, PhD
West Texas A&M University, United States

Abstract

Learning a second language at any age is a difficult feat; however, entering the United States as an adult refugee includes a host of affective factors that can impact second language acquisition from the onset. Such factors include time, opportunity, and motivation to learn English. Many adult learners fear ridicule or offending native speakers as they are learning a second language, so they may be more inhibited in their practice of it. To combat these fears an Mp3 intervention was initiated to allow a group of Karen speakers the opportunity to practice English in the safe environment of their homes on a daily basis. English lessons and their Karen translations were recorded onto Mp3 players that allowed the participants to hear correct pronunciations, vocabulary, and English syntax on a daily basis. This mixed methods case study considered data from a previous pilot study and its limitations, and then replicated the study attempting to resolve any issues found in the previous study. A certified administrator assessed each participant using the Best Plus Test to achieve an English proficiency baseline, a secondary test after ten weeks of no intervention, and then a final evaluation was assessed after a ten-week intervention using the Mp3 strategy. Researchers found that the Mp3 intervention had a significant impact on the number of Student Performance Levels (SPL) that a participant increased within the ten-week intervention. However, the most effective methodology was to couple this intervention with weekly ESL classes to reach the maximum number of participants.

Keywords: English as a Second Language (ESL), Best Plus, language intervention, English Language Learner (ELL), refugee.

Introduction

A refugee is defined by the Administration of Children and Families (2008) as "any person who is outside any country of such person's

nationality or, in the case of a person having no nationality, is outside any country in which such person last habitually resided, and who is unable or unwilling to return to, and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of, that country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion" (Who We Serve section, refugees definition, para. 1). Learning English has been found to be a necessity for successful acculturation and self-sufficiency of refugees emigrating to the United States (Mitschke, Mitschke, Slater, & Teboh, 2011; Tshabangu-Soko, & Caron, 2011). According to Tshabangu-Soko and Caron (2011), "language barriers lead to unemployment, poverty, diminished health status, and social isolation," (p. 416).

There are many options for language learning on the market today for those who can afford such learning aids/software, and for those who speak more commonly used languages, resources are available with translation in the learner's native tongue. Refugees often lack resources to afford such products, and even if resources are available, products with instruction in more obscure languages or dialects such as Karen, Chin, and Kirundi, are rarely available. The only tool available to most refugees are traditional ESL classes offered at churches, non-profits, and resettlement agencies. When working with refugees it becomes apparent that even though ESL is offered, most refugees are not conversant in English even years after arrival.

After interacting with refugee learners regarding their perspectives on what has made language learning more difficult, many barriers to learning English were discovered. Many felt that learning English without interpretation in their own language had hindered their progress. Also, many were so busy with work and family responsibilities that regular attendance in ESL classes had become difficult. The inability of the illiterate ESL students to write down words learned in class made remembering words and practicing the language at home too difficult. The result was that by the time he/she arrived at the next class what was learned during the last class had been forgotten. Progress was slow and painstaking and was a disincentive to continue the learning process.

The discovery of so many barriers to language learning with so few solutions being developed or tested made it imperative to find a better solution and test the effectiveness of it. The idea of using technology to bring lessons to each student's home in the learner's native tongue seemed like a cost effective solution to remove the identified barriers. This new intervention was developed and tested.

Literature Review

In a study conducted with Burundian refugees in the United States, Tshabangu-Soko and Caron (2011) found three factors that may hinder language acquisition through English as a foreign language classes. Those factors included lack of education provided by peers, insufficient duration of time that classes are offered, and illiteracy in the refugee's primary language.

Krashen (2003) also suggests that affective factors can hinder language learning when the learner experiences stress, lack of time, boredom, or fear. These factors cause the affective filter to rise, and learning is inhibited; thus, it is imperative to lower the affective filter and stressors to allow the flow of learning to resume. The use of the Mp3 players would effectively lower the affective filter due to the ability to use it from the comfort of the participants' homes, which would be considered safe learning environments (Krashen, 2003).

Cummins (2000) suggests educators should acknowledge the fundamental changes that information technology brings to society and seeks ways to use its power for transformative purposes. Such advances in technology could include iPod or Mp3 players as a learning tool. Students downloading information to their own iPod or Mp3 player could bring about several advantages to the students such as being able to repeat the lectures at their convenience which could assist in increasing comprehension (Gilroy, 2006).

The Basic English Test Plus (BEST Plus), published by the Center for Applied Linguistics, is a scripted oral interview to measure English proficiency in everyday communication. The BEST Plus test is intended to assess oral language proficiency of adult English language learners. Training is required for those who wish to administer the BEST Plus Test. The interview is scripted with score-based decisions made mid-interview and the scoring rubric used is simple, allowing individuals to administer and score the test, which generally takes about fifteen minutes. Raw scores are entered into a proprietary software program which scales all forms of the test onto a common scale and also reports band levels according to the National Reporting System (NRS) framework. The scoring provides the level of English language proficiency described in the Student Performance Levels (SPLs) which ranges from SPL 0-10. A limitation of the test is frequent testing could lead to questions being memorized (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2005).

Methodology
Developing the intervention

For decades the most pervasive approach to English language learning for newly arrived refugees has been face-to-face ESL classes. The discovery of barriers identified combined with the literature review made it imperative that an innovative, cost-effective approach using technology be developed.

The lessons would be written with the intention of teaching refugee learners how to interact with English speakers in the community using common conversations that refugees identified as necessary in their everyday lives. Examples of conversations identified include a phone call with the school nurse to learn that a child was ill, a conversation with medical workers who need basic information for forms, and telling a supervisor that vacation time was needed or that one needed to go home early because of illness. These conversations were simplified to exclude tenses in earlier lessons and to use mostly vocabulary that was on the list of the 100 most commonly spoken English words so that learners would not be simply prepared to have these conversations alone, but would be given transferable vocabulary and language skills to learn English wholly as a language and could be applied to other conversations refugees would need to have. Lessons comprised of interactive conversations, with some American cultural information added, would be written in the form of scripts with an instructor, who would provide instruction and interpretation of the English words and phrases in the learners' native tongue, and actors who were native English speakers performing the conversations. The instructor would be slowly replaced with an English speaking narrator so that eventually the learner would be able to respond solely to instructions given in English. The interactive portion of these lessons called upon learners to answer questions and take part in conversations after direct instruction and opportunity to practice new vocabulary and phrases. A written portion of each lesson was created to help learners learn basic letters and sounds, as well as recognize common words on forms and be able to fill out basic personal information. A binder with the materials needed for the written portions of the lessons was compiled and given to each learner.

The Karen refugee population, an ethnic minority from Burma, was chosen as the target audience for this pilot recording of lessons. After scripts were written, a Karen instructor/interpreter was hired along with students who would play the narrator, the female voice, and the male voice (all native English speakers) to record the thirty-five, approximately thirty minute lessons. These lessons were then loaded onto inexpensive Mp3 players that could be given to participants, along with the binder of materials comprising the written portions of the lessons. This concluded the intervention

development process. The next step was to study the effectiveness of the newly developed intervention.

It was determined that the effectiveness of this innovative approach to language learning for refugees would be measured using a mixed methods study. Each participant's oral English proficiency would be measured quantitatively. Demographics and open-ended questions to control for variables and learn more about what is helpful and why would be measured using a qualitative survey.

The Pilot Study

The pilot study was designed to include 4 groups of 5 participants each for a total of 20 participants. The intervention period was designed to be 10 weeks with pre- and post-intervention oral English proficiency testing, as well as a post-intervention qualitative survey. One group acted as the control group without participating in ESL classes or using the MP3 recordings. A second group used only the MP3 recordings to learn English. A third group attended at least one ESL class per week and had no access to the MP3 recordings. The fourth group was asked to use the MP3 recordings on a daily basis and attend at least one ESL class per week. Attendance at ESL meetings was tracked. Lessons were recorded in the Karen language and Karen interpeters were used each time participants interacted with researchers.

The results of the pilot study indicated a high degree of improvement in participants' English proficiency and comfort level conversing in English over the intervention period. However, the study had several limitations requiring a replication of the test for more reliable results.

The replication of the pilot study was not only an attempt to increase the number of completers, it was also an attempt to remove limitations observed while conducting the pilot study.

Limitations of the pilot study included losing contact with participants during the intervention period or participants moving to different cities before the completion of the study. Delays in finishing recordings of MP3 lessons extended the original intervention period of 10 weeks to almost eight months, part of which occurred during the summer months. The refugee population can be a transient population with frequent and abrupt moves and changes in contact information. Delays could be avoided in the test replication because the Mp3 recordings had already been finished and were loaded in their entirety onto Mp3 players before the intervention began. This reduced the total testing period to not exceed 20 weeks. The intervention was also planned to occur during a school year which is the least likely time of year for refugees to move.

Another primary limitation of the pilot study was that control group members did not have sufficient incentive to complete the test since there was no personal benefit from participating, and it did not control for each person's unique learning, speed, and trajectory. The replication of the test would not include a control group but would instead establish a baseline during a 10-week period in which no intervention was given and differences in English proficiency were compared to the same participant's scores on the Best Plus test after the 10-week period in which the intervention was given.

A final limitation of the pilot study was that many of the participants did not complete the activities they were assigned for their specific test groups. Therefore, during the replication, participants would be allowed to engage in any activities they wished to increase proficiency and self-reported which activities were completed during the baseline period and intervention period.

Participants

Participants for both the pilot study and replication were Karen speaking adult refugees in the Amarillo area. Refugee Services of Texas in Amarillo became a partner agency offering researchers recruiting of Karen adult refugees from among the agency's recently resettled client population, paid translation, and Mp3 players for participants to use and, ultimately, keep.

Ideally, the replication of the pilot study was designed to include a larger sample size of about 40 participants with hopes of a higher completion rate. For the replication, Refugee Services of Texas' recruiting attempts yielded 21 participants and after a 20-week total baseline and intervention period, 7 completions. Both tests had low completion rates but with the two combined, patterns could be more easily recognized and confirmed.

Participants had to be willing to sign an informed consent form and make a commitment to fulfill requirements of the study which were to listen to lessons daily during the intervention period. The offer was extended to members of the refugee community that could commit to the project for a period of 20 weeks, including 10 weeks with no intervention to create a baseline followed by 10 weeks using the Mp3 recordings.

Maximum variation in the purposive sampling was utilized to ensure that a variety of genders, ages, and levels of literacy were represented.

The Replication of the Pilot Study: Research Design

The effectiveness of this innovative approach was again measured using a mixed methods case study. The quantitative part of the study included measuring English oral proficiency using a Best Plus test administered by Dr. Beth Garcia, who is a certified Best-Plus

Administrator. This test was given three times throughout the study. The first time at the very beginning of the study followed by a 10-week period in which the participant was instructed to continue to use any methods he/she would like to in order to learn English. In order to establish a baseline, after 10 weeks, the second Best Plus test was administered. At that point in the middle of the study, the intervention, the Mp3 English lessons, would be introduced. Each participant was given the Mp3 English language lessons that included teaching instruction in Karen. These were loaded on an Mp3 player which each participant was taught how to use. Participants were instructed to listen to one 30-40 minute lesson each day repeating each lesson twice over the following 10-week period. At the end of the intervention period the final Best Plus test was once again administered for the third time. The difference in level of proficiency was recorded and compared for the same participant from the 1st and 2nd test (which was calculated as the baseline since no intervention was applied) to the difference between the 2nd and 3rd test which was considered the post-intervention score.

Quantitative Data Collection:

1st Best Plus test administered	10 week period	2nd Best Plus test administered	10 week period	3rd Best Plus test administered
	Baseline established – no MP3 intervention given	Difference in 1st and 2nd test scores calculated as baseline score	MP3 intervention given – "Intervention Period"	Difference in 2nd and 3rd test scores calculated as post-intervention score

(Bellah & Garcia, 2016).

To increase the reliability of the data, qualitative data was also collected and analyzed. The qualitative questionnaire with primarily open-ended questions was used to discover each participant's subjective view of whether or not, during the baseline period or during the intervention period, his/her English proficiency improved and if that had an impact on each participant's daily life. The qualitative survey also allowed researchers to collect demographic information to control for variables such as gender, age, and literacy level.

Qualitative Data Collection:

10 week period (baseline period)	1st qualitative survey conducted	10 week period (intervention period)	2nd qualitative survey conducted
	Used to measure increased comfort in speaking English and the subsequent impact on his/her life when each participant's usual methods for English language learning were utilized.		Used to measure increased comfort in speaking English and the subsequent impact on his/her life when each participant's usual methods for English language learning were utilized in addition to listening to MP3 lessons.

(Bellah & Garcia, 2016).

Replication of the Pilot Study: The Research Process

The requirements of the study were communicated to each participant in his/her native language during the informed consent form process. The informed consent form was written simply and very succinctly in English. The form was read in English, followed by Karen translation, to ensure that participants were receiving accurate information from a researcher but information that was also translated and explained in Karen to ensure understanding. All participants signed the form to indicate a full understanding of, and agreement with, the terms of the study. The informed consent forms for illiterate participants were also signed by the person who interpreted and that person also acted as a witness to that participants' agreement to the terms. After informed consent forms were signed, participants were given the 1st Best Plus assessment individually. Contact information was gathered from participants and a research assistant was assigned to each participant to offer bi-weekly visits to ensure contact was maintained. Participants could report a change in his/her contact information to research assistants during either 10-week period.

After the first 10-week period, participants were given the 2nd Best Plus test and the 1st qualitative survey. After these tests were given, 35 Mp3 lessons to be listened to for two days each, were distributed to participants along with a binder with the written components for each lesson. Once again, research assistants visited participants approximately every other week to ensure the equipment was functioning properly, participants felt comfortable using the lessons and charging the Mp3 players, and to maintain contact in case of periodic address or telephone number changes. After the 2nd 10-week

period, each participant was given the Best Plus test for a final time to compare the difference in scores. No direct observations were made of participants. Only self-reports of activities were collected. Participants were also either interviewed or filled out a 2nd qualitative survey. Participants' names were used on surveys and assessments so that they could be compared. However, the participants' names were not revealed to anyone who was not an investigator or research assistant for the study, and files with participants' names were locked and not accessible to anyone who was not an investigator for the study.

There were no potential risks anticipated for participants involved in this study. Confidentiality was maintained but even a breach of that confidentiality would not be expected to have any adverse effects on the participant other than the potential for embarrassment if the participant did not fulfill requirements or increase their English proficiency.

There was no monetary compensation for this study. The compensation was the potential for acquiring increased English proficiency and participants were allowed to keep his/her MP3 player.

Replication of the Pilot Study: Demographics

Although only 7 total participants completed the entirety of the replication study including all 3 Best Plus tests and both qualitative surveys, 12 participants yielded useable data. Of those 12 participants, 3 participants were male, while 9 were female. Ages ranged from 28-67 years old. Participants had lived in the United States from a range of periods between 1 month to 5 years. 5 participants indicated that he/she was literate in at least one language at the beginning of the study, while 7 reported being illiterate at the time the study began (Bellah & Garcia, 2016).

Findings

Four themes emerged during the data analysis. The researchers found that logistics must be considered when using Mp3 players as a means of teaching a second language. The researchers had to consider what type of assessment was the most appropriate when evaluating linguistic growth and what significant growth might look like in the evaluation process. The researchers also found that second language learners are excellent mimics, and this must be taken into account when assessing progress and growth of the target language. Finally, motivation emerged as an unexpected theme that was a key indicator of language acquisition success.

Logistics

The logistics of this study were significant when considering impact using the Mp3 player intervention to teach English as a second language to

refugee populations. First, the attrition rates between both the pilot and replication studies were great. In both studies, two-thirds of the participants did not complete the study. This was due to the highly mobile nature of this population and work schedules that made it difficult for participants to attend testing sessions after jobs were acquired. The researchers found that it was difficult to follow up with participants or to even find them weeks after assessing initial English levels. Participants did not begin the study and then choose to leave due to feelings of discomfort created by the study; it merely became impossible to track refugee participants and to ensure their independent participation of coming to the assessments on specified dates.

The Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) is the leading entity for second language learning and assessment of linguistics. Using their Best Plus evaluation tool to assess the Mp3 intervention, the researchers found a need to create a formula to assess growth within Student Performance Levels (SPL). CAL insists that significant growth only occurs once a second language learner moves from one SPL level to the next. Considering their in depth research, CAL has found that growth from one SPL level up to the next occurs in a minimum of 60 hours of English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction; however, this type of growth is more likely to occur between 80-100 hours (CAL, 2015). Due to the nature of this study and the high attrition rates expected by the researchers (Bellah & Garcia, 2016), participants were asked to review English lessons and the Karen translations on Mp3 players 7 days a week for only 10 weeks; the researchers believed they would be able to contact more participants in this shortened timeframe. Each lesson ranged from about 30-40 minutes. Therefore, the participants had about half of the suggested instruction with only about 30-40 hours of ESL intervention using the Mp3 players (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). The formula established by the researchers to illustrate growth within SPL levels is as follows:

$$((p - L) / h) \times 100 = g$$

Chart 1: Key to Math Equation

p=	Participant's score on test
L=	Lowest number in SPL level
h=	Highest number in SPL level minus lowest number in SPL level
g=	The percentage of growth within that SPL level

(Bellah, 2016)

A timeframe that included less than half of the suggested hours of instruction necessitated that the researchers also consider growth within SPL levels. Using the previous formula, the researchers found that it would be significant to attain at least 50% growth within an SPL level during the ten-week intervention understanding that achieving a full SPL level of growth

using any type of intervention would be unlikely. While this type of growth is not significant to move from one level to the next, it does illustrate improvement of English learning by using the Mp3 intervention. The researchers project that with more time and lessons, significant growth will be attained from using the Mp3 strategy. This finding is to be expected when one considers Cummins' (2008) research on BICS and CALP language skills. Cummins (2008) states that it takes 1-3 years to acquire the basic communication language while it may take 5-7 or more years to acquire academic language (Cummins, 2008). It would not be feasible for all participants to move up a complete level in only 10 weeks of intervention; however, growth in this amount of time was significant to exemplify the effectiveness of the Mp3 player intervention.

Technology was another logistical consideration that was unanticipated at the beginning of the research study. The researchers quickly found in the pilot study that some of the participants were unable to complete their lessons for a variety of technological reasons: 1) participants needing power cords to charge Mp3 players, 2) participants not remembering how to work Mp3 players, and 3) the issues of lost head phones or USB cords (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). It also became apparent that participants did not contact the researchers for assistance when they encountered technological difficulties; participants merely stopped listening to the lessons on the Mp3 players. To remedy this issue, the researchers employed graduate assistants to check in with participants on a bi-weekly basis. Assistants would call or physically visit each participant to ensure no necessary parts had been lost, Mp3 players were being charged, and that participants were using the technology correctly. In the initial pilot study, 28.5% of the participants who completed the study reported having some type of technological issues that prevented them from fully engaging with the Mp3 lessons (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). However, in the follow up replication study, only one of the participants reported any technological issues that prevented him from completing Mp3 English lessons stating, "I lost Mp3. I only listen twice [*sic*]" (Bellah & Garcia, 2016).

Linguistic Growth

The Best Plus Test assesses linguistic growth using scaled scores that are equated to Student Performance Levels (SPLs), which are tied to National Reporting System (NRS) levels with qualitative descriptors that demonstrate English language ability within each NRS level.

Chart 2: Best Plus Levels and Descriptors

ESOL Speaking and Listening Correlations using Best Plus Test			
Scale Scores	**Student Performance Levels (SPLs)**	**NRS Level**	**Qualitative Descriptor of Level**
88-329	0	Beginning ESL Literacy	No ability
330-400	1	Beginning ESL Literacy	Understands only a few isolated words, and extremely simple learned phrases.
401-417	2	Low Beginning ESL	Understands a limited number of very simple learned phrases, spoken slowly with frequent repetitions
418-438	3	High Beginning ESL	Understands simple learned phrases, spoken slowly with frequent repetitions. Expresses immediate survival needs using simple learned phrases.
439-472	4	Low Intermediate ESL	Understands simple learned phrases easily, and some simple new phrases containing familiar vocabulary, spoken slowly with frequent repetitions.
473-506	5	High Intermediate ESL	Understands learned phrases easily and short new phrases containing familiar vocabulary spoken slowly with repetition. Has limited ability to understand on the telephone. Participates in basic conversations in a limited number of social situations.
507-540	6	Advanced ESL	Understands conversations containing some unfamiliar vocabulary on many everyday subjects. Relies less on learned phrases; speaks with creativity, but with hesitation.
541 and above	7	Exit Criteria	Exit Level

(CAL, 2015)

It was imperative to the research that participants establish a baseline between test 1 and 2, complete 10 weeks of intervention using the recorded lessons on the Mp3 players, and then be assessed a final time in test 3 to show growth. As previously mentioned in the logistics section, two-thirds of the participants in both the pilot and replication studies did not complete the intervention or did not take the final evaluation. However, the participants who did complete the study showed a variety of growth throughout the research study. The researchers found that motivation and taking face-to-face ESL classes did contribute to the growth factor among the participants, but

use of Mp3 players showed a significant growth among participants, decreased barriers to learning, and increased motivation to learn English.
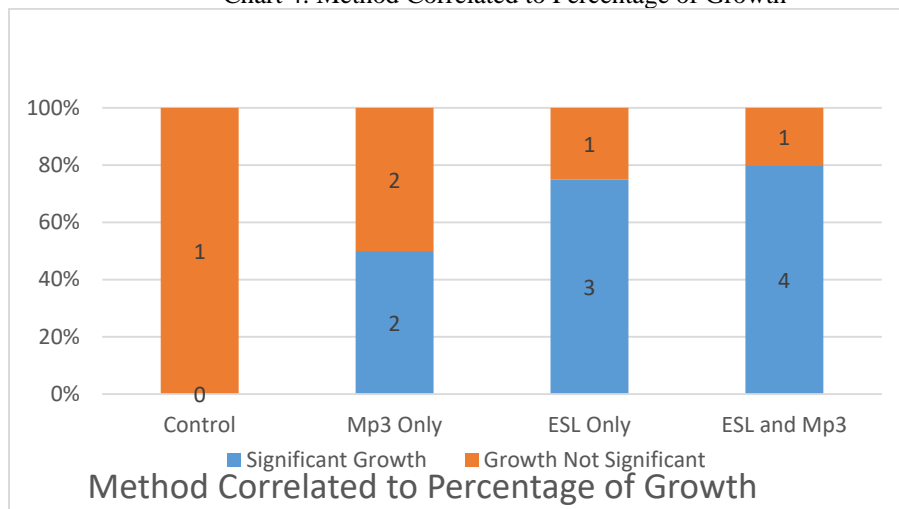
Chart 3: Linguistic Growth of Participant Completers

Participant #	Test 1 (SPL)	Growth (Test 1-2)	Test 2 (SPL)	Growth (Test 2-3)	Test 3 (SPL)	Total Growth	Note
4-Replication	315 (0)	1.66%	319 (0)	4 SPL Levels	457 (4)	4 SPL Levels	Mp3 Only
5- Replication	88 (0)	0%	88 (0)	46.47%	200 (0)	46.47%	Mp3 Only
7- Replication	297 (0)	1 SPL Level	340 (1)	1 SPL Level	----	1 SPL Level	ESL Only—No Intervention
9- Replication	253 (0)	1 SPL Level	338 (1)	1 SPL Level	----	1 SPL Level	ESL Only—No Intervention
13- Replication	88 (0)	0%	88 (0)	48.13%	204 (0)	48.13%	ESL & Mp3 Intervention
14- Replication	88 (0)	31.12%	163 (0)	19.09%	209 (0)	50.21%	ESL & Mp3 Intervention
20- Replication	195 (0)	41.49%	295 (0)	4 SPL Levels	465 (4)	4 SPL Levels	ESL & Mp3 Intervention
31-Pilot	204 (0)	----	----	0%	204 (0)	0%	Control—No Intervention
37-Pilot	363 (1)	----	----	7%	368 (1)	7%	ESL Only-No Intervention
38-Pilot	329 (0)	----	----	1 SPL Level	367 (1)	1 SPL Level	ESL Only-No Intervention
41-Pilot	273	----	----	12%	303	12%	Mp3 Only
44-Pilot	377 (1)	----	----	4 SPL Levels	471 (4)	4 SPL Levels	Mp3 Only
46-Pilot	337 (1)	----	----	76%	390 (1)	76%	ESL &Mp3 Intervention
47-Pilot	259 (0)	----	----	26%	322 (0)	26%	ESL &Mp3 Intervention

(Bellah & Garcia, 2016)

Analyzing the Linguistic Growth Chart, the researchers found that two types of language learning methods were successful for significant growth even in a short amount of time for both the pilot and replications studies. ESL classes showed significant growth for 75% of the participants; those who attended only ESL classes in the ten-week period achieved 1 full SPL level (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). For the participants who completed the study, using the Mp3 intervention in conjunction with ESL classes exhibited the most significant growth. 80% of the participants who used the intervention and attended ESL classes attained a significant percentage of growth within their initial SPL levels where 25% of these participants increased by 4 SPL levels and 75% of the participants increased by a significant percentage within their initial SPL level (Bellah & Garcia, 2016).

For the participants who only utilized the Mp3 intervention, 50% of the participants showed significant growth and increased by 4 SPL levels within the ten-week intervention while 50% of these participants did not have significant linguistic growth in ten weeks (Bellah & Garcia, 2016).

Chart 4: Method Correlated to Percentage of Growth

Method Correlated to Percentage of Growth

(Bellah & Garcia, 2016)

Mimicry

When considering language learning, mimicry is a natural part of the language learning process. Young children mimic their parents as they acquire their first language. Second language learners too mimic language and look to more capable peers for support when they are asked questions in the L2. This revelation became quite apparent in the replication study between the first and second Best Plus test administrations. Due to space limitations and availability of participants, the researchers chose to deliver the first Best Plus evaluation in one of the participant's apartments. This was necessary as the participants lived in the same apartment community and did not have transportation to alternative locations. As one researcher attained demographic and qualitative information from the participants, the certified Best Plus evaluator assessed participants using the Best Plus Language Assessment. Due to lack of space, both of these activities took place in the same room. However, when the researchers gave test 2, all of the participants were not in the same room. One person came in at a time, and the researchers had to go find several of the participants in the living community, so the environment was the same with the exception of testing the participants in the same room as others awaited their turn.

After administering test 2, the researchers found that one-third of the participants scored significantly lower on test 2 than they did on test 1.

Initially this baffled the researchers, until they assessed the environment and qualitative data (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). The researchers found that in test one, participants were able to listen to the Best Plus assessment as it was given to previous participants. The first six questions are the same on each exam to establish a baseline, so the participants were able to listen and mimic answers provided by those who took the oral exam before they did. This invalidated the baseline previously established for three of the participants. The researchers found their second test to be a valid baseline as they tested without hearing previous participants and had not engaged in the intervention at that time.

Chart 5: Invalid Baseline Test

Participant #	Test 1	Growth (Test 1-2)	Test 2	Growth (Test 2-3)	Test 3	Total Growth within same SPL Level	Note
1	163	0%	88	34.02%	170	34.02%	Invalid Baseline 1-- Decrease from Test 1-2
3	204	0%	88	--	No Show	0%	Invalid Baseline 1-- Decrease from Test 1-2
6	204	0%	88	76.76%	273	76.76%	Invalid Baseline 1-- Decrease from Test 1-2

(Bellah & Garcia , 2016)

Of the three participants who had an initial invalid baseline assessment, 66.66% did not show significant growth after the Mp3 intervention (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). Participant 1 did show 34.02% overall growth within SPL level 0; however, this would not be considered significant based on the researchers' formula for significant growth within an SPL level (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). Participant 3 did not complete the intervention or final assessment to show overall growth, but participant 6 did show significant growth within the same SPL level based on the established formula. Although this participant indicated that she mimicked answers on

the initial baseline assessment (Test 1), she did show growth from the more valid baseline in test 2 to her overall growth after the ten week Mp3 intervention. While she still did not achieve a full SPL level of linguistic growth, she did show significant gains in the lowest level of beginning ESL ratings (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). With continued intervention, the researchers predict that she could attain an SPL level of growth with at least another 10 weeks of Mp3 lessons, which would be more consistent with CAL's (2015) suggested guidelines of 80-100 hours of language learning.

Motivation—The ''Moo Say'' Effect

Krashen's (1981) affective filter hypothesis states that for language learning to occur, motivation and self-efficacy levels must be high while anxiety remains low. This lowers the affective filter and allows learning in to the learner. However, if motivation is low and anxiety is high, the block goes up, and learning does not occur (Krashen, 1981). In this current study, the researchers found this theoretical frame to be very significant concerning participant language growth in a short ten-week period. The theme of motivation emerged from the qualitative data collected in both the pilot and replication studies. Participants shared that they felt more comfortable listening to the lessons on the Mp3 player and practicing English at home. Then when they attended ESL classes or practiced English in public, they had more confidence and attempted to use the language more. Participants 3, 4, 5, and 6 indicated that they learned a great deal from listening to the Mp3 players and gained confidence throughout the ten-week intervention. Participant 13 had difficulty understanding the English portions of the recorded lessons, and Participant 20 indicated that he did not have anyone with whom to practice English and felt this would be more beneficial after listening to the Mp3 lessons.

In the Pilot study, 'Moo Say' (alias) began with a baseline Best Plus score of 377 (SPL 1) (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). During her ten-week intervention, she did not attend ESL classes or engage in any other type of language learning beyond using the Mp3 strategy. After the intervention, 'Moo Say's' ending score on the Best Plus test was 471 (SPL 4) (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). Her score increased 3 SPL levels in a mere 10 weeks. While the researchers found that ten weeks is a short period to make significant language gains using any intervention, 28.6% of the participants in both the pilot study and the replication study showed significant growth by moving up one or more SPL levels from the baseline to the post test (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). After analyzing the qualitative observations and participant comments, the researchers found that this increase has a direct correlation to increased confidence of the participant (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). It is not that the baseline score is invalid; this effect was caused by participants not

feeling confident in answering questions in English and their affective filters being raised by stress and anxiety levels (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). Using the Mp3 players in the privacy and comfort of their own homes, the participants were able to listen to English and practice the language in a stress-free environment where making mistakes was an acceptable part of the learning process. Participants who moved up 3-4 SPL levels in ten weeks may have had more background knowledge than even they realized; however, going through the Mp3 intervention unlocked the English the participants knew while simultaneously lowering their affective filters. The researchers coined this the 'Moo Say' effect after analyzing the event and observing it happen to 28.6% of the participants in both the pilot and replications studies.

Implications
Logistics

When considering the most appropriate assessment to rate linguistic proficiency for adult second language learners, the Best Plus Test is reliable and valid; however, the researchers found limitations concerning the Student Performance Level (SPL) indicators. While CAL (2015) only recognizes full levels of growth as significant after a minimum of 60 hours of instruction, the researchers in this study needed to consider what significant growth looked like for a ten-week intervention. This necessitated the creation of a mathematical equation to illustrate growth within SPL levels as significant for the abbreviated exposure to the intervention.

Additionally, working with refugee populations entails a high rate of mobility and attrition within the research study. Even using an abbreviated period of data collection, observations, intervention, and testing resulted in high attrition rates. In both the pilot and replication studies two-thirds of the original participants did not complete the study (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). The researchers found that checking in with participants bi-weekly did not affect attrition rate from the first study to the second. Therefore, using this demographic of participants may result in smaller numbers to consider within future or similar studies.

Technology is also an area of logistical consideration. Since the ESL intervention required participants to use Mp3 players to learn English, the researchers had to frequently check in with participants to ensure that the technology was working, components were not lost, participants were able to use and charge the devices each week. While the use of the technology offers more availability and breadth to reach adults learning English, there must be a support system in place to ensure technological issues can be taken care of in a timely manner so that the language learning is not interrupted.

Linguistic Growth

The focus of this research endeavor was to look at the effectiveness of specifically using Mp3 recordings to teach English to adult second language learners. Inevitably, other methods were included as the participants naturally engaged in ESL classes. The researchers did not want to bar participants from engaging in these classes as this could have been detrimental to the learning process. Ultimately, the researchers found that a combination of using the Mp3 intervention along with ESL classes made the most significant impact in language proficiency growth (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). When considering the next best option, it is important to note that even though more of the participants who attended ESL classes only showed growth, the level of growth was much greater in the group who used only the Mp3 intervention (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). All of the participants who showed growth using ~~the~~ only the Mp3 intervention advanced 3-4 SPL levels in a ten-week period, which illustrates the level of impact the Mp3 intervention had for these participants. The participants who showed growth in the ESL classes group showed 25% more of the students attained growth to another SPL level, which is substantial growth, but the impact was significantly lower than the Mp3 group as each participant only went up one SPL level (Bellah & Garcia, 2016).

Using a formula created by the investigators, the researchers were able to show significant growth within the same SPL level. While not every participant can achieve a full SPL level of growth in a given period, it is important to understand what growth within a level means. The researchers established that 50% growth within an SPL level was significant when they considered the timeframe of the intervention; 60% of the participants who utilized both ESL classes and the Mp3 intervention showed significant growth within their initial SPL level even though they did not attain the next SPL level during this period (Bellah & Garcia, 2016). This indicates that with more time and opportunity these participants would also be successful in attaining a higher SPL level and continuing to improve their English language skills.

Mimicry

The implications concerning mimicry are complex. Due to space availability and needing a centralized location that all participants could reach within walking distance, the researchers had very limited space to meet with and gather data from the participants. This allowed participants to hear others before them answer questions on Test 1 and mimic responses on their exam. As the research progressed, the investigators found it necessary to make accommodations for this irregularity, and it was an easy solution to fix the issue of participants being able to mimic answers on evaluations.

However, this posed the much more intricate issue of using mimicry as a language learning tool. Practicing aloud with the Mp3 recording and mimicking the lessons was the initial and first step of participants to using the correct English phonology and being able to construct sentences. Without realizing this component when the Mp3 intervention was created, the researchers were including a tool that the participants naturally identified with and used in the second language acquisition process, which is similar to the natural process of first language acquisition. Just as infants imitate sounds and then progress to repeating words their parents say in context, so too did the participants in this study demonstrate the value and their need to mimic language before acquisition and growth in linguistic proficiency.

Motivation—The 'Moo Say' Effect

The key to second language learning is being able to use the language communicatively and for a purpose in an authentic context. Following the theoretical frame of Krashen (1981), the researchers found that learning language using the Mp3 intervention greatly reduced the levels of anxiety English Language Learners (ELLs) experience as they attempt to learn English as a second language thus lowering the affective filter and allowing knowledge to reach the learner. The 'Moo Say' effect illustrates that many ELLs have more background knowledge and English vocabulary than they realize, or they may have raised affective filters that inhibits them from utilizing the language skills that they have acquired. The Mp3 intervention to teach English honored the participants' silent period and allowed them to practice in a safe environment thus lowering the affective filter (Krashen, 1981). Additionally, where ELLs may go to an ESL class once or twice a week and not engage in language learning other than those few hours, the Mp3 intervention allowed participants to practice language whenever it was convenient and on a more consistent basis. Second language learners no longer had to practice words learned in class from memory but could listen to the correct pronunciations and continuously improve instead of risking learning the word incorrectly. The safety of using the Mp3 player at home and its level of availability increased participant motivation and confidence, which, in turn, led to impactful gains in SPL levels for 50% of the participants using only the Mp3 intervention and 80% of the participants who coupled the intervention with ESL classes. In total, 42.9% of all participants who used the Mp3 intervention and completed the study showed significant linguistic gains in a ten-week period, which indicates that this method is effective and can be replicated in other language learning programs.

Limitations

As is often the case when using technology, glitches can arise. After uploading the 35 lessons to the MP3 players, the researchers discovered that on a few participants' players, the first 8 lessons were missing. The Graduate Assistant returned a week later to upload the missing 8 lessons causing some participants to have to use lessons out of order initially.

The ability to use technology, with minimal support, was a necessity for participant's daily participation. Some were more reluctant than others to use it or were forced to take breaks from daily listening because of a misplaced player. As a result, it was apparent that not all participants who completed the study used the MP3 lessons daily. In fact, one man told researchers that he lost the player after two days and never used it again. Perhaps it was misplaced, or perhaps the participant just did not want to use the lessons. Either way, the question of if the MP3 player was used, and how often during the intervention period it was used, was something that was not added to the qualitative survey. Researchers only had minimal knowledge that this was happening when a participant would make an impromptu remark.

Because mimicking by some participants skewed test 1 results, future studies of this nature will require participants to be tested alone in a room where no other test takers are present.

During test 2 an interpreter was hired to aid researchers in collecting information for the qualitative survey. It was later discovered through another interpreter used in test 3, that the interpreter for test 2 was speaking to participants in Burmese, and not in Karen. This leaves open the possibility that participants in test 2 did not fully understand the questions asked in the qualitative survey which could have skewed the qualitative data collected.

The qualitative surveys originally included Likert scales with smiley faces and frowning faces to better indicate to participants what each number signified. These smiley and frowning faces were left off of the survey copies that were used with participants by mistake. It was clear by the confusing data that was collected that participants did not fully understand the Likert scales and did not rate his/her experiences accurately.

Despite efforts to increase the number of participants that were recruited and completed the study, the number of completions still remained at 7, with 14 total in the combined pilot and replication studies. This number is still not sufficient to create data that is as reliable and generalizable as is ideal.

Conclusion

In summation, the Mp3 intervention was highly effective for adult second language learners to increase their linguistic proficiency in a short period of time. While there are logistical considerations to implementing this method, the benefits of using this technology as a continuous language support greatly outweigh any negative factors. Using recorded English lessons with native language translations on an Mp3 player allows adults to learn English in a safe environment at their own pace; combined with ESL classes, the learners are able to make significant gains in short amounts of time. Consistent use of the Mp3 intervention increases confidence and lowers the affective filter, both of which unlock the English language for adults who fear ridicule and have little time to devote to language learning. This intervention was found to be a valuable support to adult second language acquisition.

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A Pragmatic Study of Implicit Compliments in Jordanian Arabic

Hussein AlBataineh, (MA)

Majmaah University, Saudi Arabia

Abstract

This paper is a pragmatic study of the speech act of implicit complimenting among Jordanian people. The researcher follows the ethnomethodological approach in order to identify the construction and organization of such a speech act. Such an approach renders the speech act of implicit compliment as an undivided, integral part of the discourse in which it occurs. Adopting this orientation enables the researcher to focus on the motives behind choosing an implicit compliment instead of an explicit one at a specific time of the discourse. The results of the study show that implicit compliments are different from explicit ones and that such a speech act belongs to a different category. The study also shows that implicit compliments convey many interactional functions that serve the speaker and the addressee and that some functions serve them both.

Keywords: Implicitness, explicitness, speech act, interactional functions.

Introduction

According to Holmes (1988:446), a compliment "explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some 'good' […] which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer." This definition deals with this speech act from two sides, namely, explicit and implicit forms of complimenting. Considering the difference between them, we can notice that, according to Boyle (2000:18), compliments can be considered explicit when they "are recognized as compliments outside of context, being realized by a small set of conventional formulae." Leaving aside other context-bound issues such as irony or sarcasm, any ordinary speaker would, in fact, recognize the following expressions as compliments because of their linguistic realization: '**I love your shirt**' or '**What a lovely dress you're wearing today**!' Explicit compliments are, thus, linguistically realized by declarative sentences which, in turn, can be affirmative or exclamative. There is also a limited lexical choice of verbs (e.g., **love**, **like**) and adjectives (e.g., **beautiful**, **nice**, **lovely**).

However, implicit compliments are those "in which the value judgement is presupposed and/or implicated by Gricean maxims" (Boyle 2000:28). In other words, they do not necessarily have a "fixed" linguistic form like explicit compliments do, and hearers need to infer the corresponding implicature for their interpretation. Boyle (ibid) gives the following examples to illustrate implicit compliments in English: "**I wish I could manage my work like you do**" and "**Your husband is a very lucky man**."

The speech act of complimenting is extensively studied in the literature. Golato (2002, cited in Golato, 2003) notices that compliments and compliment responses have been studied in detail in eleven different languages and in six varieties of English alone, and they have been studied from a variety of different perspectives as well (Herbert 1990; Holmes 1988, 1995; Knapp et al. 1984; Wolfson 1983; Nelson et al. 1996; Yu 2003; Placencia and Yépez 1999; Manes and Wolfson 1981, Holmes 1995; Creese 1991; Ylänne-McEwen 1993 among many others). Existing research, in Herbert's words (1997: 488), "deals almost exclusively with explicit compliments."

