International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Culture (LLC)

2017 / June

Publisher:

European Scientific Institute, ESI

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Manifestation of Relationship Between Language and Culture Through the Use of Address Expressions in Vietnamese

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Abstract

Every certain language always has a close relationship with its own cultural-social context. Within the scope of Vietnamese, address expressions, as a particular linguistic trait, reflects the bond between language and culture. By analyzing the socio-cultural features of language that affected the way Vietnamese people address each other as well as making some comparison between Vietnamese language and some European languages, this paper explores the characteristics of the address terms and investigates the manifestation of relationship between language and culture through the use of address expressions in Vietnamese.

Keywords: Language, culture, relationship, address expressions, Vietnamese.

Introduction:

Language stores the essence of a nation and reflects the features of a nation's culture. In other words, language is inseparably connected to culture, in which culture values are exposed and supported by language. Hence, it is necessary to thoroughly understand what language is and what culture is in order to clarify their relationship.

The definition of the two terms language and culture is diversified. This paper pursues the following definitions about culture and language: "Culture is the kind of knowledge which we learn from other people, either by direct instruction or by watching their behaviour" (Hudson, 1990); "Culture is the system of spiritual and material values that human being has created throughout history" (Phung, 1975:7). Language is "the systematic, conventional use of sounds, signs or written symbols in a human society for communication and self-expression" Crystal (1971, 1992); "Language is an anonymous, collective and unconscious art; the result of the creativity of thousands of generations" (Sapir, 1921).

Language has various functions, such as describing the reality, expressing ideas, communicating, recording, helping thinking, sensationalizing. Besides, it also has psychological, artistic and religious functions, which are more or less overlap with the function of culture. Hantrais (1989) proposed that "culture is the beliefs and practices governing the life of a society for which a particular language is the vehicle of expression". As a result, culture influenced everyone's views and people described their idea by using the language sculptured by that culture. However, Emmitt and Pollock (1997) argued against the difference in how people see the world depending on the different languages they speak though they might share similarities in behavioral backgrounds or cultural situations. In short, culture influences language and takes an importance role in their relationship. In other words, language expresses, embodies and symbolizes cultural reality.

In Vietnamese, the relationship between language and culture is revealed at every linguistic levels, range from phoneme to text level. This paper is mainly focused on analyzing the relationship between language and culture through the use of address expressions. Besides, the socio-cultural factors: prestige, relationships and attitudes of Vietnamese in their using address expressions are analyzed. Moreover, some comparison between Vietnamese and some European languages are also discussed.

Characteristics of Address Expressions in Vietnamese

Most languages have different ways to denote the speaker and the listener. In comparison with English or other European languages, the Vietnamese system of referential address is much more complex and diversified. For example, the counterparts of English address terms *I* and *you* in the Vietnamese system have "dozens of linguistic forms of various grammatical subclasses" (Luong 1990: 2). The referential address of the interlocutor in Vietnamese can be done with address terms such as personal pronouns, proper nouns, title (status terms, occupational titles; i.e. *giáo sư* [professor], *bác sĩ* [doctor], *kĩ sư* [engineer]) and kinship terms (Luong 1990; Cooke 1968; Nguyen 1999; Cu 2001). All can be "alternatively used to refer to the addressor, the addressee(s), as well as third parties in social interactions" (Luong 1990: 4).

For instance, according to Ngo (2006), in the domain of personal pronouns, Vietnamese can be divided as the following table:

| Type | Persons | | |
	Addressor	Addressee	Third person referent
Singular	Tôi	/	
	Tao	Mày, mi	
	Ta	/	Nó, hắn, y
	Tớ	/	
	Mình	/	
	/	Mình	
Plural	Chúng tôi	/	
	Chúng tao	Chúng mày, bây, chúng bây	
	Ta/ chúng ta		Chúng, chúng nó, họ
	Chúng tớ	/	
	Mình, chúng mình	/	

As shown from the table above, in Vietnamese, the usage of personal pronouns basically indicates intimacy among people which have close relationships such as friends or coevals), or implies disrespect and arrogance towards the other party (addressee or third person pronominal referent). The most neutral personal pronoun to be used in social situations is *tôi* (I). However, the term *tôi* also "presupposes and implies not only the negation of solidarity but also the lack of deference towards the referent" (Luong 1990: 129).

Another important part of Vietnamese address system is kinship terms. As defined by Cooke, kinship terms "are nouns, most of which have a primary meaning denoting blood kin" (1968: 125). Nguyen (1970) claims that there are various kinship terms which appear so frequently, so that it is not only hard for foreign learners of Vietnamese but even problematical for Vietnamese natives to use them properly. According to Luong (1990: 37), when addressing kinfolk or non-relatives, "Vietnamese kinship terms are used not only for third-party reference, but pervasively also in address and self-reference" to deliver the degree of intimacy or familarity (disrespectful or respectful, intimate or distant).

Most of kinship terms in English or other European languages have their equivalents in Vietnamese but not vice versa. For example, such terms which are translated as 'older uncle' (*bác trai*), 'younger uncle' (chú), 'older aunt' (*bác gái*), "younger aunt' (*dì*), 'maternal grandmother' (*bà ngoại*), 'paternal grandfather' (*ông nội*), and 'male/female cousin' (*anh/chị họ*) have no equivalents in English.

All in all, compared to European languages, the features of address expressions in Vietnamese show its unique cultural character. While pronouns in European language have important role (center factor) among address expressions and have high neutral expressivity of word, the case in

Vietnamese is reversed. Additionally, in European language, kinship terms are rarely being shifted to address expressions whereas in Vietnamese this situation is common which leads to the fact that kinship terms tend to familialize social relations (especially in office communication, e.g. the words such as *chú* [uncle], *bác* [uncle], *anh* [older/big brother], *em* [younger/little brother/sister], *cháu* [nephew/niece] are used frequently instead of pronouns; or occupational expressions, e.g. director, manager).

In brief, there are five features of the Vietnamese address expression. The first one is to *have large quantity*. Second, the address expressions are *not homogeneous in use*. To be more specific, the same address word can participate in different communication roles, e.g. The address word "mình" (I, you) can be either first person pronoun or second person pronoun. The address word "ta" (I, we) can be used as either single or plural forms.). The third feature is that the address expressions in Vietnamese *have high rate of homonym and synonym phenomena*. Because many address words proceed from kinship words, the overlap between address words and kinship words is the fourth feature of Vietnamese address expressions. Lastly, Vietnamese address expressions *have high affective meaning and low neutral expressivity of word*.

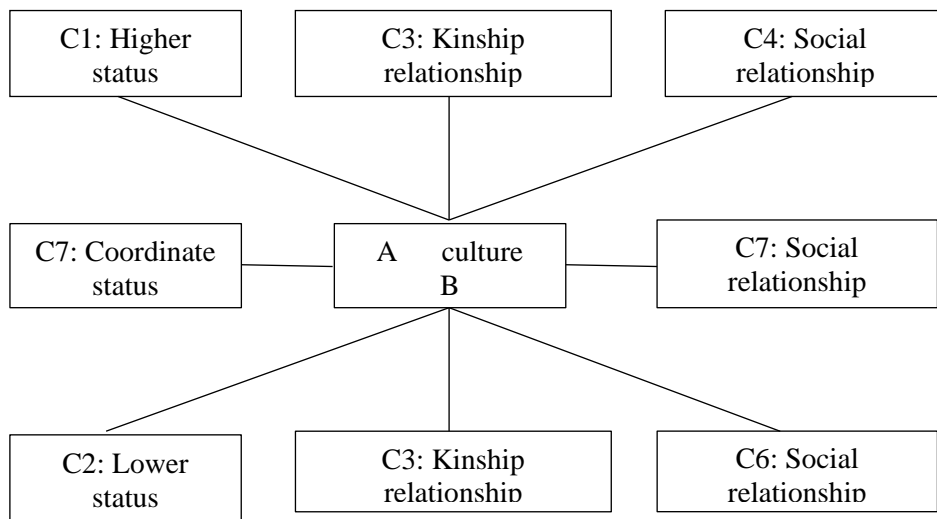## Socio-cultural Features of the Use of Address Expressions in Vietnam

Socioculturally, Vietnamese people value modesty and harmonious relations with each other because Vietnamese culture connects deeply with social factors such as *prestige* which obtained with social status/role, age, educational level and occupation, *relationships* which involved blood kin and acquaintanceship (intimate or distant) and *attitudes* which illustrated the degree of respect towards others. In actual communication, the use of Vietnamese address expressions is very complicated. Both the usage and the meanings of them are inseparably "linked to the power, solidarity, and formality dimensions in the relations" among all parties (the addressor, addressee and the referred parties) (Luong 1990: 5). As a result, in order to choose the appropriate terms in communication, users need to consider not only the socio-cultural factors, such as social status, relationship, attitudes and feelings of the speaker and the listener, but also the formality of the context (Luong 1990; Nguyen 1999).

Besides, the attitudes and feelings of the speaker and the listener cannot be ignored when choosing address expressions. The election or alteration of address term is decided by ones' attitude or feelings towards their interlocutor. Take an excerpt in the representative realistic novel of the early 20th century "Tắt đèn" [When the light is out] written by the well-known Vietnamese author Ngô Tất Tố (1937) as an example. In chapter 18, in the conversation between the heroine Dậu and the gaolers, at first, because

of concern and anxiety for her husband, Dậu was begging the gaolers and called them *ông* and appointed herself as *cháu*, i.e. "Hai *ông* làm phúc nói với *ông* lí hãy cho *cháu* khất" [Please, Mister, I am begging you to let me delay the debt until next time]. In this case, the address term *ông* is used to address the person with higher/superior social status while *cháu* is to demonstrate a person with much lower social position. Then when Dậu's husband facing a death threaten, Dậu changed her address expressions towards the gaoler from *ông-cháu* to *ông-tôi*, which made her equal to them, i.e. "Chồng *tôi* đang ốm, *ông* không được phép hành hạ" [My husband is sick, you have no right to maltreat him]. However, the gaolers did not take Dậu seriously and continued to ill-treat Dậu and her husband, then Dậu attitude became more and more drastic with a fierce ressistance. At this point, Dậu totally shifted her attitude towards the gaolers from apprehension to defiance. She called them *mày* and appoined herself *bà*; this addressing pair *mày-bà* is the extremely disregarded/despise expressions to address interlocutors, i.e. "*Mày* trói chồng bà đi, *bà* cho mày xem" [Dare you to tie my husband, I will show you hell]. Through the example, it can be seen that the use of address terms in Vietnamese helps to clearly show the personalities and relationships between the characters and indicate the changes in their relationships and attitudes towards each other. Thus, attitudes and feelings of the writer towards his/her characters are conveyed.

Manifestation of Relationship between Language and Culture through the Use of Address Expressions in Vietnamese

According to the theory of communication, a conversation is effective if participants perform their role properly. In Vietnamese, the use of address expressions clearly shows the culture in behavior of communication. The process of communication in relationships is governed by many different factors:

C1: Higher status	C3: Kinship relationship	C4: Social relationship
C7: Coordinate status	A culture B	C7: Social relationship
C2: Lower status	C3: Kinship relationship	C6: Social relationship

A, B: Participants

C: Factor governs the use of address expressions ➡ Culture is shown by using suitable address expressions following the relationships in the model above

In reality, in communication, Vietnamese people are under the governance of kinship and social relationships. This governance is strengthened in terms of history and formation of customs, communication habits. If one person wants to communicate with another person, s/he usually refers to that person's age with her/his family members or relatives in order to set up the suitable address expressions to suit the cultural habits or the regional culture. E.g. if the other partner is a male who is at the same age as your older brother, so he is addressed as "anh", and you call yourself "em"; if the other partner is a female who is about the same age as your mother, so you call her "cô" (North dialect) or "dì" (South dialect) or even "bác" (more respectful way of addressing) and call yourself "cháu".

Considered address expressions system, it can be said that the relationship between language and culture in Vietnamese is more plentiful than European languages. The following table illustrates the difference between Vietnamese and some European languages (English, Russian, and French):

Language	First person	Second person
English	I	You
Russian	Ja	tư/vư
French	Je	tu/ vous
Vietnamese	tôi/ta	cụ; ông/bà; bác; bố/mẹ; chú/cậu; cô/dì; anh/chị; nàng; mình; bạn; em; cậu; bạn; con; ngươi; người; cháu

In Vietnamese, the address expression "tôi" takes the center place. It can be used between all relationships (difference in age and social status). Its neutrality is higher than other first person address expressions, however, it cannot be compared to the address expressions in English, Russian or French. For example, "I" (English), Ja (Russian) or Je (French) could not create address expressions pairs in which the attitude of participants in a conversation cointains affective meaning. In contrary, "tôi" in Vietnamese can perform affective meaning well.

E.g.

1. *Tôi* và *ông* không thù oán gì sao ông lại gây sự với tôi?

(*I* and *you* have no hard feelings, why do you want to pick a quarrel with me?)

→ Show unpleasant, upset or furious attitude

2. *Tôi* và *ông* vào quán uống nước đi.

(Let *I* and *you* (us) have a drink together.)

→ Show the close and equal relationship (may be between friends or colleague)

3. *Tôi* đã gửi thư cho *em*, *em* có nhận được không?

(*I* sent *you* a letter, did *you* receive?)

→Show an intimate relationship (possibly between lovers)

4. *Tôi* nói với *anh* mấy lần rồi?

(How many times did *I* tell *you*?)

→Show angry attitude

The examples above show that the relationship between "tôi" and other address expressions is not accurately decided by the high-low social status or old-young in age, but always have the flexible shift which depends on communication position and the attitude of speakers at different contexts.

Conclusion

It is a fact that language is important closely attached to culture. Culture encompasses and influences language presentation. Language and the use of language are inseparable from culture; it has the role to reflect, maintain and exchange culture.

Since the Vietnamese language concerns with the achievement of interpersonal relations between the self and the non-self, it influences people in the way they communicate with each other, especially through how they address their interlocutors. To address another person, the speaker needs to choose a proper linguistic form. Then, the intention of the speaker is both to establish communication and to initiate and maintain some kinds of relation with his/her interlocutor. By investigating the use of address expressions in Vietnamese, the relationship between language and culture is exposed.

The complexity of the relationship among address expressions in Vietnamese between the first person and the second person is just being presented partially. In reality, it depends on specific context, socio-cultural factors (prestige, relationship and attitudes) one's own experience. In other words, address expressions in Vietnamese is an open system, which reflects the characteristics of Vietnamese culture: flexibility and activeness.

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'The New Internationalism' and Ishiguro's Time Perspective in When We Were Orphans (2000)

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Abstract

Kazuo Ishiguro shares with other writers who belong to 'the new internationalism' the same concerns regarding the rapid social changes and the instinct to survive in such a world. In all his novels the contrast between the older Japanese culture and the modern Western world with its individualism and self-centeredness has been clearly emphasized. While he is being critical of Japan's past, he is also fully aware of all its complexity and attractiveness. In the first of Ishiguro's novels a character tells the storyteller: "it's good to take a glance back now and then, it helps keep things in perspective." We can propose that all his subsequent novels have had the focus on the truth of this sentence. Ishiguro has been trying to investigate to what extent it is desirable to return to the past; whether it is valuable for the future and for the possible catharsis, or if if it confuses most of us and returns us to the world that we cannot modify anywhere except in our imagination. All Ishiguro's heroes have been searching for the explanation of how and why they have become what they are, but only in his fifth novel, 'When We Were Orphans', he creates a professional detective as a narrator.

Keywords: The new internationalism, time perspective, national identity.

Introduction:
Kazuo Ishiguro and "the new internationalism"

The name of Kazuo Ishiguro is often mentioned in the same context of "the new internationalism" with Timothy Mo and other writers of their generation. He is probably best known for his third novel, *Remains of the Day* (1989). This work was awarded the Man Booker Prize for Fiction in 1989. However, his recent novel, *When we were orphans* (2000) is closer to the international writing. The novel deals with the psychological trauma of the main character who moved to England from war-affected Shanghai.

In the mid-eighties when Ishiguro's career was on the rise, in the British Council's pamphlets representing British writers it was written; "*I consider myself an international writer*" below his photograph. Since then,

many academic critics have been dealing with this issue and have been trying to define what exactly "*an international writer*" means. The term is generally used to indicate Ishiguro's Japanese origin, as well as a wide range of themes that have universal appeal that can be found in his novels. Salman Rushdie celebrates this feature of Ishiguro's creativity, explaining that he carried out; "*brilliant subversion of the fictional modes"* when dealing with broad issues such as *"death, change, pain, and evil*". (Wong, 2000: 7)

　　　Kazuo Ishiguro shares with other writers who belong to "the new internationalism" the same concerns regarding the rapid social changes and the instinct to survive in such a world. In all his novels the contrast between the older Japanese culture and the modern Western world with its individualism and self-centeredness has been clearly emphasized. While he is being critical of Japan's past, he is also fully aware of all its complexity and attractiveness.

　　　He insists that the concept of "an international writer" includes the literary aims, not only one's nationality. One of the most intriguing themes in the novel *When we were orphans* is the topic of national identity, primarily the English, and then the Japanese. This is one of the key issues in all Ishiguro's works. The writer wants to investigate the extent to which national characteristics are innate, whether they can be adopted and how much social circumstances matter. It seems that the concepts of homelessness, dislocation and everything that they may imply are a useful means of researching the complexity and richness of Ishiguro's writing.

I.:
When We Were Orphans and the question of national identity

　　　In the context of post-colonial and multiethnic writing, one of the most important topics in this novel is the question of national identity, particularly English rather than Japanese. Christopher Banks, the main character and the narrator, grew up in Shanghai surrounded by people of different nationalities: the Chinese, the Japanese, the Germans and the Americans. One day Banks asks a family friend, uncle Philip, with a child-like naivety how to become more English.[1] (Ishiguro, 2000: 76) He is amazed by the Christopher's question, especially when the boy adds that his

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1 [*"Uncle Philip, I was just wondering. How do you suppose one might become more English?' 'More English?' He stopped whatever it was he was doing and looked at me. Then, with a thoughtful expression, he came nearer, pulled a chair up to the desk and sat down.'Now why would you want to be more English than you are, Puffin?' 'I just thought... well, I just thought I might.' 'Who says you're not sufficiently English already?' 'No one really.' Then after a second I added: 'But I think perhaps my parents think so.' 'And what do you think, Puffin? Do you think you ought to be more English?' 'I can't tell really, sir."*] p. 76.

parents are those who believe that he is not English enough. Philip was aware that in the multicultural environment in which Christopher grows up he may become "*a bit of a mongrel*". [2] (Ishiguro, 2000: 76) Philip tries to comfort Christopher with the words that people need to belong somewhere, to a certain nation and a race, and that otherwise who knows what would happen - it is possible that our civilization would be completely ruined.

Peter Childs interprets Banks' question as the one that explicitly addresses an issue that runs under the surface of most of Ishiguro's work: the extent to which national characteristics are bred in the bone and/or can be acquired. More importantly perhaps, his question implicitly queries the signs and symbols of shared identity that are as much debated by Ishiguro's critics, often too keen to identify the Japanese qualities of a writer who concerns himself with universal themes, as they are explored in various ways by the novels themselves. (Childs, 2005: 135)

Therefore, the statement that Ishiguro's home is "*a halfway house, neither Japanese nor English, somewhere in-between departure and arrival, nostalgia and anticipation*" should not surprise us at all. (Lewis, 2000: 1) In short, he is one of the many repressed and exiled, in the time of alienation, in which this kind of homelessness has become so common. Modern societies have changed, increased the frequency the lives of individuals from day to day through social mobility and frequent changes of residence. In fact, since Ishiguro shows the spirit of homeless people it can be very useful to study his fiction in terms of resettlement and relocation, and determine what the effects they have on his themes, characters and style.

The temporal perspective: *Reconstructing one's past*

In the first Ishiguro's novel a character tells the storyteller: "*it's good to take a glance back now and then, it helps keep things in perspective.*" All his subsequent novels have had the focus on the truth of this sentence. Ishiguro has been trying to investigate to what extent it is desirable to return to the past, whether it is valuable for the future and for a possible catharsis, or it confuses most of us and returns us to the world that we cannot modify anywhere except in our imagination.

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2 [*'Well, it's true, out here, you're growing up with a lot of different sorts around you. Chinese, French, Germans, Americans, what have you. It'd be no wonder if you grew up a bit of a mongrel.'... 'But that's no bad thing. You know what I think, Puffin? I think it would be no bad thing if boys like you all grew up with a bit of everything. We might all treat each other a good deal better then. Be less of these wars for one thing. Oh yes. Perhaps one day, all these conflicts will end, and it won't be because of great statesmen or churches or organisations like this one. It'll be because people have changed. They'll be like you, Puffin. More a mixture. So why not become a mongrel? It's healthy.'*] pp. 76-77.

Ishiguro's position of someone who was born in Japan but raised and educated in Britain, gives him the possibility of having "intriguing impartial or double perspective." (Head, 2002: 156) Even in his early novels that have Japanese characters, he uses the material with the conventions of Japanese courtesy. This preoccupation is developed in the novel *Remains of the Day* through the style of his narrator and aging butler Stevens, and there we can make a comparison between the two types of restraint and diffidence. It is not irrelevant to note that the action of the novel takes place in July 1956, during the Suez crisis, a catastrophic episode of British history. Many historians have acknowledged that this episode marked the end of its military imperial power. Although there is no clear connection between these events and the story in the novel, the feeling of this important historical event hovers all the time.

We can formulate that in the novel *When We Were Orphans* Ishiguro deliberately creates the impression of 'temporary repression' for his readers. His aim is to evoke Christopher's dislocation and repression, concerning both culture and his family. The cultural exclusion prevents him from feeling at home in England. In an attempt to alleviate the feeling of not belonging, he suppresses unpleasant childhood memories, trying to convince himself that the past, if it is successfully restored, would help him finally feel at home somewhere. (Cappo, 2009)

The feeling of repression and dislocation in readers is created by Christopher's narrative that begins at one time, and then moves to the other in such a way that it creates in us imbalanced feelings that are the characteristics of repression. The novel begins with the heading 'Part One: *London, 24th July 1930*', and then on the first page we read first Christopher's words: *'It was the summer of 1923, the summer I came down from Cambridge, when...'* (Ishiguro, 2000: 3) Thus the reader finds himself in the story seven years earlier than he thought when starting a novel. It is on page 37 that Christopher describes the events of the previous evening (23rd of July), and soon after the end of this anecdote he begins 'Part Two: *London, 15th May 1931*' (Ishiguro, 2000: 49) where he describes himself as a six year-old in Shanghai in 1910. Christopher is yet to look back at the event which is, in fact, being actualized presently, in the title of the chapter. Only on rare occasions he presents himself as someone who reflects on the past, using the words 'looking back now' or 'looking back today', and thus allows the reader to go back to a time and place that is promised in the title of the chapter. Only in the sixth part, the story finally corresponds to the title, but until then, Christopher's narration is relocated in the sense that the referred events are being shifted from their place in the past and presented in rather lengthy flashbacks that are easy to mix up with current events. Christopher's

past often acts as removed present, and his present seems as relocated as his past.

Therefore, a reader feels no less than Christopher - lost in time, and often wrongly interpreting the time periods in his narrative. It seems that Christopher himself writes these titles that are misleading us. Memories written in the first seventy pages of the novel are the result of Christopher's "*sitting down ... to gather in some sort of order these things he still remembers*". (Ishiguro, 2000: 70) Yet, he never openly says that he is the writer of his story. In fact, if he kept a diary his entries would be very long[3], and in the novel there is no confirmation that he does that. After the first seventy pages, even a hint of keeping diary is being lost, and the titles as a part of Christopher's story represent only harmless indications when describing the valuable memories of a few years. Ishiguro's intention concerning these titles is now becoming clear - they are a clever way to put the reader in a mental situation that will later turn out to be Christopher's own: one always thinks he can measure and assess a certain situation, but is never quite right.