To the best of researcher's knowledge, only three articles have been directed to the other rarer speech act, namely, implicit compliments (Boyle 2000; Maíz-Arévalo 2012; Bruti 2006). These studies discuss the topic under concern only from one perspective, namely, pragmatics. Boyle (2000:27) argues that the neglect of the study of implicit compliments is caused by two reasons: the methodology used in data collection and the conventional view of phatic communion. Maíz-Arévalo (2012:980) suggests another reason behind such neglect which is the fact that explicit compliments tend to outnumber implicit ones (more than 90% of her data are explicit compliments). However, Maíz-Arévalo's focus is not (like that of Boyle's) on the interpretive procedures employed by interlocutors when receiving an implicit compliment but on the pragmatic motives underlying the speaker's choice of this much rarer speech act. Nonetheless, these two studies and that of Bruti (2006) do not focus on the interactional functions that can be achieved at the time of the compliment event. The researcher argues that a better understanding of implicit compliments can be attained when interactional functions are taken into consideration. This paper is divided into five parts. Section 2 describes the methodology and the data used in the study. Section 3 explains functions of compliments in previous studies. The fourth section explores the interactional functions of Jordanian implicit compliments. Finally, section 5 offers the conclusions and points to future research.

2. Data and methodology

Two different data collection procedures are followed in compliment studies: naturally occurring data analyzed through conversation analytic (CA) methodology, and elicited data collected via a discourse completion task (DCT). Golato argues (2003: 91) that "many studies of compliments and compliments responses do not, in fact, cannot, describe actual language use, simply because their analyses are not based upon data that illustrate actual language use with sufficient granularity."[93] She (2003: 110) suggests that "if one is interested in finding out how speakers react to compliments in real-time interaction, if one wishes to discern the underlying interactional rules and patterns [...], then DCTs are inappropriate." Based on the previous justification, the researcher prefers audio- or video- taping of naturally occurring data to investigate the interactional functions of implicit compliments in their natural settings.

The researcher utilizes the ethnomethodological approach for data collection. The data consists of non-elicited, audio-taped face-to-face encounters and spontaneous conversations. The strength of conversation analysis lies in the fact that "its methodology allows for the repeated and detailed analysis of utterances in their sequential context" (Atkinson and Heritage 1984:4, cited in Golato 2003). Thus, the researcher can study the linguistic structures as they are used in real life and in real time. Moreover, tape-recording of conversations enables the researcher to incorporate every element in the interaction (hesitations, laughter, silences and the like) in his analysis.

He bases his analysis on recording transcripts representing the recorded speech situations. After recording the conversation using Samsung S3 mobile as a recording device, the researcher immediately sits down to do a draft transcription to make sure that he still remembers all the contextual information that helps him interpret blurred or unclear words or passages. Moreover, he presents the examples with a brief statement of relevant contextual information to help analyze and contextualize them. And this way of providing the context of each example is especially important for the material since most, if not all, cases depend on reference and context to express meaning. Following Halliday and Hassan's (1976, cited in Maíz-Arévalo 2012:982) notion of "context of situation", the researcher precedes each example in the study by as much contextual information as possible about the field (what the interactants are doing at the time of the dialogue)

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93 In addition to the example studies provided by Golato (2003) in her article, all studies mentioned in the previous chapter are not based upon data collected via recording of naturally occurring talk-in-interaction except Boyle (2000) and Maíz-Arévalo's (2012) studies.

and the tenor (who are the participants and to what extent their relationship is close).

The population of the study consists of all native Jordanian Arabic speaking people living in Irbid city, Jordan. Over the span of two years, the researcher audio-tapes 64 compliment events which occur in indoor and outdoor activities. Interlocutors are from the lower and the middle class; they occupy different positions (for example, sales people, customers, teachers, school/ university students, managers, workers, etc.). Interactants ranged in age from 5-60 years, with the majority being in their twenties and thirties. All of them live in Irbid city or its villages or camps. Nevertheless, the random sampling technique is used to obtain the sample of the study. The researcher randomly selects the subjects from Irbid City.

3. Functions of compliments

Mills (2003) highlights the importance of taking the context into consideration when dealing with any speech act. He states that "compliments can also function in very different ways depending on the context" (219). Unfortunately, the study of compliments has focused on what compliments do in society instead of focusing on what they do in interaction. This narrow view is caused by the way researchers collect their data; Holmes (1988:507) notices that almost all studies adopt ethnographic method for data collection. The study of this speech act has been limited to the explicit form of compliments; consequently, the functions are limited as well. The general, out-of-context functions of compliments have been explained as follows: Wolfson (1983:89) mentions that compliments are social lubricants that create or maintain rapport. By performing this speech event, people can not only maintain mutual harmony but also re-establish reciprocal social relationship. Furthermore, complimenting is also used to alleviate the weightiness of employing a face threatening act (FTA) in the discourse (Holmes 1986; Brown and Levinson 1987). Investigating the pragmatic motives behind the choice of implicit compliments, Maíz-Arévalo (2012: 94) notes that implicit compliments "serve to fulfill a certain range of functions, among the most important being: avoiding face-threat (especially when distance is still relatively high between interlocutors), wishing to sound sincere and/or building rapport."

Apart from Maíz-Arévalo (2012)'s article, the study of compliments has focused mostly on what compliments do in society instead of focusing on what they do in interaction. Further, it is claimed that the ethnographic method used for data collection restricts the researchers' analyses. Therefore, studying the illocutionary force of complimenting, especially implicit compliments, at the discourse level may provide the researcher with some

plausible findings about the complimenters' intentions or needs to opt for an implicit compliment rather than an explicit one.

4. Interactional functions of implicit compliments

It is argued in this paper that there are external (social) and internal (interactional) functions of implicit compliments. External functions are related to the speech act in isolated utterances; thus, they are derived from the speakers' general knowledge about the illocutionary force of the compliments while internal functions are related to the compliment event itself and are derived and determined at the time of the dialogue. The second difference between external and internal functions is that the former concentrates on the illocutionary force; what the speaker wants to do with the compliment, that is to say, the effect of creating and maintaining friendly relationships and that of attending positive and negative face wants (enhancing politeness and saving face). The internal functions focus on the illocutionary and perlocutionary effects behind the use of the speech act under concern; effects on both of the interactants (and possibly on the overhearers as well). Such functions cannot be attained unless the interpreter (whether a participant in the dialogue or not) can sensitively analyze the discourse in order to reach particular impressions resulted and created by the context. Nonetheless, implicit compliments can be used to achieve many different internal (interactional) functions which can serve either the speaker or the addressee as follows:

a- <u>**Functions serving the speaker**</u>: In certain situations, the researcher notices that the main function of using an implicit compliment at a specific time of the dialogue serves only the complimenter. The following functions are argued to be related more to the complimenter than to the complimentee:

1- Avoiding embarrassment:

In the following example, the speaker uses a request to pay an implicit compliment since he does not have a close relationship with the addressee. The choice of an implicit compliment is triggered by S's fear of embarrassment.

Example 1

[Field: A geography teacher who has bought new trainers is walking in the playing yard with another teacher; students are sitting nearby eating and talking during the break.//Tenor: S (male, 15) is one of the students whom T (male, around 34) had taught three years ago. The relationship between them is formal].

1. S: *wallah   qaaSdak   bhal booT*.
2. 'By God, can you lend me your trainers?'

3. T: <u>imqaddam</u>
4. 'You can take it whenever you like.'

In Jordanian dialect, when somebody says *qaaSdak bhal* (certain item), the hearer deduces that the speaker admires the item in question. This expression implicitly indicates a compliment (with some exceptions related to different contexts). The usual response would be '*imqaddam*' or '*9ala Hsaabak*' 'take it,' to express thanks. The choice of an implicit compliment in this example helps the speaker avoid potential embarrassment and makes the addressee unconsciously accept the compliment.

2- Solving the verbalization problem:

The speaker does not have the appropriate lexical items to express his thought, so he tends to use fixed expressions to complete the conversation normally. In other words, the speaker is under considerable pressure to keep on talking during the period allotted to him; he uses implicit compliments to delay the production of a turn in which a decision is anticipated. Examples 2 is illustrative:

Example 2

[Field: A is desperately searching for a change, S is sitting in his store.//Tenor: A (male, around 30) and S (male, around 35) are neighbors, but they do not have any relation at all.]

1. A: ma9ak Srafit 9ašara ?
2. 'Do you have a change for 10 dinars?'
3. S: ah (0.9) ta šo:flak yallah (2.1) laqaytlak!
4. 'Yes let me see I have. ((he gives him the change))
5. A: ah hayk (0.3) Sa:r ma9i (0.2) <u>9išri:n</u>
6. 'Now I have 20 dinars.' ((he did not give him the 10 note, jokingly))
7. S:<u>*9aHsaabak.*</u>
8. 'You are worthy of them' or 'it makes no difference.'
9. A: allah yis9idak.
10. 'God bless you.' ((thanking))
11. S: tislam.
12. 'Thank you.'

In certain situations the speaker does not have the appropriate lexical items to express his thoughts, so he uses gestures, hand movements and some markers of insufficiency. Such markers are used to provide the speaker with a sufficient time to form a meaningful message. In this example, S was surprised by the unexpected joke, so he searches his memory for a quick reply; the most appropriate one should be a fixed expression that the speaker has frequently used in similar situations. The implicit compliment '*9a Hsaabak*' helps the speaker solve the verbalization problem.

3- Supporting the speaker's higher self-esteem:

Implicit compliments used as self-praise help the speaker maintain his self-image as a respected, worthy human being. It is argued that the existence of some contradictions between the speaker's statements and his actions does not affect this claim since, focusing more on our intentions and conversational goals, we speakers, listen more attentively, to what others say than to our own utterances.

Example 3

[Field: A, a laundryman, is doing the ironing; D comes to the laundry as a customer, they and begins haggling on the price of ironing two pairs of pants to be less than 80 piasters.//Tenor: A (male, around 40) meets D (male, around 25) for the first time; they do not know each other.]

1. D: qaddayš tu?murni 9alayhum ?
2. 'How much?'
3. A: θamaniin qirš.
4. '80 piasters.'
5. D: ya zalamih ?ana bakuihum b?aql wallah 9ind maHal θani=
6. 'Oh man, I can have them much less than you ask.'
7. A: *9aHsabak wallah Habibi* (1.2) *bala maSa::ri*.
8. 'If you like, I would do them for you for free, without money(on my bill).'
9. D: Tayb ra9ina ya zalemeh ra9ina ( ).
10. 'Oh man, a little deduction will be okay, please, deduct the cost a little bit further'
11. A: wallahi ya Habibi ya9ni (1.2) bidak tiHsibha 9allaqa::t 9alaqa wkees wkaða=
12. 'You need to think of the expenses; hangers...a hanger, a bag and other things.'
13. D: ?ana ma9ak bas wallahi: ya9ni:: waZ9i ya9ni:!
14. 'I understand, but, By God, well, my position (not having enough money), well.'
15. A: taklufitha 9alayna Ɣa:lia.
16. 'The expenses are really high.'
17. D: Tayb yallah sab9iin mli::H ?!
18. '70 (piasters) would be okay?!'
19. A: *9aHsaabak* (.) *miš faarqa*. ((lowering his voice))
20. 'You can have them for free, it makes no difference.'
21. D: allah yis9idak allah yis9idak. ((pleading))
22. 'God bless you, God bless you'
23. A: ((no response))
24. D: xalaS ittafaqna sab9iin qirš.
25. 'Let's make a deal, 70 piasters'

26. A: la? Ma biSiir hayk (.)?ana si9ri <u>wa::Had</u> 9alkul (0.3) si9ir <u>muaHHad</u>.
27. 'Do not argue with me more. I have a fixed price, for all customers.'
28. D: ?ana bakwiihum ib?aqal min <u>hiik</u>.
29. 'I can have them much less than you asked.'
30. A: *xalaS xaliiha 9alay ilmarra hay*[D: ?allah yis9idak.] *la?inaak ?awal mara btiji 9alayyeh* [D: ?allah yis9idak.] *w9ala Hsaabi wxallina niksabak ibfunjan qahweh* [D: ?allah yis9idak bil?afraaH in ša:llah.] billaah 9allayk[D:?allah yis9idak ?allah yis9idak]=
31. 'Let me do them for free this time' [D: 'God bless you, God bless you.' ((thanking))] 'for your eyes, this is the first time you come' [D: 'God bless you.' ((thanking))] 'let me pay the expenses, let's drink coffee' [D: 'God bless you (thanking), at wedding ceremonies, God's willing']
32. D: ya9ni hayk ?aaxir si9ir 9indak.
33. 'This means you've made your mind.'
34. A: <u>?a:xir si9ir</u> wallah ya Habiibi (.) <u>?axir si9ir</u>.
35. 'Deduction is impossible, dear, it is the last price.'

((Feeling that D is not yielding, A draws back and accepts ironing two pairs of pants for only 70 piasters)).

Implicit compliments in this example are used to support the speaker's higher self-esteem. The words in italics *9aHsaabak... bala maSari* 'take it for free' and *'xaliiha 9alay* 'I'll pay for you' have many implications such as 'you are more important than money, you are a worthy customer and you deserve all respect and admiration' and 'please, do not think of me as a greedy person; money is nothing to me.' The first implication concerning the worthiness of the customer is implausible since each mention of '*9aHsaabak*' or '*xaliiha 9ali*' is followed by an elaboration of the impossibility to make any deduction and the last mention of these positive words is followed by a desperate try of more haggling on the part of the complimentee. Moreover, the idea of the worthiness of the customer had been completely erased when the laundryman states that he has a fixed price, for all clients, therefore, the customer is not special in any way. The second implication is related to the worthiness of the speaker as being a kind, generous person. This implication is more acceptable in this case since the meaning of complimentary phrases suggests that money is nothing to the speaker; the laundryman is repeats '*9aHsaabak... bala maSari'* and '*xaliiha 9alay*' stating that he is going to do ironing for free. Although such offers are ostensible in nature, they support the speaker's high self-esteem.

4- Following the economy principle:

The speaker needs/tends to deliver two or more ideas in as few utterances as possible especially when there are limited resources; example 4 exemplifies one of these limitations, namely restricted time during telephone conversations.

Example 4

[Field: M is talking to his friend D over the telephone.//Tenor: M (male, around 30) meets D (male, around 26) frequently and they have a close relationship]

1. M: kay:f Haalak ?
2. 'How are you?'
3. D: *miš naqiSni ɣiir šooftak*
4. 'Seeing you will complete my well-being.'
5. M: ?allah yis9idu
6. 'God bless you.' ((thanking))

The sentence *miš naqiSni ɣiir šooftak* can be divided into two parts: *miš naqiSni* which is the theme of *miš naqiSni iši alHamdu lillaah* 'I am in perfect health and happiness, thank God'; this reading is related to the most frequent reply in similar phatic talks, and *ɣiir šooftak* which is the rheme of *ma biddi ɣiir šooftak* 'I need nothing except seeing you (I miss you).' Combining two sentences in this way is triggered by the economy principle to save time and effort. In support with this suggestion, Papi (2009:160) relates the use of implicitness in natural languages to the fact that "the mind tends to obtain the maximum with the minimum effort[...] as a way of simplifying and speeding information processing.'' Therefore, implicitness is used "to favour- not to hinder- the functioning of the mind."

5- Showing noble feelings:

Direct compliments are not acceptable in certain situations when the expected feeling is malicious; example 5 provides an example of such a feeling, envy. To avoid misunderstanding, the speaker opts for implicit compliments and supports them with the religious expression *maša? Allah* 'Allah's blessings.'

Example 9

[Field: M is one of the students who participated in the school broadcast; he recited some verses from the Holy Qur'an. His recitation drew K's attention since it is professional. //Tenor: K (male, 23), a newly employed teacher, does not know M (male, 11) before this incident; M is not one of his students.]

1. K: šwai M (.) law samaHit ta9aal ?išwai !
2. 'Hey, M, please, come here.'
3. M: ?ana (.) ?aa ?ustaað !

4. 'Me? okay, teacher.'
5. K: lamma smi9tak ?ibtiqra bil ?iðaa9a ilyuum (0.4) lafatit ?intibaahi=
6. 'When you recited the Holy Qur'an today, you drew my attention.'
7. M: in šaalah <u>ma ?axTa?it</u>.
8. 'Had I made a mistake?'
9. K: <u>laa laa miš ?ilqaSid</u> . bass miin darrabak ?ala ttajwiid
10. 'No no, I didn't intend that, but who taught you recitation?'
11. M: ?ana mištarik ibmarkiz qur?aani.
12. 'I have been studying at one of the Qur'anic centers.'
13. *K: ibSaraaHa SuuTak ?u tajwiidak **<u>maa šaa?a alaah</u>** ðakkarni ib9abdil*
14. *baSiT rahmatu allah 9alayh.*
15. 'Honestly speaking, your hypnotic voice and your absorbing recitation
16. remind me of Abdulbasit, may Allah's mercy be upon him.'
17. M: <u>tirHam wit9iiš</u> ?akθar min waaHad ?akθar min waaHad qaali hal Haki.
18. 'May you be blessed with long life. Many people told me the same.'

In this example, the implicit compliment (lines 13-14) is realized in terms of a comparison in which the speaker draws a parallel between the addressee and a well-known person regarding a specific trait, namely, recitation. The speaker uses the fixed expression *maša? Allah* 'Allah's blessings' to show noble feelings concerning the addressee's recitation. The use of this expression makes the compliment more appreciative and less face threatening.

6- **Expressing gratitude and thanks**:

Implicit compliments are frequently utilized to show that the complimenter is grateful to the addressee for something he has said or done. Consider example 10.

Example 10

[Field: T goes to H's store to buy some fruit and vegetables, H has been recently suffering from heart disease, and most of his neighbors, including T, know that. // Tenor: T (male, 17) and H (male, around 50) do not have a close relationship.]

1. T: ?išluunak 9am H. ?išluun ?axbaarak ?išluun SiHtak ?
2. 'How are you, uncle H? How are you doing? How is your health?'
3. H: ?ilHamdulillaah, ?allah ?isalmmak, <u>?ib ?alf xiir</u>, ?il Hamdulillaah.
4. 'Thank God, God bless you, I'm in perfect health, praise be to Allah.'
5. T: ?išluun ?iššuɣul ma9aak ?
6. 'Are you satisfied with your work?'
7. H: wallahi ?ilHamdulillaah, *?illi bit9aamal ma9 waaHad miθlak*
8. *?ilHamdulillaah, ?ana ?ib ?alf <u>ni9mih</u> wib <u>?laf xayr</u> .*

9. 'By God, I'm very well, when I deal with a person like you, everything will
10. be fine, thank God.'
11. T: ?allah yis9idak 9amm H
12. 'God bless you, uncle H.'

7- Substituting for other speech acts:

The speaker uses implicit compliments instead of other speech acts; the following two expressions are used as indirect criticism and nonnegotiable acceptance respectively.

dammak xafiif 'your blood is light' is used to imply the following: 'you're fun to be around.' This expression is utilized by the complimenter to indicate that after telling an unbelievable story, the addressee is not telling the truth, it is just a matter of exaggeration. Therefore, this phrase is used as an indirect criticism.

?intah faSSil wana balbas 'you sew and I wear' implies that the speaker respects the addressee so much to the extent that he cannot reject his decision; the complimentee is an admirable, wise person who is able to take the right decision. Therefore, this expression serves the function of nonnegotiable, indirect acceptance.

8- Paving the way for other actions:

An implicit compliment can be used as a preparatory stage for other actions; the following expressions precede haggling and requesting respectively.

 rijlak xaDra 'your leg is green' is used on many occasions especially in stores by the sales person to compliment the customer who attracts other customers to the store or by the customer to draw attention to himself/herself, and this implicit self-compliment will be beneficial later on at the moment of haggling.

?iidak Taayleh 'your hand is stretched out' is utilized to compliment a powerful person with good connections who can illegally solve problems by taking the law into his hands. This implicit compliment may be used as a preparatory phrase for a request for a service.

9- Satisfying curiosity:

Implicit compliments can be used as a suitable vehicle through which people get the information required without appearing inquisitive and rude. Example 11 exemplifies this use.

Example 11

[Field: Two friends are having a drink together, one of them is wearing a new, short-sleeved shirt.//Tenor: A (male, 26) and T (male, around 32) have a close friendship.]

1. A: <u>šo::</u> (.) *mištari qamiiS jdii:d* ?!
2. 'You have bought a new shirt?!'
3. T: <u>aah</u> ištariituh imbariH billayl.
4. 'Yes, I bought it yesterday night.'
5. A:*layš ma qultilli, kunt ruHt ma9ak ?u jebtilli waHad zayu.*
6. 'Why didn't you tell me? I would escort you and buy a similar one for me
7. T: kunit   marir min šari9 issinimah wana rayiH 9assuuq (.)   šuftu u9ajabni, <u>šu</u> rayak ? Hilu ?
8. 'While I was passing-by the Cinema Street in my way to the market, I accidently saw it and thought it is nice. What's your opinion? Is it nice?
9. A: aah   <u>mrattab</u> !
10. 'Yes, it is really nice and stylish!'

    The complimenter told the addressee that he wants to buy a similar shirt for himself, and the idea is reinforced again at the end of the dialogue when he states that T's shirt is attractive. The implicit compliment here serving the function of satisfying curiosity takes the form of a reprimand. The speech situation consists of (at least) two speech acts, viz. reprimand and compliment, therefore, it can be considered as a macro-speech act, "a global speech act performed by the utterance of a whole discourse, and executed by a sequence of possibly different speech acts" (Van Dijk 1998:356). Therefore, the discourse as a whole can be considered as a macro-implicit compliment (not only the italicized phrases) in which the speech act of reprimand is a "preparatory condition" (ibid) that motivates and leads to the compliment action. However, it is safe to claim that implicit compliments in the form of interrogatives or exclamatory declaratives serve many functions, especially the one related to 'satisfying curiosity.'

10- Indirectly persuading the addressee:
    The complimenter uses an implicit compliment since it is the best way to persuade the addressee of a certain idea, and a direct means of persuasion would be fruitless compared to that of implicit approval and admiration. Consider example 12.

Example 12
    [Field: on a visit to his sister, B has been told by his sister that A, his nephew (male, 4), is unhappy because his outfit is not as colorful and pretty as his brother's. B's sister has told her brother that A had cried all the night and that breaks her heart. At the time of the conversation, B's sister was

preparing lunch in the kitchen; B was sitting with his nephew in the parlor. //Tenor: B (male, 33) does not like A as much as his brother since A is naughty while his brother is more disciplined and cleverer.]

1. B: šu:: <u>xaalu</u> ta9aal ?i9Tiini bousih !
2. 'Hey, my nephew, come here, give me a kiss!'
3. A: ?a:: xaalu::::
4. 'Oh, my uncle.' ((coming near))
5. B: *maa šaa?a allaah* ! (0.5) *miin ištaralak hali bluuzeh* ? *maama willah*
6. *baaba* ?
7. 'Oh God, who bought this blouse? Mum or Dad?'
8. A: <u>maama</u>. ištratli yaaha min ?irbid.
9. 'Mum bought it from Irbid.'

Having been told that A is complaining about his clothes, B tries to soften the situation and to persuade A that his mother has a clothes sense and his clothes are stylish and elegant, using an implicit compliment suggests that B has not been provided with any information about the event, so the compliment would appear more sincere and genuine. The Implicit compliment serves the speaker with a means to convince the addressee that his clothes are attractive and stylish.

11- Initiating a trouble-telling topic:
The speaker uses implicit compliments as a transitory stage for introducing an unpleasant topic; such a topic may be deemed as unwelcomed theme to turn the conversation into. In example 13, the speaker utilizes an implicit compliment as an appropriate means to initiate a trouble-telling topic.

Example 13
[Field: one of the telecom companies has deducted an amount of money from A, a sales person, and that angers him. A harshly complains to the call receptionist, while one of the customers, S, is shopping. //Tenor: A (male, around 33) and S (male, around 20) are neighbors, but they do not have an intimate relationship.]

1. S: bas Hakayt ma9aah bjur?a !
2. 'Oh, in courage and determination you talked to him!'
3. A: ya xi: SaaHib ilHaq <u>qawi</u>, šu ya9ni šu:: ?asawi ? mahum zay <u>ilminšar</u>
4. Taali9 maakil naazil maakil.
5. 'Within your rights, you come on strong. What should I do? They (their
6. policies) are like a saw; both forwards and backwards it cuts (they take
7. money with a right or without a right).'

8. S: *nifsi ?ikuun 9indi jur?a zayyak*, haðiik ?ilmarrah-
9. 'I wish to be as courageous as you, last time...
10. A: [hiyyia miš jur?a, bas ilmauZuu9 ?innu ilxaSim miš manTiqi]
11. 'It's not a matter of courage; it's just that the deduction is unjustifiable.'

The speaker admires the addressee for his courage and determination and expresses his wish to be as courageous as the addressee. He uses an implicit compliment in the form of a comparison between the complimentee and himself to initiate a trouble-telling topic. The use of ...*haðiik ?ilmarrah-* '.....that time' reveals that S is stealing the floor to end A's story and begin a similar one in which he had an unpleasant experience.

12- Gaining access to the floor and shifting the topic from one theme to another:

In example 14, it is explained how the speaker uses an implicit compliment in order to gain access to the floor and to shift the topic from telling jokes to another theme since he does not have any jokes to tell and that makes him stay passive for a considerable time. So, utilizing an implicit compliment at that time of the conversation serves the complimenter a lot.

Example 14

[Field: Four friends are having a drink together in a cafe. At the time of the compliment, they are telling funny jokes. // Tenor: H (male, 28), K (male, 32), T (male, 30) have an intimate relationship except M (male, 27) who is recently introduced to the group by T.]

1. M: *ya:: ?allaah šu ibtišbah DiHkitak DiHkit SaaHbi* !
2. 'Oh God, how your laugher resembles that of my friend.'
3. H: šu:: DiHkitu Hilwih ?!
4. 'Is your friend's laughing pleasant?'
5. M: ?aa DiHkituu Hilwih ka?inha Taal?a minilqalb.
6. 'Yes, it is amazing and hearty.'

The speaker comments on H's laugh comparing it to his friend's, intending positive implications, but he has been misunderstood, and the implicit compliment does not have its positive force. According to Van Dijk (1998:348), topic-comment/assertion-presupposition distribution is crucial for the discourse of speech acts; known elements should come in first position and new elements in second position. In the case in hand, the complimenter deviates the given distribution when he associates the complimentee's laugh to that of an unknown person. However, the implicit compliment is utilized to gain access to the floor and to shift the topic from telling jokes to another theme since he does not have any jokes to tell.

13- Preparing the addressee for certain demands:

Implicit compliments are used as a preparatory stage for future demands and requests. In example 15, the complimenter uses an implicit compliment to imply that he cannot trust other neighbors, so he has a right or at least a reason to ask similar favors from the addressee, and it will become one of the addressee's moral obligations to accept future demands and requests from the speaker.

Example 15

[Field: after shopping, K wants to go to the mosque to attend al-jum'a sermon, he has a heavy bag and does not know where to put it. He decides to put it in the supermarket near his house. // Tenor: K (male, 28) and A (male, around 30) do not have an intimate relationship.]

1. K: marHaba jaar. kayf SiHtak ?
2. 'Hello, my neighbor, how are you?'
3. A: ?allah yis9idak, ?ilHamdullillaah.
4. 'God bless you, fine.'
5. K: <u>bidi ?aɣalbak</u>, jaar, biddi ?axalli   ?ilkiis 9indak, bidi ?atwaZah wa Salli
6. 'Can I ask you a favor, my dear? I want to leave this bag in your store for I
7. am in a hurry to attend the sermon.'
8. A: wala ihimmak, ya zalama, ?ilmaHal ?u SaHaabu 9ala Hsaabak
9. 'Do not worry, man. Think of the store as yours, and me as your brother
10. (you are welcome).'
11. K: *manta ibti9raf, ma ba?ammin bil Haara 9ala Hada ?illa ?inta*
12. 'You know, I cannot trust anyone but you in this area.'
13. A: <u>lah ya zalamih</u>, bas maalu <u>ibraahiim</u> ?
14. 'Oh man! What about Ibrahim?'
15. K: <u>ibraahi:::m</u> ?! salaam salaam !
16. 'Ibrahim?! Goodbye goodbye (no comment).'

14- preparing the addressee for departure:

The speaker uses an implicit compliment as a sign or a hint for leave-taking; in example 15, implicitly complimenting the addressee before his leaving, the speaker indicates that he is interested in his uncle's speech, and his leaving is related to any cause except that of boredom. So, in such a case the speech act of implicit compliment provides the speaker with a means to soften the departure since it is more polite to use an implicit compliment to end the conversation and prepare the addressee for the speaker's leave-taking.

Example 16

[Field: H meets his uncle S who has recently returned from America. In this visit they talked about many political and social issues. Throughout the conversation, H could not gain access to the floor except occasionally; his uncle S, being knowledgeable, talkative and charismatic, has been talking all the time, and that considerably impressed H who has not seen his uncle for two years. // Tenor: H (male, 27) and S (male, 48) are relatives, but they do not have a close relationship.]

1. H: wallaahi la yummal, ibti9raf, Hakiina bmawaZii9 kθiir.
2. 'What a funny time we've spent! (It's nice/ interesting talking to you) Well, we talked about many issues.'
3. S: mauZu::9 bijur mauZu:9, ( ), wilHayaa ( ) -
4. 'One topic leads to another, ... and the life...'
5. H:[mawaDii9 ikθiir Hassaasih, ?uma9lumaatak ?ikθiir gayyimih, *miš*
6. *ibwijhak ! wiSSalaatu 9annabi*, *mausuu9a*]
7. 'Many crucial issues (we've talked about), your information is
8. enlightening. Honestly speaking, (you are) an encyclopedia.'
9. S: kullu min luTfak ?u zuuqak, ?u (.) *bas lu nixlaS min hannas ?illi ?illi*
10. *bni9tabirhum ibniqdar ni9tabirhum SaTHiyyiin, ?u:: ma binZuru ?illa lil*
11. *gušuur.*
12. 'Thank you a lot, you are so kind. Oh, if only other people could think as
13. deeply as you do!'

15- Expressing modesty and avoiding self-praise:

The speaker uses an implicit compliment to solve the interactional dilemma described by Pomerantz (1978:81-82) in which the recipient of the compliment faces two conflicting constraints, that is to say, to accept the compliment and at the same time to avoid self-praise. Such a dilemma is less imposing when the compliments are delivered implicitly, and as a result, both compliments are appreciated and welcomed in example 17:

Example 17

[Field: While an English teacher in the classroom was giving a lesson, a student's father came asking about the progress of his son.//Tenor: H (male, 28) teaches T (male, around 44) 's son. T meets H for the first time.]

1. D: *wallahi kθiir irtiHit ?ana ya ostaað (.) lamma: Hakaali F inno raH*
2. *itdarishum kaman inqli:zi issanih hay .*
3. 'By God, I was very pleased when F (my son) told me that you will teach
4. him (as well as his classmates) English this year.'

5. H: wallahi 9afikra *?ana ixtarthum la?inno F bas biinathum* wallah (.) ?allah
6. yis9idak.
7. 'By God, I choose to teach this class only because F is one of them.'

b- Functions serving the addressee:
        Implicit compliments do not only serve the speaker but also serve the addressee as well. In some situations, the speech act of complimenting is oriented toward a specific goal related to the complimentee as the following functions suggest:

1- Saving the complimentee's positive face:
        The speaker provides an implicit compliment in order to save the addressee from being mocked at. Such a use is exemplified in example 18.
Example 18
    [Field: the family went to Al-Himma for picnic and swim, the next day one of their relatives visited them and asked about their vacation. The following extract centered on M (male, 8) who is the youngest brother. // Tenor: F (male, 17) meets his cousin R (male, 9) frequently but their relation can be characterized as that of reciprocal rivalry and sometimes enmity.]
1. F: šu: šu::: ?imbariH kuntu tisbaHu ?! kaayf, ma9quul M bi9raf yisbaH
2. 'What a story! Yesterday you were swimming, how about M? I think he
3. could not swim!'
4. R: sa:ma:kah !
5. 'A fish'
6. ((M remains silent and anticipatory))
    R implicitly compliments his young brother in a holistic way; comparing the complimentee's swimming ability to that of a fish is more successful than answering F's question and then defending the complimentee; the latter choice would lead to more arguments and more face-threatening situations.

2- Restoring the addressee's positive face:
        Although highly related to the previous one, this function is completely different; in cases where the speaker uses an implicit compliment to restore the addressee's positive face, the addressee, being a participant of the dialogue, goes fishing for compliments and, consequently, threatens his positive face (see example 19). In the former case (example 18), the addressee does not put himself in the difficult situation in which his face is threatened and he is not a participant of the conversation.
Example 19
        [Field: An English teacher is giving a lesson about present simple, students are tired and bored after having five classes before.//Tenor: the

relationship between H (male, around 27) and C (male, 13) is intimate since H (the teacher) is friendly and supportive and likes his students. A (male, 13) is another student in the same class.]

1. C: <u>ostaað</u> gaday::š ?issa9ah ?
2. 'What time is it, teacher?'
3. H: batwagga9iš HiSSti halqad <u>mugrifih</u> !
4. 'I do not expect my class to be that boring!'
5. C: miš   qaSdi, ostaað.
6. 'I did not mean that, teacher.'
7. A: *wayn <u>elHiSSa hay</u> wil HiSaS iθθania*!
8. 'Compared with other classes, this class is really funny and more
9.   interesting.'
10. H: Sadaqtak <u>kθiir wallah</u>. ((teasingly))
11. 'I extremely believe you.'
(A and other students laugh.)

3**- Encouraging the addressee:**

The speaker utilizes an implicit compliment in order to strengthen the effect of an utterance in which he wants to encourage the addressee to continue doing something positive. This function is illustrated in example 9 (repeated here as (20) for the sake of clarity):

Example 20

[Field: M is one of the students who participated in the school broadcast; he recited some verses from the Holy Qur'an. His recitation drew K's attention since it is professional. //Tenor: K (male, 23), a newly employed teacher, does not know M (male, 11) before this incident; M is not one of his students.]

1. K: <u>šwai</u> M (.) law samaHit ta9aal ?išwai !
2. 'Hey, M, please, come here.'
3. M: <u>?ana</u> (.) ?aa ?ustaað !
4. 'Me? okay, teacher.'
5. K: lamma smi9tak ?ibtiqra bil ?iðaa9a ilyuum (0.4) lafatit ?intibaahi=
6. 'When you recited the Holy Qur'an today, you drew my attention.'
7. M: in šaalah <u>ma ?axTa?it</u>.
8. 'Had I made a mistake?'
9. K: <u>laa laa miš ?ilqaSid</u> . bass miin darrabak ?ala ttajwiid
10. 'No no, I didn't intend that, but who taught you recitation?'
11. M: ?ana mištarik ibmarkiz qur?aani.
12. 'I have been studying at one of the Qur'anic centers.'
13. K: *ibSaraaHa SuuTak ?u tajwiidak **<u>maa šaa?a alaah</u>** ðakkarni ib9abdil*
14. *baSiT rahmatu allah 9alayh.*
15. 'Honestly speaking, your hypnotic voice and your absorbing recitation

16. remind me of Abdulbasit, may Allah's mercy be upon him.'

17. M: tirHam wit9iiš ?akθar min waaHad ?akθar min waaHad qaali hal Haki.

18. 'May you be blessed with long life. Many people told me the same.'

4- Making a ground for a previously paid compliment:

Using an implicit compliment as a continuation of a response to a given compliment, the speaker upgrades the compliment by commenting and reinforcing it. Doing so, he makes the ground for the first compliment and makes himself worthy of receiving it as in example 16 (repeated here as (21) for the sake of clarity):

Example 21

[Field: H meets his uncle S who has recently returned from America. In this visit they talked about many political and social issues. Throughout the conversation, H could not gain access to the floor except occasionally; his uncle S, being knowledgeable, talkative and charismatic, has been talking all the time, and that considerably impressed H who has not seen his uncle for two years. // Tenor: H (male, 27) and S (male, 48) are relatives, but they do not have a close relationship.]

1. H: wallaahi la yummal, ibti9raf, Hakiina bmawaZii9 kθiir.

2. 'What a funny time we've spent! (It's nice/ interesting talking to you) Well, we talked about many issues.'

3. S: mauZu::9 bijur mauZu:9, ( ), wilHayaa ( ) -

4. 'One topic leads to another, ... and the life...'

5. H:[mawaDii9 ikθiir Hassaasih, ?uma9lumaatak ?ikθiir gayyimih, *miš*

6. *ibwijhak ! wiSSalaatu 9annabi*, *mausuu9a*]

7. 'Many crucial issues (we've talked about), your information is

8. enlightening. Honestly speaking, (you are) an encyclopedia.'

9. S: kullu min luTfak ?u zuuqak, ?u (.) *bas lu nixlaS min hannas ?illi ?illi*

10. *bni9tabirhum ibniqdar ni9tabirhum SaTHiyyiin, ?u:: ma binZuru ?illa lil*

11. *gušuur.*

12. 'Thank you a lot, you are so kind. Oh, if only other people could think as

13. deeply as you do!'

c- Functions serving both of the speaker and the addressee:

Being aimed to serve the speaker or the addressee separately, implicit compliments are found in situations where they are utilized to serve both of the interactants as the following functions indicate.

1- Avoiding potential problems:

If the speaker behaves explicitly to express his thoughts, the conversation may turn into a conflict; therefore, utilizing implicit compliments in this way avoids the interaction problems (see examples 2,3 and 13)

2- Creating a smooth atmosphere:

Compared with the previous function, this one occurs in more conventional situations in which the speaker pays the compliment to reduce an already existing stress, the following two expressions are suggestive.

?9Saabak baardeh 'your nerves are cold = you can take a grip on yourself' can be used to compliment the addressee on his patience in a difficult situation; the complimentee in such a situation can control his emotions although he is afraid, upset or angry; consequently, he is able to behave sensibly and logically.

qalbak ?abyaD 'your heart is white' is used in situations when the addressee has the right to behave maliciously against somebody. The complimenter provides this expression to remind the addressee of his/her noble traits. However, it indicates that the complimentee cannot bear grudges against anyone. The speaker implicitly compliments the hearer in order to reduce stress in a difficult situation (nonetheless, this expression is applicable in other non-stressful situations as well).

To sum up, Jordanian speakers opt for an implicit compliment instead of an explicit one at a specific time of the dialogue to achieve some interactional functions. Such functions are claimed to serve the speaker, the addressee or both as distributed in the following list:

  a- Functions serving the speaker:
1. Avoiding embarrassment
2. Solving the verbalization problem
3. Supporting the speaker's higher self-esteem
4. Following the economy principle
5. Showing noble feelings
6. Expressing gratitude and thanks
7. Substituting for other speech acts
8. Paving the way for other actions
9. Satisfying curiosity
10. Indirectly persuading the addressee
11. Initiating a trouble-telling topic
12. Gaining access to the floor and shifting the topic from one theme to another
13. Preparing the addressee for certain demands
14. preparing the addressee for departure

    15. Expressing modesty and avoiding self-praise

b- Functions serving the addressee :
1. Saving the complimentee's positive face
2. Restoring the addressee's positive face
3. Encouraging the addressee
4. Making a ground for a previously paid compliment

c- Functions serving both of the speaker and the addressee :
1. Avoiding potential problems
2. Creating a smooth atmosphere

5. Conclusion

The concept of implicit compliment is relatively new to speech act studies not only in Jordanian Arabic but also in other varieties as well. Therefore, this paper examines the speech act of implicit compliment used by Jordanian people within its larger context to raise awareness among those who are not acquainted with it. It is a modest attempt to delve deeper into the compliment event to reach the interactional functions of implicit compliments. This study focuses on the motives behind choosing an implicit compliment instead of an explicit one at a specific time of the discourse.

The results of the study show that implicit compliments are different from explicit ones and that such a speech act belongs to a different category. The study also shows that implicit compliments convey many interactional functions that serve the speaker and the addressee and that some functions serve them both. It presents fifteen functions related to the speaker, four functions connected with the addressee and just two related to both of them. Amazingly enough, implicit compliments, although directed to the addressee, are found to have more functions related to the speaker, and this finding suggests that speakers using implicit compliments are self-oriented people; the constitution and timing of this speech act are found to benefit the complimenter in the first place. Consequently, the researcher hypothesizes that an implicit compliment is a self-oriented speech act, while an explicit compliment, on the other hand, is an other-oriented speech act[94]. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that an implicit compliment is a function-indicating device that serves many interactional functions and implicit compliments are not always used phatically.

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94 Such a claim needs to be confirmed by other studies on the speech act in hand. Unfortunately, previous researchers have studied and treated compliments according to their general world knowledge of the benefits and reasons of using this speech act, in addition to their treatment of implicit and explicit compliments as being two sides of the same coin. The researcher argues that in order to see clearly the differences between implicit and explicit compliments, researchers need to consider them as two different speech acts. To reach this end, researchers need to study implicit compliments from within, i.e., at the discourse level.

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Problematic Issues in Translation of Culture Specific Items

Jolita Horbacauskiene, PhD
Saule Petroniene, PhD
Tatjana Vezyte, M.A.
Laima Miklovaite, B.A.
Kaunas University of Technology, Lithuania

Abstract

While translation is always a linguistic act, it is often associated with culture. In translation, universal words do not cause any particular problems in translation because it is usually easy to find their equivalents in the target language. Culture specific items, on the other hand, are difficult to translate and therefore they belong to the group of non-equivalent lexis (Pažūsis, 2014, pp. 42-43). Translation of culture- specific items (CSI) is a challenging task for the translator, who has to choose from a variety of translation strategies. The translator is also constantly under the pressure to produce a result that would enhance cross-cultural communication.

Keywords: Translation, culture specific items, culture, intercultural communication, translation strategies.

Introduction

Despite the fact that culture is often referred to as a considerably relevant component of translation, it is also seen as "the greatest obstacle" (Newmark, 2010, p. 172). The translation of culture-specific items presents a particular problem in the realm of translation and culture. The phenomenon became an object of interest in the fields of linguistics and translation studies just about 50 years ago; the term, definition and classification of realia have not been determined so far. Neither have translation theoreticians been able to reach a consensus on the list of strategies that could be universally applied for translation of CSIs.

The object of the present paper is CSIs and translation thereof into the Lithuanian language in travel guide books about London. The aim is to analyse and compare translation strategies of rendered CSIs. Current trends in the world, such as globalization, ever-increasing mobility of people,

highly developed tourism and broad network of advanced mass media, markedly contribute to the spreading of cultures. It is then natural that CSIs leave their original localities and in material and/or verbal form come to the environments, where they are perceived to be 'foreign'. In terms of translation, CSIs are seen as a challenge and are very likely to receive more and more attention due to the increasing growth of intercultural societies.

TRANSLATION AND CULTURE

As an expert in mediation between cultures, the translator plays a significant role on culture, and, in a broader sense, on cross-cultural communication. Newmark (1988) describes culture as "the way of life and its manifestations that are peculiar to a community that uses a particular language as its means of expression" (p. 94). Moreover, Davaninezhad (2009) expands the notion of "life and its manifestations" into "beliefs, ideas, attitude, customs, behaviour, festivals, cuisine and clothes style". Petrulionė (2013) concludes that culture is a system that consists of various components used by the society to deal with a surrounding world (p. 127). It is worth noticing that more explicit definitions of a culture are often interrelated with broader categorizations of CSIs. Thus, culture can be defined in numerous ways and most descriptions refer to a society or a community because culture is a reflection of cooperation between people. Culture does not exist on its own, and a single individual cannot develop it, therefore, being part of a community always implies being part of a culture. As a direct consequence of belonging to a community, a person learns both its culture and the language.

Newmark (1988) explains that language cannot be an inherent part of culture because it would make translation impossible. Aspects of one culture can be explained to the members of a different culture with respect to the norms of the target culture, as, according to Aixelà (1996), "translation is generally in favour of importing language and culture" (p. 52). Furthermore, in translation the primary aim is to render the source language text into the target language text, and the first thing the translator encounters is the language. Having read the text, the translator can relate it to a certain culture and contemplate why something has been said in that particular way. To avoid perplexity, it would be relevant to consider the language and culture as separate features characteristic of a certain community, which are closely related and significantly important in the representation of that community. Language is what enables communication among people and for this reason it is seen as a means to express culture. In addition, language performs an important role in "the way the speakers perceive the world" (Akbari, 2013, p. 13).

Translation is seen as "an *act of communication*" (Blum-Kulka in Katan, 2009, p. 74) or, more specifically, "one of the forms of intercultural communication" (Petrulionė, 2012, p. 48), and it is referred to by Ramière (2006) as "intercultural transfer" (p. 153). Cross-cultural communication is more effective and, respectively, translation may be more successful when two cultures involved are similar. As stated by Richards and Schmidt (2013), when "cultural conventions of the speakers are widely different, misinterpretations and misunderstandings can easily arise, even resulting in a total breakdown of communication" (p. 148). Therefore, a translator, who is a mediator between sending and receiving cultures, takes on responsibility to enable intercultural communication, and to ensure high quality thereof. The translator's competence is among the major factors that determine the results of translation and cross-cultural communication.

The translator's expertise cannot be limited to linguistic knowledge only; he has to be well-acquainted with the source and target cultures and know both similarities and differences between the languages and cultures. A good practice of a translator is to "know the purpose of the communication" (Davaninezhad, 2009), evaluate the importance of cultural aspects and how extensively they should be translated, consider how cultural aspects are going to be perceived by the target language readers, what they could infer (James, 2002), and to provide required presuppositions, which would ensure that the message will be understood.

Armstrong (2005) distinguishes between culture infused in language from culture detachable from language. He describes that the first notion involves the textual level because the whole text is seen as culturally determined, and attributes CSIs to the second one which are words and belong to the vocabulary, (pp. 30-36). In accordance with Davies (2003, p. 68), cultural implications at the textual level, such as discourse structure, genre norms or stylistic devices, concern other linguistic areas, but CSI is genuinely a lexical (or semantic) phenomenon.

Realia started to receive more attention in translation studies relatively recently, therefore, there are still on-going discussions about the term and it seems that some scholars feel the necessity to employ a new term. As claimed by Pažūsis et al. (2014, p. 42), the term *realia* was first used in 1960 by Bulgarian scholars Vlahov and Florin, who are considered to be pioneers on the topic (at least in Eastern Europe), and who later wrote publications, where they discussed *realia*. Other scholars use other terms, such as *cultural words* (Newmark, 1988), *culture-specific concepts* (Baker, 1992), *culture-specific items* (Aixelà, 1996), *culture-specific references* (Davies, 2003), *culture-specific material* (Ramière, 2006) or *culturally-oriented elements/terms* (Armellino, 2008).

Fernández Guerra (2012, p. 4) classifies CSIs into: geographic and ethnographic terms; words or expressions referring to folklore, traditions and mythology; names of everyday objects, actions and events (such as food and drinks, clothes, housing, tools, public transport, dances and games, units of measurement, money, etc.; social and historical terms denoting territorial administrative units or divisions; departments, professions, titles, ranks, greetings and treatments; institutions, patriotic and religious organisations; etc.)

The biggest concern for a translator dealing with CSIs is the choice of the proper translation strategy. Marinetti (2011) noted that in the translation theory one of the key elements of transfer from the linguistic to the cultural approach involved equivalence (p. 26). While linguistic approach seeks to find equivalents between the source language and the target language, supporters of the cultural approach state that because of cultural and linguistic differences cultural equivalents exist but rarely, and usually translation thereof is only an approximation. As Armellino (2008) explains, it is almost impossible to find equivalents for CSIs because they are "always strongly linked to the specific cultural context where the text originates or with the cultural context it aims to re-create" (Introduction, para.1). This also explains why CSIs belong to the group of non-equivalent lexis.

In view of the fact that the number of existing translation strategies is immense, in this paper classification of strategies presented by Davies (2003) is used as a framework. Davies briefly discusses foreignization and domestication concepts employed by Venuti (2003) and stresses that her strategies not necessarily can be classified as foreignizing or domesticating (p. 71). According to Davies, there are seven translation strategies which can be applied by professional translators to render words which carry cultural meaning.

The first strategy, which Davies calls **preservation**, is used when realia do not have a close "equivalent" in the target language (TL), and the translator simply transfers the foreign word to the target text (TT). Davies distinguishes between two types of preservation: that of form and that of meaning. Typically, the disadvantage of the first one is that it can cause a loss of meaning and, on the contrary, when a translator aims to preserve meaning, it can possibly "lead to a loss of communicative effect" (Davies, 2003, p. 76). Aixelà (1996) also notices that if a translator uses this strategy, he risks to make his translation too unrecognizable to the target readership (p. 61).

Davies points out **addition** as the second translation strategy. Talking about the role of the translator as a mediator between languages and cultures, she states that a translator has to:

<...> provide the target audience with whatever it is they need to know in order to be able to process the translation in a way similar to the way members of the source culture process the source text (ST) (Davies, 2003, p. 68).

According to Petrulionė (2013), when it comes to more "specific cultural situations", the target readership could lack knowledge needed in order to fully comprehend them (p. 129). Komissarov (1991) sees it as a direct consequence of linguistic and cultural differences between two communities (p. 47).

According to Davies (2003), addition is needed when the usage of one translation strategy – preservation - would cause some confusion to the TL reader. Therefore, the original term is explicitated (p. 77). The translator has to be sensitive to the needs of the target readership because he has to decide whether explicitation is necessary (Katan, 2009, p. 80). Kwieciński (in Katan, 2009) defines this strategy as the one belonging to "rich explicatory procedures", which present one or two additional terms that provide the reader with some contextual information (p. 80).

As maintained not only by Davies, but also by Newmark (1988) and Aixelà (1996), additional information can be included either in the main text or outside its formal borders. Newmark (1988) calls the strategy of addition *notes, additions, glosses,* and Aixelà (1996) distinguishes between two separate techniques for both internal and external additions, which he calls respectively *intratextual* and *extratextual gloss*. Extratextual gloss can take a form of notes at the bottom of a page, chapter or book (here a glossary can appear too) (Newmark, 1988, p. 92). On the other hand, when addition is in the text, the reader's attention is less interrupted (Newmark, 1988, p. 91), compared to the situation in which he has to look up the term somewhere else outside the formal text borders. When addition appears in the text, it has to be concise in order not to "hold up the narrative or burden the reader with irritating detail" (Davies, 2003, p. 77). Both Newmark (1988) and Kwieciński (in Katan, 2009) agree that additional information can be presented in the brackets or "explanatory brackets", as Kwieciński calls them. However, Newmark is in favour of a direct intratextual gloss, and Aixelà (1996) wonders whether additional information in the brackets is intratextual or extratextual gloss (p. 61).

Referring to the research carried out by Danytė, Brasienė (2013) states that in Lithuania translators still tend to use many extratextual glosses, though this tendency has been lately changing (pp. 20-21). Extensive use of footnotes and similar extratextual glosses is sometimes impossible due to purely practical reasons. For instance, in travel guide books, which usually come in the sizes that easily fit in a pocket (some of them are indeed pocket travel guides, like the one analysed in this paper – *Londonas: Kelionių*

vadovas). Komissarov (1991) notes that addition, as a strategy, is not widely used in translation of proper and geographical names. He believes that such names are already well-known, therefore additional "common names of the subjects they denote" are usually unnecessary. Yet, if a translator thinks that the reader does not have an understanding of the term it is suggested to explain it (Komissarov, 1991, p. 42).

As Davies notices, "sometimes the explanatory insertion makes the original item redundant, and it may accordingly be omitted" (2003, p. 78). Therefore, the next strategy she discusses is **omission**.

Omission appears when CSI is removed from a TT because the translator either cannot find an adequate translation of the word used in the ST or it would require too much of the translator's energy or time and would be disadvantageous in this aspect (Davies, 2003, p. 81). This strategy can also be employed when there is no reasonable motivation to keep CSI in the text because it does not create any particular impression in the reader's mind and thus would "create a confusing or inconsistent effect" (Davies, 2003, pp. 80-81). In other words, omission can be applied to CSI when the latter is irrelevant. Petrulionė (2012) noted that omission should not be regarded as the translator's failure, because in each case when something is omitted, it can have a logical reasoning behind it (p. 46). When discussing strategies introduced by Pederson, who also mentions omission, Hosseini Maasoum and Davtalab (2011) say that it "should be the last choice of the translator" if the translator seeks to preserve original text as much as possible (p. 1770).

Davies (2003)defines **globalization** as "a process of replacing culture-specific references with ones which are more neutral or general, in the sense that they are accessible to audiences from a wider range of cultural backgrounds" (p. 83). To name this strategy, Aixelà (1996) used the term *universalization* and noted that it can be limited (some cultural meaning remains) or absolute (the cultural meaning is completely neutralized) Newmark's strategy, similar to Davies's globalization, is *functional equivalent*. Pederson uses the term *generalization* (in Hosseini Maasoum & Davtalab, 2011, p. 1770) and Baker (1992) calls it *translation by a more general word*.

This strategy allows the text to be understood by a much wider audience; on the other hand, some loss of association can occur (Davies, 2003, p. 83). Usually this strategy is applied when the translator seeks to remove the cultural aspect from the TT. Newmark (1988) even describes it as "a cultural componental analysis" (p. 83).

The strategy, which stands in opposition to globalization, is **localization**. Aixelà (1996) calls it *naturalization* and Newmark (1988) refers to it as *cultural equivalent*. In general, when using this strategy, the translator replaces CSI with an approximate equivalent existing in the target

language, making the text more comprehensible to the target audience (Davies, 2003, p. 84). Two most important issues related to this strategy is that for the translator it is often difficult to evaluate "a very fine line between passable and implausible localization" (Davies, 2003, p. 84).

According to Davies (2003), **transformation,** as a strategy, is used when "the modification of a CSI seems to go beyond globalization or localization, and could be seen as an alteration or distortion of the original" (p. 86). Daugėlaitė (2008) explains that this strategy can be useful when the "the real meaning of an item" is opaque but the term cannot be omitted (p. 22). Still, Davies herself admits that it is not easy to determine clear differences among transformation, localization and globalization (2003, p. 86).

Davies also introduces **creation** as a translation strategy. Aixelà (1996), however, calls it *autonomous creation*. Basically, creation is production of a CSI which is not originally present in the ST (Davies, 2003, p. 88). The translator may employ this strategy to render the meaning of CSI in a manner that would be clearer to the target readership (Davies, 2003, p. 87). Aixelà (1966) sees this strategy as one of the least popular and claims that it is usually applied in order to make the text more imaginative (p. 64).

Thus, the analysis of CSI is a relatively new topic in the field of translation, which interests many translation theorists and scholars who have discussed this phenomenon and provided various terms, definitions and categorization systems to the field; the same applies to translation strategies used to render SCIs. The translator's choice of a specific strategy for a particular CSI always depends on the relation between the source and the target cultures since the translation of CSI concerns both two languages and two cultures.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The research has been carried out to analyze material of 2 London travel guide books and their translated Lithuanian versions. The travel guides include descriptions of the most significant highlights in London and provide wide-ranging information for people visiting the city. There are passages on historical and modern artefacts and geographic areas in London and the famous sights they contain. In these books suggestions are given where to go to eat and general information is provided for visiting a new place for the first time. The travel guides aim to provide the readers with basic knowledge of the UK's capital city, which they would find useful planning their trip or already visiting the city.

Realia in English have been categorized according to the taxonomy presented by Fernández Guerra (2012). The translation strategies that have been used by the translators of both books to render CSIs into Lithuanian

have been identified. The strategies used to translate CSIs were based on Davies's classifications.

In total, 330 cases of CSIs have been found in the travel guide books *Top 10 London* and *Berlitz: London pocket guide*. Overall, 424 translation examples have been found in the travel guide books *Top 10 Londonas* and *Londonas: Kelionių vadovas* due to the fact that some of CSIs in English have two or three different translation variants in Lithuanian. The analysis of CSIs translation is based on Davies's (2003) taxonomy of translation strategies.
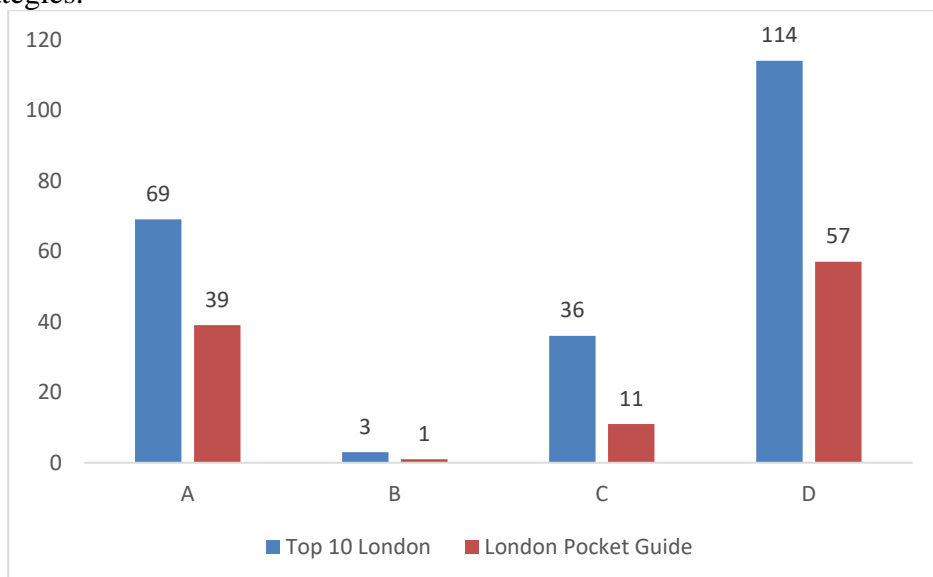

Figure 1. Distribution of CSIs into four main categories according to Fernández Guerra's taxonomy.

Figure 1 shows that the majority of CSIs are attributed to category D (Social and historical terms denoting territorial administrative units or divisions; departments, professions, titles, ranks, greetings and treatments; institutions, patriotic and religious organisations; etc.). A considerable amount of CSIs is assigned to category A (Geographic and ethnographic terms) which mostly includes toponyms referring to London and its areas, names of parks and other geographic and ethnographic CSI. Category C (Names of everyday objects, actions and events (such as food and drinks, clothes, housing, tools, public transport, dances and games, units of measurement, money, etc.;) cover 36 and 11 CSIs from the books respectively and refer mainly to food, constituting the third biggest category. A small amount of CSIs from the travel guide books are attributed to category B (Words or expressions referring to folklore, traditions and mythology); and all of the instances refer to traditional events.

Translation strategies according to Davies's (2003) taxonomy, which have been applied to each category of CSI in the travel guide books, is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Translation strategies (number of instances) based on Davies's (2003) taxonomy applied to four categories of realia according to Fernández Guerra (2012) in travel guides Top 10 Londonas and Londonas: Kelionių vadovas.

Category→	A		B		C		D	
	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2	T1	T2
Translation strategy								
Preservation	88	36	3	-	26	10	119	35
Addition	2	9	-	-	3	-	15	22
Omission	-	-	-	-	-	1	6	3
Globalization	-	-	-	-	4	2	2	-
Localization	-	1	-	-	3	-	1	2
Transformation	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1
Creation	-	3	-	1	2	-	6	8

Note: A, B, C and D refer to the categories by Fernández Guerra; T1 refers to *Top 10 Londonas* and T2 refers to *Londonas: Kelionių vadovas.*

Table 1 shows that the translation strategy of preservation is used most often to translate CSIs of all categories as identified by Fernández Guerra (2012). The second most popular translation strategy is addition. Other translation strategies are used rarely or not used at all. Only omission and creation, both used for rendering CSIs of category D are used more than just on a few occasions.
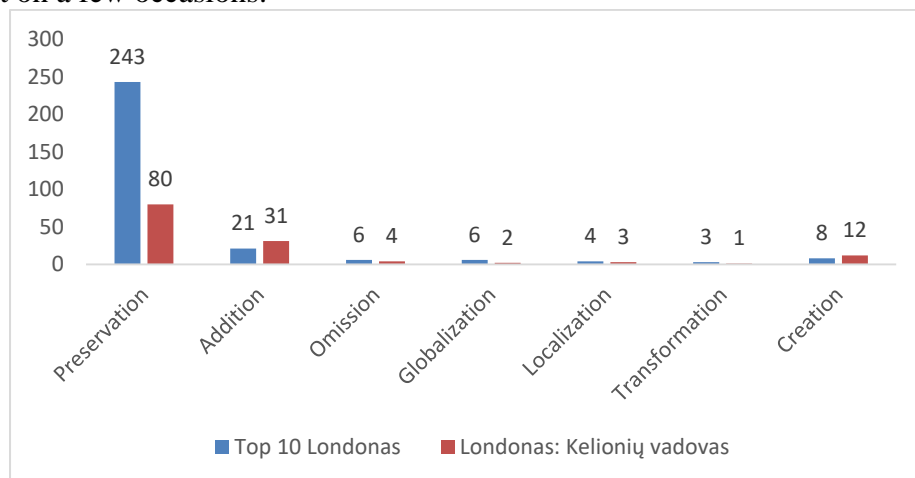

Figure 2. Distribution of CSI translation in travel guide books *Top 10 Londonas* and *Londonas: Kelionių vadovas* according to Davies' taxonomy of translation strategies.

Preservation as a translation strategy includes translation instances of CSIs where preservation of form or preservation of content is observed, e.g.

Fenton House remains *Fenton House* and *fino* remains as *fino*, which means a special kind of an alcoholic drink *sherry,* as the latter word might not be transparent to a reader of limited knowledge (the typically implied readership). The translator could have possibly added *fino vynas* or translated the term as *cheresas*. *Guy Fawkes Night* is transferred into the Lithuanian text preserving the CSI's form, while the name of this annual celebration in the UK could have been translated as *Gajaus Fokso naktis*. *Trooping the Colour*, which is another example of CSI belonging to the group of traditional events*,* again retains its form, though it was possible to translate it into Lithuanian as *Karinis paradas (karalienės Elizabeth II gimtadienio proga)*. The retained original form is too difficult to understand and can be misleading to readers.

The translation strategy of *addition* could be illustrated by the translation of the following CSIs: *Seven Dials* is a road junction and the translator has added this information (*sankryža*) in order to explain the meaning of the CSI: *Seven Dials sankryža*. The translation of CSI *Gabriel's Wharf* is an interesting example as the translator did not simply translate *Wharf* into *prieplauka*, but has decided to preserve its form and add its Lithuanian equivalent. As a resulte, *Gabriel's Wharf* prieplauka looks as an excessive translation variant.

Omission as a translation strategy could be illustrated by the translation of CSI *Queen Elizabeth II Bridge* where the lexical unit Queen is omitted: *Elžbietos II tiltas*.

Globalization is a strategy which neutralizes the cultural meaning of an original CSI in its translation into the target language. Thus, cultural item translated in such manner becomes easier to comprehend. The translation of CSI *ravenmaster* and refers to a person who takes care of ravens in the Tower of London presents an instance of globalisation strategy. *Tarnautojas* is a general term, too general in this case, because it does not disclose the specificity of this person's responsibilities but, as a term, is commonly understood by the target culture readers.

Localization means that a CSI is replaced by another CSI, specific to the target culture, or a cultural item is adopted to be closer to the target culture, e.g. food CSI *croissant* is rendered into *prancūziški rageliai*, which is a recognized term. Similarly, the *Tower of London* has been localized to render its meaning in the text as referring to the museum, and therefore, in Lithuanian is presented ascame *Tauerio muziejus*.

Transformation, as a translation strategy, includes the following translation instances: the name of the dish *scallop shu mai* has been rendered into *geldelės šu mai* and *The Queen's Chapel* is translated into *karališkoji koplyčia*. The transformations that have been carried out in these examples

are: changes in the word categories and adaptation to Lithuanian phonology rules.

Creation is a translation strategy which involves invention of a new CSI, consider: *Imperial War Museum* is not named *Didžiųjų karų muziejus* in Lithuanian, it is named *Imperijos karo muziejus* and *National Portrait Gallery* does not contain only one portrait as it is presupposed in the Lithuanian translation *Nacionalinė portreto galerija*, but it is *Nacionalinė portretų galerija*.

To sum up, the results indicate that the dominant CSI translation strategy in travel guide books is preservation (either of form, content or both) while edition is the second most frequent translation strategy. Creation, omission, globalization, localization and transformation are strategies used only occasionally.

Conclusion

Culture plays a major role in translation especially when the text is highly related to the culture in which it has been produced. Such texts often contain CSIs, the translation of which is a difficult task because of their cultural nature. The results of the research have shown that preservation is the most commonly used translation strategy in the two analysed travel guides, addition is the second most popular one, whereas the other translation strategies – omission, globalization, localization, transformation and creation – have been used only on a few occasions.

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Arab Revolutions and the Representation of Demonstrators and Demonstrations by the Washington Post and the Guardian During the Arab Spring: A Critical Discourse Analysis

Ali Salman Hummadi (MA)
Khaldoon Waleed Husam Al-Mofti (MA)
University of Anbar, Iraq

Abstract

The Arab spring changed the political landscape of the Middle East. Leaders from Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen were forced out of power through unprecedented public agitations. The protracted struggle for change and power caused mass displacement of ordinary people leading to a big refugee crisis. This paper explores the media portrayal of these events and the people who were affected by the political unrest. Specifically, it focuses on narratives of two English dailies, the Washington Post and the Guardian, and uses micro- and macro-linguistic strategies to study the discursive representation of the protestors and the refugees.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, micro- and macro-linguistic strategies, Discursive Representation.

Introduction

The term "Arab spring" refers to the revolutions or uprisings that occurred in various Arab countries between 2010 and 2011 whose citizens viewed their government as having taken their rights and extorted their lives as human beings. The regime changes and ongoing civil wars that resulted from the uprisings are thus considered a political turning point in the affected countries, though the final outcome of the revolution is still unclear. Touted as the unprecedented event in the Arab world, the coverage the uprisings received, both internationally and locally, is believed to have been elicited not only due to the uprising itself, but as a force that encouraged and inflamed the uprising. Political affiliates, ordinary citizens and researchers in the affected countries have questioned whether the media was used to promote agendas favored by any particular government party, officials, and even foreign players. The significance of this question necessitates an

analysis of the role the mass media, especially the newspapers, played in the demonstrations.

We, thus, begin with the assertion that the newspapers' portrayal of the events established in minds of the readers the overwhelming feeling of impending doom and threat to life from the fall of the regimes as well as an irresistible feeling of better life that awaited them. We try to investigate whether this assertion holds by analyzing the discursive representations of two widely read English newspapers, the Washington Post and the Guardian. By discursive representations, we are referring to the micro- and macro-linguistic practices that are used by newspaper editorial writers to portray events and people. Some of the micro-linguistic practices include naming, referencing, semantic coding, and macro-strategies include perspectivisation, a "functional-communicative procedure which can be used to realize complex observations and different point-of-view relations" (Schäffner, 1997: 61). It also presents the positive self-representation and negative representation of others (Van Dijk, 2001). To enable examination of differential representation and its ability to influence readers, we explore the media coverage of uprisings in Tunisia and Egypt, where the uprisings lead to ousting of the established regimes without descending into civil wars, and leave out Syria and Yemen, where the civil war is ongoing. Making use of the micro- and macro-linguistic strategies to analyze the discourse presented in the Washington Post and the Guardian, our research is uniquely designed to investigate the role that international newspapers played in the Tunisian and the Egyptian revolutions.

Previous researchers have investigated the discourse of immigrants and asylum seekers in a context other than the media role. Such as through socio-political studies (Van Dijk, 1987, 1993a), (Wodak, 1990, 1996, 1997), while other studies have focused on discursive strategies within immigration discourse (KhosraviNik, 2008, 2009, and 2010). Studies have also investigated anti-asylum discourse, misrepresentation, and the concept of "belonging" (Khan, 2008, 2012b, and 2012a), (Smart et al, 2007). Studies on racism against immigrants and asylum seekers have also been conducted (Van Dijk, 1984, 1993a). Lynn and Lea (2003) have studied the social construction of asylum seekers and racial segregation in the UK. More recently, Taylor (2014) has used corpus linguistic tools to investigate the "representation of migrants in the British and Italian press quantitatively". However, no study has been conducted to examine the representation of the demonstrators and the demonstrations. Hence, our study is unique in investigating the representation of the demonstrators and the demonstrations in articles published in the English language newspapers at various points of time during the Arab spring.

2. Methodology

The research uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analze the Washington Post and the Guardian newspaper's coverage of the Arab Spring. The CDA method includes the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, 2009). These approaches have previously been proven to be appropriate for the analysis of discourses on demonstrators, immigration and asylum seekers (see also KhosraviNik, 2009).

The principles of the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, 2009) are based on the following questions:

(1) How are persons named and referred to linguistically?

(2) What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?

(3) Through what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the exclusion, discrimination, suppression and exploitation of others?

(4) From what perspectives or points of view are these identifications, attributions and arguments expressed?

(5) Are the respective discriminating ideas articulated overtly? Are they intensified or are they mitigated?

Articles from the Washington Post and the Guardian on the Arab demonstrators, asylum seekers and immigrants are selected based on their relevance to the Arab Spring. The Washington Post is chosen for its representation of US foreign policy towards the Arab Spring, whereas the Guardian is selected because its focus on asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants in general. In all we found 20 relevant articles that covered in detail the climax of the Arab Spring and included socio-political ideologies. From among those, we selected articles only on Tunisia and Egypt. For each event, within the Arab countries of the Arab Spring (Tunisia, Egypt); there are two articles from the Washington Post and the Guardian. Then, those selected articles are analyzed according to the approaches above to demonstrate the type of representation and the stance of these newspapers towards those events.

The main events (demonstrations and uprisings) of the Arab spring that are included in the current study are:

1. Tunisia - December 2010
2. Egypt - January 25/2011

2.1. Research Questions

1. How are demonstrators and refugees represented by Western newspapers (the Washington Post, the Guardian)?

2. To what extent have events of the Arab Spring (demonstrations, uprisings) been affected by their portrayal in Western newspapers?

3. What type of ideology does the Washington Post and the Guardian promote in their coverage of those demonstrations?

2.2. The Scope of the Study

This study is limited to the revolutions of the Arab Spring that ended in the removal of regimes without civil war. Those revolutions are the Tunisian December 2010, and the Egyptian January 25/2011.

2.3. The Importance of the Study

The present study's values lie in its investigation to reveal the Western media's depiction of the Arab Spring, and any biases or ideologies that were intentionally or unintentionally promoted or framed in discourses which had the potential to reach a very large audience.

3. Arab Spring

The Arab Spring is a term used by the Western media to denote the anti-government uprisings and demonstrations that occurred in various Arab countries namely, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen, and Syria. This term was a reference to similar agitations that happened in Eastern Europe in 1989, where a large Communist bloc broke up into smaller division with new political systems. On the other hand, according to Source Watch (http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Arab_Spring), the term is used for the first time in March 2005 by numerous media commentators to "suggest that a spin-off benefit of the invasion of Iraq would be the flowering of Western-friendly Middle East democracies."

The motivations for Arab Spring uprisings are comparable in nature to uprisings in countries that have suffered similarly from dictatorship, humiliation, corruption, unemployment, and rising prices. Therefore, to some extent, similar slogans, chants, and posters were used to carry the people's demands

These uprisings evidently had different consequences. In Tunisia, where the first uprising occurred, the result was the removal of the president and the establishment of a new political system. While the civil war was the result of the uprisings in Libya, Yemen, and Syria. In Egypt, the removal of the regime, which was followed by an elected government, ended in a coup, which brought people back to the streets in revolt against it. The question that is still unanswered is whether the Arab Spring succeeded or failed.

It is to be noted that other demonstrations that some consider being a part of the Arab Spring, such as those in Jordan, Bahrain, and Morocco where people called for reformation under the same regimes, are excluded from the present study because the demonstrations resulted neither in regime change nor civil war.

4. Critical discourse analysis

The CDA is an interdisciplinary field (Meyer, 2001:15) of linguistics, focusing mainly on the relationships between language or discourse and power and ideology, and analysis of those relationships (van Dijk, 1987, 2001; Fairclough, 2001), (Fowler, 1991). It is useful in investigating "how language use may be affirming and indeed reproducing the perspectives, values and ways of talking about the powerful" (O' Halloran, 2011:445), either it is used against or not in the favor of the powerless through "discursive strategies" (Van Dijk, 1993b:254) in the language.

Van Dijk defines CDA as discourse analysis "with an attitude" (Van Dijk, 2001:96). The word "critical" is used to mean how "structures, strategies, or other properties of text, talk, verbal interactions" (Van Dijk, 1993a:250) – affect reproduction of "dominance and inequality" in discourse language (O' Halloran, 2011: 445). Therefore, criticality is a major characteristic of CDA analysis, and is used in "identification of a social problem,", "data selection" and "methods of analysis" (KhosraviNik, 2008:5). This view of the word 'criticality' by KhosraviNik is drawn from Woyak's explanation of the word 'critical' in CDA as describing and theorizing the social structures and processes for individuals' "meanings in their interaction with texts" (Wodak, 1997:2-3). According to Jaworski & Coupland (1999), it means "a recognizable collection of statements which cohere together." As such, CDA as a field of linguistics is used to analyze media discourse for its "socio-political outlook" (Hakam, 2009:36), and is used to study the discourse of biases to reveal prejudice and discrimination.

Concepts such as perspectivization, intensification, referential strategies (Wodak, 2001) and metaphorical references, argumentative strategies, foregrounding/backgrounding, suppression, collectivization, individualization, and impersonalization (Van Leeuwen,1996) are all common features of CDA that are applied to investigate different patterns of media discourse.

On the other hand, KhosraviNik (2010:58-9) demonstrates that a study conducted on discourse surrounding immigration would require a set of grand categories proposed by Van Dijk and Wodak (2000:29), based on two major dimensions:

Global structures and strategies (macro level):
- Topic (macro propositions)
- Positive self-presentation
- Legitimation

Local structures and moves (micro levels):
-         Actor descriptions (Us vs. Them: categorization, description, attributes)
-    Rhetorical devices – metaphors, hyperboles, euphemisms
-   Indirectness, implicitness, presuppositions
-   Argumentation (topoi, fallacies, counterfactuals, causal attributes)

Those two levels (micro and macro) can be linked together in the investigation of immigrant and asylum seekers representation in media discourse.

5. CDA and Research on Revolutions and Immigrations

The CDA approach has been used to investigate the concept of asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants in different discourses and in different times. The early research on immigration can be traced back to the 1970s by Hartmann and Husband (1974), while Toe (2000) cited by KhosraviNik (2009: 480) proposes a study on the representation of immigrants in Australian newspapers.

On the other hand, some researchers have taken other perspectives on the study of asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants. Lynn and Lea (2003) study the social belonging of asylum seekers in the UK. They conclude that asylum seekers find themselves in a peculiar contrast in society, where they need to reposition themselves to become integrated. There have been similar studies conducted by Dryzek and Kanra (2014) on the integration of Muslims and Arabs in Australian society. They questioned the identity and the concepts of belonging in Australia, and how Muslims are viewed in the eyes of non-Muslims. While Manning (2003) in an earlier work investigates the representation of Muslims in Sydney's daily newspapers, showing that Muslims are portrayed as being violent. They are mostly associated with terrorism and described as terrorists. While Arabs, 'especially young men', are seen as 'threatening'. He maintains that Muslim asylum seekers or immigrants from the Middle East are portrayed as 'tricky', 'ungrateful', 'undeserving', 'disgusting' and 'barely human'.

Finally, the most recent works by Khan (2012a, 2012b, 2013) are considered to be a comprehensive approach to studying the concept of immigrants' integration in the UK and the process of identity-building using CDA. He explores "the endeavor by the UK government to tackle negative representation in order to manage multiculturalism and social cohesion" for those immigrants (Khan, 2012a:285).

6. Data Analysis of Each Event

6.1. Tunisia December 2010

The Tunisian revolution is considered to be the spark for the Arab Spring. It ended in the removal of Ben Ali, the then Tunisian president, who was considered by Tunisians as a corrupt, tyrannical. It started with a small demonstration after a 24-year-old vendor set himself on fire after being humiliated by local police who prevented him selling goods in a small cart. The uprising was characterized by peaceful demonstrations that led to the regime's removal, and was comparatively less violent than the other Arab Spring revolutions. Though there was displacement of people, most Tunisians did not have to leave their homes. Therefore, discourses focusing mainly on demonstrations are found in newspapers. The following are analyses of the Washington Post and the Guardian's portrayal of the Tunisian revolution by both the Macro and Micro levels as follows.

The Washington Post
- **Macro Linguistic Features**

Macro-level analysis according to Ifversen (2003) is "where many texts are studied in order to make wide-ranging claims about a certain period or a certain society" (Eghlidi, 2016:57).

The Washington Post shows sympathy towards the Tunisian revolution, depicting in detail the events and the misery of the Tunisians taking to the streets. It presents them as victims of the Ben Ali regime, not only during the uprising but also during the 23 years of suffering. By drawing on the main reasons for the uprising, the Washington Post (24 Jan 2011a) expresses the Tunisian people's feelings after a long life of suppression by a despotic regime:

"Many are voicing their thoughts and ideas after living for nearly **a quarter of a century in fear**".

While in some cases, the Post indirectly implies that the West supports Ben Ali, showing that it is more convenient for the US to have Ben Ali as the regime's head. The West considered Tunisia under Ben Alis' rule to be a model country for all other Arab countries, especially considering it as a US ally. An example is the Washington Post article (24 Jan 2011b):

"Under Ben Ali, Tunisia was perceived by the West as a model nation in the Arab world – moderate, relatively prosperous and secular. The autocratic leader, who seized power in 1987, stamped down on Islamic radicalism; he was a US ally and collaborated with the West".

The quote above directs its readers to the concept of Arab leaders' loyalty to the West, especially the US. It shows the West keenness to select Arab leaders they favored. It implicitly makes the reader think there are

divisions of Arab countries and leaders, some which are friends with the West and some which are not. In this case, Tunisia under Ben Ali was the West's friend, and the West supported the Ben Ali's rule despite its oppressiveness.

- **Legitimation**

There has been a focus legitimizing the reason the Tunisians demanded the removal of Ben Ali (24 Jan 2011a).

> "**They stole the nation's money**. They were a mafia. Our company is a little example of what was wrong with Tunisia. Said Sofiyan Abu Sami, one of the workers who walked off the job the other day".

The Post pictured this issue by presenting sign posters written by those demonstrators:

> "No to corruption."

- **Local Structures (Micro Level)**

Eghlidi (2016:57) states that "the micro-level of critical discourse analysis looks at the actual articulations of the text, and the linguistic features and devices to depict the given idea".

The Tunisian demonstrators (actors) are represented and described as hopeless and helpless, seeking their basic rights through peaceful demonstrations. They are viewed as being happy about the ousting of the Ben Ali regime through metaphorical expressions (24Jan 2011a):

> "Tunisian are experiencing a blossoming of freedoms after a popular uprising ousted President Ben Ali".

On the other hand, this image is contradicted entirely by another bleak view in the same article:

> "The happiness is tempered by unease, for their future is still uncertain".

The Guardian

- Macro Linguistic Features

The Guardian takes the perspective of a spectator, focusing on the process and the reasons why people have outburst against the government. It gives an image of the first spark of the revolution, while also calling it the first Arab revolution. The following two examples are titles from the Guardian (28 Dec 2010, 16 Jan 2011), showing these themes respectively:

> "How a man setting fire to him sparked an uprising in Tunisia."
> "Tunisia: the first Arab revolution."

On the other hand, the Guardian blames the regime for the agitation that the Tunisians are causing by rioting against the government and asking for its removal (28 Dec 2010):

"So, what we are seeing, firstly, is the failure of a system
constructed by the regime over many years to prevent people
from organizing, communicating and agitating".
"Secondly, we are seeing relatively large numbers of people
casting off their fear of the regime. Despite the very real risk
of arrest and torture, they are refusing to be intimidated".

The theme, the regimes' failure, is widely presented by the Guardian
not only through its coverage of the Tunisian events but also through the
depiction of the Arab Spring in general.