Conclusion

All Ishiguro's heroes have been searching for the explanation of how and why they have become what they are, but only in his fifth novel, *When We Were Orphans*, he then creates a professional detective as a narrator. There is no doubt that the reconstruction of one's own history, origin and identity are the central themes in the novel. Because of the alienation and repression that torment him in the present, the protagonist gives his best to reconstruct his past.

Diana Postlethwaite also falls into Ishiguro's trap when he says that "*One day (24 July 1930, we're quite precisely informed), Christopher Banks runs into a casual acquaintance from his university days.*" (Postlethwaite, 2001: 164) By contrast, we are totally misinformed. The meeting did not take place on July 24, 1930, as it says in the title, but in the summer of 1923, as his first words vaguely alluded. Ishiguro blurs the boundaries between the past and the present, to the extent that it is difficult to distinguish what belongs to one and what to the other.

We may conclude that Ishiguro uses the narrative structure to uncover the structure of the narrator's unconscious. (Finney, 2006: 148) It is apparent that as the story progresses, Christopher is increasingly attempting to revive his childhood memories confusing the meaning and the differences between his past and his present. This ambiguity between yesterday and today in the novel has a dual role: to reflect the psychological turmoil within

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3 The extract with the title "*London, 15th May 1931*" is 80 pages long.

the hero on the one hand and to point to the Ishiguro's intention to put readers in Christopher's situation on the other. Mainly thanks to the titles that are misleading us and the irregular chronological order of the events, readers of Christopher's story witness undergoing the temptation to which he eventually succumbs - to call what happens now the past, and what has already happened the present.

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The Reality Effect in Early Muslim Literature

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Abstract

For the purposes of this paper, reality is considered to be absolute, while its perceptions are multiple and subjective – as are the original historical accounts. Legends, on the contrary, lack detail and represent a harmonious logical sequence of events. Early Muslim writings such as Ibn Saʿd's works and Ḥadith, coming on the heels of pre-Islamic poetry with its abundance of descriptive details, continued the use of *Jahiliah* rhetoric techniques in an effort to provide precision to the historical account. While the variations in Ḥadiths' versions are a natural feature of oral traditions put into writing, it creates contradictions that sought a solution through the process of source authentication. However, the authenticity of the source does not automatically equate with the reliability of the content.

The 'minimum common denominator' method used by the early Ḥadith collectors for establishing the truthfulness of a Ḥadith resulted in proliferation of texts with the least details, shaping them into the form of a legend. Described by Roland Barthes (1970) as *l'effet de réel*, these methods of representing reality through providing extensive anachronistic details, and incorporation of historical characters alongside mythical events began to be intentionally applied only when early Muslim texts started being used as the basis for lawmaking: the insignificant details were removed to avoid contradiction and provide cohesiveness, while the new anachronistic details were added to provide authority, and "help" establish authenticity.

This paper reviews the relationship between authenticity and reality, analyzes the role of details of early Muslim literature in producing the *reality effect*, and discusses the attitudes of classical and modern scholars towards this problem.

Introduction: Is there a devil in the details?

When a reader is presented with a narrative, how do we know what is fiction and what is reality? When scholars peruse through manuscripts, how can they figure out which characters are fictional and which are real? In a

miraj story of the Prophet Muḥammad, how can we determine if his companion Burak really existed or was he just a product of the imagination?

In this paper, I study the role of details in the production of reality. I argue that details are one of the most important parts of the reality litmus test. Details are important in historical texts as they are important in modern times in determining what is true, and what is just a fictional story, or a legend. For example, in our days, when you are summoned by the INS[4] for a Green Card interview, you have to prove that your claim of having marital relations with an American citizen is **true**; so they ask you about seemingly insignificant and unrelated details: the brand of the garbage bags, the color of the bathroom tiles, the position of the mailbox, and so on. In contrast, when training KGB[5] agents to **credibly** represent a new identity, the focus is on the creation of a cohesive *legend*, a story that flows logically through the known past events and connects them with the present. The details are discussed only schematically.

A similar disparity can be observed in early Muslim literature. Some *Ḥadiths* and *sīras*[6] burst forth with an extraordinary number of minute details, such as color, length, density and position of the hair on the Prophet Muḥammad's body. There is even mention of the shape of his comb (Haq, 1990). On the other hand, the Ḥadiths were deemed "certainly truthful" (*mutawātir*) if they were spread "through textually identical channels of transmission which are sufficiently numerous as to preclude any possibility of collaboration on a forgery" (Hallaq, 1999, p. 78). The identical match requirement of this selection methodology would automatically favor texts with the most basic common denominator, i.e., the texts with the least number of details.

Additionally, the **truthfulness** of the Ḥadith should be ascertained through their **authenticity**; achieved by lengthy *isnāds* (sequence) of trustworthy transmitters. This is problematic; if the authenticity condition is a **necessary** requirement for Ḥadith truthfulness, is it also **sufficient**? And why was it important to establish this truthfulness then and why is it relevant now?

In this paper, I will review the relationship between authenticity and reality, analyze the role of details in early Muslim literature in producing

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4 Immigration and Naturalization Service in the United States, infamous for its exhausting interviews of those who seek American residence on the basis of marriage to an American citizen.

5 Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopastnosti (Internal Intelligence Service in the former Soviet Union).

6 *Ḥadiths* represent textual version of Prophet Muḥammad's sayings, while *sīras* refer to descriptions of his life.

fiction and reality and discuss the attitudes of classical and modern scholars towards this issue.

Reality and its perceptions

The most commonly used terms are usually also the most approximate. Mikhail Blok

What is reality? Although everybody intuitively knows the answer, a myriad of scholars across various fields debate this subject. I believe that the issue should be split into two parts, whereby the reality itself may be an unambiguous absolute, while the perceptions of reality by various observers are multiple and subjective. Furthermore, similar perceptions may result in different descriptions, leading to an even greater number of variations in the representations of reality.

Representations can be either visual or textual,[7] and the scope of this paper concerns the latter. Reality in textual Muslim literature is transformed into its symbolic-imaginary form: textual representation ("le semblant" in Lacan's (1966) definition) through the medium of language. During this transformation, the outcomes are subjective and ambiguous. However, "cette ambiguité n'est pas une imperfection de la conscience ou de l'éxistence, elle en est la définition" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945, p. 26). It is no coincidence that empirical research (Leroy, 2014) has demonstrated that a single type of variation of the stimuli can result in three types of the verbal responses,[8] each representing the truthful description of the perception of a respondent.

The importance of the differences in perceptions of the same instance of reality is determined by the purpose of observation. The difference in cloth or a hairstyle is meaningless for a medical description, but very relevant to a religious one. Thus, the **true** importance of details in representation of reality depends on their relevance to the subject matter. In the effort to get away from insignificant details, a new type of Ḥadith classification based on the **underlying meaning** of the text (*al-tawātur al-maʿnawī*) was introduced in the middle of the 9th – early 10th century. Nevertheless, the original **literal** match (*al-tawātur al-lafẓī*) was still considered to possess superior certainty on the basis of a larger number of matching details (regardless of whether they were relevant or not). This type of classification implies that the larger number of details creates **an impression** of a more precise, thus truthful representation of reality. What does make people think so?

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7 By "visual" I refer to images and not to written texts, which are essentially visual in their sensor reception. "Textual" means written and spoken information.
8 The subjects were exposed to two consecutive instances of lightning and asked to describe the difference between the two. The unassisted replies were given in terms of 1) distance (far/close); 2) speed (fast/slow); 3) intensity (strong/weak).

The reality effect

Roland Barthes (1970) who studied in depth *l'effet de réel* maintains that details are one of the main tools used by authors to provide a text with the effect of reality (p. 80-81). Details can be either descriptive or numerical, and create an impression that the author was indeed present at the scene s/he describes (and is, therefore, able to describe it through **any** level of details).[9] The problem, of course, arises from the fact that eyewitnesses of an event have a limited ability to remember **all** the details, and their perception of the details is subjective, leaving the great possibility that their accounts would be different.

In the account of the qualities of the constitution of the Prophet Muḥammad (Haq, 1990, pp. 484-503), Abraham Ibn Muḥammad quotes Ali stating that the Prophet had "body without hair," and that "his hairs were neither curly nor straight," while "a person among al-Ansar" quotes the same Ali saying "the hair from his neck to navel were like a branch of a tree," and "his hair was straight without curls (Haq, 1990, p. 484)."

Abraham Ibn Muḥammad says, "his complexion was white," while as per Nafi‘Ibn Jubayr Ibn Mut‘im, Ali said he had a "reddish complexion (Haq, 1990, p. 485)." Other reported color variations range from "shining white," to "tawny" and "darkly whitish." The Prophet's hair either "fall over his shoulders" (al-Bara), or "are not allowed to pass his ear" (Anas). He either advises dying the gray hair "to oppose the Jews and Christians" (Abu Hurayrah), or "dislikes the changing of the color of gray hair" (Abdullah). Sometimes Muḥammad applies collyrium "to either of his eyes trice at the time of sleep" (Ibn Abbas), while other times apparently only "twice to the left eye" ('Imrān Ibn Abā Anas) (Haq, 1990, p. 485-503).

The question is not really whether these accounts are intrinsically true or not, as the hair could grow, the skin could become tainted under the sunlight, and the Prophet could change his eye make-up habits as he pleased. The real question here is what was the purpose of recording such seemingly insignificant details? If details indeed create an impression of the informant's intimate knowledge of the events, and his closeness to the Prophet, then they can serve another purpose: to establish informant's reputation as a credible source, and to provide an authority to his **other**, even unrelated statements. This logic could work as follows: if the informant was so familiar with the Prophet's appearance, and has such a good memory that he could even remember that the Prophet's shoes had two laces, and his comb was made of ivory, then the informant's account of an important event should also be credible. Thus, one could conclude that the credibility of a narrator was an important part of establishing textual authentication.

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9 "What can be more "real"… than a date" – exclaims Barthes (1970, p. 207).

The question of authenticity

Unlike scholars of other fields such as classicists or Egyptologists, the Middle Eastern scholars were especially preoccupied with the issue of source authenticity, which dealt with the question of whether the statements attributed to particular people were indeed theirs. However, some[10] do not consider it as an important question, suggesting that source authenticity does not automatically confirm the accuracy of the transmission. Nevertheless, the authenticity of early Muslim texts has been a subject of much heated debate since the pre-modern period. In modern times, Ignaz Goldziher (1971) began a discourse about the Ḥadiths that has now been expanded to encompass more than 200 articles and three-dozen books. Within this discourse, the authenticity of the Ḥadiths was questioned within the framework of source criticism that analyzed the reliability of primary and secondary sources. For the purpose of this paper, the final verdict regarding the number of Ḥadiths which are really authentic is not as important as the argument on which such a verdict is based. It turns out that scholars based the Ḥadith authenticity on the reliability of its *isnād* (chain of transmitters). The most reliable ones (*saḥīḥ*) are those that were "transmitted in an uninterrupted manner by persons all of whom, from the first tier to the last, are known for their just character (*'udūl*) and **excellent memory** (*dabṭ*) (Hallaq, 1999, p. 85)." After all, how would we know if someone had an excellent memory, if not by the number of details he remembers? An interesting topic of research might be an analysis of the relationship between the narrator's perceived reliability, and the number of details he/she provides, but such research is beyond the scope of this paper.

In some cases, when the details were insufficient and a Ḥadith was considered "weak," referring to the ultimate authority (who would obviously have the most just character and the best memory of all), God, could have enhanced Ḥadith reliability - as it is done in the 40 Ḥadith Qudsi (Rubin, 1995).

While this hypothesis shows how the details can be used in the argument for source authenticity, it does not equate source authenticity with the ability of the narrator to represent reality – for, as it has been explained previously, perceptions of reality can be very subjective. In short, there are two issues that should be treated separately, if not independently: source authenticity, and the truth within the representation of reality. I will next turn to the different narrative types used in non-fiction texts.

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10 E.g. Michael Morony (personal communication) and Wael Hallaq (see arguments in Hallaq (1999)).

From history to legend

In his study concerning representation of reality, Erich Auerbach (1968) contrasts Homer's narrative style with that of the Old Testament. Homer's detailed narrative is "externalized, uniformly illuminated phenomena… in a perpetual foreground," while the Jewish writers emphasize "only the decisive points… what lies between is nonexistent (Auerbach, 1968, p.11)." Auerbach concludes that "The Homeric poems conceal nothing… thus **he cannot be interpreted** (Auerbach, 1968, p.13)."

If "the ambiguity is the result of insufficient amount of information (Leroy, 2014, p. 3)," then the role of details is to decrease ambiguity, therefore eliminating the need for interpretation. However, in real life, the number of details of an event is infinite before even considering the perception of participants. In his book, Auerbach concludes that "**the historical event** which we witness, or learn from the testimony of those who witnessed it, runs much more variously, contradictorily, and confusedly," while the "**legend** arranges its material in a simple and straightforward way; it detaches it from its contemporary historical context, so that the latter will not confuse it; it knows only clearly outlined men who act from few and simple motives and the continuity of whose feelings and actions remains uninterrupted (Auerbach, 1968, p.19)."

Auerbach's conclusion reconciles Barthes' call for details and Ibn Saʿd's contradictory accounts. While the narrators were zealously supplying details in Ḥadiths in order to demonstrate historicity (Barthes), they did perceive reality in different ways (Ibn Saʿd). Thus the details diverged – a normal feature of historical discourse (Auerbach). On the other hand, during the process of Ḥadith authentication, those with fewer details have, paradoxically, higher propensity of being chosen, as more people would remember the general idea as opposed to idiosyncratic details. As a result of this "natural selection," historical events took on legendary forms. Deprived of details and/or context, they became harmonious, but required interpretation.

According to Chase Robinson (2003), "it is a nature of pre-modern historiography that the transformation of event witnessed or remembered into story recorded and transmitted was perilous…accuracy as to "fact" was much less important than validity as to life-vision… historical truth in the Middle Ages was a perishable commodity (Robinson, 2003, p.153)."

From legend to history

If an historical event becomes a legend by losing details and harmonizing its plot into a logical sequence, can a reverse process be observed where a legend can attempt to become history by adding the attributes of reality as in Barthes' model? I will further discuss two legendary

descriptions: the night travel of Prophet Muḥammad to Jerusalem and back in Ibn Hisham's *sīra* (Ibn Hisham, 2003, pp. 163-72),[11] and the story of the Queen of Sheba in the Quran.

In the first story, the reality effect is achieved using two techniques: dramatic details and introduction of historical figures. In a matter of one night, Prophet Muḥammad travels on a winged horse, Al-Burāk, to Jerusalem, from where he ascends to God's throne, and then returns to Mecca. The story is rich in dialogue, a rhetorical method that was "invented as a matter of course (Robinson, 2003, p.153)."

The method of adding details is used in various ways. The legendary angel Jibrīl is rendered real by abundant and quite dramatic details of his **actions**: Jibrīl kicks Muḥammad with the foot (twice) to wake him up, takes him by his shoulder, and puts his hand on Al-Burāk's mane (Ibn Hisham, 2003, p. 164). Al-Burāk is humanized by the details of its feelings: "he felt ashamed so much that he started sweating (Ibn Hisham, 2003, p. 164)." The prominent historical characters – Abraham, Moses, and Jesus are introduced as another tool of the reality effect; they witness Muḥammad's ascension to heaven. All of them are described in great detail: Moses is tall and thin with curly hair and an "eagle nose," Jesus is "a handsome man with straight hair and freckles," and Abraham simply looks just like Muḥammad (Ibn Hisham, 2003, p. 166). Most interestingly, the description of Muḥammad's appearance that occupies several pages in Ibn Saʿd is reduced by Ibn Hisham to one paragraph containing the most frequently repeated qualities: black eyes, long eye-lashes, and fleshy palms and feet, thus making descriptive inconsistencies disappear.

Inclusion of this concise physical description of the Prophet as a **separate section *within* the story of travel** (Ibn Hisham, 2003, p. 166) could have served another purpose. Mixing most probably very real details about Muḥammad, with fictitious details about mythical Jibrīl, Al-Burāk, and historical Moses, Jesus, and Abraham, makes the whole story appear more "real" if one agrees to believe in miracles, which was quite normal in pre-modern times. On the other hand, when it comes to proving that Muḥammad did visit Jerusalem, the narrator is suddenly very vague, and does not provide any details about what the Prophet saw in the city, instead stating "they were confirmed by Abu Bakr who had been to Jerusalem before (Ibn Hisham, 2003, p. 165)." This begs the question: why not share these details with the audience?

The second narrative about the Queen of Sheba also lacks dramatic details, but uses the historical figure of King Salomon. This story is what Robinson calls "topoi, images or passages that occur so frequently that they

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11 Quotes from Russian sources are in my translation into English.

can only be counted as narrative motifs (Robinson, 2003, p.152)." Indeed, it vagabonds from the Torah, to the Gospels, to the Quran; each time changing the "moral of the story." Bilqīs Al-Hadrani (1994) argues that the story in the Torah represents the economic relationships between the Hebrews and the Sabaeans, while Muslims value the story for the Queen's conversion to Islam. The details that adorn the story in the Qu'ran are "miraculous" rather than realistic, and thus the story is "more productive in fanciful storytelling than scholarly *tafsi (*Stowasser, 1994, p. 73)." Should this lead us to conclude that quality and abundance of details contributing to the *reality effect* are more significant, and historical characters alone – without realistic details, will not render the legend true? The next question then would be how the details are used.

Different trees that make up a forest

Based on the analysis of numerous fictional and historical texts and art pieces, Russian linguist Boris Uspensky (2000) introduced the notion of "spatial-temporal point of view (Uspensky, 2000, pp. 261-63)," i.e., the focal point of a narrative. This is akin to a close-up camera shot, whereby only the subject in focus can be seen in detail, leaving the vague peripheral objects in the background. The perspective (as a feature of reality) in art is achieved by diminishing the number of details as the viewer moves away from the main object of the painting into the background. Similarly, the main character of the text is usually described in much detail, while the secondary figures remain quite schematic, and even allegoric. This opinion is consistent with what we saw in Ibn Saʿd (Hallaq, 1999) and Ibn Hisham (2003). In the travel story, the virtual focus moves from Jibrīl, to Al-Burāk, to previous prophets, to culminate in the whole section on Muḥammad's physical characteristics.

Details describe not only the superficial appearances; they are even more powerful when it comes to emotions, expressions, and personal characteristics. Gombrich (1960) argues that expressive details assign identity to portraits, while the classical Greek beauty is essentially emotionless and thus unreal. In the texts, however, the situation is a bit different, as there is a standard range of "polished" emotions (rejoiced, got angry, etc.) that do not necessarily provide the reality effect to the narrative, but other, more personal emotions that do (an attempt to create reality by depicting Al-Burāk "becoming ashamed").

In his description of the Soviet propaganda efforts to convince the Russians that Jesus was a myth, Mikhail Bulgakov (1995) made the Editor of a newspaper publicly criticize a famous Author's poem. The criticism boiled down to stating that the author had failed to achieve the "mythical effect," because "Jesus turned out…altogether alive… invested with a full range of negative characteristics (p.5)" – i.e., he turned out too much like a historical

figure rather than a mythical one, and this is exactly what the editor was trying to avoid, the historicity of Jesus.

Other types of details, dialogues, and numeric quantities have already been mentioned. Chase Robinson (2003) believes that these are used to "fill out and spice up what might otherwise be fairly lean and prosaic accounts." He argues that "real armies do not act so formulaically [shouting "God is great!"]… numbers were often used stereotypically; four, seven, eleven, and their multiples being particular favorites (Robinson, 2003, pp.152-53)." Indeed, when we do not remember the exact quantity, we round it, so forty does not necessarily mean exactly forty, but any number between the high thirties, and low forties. Therefore, odd numbers would signal the intention to convey the message that the quantity is remembered exactly. Sometimes, doing so gives us a clear indication of such an attempt to create a reality effect, like in Ibn Saʿd: "Muḥammad had 17 gray hairs in his beard (Haq, 1990, p. 11)." It is hard to imagine anybody, even as close to the Prophet as his wife Aisha counting his gray hairs.

A striking example of the peculiarity of odd numbers can be found in the Qu'ran. In Sūrah 74(30-31) we read that over hell there "…are 19 [angels]. And we have set none but angels as guardians of the fire; and **we have fixed their number** only as a trial for unbelievers – in order that the people of the book **may arrive at certainty** (Ali, 1999, pp. 1559-60)." [12] It is known that pre-modern people tended to attribute a mystical meaning (Robinson, 2003, pp.152-53) to numbers, but 19 is not amongst the commonly used "magical" number list (3, 4, 7, 11 and their multiples). The text seems to clearly indicate that this rare and odd number was selected intentionally; so that believers should have no doubt that it was a "real sign of God."

Some details may have connotations Goldziher (1971), and act as codified signifiers. The fact that Muḥammad is described as "not tall and not short (Haq, 1990, p. 484)," with hair that is "neither straight, not curly (Haq, 1990, p.507)," might mean that he is "one of his tribe," and therefore this can act as more than just a literal description. At the same time, comparing his appearance with that of Abraham indicates a clear attempt of prefiguration, a vague advanced representation of the subsequent event. [13]

Finally, a very common type of detail is the anachronistic one, which is added post-factum to create a cohesive narrative of a fulfilled prophecy. Chase Robinson (2003) gives "a fairly prosaic example" of a Saljuk sultan's

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12 Emphasis is mine.

13 For example, the story of Jonah—being swallowed by a great fish and then, after spending three days and three nights in the belly of the beast, is vomited out on dry ground—was seen by early Christians as an anticipation or prefiguration of the story of Christ's own death and resurrection.

"prophetic" dream where he was told (of course, three times) that he would live for 70 years (Robinson, 2003, p.151). Sure enough, he did.

Although the types and place of details vary; they all come together in one narrative and become an integral part of it. Russian philosopher Pavel Florensky (2000) remarks that "while each element has its own form and meaning, when they come together as one, their meaning changes to reflect the complex interactions among the elements (p. 260)." Without going into a post-structuralist discussion about the melosimy of the meanings, I will next focus only on the meaning **intended by the author**; for as one of the *mutawātir* Ḥadiths ascertains, "acts are judged by intentions (Hallaq, 1999, p.87)."

Details: A rhetorical technique or a political tool?

Now that we have reviewed the types of details that can be provided in a narrative, the fundamental question remains about the intentions of those supplying the details. Did they **intentionally** provide details (fictitious or not) with the purpose of creating the reality effect, or was it just a part of their rhetorical style? The answer will depend on whether the details formed a part of the original text or were added later.

We should not forget that the early Muslims followed on the heels of the pre-Islamic poets, whose heritage was well known and popular in Muḥammad's milieu. Not only was *Jahiliah* poetry full of dramatic details, the poems were also enhanced by metaphor and allegories (e.g., "locks and bits of forefronts flying like butterflies over the battlefield"). Was this done in an effort by the poet to create the reality effect? Probably it was not, at least, at that time. Rather, it was a skilled rhetoric technique used to produce a superior piece of poetry that would win the poetical contests in Mecca.14

Assuming the continuity of tradition and the effects of intertextuality,15 it would be reasonable to suppose that the original authors of early Muslim texts were just describing the events in the best rhetorical traditions of their forefathers. Indeed, we can see the familiar *Jahiliah* metaphor of a pearl in Ibn Saʿd's description of Muḥammad: "the drops of his sweat were like pearls (Haq, 1990, p. 484)" or a graphic description of the sinners who "throw the burning charcoal in their mouths, which exit from their behind" (p. 170) in Ibn Hisham (2003).

Since the Qu'ran and the Ḥadith were initially transmitted as oral traditions, adding beautifying details was an integral part of the process.

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14 *Jahiliah* poets used to compete in poetry contests, and sometimes this skill was used as a tool to settle an argument whereby a "better" poem would win.

15 A process of shaping of text meaning by another text, e.g. Boris Vian's *Vendredi* being inspired by Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, and Salman Rushdi's *Satanic Verses* borrowed ideas from Mikhail Bulgakov's *The Master and Margarita*.

Even in today's world, oral traditions such as folksongs and ballads are "passed along and **paraphrased** or used by others for whom it also functions as a way of articulating shared attitudes or feelings (Toelken, 1986, p. 147)." Thus, the multitude of variations of Muḥammad's description in Ibn Saʿd is quite expected.

Another possible reason for providing a detailed description might have been an increasing restriction on the visual representation of living creatures in the Islamic milieu. If the visual representation of the Prophet was forbidden, it would be natural to have a copious textual description to compensate for this lacuna. Another interesting topic for research might be comparing the presence of detailed textual descriptions in the Persian part of the Islamic world, where the prohibition on images was not strictly upheld, with the textual descriptions found in more conservative Sunni regions.

The change in the narrators'/transmitters' agendas probably occurred when the texts started to be used as a guide for religious behavior, and the basis for a legal system. Such a basis needed to be cohesive and credible. Therefore, the contradicting, insignificant details might have been removed and other meaningfully relevant (such as anachronistic prophecies), added. At the same time, in the quest for authenticity, scholars scrutinized the *isnād* constructed by narrators with the goal of approving, or rejecting a particular piece of information to be canonized. In Goldziher's (1971) opinion, the investigation of Ḥadith that had legal relevance was much more rigorous than of those dealing with ethical or behavioral issues.

Indeed, political reasons deeply rooted in the struggle for power have frequently been the main driver of many literary and other creative works. For this purpose, the reality effect was used intentionally and quite forcefully. One of the main purposes of Bulgakov's book was to expose Soviet propaganda, which was trying to turn Jesus into a mythical hero similar to the ancient Greeks. Bulgakov accomplishes this task by providing a quite detailed account written in a historical style, of the last day of Jesus, told from the point of view of Pontius Pilate,16 as an eye witness and the main actor of that day. Bulgakov's purpose was only to show that Jesus was not a myth, but a real person (not necessarily the Messiah),17 and thus the details in this story are many, which creates the ultimate reality effect – a broad description by an eye witness, a very similar technique to that of Ḥadith transmitters.

The reality effect techniques can be seen in today's society as well. Half a century after Bulgakov, on a different continent, Mel Gibson had a

16 The fifth prefect of the Roman province of Judaea, from AD 26–36, best known as the judge who authorized the crucifixion of Jesus.

17 And this is exactly what the Soviet propaganda was against: recall the Editor's instigation to the Poet to explain to the people that Jesus was a myth.

different agenda in his movie *The Passion of the Christ* (2004). Representing reality in a movie is much more difficult and expensive than in a text. The director has to render **everything** the camera lens captures as real, irrespective if the object is in, or out of focus. The writer, however, may choose what to describe, and what to skip. And so, *The Passion* is as real as it can get: Jesus speaks in Aramaic with Pilate who replies in Latin, the costumes are designed in consultations with historians, and the blood looks quite real too. However, amidst all this seeming authenticity, Gibson plants his agenda: the Gospel he bases the script upon is that of Luke, the most anachronistic of all. The Gentile Luke sees Jesus as a Messiah, thus his details differ from those (more historically descriptive) of Matthew and Mark (Asimov, 1981, pp. 836-38 (Mathew), pp. 906-11 (Mark)). For example, while the last two "describe the crucified Jesus as abandoned and reviled by all, Luke's Messiah forgives his crucifiers in a noble manner "for they know not what they do" (Luke 23:34) (Asimov, 1981, p. 950). Gibson amplifies the reality of Luke's anachronistic message by saturating even the background with so much detail, that the reality of the prophetic message is beyond any doubt for a captive audience – fooled by a detailed realistic context within which the prophetic script is placed.

Luckily for the pre-modern Muslim lawmakers, the cinema did not exist at that time, and all they had to deal with was a text – a relatively easy means for adding and subtracting the necessary details to make it suit the purpose.

Conclusion: Look behind the façade

Now we understand that even if the reality is absolute, its perceptions are multiple and subjective, as are the original historical accounts. The legends, on the contrary, lack detail and represent a harmonious logical sequence of events.

The first Muslim writings coming on the footsteps of the pre-Islamic poetry with its metaphoric details continued the use of *Jaḥiliah* rhetoric techniques in an effort to create a precise historical account within the limitations placed by the strict Islamic restrictions regarding visual representations. As a result, the variations in Ḥadith versions are a natural feature of oral traditions put into writing. Many variations of Ḥadiths with similar meanings led to contradictions which Ḥadith scholars attempted to solve through the process of source authentication. However, the authenticity of the source does not automatically equate with the reliability of the content. Moreover, the "minimum common denominator" method used by the early Ḥadith collectors for establishing the truthfulness of a Ḥadith, resulted in the proliferation of texts with few details; thus turning what could have been authentic historical accounts into a sort of "historical legend."

There is no doubt that many modern scholars will continue wrestling with what Hallaq (1999) calls "the pseudo-problem of Muslim source authenticity (Hallaq, 1999, pp. 75-90)." This paper has attempted to refocus the issue towards what seems to be a more fundamental question of the intentions of those creating a reality effect. In doing so, we have further demonstrated how Barthes' methods of creating *l'effet de reel*; through providing extensive details and incorporating historical characters side by side with fictional characters and mythical events, were applied in pre-modern as well as in modern times. I suggest that these methods began to be intentionally applied only when early Muslim texts started being used as a basis for lawmaking: the insignificant details were removed to avoid contradiction and provide cohesiveness, while the new anachronistic details were added to provide authority, and help establishing the authenticity. Therefore, it might be more fruitful to investigate the possible hidden agendas of various stakeholders of the process of documentation, revision, and distribution of early Muslim texts.

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Aspects of Ecofeminism in the Poetry of Fadwa Tuqan and Linda Hogan

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Abstract

Ecofeminism, otherwise known as "ecological feminism", defines a branch of the feminist theory that explores the interconnectedness of two fundamental considerations- nature and women. The name 'ecofeminism' can best be conceptualized as the authorship of Françoise d'Eaubonne, a French feminist whose work emphasized the connection between social and environmental matters. Unlike the feminist theory whose major concern is addressing the oppressions of women in society, ecofeminism uses the fundamental feminist characteristics of gender equality. It represents a revaluation of the nonlinear or non-patriarchal structure, and shows a great respect for organic processes to foster the value of collaboration, holistic connectedness, and the benefits of intuition. The principle purpose of this paper is to explore the theme of ecofeminism as represented in classical and contemporary poetry, with particular emphasis on the works of two influential poets- Fadwa Tuqan and Linda Hogan. An analysis of Tuqan's and Hogan's poetic works shows strong ideas of ecofeminism, and this justifies the selection of their works in exploring the theory that explains nature in the context of patriarchal dominance. In essence, both Tuqan and Hogan gain their rightful appreciation as ecofeminists who have managed to use their poetic wits to advocate for an ecological philosophy, where the connection between humanity and nature is viewed as one that demands to be fixed through respecting the differences and similarities between the two. The works of the two poets, as described in preliminary facets of the evaluation, show significant similarities between the early Palestinian concept of ecofeminism and that of contemporary American ecofeminist in that both deal with the themes of women and nature versus a male-centred society. Tuqan and Hogan go a long way using their feministic poetry to describe the destruction of nature as consequences of conceptual separation between nature and human beings. Both also believe that the problem could

be solved through accepting a new ecological theory that accepts humanity as an integral part of nature, and women as equivalents of men.

Keywords: Ecofeminism, Fadwa Tuqan, Linda Hogan, women and nature, interconnectedness.

Introduction

The contemporary society is gradually abandoning the positivist perspective of visualizing the environment and adopting the argument that reality is too complex to be understood by the aid of the laws of natural science. The same notion pervades Hadeed's work, bearing in mind his subscription to the interpretivism notion that there are innumerable ways of conceptualizing the environment. In essence, the contemporary society has shown the tendency to consider new human interpretations in describing the world around them even as the globe experiences a pandemic loss of biodiversity and as industrial practice cause humanity to skew away from the earth. Considering fresh ways of describing reality gains additional relevance now as the problem of pollution persists and as people suffer the harsh consequences of construction projects, otherwise justified as development (Kronlid 13). Grouping subjugated groups and women with nature paves the way for understanding environmental and social environmental injustices from a peculiar perspective that encourages solace and solidarity (Shiva, Maria, & Ariel 32). The principle purpose of this paper is to explore **t**he theme of ecofeminism in classical and contemporary poetry, more so by focusing on the works of two influential poets- Fadwa Tuqan and Linda Hogan.

The Theory of Ecofeminism

Ecofeminism, otherwise known as "ecological feminism" defines a branch of the feminist theory that explores the interconnectedness of two fundamental considerations- nature and women. The name 'ecofeminism' can best be conceptualized as the authorship of Françoise d'Eaubonne, a French feminist whose work emphasized the connection between social and environmental matters (Laroche & Jennifer 22). She was the first one to refer to the term Ecofeminism. She stresses the connection between Feminism and environmentalism when she "'called for a feminist revolution to ensure ecological survival' (Howell 231). Thus, it combines feminists and ecologists in the sense that both are oppressed in patriarchal societies. Since then, a growing number of critics have been concerned with showing this connection between the domination of women and the domination of nature.

Darcy de Oliveira Rosiska also emphasizes this interrelation between women and nature. She admits that women have a special care for others and

that "their identity is formed in their interaction with others. For this reason, women are more intuitive, more sensitive, and more empathetic". (149) Karen Warren contributes to making this interconnection more explicit. She suggests that ecofeminism should be grounded on some claims. Both women and nature are oppressed in a way that makes them interconnected. She proposes that:

(ii) understanding the nature of these connections is necessary to any adequate understanding of the oppression of women and the oppression of nature; (iii) feminist theory and practice must include an ecological perspective; and (iv) solutions to ecological problems must include a feminist perspective. (4-5)

Hence, Ecofeminism has become more than a feminist or ecological perspective. It has become as Sandilands suggests "a theory and movement which bridges the gap between feminism and ecology, but which transforms both to create a unified praxis to end all forms of domination" (3). A basic assumption of ecofeminism holds that the patriarchal domination of women is interconnected with the domination of nature. It becomes evident that Warren tends to describe ecofeminism in terms of oppression. Both women and nature are originally feminine and have their patterns of suffering from injustice and impairment. She proposes a new conception of ecofeminism. It is a multicultural theory that combines all women with disregard to their different attitudes. Moreover, Warren admits the shortcomings of both Feminism and environmentalism when tackled alone. She suggests that they complement each other.

This tendency of a multicultural and transcultural treatment of ecofeminism is emphasized by Rosemary Radford Ruether. She connects ecofeminism and Liberation of women.

Women must see that there can be no liberation for them and no solution to the ecological crisis within a society whose fundamental model of relationships continues to be one of domination. They must unite the demands of the women's movement with those of the ecological movement to envision a radical reshaping of the basic socioeconomic relations and the underlying values of this society. (204)

Ruether calls for a revolution by women to have a new vision of saving oppressed women and mistreated nature. No liberation can be attained in "a society whose fundamental model of relationships" is one of domination. The only solution for women and nature crisis is to unite the demands of the women's movement with those of the ecological movement" in order to "envision a radical reshaping of the basic socioeconomic relations and the underlying values of this society" (204).

The interconnectedness between women and nature is emphasized by many critics. In *The Death of Nature. Women, Nature, Ecology and the scientific Revolution*(1989), Carolyn Merchant refers to the idea of Nature as being female; an idea which is deeply rooted in the Romantic thought. She denotes that nature, especially the earth, is tackled as *"a* nurturing mother". It is a "kindly beneficial female who provided for the needs of mankind in an ordered planned universe" (2). Likewise, "Mother Nature and Mother Earth "are expressions extensively used in the Romantic poetry. It is a metaphorical link between women and nature since both have the gift of reproduction and donation. They are considered a bountiful resource of goodness that seems never to be exhausted. In "The Immortality Ode", William Wordsworth stresses this idea of "Mother Nature" who cares for all men. She is "The homely Nurse doth all she can" in order to "make her Foster-child, her Inmate Man".

Earth fills her lap with pleasure of her own;
Yearnings she hath in her own natural kind,
And, even with something of a Mother's mind,
And no unworthy aim,
The homely Nurse doth all she can
To make her Foster-child, her Inmate Man,
Forget the glories he hath known,
And that imperial palace whence he came.

Nature is depicted as a mother who has the supreme power. It is the mother-like-nourishing power for all. Basically, women have a role of serving the needs of men and they are seen to be inferior to men who claim to have the intellectual power to dominate them. Likewise, nature is regarded as a resource for food, shelter and all human wants. Both women and nature are oppressed in a patriarchal society that gives much care for males over females, the human over the non-human nature. So, eco-feminists regard the oppression of women and nature as interconnected. It is the role of eco-feminism to tackle such injustices and attempt to solve the problems of degradation and social injustice. According to Greta Gaard, ecofeminism is "More than a theory about feminism and environmentalism, or women and nature, as the name might imply, eco-feminism approaches the problems of environmental degradation and social injustice from the premise that how we treat nature and how we treat each other are inseparably linked" (Gaard 2001: 157-172).

The theory of ecofeminism, unlike the feminist theory whose major concern is addressing the oppressions of women in the society, uses the fundamental feminist characteristics of gender equality, a revaluation of the nonlinear or non-patriarchal structure, and respect for organic processes to

foster the value of collaboration, holistic connectedness, and the benefits of intuition.

Today's theory of ecofeminism is tangential to a series of workshops and conferences held between the 1970's and the 1980's by groups of women and women professionals in the US. These meetings were cantered on discussions of strategies for incorporating environmentalism and feminism to support respect for the natural world and women. The same found justification on the long historical association between nature and women that lead to the repression of both. In the light of findings that showed that women were often described as irrational, chaotic, and in need for directives from men, ecofeminist came together to device hierarchical frameworks that distributed power between men and women, thereby solving the predicament of nature and women. As such, historical ecofeminism majorly consisted of efforts to document the long association between the environment and women and the steps to counter those associations. Consequently, early ecofeminists believed that ending the denomination of nature as a major step towards the liberalization of women from systems that supported social, economic, and political disparity. The challenge was endeavoured by subsequent female activists who started critiquing ecological concepts that overlooked the impacts of patriarchal mechanisms and feminist ideas that failed to interrogate the association between nature and women.

Ecofeminism, as a concept, supports commitment to the natural surrounding and awareness of the connection between women and nature by concentrating on the manner in which the patriarchal society treats both women and nature. The theory goes a long way examining the impacts of gender groups as a way of demonstrating how social systems exert unjust dominance over nature and women. The central argument of the philosophy is that the norms of the man-centric society lead to a partial understanding of the world, and its supporters advocate a different view of the world that recognizes how human beings depend on nature. The influential ecofeminists, Laroche and Jennifer, contend that the globe should adopt the theory as one that values the earth as a scarce resource and embraces all forms of life as important (Laroche & Jennifer 12).

Ecofeminism presents a conceptual framework that could help in reorganizing people's connection with their surroundings. The theory addresses the suppression of marginalized people and women in particular. This manner of thinking and reorganization opens up possibilities for fresh environmental and human connections that have a wider perspective and less explicit social recognition. The subsequent section seeks a deeper comprehension of the concept of ecofeminism is by exploring the evolution of the theory through works of Fadwa Tuqan and Linda Hogan.

Ecofeminism in Fadwa Tuqan's Poetry

Fadwa Tuqan, a Palestinian poet, was born in a renowned family in the west end of Nablus City, in the era of Balfour Declaration, which foreshadowed the ultimate deposition of Palestinians from their motherland. A close evaluation of Tuqan's work shows a deep reflection of loss, anger, and pain that she and her people experienced in the war that caused them to flee their area of comfort and find solace in a foreign land as refugees. It is by this terrible experience that Tuqan finds the courage to use her poetic intelligence in encouraging Palestinians to gather strength and return home. Although the majority of Tuqan's works focus on the aftermath of war because of Israel's unjust doing, she found exceptional success in addressing the struggles of women in a male-focused Arabic environment. Her work advanced from a more structured and formal style that pervaded the poetry of the early parts of the 20th century to verses that were free in both form and presentation. By the time of her death (2003), Tuqan had developed a strong contact with the concept of ecofeminism, which explains why her works, including 'the Deluge and the Tree," "Enough for Me," "A Prayer to the New Year," and, most importantly, "Labor Pain" exits at the top of poems that are deeply rooted in ecofeminism.

Tuqan's "Labor Pain" is one example of poetic works that explore the theme of nature and feminism and this is vivid right from the topic of the poem. The poem begins on a light note, taking her audience through the natural process of plant reproduction where the wind blows pollen grains across "…homes" to a place where its biological infusion triggers new life. It takes not more than the first two lines of the first stanza for the poet to highlight the ecofeminist association between the human body and "..ruin of fields," which Tuqan symbolically uses to describe the natural state of the earth versus "…homes." This association enables Tuqan to bring to context the connection between humanity and nature, acknowledging the influence of human development and settlement on nature. Tuqan describes the act of lovemaking as one characterized by the "Earth shivering with love," which stands for the sensitive woman's body that experiences what could be described as a range of overwhelming pleasure to excruciating pain to enable the continuity of the cycle of life. The persona, a woman, is visualized as the core of life, bearing in mind her sacrificial roles at the end of what begins and ends as a pleasuring experience to the "he" in the poem. The poem strikes a feminist notch when the persona describes the "he" as a "conqueror" who, above all, proliferates the gospel of female submission-though not explicitly stated in the poem, which could show Tuqan's disapproval of the male-cantered Arab society. She goes ahead advise "Arab Aurora," a female character in the poem, to claim her position in the society by reminding her that she, like "the sacred land" that receives and supports

the seeds of the thorny rose plant, gives life through pain and blood (Hadeed 41).

It is true that Tuqan's work shows an outstanding peculiarity, one that would rightly associate her with Middle-Eastern ecofeminist who tie the fate of women with that of nature. The argument comes out clearly in the presentation of her autobiography in "A Mountainous Journey" where Tuqan describes how her mother, burdened by parenthood, sorted to abort her as the seventh child. She uses the poem to expose her suffering experiences as an unwanted and neglected child and uses this experience to draw a connection between her own experience with Palestine's surfacing into a time of hostility. Although the poem seems to have roots in the time when the British colonial power had established full occupation of the Palestinian land, Tuqan goes further showing the colonial presence had a comparatively lesser negating impact on the life of women than that of the forces acting within families and homes. The two poems- "Labour Pain" and "A Mountainous Journey"- provide an evidence to the notion that Tuqan, being a woman from an environment that is engulfed in suffering, finds the maltreatment of the members of the female gender to be an outcome of both male dominance and oppression by external forces.

Actually, Fadwa Tuqan appears as a participating force and a female voice offering visions peculiar to her about women, love and homeland during the second half of the twentieth century. She manages to have love and nationalism mingled with the image of homeland rooted in the heart. She manipulates ecofeminist metaphorical devices to serve twofold purposes: the elevation of a homeland and the identity of women in a patriarchal society. She admits:

In my homeland, O poet,
In my precious homeland,
There waits a lover,
A fellow countryman;
I shall not waste his heart …
I am a female, so, whenever you whisper
Stroke, my heart, please
Forgive its vanity. (Tuqan)

Fadwa Tuqan is the poet of love and pain as well as nationalism within the two emotions. Her poetry deals with an ecofeminist depiction of personal and national love showing the role of women in the resistance. It is not only the resistance of the colonizer but of the oppression of women in such a patriarchal society.

In "The Deluge and the Tree", Tuqan utilizes nature in an ecofeminist manipulation of imagery to set the scene for a kind of resistance peculiar to her. She combines all elements in one image to depict those who are forced

to leave their homeland. However, one day they will come back to the land. They are like the bird that leaves its nest for some time but comes back at last. The image is tackled in an ecofeminist treatment.

The Deluge and the Tree
When the hurricane swirled and spread its deluge
of dark evil
onto the good green land
'they' gloated. The western skies
reverberated with joyous accounts:
"The Tree has fallen!
The great trunk is smashed! The hurricane leaves no life in the Tree!"
Had the Tree really fallen?
Never! Not with our red streams flowing forever,
not while the wine of our thorn limbs
fed the thirsty roots,
Arab roots alive
tunneling deep, deep, into the land!
When the Tree rises up, the branches
shall flourish green and fresh in the sun,
the laughter of the Tree shall leaf
beneath the sun
and birds shall return.
Undoubtedly, the birds shall return.
The birds shall return.

Metaphors are used to affirm the Palestinian Identity and the dream of return. The images do appeal to nature to use natural objects as central vehicles reflecting the poet's resistance and attitude towards the colonizer. The "hurricane swirled and spread its deluge" with its "dark evils" to represent the colonizer with its vicious and destructive authority. It "leaves no life in the tree". However, the tree with its huge trunk symbolizes Palestine to signify a powerful nation with a powerful resistance. It never falls with the "red streams flowing" and the 'wine of thorn limbs" feeds "the thirsty roots". They have their "roots alive" and deep into the land.

Tuqan successfully interconnects three forces of resistance, human and natural combined with the feminine vision at the centre of the images. The tree image is used with Palestine in order to refer to the power of the nation which stems from the enthusiasm and patriotism of its resisters. It is used to symbolize the strength of the Palestinians in the face of the colonizer who is symbolized as a hurricane that cannot affect the strong tree deeply rooted in the land. Blood to the body is like resistance to Palestine. It is the

core of resistance. So, the branches will "flourish green and fresh in the sun," and the "birds" will eventually "return".

Birds leave their homes temporarily to come back later on. This image symbolizes the exiled Palestinians who are forced to leave their homeland under the oppression of the colonizer but they, like birds, will come back:

and birds shall return.
Undoubtedly, the birds shall return.
The birds shall return (Tuqan)

Images of return to the homeland are manipulated in an ecofeminist way that is peculiar to Tuqan. This return might be in death and not in life.
Shall I live here and die in a foreign land?
No! I will return to my beloved land,
I will return, and there will I close the book of my life,
Let the noble soil tenderly cover my remains; (Tuqan)

It depicts the overwhelming experience of the Palestinian women in exile. They yearn for the return to homeland as birds do at last. It is enough for them to die and to be buried in the soil of the homeland. Once buried, the body would be united with earth and becomes a part of the land.

Enough for me to die on her earth
Be buried in her
To melt and vanish into her soil
Then sprout forth as a flower
Played with a child from my country.
Enough for me to remain
In my country's embrace
To be in her close as a handful of dust
A sprig of grass a flower. (Tuqan)

Although the language is simple, the poem has layers of meanings. Given such simplicity of language, one is directed to the role assigned for the poet before and even after death. The poem is the burning spark that kindles the fire of resistance and nourishes the perseverance of its existence with the body buried in the soil in a final return.

This role of women is highly emphasized and interconnected with nature in a metaphorical depiction denoting the place of women in society. Woman's position in society is not confined to the domestic role of wife and mother. Rather, woman, like nature, is the fertile mother who gives hope and life. In "From Hiba's Diary", Tuqan idealized the role of woman as a resister in the image of a schoolgirl. She is a gift from the mother to the homeland. The "mother's phantom" with "her forehead" which "shines …like the light of the stars". This interconnectedness between women and nature idealizes the image of women as a source of light guiding her daughter in this long

path of residence. Even the "roses" she painted "reared with blood". This metaphorical image denotes the torture the schoolgirl has in Israeli prisons.

In her poem "Hamza", Toquan depicts the land as a fertile woman. The land of Palestine is shown as "a woman" who has "a fertile heart". It gives Palestinians the power to endure the suffering inflicted upon them by the Zionist colonizer. This land, undoubtedly, is "a woman" that "gives birth to a warrior".