The Guardian in its article on 16 Jan 2011 predicts what will happen
in other Arab countries, by explaining that Tunisian revolution is an
imminent threat to them:

"If every Arab leader has watched Tunisia in fear, then every
Arab citizen has watched in hope because it was neither
Islamists – long used by our leaders to scare many into
acquiescence – nor foreign troops that toppled the dictator: it
was ordinary and very fed up people".

Media coverage of Tunisia, especially by the Guardian, connects other Arab
countries to similar imminent revolutions, such as Gaddafi's fear for himself
and Libya:

"Gaddafi's Libya has had its protests over the past few days.
Nothing on the scale of Tunisia, but enough that his speech to
Tunisians could be summarized thus: **I am scared witless by
what happened in your country".**

- Local Structures (Micro Level)

The Guardian by encouraging expression of enthusiasm instead of
exasperation maintains the point of view that Tunisia is an inspirational
leader for all other Arab countries seeking to rebel against dictatorship and
suppression for a better future (16 Jan 2011):

"It's the first time Arabs have toppled one of their dictators, so
you'll understand why, despite the reports of chaos, looting and
musical chairs of caretaker leaders, I'm still celebrating. Let's have
no whining about how those pesky Tunisians who risked their lives
in their thousands to face down a despot ruined the idyllic package-
holiday-in-a-police-state for so many European tourists".

A **metaphorical expression** is used to emphasize the correlation between
the regimes' failure and the uprising against it as the excerpt from the
Guardian shows below (28 Dec 2010):

"The regime also seems to have overdone its **trumpeting of
Tunisia's** economic progress".

6.2. Egypt January 25/2011

The Egyptian revolution was inspired by the Jasmine Revolution in Tunisia. The Egyptian people organized following an activists' call on social media to march in Tahrir square, which is located in the middle of the capital Cairo, to protest against Hosni Mubarak's regime. This call then spread throughout the whole country. Egyptians called for Mubarak to step down as they viewed his regime as a corrupt dictatorship. They marched and demonstrated throughout main cities in Egypt. However, the Mubarak's regime crushed the protests, and the state media described the protesters as foreign   agents (http://www.sourcewatch.org/index.php?title=Arab_Spring#Egypt).

Foreign media, such as the Guardian, however, depicted the demonstrations in the downtown Cairo as a "war zone" (ibid), referring to the clashes between the protesters and the regime's force used to crack down on them. This is an example of the mass media in arousing the people and encouraging the protests. The analysis presented below portrays the stance taken by the Washington Post and the Guardian.

The Washington Post
-   Macro Level

The Washington Post talks about oppression and victimization in the Egyptian revolution by narrating stories from demonstrators in the Tahrir square. It expresses its astonishment as to what is going on in Cairo, Egypt as if it wants to say that what you Egyptians are doing should bring your regime to justice, and you should never stop your demonstrations until you get those corrupted figures to doomsday. The Washington Post appears ambivalent in its stance about Egyptian uprising, sometimes supporting it and sometimes dismissing it. In its support for the uprising, it shows sympathy towards people's lives. It reports demonstrators' speeches about the oppression. In doing so, the Washington Post shows it stands with the Egyptian people. Some of its reports is not only pro-democracy but can be seen also as an incitement, such as the following examples, some of which are taken from arguments given by demonstrators from inside Tahrir square(1 Feb 2011):
"**We demand his ouster and sentencing,**" said Mahmoud Ibrahim.
He said, "**They are putting our minds in chains.**"

The Post expressed astonishment of the demonstrators over what is going on in Egypt, and is sympathetic to the idea that after living under the oppressive regime of the Egyptian government for decades, the people had the courage and strength to demonstrate:

   "But the mood at times seemed to be one of surprise as much as
   anything else- **surprise that they could do this".**

The Washington Post also supports people's emotion and their expression of true feelings by reporting (1 Feb 2011):

"While others waved shoes in the air, a traditional Arab sign of disrespect".

- **Positive Self- Representation**

The Post stands alongside the Egyptian revolution by reporting supportive speeches and warning given by U.S. State officials which affirm consolidate positive self-representation of the US supports, such as democracy and freedom (3 Feb 2011):

"In Washington, White House spokesman Robert Gibbs called the violence "**outrageous and deplorable"** and warned that if any of it was "**instigated by the government, it should stop immediately."**

- **Local Structures (Micro Level)**
- Actor description

Demonstrations were depicted with positive quotations as being, for example, a turning point in the history of Egypt (I Feb 2011)

"In Tahrir Square, Egyptians sense they are **part of a turning point in history".**

The Post described the demonstrators as people who are revolutionaries and no longer afraid since they have nothing more to lose.

"He feels no fear now. "**What's the worst that can happen**? I'd rather lose my life than go on living this way," he said".

They are represented as being finally united against their government, and unwilling to withdraw their demands for the removal of the president. The following example from the Post shows the protestors' persistence in maintaining the demonstrations: (I Feb 2011)

"So families brought children, people shared pastries and dried dates; everyone took everyone else's picture".

- **Metaphor and References to Large Quantities**

The Post in its coverage of the demonstrations frequently portrayed the demonstrators as physical quantities, metaphorically or through hyperbole. This use is considered to be intensification, meaning to refer to the huge amount of people supporting the demonstrations. The micro-structure of the metaphoric expressions has great value toward pinpointing the revolutionary aspect of the protests where the people can no longer tolerate their government (1 Feb 2011):

"And more people kept **pouring** in throughout the day; it was clear that a contagion had set in".

…. **Spilled over** onto the streets that flow into it, the chants and signs were about their desire to be rid of President Hosni Mubarak.

The hyperbolic expression is also similarly used to denote the huge size of those attending the demonstrations. (1 Feb 2011):

> **"As thousands upon thousands** of demonstrators converged Tuesday on Tahrir Square "

- **The Guardian**
- **Macro Level (topics argumentation)**

The Guardian in its coverage of the Egyptian revolution emphasized the essence and origins of the revolution that led to the dismissal of the Egyptian presidents. This included the depiction of the iron-fist strict rules, the news blackout and the regime politicization by Hosni Mubarak. The Egyptian president, associated with events that occurred prior to the latest demonstrations. Such as the Palestinian Intifada in 2000, followed by the war on Iraq 2003, as well as tracing the development from other demonstrations that occurred only on a small scale. Egyptians were afraid to protest against the regime, until the revolution that set Egyptians free from, as the Guardian says, "their tyrant leader". The Guardian's coverage of the Egyptian revolutions seems to be instigative against the regime; it gives examples of how the regime repressed these demonstrations using the verb 'quell.'

Here is an example quoted from the Guardian (2 March 2011), showing the sequence of the events covered by it which emphasize its leading role in the latest revolution:

> "The Egyptian revolution, rather than coming out of the blue on 25 January 2011, **is a result of a process that has been brewing over the previous decade** - a chain reaction to the autumn 2000 protests in solidarity with the **Palestinian intifada"**.

The example above is used to show that the Guardian is focusing on the evolution of the latest revolution as a result of recurrent repressions by the regime, and not as a newly-created phenomenon. It can be construed that the Guardian in its coverage is implying that there is a connection between the latest revolution and previous ones. This could also be seen as the Guardian trying to incite Egyptians and remind them of the regime cruelty against their requests for freedom. Other examples of subsequent revolutionary-like events are shown below:

> "I recall the first time I heard protestors en masse chanting against the president in April 2002 … **protestors were chanting in Arabic**: "Hosni Mubarak is just like [Ariel] Sharon." (the Israeli prime minister)".

The example above shows how the Guardian paves the way for events leading to the revolution that could bring about change, by presenting and narrating stories of events that connect the past with present events.

- **Local Structures (Micro Level)**

- Actor description

Just like the Post, the Guardian tends to be objective only sometimes and for very few occasions in narrating and recounting the events and incidents that occur during the Egyptian revolution. It portrays the clashes that happened between pro-democracy supporters and pro-Mubarak supporters in an unbiased way, as the following example shows (2 Feb 2011):

> **"Guardian journalists in the square** – close to both sides – witnessed pitched battles that turned the square into a war zone as anti-Mubarak protesters tried desperately to hold their ground and both sides tore up …. to use as weapons".

Here the Guardian only narrates what does it see on the field without being biased to anyone.

- **Argumentation**

In general, the Guardian demonstrates its complete support of the Egyptian revolution, by showing its sympathy to the years of Egyptians suffering under the regime. It also, through the emphasis it gives to both the mood of the British government and the Obama administration, demonstrates an alignment with their ideological position. The following example is given to support this image: (2 Feb 2011):

> **"The violence was immediately condemned by David Cameron, the Obama ... The White House warned that if any of the violence was instigated** by the government, it should stop immediately, and also strongly criticized the beating local and foreign journalists, including a CNN reporter".

It is seen that the Guardian adheres to the ideology of the pro-democracy protestors by focusing its coverage of the Egyptian uprising, and shows sympathy towards demonstrators by focusing its coverage on their previous and current sufferings under the regime.

6. Conclusion

The Washington Post and the Guardian coverage of the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions are meant to carry an ideology that either stands with or against the revolutions. Their coverage plays a role in agitating the demonstrator and portraying them as innocent and suffering from persecution and oppression of their regimes.

The impact of the discourse on revolution can be said to be consistent in shedding some light on not only the period when the revolutions occur but also the chronological order or events that led to the revolution. For example,

the Guardian appears to be suggesting that the revolutions are the result of longstanding oppression, which people can no longer tolerate or accept.

Regarding the Post coverage, it focuses on the concept of victimization and oppression in both the Tunisian and Eyptian revolutions. The Post views the Tunisian revolution as a healthy route towards democracy and liberation. But, in some cases when it echoes the state officials, it implies the West desires to keep Ben Ali, the president, in office, as they view him as their ally. This conclusion can also be seen with the Egyptian revolution. The Post seems inconsistent in their ideology towards the Egyptians, where sometimes it is considered to be pro-democracy, and sometimes not. This might be attributed to the fact that the West sees Mubarak as their old ally, in whom they invested a lot in the past. It is also similar to the Tunisian revolution, in which the Post depicts the misery of Tunisians under the rule of the regime.

Conversely, the Guardian coverage shows its complete support of the Egyptian revolution at one hand, and on the other as a follower of the demonstrations, focusing on the events and the causes that led to it. The study also shows that the Guardian promotes the ideologies of the British officials where they asked for the removal of Hosni Mubarak.

This concludes that the topic of the macro level can provide an interpretation also on the micro-linguistics level. So, interpretation of those social actors, demonstrators, can provide meanings to the descriptions found in language.

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Biography as the Less Truthful Form – Contemporary British Biographic Metafiction

Petr Chalupský (Associate Professor)
Department of English Language and Literature
Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic

Abstract

Biographic metafiction" is a term used to denote novels whose theme is the exploration of the process of biographical writing. The main protagonist either decides or is commissioned to compose a biography of another person and, despite his/her serious and strenuous efforts, eventually in some way fails in this project. Biographic metafiction is a category of historiographic metafiction as it also draws on postmodernist and poststructuralist doubt concerning the availability of historical truth and the consequent impossibility of its appropriate representation in language. The genre has been especially popular since the 1980s, though far less so than works dealing with history and getting to know the past in general. Using the most exemplary biographic metafiction in British literature of the past three decades, this article shows both the genre's characteristic features as well as the differences between its individual representatives, and also compares it with a thematically related body of contemporary fiction known as "romances from the archive".

Keywords: Biography, Biographic Metafiction, Historiographic Metafiction, historical truth, textual representation.

> Novelists tend to be repulsed by and attracted to the literary biographer, who is both kindred spirit and antagonist, reviver and executioner, exalted Boswell, and the "lice of literature".
>
> Philip Roth, *Exit Ghost*

Introduction – Historiographic and Biographic Metafiction

One of the most acute queries that postmodernist and poststructuralist theories have instigated and addressed is that of the need for a thorough revision of the relationship between history and its textual representation. Drawing on the inevitable bias of the author, along with the determining role

of language, especially the major figures of speech and other commonly used literary devices, in shaping bygone events into a coherent and intelligible textual account, and the fact that the past can only be accessed in an indirect, mediated way in the form of various texts, theoreticians suggest that no attempt at transforming history into a narrative can claim to be objective, unequivocal and therefore indisputable. Moreover, they emphasise not only the essentially literary character of history, but also how its textual representations reflect and are linked with the distribution of power in society at the time they were produced. Accordingly, they point out that no such text is "innocent" in the sense of being devoid of a specific purpose, agenda, or inherent value system, which are always defined in relation to the official establishment which they, more or less explicitly, support or oppose.

These propositions have proved very inspiring for contemporary fiction which has been trying to challenge the seemingly unproblematic, corresponding relationship between the past and its narrative account, between history and (hi)story-telling. The body of works addressing this issue has prompted literary scholars and critics to conceive a separate genre of historiographic metafiction which focuses on what history (and in consequence historiography) and fiction have in common rather than on how the two modes of writing differ. It by no means denies the existence of a past reality but is sceptical about "our ability to (unproblematically) know that reality, and therefore to be able to represent it in language" (Hutcheon, 1992: 119). Espousing the maxims of plurality and heterogeneity of perspectives, discourses and modes of expression, historiographic metafiction strives to (re)present history not as a conclusive, totalising construct, but as an incessant process of projection and revision open to the present and to its contestation. Such works thus "both install and then blur the line between fiction and history" (Hutcheon, 1992: 113) by employing a variety of playful and potentially subversive techniques and strategies, such as intertextuality, metafiction, parody, pastiche and the questioning of narrative authority. Even though some earlier predecessors could no doubt be found, the origins of this genre in Britain date to the 1960s, namely to the works of Anthony Burgess and John Fowles, and has particularly flourished since the 1980s in the works of authors such as Julian Barnes, Peter Ackroyd, Graham Swift, Salman Rushdie, A.S. Byatt, Kazuo Ishiguro, Jeanette Winterson, Sarah Waters and Michel Faber.

Biography can be said to be a specific subgenre of historiography as it also faces the challenge of how to credibly and enticingly, while also as truthfully as possible, (re)present the past, in this case an individual's life and work, within the limited space of a book. Generally speaking, biographers have to cope with problems similar to those of historians and historiographers, such as the absence of solid or verified facts, the

questionable authenticity of available pieces of evidence, the lack of credibility of witnesses' testimonies, and the need to find connections for the sake of the narrative where none are offered by historical records and evidence. It is noteworthy that while there have been a number of novels dealing with the past and the (im)possibility of its appropriate representation in language and the often indistinct and permeable borderline between history and fiction, those concerned with biographies and the toils and pitfalls of their writing are considerably more rare yet no less interesting as they are part of a more general tendency in contemporary fiction to show interest in "the powerful grip that earlier writers exert over later writers, whether real or imaginary" and "the complex aesthetic and intellectual reasons for these writers' preoccupation with the worlds and works of their predecessors" (Savu, 2009: 10), by means such as intertextuality, metafiction, pastiche and parody.

Novels by British authors that explore the theme of biography writing, like Julian Barnes's *Flaubert's Parrot* (1984), Penelope Lively's *According to Mark* (1984), William Golding's *The Paper Man* (1984), Peter Ackroyd's *Chatterton* (1987), Kingsley Amis's *The Biographer's Moustache* (1995), A.S. Byatt's *The Biographer's Tale* (2000), Michael Palin's *The Truth* (2012), or Hanif Kureishi's *The Last Word* (2014), share several crucial characteristic features. Prominent among them is what Hans Bertens (1996) identifies as "a deeply felt loss of faith in our ability to represent the real, in the widest sense" (11), and can therefore be classified as examples of what may be labelled "biographic metafiction"[95], a subgenre of historiographic metafiction. At the same time, however, the individual works reveal certain distinctive, idiosyncratic features that do not allow them to be approached as a uniform, monolithic generic category. With reference to the above mentioned novels, this article attempts to explore the particularities of this genre and how it both reflects and defies the major postmodernist inquiries.

Biography as the Art of Nonfiction Storytelling

One of the crucial common denominators of works of biographic metafiction is that they treat the genre of biography, and in consequence biographers, sceptically and ironically, if not downright mockingly. In this regard they differ from other works of historiographic metafiction which, though they also employ irony as a productive narrative device and perspective, do not tend to ridicule or look down on the protagonists.

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[95] The term "biographic metafiction" is not the only one used for this kind of fiction as Matt Seidel (2014), for instance, speaks of the "literary biography novel" and Ansgar Nünning (2005) of the "fictional metabiography", but I consider it the most fitting given the particularities of this genre.

Biographers, on the contrary, are not treated with such magnanimity and benevolence, chiefly because their obsession to get to know and narrate someone's past is a voluntary act rather than a necessity. Biography as such, however, also plays its part as it seems to particularly irritate writers and provoke them to satirically banish it from the realm of serious literature. These novels thus evince a typical postmodernist paradox when a still young, and largely parasitic, genre belittles and vilifies that of an incommensurably greater tradition and pedigree.

Biography has gone through a very long development full of changes and variations as its roots go back to Ancient Greece and Rome with their accounts of the lives of great personalities whose example could teach the reader a lesson. In the Medieval period this tradition was continued in hagiographies celebrating the lives and deeds of the saints. This tendency towards idealising biographies was challenged in the eighteenth century with its demand for "vivid realism and intimacy" (Lee, 2009: xiv). The most significant personality in this regard was Samuel Johnson who rejected the hagiographic approach in favour of "the minute details of daily life" and "those performances and incidents which produce vulgar greatness" (quoted in Donaldson, 2015: 1), embracing virtues as well as vices. The puritan and conservative Victorians turned the biographic current back again with their solid and instructive "Lives and Letters" of prominent public figures in which officially appointed biographers from among close friends, admirers or family members presented their subjects in the noblest and most exemplary manner, avoiding any hints of potential deficiency or indecency, thus following Thomas Carlyle's assertion that "[t]he history of the world is but the biography of great men". Modernist authors responded to this Victorian moral hypocrisy by taking biography as an art form, emphasising the importance of laying bare the facts, yet only those the biographer finds significant according to the principle of artistic selectivity. The influence of Sigmund Freud and his philosophy changed life-writing once and for all, redirecting its attention from polite moderation and reticence and the biographee's public and working life towards intimate revelation of taboo subjects. The second half of the twentieth century then witnessed "the 'Golden Age' of long, professional, candid, post-Freudian" biography (Lee, 2009: xiv). However, this approach did not automatically guarantee quality. The excessive focus on the intimate aspects of the subject's most private life, the more scandalous the better, sometimes resulted in the presentation of a vast amount of unnecessary and largely irrelevant details in better cases, in worse cases in sensational, gossipy, and mostly unauthorised works of what Joyce Carol Oates, using Freud's terminology, called "pathography" (Donaldson, 2015: 4).

Yet regardless of, and partly due to, these flaws biography has been enormously popular in recent decades, catering for people's natural curiosity about others' private lives as well as satisfying their desire to be assured that those more privileged and successful also have failings, worries, misfortunes and dark secrets. Mary Evans (1999) noticed an interesting paradox in that the late twentieth-century, hyper-consumer culture of intense conformity and standardisation provoked the need for various forms of articulation of difference, including literary and sub-literary ones. The contemporary "biography of revelation" thus evinces a shift "away from the demonstration of moral qualities towards the discussion and explanation of individual difference" (141). This tendency has resulted in the overproduction of biographies of almost all imaginable kinds of individual, which creates a problem of quality and necessitates searching for the rare instances of ingenious and well-researched biographical works among the heap of scandal and sensation-driven pieces. The majority of these superficially focus on the escapades of prominent representatives of popular culture, and facts and ideas often yield to anecdotes, rumours and speculations96. In spite of this, quality biographies are still written, exploring and charting the "illuminating connections between past and present, life and work" (Holroyd, 2013: 19), and even suggesting "a degree of social continuity and personal responsibility" (Kaplan quoted in Donaldson, 2015: 5), and which can therefore appeal to the reader without sentimentality or moralising.

However, there are some other problematic aspects surrounding biography as a genre, most importantly its very status: it is commonly classified as non-fiction, as it is supposed to work with facts and verified data, but it also inevitably involves a great deal of creative work by the author as these facts and data must be selected and ordered into a narrative. Writing an objective and consistent story of someone's life is therefore a myth produced in part by the form of biography itself, and in part by society and its compelling needs, particularly "to experience life as an organised and coherent process, in which rational choices are made" (Evans, 1999: 1). In reality, human life is too intricate and full of illogical and spontaneous twists and turns to be captured by a narrative model and in most cases the full truth about a person's life simply cannot be accessed, and the biographer is thus often forced to "suppose and infer" (Lee, 2009: 138), construct and

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96 These works have done much disservice to the biography and its reputation and have provoked a Victorian-like outrage and calls for restoring the genre's moral credit by making the subject's private life off-limits even among contemporary critics. Janet Malcolm, the journalist and essayist from the *New Yorker*, for instance, compares the biographer who searches his/her subject's privacy to "the professional burglar" and claims that such a person cannot be "regarded as an honest and serious writer" (Hamilton, 2016).

reconstruct, which is why his/her work will always retain a trait of narrative fiction.

Some biographers themselves question the categorical status of their genre. Peter Ackroyd (2002) even suggests that, seemingly paradoxically, compared to a novelist the biographer enjoys a greater freedom to make things up. The novelist is bound to tell the truth in the sense that the product of his/her imagination must be genuine and convincing enough for the reader to accept it as a (fictional but still) reality. The biographer, on the other hand, has at his/her disposal narrative devices which help to conceal his/her lack of data, ignorance or confusion, such as ending a chapter abruptly and quoting a letter, diary or witness, which cannot be utilised by a novelist. That is why in essence the novel can be taken as a more truthful form than biography (367). Though opinions may differ, one thing remains certain – "[t]he biographer, like the novelist, is first and foremost a storyteller" (Donaldson, 2015: 49), and as such cannot avoid using imagination in shaping his/her materials into a story. As Michael Holroyd maintains, for the sake of retrieving information a mere listing of facts and data would be more efficient, but other narrative techniques, including creative ones, are justified "if you want the reader to come in contact with someone he has never met" (Cohen, 2013). He is also convinced that the distinction between fiction and non-fiction should not be so absolute and likes to refer to his biographic works as "nonfiction stories" (Cohen, 2013).

Seeing Connections in Life without Theory

What also makes biography a problematic issue within the category of non-fiction is a contradiction lying at its very core: although it makes a claim to a certain amount of objectivity based on thoroughly researched materials and systematic working with verified facts and data, as a whole it is still a non-theoretical enterprise. The foundations of the genre as laid by Samuel Johnson consist of several underlying principles which particularly concern its position halfway between history and novel writing: the question of who deserves to have their biography written and which facts are appropriate to include in it, the moral responsibilities of biographers towards the subject, the public and the truth, and also the problem of the impossibility of knowing with certainty another person's inner life (Monk, 2007: 529-530). No matter how crucial these principles are for biography, they by no means represent its comprehensive theory. However, the numerous later attempts to define and delineate the genre were in fact always built on Johnson's ideas and therefore resulted in description rather than explanation, in presenting specific rules, pieces of advice and practical tips which, rather than providing a generalised concept by identifying a unifying principle that would apply to each work, focus on the particularities of biographic writing

and respond to its most imminent difficulties. Examples of these attempts are Hermione Lee's ten rules of biography (2009: 6-18) or Diane Middlebrook's three ethical responsibilities of a biographer (Donaldson, 2015: 68).

Following Benjamin Disraeli, who saw biography as "life without theory", Ray Monk (2007) thus suggests that biography shares concerns with philosophical inquiry about the world with regard to the nature and purpose of its endeavour rather than with scientific or scholarly theoretical methodology. In the preface to his *Eminent Victorians* (1818), Lytton Strachey expresses the same persuasion, that the biographer, like the historian, not only selects and presents facts, but his/her duty is also to "reveal the relations among the facts and, by doing so, transform mere compilation into a great work of art" (Monk, 2007: 539), that is to say, the interpretation of the discovered facts is a crucial part of the *art* of writing biography. What follows is that the biographer must assume a point of view in order to draw connections between facts and present them as he/she sees them, moreover in such a manner that enables the reader to make sense of the material on the biographical subject. The biographer's point of view thus represents a "way of understanding the facts" (Monk, 2007: 540), which corresponds with neither theoretical enterprise nor fiction writing. The biography's asset is that it allows us to access what and how other people think, to experience other examples of mental processes, other sets of pictures of reality which, according to Wittgenstein (and Strachey), "get us to see things differently" (Monk, 2007: 566).

However, seeing things from different perspectives does not mean that a factual account should give way to pure imagination, nor that various points of view should automatically be ascribed the same value: interpretations must be governed by the facts, and yet some of them may be viewed as being of better quality, in the sense of being more elaborate, insightful, convincing and coherent, than others. In any case, biography in its essence cannot offer impartiality but an opportunity to see "a self in a certain way" (Tridgell, 2004: 187). Therefore, Monk (2007) argues, biography eludes a unifying theoretical framework as it does not present any propositional argument and as such should be seen as an exemplar of Wittgenstein's notion of the "understanding that consists in seeing connections" (567), an interpretation of a person's life from the point of view of another. Accordingly, Holroyd uses the metaphor of biography as a chess game (Cohen, 2013) in which you cannot move the pieces arbitrarily because you are bound by the rules – the facts of the biographee's life – but by resourceful combinations of the permitted moves you can make the game more exciting and successful, that is the life story more authentic and gripping.

Still, the absence of theory makes biography a precarious task as the biographer has, except for some procedural and ethical principles, no solid ground on which to build the story of the subject's life. His/her professional self is therefore a complex amalgam of roles that someone else's biography requires: drudge, artist, critic, historian, investigative reporter, polymath, psychologist (Donaldson, 2015: 102-103). However, unlike most of the reading public, only a few of the biographers' literary colleagues and potential objects of interest seem to appreciate their efforts. The postmodernist critique of biography as an untrustworthy and unsophisticated construct of the human self, and the fact that it is far from a neutral ground but one that arouses emotional reactions mostly at the expense of its subject, are two of the reasons why novelists depict it sceptically and critically in their stories. Yet, other reasons suggest themselves: writers try to preserve their privacy which they feel is always violated when the biographer assumes a certain authority over their life; they are also afraid that the biographer would present a disparaging image of themselves which does not correspond either with how they see themselves or how they wish the public should see them; and, perhaps most crucially, they fear that compared to the rich and multi-layered world of their books their personal life would appear uneventful, insignificant or even deplorable, lacking in attractiveness, purport or moral integrity.

And so, in the eyes of many writers, biographers are dangerous interlopers "whose obsessive search for real-life parallels threatens the sanctity of the work of art" (Seidel, 2014), whose work is "a reductionist simplification, a grotesque travesty of what they do" (Lee, 2009: 98). Therefore, they speak of them as of tasteless parasites, obsessive pursuers, relentless hunters, perverted stalkers, or pathologists dissecting the self of those who can no longer fight back, giving their writing unflattering descriptions such as a "grey transit between domestic spasm and oblivion" (George Steiner), "one of the new terrors of death" (John Arbuthnot), an act of "psycho-plagiarism" (Vladimir Nabokov), or "an unpardonable crime against selfhood" (Germaine Greer).

Some writers go even further and in order to secure and protect their reputation – during their lifetime as well as posthumously – they take preventive steps to discourage or drive away potential biographical intruders. These strategies may vary in terms of their craftiness, sophistication and determination. The most extreme is the destruction of as many biographical materials as possible, such as manuscripts, notes, letters, diaries, photographs and other personal belongings. A more subtle strategy is that of altering these materials or even creating fake ones so as to appear in a better light. Another strategy is to personally appoint one's biographer from a circle of credible and reliable people, such as close friends, family members or faithful

supporters. Of course, there is always the possibility of not trusting another person and simply writing an autobiography or memoir, or one's own biography under a pseudonym[97]. Moreover, there are numerous legal moves that can effectively ward off future biographers from meddling in the estate of the deceased person. And, last but not least, a few of these exasperated writers counterstrike and make a biographer either a scoundrel or a miserable, awkward and ludicrous anti-hero in their fiction, from which they may even derive "a small measure of sadistic satisfaction at turning the merciless biographer's gaze back on himself" (Seidel, 2014).

Biographers' Tales

In principle, biographic metafiction sides with postmodernist and poststructuralist revisions concerning the (im)possibilities of gaining trustworthy knowledge about another person's life and transforming it into a text. Hinting at the tension and ironic interplay between the present and the past, it portrays biographic endeavours as reliant on coincidences and contingencies, and thus foregrounds the subjective, creative and interpretative role of the biographer who reconstructs rather than represents, and at times even constructs rather than reconstructs the life of a real historical individual. These works suggest that there is only a small correspondence between the biographee's real life and available accounts of it based on someone's memory and narrative capacity, and that the various versions of the subject's self are constructed by the involved individuals rather than impartially retrieved from the past (Nünning, 2005: 200-208). The main theme and subject matter of the genre is also reflected by some of its formal aspects which allow it to reflect and self-reflect the aesthetic and epistemological inquiries of biographical and meta-biographical writing and to "draw the reader's attention to the novel's status as a fictional text" (Steveker, 20), namely the multiple-perspective narration, dense intertextuality, mixture of genres and the use of parody and pastiche. At the same time, however, perhaps with the exception of *Flaubert's Parrot*, they are not experimental in the truly postmodernist sense as the process of composing another person's life account to some extent necessitates the backbone of a consequential plotline.

Generally speaking, there are two basic types of biography according to the physical "availability" of the subject: written posthumously or on a living person, each having advantages and drawbacks that result from the physical absence or presence of the biographee during the process of writing the biography. The first type can be further subdivided into biographies written on a relatively recently deceased person, which means that some of

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97 For some specific real-life examples of these strategies see Donaldson (2015), pp. 61-65.

his/her relatives, spouses, lovers, acquaintances, colleagues and rivals are still alive and can serve as sources of first-hand information which may otherwise be unattainable, and biographies on people who died earlier and the biographer can no longer make use of any eyewitness testimony. The process of writing all the mentioned types is put under scrutiny in the biographic metafiction under discussion.

Penelope Lively's *According to Mark* belongs to the second type, i.e. the subject is no longer alive but some of the people who were acquainted with him are. Mark Lemming is a biographer working on the life of Gilbert Strong, a recognised writer and a respected man of letters. While doing his research and gathering materials on Strong, he goes through his own mid-life crisis by having a short love affair with Strong's granddaughter Carrie, a nice-looking but unsophisticated gardener completely oblivious to literature and her grandfather's legacy, who is very much unlike Mark's knowledgeable, cultured and strong-willed wife. However, the story of a middle-aged writer, bored with his routine marriage, falling irrationally for a bland girl's looks before humbly returning to his wife is only one part of the plot. Even more important is the process of Mark's work on the biography. Going through the individual evolutionary stages of a maturing biographer's identity and encountering all the imminent pitfalls of the genre, Mark becomes a metaphor of a biographer and what it takes to write a good biography.

Mark sees himself as a serious biographer with no interest in gossip and scandals, whose aspiration is to present the lives of remarkable people not for academia but for the general reading public. He decides to write the biography because he was captivated by Strong's memoir, however, as he becomes familiar with the less known aspects of Strong's life he finds out that its disturbing side-effect has been "the gradual erosion of his faith in the memoir" which turns out to be "as unreliable as most testimony by anyone about anything" (Lively, 2011: 20-21). With each source of information he gets a distinct account of the subject's personality, ending up with one public Strong and a number of often disparate or even contradictory private Strongs. The more materials he gathers the more sceptical he becomes concerning the possibility of distilling from the vast heap a coherent and credible picture of the biographee's self. And so he realises that in the first place he needs to abandon utmost objectivity in favour of selectiveness and assuming a point of view, thus clearing away the unreliable, irrelevant or unverifiable pieces of evidence into the "Lies and silences" file and shaping the mass of information into a structured narrative. "Life, like history, is one and indivisible. That, of course, is the nature of its complexity and the reason why those brave enough to embark upon analyses thereof are obliged to chop it up into more manageable segments" (Lively, 2011: 50). Although Mark

prides himself on working methodically and systematically, which he finds the most effective weapon "against the disorderliness of the subject matter" (Lively, 2011: 100), facing the various versions of Strong not only discourages him from the enterprise but makes him doubt it as a whole, seeing the "obsessive shadowing of another man's life" as "one of the more bizarre ways to spend one's own" (Lively, 2011: 58).

However, a rich source of comedy in the novel rests in how the process of Mark's investigation of Strong's fortunes and personality affects and intertwines with his own life. In spite of his resolution to process the information about his subject with critical detachment, as the failures in his research and the mishaps in his personal life pile up his tendency to see Strong behind them increases. He blames Strong for his falling for Carrie, but also for manipulating and playing hide-and-seek with him from the start. Mark finds himself suspicious that Strong has been deliberately holding back from him significant pieces of information while providing only those which correspond with how he wished posterity would see him, thus leaving the biographer with too many "silences" and leading him astray from a truthful account of his life. It is only when he discovers that the cause of most of these silences was Strong's deep personal tragedy – the sudden loss of the only woman he ever truly loved – that Mark realises he has known a different Strong until that point. Now that he is familiar with the most hidden intimacies of Strong's life, instead of feeling triumphant and satisfied he feels guilty of an impertinent intrusion. And so he comes to understand that although indirectly his and Strong's lives temporarily entwined it would be absurd to put the blame for his ill luck and mistakes on Strong, just as knowledge of another person's experience may hardly "have a salutary effect on the management of one's own affairs" (Lively, 2011: 198). The conclusion, however, is rather conciliatory towards biography: being acquainted with the most secret facts about his subject allows Mark to assume some of the wished for detachment, which revives his professional confidence and a vague belief that "maybe the whole activity is more sound than at times he has felt" (Lively, 2011: 211).

Substantially less successful in his enterprise is Phineas G. Nanson in A.S. Byatt's *The Biographer's Tale*. Having lost his belief in academic literary scholarship he resigns from his doctoral studies and on the advice of his supervisor embarks on the project of writing a biography of Scholes Destry-Scholes, a biographer who dedicated his life to writing about other people, particularly the Victorian polymath Sir Elmer Bole. Phineas becomes convinced that such a gifted and devoted biographer deserves a biography himself, but he soon discovers that although Destry-Scholes spent almost all his time searching for information and evidence about other persons' lives he in fact left almost no tracks of his own, and his privacy remains shrouded in

mystery, including his alleged death by drowning off the coast of the Lofoten Islands in Norway. No matter how hard Phineas tries, all he ends up with are materials pointing to Destry-Scholes's work and research, not his life or personality. And so he gradually realises that he is no longer pursuing Destry-Scholes but those Destry-Scholes wrote about, which, like opening "a set of Chinese boxes" (McKee, 2001), only leads him to other people, whose existence might be intriguing but is of no relevance to that of his subject.

Even the two shoeboxes full of notes and photographs he gets from Destry-Scholes's niece Vera do not turn out to be much more helpful in this regard, yet, thanks to them he at least ascertains the nature of Destry-Scholes's unpublished research from the time before his disappearance: gathering information about and writing mutually interconnected biographical accounts of three historical personages whom Phineas identifies as Carl Linneanus, Francis Galton and Henrik Ibsen. However, to his surprise and disappointment, Phineas finds that even though they are as thoroughly and meticulously composed as his other biographical writings, they are in reality largely fictitious since "the biographer had quite deliberately woven his own lies and inventions into the dense texture of collected facts" (Byatt, 2001: 236). It is as if suddenly he discovers another Destry-Scholes, completely unlike the man of earnest biographical principles he thought he knew, who insisted that a biographer, unlike a novelist, works solely with facts and must therefore never fabricate. And although Phineas does not know whether Destry-Scholes's betrayal of his own professional rules was meant as "a wry comment on the hopeless nature of biographical accuracy" or whether it was "just a wild and whimsical kicking-over of the traces?" (Byatt, 2001: 236), this discovery casts doubt upon the whole body of Destry-Scholes's work, including the distinguished biography of Bole, and puts a definite end to Phineas' own biographical project.

Like Mark Lemming, Phineas at first hopes to assume a position of utmost detachment from his subject, but soon finds this hope to be naïve, idealistic, and untenable. Not only do his subjective ideas, values and preferences impact his processing of the collected facts and data, but his strenuous efforts to disclose something about the ever evasive Destry-Scholes also start to interfere in and steer his personal life, especially with regard to the two young women he falls for – the forthright Swedish bee taxonomist, Fulla, and the ethereal hospital radiographer, Vera – and while the life of the biographee proves obscure and undetectable, his own becomes all the more exciting and enjoyable. This also reflects in the book he is writing which turns out eventually to be an autobiographic account rather than a biography of Destry-Scholes, despite the fact that Phineas has repeatedly expressed outspoken disdain for the genre, calling autobiography "the most evasive and self-indulgent of forms", one that is "[s]lippery,

unreliable, and worse, imprecise" (Byatt, 2001: 214, 250). Phineas thus notices that his book in some way parallels Destry-Scholes's triptych when the fictive narrative arises from the scholarly one because the urge to invent and speculate eventually overpowers the biographic imperative of relying on dry facts. He thus abandons his biography but does not give up writing as it has become for him an addiction and pleasure, expressing himself in those "forbidden words […] theorists can't use and writers can" (Byatt, 2001: 250), though he admits that merely being addicted to writing does not make one a writer. And so he keeps a diary recording his experiences from his travels, and the novel, which has been primarily concerned with biography, ends up as a paean to creative writing, to the diversity of human life and, most importantly, to the limitless richness of the natural world which, as Phineas concludes, "will always exceed our power to describe, or imagine, or understand it" (Byatt, 2001: 259).

The motif of a deceased person who resists becoming an unproblematic subject of biographic scrutiny can also be found in *Flaubert's Parrot*. The difference in Barnes's novel, which is technically not a novel but a playful and imaginative essay on the nature of truth and representation, is that the narrator, Geoffrey Braithwaite, is engaged in writing a biography of a real historical personage. However, the Gustave Flaubert that eventually arises from Braithwaite's endeavours is not much less fictitious than Phineas G. Nanson's Destry-Scholes. Braithwaite is well aware that Flaubert repeatedly insisted on the insignificance of the author's personal life and protected his privacy from being explored for biographical purposes as he wanted to be judged only on the basis of his work, yet he cannot help himself and joins the line of "the believers, the seekers, the pursuers" (Barnes, 1985: 3) who disrespect the writer's wish and again and again throw themselves into composing a coherent and compact image of someone who took deliberate steps to thwart any such future attempt. Although Braithwaite, unlike Nanson, cannot complain about a lack of leads, in effect he is no more successful: not only does he discover that some of these are false leads as they are not genuine and reliable, he also learns that each opens up a new area of the subject's life and thus turns into a discouraging reminder of how much the biographer does not in fact know. He feels that his biographic project complies with the definition of a net as "a collection of holes tied together with string" (Barnes, 1985: 35): the biographer also "trawls" the personality of his subject in the net of collected, selected and ordered facts and data, but there is always far more of what evaded being caught. If he is not able to identify the right parrot from the writer's desk, how can he be sure about the other, less palpable, traces?

There is one more significant realisation Braithwaite makes – that his desire to learn as much as possible about Flaubert is not his only, and not

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even the primary, impulse for working on the biography, since what really drives him to impose order and meaning on his subject's life is his unfulfilled need to do the same with his own. His compulsion to comprehend why certain events have happened to him, especially his wife Ellen's recent suicide, thus transforms into his obsession with Flaubert's "real" life, the one outside the realm of his fiction: "Books are not life, however much we might prefer it if they were. Ellen's is a true story; perhaps it is even the reason why I'm telling you Flaubert's story instead" (Barnes, 1985: 95). He comes to understand that (textual) representation never fully captures and encompasses reality and that his task has no final, complete solution. This does not mean that his effort has been wholly fruitless as he has learnt something new about himself and certain defining aspects of human nature, such as unrelenting curiosity and the need to search for truth, no matter how unattainable that is in its pure form. "You cannot change humanity, you can only know it" (Barnes, 1985: 202), notes Braithwaite, well aware that an individual's personality and experience is impossible to extrapolate from this universal knowledge. And so, although after almost two years of investigation he still has not found the right parrot, he experiences feelings of reconciliation or even a kind of content rather than annoyance and futility, being "pleased and disappointed at the same time. It was an answer and not an answer; […] Well, perhaps that's as it should be" (Barnes, 1985: 227). The novel thus, maybe paradoxically given its unrelenting critique of the genre, does not end with a call for resignation from the biographic quest for truth, but it revises its priorities and sees the process as being far more valuable than its outcome.

Peter Ackroyd's *Chatterton* also features a baffled life-writer in the character of Charles Wychwood, an unrecognised poet suffering from writer's block, who comes across a portrait of a middle-aged gentleman who strikingly resembles Thomas Chatterton, the famous forger poet who is believed to have killed himself by swallowing arsenic aged seventeen in 1770. Charles becomes obsessed with the painting and the sensational discovery it promises and decides to write a biography of Chatterton which would correct existing versions and once and for all establish him as one of the most influential figures behind English Romantic Poetry. His zeal intensifies with the discovery of documents apparently written at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in which a mature Chatterton admits that he only faked his death and continued writing poetry under various pen names, including those of the most renowned Romantic poets. In the end, all the key traces, including the portrait and the documents, turn out to be forgeries, yet Ackroyd spares his protagonist the public shame of being a misguided and self-deceived biographer by letting him die of a brain tumour after a mock-mystical vision of Chatterton's ghost. Although biography

writing is not the main theme of *Chatterton*, which is primarily occupied with the question of (un)originality and (in)authenticity in art, it contributes to the discussion concerning the meaningfulness of this enterprise. It does defend its legitimacy, yet, in one breath, it emphasises the role of invention in its course. As Philip, Charles's best friend, notes, "[t]he important thing is what Charles imagined, and we can keep hold of that. That isn't an illusion. The imagination never dies" (Ackroyd, 1987: 232). Similarly to *Flaubert's Parrot*, the novel makes an argument in favour of biography as a process, only in this case it is appreciated for providing a stimulus for the imagination, whose creative power Ackroyd places high above the imperatives of originality or truthfulness.

Working on the biography of a living person brings its own problems and issues and can also be of two main types: either the biographee does not want to be the subject of such a project and takes various steps to discourage and prevent the biographer from continuing the work, or the biographee has given consent to this enterprise, though often later regrets this, and the biographer thus embarks on the work in collaboration with the subject. The first type can be found in William Golding's *The Paper Men* and Michael Palin's *The Truth*, the latter is rendered in Kingsley Amis's *The Biographer's Moustache* and Hanif Kureishi's *The Last Word*.

The Paper Men explores a biographer-biographee relationship in its extremity. Wilfred Barclay is a famous elderly writer whose life is in crisis – unable to write any longer and his marriage dead, he has taken to drink to an extent bordering on alcoholism. Living off the profits from his novels, he has been wandering from one country to another, spending most of his waking time in hotel lobby bars drinking, eyeing up women and raking over his past. Yet he is denied peaceful enjoyment of this lifestyle by the young professor Rick L. Tucker, whose obsessive fascination with the writer and his work has grown into an obstinate and indomitable determination to write Barclay's official biography and become his literary executor. Even though Barclay's vanity is flattered by the offer, he declines Tucker resolutely, in part because he has been appalled at what Tucker is capable of doing in order to obtain information about his private life ever since he caught him secretly rifling in his dustbins, but mainly because of his fear of having his true self exposed to the public. It is not only that his life could be seen as "a movement from one moment of farce to another" (Golding, 2013: 58), but also because of some of the skeletons hidden in his closet, namely his not always honest dealings with women and an act of mean plagiarism of the central idea of one of his most successful novels. However, he soon comes to understand that the real farce of his life has just begun since no rejection is firm enough to stop Tucker in his self-appointed mission.

A chase around Europe begins in which Barclay is the prey, cherishing the hope of reversing roles and destroying his hunter, thus remaining in control of the story of his life. He employs a repertoire of strategies: he bullies Tucker verbally, tries to seduce his attractive wife, makes promises he knows he will not keep, provides false destinations where he is supposed to stay to shake him off, forbids him to ever come close to him again, and finally tells him that he is going to write his own biography. Yet none of these work and Tucker keeps pursuing him, jumping on him when and where he least expects it, begging and imploring him, willing to sacrifice anything, including his wife, academic career, and his last scraps of self-esteem and dignity to his dream project. Barclay fatally underestimates the fact that the more wicked and insidious his moves are the more desperate Tucker's counter-reactions become when he resolves to burn all his papers on a bonfire by the river so that Tucker can watch it from whichever place he is currently spying on him. The sadistic pleasure from the prospect of Tucker witnessing the turning of his dream into ashes provokes in Barclay feelings of utmost liberation, of "[f]reedom forsooth, freedom quotha" (Golding, 2013: 245), but only until he discovers that the instrument through which Tucker is peering at him from across the river is the viewfinder of a gun.

Although Palin's *The Truth* is similar in principle – a story with a surprising final twist about a biographer whose subject not only does not want his life to be written but also actively resists it – its ending's tone is far more positive, both with regard to the biographer-biographee relationship and to the merit of the genre as such. Keith Mabbut is offered the chance to write a biography of Hamish Melville, one of the world's most renowned and uncompromising environmentalists and human-right activists. This project represents an exciting challenge for Mabbut as Melville is an exceptionally elusive, solitary individual who spends his life travelling the world on his own in search of places of imminent ecological and/or humanitarian crisis where he is always ready to radically intervene to the benefit of the oppressed, exploited and endangered, but who avoids medialisation and anxiously protects his privacy. Mabbut, a once promising environmental journalist who, lured by the vision of money and career, "deserted" to the enemy camp to work for an oil company, finds himself at a crossroads as both his professional and personal lives have been far from satisfactory: he is discontented with his job which he sees as a shameful betrayal of his one-time ideals and his wife has left him for a richer man. Therefore, writing a biography of and potentially befriending the hero who personifies everything he ever dreamt of as a young man is for Mabbut an opportunity to fend off mid-life crisis and rediscover and restore his former, unblemished self.

Infused with youthful enthusiasm and idealism, Mabbut sets off on his quest for the truth, as the publisher's assignment demands, about the man whose life trajectory has been the reverse of his own – an ex-banker aiming to change the world by helping those in need. Undeterred by the arguments of the two women in his life, his wife Krystyna, who reminds him that the truth can be painful and not always what it seems, and his lover Tess, who questions the equation between facts and truthfulness and advises him to read good novels if he really wishes to find out the truth about human nature, Mabbut delves into the evidence about Melville's life only to soon discover that because of the absolute lack of intimate acquaintances, eye-witnesses and written documents to consult the research will be fruitless without the biographee's voluntary participation. This, however, turns out to be the crucial stumbling block as Melville is afraid that the biography would not only threaten his future actions but would also reduce him to a simplified caricature of himself – labelled, quantifiable, accessible – and shows no interest in supplying data "for the file marked 'Hamish Melville, Living Legend'" (Palin, 2013: 159). Moreover, as he suspects Mabbut of being a spy he allows him to take part in his forthcoming mission only in order to check him out rather than to provide him with any biographical material.

It is only when Melville realises that Mabbut is sincere that he decides to tell him the naked truth about his own corruption and hunger for power and influence, due to which he ended up working as a double-agent so as to gain money for his projects. The irony is that it was Mabbut's idealism that eventually forced Melville to reconsider his life and reminded him of the pristine person he once was. Although Mabbut feels disappointed and betrayed and his intended hagiography is wrecked, he still writes the biography in the end as Melville asks him to reveal his true life story to the public as a cautionary tale showing that "[e]veryone, however admirable they appear to be, is simply human. Prone to all the imperfections, temptations and mendacities that go with the territory" (Palin, 2013: 280). And so, in spite of the misconceptions, self-deceptions, and disillusionments that the biographic enterprise entails for all the involved parties, the novel in fact ends happily as both the protagonists get what they long for: Melville, with the help of plastic surgery, his new identity while his old one "dies" in a faked car accident, and Mabbut his truthful biography.

In Kingsley Amis's *The Biographer's Moustache* a struggling writer, Gordon Scott-Thompson, is commissioned to write a biography of Jimmie Fane, an elderly novelist whose books he respects and thinks deserve positive critical appraisal. The problem is that Fane as a person is an unashamed snob who, though in his self-conceitedness welcomes the project, only barely conceals his indignation at the fact that his biography is to be completed by a plebeian hack. However, as it is his only chance of having

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his biography written, Fane eventually gives consent to it and condescendingly allows the delighted Gordon to bring his semi-forgotten work back into the public eye. Yet Gordon's idealistic enthusiasm soon wears thin when faced with the bitter and pragmatic reality of biography writing. First, his publisher reminds him that, unlike Gordon, readers will be much more interested in Fane's personal life than in his writings and urges him to come up with "a couple of meaty excerptible chunks" (Amis, 1996: 220) while maintaining a moral tone throughout. Second, Fane's wife Joanna warns him that her husband enjoys publicity as long as he is in absolute control of it, which soon proves correct when Fane refuses to authorise anything that could potentially violate his carefully fostered public image. Having two different if not contradictory versions and knowing that the truth lies in its unattainability "somewhere in the middle" (Amis, 1996: 124), Gordon ends up merely with the solid factual material suitable for "the opening of an 800-page study" (Amis, 1996: 69), but too dry and heavy for the kind of book he has been intending to write.

Censorship interventions are not the only acts of Fane that frustrate Gordon as the elderly peacock revels in patronising and bullying him for his lower-class status, epitomised by his sporting of a moustache and his improper pronunciation. Yet while Gordon's progress as a biographer is slow and erratic, his personal progress is brisk and straightforward, thanks to his love affair with Joanna, though even in this case he could not be wholly certain that it was not somehow orchestrated by Fane. His success with Fane's wife gives him the confidence to not only confront his biographee's whims and insults, but also to defy his authority over the biography's content. However, although Gordon writes the warts-and-all version "[b]lowing the gaff on that toffy-nosed old twit" (Amis, 1996: 220), the novel has no clear-cut winners and losers. Fane has his dirty secrets exposed in Gordon's book but is grateful to him as he believes negative publicity will only arouse readers' interest in himself and his writing. Gordon, on the one hand, has his saleable book published and has learnt a valuable lesson about himself and his self-worth, but, on the other hand, the book's final version is completely unlike what he originally planned and his relationship with Joanna breaks up due to age and class differences. What the novel depicts almost to the limits is the process of disillusionment in a biographer with an uncritically admiring attitude to the subject after meeting him/her in person and undertaking a probe into the particularities of his/her private life.

A similar process forms the axis of Kureishi's *The Last Word*. Harry Johnson is a young writer who feels immensely elated and honoured when he is commissioned to write a biography of Mamoon Azam, the eminent, Indian-born novelist, essayist and journalist who has made a career in England and whom Harry has admired since he was a teenage bookworm.

He considers himself highly honoured to be able to present the reading public with the life story and personality of this great man and artist in their wholeness and complexity, yet the other parties' motivation behind the project is far more pragmatic and earthbound: Mamoon has not written anything notable for many years, his reputation has been steadily fading, as have the sales of his books, and his new wife, Liana, in order to satisfy her expensive and extravagant tastes, urgently needs to revive her husband's career; and the publisher, in order to make the biography an event on the book market, requires a controversial biography that would expose the revered man's dark side. However, Harry is soon to discover that the true obstacle to be overcome is neither Liana nor the publisher but Mamoon himself. In his early seventies and growing moody and irritable, he prefers the peace and quiet of his home to publicity, moreover, the whole project evokes in him the feeling that everything productive is already behind him and his current existence is good only for memoirs. And so, although deep inside he rationally understands the importance of the book for his future life, on the outside he shows no signs of helpfulness or desire to cooperate with Harry whom he considers an intruder.

Harry thus soon comes to understand that his intended working method of conducting "detailed and serious interviews" (Kureishi, 2015: 29) will not work as Mamoon's senile behaviour is strikingly at odds with the bright and piercing ideas of his writings. After he temporarily moves into the Azams' house so as to be closer to his subject, the biographer-biographee relationship starts to resemble a game of cat and mouse, or of even wait-and-see war tactics, and includes intimidation, deception, pretence, sulking, rampaging, blackmail, and even assault. Moreover, he finds himself exposed to pressure from Liana who tries to manipulate him to write her husband's hagiography. Since Mamoon is interested only in tabloid gossip and sports news and shows no willingness to talk about his life, Harry ends up with little more than general biographical data, Liana's version and the testimonies of Mamoon's former wives. It is only when Harry's girlfriend Alice arrives in the house for a weekend stay that he realises that young, attractive and attentive women are the key to the soul of this "worldly man with childish fears" (Kureishi, 2015: 50). Mamoon quickly develops a fondness for Alice who cares for him and listens to him sincerely without being demanding and he confides to her everything he has ever refused to tell Harry. And so the duel over who will have the last word culminates: while Harry is completing his wished-for book about an influential artist and thinker "without traducing the old man" (Kureishi, 2015: 343), the biographee is wreaking his vengeance by writing a semi-autobiographical novel about an elderly man's platonic yet genuine relationship with a young woman who becomes something like his muse, while her boyfriend, a

pitiable character known as "Fizzy Pants", remains unaware and egotistically keeps on pursuing his love affairs.

Conclusion – Failing Questers (Not Only) in the Archive

Biographic metafiction bears a certain affinity with the genre for which Suzanne Keen uses the term "romances of the archive". These works show their main protagonists, at least for some time, as archival researchers, either scholarly or amateur, that is persons who are trying to discover the past, which is why they become "questers in the archive" who search for "information in collections of documents" (Keen, 2001: 3). Although the genre has become popular in the last few decades, it consistently treads in the old-fashioned narrative tradition and against the grain of postmodernist revisions of the notions of truth and history as unequivocal and available in their fullness as its archival seekers eventually do "find solid facts, incontrovertible evidence, and well-preserved memories of time past", by which it insists that "there is a truth and that it can be found in a library or a hidden cache of documents" (Keen, 2001: 3, 27). Although some of the romances of the archive, for instance A.S. Byatt's *Possession* (1990), make use of postmodernist techniques such as metafiction, intertextuality and pastiche, they are examples of the traditional model of representation in the sense that the attained written documents unproblematically correspond with historical reality, which is why the protagonists' searches always lead to the discovery of order, truth, and therefore happiness (Nagy, 2016: 133). The term "romance" is important here because it not only reflects the fact that the novel's characters experience some kind of love affair in the course of their research, but Keen (2001) also finds in the genre an echo of chivalrous tales in which the protagonists are attributed an aureole of heroism: they suffer as they are forced to undergo various adventures but come out of their quest rewarded not only with what they sought, but also with "an improved character – tested, rebuked, and strengthened" (11).

Biographic metafiction, like romances of the archive, owes much to the genre of detective fiction and both feature characters in search of a historical truth, which allows them to experience an exciting combination of "detective work and intellectual adventure" (Keen, 2001: 14). However, their similarity ends there since while romances of the archive "restore history to its glamorous, consoling, and admonitory powers" (Keen, 2001: 61), biographic metafiction, on the contrary, presents it as elusive, equivocal and obscure. Thus, their protagonists' quests, though seriously meant and full of idealism in the beginning, by no means parallel those of classical romance as they more often than not run into blind alleys, follow false leads, and become victims of their own delusions and misconceptions, as a result of which their effort looks far from heroic. This inevitably affects the stories' endings: these

biographers do not find their "grail" in the form of a well-researched and representative narrative. They often give up the search altogether, and even if they do produce a biography eventually, it is either substantially different from what they intended to write originally or not so much a result of their own merit. An exception in this regard is *According to Mark*[98], where the biography is successfully completed, though the fact that Mark Lamming's enterprise ends happily is due to the lucky circumstances of finding a surviving witness rather than as the result of thorough archival research. Also, to speak of improved character resulting from their quests is somewhat problematic in the case of the biographers, unless we count as an improvement their realisation that any biographic attempt is, in principle, destined to go wrong, which provokes a resolution to find a different channel for releasing their creative energy in the future. Lastly, some biographic metafiction protagonists do have love affairs while working on their books, but these are only short-lived and remain unfulfilled, such as in *According to Mark*, *The Paper Men*, *The Biographer's Moustache*, *The Last Word* and even in *The Biographer's Tale* as having two concurrent intimate relationships with women ignorant of the other's existence can barely be considered likely to be sustainable or long-lasting.

Therefore, the relation between romances of the archive and biographic metafiction proves to be ambiguous. Although they render similar situations and conflicts, they do so by distinct means as they are based on completely contradictory premises concerning the (im)possibility of accomplishing their protagonists' tasks. As regards the success and "heroicity" of their efforts to uncover historical truth, scholars, amateur researchers and even layman observers are treated benevolently within the safe and well-delineated territory of a traditional narrative, while literary biographers are cast into the postmodern realm of shifting sands and indistinct borders, where they are not only doomed to fail, but also, as naïve innocents, to suffer a bitter collapse of their ideals and illusions. This fact points not so much to their authors' affiliation to a certain literary critical and theoretical school, but to their complicated personal attitude to the institution of literary biography and its practitioners. As aptly worded by Philip Roth in the epigraph, most authors are internally split regarding literary biography, oscillating between attraction and repulsion, the desire to become a subject of biography and the fear of the result, well aware that one could hardly avoid the revelation of some inconvenient personal truths. This split is then projected into biographic metafiction novels: exploring life writing in novels

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98 Suzanne Keen (2001) lists Lively's *According to Mark* as an exemplary romance of the archive, but I would see it rather as a representative of biographic metafiction for the reasons mentioned on the subsequent lines.

legitimises biography as a serious literary issue, but at the same time, it is presented as being too tricky and undefinable to be treated without a dose of critical scorn and mockery. The result is a highly readable and thought-provoking genre which, however, is fighting a losing battle as due to biography's steadily rising popularity biographic metafiction's chances of overshadowing, not to say outlasting, the object of its criticism are rather negligible.

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Transnationalism and the Migrant Minds: The Journey of M.G Vassanji's Diasporic Consciousness

Ranjana Tripathi, (D.Phil.)
Rajarshi Tandon Girls Degree College,
University of Allahabad, Allahabad India

Abstract

M.G Vassanji, himself an Indian diaspora, has depicted in his works the paradoxical situation of the immigrants laying emphasis on the socio-political concerns that have had an impact on the migrant minds . The national boundaries for the migrants become sometimes less real and more arbitrary because as they move from one space to another and from there to the next, they keep positioning some thing of the cultural ethos of that particular country in themselves. They are in search of stability, tormented by the marginalization and the growing feeling of rejection at each adopted homeland.This paper shall deal with the journey of the diasporic consciousness of M.G.Vassanji through a study of his works in chronological order. A reading of *The Gunny Sack*(1989),*No New Land*(1990), *Uhuru Street* (1990),*The Book of Secrets*,(1993), *Amrika*(2000), *The In Between World of Vikram Lall*(2003), *The Assassin's Song* (2007), *The Place Within,* Rediscovering India(2008) reveals a continuously evolving meaning of India –the land of his origin. This article shall focus on the changing paradigm of Vassanji from the outer to the inner world of the diaspora and also the relevance of India to Vassanji in the course of his writings. Political contexts play a significant role on Vassanji's story telling and artistic imagination. His works trace the history of the Indians who arrive in East Africa and each successive novel narrates their journey from one land to another through the changing times and political conditions. The early woks are a search for stability, for identity but as he proceeds he moves ahead of the earlier trauma and non-adaptability in the adopted homeland thus delineating his changing diasporic consciousness.

Keywords: Migration, marginalisation, diasporas homeland, trauma.

Introduction

Moyez G. Vassanji was born in Nairobi, Kenya in 1950 and raised in Tanzania. His parents were a part of a wave of Indians who migrated to

Africa from the west coast of India in the colonial era. Vassanji studied at University of Nairobi, then shifted to the US to join   Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He received his Doctorate in Nuclear Physics from the University of Pennyslvania. He worked at the Chalk River Atomic Power Station and then moved to Toronto in 1980. Vassanji has a vast array of cultural influences to draw from. He and his wife Nurjehan Aziz started *Toronto South Asian Review* in 1981 which continues today as *Toronto Review of Contemporary Writing Abroad*. He formerly took to writing as a career devoting to it all his time. In this paper I propose to view the journey of Vassanji's diasporic consciousness through a study of his novels in chronological order. A reading of *The Gunny Sack* (1989), *No New Land*(1990), *The Book of Secrets*,(1993), *Amriika*(2000), *The In Between World of Vikram Lall(*2003),and *The Assassin's Song* (2007), reveals a continuously evolving meaning of India –the land of his origin. Vassanji focuses on the situation of South Asians in East Africa, Canada and USA and examines how lives of people are affected by migration. The transnational and migrant nature of the protagonists of his novels brings them close to Vassanji himself. I shall first introduce my topic and then study the novels to understand the diasporic consciousness of Vassanji. To study the journey of Vassanji's diasporic consciousness I shall present an analysis of his novels throwing light on the relevant aspects of his fictional world.

I.

M.G Vassanji, himself an Indian diaspora, has depicted in his works the paradoxical situation of the immigrants laying emphasis on the socio-political concerns that have had an impact on the migrant minds. The national boundaries for the migrants become sometimes less real and more arbitrary because as they move from one space to another and from there to the next, they keep positioning some thing of the cultural ethos of that particular country in themselves. They are in search for stability, tormented by the marginalization and the growing feeling of rejection at each adopted homeland. Vassanji's diasporic consciousness, has been directed by some major concerns namely, his identity, his responsibility towards his land of birth, marginalization, acculturation, migration, and the land of his origin. Strangely enough Vassanji is even today unable to situate himself as a writer and still questions his identity "Am I a Canadian Writer?" He is perturbed when questions like whom do you write for or who is your audiences are put to him. He feels that if he is a Canadian Writer his novels do not feature Canada and its people enough. He wonders who will remember him. Who will read him after he has sailed off into the sunset? And if he read at all, then where will his literature be placed? In a Canada where he still has to spell out his first name? Where he finds himself sputtering out in frustration,

or will there be a place for him in the land where he was born that has a special place in his heart, which he thinks has been relegated to the margins of this world but where he is seen as historically relevant? "These are frustrations of looking for a place to belong.... Are these three or five years after which one stands before a judge swears loyalty, and options a piece of paper, enough to produce a Canadian sensibility, a Canadian work of literatures? It is in those moments that I wonder if I have a home, as I thought I had...."These fears that grip the writer reflect the seriousness of the situation, the pang of pain that arises with what Vijay Misra calls hyphenated identity-- Afro American, Afro Asian -- and Homi K Bhabha calls hybridity. Hybridity a crucial post colonial concept is the assertion of a shared post colonial condition. It explains the in betweenness of diasporas and refers to the creation of a third 'hybrid" species by the intermixing of two species. It means cross-cultural exchanges or transculturation. Diasporic writers inhabit the margins of two or more cultures/ nations/ societies. They occupy a borderline position and their continual existence of this nature makes their identity peripheral and marginal in what is called liminality. The diasporas write about marginality, interstitiality liminality and hybridity which they suffer in their daily lives and fictionalise them in their literary creations. According to Vijay Mishra, 'Diasporic communities are always hyphenated .... The hyphen is that which unified the vibrant social and cultural spaces occupied by diasporas in nation states. It also reminds us of the contaminated border, hybrid experience of diaspora people for whom an engineered return to a purist condition is a contradiction in terms because they returned to the quay their ships had gone'The works of Vassanji are so full of newness ,diversity , heterogeneity therefore interesting and creative, precisely because they reveal the consciousness of a hybrid, a hyphenated identity who is writing about hybrids who are continuously transforming and re- creating.

Vassanji draws on autobiographical material though he denies that he never hailed from within the walls of the immigrant ghetto described in his novels His protagonists have situational and cultural similarities .Both come across may cultures at, the same time-the Shamsis(fictionalized form of Ismaili) , the Africans, the colonizers-- the English and Germans and finally the multicultural North America but the protagonists are rooted in their culture.Vassanji is a Ismaili " I was brought up in a community of Muslims who had been converted in medieval times but who quite unembarrassed kept many of their 'Hindu' beliefs and made sense of them" Ismailies are not frequently found in India but they are preserved in the culture of the diasporas.

When the artistic ability of a creative writer recedes to the margins and endures all the pain and anguish, his diasporic consciousness generates a

creative tension in the mind and this initiates his creative process. Derek Walcolt delivering his Nobel Lecture in 1992 said 'Break a Vase, and the love that reassembles the fragments is strong[i]er than the love which look its symmetry for granted when it was whole. The glue that first the piece is sealing off. its original shape. It is such a love that restoration shows its white scars.'

Vassanji's writings arise from a sense of responsibility towards the land where he was born and nurtured. This precisely is the reason of his writing fictionalized histories that stand at the intersection of politics, history and literature reflecting the collective consciousness of the migrant Indians race. His novels focus on situation not character. "Every time you hear of problems in that part of the world, and every time you feel that something should be done, you wonder what you have done, and realise that there is essentially a lack of coverage."In an interview to Chelva Kanaganakan he points out that his characters don't mean anything until they have a history but he says he does not see, nor want to give the impression of ,a simple, linear historical truth emerging.The pain of homelessness of not belonging has brought forth novels that continuously explore the migrant mind. Be it history, or this era of the new world order, of transnationalism, acuteness of pain is unchanged and unchangeable. The creative ability unable to endure the marginalisation, otherness, difference liminality, indulges in self analysis, recedes to the past, its roots searches the ground that is very much like him. To overcome the issues of racism, discrimination and political harassment he recreates his country links with it and culturally aligns with it. Homelessness and rootlesness are therefore causes of creativity. Preoccupation with ethnic identity is not only a symptom of evolution but serves as a corrective trend in historical evolution. Explaining the creative process of a diaspora writer Vijay Misra says "The act of displacement now makes diasporic subjects travellers on the move; their home land is a series of objects, fragments of narratives that they keep in their heads or in their suitcases. Like hawkers they can reconstitute their lives through the contents of their knapsack." Rushdie in this context says that diaspora writers 'are haunted by some sense of loss, some urge to reclaim, to look back, even at the risk of being mutated into pillars of salt. But we do not look back, … we will not be capable of reclaiming precisely the thing that was lost, that we will in short, create fictions, not actual cities or villages, but invisible ones, imaginary homelands, Indias of the mind '

In the 1990s a new concept, transnationalism emerged in academic discourse. In a transnational community the migrants come from nation state, where they have lived for a relatively long time returning periodically, and at least part of the family do not quit for good. The members of a transnational community seek to acquire citizenship of their host land while

retaining that of their country of origin. The double affiliation is not only a question of facility but also a chosen way of life. However, there is not uprooting from the territory and society of origin nor trauma, a sin the case of diasporas. Vassanji's novels correspond with this era. He therefore portrays characters whose sense of national allegiance has been watered down by multiple migrations . Globalisation seems to have transformed the world radically with an emergence of transnational community. In transnational communities there is not the complete uprooting or delinking as in case of diasporas. Diasporas, as depicted in Vassanji's fictional world in the era of globalization are better defined in terms of transnationalism networks with a dissolution of cultural and geographic borders. A recent study by Robin Cohen reveals that there are nine criteria to categorize diasporas. The first category includes those who have dispersed either by 'dispersal from an original homeland often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions... or expansion from the homeland in search of worked, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions.' This refers to also to the ethnic group that have dispersed into foreign regions as part of a colonial venture. According to Fludernik, this second category of migration in search of work can perhaps be usefully divided into there very different groups: the colonial diaspora, and the old and new diaspora in Vijay Mishra's terminology permanent displacement through emigration is labeled old diaspora while the new, she says in contrast to Mishra (and more reasonably) has professional considerations the movement of individual professionals and their families to mostly anglophone industrial nations like the U.K. Canada and the USA. This links it with transnational diasporas. Diasporas may be transnational but all transnational communities may not be diaspora. Fludernik sees this type of new diaspora as a more recent version of labour movements across the globe and motivated by professional considerations-the movement of individual professional and their families to mostly Anglophone industrial nations. This is the type of diaspora represented in most recent South Asian fiction.

With change in the scenario there is a shift of the oppressor from the coloniser to the governments of multicultural countries like the U.S. and Canada. Acceptance of ethnic plurality does not guarantee socio-legal equality. Skin in the chief signifier of cultural and racial difference. Cheap labour is still the ground reality of the seemingly egalitarian reason. Krauter and Dani's observe that highest degree of discrimination is observed in employment and wages. The policy of multiculturalism was made to embrace all cultural differences. This is evident in the novels of Vassanji and a reading of the texts reveals that multiculturalism segregates the natives and the immigrants.

On going through the works of Vassanji his diasporic sensibility is clearly evident. The issues that concern him most are raised repeatedly and every time a new aspect comes to light. Though the books focus broadly on the situation of South Asians in East Africa, Canada and USA and examines how lives of people are affected by migration.yet they present new situations and it is as if one book leads to the next. His first novel *The Gunny Sack* is divided in to three parts Ji Bai, Kulsum and Amina. These three prominent women have a strong influence on the narrator Salim. The dominance of the women in Vassanji's first novel clearly shows that the socio-cultural history, about which he is consciously concerned, is tactfully framed by women, who though are part of a patriarchal society, a legacy of the land of origin, still are preservers of tradition and carriers of culture. The book focuses on four generations of Indian diaspora beginning with Dhanji Govindji who left native India and came to Zanzibar and Tanganika towards the close of the nineteenth century and ending with his great grand son Salim, the narrator, in the basement room of a hotel in the North America towards the close of the twentieth century. Gunny sack it self is a metaphor for the past- the treasured belongings of Ji Bai It contains the memories of the land of her birth- her home land which has always been alive in all that she does and says. It carries the belongings of Dhanji Govindji, her father-in-law. The books, what they contain is not known to her, nevertheless she values it as sacred, is very possessive about it and is sure that the past of Dhanji Govindji can be unveiled revealing the mystery of his life. She hands over the gunny sack to Salim, her step grandson as she finds him to be the rightful owner who would bring to light some day the past. He deserves it because he alone can value it and reveals the hidden histories of those who came from far off western coast of India to live a life of dignity and those business men in search of better opportunities and prospects. Ji Bai in the last days of her life revisits India- that has changed from the time she had left but was in her memory still the same.

Acculturation is a natural phenomenon and can be witnessed in all the novels of Vassanji. When migration occurs there is in the process of contact, accommodation and assimilation. According to Robert Park, as immigrants learn to accommodate the dominant group, a process of cultural assimilation ensues culminating in intermarriage and amalgamation This process is progressive and irreversible. According to Redcliff, Linton, and Herskovits acculturation occurs when groups of individuals from different cultures come into continuous contact with each other, and subsequently there are changes in the cultural pattern of either or both. Dhanji Govindji is a Hindu Indian name, Dhan mearning wealth and Govind is Lord Krishna. He is a Shamsi and has already dropped his last name signifying caste, village and trade. For those who settled in Africa caste nor ancestral village

mattered any longer. Later generations drop Govindji and adopt Hashan, name of an Arab clan changed names from Dhanji, Samji, (Hindu names) to Aisha and Faruq (muslims names).

The novel presents the relationship of the Indian men with the African slave women who worked for them. Before his marriage Dhanji lives with Bibi Tarantibu and has a half caste son, Huseni who is dark and therefore different. He grows up to be a wellbuilt powerful young man but is a loafer. When Dhanji gets married he no longer has any thing to do with Bibi Tarantibu.He does not allow Huseni to be associated with his mother. The friendship and alliance with Africans- Mshenzis invites uncontrolled rage from his father who says" You are descended from the solar race! What do you have to consort with slaves for?" The plight of the hybrids half caste in colonial era was worse than that of the migrants and the Africans They belonged to nowhere, the Indians did not readily accept them and the Africans did not have the power to speak for them. After his father's accusations Husaini was never heard from again. Dhanji searches him but is unable to find him and says to JiBai that Africa has taken him back. In post-independence era Vassanji shows the hybrids, even Salim who is one eighth African, as having an edge over the Indians.

In all the novels of Vassanji there is a reference to the relationship between the different races that lived together in Africa (except *The Assassin's Song*) alliances with different races and religions is never encouraged. Later in the novel when Sona, Salim's elder brother is leaving for American Kulsum, Salim's mother warns him, 'Don't marry a white girl.... Don't turn your back on your faith and your community. Don't forget your family.' () Again when Salim thinks of marrying Amina, an African, was a fiery anti imperialist humanist steeped in colours of Marxist Leninist theory.,there is a strong opposition from Kulsum. Salim confessed that he could go to meet Amina when no one saw him 'But our world was pulling us apart.... For me it was simply to be doing the unthinkable; to be the subject of discussion for anyone in the community, from the precocious ten year old to the senile: she children, religion, the differences, its not easy, nothing to do with racism, of course... and what words did Dar say to her... to have fallen in love with one of the exploiter class a dukawallah, mere agents of the British, these oily slimy cowardly Asians, what future did they have...'()) Kulsum eyed him suspiciously and did enough to prevent it. Amina was adamant and says that this was not the first time that it was happening . Ji Bai gets along well with Africans and is very fond of Amina and when Amina asks her what actually was she- Ji Bai replies 'Yes, I am Swahili ... and Indian and Arab... and European'. (   )Through Ji Bai had seen many sharp turns in her life ,she is several times uprooted and settled at another place, but she never looks back to remember her several homes. Matamu,

Dar Es Salam. Surprisingly she never remembers her homes in Africa as she remembers India. At the fag end of her life she says she has to visit Bajupur. This comes as a surprise to everyone. Does it still exist? She wants to meet her sisters, their sons and daughters and to visit the Hazrat Ali Mela. On her visit to her home in India she puts both her hands against that beloved wall, goes closer to it and softly beats her head against it once, twice thrice and she weeps (106.)This conveys the feelings of all diasporas, their desire for their homeland which changes with time and is irretrievable, the kith and kin are no more and those of the next generation do not have the same feelings.

After the independence Salim's family is several times raised to the ground left with almost nothing in hand, had to move to another place. This unsettling and resettling gives a transnational character to the Indian diaspora that belonged to no where, that lived in Africa for a more secure life than at home but really achieved nothing. Rushing from one place to another they look towards the west North America, Canada or Europe. They are desolate. *The Gunny Sack* ends looking forward towards a bright future .Salim says,

> The running must stop now, Amina. The cycle of escape and rebirth, uprooting and regeneration must cease in me. Let this be the last runaway, returned, with one last, quixotic dream. Yes, perhaps here lies redemption, a faith in the future, and even it means for now to embrace the banal present, to pick up the pieces of our wounded selves our wounded dreams, and pretend they are still intact, we had our dreams, and it came to us this world. it worked us and we are thanked to dreamt was enough and so dream.... ( )

The book throws light on the interpersonal relations of the migrant Indians and Africans in the colonial and the postcolonial era. The writer almost explains the circumstances under which the young Indians had to leave Africa. As mentioned earlier the writers own reasons and justification for leaving Africa lies embedded in the book. This being his first novel it went back in time tracing the history and presenting what may be called a clarification for his own movement from East Africa to the US and the to Canada.

Nurdin Lalani, the immigrant in *No New Land* survives amidst the hostility this struggle is a classic example of the existential tent that struggle afirms life. The novel explores the illusion of a 'Canandian haven' and the subsequent delusion on facing the stark reality. Nurdin however does not accept defeat in the face of discrimination. The book focuses on Nurdin and his family and also explores the marginalisation faced by his fellow immigrantts. The book presents a mosaic of immigrant community and their response to cultural and geographical translocation.

Escaping the post- independence nationalistic eagerness of African who call the Asians, the exploiters of land, Nurdin experienced an ordeal on

his way to Canada as he was viewed by the immigration officers as 'a pack of skilled and are rehearsed actors from the former colonies out to steal jobs firm hard working English men and women. (34) His passport is stamped 'deter future attempted crests.' (34). Canada receives him on a welcoming note. The multicultural land with sectional brought prospects was not easy to establish oneself. His attempts of seeking jobs are annulled he is either overqualified or without Canadian experience and he is reduced to a menial. Multiculturalism is called multivulturalism in *No New Land.* (54) It promotes the discrimination that it seeks to eradicate. Racism is rudely visible in the charges of rape against Nurdin by a white girl who in distress was being helped by Nurdin. 'Madan-miss is any thing wrong? Can I be of any help.'(178) His hand is still on her shoulder when she cries 'Rape!' This episode alienates him even with his wife and children. Eventually Lalami bears to adjust concluding. 'And with the pact before you, all around you, you lake on the future more evenly matched'. (207). He belongs to nowhere Nanji The college professor at a function explains the paradox of Multiculturalism. He believes, the immigrant has not choice, 'but to become westernised which is what we have applied for by coming here.' (77) Esmail is brutally wounded by a young woman which is helplessly viewed by Nanji, the professor 'Where have we come what are we becoming?' (97) The incident transports Esmail to Dar where he becomes an artist. Vassanji here comments, 'While those immigrant Toronto's poets and artist have periodic jubilees in the streets not, out of context, their roots out in the cold- irrelevant to the world, any world, marginal'. (164) According to Vera Alexander, the protagonist is forced with a double problem of how to manage his integration into a new culture and how cope with his ambitions One the other, he has a responsibility towards his community, whose reactions to the new situation often differ from his personal ones. Torn between allegiances to the past, present and future, the novel's protagonist takes some seven years to really cross the threshold to the 'new land.'

The Book of Secrets is a story of search for stability, for identity amidst displacement in the times of shifting borders and the emergence of an new world. Its time span is from 1913 to 1988, pre war Africa which is followed by the World War I between the German and British colonisers in Africa. It centres on the relationship of colonisers with the early diasporas from India and records the suffering of these non native servants of the British faced when they. withdraw *The Book of Secrets* is carved out by Pices Fernandes, a Goanese School teachers who has access to a diary mysteriously misplaced by Alfred Corbin a Governor of East Africa reveals truths of the social reality which would have otherwise been in the dark for ever.In the World War the sufferes were the natives and the Indians.'When two elephants fight ,the grass is the sufferer.'The first section closes with the

arrival of the war while British controlled Kenya, Germany controlled Tanganyika and are time and again forcefully have to be a part of the war. The book unfolds the story of an Indian diaspora Pipa throwing light on the social customs, inter personal relations between the Africans and the Indian migrants of those with in the community and those. with the colonisers We are introduce to a girl of mixed blood and strikingly attractively who is married to Pipa and before which she was a servant in Alfred Corbin's house. Pipa and Mariamu have a son who is light colored and raises suspicion in Pipa's mind. Soon after Mariamu is brutally murdered. The story beyond this point is about their 'fair' son who calls himself prince Ali Khan the era is post colonial and the struggle of the migrants whose rulers were now the Africans is the focus of the story. It was at this time that Shamsis who had a home in this land in large numbers began to pack and leave for North America to England and to India. The life of Rita and Ali in London narrates the usual story of immorality where Rita took up shorthand typing and was treated like a servant but being in London gave the satisfaction which overshadowed discrimination. Ali who called himself a Prince worked as a waiter. But times changed and they fared well. The death of his half brother Amin brought him back home and returned a chanted man. He become a partner of an investment company and his money multiplied and so did his interests. He came close to a woman from Peru and Rita and children were left by themselves.

Amriika that was published at the onset of the twentyfirst century is the first novel which is based in America. In the sixties Ramji a student of Dar-es-Salaam, arrives in an American. He is enchanted by the land where there is freedom and wealth and progress. He becomes politically aware, participates in anti vietnam war demonstration and his quest for identity even lards him into an Ashran. He became a part of peace marches protest bombings and religious congregations. He settles down and unsettles then resettles and can be seen as an extension or sequel of the past novels where students leave to study in America. They land up in America- Amriika- as in the Indian dilect. One can never therefore forget the Indianness of Ramji, who is a Shansi once again. It seams America is purposely chosen as the title to keep in mind the Indian Origin which crops up.

Amriika, the name it self is a metaphor for the future linked with the past America from the perspective of one who is linked with India, a Diaspora coming with hope to place himself in the global scenario. Life in Africa for the Indian Diaspora had no future he tells us that he has come to America to heal his wounds and even save his soul from endless torments, he further says that his ancestors were Hindus who were converted to a sect of Islam and told by that refugee from Mongols to await the final avatar of their God Vishnu. In his grand ma's words, the sun would rise some day from the west.

The people sought it first in Africa, but the west moved further and further and became America. He gives reasons for his migration, 'And in my country Indians like me are called foreigners even though we've been there more than a century'

The year 1968 when he came to America was full of the meager of drug peddlers and the violence that gripped the nation due to Vietnam was to was a turning point in America's history when rights of the blacks and women, for the minorities and the civil rights were on the agenda. There was hope that a more peaceful democracy would emerge.