Like mothers in my hometown
The salt of the earth
Who toil with their hands for their bread
Hamza was
A simple man.
When we met that day
This land had been a harvest of flames
In a windless bush it had sunk
In a cloak of barren grief. I had been
Swept by the daze of defeat.
Hamza said
This land, my sister, has a fertile heart
It throbs, doesn't wither, endures
For the secret of hills and wombs
Is one
This earth that sprout with spikes and palms
Is the same that gives birth to a warror,
This land, my sister, is a women,"
He said. (Tuqan)

This ecofeminist depiction stresses the interconnectedness between women and nature in a way that sets the scene and paves the way for her broad goal and the existence of a resistance that cannot be demolished. The idea of "a fertile woman" symbolizes birth and life. It refers to nature and women as a powerful form of resistance. Toquan succeeds in portraying the Palestinian woman as an active resister and not only as a wife and mother.

In "Lamps of dark night" Tuqan declares women's commitment to the on-going resistance against the "dark night" of colonization. She attempts to plant hope and light in the
long road of regaining life.
Lamps of the dark night
Brothers in the wound…
On your road shall I walk
In the light of your eyes
I collect yesterday's tears
And wipe them away.

Like you, I plant my feet on the land,
My country,
And fix my eyes, like yours,
On the road of light and sun. (Tuqan 1990, 227)

Actually, images of resistance, resisters and colonizer can be traced from the first line of the poem. These images are connected with nature in a way that shows it in the body of resistance. Then, the interconnectedness between nature and women is depicted to show the role of women as a source of power and light to resisters. Definitely, it is the "road of light and sun". Undoubtedly, it is the ecofeminist treatment of images that gives theme their powerful impact to shed hope and energy to those who are connected to their homeland. Thus, elements of feminism and Nature are interconnected to depict the uniqueness of such powers of resistance.

Ecofeminism in Linda Hogan' Poetry

Linda Hogan, an environmentalist, and a Chickasaw novelist is a native of Denver Colorado earned her position among the environmentalists and feminists of today's society through her magnificent concentration on the Native American culture and the environment. An analysis of Hogan's history as an ecofeminism shows her steady contribution on an array of literature categories- spanning from short stories, academic works, playwrights, storytelling, and, more predominantly, poetry, that Pulitano (12) argues helps here audiences appreciate not only their smallness but also the giftedness and blessedness. Currently active as a speaker and educator, Hogan has played a central role in developing the poetry of Native America, particularly through exploring its association with the environment. Her strong presence as a poet has exalted her among female activists who, among other things, have the most influential voice regarding nuclear matters (Pulitano 67). Throughout her work, Hogan has always succeeded in incorporating the feminist aspect in her verses via the exploration of women's feelings and lives. Hogan is also an essayist who has taught at the University of Colorado.

Hogan's mark as an ecofeminist cannot be underrated because of her efforts to introduce readers to a generous visualization of nature (Pulitano 15). She manages to take her stories, novels, nonfictions, and poems as apparatus in her quest to enable people to appreciate the love of the created regime that coexists with the love of humanity. As per Hogan's view, being human entails accepting the earth as a planet and being responsive to the angles, secrets, and moods of nature. She advocates for the world where human being shows kindness to all form of life –including plants, animals, and minerals of the earth. Hogan enjoys the ability to stand in dread of earth's mysteries, which she presents as responsiveness to the grace that

exists in nature. She carefully uses her polished, strange, and serene language to shock humanity awaken to the magnificence in their environment and emphasizes their part in it. Hogan's poetic collection includes " Calling Myself," " Eclipse," "Calling Myself Home," "Seeing Through the Sun," and "Terrain of Crossed Beginning" (Lee 11).

Hogan's poetic exploration of the theme of ecofeminism comes to the light as readers go through the carefully developed verses of 'Mountain Lion," a piece that Hogan attests to have completed after taking part is projected that studied wolves in the northern banks of Minnesota. In her interview with Patricia Clark Smith, Hogan admits that the poem inspired by her observations during the project that opened her understanding of wolves as people's inner desire or fear, and how it was difficult to appreciate differences between the different species and between one human being and another. As per Hogan's understanding, people have the tendency to look for similarities - the shadow or the shadowed self- that enables one to view the external evil without acknowledging the inner evil (Pulitano 55)**.** Hogan contends that these projections are no meagre psychological issues and that they have caused the extermination of thousands of wolves in the US (Lee 19). Hogan's "Mountain Lion,'' is, therefore, founded on her pressing desire to support an environmental philosophy that conceives nature as neither separate from humanity nor a tabula rasa for inscriptions. The poetic piece evokes unmatched associations with nature while affirming nature's peculiarity by denying its limitations within human predictions.

"Mountain Lion" disdains a puzzled moment of unity even as it describes the persona's fearful experience with mountain lions. The author gives the mountain lions a unique perspective that overturns the customary categories of the wild and the civilized, a viewpoint in which the persona was "the wild" that she had learned to dread. The voice in the poem admits that the mountain lion does not like her presence when she quotes "her power lived …in a dream of my leaving" (Kronlid 101). The acknowledgment of the speaker's unwelcomed presence gives the persona self-consciousness about the outcomes of her gaze as the glance she first gives the mountain lion and the subsequent turn-away function as a metonym for their aggravating relation (Mir 133). The "clear light" signifies enlightenment paradigm that came with the knowledge of the distance between the object and the subject, which consists of void space. The bareness then supposes to provide ideal access to clear knowledge as nothing hinders the penetration of the viewer's gaze. The persona refuses this model, however, by lowering her eyes and turning away. She rejects to entrap the mountain lion within the circumference of her gaze by looking away, an act that goes a long way showing her acknowledgment of the integrity of the

mountain lion and the huge variations between the worlds that they live in (Kronlid 101).

Like the rests of Native American Writers, Linda Hogan imagines the landscape in its central interconnectedness with the people inhabiting it. Throughout her authorship, Hogan emphasizes the relationship between nonhuman and human nature, while maintaining focus on the disruption thereof, both of which have vivid impacts on people's sense of self. In her poem " Naming the Animals," Hogan analyzes the results of isolating humanity from nature, thus rejoining the Native American literature whose character focus on identity formation, which involves negotiating between the impact of the dominant society and their natural heritage (Shiva, Maria, & Ariel 32). She, for example, finds a peculiar way to show how the language, and not the vision, has trapped the animal in "Naming the Animals" by retelling the biblical story of creation. Hogan deliberately leaves out Eve in the legend of creation, showing her ecofeminist assumption in bringing out Adam's act of naming animals as an action that both circumscribes and distances that which is given a name (Kronlid 13).

The naming, according to Hogan's narration, captured nature (the woman included) in language, apparently to screen them from human habitat, yet the subsequent act chases them "…into the wilderness" where he could not enter. Using human language to name the animals paradoxically registers them as separate from humanity. Hogan, like in all of her other works, advocates for an ecofeminist philosophy that highlights the connection between the domination of ethical, social, and sexual minorities, and the power of the non-human world. This grouping of women with nature, as illustrated in the ecofeminist theory, paves the way for understanding environmental and social environmental injustices from a peculiar and often ignorant perspective that encourages solace and solidarity (Kronlid 13). "Hunger" is a poem that shows Hogan's determination of writing about the injustices committed against women and nature. In this poem imagery is extensively used to reflect the poet's ecofeminist treatment of nature/women subordination. Hunger is personified as someone "who crosses oceans" and "sits on the ship and cries".

Hunger was the fisherman
who said dolphins are like women,
we took them from the sea
and had our way
with them.   (Hogan 17)

The image bears a sexual connotation that interconnects the exploitation of natural resources with that of women. Dolphins are "like women". They are used to satisfy the fishermen's needs. Even the sea is depicted in the figure of a pregnant woman:

It is the old man
who comes in the night
to cast a line
and wait at the luminous shore.
He knows the sea is pregnant
with clear fish
and their shallow pools of eggs (17)

In their "Ties that Bind: Native American Consciousness as a Foundation for Environmental Consciousness.", Anne Booth and Harvey Jacobs states that "ecofeminism equates the suppression and domination of nature with the domination of women, and for similar reasons. Each was, and is perceived as dangerous and in need of control" (29). Hogan tries to heal the gap between the human and the non-human, emphasizing the need for a balanced connection that should pervades them. Hogan calls for a world that is kinder for both women and nature. She writes in "Harvesters of Night and Water":

I want the world to be kinder.
I am a woman.
I am afraid.
I saw a star once, falling toward me.
It was red
with brilliant arms
and then it was gone. (24)

Critical Analysis of Hogan's and Tuqan's Approach to Ecofeminism Differences

Hogan's and Tuqan's poetic works signify this difference between the contemporary American and classic Middle Eastern concepts of ecofeminism. Hogan, for example, presents a scenario where the human gaze objectifies the animal as the observed despite the fact that animals too can observe human beings (Lee 23). Hogan's acknowledgment of the differences between the natural and civil world supports the contemporary emphasis of the disjunction between marginalized groups and nature on one side and the developing world on the other. Even so, the notion that the persona, a woman, chooses to look away illuminates today's environmental issues as an outcome of lack of self-knowledge as a consequence of ignorance in as far as the comprehension of nature is concerned. Hogan's "Mountain Lion" lenses the existence of two parallel worlds despite the romantic desire for unity, which evokes a sense of conflict, as parallel worlds cannot coexist in one vision (Shoshan 56). These observations imply that Hogan, as one of the most famous contemporary American ecofeminist, focuses on the disjunction between the civil and the wild and the attrition of women (as part of

humanity) from nature. The overarching argument is, therefore, that women beliefs systems permit the oppression of women as it permits the exploitive use of the earth.

Otherwise, Tuqan's piece "Labor Pain" underscores the early Arabic concept of ecofeminism in the sense that it prescribes the holistic comprehension of nature, and the feminine instincts as remedies to heal the split between nature and ecology. Unlike Hogan, Tuqan presents the world as a conflict scenario, where men and foreign power join forces against nature and women. The two poems justify this contention in various ways. For example, the idea that the early Middle-Eastern ecofeminist theory categorizes women in nature comes to light when Tuqan associates the pain that women undergo in childbirth with the experiences of torn wild fields that receive and support the seeds of rose flowers in "Labour Pain." The thorny rose plan is, otherwise classified with men who, despite evading the sacrificial duty, seek to dominate over women. The notion also pervades her work in "Mountainous Journey" where Tuqan describes her terrible childhood experience as a consequence of foreign power that has subjected Palestinian land to war and social norms that glorify men in families (Shoshan 56). As such, leading Tuqan's work is an ideology that sees women as a reflection of nature, where none is greater than the other.

Similarities

Even so, Hogan's and Tuqan's works provide insight into the similarities between American and Palestinian ecofeminist concepts. Hogan –whose female character chooses not to gaze at the mountain lion despite her natural desires- supports the viewpoint of Tuqan who embraces the essentialism to focus on the intersectional puzzles, such as how the culture-nature split supports the oppression of nonhuman and female bodies (Laroche & Kronlid 78). For example, an analysis of the works of the two poets reveals that both Tuqan and Hogan believe in women as part of nature. Hogan, for instance, uses a female character as the voice in " Mountain Lion" to emphasize the similarities between the observed and the observer. She, like Tuqan in "Labor Pain," shows how fear and desire has pushed humanity to treat nature (including women) unfairly. These poems, including Tuqan's "Mountainous Journey," show the marginalization of groups and negative environmental outcomes as results of long-held principles that are founded on the male-centric society (Kronlid 101).

Conclusion

An analysis of Tuqan's and Hogan's poetic works shows strong ideas of ecofeminism, and this justifies the selection of their works in exploring the theory that explains nature in the context of human and men dominance

(Shoshan 93). In essence, both Tuqan and Hogan gain their rightful appreciation as ecofeminists who have managed to use their poetic wits to advocate for an ecological philosophy where the connection between humanity and nature is viewed as one that demands to be fixed through respecting the differences and similarities between the two (Lee 133). The works of the two poets, as described in preliminary facets of the evaluation, show significant similarities between the early Palestinian concept of ecofeminism and that of contemporary American ecofeminist in that both deal with the themes of women and nature versus a male-centred society. Tuqan and Hogan go a long way using their feministic poetry to describe the destruction of nature as consequences of conceptual separation between nature and people. Both also believe that the problem could be solved through accepting a new ecological theory that accepts humanity and part of nature, and women as equivalents of men.

Environmental and cultural matters seem to influence the ecofeminist approaches that the two poets use. For instance, Tuqan, raised in a turbulent environment of war and tribulation, finds a junction between the suffering of women and the destruction of Palestinian motherland. The implication in this place is that American ecofeminist concept focuses majorly on understanding women as elements of nature while Palestinian concept seeks to battle the Arabic culture that diminishes women's societal position by emphasizing the connection between the fate of women and nature even as they suffer under the spell of war and oppression. Even so, the attrition between the contemporary and classic concepts of ecofeminism come to play as one compares the works of Tuqan- a classical feminist who visualizes women as equivalents of nature- and Hogan- a modern feminist who emphasizes natures as a force that is much greater than human beings. [18]

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The Effect of Culture Learning on Neo-Aramaic: Empirical Evidence from Politeness Theory

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Abstract

The current study investigates the universal notion of 'face' in interdependent cultures: Neo-Aramaic[19] (NA) and Iraqi Arabic (IA). The study sheds light on NA as an endangered language in home and in dispersion on a par and the fact that language change goes beyond grammar to affect human communication and language pragmatics. We first examine the impact of Arabic on NA by providing an account of the core strategies used to express thanks and apologies in Arabic[20] and NA. Then, the study shows how the NA diaspora in Canada is under the hegemonic pressure of English. Our experiment shows that young NA-English bilinguals (NA-E) differ significantly from older NA speakers in their reaction to (im)politeness in daily interactions, but we have not found a significant difference between NA-E bilinguals and Canadian English monolinguals (CE). These results support our assumption that NA-E bilinguals have the potential (i.e. culture learning) to circumvent pragmatic failure at the expense of their mother tongue. The results have also shown that culture plays an important role in language change that goes beyond grammar.

Keywords: politeness; Neo-Aramaic, face; thanks; apologies; culture learning.

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[19] NA refers to a group of language varieties that are descendants of Middle Aramaic. NA dialects of the North-Eastern NA (also known as NENA) are spoken in northern Iraq, northwestern Iran and southeastern Turkey. The study attempts to shed light on Christian dialects spoken in two towns in the north of Iraq, viz. Mangesh and Bartella. Dialectal variation (lexical or phonological) does not play a role in our investigation; therefore such instantiations are overlooked, for example, *smiqen ṣūryāṯ-eh* (Bartella dialect) and *smiqley paṯwāṯ-eḥ* (Mangesh dialect).

[20] Arabic is used in a narrow sense to refer to Iraqi Arabic. More specifically, we use the Baghdadi dialect, which is the variety used in the mainstream media.

1. Introduction21

The ubiquity of politeness is undeniable as it is at the heart of every community. However, speakers of different cultures express various levels of politeness relative to context, age, gender, social status, etc. Consequently, the dominating values and beliefs in a specific culture motivate certain conventionalized formulas (verbal and/or non-verbal) that may become prevalent, socially acceptable and polite in that culture but may appear bizarre or rude in another. In other words, different cultures assign different values and connotations to such formulaic expressions because, Goody (1978) states "... different societies select different basic signals to elaborate and institutionalize. These then become special strategic forms and are subject to *learning just as are other aspects of culture* [emphasis added]" (p.7). Therefore, intercultural communicators should be au fait with their conflicting interpersonal needs, which stem from the culture-specific values. However, this does not preclude, in any way, the fact that there are some shared and universally agreed-upon, polite formulas that interactants from various cultural backgrounds utilize in their day-to-day interactions.

There is compelling evidence in support of the claim that some aspects of politeness phenomena (e.g., face, thanks, apologies, compliments, etc.) are, in fact, a universal characteristic of human intricate, linguistic system of communication (see see Ide 1993; Watts 1992). Wierzbicka (2003), a staunch supporter of this view, states that "The widely accepted paradigms were those of Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) theory of politeness, which affirmed "pan-cultural interpretability of politeness phenomenon" (1978, p. 288) and Grice's (1975) theory of conversation, which posited a number of universal conversational principles" (p.v). There are at least three viable reasons to vindicate this stance. Taking into consideration that teasing apart niceties and subtleties of the rules of daily interaction in any culture requires more practice to reach the degree of melding two distinct cultural perspectives (i.e., NA and CE) into one. First, second language learners usually do not face difficulty in 1) acquiring these formulaic expressions, 2) learning the difference between severe and mild conditions, and 3) realizing that the use of these expressions should be carried out with the utmost discretion. Second, Brown and Levinson's (1987) classification of politeness into two types (i.e. positive and negative) sheds light on the fact that cultures will necessarily be either positively or negatively oriented towards politeness (cf. Hwang et al. 2003; Leech 2007; Park and Guan 2009). This point will be elaborated in the subsequent section. Third, Goffman's (1967) notion of face

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21 I would like to thank Magda Stroinska and John Colarusso for their valuable comments on the earlier drafts of this article.. Special thanks go to Victor Kuperman for his assistance with the statistical analysis. I am also indebted to Geoffrey Khan for his outstanding support. All other inadequacies remain mine.

(or public image) is claimed to be universal because interactants across cultures usually strive to maintain and enhance hearer and/or speaker's face.

The study is divided into two parts: the first part focuses on some theoretical aspects of linguistic politeness in independent and interdependent cultures. It also tackles the concept of face from an interdependent perspective. In section 1.1, we provide an overview of theoretical approaches to politeness and face, and how face and its components play an important role in IA and NA daily interchanges. In section 2, we elaborate on the difference between individualistic and collectivistic cultures which influences and shapes the dynamics of politeness. We pinpoint some social and cultural factors in the process of formulating individualistic and collectivistic conceptualizations. Sections 3 and 3.1 explain how NA is under the incessant influence of IA and CE. Then, thanks and apologies in NA and IA are discussed in section 4. The second part of the study (sections 5, 6, and 7) is based on an empirical investigation of older NA speakers, NA-E bilinguals and CE monolinguals' reaction to two sets of scenarios representing solidarity on the one hand and social violations on the other. The methodology is summarised in section 5. In sections 6 and 7, we analyze and then discuss the results of the study. The appendix consists of two sections: section 1 is an overview of the study and its objectives, and section 2 includes some demographical information about the participants and a consent form.

1.1 Face in connected and separate cultures

Goffman's (1967) work on face has inspired many linguists for decades. Building on Goffman's concept of face, Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) developed their politeness theory with the concept of face at its core. Arundale (1999, 2006, 2009 and 2010) takes issue with Goffman's view of face and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. In Arundale's Face Constituting Theory (FCT), face is neither a psychological construct nor a reflection of one's public image or social wants and desires; contrarily, face is an interactional and relational, not person-centered, phenomenon that is conjointly co-constituted by two or more individuals. As such, Arundale (2006) employs the dialectical relation between 'connection' with others and 'separation' from them to conceptualize Brown and Levinson's dualism (two distinct components of face): positive and negative face. Furthermore, Arundale (2006) rejects the assumption that interaction arises between an independent encoder whose output must be interpreted by the independent decoder. According to Arundale (2006, 2010), interactional achievement models maintain that communication is a 'non-summative' process involving a single system of two or more interdependent individuals (i.e. interacting dyads) unlike the model adopted by Brown and Levinson where

communication is a summative process arising from two distinct systems involving two independent individuals (i.e. monadic individuals). He expounds that "Encoding/decoding models address only the unilateral effect of one person's utterance on another person, not reciprocal conditionality" (Arundale 2010, p. 2085). Although the current study is not intended to critique Arundale's theoretical model, it is important to note that Arundale's model of communication is "curiously abstract and neutral" (p. 2094) to cope with the concrete components of real life communication. In addition, the model is precisely designed to deal with a conversational sequence as it unfolds during real time; this instantaneous dynamicity does not cover the broad range of human communicative processes where face is involved in communication that can be removed in place and time. Besides, Arundale and Brown and Levinson's theoretical models of linguistic politeness are both subsumed under second-order politeness (politeness 2) which represent the analyst's external conceptualization of politeness. Our work takes the participants' actual uptake of communicative interaction to determine what is (im)polite- theorist's analysis and evaluation are not involved in first-order politeness (politeness 1) (Eelen 2001; Locher and Watts 2005; Watts et al. 1992).

It is important to elucidate the significance of this concept, which has gained a universal value as Scollon and Scollon (2000, p.48) stated that "there is no faceless communication" (for more on the cross-cultural significance of face see also Matsumoto 1988; Swi 1997; Ting-Toomey et al. 1991). In physiognomical parlance, face can tell it all; physiognomy is the skill of analysing and discovering the makeup of personality and character from facial features. In his book *Christian Morals*, Browne (1716) claimed that it is possible to discern the inner qualities of personality from outward countenance:

> SINCE the Brow speaks often true, since Eyes and Noses have Tongues, and the countenance proclaims the Heart and inclinations; Let observation so far instruct thee in Physiognomical lines... we often observe that Men do most act those Creatures, whose constitution, parts, & complexion do most predominate in their mixtures. This is a corner-stone [*sic*] in Physiognomy, & holds some Truth not only in particular Persons but also in whole Nations. There are therefore Provincial Faces, National Lips and Noses, which testify not only the Natures of those Countries, but of those which have them elsewhere. (Part 2, section 9)

In Semitic languages such as A and NA, face is a crucial factor in social exchanges; face is central to the human body because it includes the eyes, mouth, nose, cheeks, forehead and moustache or beard for men, all of which play an important role in body language. In other words, face is a

complicated system, which controls our sight, language use, respiration, etc. Each organ has various, positive and/or negative connotations and a wide range of idiomatic uses associated with it. Below are some examples from IA, and, where applicable, their NA counterparts. Some of the IA and NA data come from fieldwork conducted by the author in Iraq between (2008 and 2010). Two techniques were used to collect data: discourse completion test and personal observations.

1a-'*iḥmarrat xdūd-a* (IA) 'his cheeks turned red' 22 → 'he blushed'

b- *smiqen ṣūryāṯ-eh* (NA)23 'his face turned red'

2a- *xašm-a ʿālī* (IA) 'his nose is high' → 'he is arrogant'

b- *puqan-eḥ ʿlūlyale* (NA) 'his nose is high'

3a-'*inʿaqada ḥājib-āh* (SA) 'he knitted his brow' → 'he became angry'

b- *wiḏle qarmīṭeḥ* (NA) 'he made his brow'

4a- *y-štughul b-ʿarag jbīna* (IA) 'he works by the sweat of his brow' → 'he works very hard'

b- *kim-šāghil b-deṯid bugīn-eh* (NA) 'he works by the sweat of his brow'

5a- '*auxuḏha min ha(ḏā) ʾiš-šārib* (IA) 'take it from this moustache' → 'I honestly or solemnly promise'

b- *šqulla mānī simbīlāle* (NA) 'take it from this moustache'

6a- *xarah b-šawābarbak* (IA) 'shit be on your moustache' → 'an expression of censure and disgust'

b- '*ixre b-simbīlāl-ux* (NA) 'shit be on your moustache'

2. Individualistic and interdependent perspectives on politeness

There is a gap in the cross-cultural research conducted on Arabic politeness because most of the available literature is descriptive in nature and tackles individual speech acts and politeness formulas. Al Zadjaly (2012) flatly pointed out that "[M]ost research on Muslim and/or Arabic politeness to date just blindly applies Brown & Levinson's (1987) face-saving model without taking into account current theories of face and politeness"(p.420). In support of this claim, we cite some of these studies. Al-Qahtani (2009) investigated the use of offers in Saudi Arabic. Al-Shboul et al. (2012) explored advice giving by Jordanian learners of English. Atawneh (1991) worked on requests by native and bilingual Egyptians. Bouchara (2012) talked about religious greetings in Moroccan Arabic. Bassiouney (2012) tackled interruption and floor control in Egyptian Arabic. Bataineh & Bataineh (2008) studied apologies in Jordanian Arabic. Nelson et al. (1993) examined compliments in Egyptian Arabic. Stevens (1993) studied refusals

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22 For the sake of consistency, all the pronouns are masculine unless indicated otherwise.