At such a time Ramji comes into America with his spiritual values that he carried to practice faith daily, not do drink, not to succumb to sexual temptation- and the materialism of the age. he is caught up unawares and his romantic image of the America of John F. Kennedy is in pieces. He seeks solace in an Ashram which becomes his haven for some time as every where gurus, pairs, psychologists, Zealots of every stripe were fishing for disciples to bring comfort to the homeless fortuned spirits. The tyrannical attitude of the country which was for the first time at the top of the world, a superpower that could pomp countries use them and throw them away. The arrogance and intolerance of the mighty superpower lists the life of the migrants like Ramji who can not settle down- neighed in profession nor in personal life. Unlike his earlier books- *The Gunny Sack, The Book of Secrets*, where book is rooted in the past *Amriika* looks ahead of Africa. It moves forward and backward in time giving reasons for his leaving Africa as he struggles for existence in America.

The In- Between world of Vikram Lall is once again located in Nakuru, Kenya in the 1950s. It is the story of growing up of the children of Indians during and after the Independence struggle. It is focused on the impact of the gruesome acts of violence of the Mau Mau activists –the Africans whose terrorist activities spared no colonial officer and his family. The book is the record of the consciousness of the narrator Vikram Lall. It is for the first time that Vassanji so completely penetrates in to the psyche of the protagonist revealing his inner world. Vikram Lall and his sister Deepa who are children of migrant Indians having a store are friends with two British chidren Bill Bruce and his sister Annia. They are equally friendly with Njoroge, a Kituyu who is grandson of his gardener. The childhood relations of the children are without any discrimination. Mau Mau group, an extremist group that indulged in terrorism and violence, attacks the neighbours of Vic, killing his friends Bill and Annia and their family. This leaves the children shocked and it has a permanent mark on their mind. Killing of the British women, men and children at the night was not an unusual act of the Mau Maus. Violence strikes closer to Vic's home and Kenya becomes independent. The Indian community lands no where having

lost their land property family and traditions they are displaced once again. Back home in India the Lall's village is now part of the newly formed Pakistan. They fear similar loses in Kenya as the new government is not ready to acknowledge the rights of non Africans.

The Family shifts from Nukuru to Nairobi and their general condition starts deteriorating. After the Independence the condition of the Indians becomes worse. During the struggle for independence the Indians are against the colonial rule and therefore support the Africans but after independence they are considered agents of the colonisers. Life of Africans during the independence struggle was difficult and dangerous. The Africans did not get any respect from the those who had captured and occupied their land. As a kid Vikram laughed at Masai kids and thought of them as dark exotic savages left behind in the Stone Age…when one saw them on a street they were to be avoided for they smelled so.The Lall's Vic recollects had good relations wih the Masai because of his Dad a and dadi, grandparents.His Dada even had relations with a masai woman and also a child.When the conditions for the Africans deteriorate Njoroge disappears one day and much later he appears again after many years to the surprise of Vic and Deepa. The story of Vic, Deepa and Njoroge continues to move along the course of the novel making adjustments with the circumstances. The time of the natives takes a turn and they hold important offices in the government, Njoroge, too becomes a powerful man. The love story of Deepa and Njoroge continues but inspite of all efforts of Deepa and Vic, her mother does not allow her to have any relation with Njoroge. Vikram finds his girl friend's family to be against him- her family is a Muslim from Gurjat and heis a Hindu from Punjab. Vic gets a job in the Ministry of Transport, assessing tenders and proposals to the Ministry. As soon as he gets opportunity he starts climbing the political ladder and he has to handle the cash that is collected as bribe in the office. Later in life he is at Toronto, Canada where he is 'one of Africa's most corrupt men, a cheat of monstrous and reptilian cunning? His struggle in Kenya was never ending No one could help him out.'

The Assassin's Song is set at a thirteenth century shrine of a mysterious Sufi from the war-torn Central Asia. Writing about this book Vassanji says, 'The inspiration for the book came from the shrines I visited, related to the Gujarat Khoja tradition, their song, called ginans.'
 The story is narrated by the heir to the shrine, Karsan Dargawala who grows up in rapidly changing post-independence India. He is the eldest son of a Saheb of Pribaag, The shrine is visited by men of all communities including foreigners. Bapuji, Karsan's father is like a God to the people. Karsan on his eleventh birthday is for the first time introduced to the questions related to human existence which make him 'weep in the dark' [15] He dreads to be the

successor of Pirbaag. He wants to pursue the career of his choice rather than God or His avatar.

Karsan is weary about becoming God to the worshipers- the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and mystics who visit the shrine. He sends an application to Harvard which to his surprise is accepted. Karsan's departure brings profound disappointment for his father and heartbreak for his mother. From here begins the second phase of Karsan's life, he feels free from the bonds of inheritance, 'Freedom, simply, to be and to become anew- among people of your age... to think clearly, for the first time about your own life to search for knowledge' But this freedom is at the expense of alienation. Very soon he feels that he is unlike the boys of his age group he is a little aloof, and even nervous. (p.202) He lags behind in his work as he is not accustomed to the culture of time-the fast moving culture mocking, teasing reminding him of his Indianness. Some how no body understands anything about his background, this results in segregation from fellow students. Diaspora writing clearly illustrates that the diaspora occupy a space of exile and cultural solitude, a third space, as termed by Homi Bhabha. For Karsan the question of returning from Cambridge is possible but the desire to remain ordinary keeps him back. Thus the migrant caught between two or more separate cultures, lives on a borderland. He carries his essential strangeness within him. The fact of non belonging creates a new kind of identity giving rise to a neither/nor condition. The complex situation of the postcolonial perception found in their writings

Karsan meets Marge, an American girl whose friendly gesture makes Karsan comfortable for some time but after listening to Karsan's story she accuses him to be too complicated and incomprehensible. He is left friendless "at times lonely and terrified" (p 217) The desire to understand one's culture which is the real mentor of one's identity, attracts a migrant to his roots. He tries to re-establish himself in his land where even after such a long passage of time he finds his place intact. When in an unfortunate incident his son dies and his wife leaves him his life once again becomes lonely but the fear of becoming a special man, a God to the people is so strong that he does not return back until the Gujarat riots consume the dargah. Unable to bear this tragedy, his father passes away. His return to his homeland and towards his inheritance shows how strong the impact of spirituality was on Karsan. The process of self realization finally instils confidence and the spiritual evolution transforms him. He takes over the reins of his ascendancy proving there by that no matter what happens the spiritual strength of the country cannot be destroyed. The Indian culture has borne many such onslaughts but has never given way.

The book celebrates the rich spiritual heritage of India. Physical and mental wreckage cannot destroy the spiritual powers both of Karsan and the

Shrine. When Karsan's parents are dead and the shrine lies unclaimed, unattended, in ruins he realises, 'The role which I once spurned, I must assume' (p. 367). On returning to the Shrine, Karsan's inner strength works wonders. He can not sleep for three nights and is shocked at the savagery that is let loose in the village. But Karsan's presence soon strengthens the confidence of the people. Things come back to normal and Karsan takes the place of his father. His golden touch that his mother fondly mentioned, could now be seen and felt. He says,

> I am the care taker of Pirbaag.... There are those to touch my feet or my sleeves, ask for blessings. But as I attend to these people, unable to disappoint, to pull my hand or sleeve away, as I listen in sympathy and utter a blessing a part of me detaches and stands away, observing, asking, are you real?( )

This spiritual aspect gives *The Assassin's Song* an insight that is lacking in some of his previous novels. It is the mystical spiritual strength that has brought this change in Karsan. Most of all, the novel recognises that a cultural or religious inheritance is not a birthright; it must be practiced, like a song or a prayer, if it is to refine the crudeness of the world into beauty. The return to the roots of Karsan is due to his mystical spiritual strength and his eternal bond to the culture of his country. He finds solace only when he is back home.

The journey of Vassanji's diasporic consciousness does not end here His desire to know and understand his country leads him to write a travelogue, A Place Within: Rediscovering India. That changed when he made his first trip to his ancestral homeland in January 1993, at a time when Hindu-Muslim riots were plaguing parts of the country. A chance airline strike forced him to crisscross India by train, a journey marked by both euphoria and outright fear, which awakened in him an attachment to a place that was strikingly familiar and strange, one that would draw him back again and again. *A Place Within* gives a picture of India its places of worship ,of architectural skill, of historical importance , its diversity and its unity All sites are holy to him "the deep dissatisfaction of unfinished, incomplete migrations." His knowledge of the languages ,Hindi,Gujrati and Kutchi made him connect more to the people Vassanji is also on amission tof understanding his own community – the Khojas from Gujarat, with their centuries-old belief system that blends Sufi Islam and Vaishnavite Hinduism – can continue to exist in a world of increasingly rigid separate ethnic identities. In all his books India is always alive. The customs, the traditions, the languages, the dialect, the lifestyle. the thinking, the hesitations the anxieties all bring into the novels an Indiasnness of which he was at first apprehensive. In an interview to Chelva Kanaganayakam, he confesses his initial diasporic inhibitions:

There was a very strong tendency to look down upon and even deny the Indian connection. This was a colonial influence. But once I went to the US suddenly the Indian connection became urgently insistent: the sense of origins, trying to understand the roots in India that we had inside us.

Conclusion

Vassanji's diasporic consciousness has urged him to return to his roots. In *The Assassin's Song* India's presence looms large and throughout. It is set entirely in India, and has been received as an Indian novel. Diaspora consciousness has travelled a long distance from the colonial to the post colonial. The novel seems to say that the diasporas can over come their pangs of alienation and segregation if they create a new identity in a foreign land not by adapting wholly to the host culture but by evolving and almost metamorphosing into a changed new being, not submitting but creating a space for themselves and an independent identity and must make their country's culture their anchor. Thus proving that their roots are deep and that wherever they are their culture still prevails over the forces of disparity, it dominates their lives and their umbilical cord never gets really dissociated with their motherland. India that had receded to the margins has now come to the centre stage of the writings.

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Development of Persian Prose in the Newspapers During Iranian Constitutional Revolution (Case Study: Sur-E-Esrafil)

Saeedeh Birjandi, PhD

Iranian University Students' Organization for Qur'anic Activities, Iran, Tehran

Abstract

Newspapers have played a great role in all aspects of people's lives, especially in literary aspects since they have been created. The literary aspect has been affected by newspapers in terms of both forms and contents. As long as Persian literature is concerned, newspapers have been influential either in prose or poetry. Literary development has also taken place in Persian literature especially newspapers, which have been used to reflect people's lives, speak about freedom, independence, patriotism and decolonization, and helped appear new themes and terminologies.

There were well-known newspapers such as "*sur-e-Esrafil*" and "*Nasim-e-Shomal*" which played active roles in creating Persian literary development. In this research, we will study development in Persian prose, which have occurred under the influence of newspapers, in this case Sur-e-Esrafil.

Keywords: Newspaper, prose, Persian literature, Iranian Constitutional Revolution.

Introduction

Persian literature during the Iranian Constitutional Revolution manifested in the form of poetry and in newspapers' articles. The Constitutional Revolution is one of the most important events in Iran, which affected all aspects of the society. In light of the revolution, people's point of views towards life changed and they became aware that their rights had been violated. So they demanded their rights be heeded, calling for freedom and independence from foreign countries. Moreover, during that time a great number of writers, scholars and thinkers emerged as directors of the revolution, as they used newspapers to disseminate their ideas. The Persian literature saw certain developments, affected by some factors including newspapers that were published abroad. This research tries to evaluate the development of the Persian prose, under the influence of newspapers

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especially *Sur-e-Esrafil* during the Iranian Constitutional Revolution. The research also tries to explain how newspapers brought changes in Persian prose, and introduces those changes. Therefore, we will answer these questions: what are the impacts of newspapers (*Sur-e-Esrafil*) on the Persian prose during that time? And what are these changes?

This subject has not been discussed previously by any writers as an independent book or article.

Persian literature during Iranian Constitutional Revolution

All literary activities that were carried out either in the form of prose or poetry from the Revolution until the 28th Mordad coup constitute Persian literature during the Iranian Constitutional Revolution. The literature during the aforementioned time depicts public efforts to replace that time's dictatorship with a republic government. (Agand, 1984, P.334) literature was often emerged in newspapers because of two main reasons, first due to a rise in the number of newspapers after the revolution and the second was a growing tendency among people towards newspapers. (Kamshad, 2005, P.64) therefore, newspapers played an active role in enlightening public thoughts, as they covered all aspects of people's lives and helped reduced the gap between people and the government. In addition, newspapers made the language expand. (Tabatabaee, 1996, P.211)

History of Persian newspapers

In Europe, newspapers emerged in early seventeenth century, and in Iran they emerged during the reign of *Mohammad Shah Qajar*. The first Iranian newspaper, *Kaghaz-e Akhbar*, was launched by *Mirza Saleh Shirazi* in 1837. (Khatami, 1995, P.89)

The first part represents the first decade of *Nasir al-Din Shah's* reign (1848-1896).

From this period Roznameh "*Vaqay' Ittefaqeyyeh*" was founded in 1851, and survived under different titles. (Sabur, 1984, V. 1, P.138) it was a well-known and famous paper which covered the *Qajar* government's activities as well as many social, cultural and political issues for a long period of time. A great number of newspapers appeared during the Persian Constitutional Revolution period. However, "*Sur-e-Esrafil*" and "*Nasim-e-Shomal*" were the most popular ones. (P.143)

Sur-e-Esrafil:

Sur-e-Esrafil was an internal, private, independent, and revolutionary newspaper which was founded in 1907. The first 32 issues were published by the founder of the journal, *Mirza Jahangir Khan* (1870-1908), an Iranian author and journalist. Its literary satirical elements were the main reason for its popularity. *Ali Akbar Dehkhoda* (1879-1956) was the writer of satirical

articles of the column "*Charand-o Parand*"(„Nonsense"), whose articles offered services to the society as well as Persian literature.

But, *Sur-e-Esrafil* was suspended as part of a crackdown under *Mohammad Ali Shah* who sent Dehkhoda and some other liberalists into exile in Europe. Dehkhoda continued to publish the newspaper. "*Dekho*" was his famous signature and pen name. Dehkhoda had a simple linguistic style in contrast to the rather literary style addressing educated people. In this way, he sought to address the majority of the population as well as daily problems of ordinary people. Dehkhda's new style affected Persian journalism and literature especially the prose. (Dowlatabadi, 1954, P.47)

Dehkhda's satire was really modern; not only it was critical of the then establishment but also did prepare ground for social realism, both in poetry and prose. His new style helped Persian writing get rid of stultifying diction of former times. (Kamshad, 2005, P.38) Sur-e-Esrafil applied simple prose, because it addressed all people including literate and illiterate individuals. It created a new literary genre, using simple and understandable sentences in a satirical style. It was also full of proverbs and slang words. (Ardalani, 2000, P.107)

Persian prose development under Sur-e-Esrafil influence
We will examine the development that occurred in Persian prose under the influence of Sur-e-Esrafil at that time. Those developments include the literary use of slang words, the simplification of prose, the use of new idioms and words, the emergence of novels as well as contents and ideas in the Persian literature.

Newspapers and Persian prose after Iranian Constitutional Revolution:
Journalism brought big changes to the Persian prose, making it simple and clear while turning it into a tool to serve the public. Dehkhoda's articles, in particular, played a significant role, as they helped found a new school of thought in Persian prose. (Khatami, 1995, P.101-102) some literary historians consider Dehkhda's articles as the beginning of the modern fiction. (Agand, 1984, P.343 – 344) therefore, journalism and Dehkhda's articles are regarded as the two basic factors behind the development of the Persian prose. (Dowlatabadi, 1954, P.46)

Newspapers and slang:
In early years of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, since journalists were trying to convey news as fast as possible, they sometimes did not translate European idioms or they were not able to find appropriate equivalents for some foreign words and idioms. Therefore, many new words entered Persian language (Yasemi, 1973, P.117), with people beginning to

use them in daily conversations. This made the Persian language develop and opened new horizons. (Tabatabaee, 1996, P.206-207) Such words and terms were also used in Sur-e-Esrafil, for example the word "censure99": "I wish God wiped out the ominous word of "censure100". (Y.2, N.1, P. 5) as we see, this French word is used without translation. Or the English word "Contract" that has appeared in this journal: "If they want to benefit from the contract that will be closed without permission by a ruler or mojtahed[101]." (N. 2, P. 2) or the word "Commission":

"O holy board of the Financial Commission …" (p. 9) In the above-mentioned texts, the words "censorship, contract and commission" are used in their original forms, not in their Persian equivalents. In this way, they entered the Persian language. Many literary critics believe that the press are the main factor in the development of prose because of their relation with people and addressing all segments of the society. People read newspapers every day and use their sentences and words in their conversations, even if what the newspapers use are wrong. At the same time, most journalists pay more attention to political and economic news than grammatical rules and language. That's why we sometimes find errors in grammar used by newspapers. (Khatami, 1995, P.100-101)

Dehkhoda's articles named "*Charad-o-Parand*" caused many changes in the Persian prose. The articles had a new style thanks to the use of slangy words and idioms. Here are some examples of the slangy idioms that appeared in "*Charad-o-Parand*":

"God bless all the dead. When he wanted to start his preachment, first prepared the audience with a very long proem…he was saying that in this way, the subject become more understandable.[102]" (P. 9)

Dehkhoda wrote in his articles that:

"Although I am bothering you, I have no choice. Man likes to talk, silence makes his heart heavy…[103]" (P. 7)

3. Simplicity in literary writing:

Before the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, Persian prose was used for writing various types of rhetorical arts and served courts and

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99 Censorship

100 «این لفظ منحوس فرنگی سانسور را از صفحه این خاک بر اندازد.»

101 «در صورتیکه از این کنترات طبیعی که بی حکم حاکم و بی اجازه مجتهد بسته شده بخواهند منتفع شوند...»

102 میگفت .وقتی که میرفت روضه بخواند اول یک مقدمه دور و درازی میچید.....«خدا رفتگان همه را بیامرزد مطلب اینطور خر فهمتر میشود»

103 «اگر چه درد سر میدهم. اما چه میتوان کرد نشخوار آدمیزاد حرف است. آدم حرف هم که نزد دلش میپوسد..."

governments. But the prose began to change to be understandable under the reign of Nasser al-Din Shah. And after the revolution, this process became faster and faster because of an increase in publication of newspapers, the importance of quickly disseminating news and distributing newspapers, as well as the lake of a focus on literary aspects.

Subsequently, journalists had no time to edit news items, and therefore wrote their items using simple and understandable sentences. As a result, a new style emerged in Persian prose. (Katebi, P. 103 – 104) Let us see an example of simple prose:

"Obviously, there is no wise and pious man against the establishment of parliament which is to publish justice and religious laws.104" (Sur-e-Esrafile, 1907, N. 6, P. 1)

4. Social satire:

Satire is a technique applied by writers to expose and criticize foolishness and corruption of an individual or a society by using humor, irony, exaggeration or ridicule. Satire has been existing in Persian literature. But, prior to the revolution, it was not used to address social issues (Kamshad, 2005, P.67), because literature was used to serve the government and writers were afraid of criticizing authorities. However, after the revolution, a kind of satire was used to serve the society, which is called "*social satire*". This genre appeared in the prose under the influence of Sur-e-Esrafil articles written by Dehkhda. Therefore, we consider him as a leading writer of satirical prose, while *Nasim-e-Shomal* is regarded as a key satirical poem. (Arian Pour, 2000. V.2, P. 36-39) Both used satire as a tool to improve their society. (Kamshad, 2005. P.67) Let us see an example of Dehkhoda's social satire:

"Maybe you aim to write that some of our clerics have stopped selling endowed properties and started selling the country105...." (N. 5, P. 7)

Dehkhoda laments the treason by some clerics.

5. Emergence of new contents in Persian literature:

Some new contents and thoughts appeared in the Persian literature since the Revolution, including in political and social fields. Consequently, new subjects entered literature for the first time, such as homeland and patriotism, freedom and independence from foreign countries as well as equality and people's rights. Newspapers affected the emergence of these new contents in the Persian literature because of their local and international

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104 باشد هیچ عاقلی و دین داری نمی‌گوید لازم ...معلوم است تاسیس مجلس که سبب نشر عدالت و احکام شریعت نیست

105 تو بلکه خواستی بنویسی بعضی از ملاهای ما حالا دیگر از فروختن موقوفات دست بر داشته به فروش مملکت دست گذاشته»....اند

news items as well as their translated stories. (Farzad, 1969, P.27 – 28) Iranian newspapers joined the intellectual movement propagators after the Revolution. Therefore, a great number of articles in various modern and intellectual subjects appeared in newspapers either in poetry or in prose. (Tabatabaee, 1996, P. 206 – 207) We study some of these new contents and subjects:

I. Homeland and patriotism: This subject was unprecedented in the Persian literature before the Constitutional Revolution. (Shafiee Kadkani, 2001, P. 2) And after the Revolution, newspapers dealt with it. Let us see a simple example of using these two contents in *Sur-e-Esrafil*:

"Thank God, we Iranians finally realized our humbleness and understand that neither enemies nor friends are allowed to oppress us. So, we will lift our country to have a Parliament and constitution with a bravely movement. And maybe we can serve our religion, government, homeland and finally our nation.[106]" (N. 1, P. 1)

II. Freedom, independence from foreigners and people's rights:

Freedom in its western meaning or democracy, as well as freedom of opinion and expression became popular since the Revolution. This idiom used to have the meaning of the release from prison. (Shafiee Kadkani, 2001, P.35)

This theme was used in newspapers of that era. Here is a simple example of using this idiom in Sur-e-Esrafil: "We announce loudly that we are not afraid of the threat and the death. And we do not want to live without freedom, equality and honor[107]." (P.36)

The above-mentioned text shows that people at that time were partly aware of their rights, so they were beginning to demand them. We see in this journal an article that has argued about people's rights and it seems that this subject was something new for Iranians:

"A bunch of poor people are waiting for Gabriel's falling down to allow them to be humans to achieve their rights. Or they are waiting until that king signs or that mojtahid allows them to achieve their rights.[108]" (N.2, P. 1)

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106 »حمد خدای را که ما ایرانیان ذلت و رقیت خود را احساس کرده و دانستیم که تا قیامت بارکش خویش و بیگانه شاید ..نخواهیم بود. لهذا با یک جنبش مردانه مملکت خود را مشروطه و دارای مجلس شورای ملی (پارلمان) نموده. بتوانیم به دین و دولت و وطن و ملت خود خدمتی کنیم.»

107 با صدای رسا می‌گوییم که از تهدید و هلاک بیم و خوف نداریم و به زندگی بدون حریت و مساوات و شرف وقعی نمی‌گذاریم.»

108 »یک مشت مردم بدبخت ایران برای اینکه آدم باشند و استیفای حقوق آدمیت کنند منتظرند مجددا جبرئیل از آسمان نازل شود. فلان مجتهد اجازه بدهد و فلان پادشاه امضا نماید.»

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The author of the above text, **Mirza Jahan Gir Khan**, complains that people do not know their rights.

III. Socail subjects:

Before the Revolution, Persian literature was used to serve the government and the kings Court. But it changed to serve the public, finding its new great goal which was to serve people and to improve the country. So, literature has acted as a mirror that reflects various national subjects. Newspapers reflected living conditions of people for the first time. For example, *Sur-e-Esrafil* dealt with community issues. Let us see an article about poverty and poor people:

"We hope to be resolute to achieve the constitution and to defend the parliament and to help the poor, villagers and oppressed people[109]." (P.1)

"Iranian people pretend to be totally unaware and in the dark. So, they do not want to understand their awful situation. Some people know the business slowdown, the Military weakness and the standstill of our literature[110]…" (N: 7 -8, P. 6)

This journal complained about lack of attention to people's problems, hoping that people would become aware to try to develop their homeland.

IV. Decolonization and anti-autocracy campaign:

Sur-e-Esrafil deals with these subjects and it encourages people to pay attention to them. Here is a mentioned example:

"We should oppose tyrants with our work, our souls and languages[111]." (N.3, P. 5)

Moreover, this journal has some articles about foreign interference in internal affairs of the country:

"Nowadays, Europeans have infiltrated into the country and they come in groups. One comes under the pretext of trade and plunders our properties and makes us needy. After that another comes under the pretext of tourism then tries to discover the secrets of our country. The main aim of all is to weaken our country112". (P.5)

Results

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109 «در تکمیل معنی مشروطیت و حمایت مجلس شورای ملی و معاونت روستاییان و ضعفا و فقرا و مظلومین امیدواریم تا آخرین نفس ثابت قدم باشیم.»

110 «ملت ما مثل کبک سر در برف کرده و نمی‌خواهد حال پریشانی خود را ببیند. بعضی هم هستند که به تنزل و خرابی تجارت ملت خود معترفند. ضعف قوه حربیه و سیاسیه را قائلند و می‌دانند که ادبیات ما خیلی عقب رفته...»

111 «با مستبدین از دل و جان و کلک و زبان بجنگیم.»

112 «امروز اروپاییان بر ممالک رخنه کرده و گروه گروه همی آیند یکی به اسم تجارت، اموال ما را از کفمان مقصود عمده و ...می‌رباید و ما را به خود محتاج می‌کند. دیگری به عنوان سیاحت اسرار مملکتی ما را کشف کرده غرض اصلی همه خوردن ممالک ما مسلمانان است.»

Newspapers have had a major impact on the development of the society. They have shaped civilizations, changed political systems and spoke out against injustice. Newspapers gave people a detailed preview of human experiences, allowing them to connect on basic levels of desire and emotion. The potential impact of newspapers is unquestionable.

Persian newspapers during the Iranian Constitutional Revolution were effective in forming public opinion. The impact of newspapers on freedom, either by the use of poetry or prose, is undeniable. The new Persian prose was formed under different factors including the role of Persian Press that were published abroad. The development occurred in the Persian prose under the influence of newspapers as follows:

- The prose became simple and understandable.
- It avoided using complexity and rhetorical arts.
- The satirical prose emerged under the influence of Dehkhoda's articles that served the society.
- Some new subjects and contents emerged in the Persian prose since that time like: decolonization and anti-autocracy campaign, social subjects, homeland and patriotism, the awful situation of poor people and the general situation of the country, freedom and equality.
- The entrance of foreign words and idioms.
- *Sur-e-Esrafil* is considered as the beginning of various developments in Persian prose, including the emergence of Persian fiction and social satire, use of slang words, simplification of the prose, use of proverbs in prose and the entrance of new idioms and words.

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Requests in Traditional Rites of Passage: The Logba Perspective

Agbaku Mawutor Komla, M. Phil

University Of Ghana, Legon, Ghana

Abstract

This paper investigates the use of request expressions in traditional rites of passage among the Logbas[113.] Logba is a Ghana-Togo Mountain language spoken in the Hohoe District of the Volta Region of Ghana. The study aims at examining the use of request expressions in the language as used in rites of passage. Request expressions used in ceremonies of various rites of passage were recorded and examined. Interviews, participant observation and role play were used to gather data for the study. The theoretical framework adopted for this study is Watts' (2003) Politeness Framework. The study suggests that, requests expressions are key components of rites of passage among the Logbas. However, request strategy adopted in one rite of passage differs from the other. Strategies like the use of solidarity terms are employed to show oneness and to save one another's face in order for the requester to achieve his/her request goal.

Keywords: Requests, Face Threats, Strategies, Solidarity Terms, Rites of Passage.

Introduction

Request is a directive speech act performed regularly. Nevertheless, there are some formal institutionalised request forms for some socio-cultural events among the Logbas such as rites of passage. Since requests prepare the way for upcoming events (Agyekum, 2005) it is incumbent on the requester to couch his/her request appropriately depending on the rite of passage being performed among the Logbas. Of particular concern to this paper are marriage rites, naming rites/ceremonies, puberty rites and funeral rites.

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113 Logbas are people found around the Ghana-Togo boarder in the Volta Region of Ghana. The language and the location (land) are called Logba. Logba is made up of seven villages namely; Tota, Klikpo, Alakpeti, Adzakoe, Akusame, Ogome and Vuinta.

In the light of the foregoing, this paper offers some significant preliminary findings on ways of requesting during these rites in the Logba context. The paper examines the style of request adopted by the requesters to the requestees in order to save face during the rites.

Requests fall under the category of directives, which are considered as attempts "to get the hearer to do an act which speaker wants hearer to do, and which is not obvious that the hearer will do in the normal course of events or hearer's own accord" (Searle 1969, p.66). A request is thus defined as a directive speech act in which the speaker asks the hearer to perform an action which is very often for the exclusive benefit of the speaker (Trosborg, 1995).

The Logba verb for request is *bú*. Requests are considered potentially damaging for the addressee's negative face, that is, the individual's need to have his/her freedom of action unimpeded (Brown and Levinson, 1987). According to Sifianou (1992), requests consist of two main structures, the core request or head act and the peripheral modification devices. The head act consists of the main utterance which has the function of requesting and can stand by itself.

Requests may be expressed verbally or non-verbally in most cultures. Generally, request is more conveniently and effectively communicated through the linguistic medium, as a social behaviour (Odonkor, 2001). Though a universal phenomenon, its conceptualisation, norms of performance and interpretation may vary across cultures. In any speech community, request and its performance constitute a body of knowledge that members of the speech community must acquire in order to become socially integrated (Odonkor, 2001). Children at Logba are queried for going about requests inappropriately. The acquisition of the knowledge and skills for request performance becomes more important considering the fact that requests feature more prominently in our everyday verbal exchanges.

Requests are universal because "every language and speech community employs one form or the other during communicative encounters" (Agyekum, 2005, p.1). However, the way they are employed and structured may differ from language to language but their functions may be identical. Thus, their social function consists of "getting the hearer to do something for the speaker or a third party, which makes them beneficial to the latter and costly to the former" (Searle, 1969, p.66). Since requests threaten the hearer's negative face by restricting his or her freedom of action (Brown and Levinson 1987), in order to make the requestee comply with a request, it is necessary to formulate it in a socially and culturally appropriate way.

In order for successful interaction to be accomplished and potential unwelcomed effects on the hearer to be reduced or softened, Bella (2012)

opines that, the formulation of requests call for a great deal of both pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic expertise on the part of the users. Moreover, the requester needs to possess both the knowledge of the linguistic resources for formulating a request in a particular language and knowledge of the contextual and sociocultural variables that render a particular pragmalinguistic choice appropriate in a particular speech situation. Requests therefore, may present inherent difficulties for language learners, who need to know how to "perform requests successfully and to avoid the effect of being perceived as rude, offensive or demanding" (Uso-Juan, 2010, p.237).

The arguments raised in this paper are framed on Watts' (2003) Politeness Theory. This theory affirms that "all human cultures have norms of social behaviour that members will classify as mutually shared considerations for others" (p.14). He further explains that "a participant's behaviour is evaluated as polite and impolite not merely on a matter of the linguistic expressions that he/she uses, but rather depends on the interpretation of the behaviour in the overall social interaction" (Watts 2003, p.8). The need to make this kind of distinction is also emphasized by (Eelen, 2001) when he opines that every community has some established norms or conventions regarding actions or reactions that are desirable in a specific context. In view of this, an individual is considered polite when his actions or reactions are in consonance with these social norms or conventions.

Members of a community are able to analyse and evaluate their own behaviour in the light of the behavioural norm which is expected to be shared by all in the community. Fraser (1990) refers to this phenomenon as the "social norm view of politeness" (p.220). The social norm view of politeness is measured along some historically established rules of behaviour.

Again, Watts (2003) stresses the acquisition of politeness as against being born with it as he puts it, "politeness is acquired; it is not something we are born with, but something we have to learn and be socialized into" (p. 9).

At the heart of Watts (2003) politeness model is the issue of politic behaviour. Watts describes politic behaviour as "socio-culturally determined behaviour directed towards the goal of establishing and/or maintaining in a state of equilibrium the personal relationships between the individuals of a social group" (p.20). He avers that, politic behaviour is that behaviour, linguistic and non-linguistic, which the participants construct as being appropriate to the on-going social interaction. The construction may have been made prior to entering the interaction, but is always negotiable during the interaction, despite the expectations that participants might bring to it (Watts, 2003). He continues to espouse that

… linguistic behaviour which is perceived to be appropriate to the social constraints of the on-going interaction, i.e. as non-salient, should be called 'politic behaviour' and the linguistic behaviour which is perceived to be beyond what is expectable, i.e. salient behaviour, should be called polite or impolite depending on whether the behaviour itself tends towards the negative or positive end of the spectrum of politeness (p.19).

He further argues for a radically new way of looking at linguistic politeness. He aims to show that, it is necessary to make a clear distinction between the common sense or lay notion of politeness and the theoretical notion of politeness. Watts (2003) classifies politeness into first order (politeness 1) and second order (politeness 2). He defines first order politeness (politeness 1) as the way lay members of a language community see politeness.

By first order politeness (politeness 1), we understand how participants in verbal interaction make explicit use of the terms 'polite' and 'politeness' to refer to their own and others' social behaviour. In contrast, he looks at second order politeness (politeness 2) as the forms of social behaviour preserving mutually shared consideration for others. Second order politeness (politeness 2) makes use of the terms 'polite' and 'politeness' as theoretical concepts in a top-down model to refer to forms of social behaviour. Locher and Watts (2005) also refer to first order politeness (politeness 1) as the participants' and others' social behaviour and second order politeness (politeness 2) as forms of social behaviour.

Watts (2003) looks at the terms *polite* and *politeness* and their varied equivalents in other languages in terms of the meanings associated with them from one group of speakers to another and even from one individual speaker to the next. Thus, his division of lay politeness (politeness 1) versus theoretical politeness (politeness 2) is especially critical for cross-cultural politeness research. According to Watts (2003), people might resort to the use of polite language expressions like the language a person uses to avoid being too direct, language which displays respect towards or consideration for others, or language that displays certain polite formulaic utterances like '*please', 'thank you', 'excuse me' or 'sorry*'. On the other hand, some people may consider the polite use of language as, for example, *'hypocritical', 'dishonest' or 'distant'*. As regards a general level of polite behaviour, some people feel that polite behaviour is equivalent to socially correct or appropriate behaviour, while others consider it to be the hallmark of the cultivated person.

There were no fixed number of participants because; the researcher's motive was to gather data wherever any rite of passage was going on among the Logbas. The setting was Logba Tota and Logba Alakpeti. Logba

Alakpeti is the commercial hub of the Logba traditional area. It has a market where Logbas and other peoples with different linguistic backgrounds come to buy and sell. Due to its strategic location, there are many non-natives (settlers) living among the Logba Alakpeti people. This has partly brought about variety in the Logba language spoken in these two towns, hence my choice of the two towns. The study employs qualitative research method. A research is qualitative if it "describes events and persons scientifically without making use of numerical data" (Best and Kahn, 2006, p.79). Specifically, the ethnography of communication approach was deemed the appropriate approach to this study because it enabled the researcher to record by participating in some activities or observing the people from their own cultural perspective as they go about the rites of passage. This gives the researcher the opportunity to analyse the subject or issue from the cultural actor's point of view (Silverman, 1993).

Data collection instruments used for this study are participant observation, where I employed the "rapid and anonymous survey method" (Coates, 1993, p.5). Other methods included interviews and role play.

2. Requests During Marriage Ceremonies/Rites

Among the Logbas, marriages are contracted not only between the couples involved but the families of the bride and the groom as a whole. For this reason, during the marriage ceremony, only friendly language and one devoid of face threats is used. The rationale is that, should anything be said that poses face threats to a family, it also affects the other family in the long run. Only people who are communicatively competent in the culture are allowed to be the main speakers for both sides to prevent any communicative blunders as per the Logba culture.

In the example below, the spokesperson for the bride chooses his words painstakingly to request for the rest of the items (the required number of items expected to be presented to the bride's family were not up the number), yet avoiding face threats to promote solidarity between the two families. I recorded the excerpt below at a marriage ceremony held at Logba Alakpeti on 28th March, 2015. The participants were the families of the bride and the groom.

1. *I blɔ tɛ́ atsú egúwɔ̀ a má tanyi n ivà a pétée là gu ukló ɛ nù. Iyɛ okplɛ̀ atsí bí tá ogbá tɛ́ a tó inà okpɛ̀ tɛ́ ò ɖɔ̀ ukló ɛ nù   dzè.*

    "It seems that, our husbands could not bring everything down from the vehicle. For this reason, we want to ask (request) them to send someone to check again."

    (Logba Alakpeti 28/3/15)

Example (1) above was said at the point of the marriage ceremony when the groom and his family were to present all that they were supposed to

give to the bride's family as part of the marriage rite. It must be reiterated that, utterances during marriage ceremonies are full of several speech acts including commissives such as promises and declaratives. The researcher's preoccupation was to decipher the aspect of the speeches having to do with requests. The request in (1) is found in the words *...tɛ́ a tó inà okpɛ̀ tɛ́ ò ɖɔ̀ ukló ɛ nù dzè* '…that they send someone to check in the vehicle again.'

By saying, '*I blɔ̀ tɛ́* 'it appears that' is suggestive of the fact that, he could be corrected if he was making a mistake. This is a friendly and face saving approach to requesting them to provide the items on the marriage list[114] in full. On the other hand, if he had said *ivá a mi fɔ́n* 'the items were not up to the required number, that would have been a direct attack with its accompanying face threat consequences.

Apart from this, the speaker also uses solidarity term *atsú egúwɔ a* 'our husbands' referring to every member of the groom's family present, be it male or female, even before the marriage is formally contracted. It is to reiterate the fact that the marriage is almost contracted (due to some rites performed prior to the grand marriage ceremony) and that they have become one people, except that the right thing must be done. He did not also emphatically say the other family should provide the remaining item, he only asked that someone should be sent to check if some of the items were left in the vehicle. During the period of rechecking, a representative of the groom's family can then explain the anomaly to the bride's family behind closed doors.

3. Requests During Naming Ceremonies

Seven days after delivery, the nursing mother, the child, husband and other family members of both sides (paternal and maternal sides) converge in the house of the head of the man's family to formally recognise and welcome the arrival of a new member of the family. This ceremony is important, in that, until this rite is performed, the child is still seen as a stranger or visitor who could leave them at any time.

Though the child at this period is completely oblivious of the goings on around him/her, this ceremony is significant because it is the first point of socialization and teaching him/her some morals. For instance, the child is told to be truthful at all times irrespective of the consequences. Usually a drop of alcoholic beverage and water are used. The child is expected to decipher between the taste of the two drinks which also means he/she must be able to draw the line between right and wrong at all times. The above are some of the major goals of naming ceremonies among the Logbas.

114Marriage list comprises all the material things the husband to be is supposed to buy for the bride and her family as part of the marriage ceremony.

Mostly, requests in this domain are made to the babies, the entire gathering and the ancestors. I recorded the excerpt in example (2) below during a naming ceremony held at Logba Tota on 5th March, 2015.

2.   *Atsí bú gu awúvá dzí idzè tsú tɛ a dɔ̀ ikpá ogbámá ibèshibè nù.*
      "We request you that, you remain truthful at all times."
      (Logba Tota 5/3/15)

Though the child cannot make anything out of what is said, the belief among the Logbas is that, the child imbibes every word spoken. The request is made as if it were to someone who has the ability of responding to it. Below is also an example requesting the protection of the ancestors and everybody present, to make it a point to bring up the child in the right way according to the norms of the Logbas.

3.   *Anyɛ ke atsi bú gú etsíwɔ a pétée kpé inàshínà ò tsí umè ɛ tɛ, atsú pétée atsí dɔ̀ tɛ ebitsi ɛ ó dú inà ɖúkpá ozúmé.*
       "We also request the ancestors and everybody here present to help in bringing up the child so that he will be useful to us in the future."
      (Logba Tota 5/3/15)

In example (3) above, the speaker is making a request to the ancestors and formally bringing all and sundry on board, to make the child grow into somebody who will be an asset rather than a liability to the entire community.

4. Requests in Puberty Rites

Puberty rites form important part of the lives of females in Logba. It is performed to formally introduce the ladies who are mature for marriage to prospective suitors. Though some of the core values of it are lost, it is still performed for females as a key component of the Logba culture. In the past, this rite was meant for only virgins (K. Akumah, personal communication, March 5th, 2015). In recent times however, people who are even already married take part.

This rite is revered so much among the Logbas that, should a female not go through it before she passes on, it is still performed for her on the day of burial before she is finally buried. The belief is that in the next world (the belief among Logbas is that, there is another world after death), she will only be married if she passed through the puberty rite in the world before. In the past females were supposed to dress half naked, however, the initiates must cover themselves very well these days. The participants are all females of a particular family, be it biological sisters or females belonging to the same extended family, go through it at the same time. One significant moral lesson about this rite is that it teaches the females the virtues of a good wife.

Older and respected women are those who take them through the lessons. This stems from the fact that, among the Logbas, like in many

African communities, the elderly are regarded as "the custodians of culture", "the symbol of wisdom", and "society's memory databank" (Agyekum, 2004a, p. 137). Rababa'h and Malkawi (2012), also aver that, "old people have more experience and broader communicative competence than young people" (p. 26).

Whether one is already married with children or not, the message is the same for all of them. It is the puberty rite that makes one a member of the community of women. Request for good behaviour from the initiates towards everybody especially their husbands is said mostly when beads are being tied around their wrists, necks and knees. Let's consider example (4) below:

4. *Dzí idze tsú zɔ́, a dzú ina udzé. Dzagbagba tɛ́ a dzè awú gù kpɛ́ awú ebitwɔ a vá enzhi. Tò tá tɛ́ ogɔ̀ ó nya a. Ɖú ogà ɖúkpá.*

   "Henceforth, you have become a woman. Endeavour to look after your husband and children very well. Don't allow them to be famished. Be a good wife."

   (Logba Tota 29/12/14)

   These kinds of requests do not have conspicuous address terms, respect terms, etc. As stated earlier on, the aged are also not obliged to use respect terms to those they are older than. The last request statement in example (4) *ɖú ogà ɖúkpá* 'be a good wife' also comes last as the summary of all the virtues of a good wife. That is to say that, if you are a good wife, you will keep the home clean, cook for your husband and children, not commit adultery, and stay clear of anything abhorred by a virtuous wife.

5. Requests in Funeral Rites

Another area where requests are used is in the organisation of funerals. Like in many Ghanaian communities, funerals are considered crucial among the Logbas. For this reason, different anniversaries/ceremonies such as the first anniversary, tenth anniversary, etc. are marked for the dead. The essence of these anniversaries is to show how much of a loss the departure has caused the family. More importantly, it is to tell people that the departed was a very good person to the family in particular and to others as well.

It is also believed that, when the necessary rites are not appropriately observed, the dead out of anger could wipe out the entire family. Due to the communal feelings among the Logbas, every family gets involved in the funeral of a dead person in the community. The excerpt in (5) below comes from an informant (the requester) reminding another person (the requestee) of the first anniversary of a departed person of the community.

5.   **Requester:**   *Atɛ́ n tá wú ikpè go tɛ́ ozume a bá dá atsú tsí ɛ, Kwami, ɛ́kpé ɛ.*

"I am to inform you that, tomorrow marks the first anniversary of the death of our father, Kwami."

Requestee: *Yòo ma nú. Wa a tɛ́ má nyá umɔ́.*
 "I hear, tell them that I will be there."
 (Logba Alakpeti 11/1/15)

Requests in this way are very common especially when they have to do with funerals. The informants (requesteee) most often than not are younger than the requesters but the use of overt politeness markers by these younger informants are mostly absent. It is also believed that the one who sent the informant is either older or higher ranked, say, a chief, an elderly person in the family, etc. so the language used to make the report must not deviate from the language used by these people.

Although example (5) is not formally making a direct request to the hearer, the understanding is that the family of Kwami is requesting him to be part of the first anniversary celebration. The statement, *a tɛ́ n tá wú ikpe go tɛ́* 'I am to inform you that', can be seen as informational but it is a request utterance. The hearer, having the pragmalinguistic knowledge of the Logbas and for that matter the utterance, treats the information as a request to him to be present at the venue of the ceremony. He answers thus, *yoo ma nú, wa tɛ́ má nyá umɔ* 'I hear, tell them that I will be there'.

It is also possible that, the hearer would have been aware of the impending anniversary but, as per the culture of the Logbas, formally informing the person is tantamount to the fact that, his presence will be highly appreciated.

6.   Conclusion

The findings of the study reveal that requests form a major part of rites of passage among the Logbas. The language of request in one rite differs from one to the other. Moreover, the use of mitigators, downtoners and solidarity terms as strategies to lessen the illocutionary force in requests to avoid face threats is seen to play a significant role in the requests during rites of passage among the Logbas.

The study also identifies that, as a form of socialization of a newly born baby into the Logba culture, the child is requested to remain truthful at all times. The parents and everyone present during the naming ceremony are requested to be part of the child's upbringing process.

Absolute care is taken during requests in marriages to prevent any forms of face threats. This is because, should the groom and his family feel uneasy because of directly requesting them to do something or the other, the

bride and her family also suffer the same face threats due to the oneness of the community members.

Finally, the study shows that, initiates who are formally introduced to prospective suitors are requested to be virtuous women and be submissive to their husbands and take utmost care of their children.

APPENDIX I
TRANSCRIPTION (META DATA) OF SELECTED RECORDINGS

1. The spokesman during a marriage ceremony strategically requests the groom and the entire family to provide the items on the marriage list in full. This was recorded at
    Logba Alakpeti on 28th March, 2015.
    I blɔ té atsú egúwɔ̀ a má tanyin ivà a pétée là gu ukló ɛ nù. Iyɛ okplè atsí bí tá ogbá té a tó inà okpè té ò ɖɔ̀ ukló ɛ nù dzè.
    'It seems that our husbands could not bring everything down from the vehicle. For this reason, we want to ask (request) them to send someone to check again.'

2. Naming ceremonies are important in the Logba culture. They formally welcome the child into the members of the community. An old man (aged 72) speaks on behalf of other people gathered during a naming ceremony requesting the child to remain truthful at all times. This was recorded at Logba Tota on 5th March, 2015.
    Atsí bú gú awú vá dzí idzè tsú tɛ ta dɔ̀ ikpá ogbámá ibèshibè nù.
    'We request you that, you remain truthful at all times.'
    Anyɛ ke atsí bú gú etsíwɔ a pétée kpɛ́ inashina ò tsí umè ɛ tɛ, atsú pétée atsí dɔ̀ tɛ ebitsi ɛ ó dú inà ɖúkpá ozúmé.
    'We also request the ancestors and everyone here present to help in bringing up the child to become useful to us in the future.'

3. Puberty rites are observed to usher girls into womanhood. An old woman (aged 78) requests initiates during a puberty ceremony to be good and virtuous wives. This was recorded at Logba Tota on 29th December, 2014.
    Dzí idze tsú zɔ́, a dzú inà udzé. Dzagbagba tɛ́ a dzè awú gù kpɛ́ awú ebiwɔ a vá enzhí. Tò tá tɛ́ ogɔ̀ ó nya a. Ɖú ogà ɖúkpá.
    'Henceforth, you have become a woman. Endeavour to look after your husband and children very well. Don't allow them to be famished. Be a good wife.'

4. A male informant (aged 38) delivers a message to an older man (aged 72) concerning the first anniversary celebration at Logba Alakpeti on 11th January, 2015.
    Atɛ́ n tá wú íkpe gò té ozúme a bá dá atsú tsí ɛ Kwami ékpé ɛ.

'I am to inform you that, tomorrow marks the first anniversary of our father, Kwami.'

Yòo ma nú. Wa a tɛ́ má nyá umɔ́. 'I hear, tell them that I will be there.'

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Deterritorializing White Community Through Claude Mckay's Poems

Yassaman Sabbagh

Second Year Graduate Student of English Literature, MA
Shahid Beheshty University: Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences
Tehran, Islamic Republic of Iran

Abstract

Since the beginning of African-American movement, the idea of enslaving African-Americans by white Western Europeans was shaped in colonial America. Its consequence was the suppression of the black race and the false assumption of white race who considered themselves as superior race in their own territory. Yet the African-American community did not remain silent, and struggled to prove themselves as talented as other races. They converged in Harlem and celebrated their culture, proud of being black. Claude McKay was one of those dominant figures who showed his anger through the selfish white community. There is aimed to verify the ways in which McKay through his poems attacked the cruel act of white race and how he deterritorialized their territory. To do so, the issue will be discussed in light of Deleuze and Guattari's conception of Deterritorialization.

Keywords: Deleuze, Guttari , Deterritorialization , Claude McKay.

Introduction

Claude McKay was the first poet acclaimed for his writing in Jamaican dialect and the first black writer to receive the Medal of the Jamaica Institute of Arts and Sciences. He wrote the first book of poetry identified with the Harlem Renaissance, a book that expressed the righteous anger of the New Negro. He was also the first black writer who wrote a novel that made the best-seller lists in the United States. The poems he published in "*Harlem Shadows"* included his most militant indictments of racial injustice, sonnets such as "*The White House*," "*America*," and "*Enslaved*," whose passionate, often violent rhetoric contrasts dramatically with their formal properties. The tension between emotional intensity and formal restraint is inscribed within the metric feet of poems like "*The White House*".

Claude McKay's "*The White House*" remains as one of the most scathing send-ups of white middle-class values in the Harlem Renaissance. McKay expresses his thorough discontent with the United States' segregation. In this poem and some other poems like: "*The Negro's Friend*" and "*If We Must Die*" he specifically singles out American big-industry. The poet garnered lots of attention because he surpassed his contemporaries in denouncing the racial hypocrisy of American white people. Based on his poems, this paper aims to illustrate how Mckay sharpens his anger with disillusionment and discontent to break the shuttered doors of glass in light of Deleuze and Guttari's concept of Deterritorialization.

From his youth, McKay had a chance to be educated through the support of his brother U.Theo McKay who was a schoolteacher and Walter Jekyll, an English-born gentleman who was a scholar of Jamaican folklore. Their influence opened his eyes to the predicaments of his environmental situation and enhanced his awareness which was reflected in his early poems. The opening lines of "Quashie to Buccra" embody how he expressed the social and psychological impacts of rural poverty through the voice of Jamaica farm workers:

You tas'e petater an'you say it sweet,
But you no know how hard we wuk fe it.
Yet still de hardship always melt away
Wheneber it come roun'to reapin.Day

Gallantly, he sings the toils and hardships that "naygur man" (the black laborer) have to tolerate and being treated harshly and unappreciated by the "buccra" (the white man).

Due to his frank language of controversial racial and colonial issues, McKay gained the reputation of "Jamaica Bobby Burns" by Jekyll.

In his poem "*The White House*", one can feel his anger from the very beginning line:

"Your door is shut against my tightened face,
And I am sharp as steel with discontent;"

The title of this poem is referring to the white race and the house refers to the community and establishment of the whites. Not only the inhabitants are white, but also the laws and rules that legislate are according to the white tastes and wills. McKay wants to break this force and discrimination. He claims in this poem that he is courage enough to "bear" his anger and deconstruct the territory that white people create for him and other black individuals. According to Hottois, "deconstruction refers to all of

the techniques and strategies used by Derrida in order to destabilize, crack open and displace texts that are explicitly or invisibly idealistic". Reading McKay's poems in light of Derridian's deconstruction exerts that any conceptual oppositions like masculine/ feminine, white /black, superiority/inferiority should be bypassed and treating concepts as if some are different from others is a useless act.

Indeed, reactions through cruelty and injustice are not the same. Some like Frantz Fanon believe in a violent response or revolutionary. Fanon utilized his lived involvement as a progressive in Algeria to build up a hypothesis of revolution. So for Fanon it is completely vital that revolutionary must be utilized to free the colonized condition of the pioneer control. However, violence has its own harms. There is a substantial human cost to revolutions. Discussing frustration in *"The Wretched of the Earth",* he notes that "when the native is tortured, when his wife is killed or raped, he complains to no one". According to Fanon it is not the end of revolution, for the physical and psychological consequences of violence remains. He asserts that *"Th*e militant who faces the colonialist war machine with the bare minimum of arms realizes that while he is breaking down colonial oppression he is building up yet another system of exploitation. This discovery is unpleasant, bitter, and sickening: and yet everything seemed so simple before."

Fanon affirms that initiating an upheaval and creating a new cultural identity is not an easy task but is the one and only way of removing the violations of white oppressors over the oppressed blacks. In another perspective these social and cultural revolutions can be attributed to the Michel Foucault's notion of power. Power for Foucault is what make individuals what they are and has a different concept from other theories. According to Gavenda "his work marks a radical departure from previous modes of conceiving power and cannot be easily integrated with previous ideas, as power is diffuse rather than concentrated, embodied and enacted rather than possessed, discursive rather than purely coercive, and constitutes agents rather than being deployed by them." According to Foucault, "Power is everywhere and comes from everywhere so in this sense is neither an agency nor a structure." Considering Claude McKay's poems the rage that erupts due to the racial segregation, leads the evolution of Foucaultian power. As the colored people could not wait anymore for the factitious promises, they deconstruct the white norms and rules within the system or territory that white society framed. The consequence would be the ambulation of power from oppressors to oppressed. Borrowing King, Martin Luther Jr.'s expression "the word "Wait" rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant "Never"." He

continues "We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that "justice too long delayed is justice denied."

In his poem "The Negro's Friend", McKay sings:

"What waste of time to cry: "No Segregation!"
When it exists in stark reality,
Both North and South, throughout this total nation,
The state decreed by white authority."

The words "North" and "south" in this part of the poems can be interpreted through Derrida's concept of "binary oppositions". Derrida believed that there is no true opposition between a pair of conceptions.

Related to McKay's poems it is necessary to hint Foucault's term of Biopower which literally means having power over bodies. Foucault describes the terms as "an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation's of bodies and the control of populations". Moreover in his lectures on Biopower entitled "*Security, Territory, Population*" delivered at the Collège de France between January and April 1978 he asserts:

"By this I mean a number of phenomena that seem to me to be quite significant, namely, the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power, or, in other words, how, starting from the 18th century, modern Western societies took on board the fundamental biological fact that human beings are a species. This is what I have called biopower."

While explosion deconstructs things from outside, implosion does the same from inside. In the case of McKay's poems, the affect of black's irritation is an implosion that happens within the territory which is so breakable and fragile.

Jean Baudrillard's postmodern world is also one of radical implosion in which social classes, genders, political differences, and one-autonomous realms of society and culture collapse into each other, erasing previously boundaries and differences. Chapter 5 of a book entitled "The Jean Baudrillard Reader" by Steve Redhead, comprises extracts of Baudrillard's writings about implosion and deterrence. For Baudrillard, in the society of simulation, economics , politics , culture , sexuality , and the social all implode into each other such that economics is fundamentally constituted by culture , politics , and other spheres , while art , once a sphere of potential difference and opposition , is absorbed into the economic and political and sexuality is everywhere. In this situation, difference between individuals and groups implode in a rapidly mutating dissolution of the social and the

previous boundaries and structures upon which social theory had once focused.

According to Foucault and Baudrillard's vision of explosion and implosion, Claude McKay artistically shapes a black territory for the black community in his poem "The Negro's Tragedy" and does not allow any white race enters to it. In two parts of this poem he excludes the "white man" from his territory which is metaphorically his poem.

"Only a thorn-crowned Negro and no white
   Can penetrate into the Negro's ken,
Or feel the thickness of the shroud of night
Which hides and buries him from the other men."

In the sestet, the "white man" is excluded, from writing his book, which is "shot out of his blood."

 "So what I write is shot out of my blood.
   There is no white man who could write my book
Though many think the story can be told
   Of what the Negro people ought to brook.
Our statesmen roam the world to set things right.
   This Negro laughs, and prays to God for Light!"

White men cannot do McKay's writing for him. Nor can they rightly perceive the "Negro's tragedy" or his territory and the way it needs to be answered. This black territory is a response to what white community did to them. As Martin Luther claims it is about 340 years that colored people brooked this physical and mental pressure. Eventually, their patience runs over and it is their time to evacuate their wrath and agony toward white territory.

Deleuze and Guttari in their book "*A Thousand Plateaus Capitalism and Schizophrenia*" talk about the anthropological literature in which tribal societies mark bodies in initiation ceremonies, so that the products of an organ are traced to a clan, which is mythically traced to the earth or, more precisely, one of its enchanted regions, which function as the organs on the full body of the earth. Material flows are thus "territorialized," that is, traced onto the earth, which is credited as the source of all production. The signs in tribal inscription are not signifiers. They do not map onto a voice, but enact a "savage triangle forming … a theater of cruelty that implies the triple independence of the articulated voice, the graphic hand and the appreciative eye" .Empires overcode these tribal meaning codes, tracing production back to the despot, the divine father of his people. Material flows in despotic

empires are thus "deterritorialized", they are no longer credited to the earth, and then immediately "reterritorialized" on the body of the despot, who assumes credit for all production. When tribal signs are overcoded, the signifier is formed as a "deterritorialized sign" allowing for communication between the conquered and the conquerors.

In chapter 9 of "*Anti-Oedipus*" entitled *The Civilized Capitalist Machine* Deleuze and Guttari declare that "The first great movement of deterritorialization appears with the overcoding performed by the despotic State." They believe that the action of decoded is not enough, and it needs a new break to cross and change the extant situation. Activities which cause decoded flows hit the tyrannical State with inactivity and submerge the dictator.

They also mention in the same chapter what Marx points at the heart of Capital. According to Marx there are two principle items in this case: on one hand the deterritorialized laborers who has turned out to be free and stripped m selling his work capacity, and on the other hand decoded money that has turned out to be capital and is capable of buying it. Besides, each of these components brings into play a few procedures of interpreting and deterritorialization having altogether different origins. For a free laborer it means "the deterritorialization of the soil through privatization; the decoding of the instruments of production through appropriation; the loss of the means of consumption through the dissolution of the family and the corporation; and finally, the decoding of the worker in favor of the work itself or of the machine." Conversely for capital it means "the deterritorialization of wealth through monetary abstraction; the decoding of the flows of production through merchant capital; the decoding of States through financial capital and public debts; the decoding of the means of production through the formation of industrial capital; and so on."

Gidden also defines deterritorialization as a central element of globalization, infers the developing presence of social types of contact and contribution which go beyond the limits of a particular territory, a sort of "weighing of anchors" of social relations, which takes us to a closer association with the external, which produces closeness in distance, and to a relative farness from what is close.

Traces of deterritorialization, deforming, decoding and radical acts are elaborately depicted in Claude McKay's poems. Unlike many other Harlem Renaissance writers and poets McKay often writes with rage and a call to action. This calling to action is nothing but deterritorialization, a rebellious act. John Joseph Lalor defines rebellion as "a refusal of obedience or order." He said "it may encompass a range of behaviors from civil disobedience and mass nonviolent resistance, to violent and organized attempts to destroy an established authority such as the government. Those

who participate in rebellions are known as "rebels". A Rebel is a person who refuses allegiance to, resists, or rises in arms against the government or ruler of his or her country, resists any authority, control, or tradition and who show or feel utter repugnance." McKay yells in his poems how black community act patiently and intelligently to deterritorialize the white community by their own strategies and at last they succeeded to achieve what they wanted to gain for many years.

In "*If We Must Die*" McKay argues not only how he feels pride to be an African American but also how alienated he was because of his race. This poem was composed as a reaction to what is presently called the Red Summer of 1919. During this summer, there was a rise in race uproars and general violence toward the black community. The most violent actions happened in Chicago, Washington D.C., and Elaine, Arkansas. This violence comprised battling and revolting that led to losing the homes of black families and several deaths. The speaker who is McKay in this poem seems to be the leader whose speeches are considered as a pre-battle to motivate his people to rebel and fight. Although they are condemned to die but there is still a hope for them how to die.

"If we must die, O let us nobly die,
So that our precious blood may not be shed
In vain; then even the monsters we defy
Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!"

McKay asserts in this poem that even in the worst situation, they can live proudly with dignity. This way of thinking is a radical and revolutionary in this poem. Even in dying he "fights back" till his last moment.

"Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!"

Chapter 10 of George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman's book entitled "*Classical Sociological Theory*" appertain to W.E.B. Du Bois's theoretical contribution on race. Early in his career Du Bois claimed that the "race idea" was the central thought of all history and that the primary "problem of the twentieth century was the problem of the color line." Du Bois viewed the goal of African Americans not as one of integration or absorption into white America, but one of advancing "Pan-Negroism." He also introduced the concept of double consciousness in his book "*The Souls of Black Folk*". Du Bois hoped his work would allow whites to glimpse behind the Veil, so they could begin to understand the black experience in America. Blacks are simultaneously both inside and outside of the dominant white society and

live with a feeling of "twoness." Although economics and social class played a large role in the early work of Du Bois, later in his career he began to view racism as a consequence of the capitalist mode of production. While early in his career Du Bois was an active participant in black reform organizations like the NAACP, he eventually began to advocate a Marxian revolution of the economic system as the only hope for blacks to achieve equality in America.

Related to what explained above, the notion of identity can be also attributed to most of his poems and surely to the discussed ones. In his poems McKay not only attempts to deterritorialize the white community, but also intends to depict that colored people have their own identity and difference in skin colors cannot devest their personality from them. This concept of identity is not only shown in his poems but also in his novels. As an example *"Banana Bottom"* and *"Home to Harlem"* are said to follow a principal theme of a black individual in search of establishing a cultural identity in a white society. They discuss underlying racial and cultural tension as well.

McKay's poem *"After the winter"* resembles to Yeasts' *"The lake Isle of Innisfree"*. In both, the poets indicate a call to return to nature-based simplicity and in the context of the poem overall, a "summer isle" much likes McKay's native Jamaica. It seems that they both wish to flee to a better place in search of their true identity and their tranquility. *"After the winter"* is an appropriate example which gives a better understanding of McKay's concept of identity through the companionship and strengthened link to the Caribbean that the poem offers. At the time that McKay was writing "After the Winter", Ireland was gaining independence from England, the same power that colonized Jamaica. Lee M. Jenkin links Ireland's search for independence as similar and utilizable to black America's search for equal rights.

The clues of the concept of identity can be traced in McKay's poem *"If We Must Die"*, too. The poem navigates a complex sense of identity that cannot be narrowed down to one place or one concept of race. *"If We Must Die"*, is presented in the current Black Lives Matter movement in the United States, illustrating the continued need for a push to equality and identity.

As a conclusion it is worth to mention again that in addition to giving a voice to black immigrants, McKay was one of the first African-American poets of the Harlem Renaissance. As such, he influenced later poets, including Langston Hughes. He paved the way for black poets to discuss the conditions and racism that they faced in their poems. He transitioned on May 22, 1948 while he lived in Chicago. McKay is buried in Calvary Cemetery in Woodside, Queens, New York. Inscribed on his headstone are the words: "Peace, O My Rebel Heart".

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Tolerate or to Intolerate: A Critical Constructivist Essay on [In]Tolerance

Charles Quist-Adade PhD
Kwantlen Polytechnic University, Surrey, BC

Abstract

More than a century ago, African American sociologist and political activist W.E.B. Du Bois proclaimed that the problem of the 20th century was the problem of the colour bar. Had Du Bois lived today he would have broadened his perspective; he would probably have added [the] ethnic and religious intolerance bars. Today, the human race has developed powerful and far more effective means of communication through which mutual tolerance and respect, civilized and enlightened relationships between peoples of all races, cultures, religions, countries and continents could be cultivated. However, we appear only capable of recycling intolerance-driven stereotypes, and fear- and hatred-laced prejudices through the mass media and the "knowledge industry" as a whole, feeding our base instincts of fear, suspicion and consequently hatred for people who do not "belong to us."
.In this essay, I offer a critical constructivist explanation of intolerance. My focus is on the social, cultural, and economic sources of intolerance. I argue that intolerance is not the root cause of intergroup conflict; rather, intolerance is a symptom; a manifestation of deeper economic forces. I also argue that both intolerance and tolerance have a synergistic co-existence, each one feeding on the other. Thus, I explore the dialectical relationship between tolerance and intolerance and contend that the dialectical "tango" is skewed in favour of the power elite. I conclude with a suggestion that lessons in intolerance may provide pointers to the perennial human quest for tolerance.

Keywords: Tolerance, intolerance, prejudice, war, conflict, critical constructivism, ideology, peace-maker, ethnocentrism, Donald Trump.

Introduction

Tolerance has become a "buzz word" of our time. It is perceived as a panacea for all manner of social discrimination. Preachers to the faithful, parents to children, rulers to the ruled: all are heard singing the hymnal of tolerance. Tolerance is presented as a spiritual to the disenchanted soul, a

balm soothing the wounds of victims of racism, sexism, homophobia, ethnic cleansing, genocide, and war. And not surprisingly, both rulers and the ruled, priests and laypersons, parents and children embrace and recite the holy catechism of tolerance. This is understandable.

But since the beginning of recorded history, *intolerance* has been a bane to the human race. Recent epochs have witnessed the Crusades of the 11th and 13th centuries, the Inquisitions of the 13th century, the two World Wars, the European anti-Jewish pogroms, which culminated in the Holocaust of the 1940s. There has been the African Maafa (Holocaust)—with its trans-Atlantic slave trade (more appropriately the European Slave Trade in Africans), lynchings, Jim Crow segregation and genocide against First Nations Peoples in the Americas. In the recent past, we on the outside have been witnessing anti-Palestinian mayhem, death, and destruction—ironically perpetrated by Israelis, many of them descendants of those who survived or managed to escape the Holocaust.

The picture is no different today. The spectre of intolerance-inspired violence stalks the world. We live under the shadow of Al-Qaeda, now ISIS-inspired global terrorism and its anti-thesis, the so-called International War on Terrorism. From Africa to Australia, from the Middle East to the Far East, in India and Pakistan, in Sri Lanka, and from Chechnya to Columbia, ethnic strife rages (Human Rights Watch, 2003). In Africa, not only were Whites arrayed against Blacks in Apartheid South Africa, but also Indian minorities were expelled from Uganda in 1975, and African ethnic and religious disputes in Rwanda, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Liberia, Nigeria, and elsewhere have erupted in bloody massacres.(Heisler, M.O. (1977)) More than 800 thousand Rwandese lost their lives in one of Africa's worst genocides. In the immediate aftermath of the disintegration of the Soviet Union, a sizeable percentage of the population was caught up in a fit of inter-ethnic rebellions and massacres. The fall of communist Yugoslavia left in its trail ethnic massacres now euphemistically called "ethnic cleansing."

In Britain, demands for ethnic self-assertion and independence by Northern Ireland resulted in several thousand deaths and the destruction of property as the IRA, the Irish Republican Army, resorted to force to press home its demands. And in Canada, ethnic difficulties fuel the perennial threat that the province of Quebec would secede.

The price humanity has paid is enormous. Over 139 million Africans died in the European Slave Trade (aka Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade), and the scramble for power and the subsequent partition of Africa by the slave masters left the continent with a population of less than five million (Wilmot, 1989). About six million Jews perished in the Holocaust, hundreds of thousands of Native American (First Nations) peoples were exterminated at the hands of European settlers. The costs in human lives of the US-led

invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq and the ongoing intervention in Syria are astronomical

What is tolerance? What is Intolerance?

In this paper, I argue that the conventional explanations of [in]tolerance tend to hinge on the "peace-maker" and "distributive blaming" or "equal opportunity blaming" approaches. Theoretical explanations have largely proffered either a reductive and deterministic or a macro and micro approaches that ignore or fail to adequately account for a complicated and nuanced explication of the root causes of]in]tolerance. To address this deficiencies, I deploy three theoretical approaches—dialectical, critical constructivist and intersubjectivity—to seek to demonstrate that [in]tolerance is a complex, evolving phenomenon, informed by temporal, cultural, power, transnational and global factors and powered by human agency in both macrocosmic and microcosmic contexts. Thus, I draw on Hegelian dialectics, the conflict perspective, critical constructivism to shed light on the fact]in]tolerance is not only a human and socio-cultural construct, but it is also deeply rooted in the power structures of society. I contend that to adequately address the problems that emanate from the twin notions of tolerance and intolerance, we must appreciate the fact conventional appeals to tolerance that focus on appealing to the sensibilities of the *intolerator* and pacifying *the intolerated* have yielded little results, largely because the policies and projects aimed at tackling [in]tolerance-induced problems lack the nuanced, a complex and holistic theoretical foundation. While providing a useful snapshot on the roots and consequences of tolerance and intolerance, each of the theoretical perspective fails in of itself to address the complex, dynamic, intersublective nature of the phenomena.

In its Declaration on the Principles of Tolerance, the United Nations Education and Scientific Council (UNESCO) offers a definition of tolerance as follows: "Tolerance is respect, acceptance and appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's cultures, our forms of expression and ways of being human. Tolerance is harmony in difference." For the Project of Southern Poverty Law Center in Alabama, USA, tolerance is "a way of thinking and feeling — but most importantly, of acting — that gives us peace in our individuality, respect for those unlike us, the wisdom to discern humane values and the courage to act upon them." (Project of Southern Poverty Law Center, 2015) For his part, Andrew Cohen defines tolerance as: An act of toleration is an agent's intentional and principled refraining from interfering with an opposed other (or their behaviour, etc.) in situations of diversity, where the agent believes she has the power to interfere Cohen, A. J. (2004).

According to Corneo and Jeanne (2009: 2)," [t]olerance may promote peaceful coexistence between diverse groups and favor individual self-

actualization. Conversely, intolerance hinders the manifestation of proclivities and talents and demands a heavy toll on those who dare to be di¤erent. Minorities enjoy a substantial degree of protection only in tolerant societies, and that protection strengthens democratic political rights." Intolerance is defined by Webster Dictionary as "the refusal to accept differences: unwillingness or refusal to accept people who are different from you, or views, beliefs, or lifestyles that differ from your own."

These definitions have fundamental problems. First, they all paint tolerance as a neutral concept. But, tolerance is a value-laden concept, which carries with it power, moral and socio-cultural baggage. There exists asymmetrical power relationship between the *tolerator* and the tolerated. What is more, the values of the one tolerating is mostly at odds with the object of the tolerance. Second, tolerance as construed from these definitions, do not only mask the conflictual nature of tolerances, they tend to focus on what Scheonfeld (2006) calls the peace-making approach. The peace-make approach is fundamentally flowed because, it treats both victims of social injustice on the same footing as their victimizers. I suggest that there can be no lasting solution to any problem when both the victims and victimized are subjected to what I call "the principle of distributive blame." It can be argued that like all micro, interpersonal interactional perspectives, the peace-making approach fails to account for the structural and systemic basis of social problems, thus skirting the root causes of social injustice. It assumes that the perpetrator of social injustice can be transformed by moral appeals and once that objective is achieved, the problem miraculously disappears. Third, these definitions tend to conceive tolerance as a form of privilege to be doled out to the victim of an injustice by the tolerator. The problem with this approach, which is also known as the *noblesse oblige* principle is that it robs the victim of any agency; they passively receive the largess of the privilege. The privilege is implicitly conditional: it is handed out to the victim as long as and as far as the recipient (the victim) is willing to give the victimizer. As will be shown, any hope of tackling the hydra-headed problem of intolerance must require a multi-perspectival approach that appreciates the multifactorial and deep-rooted nature of not only intolerance, but its antithesis, tolerance. Before I do so, I shall seek to answer the question as to the genesis of the two phenomena.

Whence Tolerance and its Dialectical Antithesis, Intolerance?

To answer this question, I will utilize two sociological theories—the social construction of reality and critical constructivism—to explore the roots of intolerance and also to shed light on the underlying tension between the twin notions. But before then let's briefly explore other explanations of

intolerance. The most frequently invoked explanation of intolerance is ethnocentrism.

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism is the tendency to view one's own culture as superior to other cultures. William Graham Summers (1906) defines ethnocentrism as *the* ***"view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it.*** (Summer, 1906). The term is based on the Greek word "ethnos," which means folk or people, and the Latin word "centrum" for centre. In Summers' definition, emphasis is placed on group centrality and superiority. Like the concept of egocentrism (Latin "ego" meaning "I"), all human groups have the tendency to be ethnocentric, i.e., to place their group at the centre of the universe. Most in-groups (groups we belong to) tend to elevate themselves while demoting out-groups. The canonical variants of ethnocentrism include parochialism (narrow-mindedness), jingoism or excessive nationalism, favoring of a warlike foreign policy, chauvinism, and blind/ludicrous/extreme patriotism.
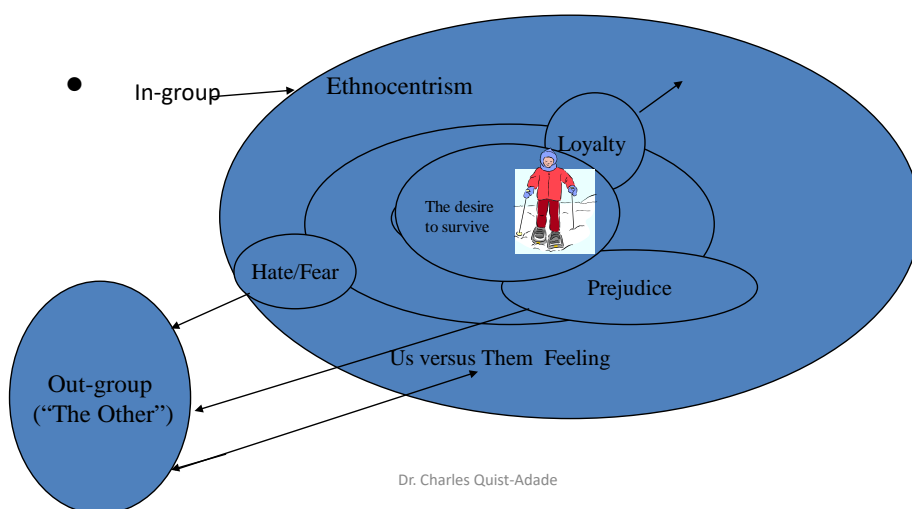
Ethnocentrism is the wellspring of all human sentiments and impulses both vile and noble. It is both the balm and the bane of human societies. The tendency for people to put their groups at the centre of the universe engenders collective self-assurance, collective solidarity, and a collective sense of worth. But ethnocentrism can have devastating consequences for both the in-group and the targeted out-group. The dark side of ethnocentrism, which leads in-groups to denigrate or marginalize and trivialize out-groups, has lain at the core of countless wars and strife since the dawn of history. For the in-group, ethnocentrism may breed collective ignorance and self-delusion, which may lead to a false sense of superiority and invincibility. Ethnocentrism can also hamper the in-group with a tunnel vision, blinkers, and short-sightedness, which may prevent the group from seeing "beyond its collective nose" (Quist-Adade, 2001).

Ethnocentrism has within it several subsets, including prejudice— both positive and negative—hate/fear, patriotism, ideology, in-group solidarity, out-group hostility, in-group favoritism, out-group discrimination, etc. (See diagram below). It is a double-edged sword, in that it engenders an "us-against-them" attitude that may spawn both good and bad deeds. Ethnocentrism is the cultural variant of egocentrism. While the latter is a self-preservation mechanism individuals adopt to survive in a hostile, competitive human environment, ethnocentrism is a survival mode social beings adopt in their socio-cultural and political environment. It is at the centre of practically all human interactions, both benign and hostile, and is larger than the individual. It emanates from the socio-cultural system and

serves as both cementing factor and a repellent, binding the individual to his or her group, while at the same time pulling him or her from the out-group. (See Van Den Berghe,1999; LeVine and Campbell, 1972) For example, American ethnocentrism was on full display in the wake of the 911 terrorist attacks on the New York World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, when American citizens submerged their differences to cheer on President George W. Bush to go after the perpetrators. In times of international crisis, such as the Al Qaeda terrorist attack on America, ethnocentrism informs the behaviour of most citizens, who may openly or tacitly abide by jingoistic, warlike policies of their government supporting the slogan, "My Country, Right or Wrong."

Just as individuals at least once in their lifetime have considered their mothers, for example, as the best of all mothers, ethnocentrism leads in-group members to see their groups as the best. The logical extension of this "my mother is the best" mentality is the "my motherland is the best" attitude, with the concomitant "my country, right or wrong" patriotic feelings typical of jingoistic citizens. The jingoistic citizen is the blind patriot who supports and indeed encourages his or her national leaders in their implementation of intolerance-induced belligerent foreign or domestic policies akin to Hitler's Germany, America's George W. Bush, or Radovan Karadžić's Bosnia Herzegovina, etc.

- Ethnocentrism: the mother of all sentiments/"isms" (Quist-Adade, p.68)

- Basic explanation:

Dr. Charles Quist-Adade

~~The term combines the Greek word 'ethnos,' which means 'people' or 'folk' and the Latin word 'centrum' or 'center.' Thus, when individuals account for an individualistic perspective, all external norms and values are judged in comparison to its internal ones.~~ Ethnocentrism forges in-group hegemony through internalization of collective identity and through out-group rejection and hostility. It also gives birth to several other attitudes, including prejudice, stereotyping, intolerance and, ironically, tolerance. Ethnocentrism is the tendency of people seeing their culture, ethnic group or race as superior and all others as inferior. It is the tendency to perceive events in terms of one's own interests, the tendency to prefer one's own way of life (culture) over all others (seeing it has involving the best and the right ways of acting), and a general suspicion of foreigners, their modes of thought, action and motives(Booth, 1979).

As the wellspring of all human sentiments both vile and noble, ethnocentrism is both the balm and the bane of human societies. It serves several useful purposes. It engenders collective self-assurance, collective solidarity, and a collective sense of worth. By elevating your ethnic group and your culture, you elevate yourself.

On the flipside, if you fail to defend your group, you perish with it (Quist-Adade, 2001). This ties in with logic of ethnoviolence: "Kill or be killed." Thus, ethnocentrism also breeds prejudice which in turn may generate intolerance, hatred and animosity against out-groups. In addition, it engenders collective ignorance and collective self-delusion, which may lead to a false sense of superiority and invincibility. Ethnocentrism can also impose on the group a collective tunnel vision and collective blinkers, which may prevent the group from seeing "beyond its nose."(Quist-Adade, p.68) Ethnocentrism breeds prejudice—pre-judgment, judging people before we even know who they are.

So then what causes ethnocentrism? Scholars from diverse fields have offered a plethora of theoretical explanations. In the social sciences, sociology and psychology, in particular, have offered both individual-focused and structural-focused theories, including authoritarian personality, self-identity, group conflict, symbolic interactionism, social exchange and functionalism. (See Skinner, 1974; Mills, 2000; Merton, 1949; Watson, 1930); Alport, 1954; Jackson, 1993) While most of these theories shed some light on the causes of ethnocentrism, the conflict perspective, which locates prejudice in socio-economic praxis (the struggle over scarce resources), offers a more nuanced and one may say pragmatic explanation. The conflict theory is rooted in the human tendency to seek to advance and protect self-interest. In our attempt to meet our basic needs of food, shelter, and clothing, which are attained through social integration, individuals operate in competition with other groups for resources that are always relatively scarce.

Winners in this struggle must create social institutions to protect the resources they have gained, so they develop ideologies to justify why they won and the losers lost. The losers are depicted in negative terms as congenitally lazy, stupid and worthless. The losers' religion, ethnicity, race, class, sexuality, biological or genetic predispositions are invoked as reasons for their alleged inferiority and low socio-economic status. The ideologies of the winning group manifest themselves as prejudice, stereotypes, and sometimes outright propaganda, which are disseminated via the various agents of socialization and the knowledge industry as a whole.

When prejudice is sufficiently widespread, it fosters a fertile soil for hatred, intolerance, and ultimately discrimination against identifiable groups. Stereotyping reflects and reinforces prejudice. Stereotypes, like prejudice, are socially learned. The stereotypes that people learn not only justify prejudice and discrimination; they also produce stereotypical behavior in those who are stereotyped, leading to a self-fulfilling prophecy. In this way, a fertile ground is prepared for the seeds of intolerance to germinate and grow. In short, intolerance is a symptom; a manifestation of an ongoing tug-of-war between groups over economic, political and social resources. Intolerance persists because of real or imagined threats to dominants' material standing, through competition for jobs, housing, schools, etc. While the conflict theory, in my view offers a more complex explanation of the sources of prejudice and prejudice-induced intolerance, it fails to account for human agency and the small scale, interpersonal context of the causes of and reinforcement of prejudice, stereotypes and most important, intolerance. The conflict theory, like other structural theories tends to treat individuals as pawns bereft of any agency. It also does not place enough emphasis on the social processes through which prejudice-based and intolerance-informed social injustice occur. In the next section, I deploy Peter Berger and David Luckman's social construction of reality theory to inject a dose of social agency into our understanding of the causes of prejudice-induced intolerance. This will be followed by "squaring the circle" with a discussion of critical constructivism, which combines symbolic interactionism, a micro sociological perspective and the conflict theory.