23 Arabic has a tremendous effect on NA; therefore, we do not provide examples that are lexical borrowings.

in Egyptian Arabic. The gap grows wider when we talk about politeness in NA because this area has not received any scholarly attention to date.

Brown and Levinson's seminal work built heavily on Goffman's (1967) notion of face and its usage in English folk term. We have already pointed out the importance of face in the Semitic culture, which meshes well with the concept of viewing face as a source of both honour and humiliation. Face is a semi-abstract construct that amalgamates merits with demerits. Brown and Levinson distinguish between two aspects of face: "**negative face**: the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others; **positive face**: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others" (p. 62). In this paper, we take issue with Brown and Levinson's claim that all 'Model Persons' have both positive face and negative face. The point that we are raising here is that positive and negative face do not have the same significance cross-culturally. Our previous discussion provides evidence that in different cultures one aspect of face may be more salient than another, as shown in diagram 1. Technically, Brown and Levinson's positive-negative dichotomy does not support the presumption that members of a specific culture may exhibit various degrees of interdependence, congruence and solidarity in some situations and still being capable of demonstrating independence, divergence and dissociation in others. Brown and Levinson's dichotomous terms constitute a complementarity in which the presence of one implies the absence of the other. Therefore, we are going to adopt the terminology employed in relational communication, viz., connectedness and separateness instead of Brown and Levinson's positive and negative face, which underlie the concept of positive and negative politeness (see Arundale 2006 and Baxter and Montgomery 1996). Connectedness and separateness constitute "a functional opposition in that the total autonomy of parties precludes their relational connection, just as total connection between parties precludes their individual autonomy" (Baxter and Montgomery, 1996, p.9). As such, there is a reflexive link between the dialectical opposition of connectedness and separateness; therefore, connectedness may be 'voiced' as solidarity, interdependence, and convergence in different situations and different cultures but 'voiced' as distance, dissociation and independence in other situations or cultures (Baxter and Montgomery, 1996, p. 30, 89; Arundale, 2006, 2010).

In support of our assumption, previous work (Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Park and Guan 2009; Somech, 2000; Triandis et al., 1985; Wu and Keysar 2007) has already established the difference between two types of cultures. The independent culture prevails in individualistic communities where the independent self is more salient and its goals intersect with those of the in-group. There is more focus on autonomy, priority of personal

objectives, and personal achievements and aspirations. On the other hand, the interdependent culture lays emphasis on accomplishing the in-group objectives and puts a strong focus on cooperation, integration and mutual interests. In collective societies, individuals have and strive to maintain stronger social ties with each other. These social and interpersonal bonds are nurtured outside the zone of formalities; the independent society is characterized by having weaker social ties because such ties are formed to comply with the social norms and formalities of the individualistic community. The use of teknonyms in the collective culture (e.g. father or mother of the child instead of a person's name) is an outstanding example of interconnectedness. It is the name of the eldest child, but this rule usually drops elder females in order to establish what the culture considers the positive connotation that has to do with manhood when a male child is born. Teknonyms are widely used in some interdependent cultures, such as NA and IA, and they are not associated with one geographical position rather than another or with one age group more than another. An interesting linguistic fact is that teknonyms can be used to address both men and women. They are also used to address bachelors by anticipating the names of their future offspring. Furthermore, a teknonym can be used as an emotional supportive technique to address an infertile individual or old bachelor by using ʾ*abu ğāyib* 'Father of the absent one'. Even men in power are known to the public by their eldest children's names, for example, the Iraqi deposed president Saddam Hussein was usually addressed as ʾ*abu ʿaddaji* 'Uday's father'. However, teknonyms may carry negative or derogatory connotations when used to belittle someone, for example ʾ*abu ḏarṭah* 'Father of a fart'.

In individualistic cultures, individuals are raised to be self-dependent and independent members of the society early in their life; most children take the decision to move out when they can support themselves 'financially'. The financial factor plays a vital role in determining the length of stay under their parents' roof. Some parents ask kids as young as 18 years old with a stable financial resource to move out. Individualistic objectives and personal autonomy are pervasive cultural values triggered by the general atmosphere which dominates the society. Collectivists are completely at variance with this Western view. In Iraq, for example, kids usually do not move out because they are never asked to, even if they are financially stable. Even after getting married, kids are more than welcome to live with their parents except females who, according to tradition, must move to live with their husbands. However, young adults (both males and females) are not allowed to move out before getting married. Eventually, this kind of interdependence spreads across the whole society and passes over from one generation to another. How can this be linked to linguistic politeness? The across-the-board interconnectivity maintains face, builds strong ties, and blurs the

borders among individuals when they interact. Connectedness with others promotes interpersonal communication and reduces the severity of potentially face-threatening acts. In section 5, thanking strategy 4 is a good example of connectedness in these cultures, because in example 2 the thanker is asking God to have mercy on the thankee's parents (not necessarily deceased) instead of thanking him/her directly. This example may not make sense or may sound outlandish to Western ears where parents have a more marginal role in their children's personal life after moving out. In individualistic cultures, the independent individual is the center of interaction, hence thanking a person other than thankee would result in a pragmatic failure. There is a more convoluted way to say this in Iraqi slang: *raḥma ʿala ḏāk ʾid-des ʾir-riḍaʿta* 'may God have mercy on the breast that you suckled'. This example is of special interest as it is an amalgam of heterogonous components; a taboo word *des* 'breast' and God's mercy are implicitly referring to the thankee's mother as a symbol of fertility.

It is clear that in an interdependent culture, linguistic politeness is a function of these collective interpersonal relations. In diagram 1, we summarize the effect of individualistic and interdependent cultures on politeness as a scalar phenomenon. Unsurprisingly, Hofstede (1997) showed that independent cultures, represented by Western countries, scored very high on individualism index value, viz., USA 91, GB 89, and Canada 80, whereas the interdependent societies, such as Arab, scored much lower (38).
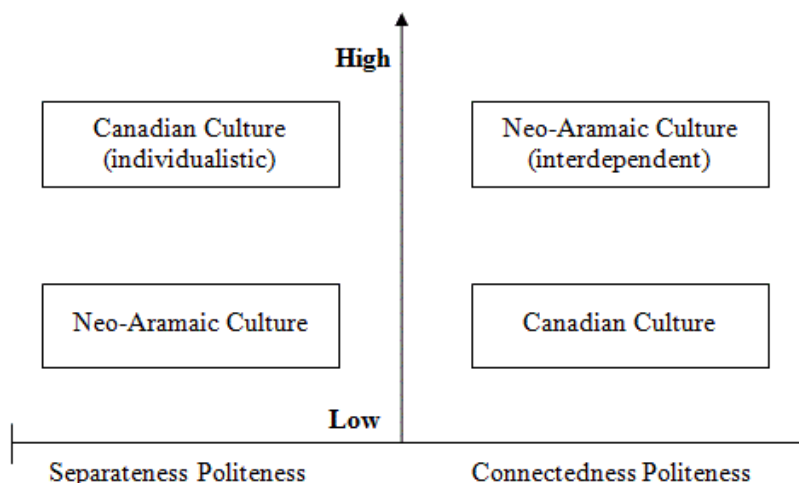

Diagram 1 A cross-cultural perspective of connectedness and separateness politeness

The distinction between connectedness and separateness politeness lends support to this line of argument. They are tailored to meet the interpersonal needs of the individuals in these two distinct cultures. Apart from the technicality issue discussed above, Brown and Levinson's

"[p]ositive politeness is approach-based [...] : S considers H to be in important respects 'the same' as he, with in-group rights and duties and expectations of reciprocity" (p.70). Unlike positive politeness, negative politeness "is oriented mainly toward partially satisfying (redressing) H's negative face, his basic want to maintain claims of territory and self determination. Negative politeness, thus, is essentially avoidance-based..." (p.70). Brown and Levinson focused more on the individuality of interactants, their wants and territory, which deepens the gap between the individuals; they were driven by the western values. Connectedness politeness or 'solidarity politeness', as Scollon and Scollon (1981, p.175) legitimately described it, meshes well with interdependent cultures values and beliefs. Brown and Levinson's definitions sound superficially viable, but, again, interactants cannot be viewed as two independent systems during communication. Moreover, Lakoff's (1975, p.65) rules of politeness:

1- Formality: keep aloof;
2- Deference: give options;
3- Camaraderie: show sympathy

should be reordered in order to meet the face requirements of a collective society (see diagram 1). Consequently, rule number (3) is ordered higher in the interdependent culture due to the established common ground among the individuals. Intuitively, separateness politeness and independent cultures are two sides of the same coin; they are both formal and seek to avoid interference with or impediment of the speaker's freedom.

3. NA speakers: sociocultural perspectives

NA speakers who participated in this study are descendants of Iraqi immigrant families that left Iraq in the early 1990s looking for a better life and religious freedom. Most of them came to Canada between the ages of 4-8 years. They use their mother tongue at home and in other social and religious ceremonies, as it is the main language of both parents who prefer to use NA for two reasons: 1) to preserve their native language and 2) because their English is not advanced to a degree that would allow them to engage in elaborate conversations. For the young generation, NA is, to some extent, the in-group language, however, outside their homes, English is the language of social interaction.

NA speakers are bilinguals who rely heavily on English in their day-to-day interactions. NA and English are for them two competing rivals for linguistic dominance, though on unequal terms. With English being the exclusive language of communication in the educational system, job market, hospitals, media, etc., NA is fighting a losing battle. Succinctly, NA is a language of an ethnic minority that is being assimilated by the hegemonic English-speaking mainstream.

Exogamous marriages are not encouraged in this ethnic group; therefore, some males (rarely females) travel to Iraq to get married. Marriage partners do not have to be fluent English speakers to enter the country which is a linguistic advantage for NA. In fact, this conspicuous leaning towards endogamous marriages played an important role in keeping NA as a sporadic means of communication among the second-generation speakers. Children born to such couples, where the mother is brought from home, indulge in the 'fad' of learning NA in their early years- a process that fizzles out as soon as these children join kindergarten and mingle with their peers. The influence of the contact language (i.e. English) becomes greater when the children pursue their study and, later, their career in an English milieu.

Social and religious gatherings such as church services, weddings, baptisms, and funerals, and the close family bonds that tie the members of the NA community are not enough to maintain their language. Consequently, St. Thomas Chaldean Church, in cooperation with Hamilton-Wentworth Catholic District School Board (HWCDSB), launched a Saturday school program to teach elementary students their mother tongue. Does this project work toward language maintenance? The program teaches Standard Syriac instead of NA. Teachers, some of them participated in our survey, are young and most of their instructional strategies are given in English. Accordingly, I would suggest that these children will grow up with a rusty mother tongue, particularly where continuous practice is required to instil and hone the communicative skills that are crucial in establishing mutual understanding, such as politeness, idioms, metaphors, humour, irony, etc. There is extensive literature on child language development, which provides ample evidence that children's linguistic (i.e. lexical, phonological, and syntactic) repertoire starts to develop in early infancy. Apparently, NA speakers in this study have acquired lexical, phonological and syntactic knowledge of their mother tongue in their early childhood but other aspects of language which go beyond the literal meaning and require well-developed socio-pragmatic knowledge do not get the chance to develop systematically. Unlike syntax, semantics and phonology, these communicative aspects are characterized by rapid and constant changes which would eventually lead to language loss. Empirically speaking, children, at approximately age six and on, start comprehending and interpreting figurative language and formulaic communicative constructions that require various complex linguistic and cognitive skills. For more details about politeness acquisition see Axia and Baroni 1985; Ervin-Tripp et al. 1990; Gordon and Ervin-Tripp 1984; Nippold et al. 1982; on children's interpretation and comprehension of idioms see Ackerman 1982; Hsieh, and Hsu 2009; Levorato and Cacciari 1992, 1995, 2002; Levorato et al. 2004; on children's metaphor see Gardner 1974, 1975; Gentner 1977; Keil 1986.

4. Thanks and apologies: indebtedness and regret

Thanks and apologies are expressive (Searle, 1976) illocutionary acts (Austin, 1962). The intention of the speaker is enunciating his/her gratitude and/or regret respectively; an illocutionary act is the force of the uttered words. The impact of the speaker's expression of gratefulness or repentance on the addressee is termed the perlocutionary or social effect. In other words, the interactional purpose is to assuage the H when performing apologies and to appreciate H's action when expressing gratitude. Searle (1976) noted that the illocutionary point of expressives is "to express the psychological state specified in the sincerity condition about a state of affairs specified in the propositional content" (p.12). Norrick (1978) challenged Searle's view that expressives express emotions, because emotions are often difficult to measure and they are a function of situation. Emotions are not the main factor in determining the social functions of expressives. Instead, he builds on Searle's argument that the speaker presupposes that the specified state of affairs is true, thus expressives are generally 'factual' (or sound sincere). Second, expressives are differentiated from each other by how they relate to the speaker. The speaker assigns a 'value judgement' to the recognized state of affairs. Consequently, expressing 'thanks' has a positive value (i.e. it is face enhancing) whereas 'apologies' have a negative value (i.e. are face threatening). Third, apparently thanks and apologies differ in assigning the thematic roles to the involved arguments. In apologies, the agent is the speaker and the patient is the addressee but the agent, in case of thanks, is the addressee and the speaker is the patient or recipient of the benefit (for similar claim see Bergman & Kasper 1993).

Norrick (1978), further, propounds that "thanking is generally the most formulaic and least 'heartfelt' of expressive illocutionary acts... In English only 'thanks' and 'thank you' are common, although both occur with a wide range of intensifiers; the situation is much the same in other languages" (p. 9). We take issue with these claims and we provide evidence from IA and NA to support our stand.

4.1 Indebtedness

Expressing gratitude in these Semitic languages is more elaborate and does not rely heavily on intensification. Using 'thanks' or 'thank you' is not as common as in English because there exist various alternative strategies and each one of them is a function of various variables: age, sex, power, value of the favour, etc. There is a positive correlation between the employed strategy and the received favour. We can also deduce that sincerity increases as the value of the offered favour or service increases. Here are some of the

strategies24 employed to express gratitude in IA and NA when identical equivalents are available.

Strategy **1**: This strategy is used with small daily favours and represents the direct use of expressives, which makes it more formulaic and routinized than other strategies. Even within expressives, there is hierarchical importance stemming from the value of the favour offered.

1. *šukran* (IA) 'thanks'

2.a *ʾāškurak* (IA) 'I thank you'

b. *tāwit basīm-a* (NA) 'be sound' → 'stay healthy'

3a- *mamnūn* (IA) 'I am grateful'

b. *basīm-a rāba* 25 (NA) 'be extremely sound'

4. *ʾāni ʿājiz ʿan ʾiš-šukur* (IA) 'I do not know how much I should thank you' → I am speechless'

Strategy **2**: In this strategy, the thanker wants to clearly manifest his or her indebtedness to the thankee. It may sound as if the thanker is exaggerating, but s/he tries to emphasize the high value of the received favour; therefore, the thanker makes a direct reference to the unforgettable, indescribable and beneficial action, which makes him/her sound more genuine.

1a. *ʾin šāḷḷa mā ʾānsa faḏl-ak* (IA) ' God willing, I will not forget your graciousness'

b. *kan ʿāyn ʾāla la-gnāšin faḏl-ux* (NA) ' God willing, I will not forget your graciousness'

2a. *ʾillī sawetā māynnisī* (IA) 'what you have done is unforgettable'

b. *mindī tkim muḏitle la-gmanše* (NA) 'what you have done is unforgettable'

3. *hal xidma ma-rāḥ ʾānsā-hā ṭūl ʿumrī* (IA) 'I will not forget this favour all my life'

4a. *haḏa ʾad-den b-rugubtī w-ma rāḥ ʾānsā-h ṭūl ʿumrī* (IA) 'This debt will remain on my neck for the rest of my life'

b. *ʾāḏa dena paqartīle w la-gnāšinne māqā dīyyn bixāyy* (NA) ' This debt will remain on my neck and I will not forget this debt as long as I am alive'

Strategy **3**: The recipient of the favour, service or gift tries to maximize the giver's beneficial action and makes him/her feel the importance of what s/he has done or given. It is worth noting that indebtedness is expressed indirectly in this strategy; the actual expression of gratitude has to be inferred. It stresses that the thanker has caused trouble that needed to be mitigated by the action of the thankee.

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24 The strategies used throughout this paper are part of an unpublished MA thesis "Thanks and apologies in Iraqi Arabic with special reference to English" (1999).

25 This expression is widely used by Assyrians but rarely employed by Syriac and Chaldean speakers who prefer using the Arabic version (*mamnūn*).

1a. *taʿabnāk-um wīyyā-na* (IA) 'we have caused you a lot of trouble'
b. *kɩm-mačhax-un minnan* (NA) 'we have caused you a lot of trouble'
2a. *leš ʾitkalafit* (IA) 'why have you bothered/troubled yourself to do it?'
b. *qāī mučhel-ux rūx-ux* (NA) 'why have you troubled yourself?'

Strategy **4**: The thanker expresses his gratefulness by wishing for giver's happiness, success and health. These wishes are more direct and effective when they take a supplicatory form by mentioning God explicitly. However, wishes can also be directed to the benefactor or his/her body parts.

1a. *xulf ʾāḷḷa ʿalek* (IA) 'may God repay you'
b. *ʾāla xālif ʾil-ux* (NA) 'may God repay you'
2a. *raḥm ʾāḷḷa wāldek* (IA) 'may God have mercy on your parents'
b. *ʾāla mḥāse nɩšwāṯ-ux* (NA) 'may God have mercy on your parents'
3a. *ʾāḷḷa yzīd-a* (IA) 'may God plentify it (food)'
b. *ʾāla mazid-le* (NA) 'may God plentify it'
4a. *tislam* (IA) 'be safe and sound'
b. *tāwit basīm-a* 26 (NA) 'be sound'
5a. *tʿīš* (IA) 'may you live a long life'
b. *xayyt or basma gyān-ūx* (NA) 'may you live a long life' or 'may your soul be sound'
6a. *ʿāšat ʾīdak* (IA) 'long live your hand' 27

4.2 Apology

The other type of speech act that we want to discuss here is apology. Norrick (1978) said that 'acts of apologizing and forgiving are more basic and important to society than such acts as thanking and congratulating which by comparison are its pleasant by-product rather than functional principles' (p.8). This claim correlates with his previous assumption that thanks are formulaic and less heartfelt. Many studies focused on apologies because they are viewed as a result of a breach or violation of social norms, which creates a requisite for remedy and repair. This is somehow a superficial approach that is built on the assumption that apology is depicted as a scenario where there is a victim who needs remedy and a culprit to shoulder responsibility. Failure to meet the anticipated requirements of each one of them will definitely result in misunderstanding and a threat to face. In fact, thanks are as important as apologies and some languages use them interchangeably in some interactions- "In Japanese, many gratitude expressions can be replaced by apology expressions, but not all" (Coulmas, 1981, p.84). Expressing our sincere gratitude gives meaning to our existence as it shows our dependence

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26 It is not a coincidence that *basīma* (be sound) appears in strategy 1 and 4. Neo-Aramaic does not seem to have in its lexicon a word that identically corresponds to *thank you*.
27 This expression corresponds to the British ' more power to your elbow!' It is used to praise the benefactor or approve of his action, which may have involved physical activity.

on others; the expressed appreciation relieves the benefactor and reflects our recognition of the action. Emmons and McCullough (2003) examined the effect of thanking on the psychological and physical well-being in daily life. They conducted a study on undergraduate students who were assigned one of three different experimental conditions. One group kept daily journals of things they were grateful for; in second condition, another group was asked to keep journal about their hassles, whereas the third condition was a downward social comparison. Unlike the other two groups, the group which kept journals of gratitude demonstrated a significant increase in psychological and physical functions.

In what follows we try to prove that cultural values and norms play a vital role in formulating apology strategies. In other words, in different cultures, it would be odd to expect to have the same apology strategies and the same hierarchical order because the severity of the offense and the importance of some contextual variables such as age, sex, power, etc. differ cross-culturally. We rarely hear public mea culpas offered by Iraqi officials (i.e. politicians, school headmasters) even for severe offenses. Apology is a face-threatening act because the speaker has to regret or at least take responsibility for the wrong s/he has done. In a male-dominated culture, such as Iraq, the majority of the politicians are men who perceive apologizing as a weakness; it is a social system where males hold the primary power. Religion, both Islam and Christianity, confers power upon men but women are often considered subordinate to them. For example, Saddam's notorious apology to Kuwaitis for invading their country, burning oil wells, and killing innocent people was Machiavellian in its essence: "We **apologize to God** [emphasis added] for any act that has angered Him in the past, unbeknownst to us but considered our responsibility, and we apologize to you on this basis as well" (Saddam Hussein's apology, 2002). Saddam arrogantly implied that his apology was not out of weakness. First, in an attempt to evade the direct face-threat, Saddam did not read the letter but made one of his ministers read it. Second, his apology did not state the offense clearly or take responsibility for his atrocious acts, it was a verbose speech about his pyrrhic victory. Politicians may not be a perfect representation of the population, but they are a reliable index of power and gender. A lack of apology is not limited to politics, but it extends to other governmental public services, such as educational institutions. In 2014, a primary school student passed away after going into a coma, because a month earlier a school principle had beaten him "with a metal rod" and did not apologize (Bassem, 2015).Consequently, we assume that teachers and other officials in general do not offer apologies. In this and many other incidents with varying degrees of severity, power obviates the need to express remorse and admit responsibility. However, making amends for a physical injury or psychological insult is a more

common manoeuvre that perpetrators use to acknowledge responsibility implicitly. Succinctly, there is an inverse correlation between power and apology, as power increases, apologizing decreases. On the other hand, a considerable number of western politicians have had enough courage to express regret and apologize for offenses that have not necessarily been committed by them. In 1988, Ronald Regan apologized for the internment of Japanese and George Bush, in1992, issued another formal apology from the government. In 2015, British Prime Minister Tony Blair apologized for the war on Iraq due to inaccurate intelligence information about mass destruction weapons. In 2008, Stephan Harper apologized for residential schools and the damage they caused to Canada's First Nations.

In accordance with the axiom: 'the customer is always right, business owners, in Iraq, are obliged to offer apologies to their customers. It is for the benefit of their business to give a high priority to customer satisfaction. It is axiomatic that businesses excel in providing services; therefore, admitting responsibility and offering apology is an important element in the business equation. On the other hand, people of higher professional status such as doctors, lawyers, and professors, expect apologies from their patients, clients and students, when agreed-upon social norms of conduct are violated. For example, coming late to an appointment triggers the need for an apology to white-collar workers. High-status professional are not also expected to apologize for minor infringements such as coming late or making the apologizee (i.e. their clients) wait longer than expected. However, because of the power factor, these professionals reluctantly offer apologies when they fail to provide the expected high standard of service. They are motivated by the severity of the offense (see Hatfield 2011 for power in Korean lexical apologies).

Strategy 1 below shows that the speaker is not the agent but apologizes for a violation that s/he has not been part of. This strategy lends more support to interdependent cultures where individuals partially or completely accept shouldering the blame for others. This is similar to Hatfield and Hann's (2011) 'group face' in modern Korean dramas, but, in the Iraqi culture, 'group face' is part of real-life situations. Expressions like those in 28 and 29 can be morphologically modified to clarify this notion: *mukiml-ux ṣalman* (NA) 'you blackened our face' (you abashed us) and *muxwer-ux ṣalman* (NA) 'you whitened our face' (you dignified us). Some practices and social norms derive their strength and legitimacy from Islam, such as blood money, which is also common in Japan and Korea, where the family (including but not limited to father, brothers, uncles, etc.) of the offender pays out to the family of the victim, who can accordingly appeal to the court for clemency. In Iraq, according to Islam, there are various compensations paid out to recompense injuries other than murder, such as theft, physical

damage, libel, etc. In these cases, the offender is usually not present during the negotiations over the compensation; therefore, the offender is not given the chance to express his/her remorse.

The discussion above supports our claim that a promise of forbearance is a highly face-threatening act and apologizers usually avoid using this strategy. Two interactional variables play an important role in promising forbearance by the speaker: power and severity. The apologizer must be younger (i.e. a student, soldier, employee) than the apologizee to make a promise of forbearance. At the same time, the offense should be severe in order to exhort the apologizer to mull over the consequences and eventually decide whether to acknowledge responsibility. The apologizer weighs promising forbearance against the severe consequences of the offense. When the apologizer and apologizee are within the same age group, promise of forbearance is fulfilled by evading the direct responsibility for the offense. Here, the apologizer uses something along the lines of "this will not be repeated again" or "this will be the last time"- the apologizer resorts to a circuitous technique to mitigate the severity of the face-threatening act. The perpetrator tries to magnify the offense in order to divert the apologizee's attention away from the apologizer; the apologizer does not want to project him/herself as a volitional agent.

Cohen and Olshtain (1981, p.119), based on a study of Americans and Israelis, proposed four main apology strategies:

1. An expression of apology

a. An expression of regret (e.g., "I'm sorry")

b. An offer of apology (e.g., "I apologize")

c. A request for forgiveness (e.g., "Excuse me" or "Forgive me")

d. An expression of an excuse (not an overt apology but an excuse which serves as an apology)

2. An acknowledgment of responsibility

3. An offer of repair

4. A promise of forbearance (i.e., that it won't happen again)

They further claimed that their results 'suggest that these speakers of English as a foreign language utilized, for the most part, the same semantic formulas as native English speakers, when their proficiency permitted it. This finding is consistent with Fraser's claim (1979) that "these formulas are universal" (p. 130). Fraser (1978) made a similar claim for the universality of requesting strategies.

We agree with Fraser (1979) that these semantic formulas are universal; therefore, we are not presenting their A or NA equivalents. However, we suggest that there are culture-specific strategies used to mitigate an offensive action (verbal/non-verbal) in social interaction are:

Strategy 1: This strategy looks like Cohen and Olshtain's 'promise of forbearance', but the speaker is not the agent; the speaker apologizes for an offense that s/he has not committed. S/he takes on responsibility for a third party, which can be his/her son, younger brother, or a friend.

1a. *baʿad mā ysawī-ha* (IA) 'he will not do it again'

b. *labiš kāwiḏla* (NA) 'he will not do it again'

Strategy 2: The apologizer uses a self-demeaning strategy to admit that he has perpetrated a foul deed that requires remedy. The apologizer directs the blame to him/herself explicitly or implicitly (by justifying and supporting the apologizee's reaction).

1. *ʾānīl ǧalṭān* (IA) 'I am mistaken'→ 'I am the one to blame'

2a. *ʾilḥaq ḥaqq-ak* (IA) 'the right is your right' → 'you are absolutely right'

b. *ḥaqq-ux-le* (NA) 'it is your right'

Strategy 3: When the offense is not severe, the apologizer uses a strategy to mitigate his/her gaffe. It is a tacit apology because the apologizer explains his/her action instead of explicitly apologizing for it. It is not a fauxpology as the speaker uses first person pronoun to avoid circumlocution and clearly demonstrate that s/he takes full responsibility for the mistake.

1a. *ma liḥagt ʾil-pāṣ* (IA) 'I did not catch the bus'

b. *la ṭp-elī pāṣ* (NA) 'I did not catch the bus'

In the second part of this paper, I shall argue that 'culture learning' enables NA-E bilinguals to avoid 'pragmatic failure' or 'cross-cultural communication breakdown' (Thomas 1983), but at the same time threatens the existence of NA. Pragmatic failure occurs when non-native speakers misinterpret the pragmatic force of an utterance or wrongly apply non-native formulas to native contexts. As shown earlier, different cultures employ different strategies to meet the requirements of the context. Leech (1983) and Thomas (1983) distinguished between pragmatic competence (having the skill to convey linguistic messages efficiently by understanding the contextual cues), and linguistic competence (having the main grammatical components of language, viz., semantics, syntax, morphology, etc.). Our main concern is the sociopragmatic misinterpretation of contexts that invoke culture-specific values and beliefs. However, we prefer to use sociocultural competence (Ervin-Tripp 1972; Hymes 1974) as we try to draw attention to how NA-E bilinguals conceptualize the sociocultural rules of politeness and how they react in contexts that may induce conflict with their cultural beliefs.

5. Method

Experimental design and instruments. Ten native NA speakers, most of them fluent speakers of English (six males, aged +45) participated in the

pilot study. They were unanimous in their judgments throughout both parts of the survey (Table 1 and 2). There was a consensus that the scenarios in Table 1 express social favours, achieve solidarity or induce social reciprocity. They clearly demonstrated a high propensity for connectedness politeness. We noticed a general agreement on considering the situations in Table 2 as some kind of social violations that may require or motivate the use of lexical apology terms (i.e. 'I am sorry' or 'excuse me') except in scenarios 2 and 10.

Our experiment was designed to examine older NA speakers' reaction to 20 conversational scenarios that require acceptability judgments. The scenarios or conditions were developed to show some degree of politeness in day-to-day interactions. Some of the scenarios did not involve immediate face-to-face interaction. The scenarios were designed to investigate participants' reactions to thanks or reciprocation (i.e. connectedness) on the one hand, and apologies or social violations (i.e. separateness) on the other. We tried to avoid using situations where the high indebtedness may have an influence on the speaker's choice, because we are not tracing speaker's reaction to favours or services of varying beneficial degrees. Similarly, we avoided grave offenses (serious offences and material damages have been excluded) that can culminate in readily induced responses. We tried to keep the offence low so that speakers do not feel obliged to choose one option rather than another. Some situations have an implied offence or social breach that requires remedy according to a preliminary questionnaire conducted among NA speakers who have more rigid beliefs about their culture than the young students do. Instead, we tried to keep the value of the action constant throughout the survey to eliminate any confounding factors that might have an effect on participant's judgments. The first ten conditions represent situations that are built on acknowledging solidarity whereas the other ten conditions are structured around small social violations of conventional manners. These conversational scenarios have been designed to assess the ability of NA-E bilinguals to adapt to the Canadian cultural norms in situations that require showing a certain degree of politeness.

We have examined NA-E bilinguals' responses to see if they reacted differently from older NA speakers. We predicted that there will be a significant difference in most of the conditions between NA-E bilinguals and older NA speakers in spite of being members of the same linguistic community and sharing the same cultural values. According to this assumption, politeness is not necessarily a function of language. We, thus, assumed that NA-E bilinguals and their English-speaking peers may share a similar understanding of both sets of scenarios.

Subjects. Three groups volunteered to participate in the main study. The first group consisted of thirty CE monolinguals and thirty NA-E

bilinguals made up the second group. Participants were students at McMaster University and belonged to the same age group (20-28). There were twelve CE monolingual males and fourteen NA-E bilingual males. The third group consisted of thirty old NA speakers (17 males and aged +55). Three of them did not speak English very well; therefore, we had to explain to them some of the conditions. Pilot study participants did not take part in this experiment.

Procedure. The researcher gave the participants a brief account about the survey and explained the objectives behind collecting this kind of data. Then, the researcher handed out the survey, which included a briefing about the objectives of the study and instructions for the convenience of the participants (Appx. § 1). The participants were given enough time to read through the questions of the survey (Table 1 and 2) and answer at their own pace. They were told that responses should be accurate and reflect personal attitudes toward politeness. We collected some demographic information about the participants (Appx. § 2). After answering all the questions, participants signed a consent form.

N o.	Conversational Situations (scenarios)	Responses	
1.	In the elevator, you meet someone living with you in the same building. You say hi and start a conversation.	Yes	No
2.	At Wal-Mart, you said 'Thank you' to the cashier whose reply was 'Yep'. Do you consider that odd?	Yes	No
3.	Somebody saw you coming but he/she did not hold the door for you. Is his/her behavior odd?	Yes	No
4.	Somebody held the door open for you. You thanked him/her.	Yes	No
5.	While requesting some information, you thanked your colleague in advance in an email for their help. Would you send another email to say 'thank you' again?	Yes	No
6.	You hold the door for somebody (on his/her cell phone) who goes right through without saying anything. Is this behavior odd?	Yes	No
7.	You are working on an assignment, which is a kind of a questionnaire. You gave a copy to one of your colleagues to fill out, but he/she never brings it back. You consider this an odd behavior.	Yes	No
8.	You are rewarded for being an active member in a small class or group (10 persons). Accordingly, you sent an email thanking everybody for being helpful and cooperative, but only four responded. Is this a rude behavior?	Yes	No
9.	Somebody compliments you on your new hair-do, shirt, shoes, etc. You reply, 'We have the same elegant taste'.	Yes	No
10.	A friend wishes you a nice flight or trip. You reply, 'Thank you'.	Yes	No

**Table 1:** Conversational situations employing social favours and friendly gestures

No.	Conversational Situations (scenarios)	Responses	
1.	While on a full bus somebody steps on your foot, but he/she apologizes. Would you say something such as 'no worries' or 'that's ok'?	Yes	No
2.	While walking on a narrow sidewalk somebody passes by without saying 'excuse me'. Is this an odd behavior?	Yes	No
3.	Somebody interrupts your conversation without saying 'excuse me'. Is this behavior annoying?	Yes	No
4.	You do not say 'excuse me' after sneezing when there are people around you.	Yes	No
5.	You have an appointment with your family doctor at 10:00, but the secretary calls your name after 45 minutes. You consider this rude.	Yes	No
6.	You are getting off the bus from the front door while other passengers are trying to get on at the same time. Would you say 'I am sorry'?	Yes	No
7.	You are filling out a form for your health card at Service Ontario. You have to ask for a new form because you have made some mistakes on the first one.Would you say 'I am sorry'?	Yes	No
8.	In a restaurant, you spill some of your coffee on the table cover. Would you apologize to the waiter for this?	Yes	No
9.	A friend of yours requested your book that he/she does not an access to, but you forgot to bring it. Would you apologize?	Yes	No
10.	You realize that you have acted poorly towards your colleague or classmate. You would send him/her a text message or Facebook message saying 'you are sorry' instead of waiting until you meet him/her next week?	Yes	No

Table 2: Conversational situations employing mild social violations

6. Results

We used R programming language for statistical computing to analyse our data (Field et al. 2012). The Wilcoxon rank-sum test (two-tailed) showed that there was a significant difference at .05 threshold between older NA speakers (Mdn=28.5) and NA-E bilinguals (Mdn= 20), W= 7.5, $p = 0.00$, $r = -0.68$ (see Fig. 1). The analysis used an equal number of observations in each condition. The median is higher for older NA speakers, which tells us that they have scored higher. In other words, they were more inclined to connectedness politeness by agreeing that these situations establish some kind of solidarity through various ways ranging from starting a conversation to accepting compliments. 50% of their scores were between 28 and 22.5.The (IQR) did not overlap along the vertical axis, suggesting that NA-E bilinguals and older NA speakers differ significantly. There was more variability in NA-E bilinguals 'Yes' scores (IQR= 4.5) than the older NA speakers who demonstrated a high level of agreement with each other (IQR =1).

Fig. 1 Older NA speakers and NA-E bilinguals Yes scores for social favours
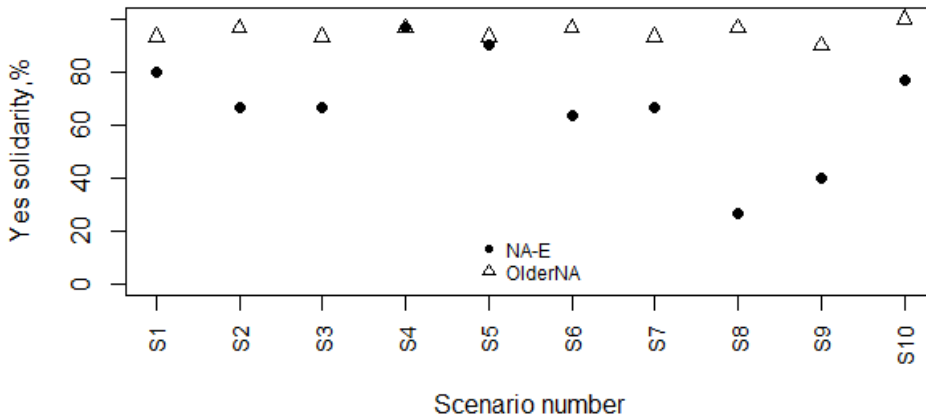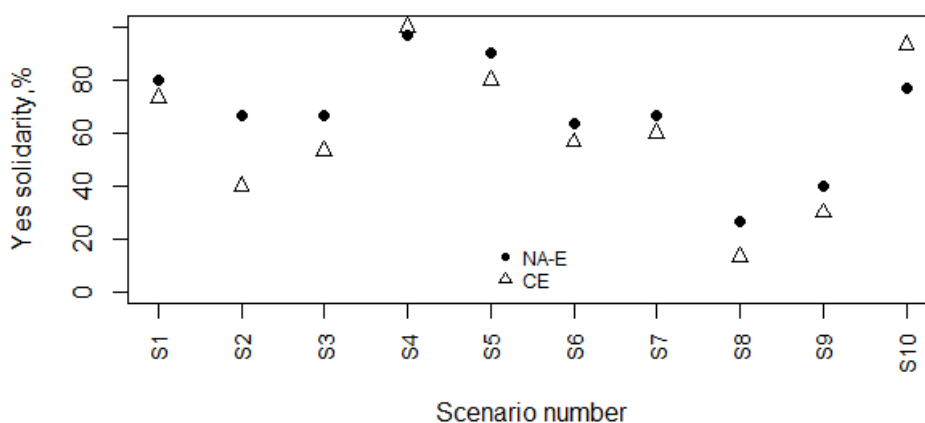

Situations that induced mild social violations and invoked remedy have also shown a significant difference at .05 level between older NA speakers (Mdn= 26) and NA-E bilinguals (Mdn= 17.5), W= 23, p = 0.04, r = -0.37 as shown in Fig. 2. Older NA speakers and NA-E bilinguals held quite different attitudes toward social violations. This highlights the fact that the majority of older NA speakers tend to agree that *most* of these scenarios have violated certain social norms and require remedy- they scored higher than NA-E bilinguals did. 50% of their scores lie between 28 and 22.5 whereas NA-E bilinguals have 50% of their scores between 21.75 and 16.25. Again, the difference between the upper and lower quartile is 5.5 for older NA speakers and NA-E bilinguals.

Fig. 2 Older NA speakers and NA-E bilinguals Yes scores for social violations
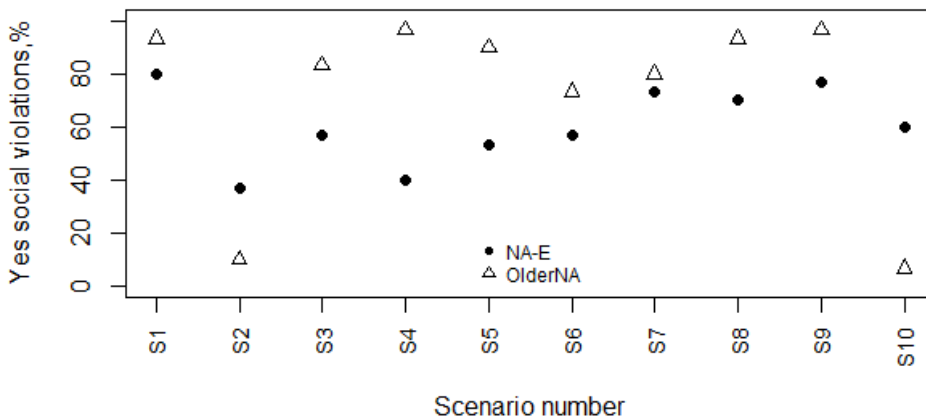
The Wilcoxon rank-sum test (two-tailed) revealed that solidarity-achieving scenarios (connectedness politeness) for NA-E bilinguals (Mdn=20) did not differ significantly at .05 level from CE speakers (Mdn=17.5), W= 41, p = 0.49, r = -0.12 as shown in Fig. 3. NA-E bilinguals scored a bit higher and 50% of their scores are between 23.75 and 19.25. CE speakers showed more variability because their 50% is between 23.5 and 13. There was more variability in the scores of CE speakers compared to NA-E bilinguals- the IQR = 4.5 for NA-E was small relative to IQR = 10.5 for the CE speakers.


Fig. 3 NA-E bilinguals and CE monolinguals Yes scores for social favours

The plot in Fig. 4 shows that the two groups did not differ significantly in evaluating mild social violations, $W = 47.5$, $p = 0.84$, $r = -0.034$. However, the range is slightly larger for NA-E bilinguals than for CE speakers, which means if we take the bottom 25% of NA-E bilinguals then there is more variability in their scores than the bottom 25% of CE speakers. The second quartile has been slightly different: 17.5 for NA-E bilinguals and 18 for CE speakers.

We have also run a chi square test to determine which scenarios or conditions were significantly different at .05 level. For the first set of conditions, we have found that scenarios 8 and 9 have low p-value= 0.00 and 0.0163. The second set of conditions showed that three scenarios were significantly different. In scenario 4 the p- value was 0.01, p= 0.02 in scenario 10, and in scenario 2 the p-value was 0.0325.

Fig. 4 NA-E bilinguals and CE monolinguals Yes scores for social violations
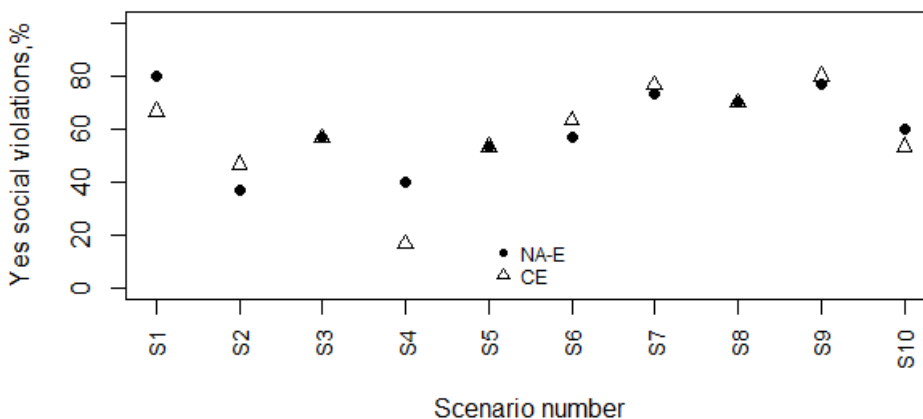
7. Discussion

The results showed that NA-E bilinguals differ significantly from older NA speakers in both connectedness and separateness politeness. Older NA speakers have high expectations of their classmates or colleagues; therefore, not receiving an email from the thankee (scenario 8) has been marked as rude- 96% of older NA speakers have considered it rude compared to 26% of the NA-E bilinguals and 13% of the CE speakers. The significant difference between older NA speakers and NA-E bilinguals is self-explanatory. Two factors play an important role in classifying classmates and colleagues as (close) friends and consequently expecting a reply from them is legitimately in line with connectedness politeness. The importance of the first factor stems from the fact that the majority of collective cultures have a homogeneous demographic combination. They usually have a common descent or ethnicity, which reveals other interrelated elements such as religion, culture and language. These sociocultural factors, in addition to other biological factors such as skin, hair, and bone structure, etc., facilitate the process of communication and mutual understanding, and lay solid foundations for cooperation and interdependence. Second, relations and ties in interdependent cultures are not built on haphazard predictions; the general atmosphere in the educational institution, which is based on annual rather than semester system, strengthens them. Practically, classmates and colleagues see each other every day for years and take part in various personal, social and academic occasions. These two factors seem to motivate members of collective cultures to freely cross over the individualistic borders and go beyond the basics of formal relations. The convergence between NA-E bilinguals and CE speakers is a function of the consistent merging process

into a culture that upholds separateness politeness as the mainstay of their daily interactions.

The same effect can be noticed in scenario 9 where 90% of the older NA speakers have agreed that reciprocating a compliment is the default in NA culture. Compliment reciprocation may vary depending on different factors, such as, the compliment's giver and the object of the compliment. In an interdependent culture, such as NA, complimenting someone on a new piece of clothing or haircut they have been sporting obliges the compliment receiver to use something along the lines of *'en-ux biš xilyena* 'your eyes are nicer' or the reply in scenario 9. On the other hand, it was all right for NA-E bilinguals and CE speakers not to deflect a compliment with 40% and 30% respectively. According to individualistic cultural rituals, a compliment receiver, in a similar situation, is bound to take a certain course of action that is rarely adopted in NA, viz., to smile and thank the compliment giver. There are probably other forms of returning a compliment, but to downplay the compliment is the commonest in such cultures. It is worth noting that failing to efficiently reciprocate a compliment in NA or assuming that a '*thank you*' will suffice is considered rude by the compliment receiver. This kind of reciprocity creates a kind of equilibrium, which is a corollary of connectedness politeness, between compliment giver and receiver.

For the second set of scenarios, we found three clear cases of divergence between older NA speakers and NA-E bilinguals. The first case is scenario 4 where 96% of older NA speakers have agreed that sneezing in public does not call for the unnecessary use of '*excuse me*', whereas 40% of NA-E bilinguals compared to only 16% of CE speakers have preferred not to say '*excuse me*' after sneezing. The chi square test did not show a significant difference between them, *p*= 0.0895. Why do older NA speakers behave in such a blunt manner, with brazen negligence of solidarity-achieving protocols? It is legitimate to intuit that this is not the case. It is just a situation that older NA speakers conceive of as a biological reflex that does not need to be mitigated by using one of the designated tools for expressing separateness politeness strategies. According to the NA culture, the strength and abruptness of this involuntary activity pressurize the sneezer to extol a deity by uttering the religiously motivated phrase *shtabaḥ shimm-ux rabbī* 'praise be to your name, my Lord'. Although the sneezer has rendered homage to a physically nonexistent third party (i.e. a deity), it is typical in NA to reciprocate the sneezer's exaltation with *raḥmeh28* (may God have mercy on you).

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28 If somebody sneezes during a debate, the sneezer himself or one of the debaters can use the sneeze as a confirmation that s/he is telling the truth: *'āḍī p-shahāde* (here comes the testimony).

The second case is scenario 10. Here we thought that some older NA speakers might not be interested in electronic gadgets and, as a result, might not have access to phones or social media. Thus this condition could be confounded. Quite the reverse, they proved us wrong when some of them confirmed having Facebook and Twitter accounts. As members of a collective culture, 94% of older NA speakers preferred face-to-face apology to text messages or other forms of social media compared to 40% of NA-E bilinguals and 47% of CE speakers. Although it is a kind of face threatening act, older NA speakers still wanted to express their sincere apology in person. Scenario 10 reveals an interesting aspect of separateness politeness in NA. The older NA speakers thought sending a message is somehow rude and might add insult to injury, and eventually backfire on them. Again, this kind of reaction can be attributed to their inherent inclination towards achieving solidarity by being physically close to the offended party. It is very important for them to make it clear that their intention is to right the wrong and get the relationship back on track. Heartfelt apologies pave the way for gradual normalization of interpersonal exchanges. For NA-E bilinguals and CE speakers priority is given to the immediacy of the offence, which brings about the urge for apology through any possible channel.

In scenario 2, 90% of older NA speakers have agreed that passing by someone while walking on a narrow sidewalk without saying 'excuse me' is not odd. On the contrary, NA-E bilinguals and CE speakers have found it odd but with varying degrees. However, the difference between NA-E bilinguals (36%) and CE speakers (46%) was not statistically significant. It is important to keep in mind that this very specific setting excludes jostling and shoving. In this case, older NA speakers would avoid using separateness politeness signals such as 'excuse me', because, the sidewalk is a communal public property according to their interdependent makeup which moulds their perspective of the interactional milieu. Therefore, moving past other people in a narrow sidewalk does not warrant the use of an unnecessary 'excuse me'; conversely, the use of '*excuse me*' can be interpreted as an alien behaviour (i.e. being more formal) or a distraction.