The Social Construction of [In]tolerance
"If people can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than its opposite."—**Nelson Mandela.**

Intolerance like its antithetical corollary, tolerance, is a social construct. The social construction view of [in]tolerance derives from the theory of the social construction of reality, which posits that there is nothing natural or normal about the world we inhabit. Rather, social reality is created

by individuals to reflect certain interests in a world not necessarily of their making (Berger and Luckmann. 1967). Tolerance and intolerance emerge together from the womb of the social construction of reality, as it were. They are both learned in the social context. While sociobiologists (See Wilson, 1975; Alcock, 2001; Barkow, Ed., 2006) and some behavioral psychologists (See Skinner, 1974; Mills, 2000; Watson, 1930) would want to persuade us that intolerance and its benign/beneficent corollary, tolerance, are genetic or biological traits, it is my contention that humans acquire the capacity to tolerate or "intolerate" through the process of socialization in a socio-cultural context, informed by political, ideological and historical forces. Humans may have incipient urges or natural proclivities toward tolerance or aversion, but these proclivities must first be nudged into action, nurtured and directed through the various agents of socialization. Thus, the central focus of this paper is to demonstrate that tolerance and intolerance are not only socially constructed and socially learned, they are also produced, reproduced, enforced and reinforced, legitimized or delegitimized, imposed and resisted through the crucible of the struggle over valued power resources. What follows is an exploration and explanation of how social reality is not only collectively created, but must be "blessed" and legitimized by the power that be.

From Social Reality Construction to Critical Constructionism

"It is not the world of the journalist that interests me as such; it is the deeper forces which appear in the crooked mirror of the press."-Leon Trotsky (paraphrased)

"One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman."-Simone de Beauvior

~~Blessing [In]tolerance: The Legitimization of Tolerance and Intolerance~~

Human behaviour such as [in]tolerance is simply behaviour. However, whether a specific behaviour is perceived to be tolerable or intolerable depends on who is describing or defining the behaviour, and where the describer is in relation to the ideological fence. By ideological fence, I also mean religious, political, moral and ethical "divides." Almost invariably, the members of the group on the other side of the fence are categorized as having a propensity to act or behave intolerably by virtue of their membership of that group. From the critical constructivist perspective, [in]tolerance is not only a human creation—it is also created by the power elite in society. What is social constructionism?

Social constructionism

When the concept of "time," is mentioned in my village, Teawiah in eastern Ghana, depending on the time of the day, people will either look up in the sky or think about the crowing of the cockerel/rooster. This is because

people in Teawiah use the position of the sun in the sky to tell the time of the day. The crowing cockerel also tells them the time in the night. Besides, not many of the villagers own their own wrist watches. Thus, a timepiece will be the last thing on the villagers' mind when the concept of time is the topic of discussion. But when someone mentions 'time' in your classroom, for instance, you are likely to look at your wrist watch, cellphone or at the clock on the wall (if there is one). What this illustrates is that 'time', like many phenomena we take for granted as normal or natural, is indeed not so at all. The concept we have come to call time thus is a social and cultural construct. It is based on what Berger and Luckman (2011) called the **social construction of reality** or simply **social constructionism**. Human reality is social, meaning it is a social product—a collectively created human experience. "All that is humanly consequential—self, mind, society, culture—emerges from and is dependent on symbolic interactions for its existence." (Gecas & Tsushima, 2001, p.1) The socially constructed reality extends beyond human interactions to encompass the natural and physical world. As Gecas & Tsushima (2001, p.1) observe, even the physical environment is germane or relevant to human conduct as it is interpreted through symbolic systems. How? Because, we assign meaning to the natural world. For example, a tree is a tree because we call it so. Conversely, a tree will not be a tree until we call it so. By assigning a name to a natural object, such as a tree, we are socially constructing it.

Social constructionism is based on the assumption that there is nothing natural or normal about the world we inhabit. Rather, social reality is created by individuals to reflect certain interests in a world not necessarily of their making (See Wright, 2005; Littlejohn and Foss, 2008). Language is the vehicle through which reality is constructed. Humans make meaning of messages they receive based on the reality of everyday existence. Thus, as there are different realities of everyday existence, it stands to reason that the same message, like a simple question: "what's the time?" will take on different meanings to people in different societies, as the example of my village above clearly shows. Even within the same society, different people will read different meanings into the same message. This is because people read and understand messages based on their racial/ethnic, gender, religious, and class backgrounds. Social reality is thus **multidimensional**, which means that reality has multiple meanings. As the hackneyed phrase goes, "beauty lies in the eyes of the beholder," a given social reality means different things to different people.

Another way to look at the social construction of reality is that there is nothing inherently good or bad. People assign moral meanings to social occurrences. For example, there is nothing inherently wrong with polygyny, the marital practice of a man marrying two or more wives. In two thirds of

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the world's societies, polygyny has co-existed with monogamy, the practice of one person having one spouse at a time. In the USA, however, polygyny is not only *intolerated*, it is prohibited by law in all states, except Utah. In Canada, the British Columbia provincial government has tried several times to have the Supreme Court proscribe the practice in Bountiful.

One way to test this theory might be to investigate the meanings that arise from messages transmitted by the mass media. On May 1, 2011 US President Barack Obama in an address to the nation announced the killing of Osama bin Laden by US Navy Seals. CNN and other news outlets carried the same message, which was received by millions of viewers around the world. Hardly had Obama finished his speech than the floodgates opened for multiple interpretations of the US action. Some described the Navy Seal action as murder, while others saw it as assassination. While large crowds of US citizens celebrated the death of "America's Enemy Number One," the reaction in the rest of the world was more muted and less celebratory. Supporters of Al Qaeda, of course, were furious, with pledges to avenge their leader's death at the hands of American troops. While the US described Osama Bin Laden as "Number One Enemy," his supporters and sympathizers hailed him as a hero and his death as martyrdom. From the social construction perspective, each one of the millions of viewers will read different meanings, or interpret the news about bin Laden's death differently. So what do you think?

What different meanings might this news take on?

- To a relative of a victim of the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001, which is believed to have been masterminded by Osama bin Laden?,
- To a supporter of Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda terrorist group,
- To a member of Al Qaeda
- To relatives of Osama bin Laden
- To a peace activist,
- To a human rights lawyer or activist

And so on....

[In]tolerance, as we have seen is a socially constituted entity. A socially constructed phenomena, tolerance and intolerance socially constructed within the socio-cultural context, taking on the meaning and import of a given community, collective, society or country. It is informed by the interplay of temporal, normative and ethical imperatives of that society. Thus, what may be tolerated in one society may be an anathema in another. For example, during slavery, during and after civil war in America lynching of Blacks was considered a "normal act of social control. In fact, it was quite "normal" to see white folks gather around picnic tables to watch the lynching of African Americans. . Killing a Native American was praised

as a courageous act and killing at war time is seen in most societies today as a patriotic duty.

In the geopolitical realm, the West have tolerated, supported and bankrolled murderous dictators, from Augusto Pinochet in Chile and Mobutu Sese Seko of the former Zaire, now Democratic Republic of Congo to Baby Doc Duvalier in Haiti, while murdering leaders who refused to tow the American line, including Salvador Allende of Chile, Patrice Lumumba of Zaire, Saddam Hussein of Iraq, and Muammar Gadhafi of Libya

But while social constructionism explains how social reality is created, it is silent on the deeper underlying political, and economic forces that shape and influence people's interactions. As cultural phenomena, they are also watered by the fountain spring of the cultural norms and ethos prevalent in a given society.

Critical constructionism (used interchangeably with critical constructivism) is a theoretical framework based on the assumption that the way social reality is constructed, perceived and presented usually reflects the interests of society's elite more than those of the mainstream, and often at the expense of those with the least power in society. (See Littlejohn and Foss, 2008) The critical constructivist perspective posits that while human reality is collectively constructed by all members of collectives, what becomes acceptable reality must first be sanctioned, sanctified, and legitimized by the power /ruling elite. Thus, the main focus of critical constructivism is on **the relationships between power and knowledge.**

It combines conflict theory (which focuses on the struggle for power resources between groups) and social constructionism (which treats reality as a human creation, rather than natural or divinely inspired). Before we proceed further, let's take a quick look at the conflict theory.

For the purpose of this essay, conflict will be defined as the existence of incompatible goals or the means to achieving these goals between individuals or identifiable groups. This incompatibility arises within a defined relationship and therefore any attempt to establish tolerance and peace must focus on transforming the existing relationship between the parties.(See Leven and Sidarius1999) The focal points of the conflict theory include inequality, domination, exploitation, oppression, conflict, social turmoil, and social change in human societies. The conflict perspective includes a variety of approaches; most of which share the view that society contains social forces that make conflict inevitable. According to the conflict perspective, society can best be understood in terms of conflict or tension between competing groups over scarce resources (Schaefer, 2003) Conflict theorists focus their attention on society as a whole, studying its institutions and structural arrangements. The theories are built on the premise that society is an arena of constant struggle between have and have-not groups,

powerful and powerless collectives. Conflict theorists contend that scarcity of socio-economic resources such as wealth, power and prestige are the significant sources of conflict in society. Power, as mentioned above is defined by the theorists as the ability to control the behavior of others against their will. Power determines who will lose and who will gain. Power also determines which group is capable of translating their preferences for behaviour into the operating rules for others to execute. The central thesis is that the differential distribution of legitimate power within the society is the major determining factor of systematic social conflicts. Conflict theory criticizes functionalism for ignoring power and conflict and also underestimated the problems brought about by economic and social inequalities as espoused by Marx (See Calhoun and Light,1994).

Critical constructionism differs from social constructionism only in that it emphasizes the role of *elite* interests in the process of reality construction. Several assumptions underpin the critical constructivist approach to reality, knowledge creation and dissemination. (a) There can be many versions of events and that these require questioning: Where are ideas coming from? Whose interests are being served? Whose interests are excluded? (b) Knowledge is situated, partial and provisional/temporary and open to many interpretations. (c) The purpose of critical constructivism is to foster a way of looking at events, experiences and assumptions so that the status quo is challenged. (4) Critical constructivists critique the power structures that produce, embed and render invisible knowledge in everyday practices.

Critical constructivism allows us to problematize, challenge, and disrupt embedded, naturalized and *invisibilized* oppressive social structures and practices such as patriarchy, sexism, racism, and heterosexism. Simply put, the critical constructivist perspective allows us to adopt a critical approach to reality, questioning taken-for- granted assumptions and conventional or received wisdoms/truths and notions. It places emphasis on power relations in society and the conflict that the struggle for power generates.

Adopting the critical constructionist perspective, this paper maintains that it is not enough to understand that social reality is socially constructed collectively by human beings as they engage in everyday interactions, we must go further to understand whose interest does that reality serve. Critical Constructionism's central argument, as we shall later is that since knowledge is constructed to serve people's interests, we should look at whose interests are being served and whose knowledge prevails in society. Why? This is because knowledge changes attitudes, which in turn can change behavior. The following premises inform the critical constructivist paradigm: (1) It is not enough to discover or interpret the world. (2) Knowledge has power

implications: it can be used to oppress or for resistance; maintaining the status quo or to challenge, subvert or overthrow the status quo. (3) Dominant groups in society use their advantage of, and control over, knowledge to entrench their interests and values.

The Critical Constructivist approach emphasizes the need to get at the bottom of how socially constituted reality construct meaning for us, and how we, in turn construct meaning to suit our own needs. It directs our attention to the forces behind the collective creation of social reality and to shed light on whose ideologies and values are embedded in the received or conventional wisdom, or commonsense knowledge of society, as well as make transparent who profits from the current arrangement of society or the status quo. How does Critical Constructionism explain the genesis, the root causes, logic, and dynamics of tolerance and intolerance?

We Create and Learn [In]tolerance

Tolerance and intolerance are decidedly human inventions rather than natural or genetic conditions. Both entities are the products of social interactions and therefore are found not in the impulses or even in the psyche of individuals, but in the actions and inactions of collectives. One mad Hitler could not have enacted the Holocaust alone. He required his henchmen and the legions of the German masses and the presence of the German Jewry. So, to the question "Are humans prewired genetically for intolerance?" I reply with the assertion: "The problem is in our stars, not in ourselves," to paraphrase Shakespeare. Put in another way, intolerance and intolerance are social constructions. And hence the solution to intolerance is to be found here on earth, in the social, collective condition, not in our genes, not in the high heavens, nor in the bosoms of individuals, be they ordinary folks or monarchs or presidents. No one is born to hate or to love. We learn to hate, just as we learn to love; we learn to tolerate and to intolerate. Additionally, tolerance and intolerance are inter-subjective and tells us as much, if not more, about the person or group doing the tolerating or "intolerating" than the person or the group at the receiving end, i.e., being tolerated or *intolerated.* It is also useful to recognize that tolerance and intolerance are dialectical, rather than binary opposites or dichotomies of good and evil. The two cannot, as it were, be surgically separated.

The Dialectics and Intersubjectivity of [In]tolerance

The law of dialectics posits the unity and struggle of opposites in which one phenomenon not only negates another, but the two opposing ideas fuse together in a synergistic way to give birth to a brand new phenomenon. The chief proponent of the principle of dialectics, Georg Hegel (1970), asserted that the law of the unity and struggle of opposites forms the basis of

societal development and progress. Thus, tolerance and intolerance are dialectical; one is antithetical to and negates the other. Just as you cannot make an omelet without breaking eggs, you cannot have tolerance in the absence of intolerance. By the same token, the seedling of tolerance germinates from the seed of intolerance. Toleration of an in-group's intolerance of an out-group negates the in-group's tolerance, in that it inevitably ignites the out-group's own intolerance. However, the potency and extent of intolerance and tolerance depends largely on what one may term a "power equation," which individual or group has more, little, or no power.

In a multiracial or polyethnic society, it is the dominant racial or ethnic group that has the power to tolerate or *intolerate*. Racialized and ethnic minority groups and individuals have less power and hence cannot tolerate or intelorate in any meaningful or systematic way. Minority groups and individuals who attempt to engage in acts of intolerance, especially, are crushed by the system. Just as Feagin and Vera (1995) rightly insist, racism is more than a matter of individual prejudice and scattered episodes of discrimination; intolerance is systemic, structural and determined by the "power equation." [In]tolerance is hegemonic. Arguing that there is no black racism in the United States, Feagin and Vera(1995: ix) contend that there is no centuries-old system of racialized subordination and discrimination designed by African Americans to exclude white Americans from full participation in the rights, privileges, and benefits of this society. Thus, for example, while Black Britons may harbor anti-White British prejudice and stereotype all Whites and even act out their race prejudice or exhibit race animus from time to time, it is White Britons who are in the position to discriminate systematically against their Black compatriots. While White British[ii] racists, generally speaking, have a panoply of supporting institutions and agencies (the state, judicial system, law enforcement agencies, media, educational system and the general culture) Black Britons do not have sufficient resources to act out their race prejudice on a systematic basis. The system simply crushes those who try. In the same way as racism transcends stereotypes and individual prejudice, intolerance is systemic, built into the culture, social institutions, and social structures.

And [in]tolerance is intersubjective. Intersubjectivity—the notion that, each individual's meanings relate to, and to some extent depend on, the meanings of other individuals'. What this means is that there is a dialectical relationship between a person's meaning and the meanings of others. Therefore, humans cannot escape the conclusion that their communication environment plays an active and important part in their lives. As Wilden (1987) puts it:

Many of our apparently unique personal opinions are, in fact, derived from social conditioning by dominant codes of values transmitted by others, beginning in the cradle and including the media of family, school, and popular entertainment, rather than from personal and informed decisions that we actually made for ourselves.(As cited in Berger and Lukman, 2011) We create that which creates us!

However, as Trentholm (1991) notes, it is not just that everyday reality affects our communication— it is that our communication also affects everyday reality. This is what we mean when we speak of the social construction of reality -- that when we communicate, we participate in the building of the reality that we inhabit. (As cited in Berger and Luckman, 2011)

I hope this rather brief exploration of the principle of dialectics and intersubjectivity provides at least a tentative explanation of why the world suffers from an acute tolerance deficit, despite the oversupply of tolerance promotion. It should also explain why in a world where practically every religious, moral, and secular teaching, emphasizes tolerance, there appears to be no end to the violence and carnage sparked by intolerance-driven stereotypes and fear-laced prejudices.

To establish tolerance as a desirable human condition, we must study the root causes of intolerance. But tracing the causes of intolerance is as difficult as finding the beginning of a circle. I agree with Eugene Scheonfeld (2006) that "while tolerance is a desirable virtue and it may even affect some people's relationship with members of other races and religions, it will not, on its own merit eliminate the social conditions that are the root causes of inter-ethnic, religious, and racial hostilities." The teaching of tolerance will not necessarily eradicate inter-group aggression. While organizations such as Tolerance.org, which have painstakingly developed projects, curricula, and tool kits for teaching tolerance, must be commended for their effort, I am not convinced that such efforts alone will be enough to eliminate intolerance-driven social discrimination.

Much of the literature on tolerance and intolerance tends to speak of collective responsibilities. In other words, both the victimized and the victimizer equally share the blame for acts of intolerance, or both the victim and the oppressor must learn the art of forgiveness and compassion. This is what Scheonfeld (2006) described as the "peace-maker" approach, and what I will term "the equal opportunity approach." The peace-maker approach assigns equal responsibility to the oppressor and the oppressed equally. Such an approach is rooted in what one would term "the principle of distributive blame" or "equal opportunity shaming." Both the oppressor and oppressed share responsibility for the problem and hence bear equal duty to set it right. Put mildly, this is a flawed approach, for it assumes a level playing field in

the case of oppression. Oppression is coercive power-grabbing and yields no grounds to the oppressed. The oppressor almost invariably controls the lion's share of society's valued resources and power structures. The oppressor does not easily lend himself to learning from the oppressed, nor does he call for compassion or charity from the oppressed. This "peace-making" approach is a one-way street. The injustice and inequity in the peacemaker approach is captured in this African proverb:"*Until the lion has his or her own storyteller, the hunter will always have the best part of the story." (African Proverbs, 2017:1)*

Tolerance is akin to literally holding your nose while dealing with a person you dislike. A typical dictionary defines tolerance as the capacity to endure. Most people use the word tolerance to indicate that in certain conditions we must endure certain unavoidable and undesirable events or conditions. For instance, we must learn to tolerate pain, or to tolerate certain unfavorable environmental factors. Similarly, we are told that we must learn to tolerate and accept diverse human beings, even when we may consider them undesirable. We are asked to tolerate them not only because they are a part of life and quite often perform a necessary and important function for society, but, more importantly, because doing so is an exercise of Christian love. We are asked therefore, in the name of Christian love to endure these "others" (Scheonfeld, Ibid.)

Tolerance and forgiveness are two virtues that the West pontificates constantly to non-Westerners. To non-Westerners, they preach: forgive and forget – most of all forget – the past, what happened between Africa and Europe, between Africa and North America, for example. They want Africans to forget the African holocaust—the European slave trade—the colonization, the balkanization, and the pillage of the continent's human and natural resources. They want Africans to turn the other cheek but they demand their pound of flesh when it comes to them. In Western eyes the history of non-Europeans is irrelevant, a tabular rasa—a blank slate, especially where the West's ignominious deeds are concerned. Just think of the West's reaction to the call for reparations. Africans are instructed to maintain very short memories for their own good (meaning: "if Africans want the West's money").

The lives of non-Westerners are less precious than those of Westerners. They trivialize and marginalize the memories of hundreds of thousands of citizens of Afghanistan, Angola, Grenada, Lebanon, Libya, Panama, Iraq, Sudan, Somalia, Vietnam, etc. who were killed in direct or US-sponsored attacks. Are three 3,000 lives (the number of people killed in the dastardly terrorist bombing of New Trade Center and the Pentagon in 2011) in a country of 288 million less than 100,000 deaths in the atomic blasts that leveled Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 or the millions of

Vietnamese lives lost in 10 years of US war from 1965 to 1975? What about the hundreds of thousands of lives lost in Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and Somalia when the US in its frenzied anti-communist campaigns financed, trained and armed rebel movements in these countries to unleash terror, death and destruction on their own people?

The same point is made more succinctly by the African Holocaust News (2017):

> "Africans and other non-white people, know about White Supremacy, and Western fundamentalist extremism. These things are not interested in peace and tolerance, beyond requesting that everyone peacefully tolerate their domination. But despite their ubiquitous presence in the lives of 80% of the planet, where in the news do you see them mentioned? So per Western news obviously they don't exist."
>
> (http://www.africanholocaust.net/news_ah/war_myth_religion.html)

As Scheonfeld (2006:4) notes, we do not describe those whom we are to tolerate as being equal to us, because intolerance necessitates undesirability. So, if , for instance, I and other African-Canadians, and for that matter all racialized minorities, are to be tolerated by the majority who hold power in society then, by the very definition of "tolerance", I must consider myself, as an African-Canadian, an undesirable, although inevitable part in the lives of the majority. At the same time, those who are being tolerated are also asked to be tolerant of those who seek to harm them. This is, for instance, inherent in the religious teaching of turning the other cheek. The sufferers, the mistreated, and the abused are taught to be tolerant of their tormentors, because they are told that such suffering is a virtue and it will lead to rewards in the afterlife, in the world to come. The admonition from Jesus to his followers while he hung on the cross at Golgotha to tolerate and forgive his tormentors "for they know not what they do" is invoked by Christians as a veritable lesson in tolerance. This is an example of the need, at least in Christianity, for the sufferers to tolerate their tormentors. In this sense, note that it is consequently the minorities who are asking the majority for tolerance, not vice versa." (Scheonfeld (2006:4) Much of the "Sermon on the Mount" is devoted to a call to the "persecuted," "meek," "the poor in spirit," i.e., the subservient, the marginalized "wretched of the earth" to tolerate their oppressors and their abject poverty and horrible living conditions. It is a zero-sum game; no accounting on the part of the oppressor, until perhaps Judgment Day, at best.

Scheonfeld (2006) has observed that the inequitable relationship between lower and higher classes, between the tolerating and those being tolerated, was described over two thousand years ago by Aristotle. Scheonfeld (Ibid.) maintained that "living in the highly stratified society of

ancient Athens, Aristotle proposed that only the gentlemen of high social status could possess virtues." Only the power elite "had the capacity for magnanimity and munificence." (Scheonfeld, 2006:5) Scheonfeld equated this notion to "the medieval notion inherent in the virtue of *noblesse oblige*, which stipulated that those with wealth and power should as a matter of Christian charity and because of their greater moral sensitivity, exercise tolerance toward those in the lower rungs of society." Privilege, then, carries with it the burden of tolerating the lower classes. In turn, those on the lower rungs of the social stratum are to ask those in the upper stratum to be tolerant and merciful. The subordinate class' relationship with the super-ordinate "was modeled on how religion instructs us to relate to our God." (Scheonfeld 2006: 5) In the Bible, Jesus Christ preached the message of tolerance. He admonished his disciples to turn the other cheek. He advised them to love their neighbours as themselves and encouraged them to endure the persecution of their enemies and exploitation of the power elite of their time. He proclaimed in the Beatitudes: "Blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth." (The Bible King James Version. Matthew:5:5)

Ideology, False Consciousness and Tolerance

Ideology constitutes people's view of the world: how they see it and how they want the world to be. It is a set of shared ideas and beliefs that help individuals interpret events and that provides rationale for particular forms of actions**.** Ideologies typically rationalize vested interests of particular people. A group of people who share an ideology share a common set of ideas as to what the world is like. As Berger and Luckman argue, "all human groups evolve patterns of behavior - institutions and roles - that become real to them," (Berger and Luckman, 1967) hence "a group of people who share an ideology might construct a social reality that fits their beliefs." (Ibid)

An ideology is a prescription for a way of life. Every society displays a general or dominant ideology: a code of general values most of its people share, consciously and unconsciously, and within which various group and individual ideologies arise. (Berger and Luckman, 1967) Here some examples of ideologies: capitalism, communism, classism, consumerism, rugged individualism, patriotism, religion. No one can live above the ideology of the society he or she lives in. Consequently, ideologies act as constraints on both individual and group behaviour, by encouraging certain expressions and discouraging others, and because they act at the level of concepts, ideologies put constraints on communication. Ideology manifests itself at both individual and institutional levels. At the individual level, ideology is acted out in face-to-face and interpersonal interactions. For example, a capitalist is likely to couch his conversation with expressions

such as "you reap what you sow," "Each for himself and God for us all," "what is good for General Motors in good," etc. At the institutional level, ideologies manifest themselves often as the dominant ideologies.

False Consciousness

When we fail to recognize the effects of these larger social forces on us, we develop what has been referred to as false-consciousness, a Marxist terminology referring to the condition and characteristic of work in the capitalist societies in Western Europe during the nineteenth century False consciousness stems from the inability of people to understand how the larger social forces cause their personal troubles. False-consciousness is the outcome of thinking about and approaching life through the lenses of the dominant social classes in society. High unemployment and the lack of high-paying jobs are reflections of the changes in and failures of the larger economic and political structures that cause impossible troubles for the citizens of many societies. This fact is often ignored, trivialized or marginalized by the establishment/mainstream media and politicians. Rather, many of our politicians in Canada, Europe, and the United Sates promote the discourse of scapegoating, blaming immigrants and illegal aliens for our social problems during harsh economic times. They fault them for depleting our resources and stealing social services and educational opportunities from the rest of the citizens; yet, such an intolerant and xenophobic views glosses over the fact that these unwanted "guests" are often exploited by profit-hungry capitalist classes who pay the lowest possible wages for their labor. (Mirfakhraie and Quist-Adade, 2014) As the average Joe and Jane incorporate the views of the capitalist class into his/her worldview, she/he unwittingly proffer solutions that promote the interests of the neo-liberal capitalist society. Thus, when Trump supporters chanted "build that wall!" at his rallies or when they cheered loudly when he threatened to send all "undocumented immigrants" packing they, in fact, were scapegoating the most vulnerable in American society for problems caused largely by the policies of the neoliberal capitalist class. In other words, the average citizen inculcates a false consciousness that makes him to pitch camp with their class enemies, while denigrating their own class members, which are the so-called undocumented immigrant workers. Simply put, false consciousness breeds in the ordinary citizen tolerance for the policies of the elite class and intolerance for vulnerable class members whom they perceive as real or imagined competitors.

For the power elite to maintain their positions of dominance, they must inculcate in the masses an ideology of tolerance, which legitimizes the continual existence of power and privilege differences. Tolerance thrives on ignorance and powerlessness, which often manifests themselves in the path of least resistance—the easiest way among alternatives. Most ordinary folks

choose the path of least resistance partly because the system (the government and the corporate world) is too powerful to confront, hence they look for scapegoats who they know are powerless and lack the resources and ability to strike back to blame for their woes. This behavior is explained by social psychologists with the aggression-frustration-scapegoating theory also known as the frustration-aggression-displacement hypothesis. The theory posits that when problems occur, people do not like to blame themselves. They, instead, actively look for scapegoats onto whom we can displace their aggression. To put it slightly differently, the theory suggests that there is a tendency for individuals, when they fail to attain their goal(s) because the source of their failure is perceived to be too powerful to confront or to too nebulous to strike out to become frustrated and to displace aggression onto out-groups that are disliked, visible, and relatively powerless. (See *Dollard, John; Doob, Leonard W; Miller, Neal E; Mowrer, Orval Hobart; Sears, Robert R, 1939) While the aggression-frustration-displacement theory has several limitations, (e.g., Berkowitz (1969) has argued that f*rustration alone is not sufficient to produce aggression; whether aggression will occur depends on stimulus cues), *it could partly explain the behaviour of some of Trump's followers, particularly those who have bought into white supremacist and racist ideologies in the Alt-Right movement*115 *and the Ku-Klux-Klan (KKK).*

In short, tolerance does not alter the social conditions that made tolerance necessary in the first place. In the notion of [in]tolerance, one sees the manipulations of the power elite, be they political, ethnic or religious leaders who in their thirst for power cynically exploit social and biological differences to further their selfish interests. The elites fan the flames of intolerance against the "other" in order to cultivate tolerance in the masses for their exploitative deeds, and to divert attention from the power asymmetries and social inequalities in society. For example, during the 2016 presidential and congressional elections in the United States, Trump exploited the frustrations and fear of ordinary Americans to win both the primaries and the presidential elections. Stoking the fear of "illegal immigrants" taking away the jobs of American citizens, the billionaire Trump and his campaign promised to build a wall on the US-Mexican border to prevent new immigrants to enter the country and to deport the millions of "undocumented immigrants." He called Mexicans rapists and murderers. Trump's message of fear, intolerance, and racist bigotry worked. He won the election. While other factors—the alleged Russian government's influencing

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115 a loose group of people with far-right ideologies who reject mainstream conservatism in the United States. During the 2016 Presidential Elections, the Alt-Right supported the Republican candidate Donald Trump.

the elections by hacking into the Democratic National Convention's computers and leaking damaging information to the media, for example— might have won the Trump the Presidential election— the sheers numbers of voters who said they voted for him because of his anti-immigrant and "America First" rhetoric is a testament that the billionaire's nativist and xenophobia-laced campaign message had a huge impact in swaying the election in his favour. Of course, they are other possible factors that might propelled Trump to victory, but this will be the topic of another paper.

The 2016 U. S. Presidential Election: A Lesson in Intolerance and False Consciousness

In a recent conversation with my family about the 2016 Democratic Party and Republican Party primaries in the United States, my 15-year old son asked me: Why is it that many Americans are supporting Donald Trump when he is saying all these bad things about women, Mexicans and Muslims. Are they as bad as Trump is? My answer was that the overwhelming majority of Trump's supporters are good people and Trump himself may be a good person. My son was confused. I tried to explain: Both Trump and his followers are slaves to a system that is built on a cultural ethos that values competition, material wealth and personal aggrandizement and advancement. This cultural ethos is the ethos of neo-liberal capitalism and is built on the principle of "Each for himself or herself and the devil for the hindermost." Many of Trump's followers genuinely feel threatened by what they perceive to be competition for jobs and state resources, but they wrongly blame new immigrants and other minorities for every single problem in American society. Which brings me to the question: Why does racist intolerance persist when most people know it's bad?

Many people know that racist-tinged intolerance is bad, yet they do nothing to end it. In fact, their inaction contributes to and reinforces intolerance. Racist-inspired intolerance persists not just because people are powerless to challenge and end it, but because it is seen as legitimate in the eyes of many. As Myers (2006) notes, in spite of its oppressive nature, oppressive structures, including racism are considered to be legitimate because people see them as unchangeable, a fact of reality that just *is*. Arguing that racism is **hegemonic**, Myers (2006) states that many people adopt a colorblind attitude toward racism because they have no viable alternatives, and they do not recognize that American society as inherently unfair. When a system is hegemonic, it is so pervasive and taken for granted that people are unable to step back, see it for what it is, and challenge it (Ibid).

The theory of positionality (Giddens, 1984) sheds further light on how racism persists notwithstanding the fact that most people acknowledge

its pernicious effects. The central premise of positionality is that people's positions affect their identities, access to resources, and a range of possible actions. Giddens posits that people carefully negotiate power and privilege in their everyday interactions via reflexivity. Thus, people benefit from acting in ways that insulate rather than threaten their privilege. Myers (2006) points out that, privileges are made possible by one's position in the structure. So, people act rationally when they reinforce structural power differentials, even though such actions help not only to reify but also support and reinforce racism. Racism persists because of real or imagined threats to dominants' material standing, through competition for jobs, housing, schools, etc.

Myers (2006) argues that White Americans have historically fought to insulate and protect themselves from outsiders. The outcome, she points out, was racist oppression. Racism persists because the sense of threat persists. She argues that racism is dialectical, existing at three levels: *structural* (hierarchical), *interactional* and *ideological*. Structural racism allocates differential opportunities on the basis of race. For a hierarchical structure to persist and affect people, they must buy into and subscribe to its procedures. People act; hence racism operates on the interactional level at which they engage in racist practices, both knowingly and unknowingly. People may not view their racist behavior as problematic even if they recognize it. This lack of antiracist-consciousness is explained by *ideological racism, which is a belief system that legitimizes racist structures and practices.* People are born into or migrate to this society in which racism has existed and mutated over centuries. Over time, differential treatment of "people of color" becomes normalized, expected, and *de rigueur*.

Thus, racism, Myers (2006) explains, is hegemonic, in that it is so much part of the fabric of people's past and present lives that it is often invisible or appears to be inevitable. The hegemony of racism makes it difficult to recognize, discuss, and challenge. The socio-economic and political system works to sustain, service, support, and promote the inequitable race relations. Racism and racist-induced intolerance exist in America not because it is run by mean-spirited, evil-minded White bigots. It is not the nature of Whites, but the logic of the system, the rules of the game, if you will, that produce racism and intolerance borne out racial animus. In other words, "it goes with the territory"; if the tables were turned and African Americans were the dominant ethnic/racial group in the USA, for example, they would probably act in the same way Whites are acting now.

Most people choose the path of least resistance (Johnson, 2005). This path of resistance, born out of false consciousness and a general paralysis of will persists for a number of reasons. First, the system (the government and the corporate world) is too powerful to confront, hence they look for scapegoats whom they know are powerless and lack the resources and ability

to strike back to blame for their woes. For example, for years, Western governments in pursuit of their neoliberal agenda, have given away billions of tax dollars to corporations as incentive to create jobs for the domestic economy, only for these corporations to transplant their companies to the so-called Third World countries, in order to exploit cheap labour in these countries to maximize their profits. Year in year out, the corporations keep feeding fat on government corporate welfare to the detriment of workers, who not only lose their jobs, but also see cuts in government social assistance programmes. Governments justify corporate welfare by invoking the "trickledown economics" doctrine by contending that giving tax breaks to corporations is a way to grow the economy, as corporations will plough back that money in creating more jobs. But instead of creating more jobs, a good chunk of that money goes into offshore accounts and or line the pockets of corporate fat cats such as Donald Trump.(See the Bahamas Papers: ICIJ publishes leaked Bahamas info to offshore database)

In some instances, workers are aware of these facts, but find the government and corporate America too powerful to confront, so they look for vulnerable targets—powerless, defenseless "undocumented" immigrants and other minority "aliens" to vent their anger on. Second, governments and corporations are headed mostly by the kith and kin of Euro-American workers. In other words, the commanding heights of the government and corporations are controlled by their parents, uncles, and other relatives. Combine this with the power of the power/ruling elite to use the media and other channels of communication to buy workers' acquiescence or exact compliance through the process of hegemony. Hegemony, as Antonio Gramsci (1971) explained, is an ongoing struggle for dominance by the superordinate and subordinate classes in society, with superordinate classes always winning, thanks to their abiding and pervasive power, bolstered by their control of the forces of coercion—the enforcement, ideological, political and economic apparatuses

Simply put, hegemony is a "style of state politics that preserves control by a leading group on the one hand while instituting economic, social, political and ideological changes on the other" (Muchie and Xing, 2006: 1). The concept hinges on the premise that the ruling elite "maintain a certain degree of consensual hegemony by neutralizing the pressures of various contending forces that might otherwise trigger profound structural transformations" (Ibid.). Hegemony is therefore an expression of broadly based consent, manifested in the acceptance of ideas, and supported by material resources and institutions. The aim and consequence of the hegemonic process is to defuse or neutralize existing and potential threats to the system without inducing a political revolution that could threaten the dominance of the power elite and the *modus operandi* of the system (Ibid.).

Hegemony presupposes counter-hegemony, a nexus of enlightened coercion by the ruling elite and passive consent from the ruled. This give-and-take strategy is made possible via an intricate system of socialization, subtle manipulation and indoctrination of the ruled. For hegemony to be successful, it must be subtle, flexible and adaptable. In other words, the ruling elite must be dynamically responsive to the 'voices' of the ruled in order to have the popular support and legitimacy to maintain stability and power. This also means that the ruling elite must continuously negotiate its legitimacy, must be receptive to the voices of dissent and grievance of the disaffected "masses", and must remove or neutralize points of contention.

The hegemony/counter-hegemony nexus involves resistance and incorporation, coercion and consent; enlightened coercion by the ruling elite and consent from the ruled. Put in another way, the power elite do not simply force their ideas onto the people, but shape and win consent so that the power of the dominant classes appears both legitimate and natural (Dyson, 2003). However, at the same time some individuals and groups oppose these dominant ideas, refusing to conform to the norm. In the end, though, the ruling elite win out and dictate the ideological and political direction of society. They do so very successfully by being flexible, adaptable and responsive to the moods of the changing times and sometimes to the temperament of the ruled. For it is through such flexibility and adaptability that the ruling elite acquire the impetus and "oxygen" needed to maintain its legitimacy (Quist-Adade, 2001).

Thus, hegemony, according to Boggs (1976: 39) is an "organizing principle" that is diffused by the process of socialization into every sphere of daily life. "To the extent that this prevailing consciousness is internalized by the population it becomes part of what is generally called 'common sense' that the philosophy, culture, and morality of the ruling elite comes to appear as the natural order of things."

In the Gramscian scheme of things, the struggle for supremacy is not a zero-sum game. The subordinate classes (ordinary citizens) do have and often do exercise their agency, by resisting the power elite. However, in the end, the power elite wins, precisely because of the asymmetrical power between the two. Remember what happened to the Occupy Movement? The power elite unleashed a whole range of arsenals, including the media and law enforcements agencies to nip the movement in the bud, as it were. The overwhelming majority of the leaders and implementers of their orders are the kith and kin of the Euro-American workers. Third, it is a human tendency to seek to advance and protect self-interest. In our attempts to meet our basic needs of food, shelter, and clothing, we inevitably find ourselves locked in competition with others for the resources these needs demand, which are always relatively scarce. Winners in this struggle must create

social institutions, such as banks or the economy as a whole to protect their resources. They also develop ideologies to justify why they won, and the losers lost. Of course, the winners portray the losers in dismissive, demeaning, and degrading terms. They are written off as genetically inferior, lazy, deficiently endowed, "rapists and criminals" *a la* Trump. Whenever a crisis threatens the status quo, the winners must look for scapegoats, and the more powerful groups in a competitive environment resort to prejudice and outright discrimination for preserving their privilege. (Blumer, 1965) "People whom we cannot tolerate we try to make suspect' (Nietzsche, 1984: 243, as cited in Sica, 2016)[116] Fourth, it is a universal human impulse to use stereotypes to rationalize primitive fears and suspicions. (Berger and Luckman, 1966) People, irrespective of race or ethnicity, use stereotypes as rules of thumb or mental templates as they try to navigate the complex world.

Conclusion

What history teaches is that men do not learn from history, the German philosopher and dialectician, Georg Hegel (1953) wrote. What history also teaches us is that the lessons of tolerance can only be found in the womb of intolerance. It took the worst form of intolerance—the Holocaust and the horrors of WWII for Europe and the rest of the world to appreciate the value of tolerance with all its deficiencies. And its dialectical essence, tolerance, paradoxically emerges from the ashes of intolerance. Both—tolerance and intolerance thrive on and are nurtured by power or lack thereof. Coercive power hastens and pushes intolerance in times of national crises, when vulnerable groups are scapegoated, vilified, criminalized, dehumanized in many cases killed and disappeared. So, learning how the power elite sow the seeds of intolerance will provide valuable lessons on tolerance and social justice, and intolerance for all forms of social discrimination. And finally, anti-intolerance education must be creatively and dialectically praxis-oriented, transcending the classrooms, and lecture halls to communities and the lifeworlds of all constituent "ethno-racial" groups and "constituencies of colour" and transforming social and political structures that distribute valued social goods and resources.

To properly tackle the problems that stem from the twin notions of tolerance and intolerance, there is a need to critically evaluate the conventional approaches to tolerance building that relies exclusively on appealing to the sensibilities of the *intolerator* and pacifying *the intolerated* .Rather than treating victims of social injustice as passive recipients of doses

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116 Nietzsche F (1984) *Human, All Too Human*, trans M Faber with S Lehmann. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

of mercy and remorse from their victimizers, a more nuanced, a complex and holistic approach that accounts for the socio-economic praxis of intolerance, i.e., the economic and political causes of intolerance.

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Endnote

[ii] It is important to stress that not all Whites share the ability, structural power and authority to discriminate against racialized and ethnic minorities.