We have noticed that not only NA-E bilinguals but also older NA speakers have adapted to separateness politeness patterns in some cases. A very clear case is scenario 6 (Table 2). 73% of older NA speakers found that getting off the bus from the front door while other passengers are trying to get on sanctions the use of 'I am sorry'. Older NA speakers have spent most of their life in a country where interdependence and establishing rapport is considered the core of interactional machinery. Therefore, we predicted that older NA speakers would not envisage this as a violation of social conduct that can be attributed to some spatial and temporal factors. Buses in their home country are usually packed, people spend long times waiting, usually

not in line, and most of the buses are not equipped with a back door. All these factors should make it hard for the passengers to conceive alighting from a bus as transformed into a violation. Nevertheless, the Canadian setting has brought about a major change into some of their basic conceptualizations of politeness in interactional milieu.

In scenario 5, older NA speakers have shown a high degree of cultural integration. Here we have again two contrastive images depicting two distinct cultures. The first image depicts their home country where the concept of family doctor is not recognized and elastic appointments are quite familiar. Consequently, cancellations without prior notice and waiting longer than expected time are the norm. With all these drawbacks in the services provided, neither doctors nor their secretaries acknowledge that a social breach has occurred. It is important to note that in collective cultures small gatherings, such as patients in a waiting room, usually result in phatic communion. These small talks often go beyond superficial exchanges about weather and time to discussions of various topics, such as religion, politics, and economy. In the same vein, 'how are you?' is usually not taken to be an empty question, thus replying with 'good' or 'good, thanks' is odd; a bona fide in-depth reciprocation is sought out. Contrary to individualistic cultures, the inquirer expects an answer loaded with content. That would be a breach of manners in the Canadian culture. The second image depicts the Canadian culture where designated family doctors and relatively more organized appointments are factors that considerably shorten the time spent at clinics. That said, we could infer that old NA speakers at family doctor clinic either feel alienated because of the lack of solidarity or have successfully adapted from one culture to the other. They have scored 90% on scenario 5 whereas NA-E bilinguals and CE speakers both have scored 53%. It is interesting that older NA speakers have developed tolerance of cultural shift from connectedness to separateness politeness.

8. Conclusion

As a dominant language, IA has a huge, immediate impact on NA (i.e. a minority language) on various linguistic and cultural levels. The convergence of IA and NA in connectedness and separateness politeness which occur in particular niches paves the way for language shift and plays an important role in determining language vitality.

In situations of linguistic contact, it is normal for bilingual speakers to borrow from the lexicon and syntax of one language and employ in another. Borrowing lexical items and syntactic structures is supposed to be easier and faster than borrowing elements of pragmatic or communicative competence. Components of communicative competence such as metaphors, idioms, and politeness strategies are based on conceptualizations that are shaped by the

ingrained social values in the collective minds of the members of a community. However, NA-E bilinguals proved that borrowing the components of pragmatic competence and putting them into day-to-day interpersonal use is on a par with lexical and syntactic borrowings. Borrowing, lexical items or pragmatic components, is usually considered a source of linguistic richness. It is, also, a facilitating factor of communication among interactants with different linguistic backgrounds, but, for an endangered language, it is a side effect that nudges NA downhill fast.

Older NA speakers provided further evidence with probative value that language change is not bound by age, because they unexpectedly showed signs of cultural adaptation in particular situations. This outcome supported our claim that politeness is not a function of language, but rather a result of interpersonal relations. It is also important to note that older NA speakers are not fluent in the language of the dominant culture (i.e. English) and do not use it to communicate with their family members. Therefore, it is easier to trace the effect of acculturation on younger NA speakers who demonstrated signs of a profound shift towards the pragmatic norms of the host culture. In other words, instead of adhering to the values of their interdependent culture, NA-E bilinguals took an individualistic approach to connectedness and separateness politeness

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<u>Appendix</u>
Section 1
What I am trying to discover?
In this study, I want to explore how students speaking a second language would react in specific daily situations compared to monolinguals. The situations may, explicitly or implicitly, imply the use of expressions such as *thank you*, *I am sorry*, *hi*, *etc*.

Instructions
Imagine yourself in the following daily interactions. Circle '**Yes**' if you agree or if the described prompt is what you would do, and '**No**' when you disagree. Try to be yourself; do not try to project an ideal image that does not reflect your genuine personality.

Section 2
<div align="center">

Focus group background and information sheet
</div>

Instructions
Please fill in this that will provide us with some basic background information about you.

1. I am a (check one):
[　] Male
[　] Female
2. I have been in Canada for:
[　] year(s)
3. I use English in my communication (check one):
[　] always
[　] usually
[　] often/frequently
[　] sometimes; [　] seldom
[　] never
4. I am a native speaker of English: Yes [　]　　No [　]

CONSENT
- I have read the information presented about a study being conducted by Ala Al-Kajela of McMaster University.
- I agree to participate in the study.

Signature: _____

Name of Participant (optional):_____

Nikos Kavvadias, A Global Poet; Reflections of Baudelaire and Masefield

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Abstract

The title of this paper has been chosen for two reasons. Firstly, Kavvadias travelled the world and this is reflected through his poetry. Reading his poems, one can see several place names from different countries and non-Greek names; this is an element which gives his poems an exotic character. Second, although one might see some influences from other Modern Greek poets or the Greek tradition in general, Kavvadias embodies in his poetry strong influences from other poets outside Greece; and this is what we are going to discuss.

Keywords: Kavvadias; Baudelaire; Masefield; Comparative Literature; Culture

Introduction

Nikos Kavvadias was born in 1910 in Harbin in Manchuria of Greek parents. He worked as a sailor throughout his life and his poetry was inspired by his travels around the world. He died on 10 February 1975 of a stroke. Although he became well-known because of his three poetic collections *Μαραμπού* (*Marabu*, 1933)*, Πούσι* (*Fog*, 1947) and *Τραβέρσο* (*Traverso*, 1975), he also wrote the fiction *Βάρδια* (*The Shift*, 1954) and some other prose works: *Λι* (*Li*), *Του πολέμου* (*On War*) and *Στο Άλογο μου* (*Of my Horse*, 1987).

His poems revolve around his own adventures or those of his companions in several ports. Through his poetry, Kavvadias shows his love for the sea; the poem ‘Mal du départ’29 is such an example:

<div align="center">
Θα μείνω πάντα ιδανικός κι ανάξιος εραστής
των μακρυσμένων ταξιδιών και των γαλάζιων πόντων…30
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29 Nikos Kavvadias, *Marabu* (Athens: Agra, 1990), 41.

30 ‘I’ll always be the unworthy, romantic lover of distant journeys and azure seas.’; Nikos Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, translated by Gail Holst-Warhaft (Rivervale: Cosmos Publishing, 1987), 89.

Mitsos Kasolas also says that Kavvadias was a real lover of the sea, whereas land caused him approaching fear.31 There are two other lines of the poem 'Mal du depart'32 which show the poet's real desire to be buried in the sea:

<div align="center">

Κι εγώ, που τόσο επόθησα μια μέρα να ταφώ

σε κάποια θάλασσα βαθιά στις μακρινές Ινδίες…33

</div>

In what follows, we are going to explore some of the influences on Kavvadias from Baudelaire and Masefield, which have not been discussed before. Generally speaking, Nikos Kavvadias did not attract the interest of critics during the previous decades and especially before 1990. As Antia Frantzi writes, although Kavvadias is a very popular poet with a very distinct poetic style, his poetry was never included in any widely known history of Greek literature.34 Although the composer Thanos Mikroutsikos' settings of several poems of Kavvadias in 1992 made him a well-known poet in Greece, there is still a kind of prejudice against Kavvadias' poetry.

Firstly, the extent of Kavvadias' poetic work is relatively short. He published only three poetic collections and, perhaps more importantly, did not manifest different stages of poetic style. Furthermore, the content of Kavvadias poetry and the nautical vocabulary that he used, affected the spread of his work. Kavvadias did not write about the history of Greece, its glorious past or anything in detail about the Greek landscape. His poetry revolves around his travels, experiences and adventures as a sailor in foreign places.

In addition, the vocabulary that Kavvadias uses is a new expression in Modern Greek poetry. One could say that Cavafy also spoke about notorious places like *καπηλειά* (wine shops) in his poetry. However, Kavvadias speaks more directly than him about bordellos and drugs, and other 'corrupt' elements. Consequently, this new poetic proposal of Kavvadias was a kind of bravado and a challenge to Greek society.

Influences on Kavvadias' poetry

The topic of influences in Kavvadias from other poets could be a major theme in the analysis of his poetry. Although one could see influences by Greek poets, Kavvadias was influenced at a great extent by foreign poets. However, if there is something which makes Kavvadias' poetry distinctive, it

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31 Mitsos Kasolas, *Nikos Kavvadias: Woman-Sea-Life: Narrations on Tape Recorder* (Athens: Kastanioti, 2004), 118.

32 Kavvadias, *Marabu*, 42.

33 'And I, who longed to find my grave in some sea of the Indies, far away,'; translation by Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 89.

34 Antia Frantzi (editor), *Seven Passages on Nikos Kavvadias* (Athens: Polytypo, 1982), 11-12.

is the fact that he succeeded in embodying foreign and local traditions. Indeed, Dinos Christianopoulos asserts that Kavvadias belongs to the poetic tradition of Baudelaire, mentioning also some similarities between the Greek poet and another French poet; Levet (1874-1906).35 Christianopoulos writes that Kavvadias is very close to these poets. Nevertheless, although some similarities between Kavvadias and Levet (mainly in *Fog*), Baudelaire remains the basic source for Kavvadias. In addition, Kavvadias had sound knowledge about the literary history of his country. The iambic fifteen-syllable line ('political verse') that he uses throughout his whole poetic career, shows that Kavvadias did not ignore his literary origins. Kasolas refers to Kavvadias' desire to include in his last poetic collection (*Traverso* 1975) some lines from a demotic song, in political verse.36 Looking through Kavvadias' poems, it is not difficult to see that this metre is his favourite one, as most of his poems are written in political verse, and, even more, his language is sometimes reminiscent of demotic songs.

If we were to associate Kavvadias with any Greek poet, it would be Kostas Karyotakis (1896-1928). Although Kostas Ouranes (1890-1953) shows some similarities with Kavvadias in terms of poetic style, there is no substantial impact from this poet; any similarities could be results of the same poetic sources. Thus, elements of Baudelaire's and Karyotakis' poetry, which permeate Kavvadias' poetry, appear in Ouranes as well. It is interesting to note that Ouranes gave a series of poems the general title '*Spleen*'37 (in Latin characters), and this is the title of works of Baudelaire,38 whereas 'Don Quixote', which is the title of one of his poems39 inevitably recalls Karyotakis' poem 'Don Quixotes'.40

Nikos Kavvadias, apart from the influences of Karyotakis and some influences from demotic songs that Mitsos Kasolas mentioned, has not been influenced at a great extent by any other Greek poet. Possibly, Stratis Tsirkas' statement41 that Kavvadias read Cavafy should be seen as an indication of Kavvadias' interest in poetry in general. Besides, Cavafy is one of the most popular and influential Modern Greek poets and as Daskalopoulos wrote, there is a wide range of poets who have been influenced by him. But again, Kavvadias could not be seen as one of them,

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35 Dinos Christianopoulos, 'The French Poet J. H-M Levet and his Influence on Nikos Kavvadias', *Ibid*, 77.
36 Kasolas, *Nikos Kavvadias*, 27.
37 Kostas Ouranes, *Poems' Collection* (Athens: Hestia, 1993), 35.
38 Charles Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal* (London: Pan, 1987), 251-253.
39 Ouranes, *Poems' Collection*, 47.
40 Kostas Karyotakis, *Poems and Prose*, edited by G. P. Savidis (Athens: Hestia, 1995), 22.
41 Stratis Tsirkas, 'Kolias and the Alexandrian Critic', *Seven Passages on Nikos Kavvadias*, 36-37.

especially if we bear in mind that none of his poems is included in Daskalopoulos' book.42

Through specific poems in the next pages, we are going to see influences from Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867), who maintains a major part in Kavvadias' work and perhaps more surprisingly from John Masefield (1878-1967), who influenced Kavvadias at one stage of his poetic career.

Influences from Baudelaire in Kavvadias poetry

In general, when Kavvadias speaks about women in his poems, he refers to prostitutes. Baudelaire also made similar references to prostitutes in several of his poems. One could assume, that prostitutes are more appropriate for this kind of poetry, which is characterized by a 'sinful' climate, and they appear in several poems of Baudelaire and Kavvadias, like the following ones:

> Tu mettrais l'univers entier dans ta ruelle
> Femme impure! L'ennui rend ton âme cruelle.
> (Poem 26, no title)43

> Derrière les rochers une chienne inquiète
> Nous regardait d'un oeil fâché,
> (Une Charogne)
> ('A carcass')44

> Κι εγώ, που μόνον εταιρών εγνώριζα κορμιά …
> (Μαραμπού)
> ('Marabu')45

> Το βράδυ ετούτο κάρφωσε μ' επιμονή το νου μου
> κάποια γυναίκα που άλλοτες εγνώρισα, κοινή…
> ('Gabrielle Didot')46

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42 Demetres Daskalopoulos (editor), *Greek Cavafian Poems* (Patra: University of Patra Press, 2003).

43 Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 209. 'You would take the whole world to bed with you, Impure woman! Ennui makes your soul cruel;' ; Charles Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, translation by William Aggeler, Roy Campbell, Cat Nilan, Geoffrey Wagner, Kenneth O. Hanson, David Paul (https://www.paskvil.com/file/files-books/baudelaire-fleurs.pdf 06th January 2017), 84.

44 *Ibid*, 212. 'Watched us with angry eye, Waiting for the moment to take back from the carcass'; translation in *Ibid*, 96.

45 Kavvadias, *Marabu*, 10. 'And I, who'd only known the bodies of whores,'; translation by Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 89.

46 *Ibid*, 30. 'This evening my mind was insistently fixed on a woman I once knew, a prostitute,'; translation in *Ibid*, 69.

As we can see, both the poets speak about notorious women and although this is a general characteristic, it is still an element in Kavvadias that reflects Baudelaire's atmosphere. The influence of Baudelaire in Kavvadias is more obvious in the next poems, in which the representation of woman emerges from the parallel between cat and woman.

Kavvadias' poem 'Οι γάτες των φορτηγών' ('Cargo ship cats'),47 in which the poet describes the behaviour of a cat, is obviously reminiscent of Baudelaire poems: 'Le chat' ('The cat')48 and 'Les chats' ('The cats').49 As we can see, Kavvadias included in the title of his poem the word 'cats', which also appears in the title of three -in total- Baudelaire's poems. Furthermore, the description of the cat in Kavvadias is very close to that of Baudelaire in the one of the two poems titled 'The cat':50

> Lorsque mes doigts caressent à loisir
> Ta tête et ton dos élastique,
> Et que ma main s'enivre du plaisir
> De palper ton corps électrique.51

> Είναι περήφανη κι οκνή, καθώς όλες οι γάτες,
> κι είναι τα γκρίζα μάτια της γιομάτα ηλεκτρισμό·
> κι όπως χαϊδεύουν απαλά τη ράχη της, νομίζεις
> πως αναλύεται σ' ένα αργό και ηδονικό σπασμό.52

The vocabulary of the two poems is identical, so that we could almost assume Kavvadias made a kind of imitation of or variation on Baudelaire's poem. By the word 'caress' ('*caressent*' in Baudelaire and '*χαϊδεύουν*' in Kavvadias), both poets convey how people treat the cat. Commonly, the reaction of the cat is the stretching of its back ('*dos élastique*' and '*ράχη της πως αναλύεται*'), while it also appears lazy in both works (*à loisir* and *οκνή*). In addition, the cat feels pleasure during the caressing, which is expressed in Baudelaire by the phrase '*s'envivre du plaisir*' and in Kavvadias by the phrase '*ηδονικό σπασμό*'. Finally, the word 'electric' is used by Baudelaire (*corps électrique*) and Kavvadias too (*μάτια γιομάτα ηλεκτρισμό*).

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47 Kavvadias, *Marabu*, 16.

48 Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 217.
   Ibid, 232 (a second poem with this title).

49 Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 246.

50 *Ibid*, 217.

51 'When my fingers leisurely caress you, Your head and your elastic back, And when my hand tingles with the pleasure Of feeling your electric body,'; translation in Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, 112.

52 'She's proud and lazy like all cats I know; her grey eyes contain an electric charge. When sailors gently stroke her back it breaks into slow, voluptuous spasms.'; translation by Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 41.

As we can see, there is a similar situation with men caressing a cat, while at the same time the latter seems to be lazy and delighted during this process; a parallel between cats and women. This tendency is more obvious in Kavvadias, who directly mentions that the cat resembles a woman and less apparent in Baudelaire, who asserts that when he caresses the cat, he remembers his mistress:

> Στο ρεμβασμό και στο θυμό με τη γυναίκα μοιάζει
> κι οι ναύτες περισσότερο την αγαπούν γι'αυτό…53

> Je vois ma femme en esprit.54

Finally, it is interesting to look at the common focus on cat's eyes, which also evokes a woman:

> Et laisse-moi plonger dans tes beaux yeux…55

> κι είναι τα γκρίζα μάτια της γιομάτα ηλεκτρισμό.56

Consequently, apart from Baudelaire's material and techniques that Kavvadias used in a productive way, we see the same parallel, suggesting that Baudelaire influenced Kavvadias by giving him ideas and inspiration.

In addition, the word 'pipe' is another common word, as it appears in Baudelaire's title 'La pipe' ('The pipe')57 and Kavvadias' title Έχω μια πίπα' ('I have a pipe'):58

> Je suis la pipe d'un auteur;59

> Έχω μια πίπα ολλανδική από ένα μαύρο ξύλο.60

Apart from the similar titles, Baudelaire mentions that he is the pipe of the author and Kavvadias has a pipe, which means that the relationship of pipe and author is the same in the two poems.

Turning to another Kavvadias' poem, 'Οι εφτά νάνοι στο S/S Cyrenia' ('The seven dwarfs on the S/S Cyrenia'),61 the reader can see that it evokes Baudelaire's poem 'Les sept vieillards' ('The seven old men').62

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53 'She's just like a woman in anger and dreams; it makes sailors love her all the more'; translation Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 41.
54 'In spirit I see my woman'; translation in Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, 112.
55 'Let me gaze into your beautiful eyes'; translation in *Ibid*, 112.
56 'her grey eyes contain an electric charge.'; translation Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 41.
57 Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 247.
58 Kavvadias, *Marabu*, 24.
59 'I am the pipe of an author'; translation in Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, 214.
60 'I have a Dutch pipe of a black wood'; translation by Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 57.
61 Kavvadias, *Traverso*, 19.
62 Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 270.

Apart from the number 'seven' which appears in both the titles, it is interesting to note that the poets refer to particular categories of people. In Baudelaire, we have seven old men and in Kavvadias seven dwarfs; but commonly both groups of people show a kind of disability. Looking at certain lines of each poem, we can see further reflections from Baudelaire on Kavvadias:

> Il n'était pas voûté, mais cassé, son échine
> Faisant avec sa jambe un parfait angle droit…63

> κι ο στραβοκάνης ο Χαράμ πίττες ζυμώνει.64

Both poems describe the legs of a single person, but most importantly this person, in both poems, has twisted legs.

Despite the fact that the poems 'I have a pipe' and 'The seven dwarfs on the S/S Cyrenia' present less similarities than the poem 'Cargo ship cats' to Baudelaire's works, they still remain useful material, as we see similar titles and some further common elements.

Kavvadias' poem 'Mal du départ'65 is also a poem which recalls Baudelaire, and especially, his poems 'Le mort joyeux' ('The grateful dead')66 and 'Bénédiction' ('Benediction').67 Firstly, the two poets describe how they would like to be buried:

> Dans une terre grasse et pleine d'escargots
> Je veux creuser moi-même une fosse profonde,
> Où je puisse à loisir étaler mes vieux os
> Et dormir dans l'oubli comme un requin dans l'onde.68
> ('The grateful dead')

> Κι εγώ, που τόσο επόθησα μια μέρα να ταφώ
> σε κάποια θάλασσα βαθιά στις μακρινές Ινδίες,
> θα'χω ένα θάνατο κοινό και θλιβερό πολύ
> και μια κηδεία σαν των πολλών ανθρώπων τις κηδείες.69

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63 'He was not bent over, but broken; his back-bone Made with his legs a perfect right angle'; translation in Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, 338.

64 'and bandy-legged Haram is baking pies'; translation Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 185.

65 Kavvadias, *Marabu*, 41.

66 Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 250.

67 *Ibid*, 189.

68 'In a rich, heavy soil, infested with snails, I wish to dig my own grave, wide and deep, Where I can at leisure stretch out my old bones And sleep in oblivion like a shark in the wave.'; translation in Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, 222.

69 'And I, who longed to find my grave in some sea of the Indies, far away, will have a sad and common death, a funeral like those of other men.'; translation by Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 89.

Kavvadias prefers the sea and Baudelaire prefers rich soil full of snails. However, Kavvadias similarly to Baiudelaire and although unwilling, knows that his funeral would not be different that the rest of people; it will be a common funeral on earth with soil. Apart from the common funeral (on earth with soil), Baudelaire states that he would like to sleep in peace, using the simile 'like a shark in the sea'. While Kavvadias speaks directly about the sea, Baudelaire makes such a parallel, although he initially spoke about soil. Thus, the common elements are: the general pessimistic climate, preference of place that they want as a grave and finally, the common reference to sea.

Secondly Kavvadias, as Baudelaire had done before him in the poem 'Benediction', mentions what the mother of the poet believes about her son's talent:

> Lorsque par un décret des puissances suprêmes,
> Le Poète apparaît en ce monde ennuyé,
> Sa mère epouvantée et pleine de blasphèmes
> Crispe ses poings vers Dieu, qui la prend en pitié:70

> Θα πάψω πια για μακρινά ταξίδια να μιλώ·
> οι φίλοι θα νομίζουνε πως τα' χω πια ξεχάσει,
> κι η μάνα μου, χαρούμενη, θα λέει σ' όποιον ρωτά:
> «Ήταν μια λόξα νεανική, μα τώρα έχει περάσει…»71

According to Baudelaire and Kavvadias, the talent of the poet is a curse from the mother's point of view. The fact that she does not agree with the idea of her son-poet is presented in Baudelaire by her complaints to God and in Kavvadias by her happiness after her son stopped speaking about his travels. In contrast, poetry is a kind of blessing for the two poets:

> Vers le Ciel, où son oeil voit un trône splendide,
> Le Poète serein lève ses bras pieux…72

> Θα μείνω πάντα ιδανικός κι ανάξιος εραστής
> των μακρυσμένων ταξιδιών και των γαλάζιων πόντων…73

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70 'When, after a decree of the supreme powers, The Poet is brought forth in this wearisome world, His mother terrified and full of blasphemies Raises her clenched fist to God, who pities her:'; translation in Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, 222.

71 'I'll stop my talk of far-away journeys, my friends will think I've forgotten it all; my mother, delighted, will tell those who ask, 'It was a quirk of his youth, but now it's passed''; translation by Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 89.

72 'To Heav'n, where his eye sees a radiant throne, Piously, the Poet, serene, raises his arms'; translation in Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, 14

73 'I'll always be the unworthy, romantic lover of distant journeys and azure seas'; translation by Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 89.

Although Kavvadias' lines are somehow self-depreciating, we can see that both poets contradict their opinion of poetry with that of the mother. Similarly, they refer to the completely different opinions about the poetic talent. Concluding, if there is a source for Kavvadias' poem 'Mal du depart', probably this is Baudelaire's poems ('The grateful dead', 'Benediction'), which are clearly recalled here.

The dark atmosphere of some Kavvadias' poems is also reminiscent of Baudelaire's tradition. Although such a pessimistic atmosphere appears in Karyotakis' poetry, it is more plausible to associate the darkness of Kavvadias with Baudelaire. The vocabulary that Kavvadias used is very close to that of the French poet; inevitably, we could assume that this is a further influence:

> Dis-le, belle sorcière, oh! dis, si tu le sais.74
> ('L'irréparable')
> ('The irreparable)75
>
> Η μάγισσα έχει τρεις κόρες…76
> ('Fata Morgana')77
>
> Sur l'oreiller du mal c'est Satan Trismégiste…78
> ('Au lecteur')
> ('To the reader')79
>
> Δαίμονας γεννά τη νηνεμία…80
> ('Fata Morgana')

Kavvadias same as Baudelaire, gives an atmosphere of darkness using approximately the same words: witch, Satan or demon. Moreover, words like 'monster' also appear in both the poets:

> Ces monstres disloqués furent jadis des femmes…81
> ('Les petites Vieilles')

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74 'Tell it, fair sorceress, O! tell it, if you know'; translation in Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, 175.

75 Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 237.

76 'The witch has three daughters'; translation Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 205.

77 Kavvadias, *Traverso*, 30.

78 'On the pillow of evil Satan, Trismegist'; translation in Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, 175.

79 Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 183.

80 'A demon gives birth to the sudden calm'; translation by Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 205.

81 'These disjointed monsters were women long ago'; translation in Baudelaire, *The Flowers of Evil*, 343.

('Little old women')82

τέρατα βαμμένα πορφυρά…83
('Αρμίδα')
('Armida')84

Through this common vocabulary, the two poets attempt to give their poems a climate of 'hell'. These are words which describe the common spiritual world of the authors and also their intention to associate poetry with atmosphere of darkness.

Interestingly, Baudelaire in his poem 'Les Phares' ('The Beacons')85 and Kavvadias in his poem Ένα μαχαίρι' ('A knife')86 refer to the artist Goya (1746-1828).87 Although Baudelaire and Kavvadias make several references to artists, Goya is a very prominent one, because his work is indicative of an atmosphere, very close to that of the two poets. His 'Black paintings' and, especially 'Saturn Devouring His Son' and the series 'Witches' in which he presents witches discussing and also the devil, resemble Baudelaire and Kavvadias. As Puhvel declares, Goya was one of the artists who were in the heart of Baudelaire,88 while Helman writes that Baudelaire extolled above all Goya's originality and especially, his revolt against the system of his contemporaries and his freeing of the imagination.89

A good forty years before Baudelaire, Goya intended to suggest the demonic, monstrous nature of bare sensuality, becoming the first painter to make us aware of the ambiguous qualities of love in a secularized world.90 According to Baudelaire's words, Goya was a great and terrifying artist, who was able to create a credible form of monstrous in which the line between the real and the fantastic is impossible to grasp.91 Baudelaire accepted and elevated the caricatural style and forms of Goya to the level of great art,

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82 Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal,* 272.

83 'a band of monsters painted red'; translation Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 127.

84 Kavvadias, *Fog*, 18.

85 Baudelaire, *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 195.

86 Kavvadias, *Marabou*, 18.

87 www.Goya.

88 Jaan Puhvel, 'L' accueil et l' Influence de Baudelaire parmi les Lettrés Estoniens', *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 1984: 15. 4, 249-257.

89 Edith Helman, 'Identity and style in Goya', *The Burlington Magazine*, 1964: 106. 730, 30-37.

90 Mary Louise Krumrine, 'Goya's 'Maya desnuda' in context', *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 1994: 28. 4, 36-44.

91 Betsy Fryberger, 'Dream and Nightmare', *The Art Institute of Chicago Quarterly*, 1962: 56. 4, 65-67.

refusing to equate in traditional thought.92 And of course, bearing in mind that Kavvadias shares this dark atmosphere and refers to Goya too, it could be said that Kavvadias continued this style and forms.

Influences from Masefield in Kavvadias poetry

John Masefield worked for a few years as a sailor.93 His life in that respect is similar to that of Kavvadias. Kavvadias used to study foreign poetry and art in order to broaden his knowledge of poetry, and art in general. His poems included names like Federico Garcia Lorca94 and painters' names such as Goya95 or Modigliani.96 In addition, we should bear in mind the Stratis Tsirkas' statement that Kavvadias used to read almost unknown and sometimes unsuccessful poets.97 Indeed, Masefield is an almost unknown poet among Greek readers and this is probably the reason why nobody has attempted to associate him with Kavvadias. Masefield's influence on Kavvadias was not as strong as Baudelaire's, but it does appear in certain poems.

Initially, Kavvadias' poems Ἕνας νέγρος θερμαστής από το Τζιμπουτί' ('A black stoker from Djibouti')98 and 'William George Allum'99 are reminiscent of Masefield's poems 'Bill'100 and 'Cape Horn Gospel I'.101 The strongest similarity between the poems is the names. 'Bill' is the name of the sailor in both Masefield's poems and 'Willy' (or William) is the name of the sailor in both Kavvadias' poems:

> 'Bill, he's dead, was all they said;
> ('Bill')

> 'And Bill, as was a seaman, died.
> ('Cape Horn Gospel I')

> Ο Γουίλλη ο μαύρος θερμαστής από το Τζιμπουτί…102

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92 Alisa Luxenberg, 'Further Light on the Critical Reception of Goya's 'Family of Charles IV' as Caricature', *Artibus et Historiae*, 2002: 23. 46, 179-182.
93 David Gervais, 'Masefield, John Edward (1878-1967)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
94 Kavvadias, *Fog*, 27.
95 Kavvadias, *Marabu*, 18.
96 Kavvadias, *Fog*, 29.
97 Tsirkas, 'My Friend Marabu', *Seven Passages on Nikos Kavvadias*, 18.
98 Kavvadias, *Marabu*, 28.
99 *Ibid*, 45.
100 John Masefield, *Collected Poems* (London: W. Heinemann, 1932), 9.
101 *Ibid*, 21.
102 'Willy, the Black stoker from Djibouti'; translation Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 65.

('A black stoker from Djibouti')

William George Allum.
(The title of the poem)

It is also interesting to note that the form of the sailor's name, which is chosen by Kavvadias, appears in Masefield's poem 'Cape Horn Gospel I':

And he says 'Stand by', says William,
'For a shift towards a better place'.

The theme in the poems of Masefield and Kavvadias is also identical. We have the story of a specific person and finally the description of his death:

We dumped him down to the swaying weeds ten fathom
beneath the keel.
('Bill')

So we lashed him in an old tarpaulin
And tumbled him across the side;
('Cape Horn Gospel I')

Μια μέρα τον αφήσαμε στυγνό απ' τον πυρετό,
πέρα στην Άπω Ανατολή, να φλέγεται, να λιώνει.103
('A black stoker from Djibouti')

Κάποια βραδιά ως περνούσαμε από το Bay of Bisky,
μ' ένα μικρό τον βρήκανε στα στήθια του σπαθί.104
('William George Allum')

Also, the protagonist is rather unsociable in both 'Bill' and 'William George Allum'. Masefield says that Bill did not have any friends and there was nobody to close his eyes after his death. Kavvadias' description is also similar, as he speaks about a person without friends, who never spoke to anybody:

He lay dead on the cluttered deck and stared at the cold
skies,
With never a friend to mourn for him nor a hand to
close his eyes.

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103 'One day we left him out in the East burning with fever and wasting away'; translation by Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 67.
104 'One night as we sailed from the Bay of Bisky, he was found with a knife sticking out his chest'; translation by Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 97.

> Εγνώρισα κάποια φορά σ' ένα καράβι ξένο
> έναν πολύ παράξενον Εγγλέζο θερμαστή,
> όπου δε μίλαγε ποτέ κι ούτε ποτέ είχε φίλους
> και μόνο πάντα κάπνιζε μια πίπα σκαλιστή.105

Apart from the focus on the common character in the two poems, another common element is the order given by the ship's officer. In Masefield's poem we have the mate, who ordered the sailors to 'lash him up in an old tarpaulin', while in Kavvadias' poem it is the captain the one who ordered them to throw him into the sea:

> The mate came forrard at seven bells and spat across the
> rail:
> 'Just lash him up wi' some holystone in a clout o' rotten
> sail.

> Ο πλοίαρχος είπε: «Θέλησε το στίγμα του να σβήσει»
> και διέταξε στη θάλασσα την κρύα να κηδευθεί.106

In addition, it seems that the speakers in these poems were on the boat. It is not just a story that they heard, but a story in which they play an active role. The reader can realize from the descriptions in first person: 'we dumped him down' ('Bill') and 'I was in a hooker once' ('Cape horn Gospel I') in Masefield and 'I met once' ('William George Allum') and 'we left him one day' ('A black stoker from Djibouti') in Kavvadias.

Besides, there are two other poems by Kavvadias which reflect Masefield's poem 'Cargoes'.107 These are the poems 'Αρμίδα' ('Armida')108 and 'Fata Morgana'.109 Although we do not have such clear similarities between these poems -as between the previous ones in terms of story and the death of a sailor-, there are some significant elements which could strengthen the argument that Kavvadias was partly influenced by Masefield.

Firstly, the poems 'Cargoes' and 'Armida' begin in an identical way. This is the name of a boat. In Masefield the boat is the Quinquireme of Nineveh and in Kavvadias it is the pirate ship of Captain Jimmy. Secondly, the geographical place is also the same between these poems. On the first

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105 'Once on a foreign boat I knew an English stoker who was very odd; he never spoke and had no friends but smoked a carved pipe all day long'; translation by Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 95.
106 ''He wanted to wipe it off,' said the captain, and ordered him buried in the cold, cold sea'; translation by Holst-Warhaft in Kavvadias, *The Collected Poems of Nikos Kavvadias*, 97.
107 Masefield, *Collected Poems*, 56.
108 Kavvadias, *Fog*, 17.
109 Kavvadias, *Marabu*, 28.

hand, Masefield mentions in the second line of his poem that the boat is going to Palestine, while Kavvadias in the poem 'Fata Morgana' uses place names like *Καρχηδόνιοι* (Carthaginians), *Φοινίκη* (Phoenicia), *Σινά* (Sinai), *Δαμασκός* (Damascus) and *Βαβυλώνα* (Babylon), which place the reader in the same general geographical region.

Moreover, if there is something in 'Armida' which evokes this part of the Mediterranean Sea, it is the name of the poem. Kavvadias borrowed the name Armida from *La Gerusalemme liberata (Jerusalem Delivered)* by Tasso. Armida was a beautiful witch who intended to divide the Christian knights against each other, during the fights between Christians and Muslims at the end of the First Crusade. Also, the poems 'Cargoes' and 'Armida' name the reason of the travel, which is the transfer of cargo, as we see: ivory, apes, peacocks, sandalwood, cedarwood, sweet white whine, emeralds, amethysts, topazes, cinnamon, gold moidores, road-rail, pig-lead, firewood, iron-ware and cheap tin trays in Masefield's poem and hashish in Kavvadias' (here we could possibly follow another route of influences; that of Baudelaire).

Finally, there is a notable contradiction between the poems 'Cargoes' and 'Armida', which brings them even closer. In Masefield the boat returns. This suggests that we have a final destination or a kind of purpose. In contrast, the ship in Kavvadias goes nowhere. There is no final destination. Thus, Kavvadias reverses the climate of Masefield's poem, by speaking about a boat which does not have a purpose. He did not ignore this detail in Masefield's poem and tried to change it describing a boat, without a purpose and far from its place.

Conclusion

Concluding, Kavvadias was influenced by Masefield, although the influence appears only in a limited number of poems. Nevertheless, we could assert that these influences should not be ignored. Masefield provided the Greek poet with some ideas which he developed in his own poetic work. Baudelaire may have influenced Kavvadias more obviously, but Masefield gave him additional material for inspiration, though perhaps without any wider influence. However, in an attempt to identify the poets who influenced Kavvadias, Masefield could certainly be included.

In contrast, Baudelaire was the great master for Nikos Kavvadias, as elements of Baudelaire's poetry appear in the whole poetic corpus of Kavvadias. However, while Baudelaire dreams of travels, Kavvadias does, indeed, the travels. This gives his poetry an exotic character and makes his descriptions and scenography livelier and probably realistic.

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Exploring the Linguistics of a Multicultural Discourse in the Use of English Language while Teaching Business Communication: Interpretations of a Teacher in a Masculine Culture

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Abstract

There is a certain proclivity of users of English as a second language to tread in the ambiguity of multicultural influences while foregoing the original norms of language. Often the use of a second language is fraught with linguistic trespasses and mirrors how cultural assimilation of myriad linguistic forms has evolved over time. While walking through the corridors of such idiomatic expressions, often stylistics elements are imbued with the local context of use of language popularized by common usages. These culturally representative expressions are the symbols of how text is used and interpreted by infusing the local perspective on culture and how the societal context is submerged in such discourses.

This paper explores the journey of a language teacher in using innovative approaches in teaching Business Communication and how contextually entrenched beliefs influenced the use of language. The linguistics of this emerging discourse is often submerged in the masculine cultural (Hofstede, Hofstede & Minkov, 2010) undertones which reflects the Indian diaspora's larger socio-cultural milieu.

This paper is concerned about the *markedness* (Wales, 2014) of such a discourse, which refers to any features, structure or patterns of the order of words or structure of English that is marked and hence, which appears culturally to be representative of the context in which it has been shaped due to the local proclivity for such socio-cultural conditioning.

The exploration of innovative pedagogy in addressing the nuances of linguistics to enable participants to fully grasp the cultural influences of the use of language has been fascinating. Hence in an attempt to understand the

impact of multiculturalism on use of language, and the seminal influence of such idiomatic expressions in shaping the discourse of business communication reveals the distinctness of language and its ability to traverse culturally through inherently held assumptions of communication. While using local languages the discourse of business communication is steeped in its connotations of a non-native use of such local language while the use of English acquires a syncretic cultural hue and posits problems of linguistics and the complexity of interpreting such linguistics, especially in Business Communication, where organizational discourse gets reshaped through the context of both language and culture. Hence this paper will explore the dynamics of the use of linguistics, which is locally tempered, while using English as a second language in teaching Business Communication; and the challenges of juxtaposing its sub-text in a neutral context in order to open the apertures of organizational communication processes to a deconstruction of the sub-text in the original language without losing the original nuances of such codification. It would be interesting to understand how sedimentation of cultural symbolism often permeates the construction of such discourses in organizational communication processes and how local adulteration of the use of language often both inhibits or facilitates a new contextual representation and disseminates the linguistics of both intent and culture. This paper posits the issues of linguistics in a multicultural milieu, and the common parlance of the local use of English which often represents a non- native perception of the use of a second language and hence attempts an interpretation of such a discourse which mandates the significance of understanding such contextual ambivalence.

Keywords: Linguistics; English as a second language; masculine culture; Business Communication; India.

Introduction: An Indian multicutural Interpretive approach to English Lingusitics

While thinking of language through the lenses of culture, one interpretation of culture is " in an anthropological sense of broad patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting, …" (Hofstede, et.al., 1998, p.5). This helps one think of national culture as a "*dominan*t mental program" (Hofstede, 1980, p. 95) Hence this leads to the question of what influences the transmitted thought in a given language (which is of a foreign import such as English) for those who use a language as mediated through a culture, and essentially through a culturally *dominant* mental programming. India has been defined as a culture which is high on Masculinity and that which values competition, success and achievement (Hofstede, 1991). In a linguistic connotation, the process of communication engages both the transmission and interpretation

of the language from the perspective of how status, dynamics of power and an emphasis on personal achievement gets emphaiszed in the dialogic preferences of the non-native speakers. For instance, while corporate communication patterns predominanatly structure around the territorial influences of this presumption , very often this gets captured in the teaching-learning syntax of the classroom processes as well. For instance, hierarchy is reflected in the use of words which denote an element of honor and achievment and is generally advanced through the language in the use of power-connotative words which denote power and contain heirarchical assumptions of both authority and cultural masculinity. While ruminating how one can teach communication across hierarchy, English posits the challenge of allowing words which could be less imbued in hierarchical tenor and more neutral but a non-native speaker who would perceptually use hierarchy as a pre-condition to suggest higher order or a more respectable station and would hence use words such as "we" instead of "I" to communicate position of hierarchy or superiority of station which is synonymous to positional power in a local language such as Hindi or Gujarati. Though grammatically inappropriate, this is culturally situated and often used with aplomb. In fact, I have observed that executives, oblivious of the grammatical connotations, continue to use this and assert their positions within the hierarchy through a subtle linguistic nod. To bring the attention of the user to this unique nuance of the language, I would often use a group discussion to help participants realize the hidden assumptions about how language could move across a gamut of unpredictable set of inherent symbols of power and positional territoriality in an organizational setting. This pushes English to accept the local ethos about organizational positions and accepts the regional reflections of such cultural interpretations.

Use of English in a Masculine society

A continuous influence in language learning has been the formation of symbolic structures aligned with multicultural influences of other languages. For instance, in a local Indian language such as Bangla there is no neuter gender and hence the communication seeks to unequivocally raise the identity of either a male or a female, evocative of cultural representation of gender-specific dialectics embedded in the usage even while using the English language. The non-native speaker is befuddled with his or her expression of iterative uses of non-objective identity of the agency which he or she seeks to represent in one's discourse. Another instance of how the agency of masculinity permeates the context of communication is when a user of English emulates the context of cultural sophistication such as an improvised sense of importance assigned to the first person individual self as a collective pompous representation used as "wé" or "us" instead of "'Ï" (a

commonly accepted usage in English) as interpreted from the much sophisticated and evolved linguistics of a local language such as Urdu which the local gentry endorsed and allowed with the vestiges of pomp and elegance of a cultural confluence (a melange of Persian, Urdu and even other local languages such as Hindi) to seep in. The chaos of the communicative potential of such linguistics assumes disproportionately commonplace value as most users of English with an array of linguistic deviations of this kind permit inherently diverse meaning-making. The emergence of a parallel use of such linguistics enables the disparate reflections of culturally tempered and value-laden assumptions about the transmitted messages and the communicative import of any transaction. Language is thus about how words relate to our common reality and how speakers in a certain cultural context or community commit to common understanding about the truth (Pinker, 2008, p.3). When decoded such messages transmit an analogous decoding if the receiver of such communication is another non-native speaker but poses the challenge of ambivalence of intent when such communication is conducted with a user who is oblivious of such embedded symbolic linguistic representations. For instance, in a masculine culture, the discourse is always oriented in the male assumptions of the context of any communication and may discount any female trappings. While designing pedagogy, a teacher of Business communication will often face a male stereotype of an executive or a business manager and even of an engineer and hence any in-class teaching of business communication which aims to induce role sensitivity would mean redesigning the assumptions of how students internalize the impact of masculine roles in communication vis-à-vis feminine assumptions of such transactions. Inevitably, I often used a role play to sensitize the participants to the sensibilities of both male and female users, understanding the differences amongst genders as both men and women communicate, thus allowing holistic interpretation of the linguistics of such communication and ruling out the "sexist" intent of any sense-making. One quick assumption that users made during such role-plays would be to reflect upon the role to decode the "masculinity" or "femininity" of experience and focus on Business communication as the discourse of practical ambiguity as perceived from the perspective of the user and the receiver both. This would often make it possible for the users to ascertain the linguistic posers which often overrule the lucidity of communication. The agency of such communication transacts through both emotional and cognitive use of gender and hence complicate the assumptions in the transferred meaning of the message. For instance, I often observed that the male managers in the role play always assumed any emotional utterance as a display of self and authority while the female counterpart always assumed any emotional utterance as a display of

empathy and care. Some issues in language are directly sensitive to the place of a speaker in a society and his or her relationship with other speakers (Joseph, 2004, p.120) As a teacher of English as a second language and as a user of English as a language I have pursued the pedagogy of intent to access the linguistics of structure as well as meaning through the filters of both subjective interpretation of an individual's unique assumptions as well as the pluralistic meaning-making of cultural assumptions which are invested in the interpretation of business communication. While the meaning-making is the key to instructional learning, a basic postulate of transformative learning theory (Mezirow, 1995) accepts the validity of Habermas's (1984) primary difference between both "instructional and communicative learning." This tempers the intent of instructional learning when language is used across a different culture and if used as a medium of transition from one set of linguistically and culturally embedded symbols to another form of culturally embedded symbolism though using the commonality of linguistic medium. This leads to the significant debate around the standards of linguistics and pedagogy, as well as the variation in the language, and the status of a local version of English and the norms that should apply to learners of English in an array of contexts (Phillipson, 1992, p.26). Thus as Habermas (1988) proffers while interacting and handling the inter-subjectivity of communication, one will encounter objects of the type of people who speak and act; and therefore as we interact with people, their expressions and conditions are in essence structured, and will have to be comprehended symbolically. This extends the debate around the linguistics of English in a foreign culture as the linguistics of symbolism and cultural representation which is different from the original form of the language.

Linguistic challenges of Indian English

Often the cognitive descriptors of the complexities of the use of language lie in how a non- native user of English tries to conceptualize his or her thought through symbolic codification of words. While a course in Business communication would attempt to orient the user's awareness of language through formal and informal communication processes, often users would bring their multi-layered linguistic interpretations in the form of non-native internalization of the language through one's own experiential assumptions, and socio-cultural prejudices. While using Mehrotra's (1998) nine domains of the use of English in India such as trade and commerce, administration, education, family, recreation, hotel and restaurant. Sports, politics and religion, the use of language comes in multiple garbs and allows the user of the language to switch between an exclusive use of English and a populist use of the local language (p. 21-22). This creates a bizarre

amalgamation of influences across languages and allows the user to dip into a multilingual use of linguistics without any allegiance to the
original restrictions imposed by each of these languages. A user of the language moves between colloquial forms of English to a more refined form of English from a street-side conversation with a neighbour to a more sophisticated interaction with an executive in his organization. Similarly, the English used in an organization's cafeteria and the English used in corporate correspondence would represent two different versions of the same language. While teaching forms of corporate communication, the linguistic representations would assume a clutter of linguistic distortions, such as often the participant would use the oral form of the language in the written correspondence without any structural sanctity. Even the situational context of how the language should be used would be often clouded. In fact, common parlance use of the language would be seen comfortably in strictly formal communication. So much so that I would encourage participants to draft different forms of corporate communication such as memo, letter or even draft minutes of a meeting to help them understand how English is used differently in each of these varied situations and to acquaint them with formal modes of communication.

Another linguistic challenge is evident in the use of words that are couched in local perceptive sediments. For instance, in certain communities which are not exposed to higher levels of education, an "educated person" would denote a person with basic education, as opposed to a community of users who have seen very high levels of education and to whom an "educated person" would mean a highly qualified person. This linguistic interpretation assumes a user's own potential to shape the connotations of the language through his or her own fulcrum of experience and previous knowledge of the context in which the language is used. This offers a huge opportunity to understand the importance of communication from the perspective of both the transmitter and the receiver and hence makes it mandatory to use communication as an interesting experiential exploration of those who are invested in this process. The use of language may often originate from the user's own understanding of the meaning of the words used as well as his or her own experience of such words encountered earlier or even as translated in his or her native language. For instance, a Bangla speaker of English will use the direct translation of the non-native structure of the language in English as "I eat water" since in Bangla water is "eaten" as there is no available word in the Bangla vocabulary to denote drinking. A Gujarati speaker of the language essentially uses the language in a colloquial fashion by literally translating his thoughts from the Gujarati into English and would use the sentence such as "I have grown big" (where "big" in Gujarati means old and big both) instead of "I have grown old". This works as a rather

sloppy linguistic bridge between local languages and English and is a matter of convenience for the user of English who merely uses the language as a literal vehicle of translated thought. Indian English uses a unique regional variation in many of its uses. For instance, compound formation is used often to allow unique morphological differentiators such as use of words such as pin drop silence or key-bunch or age barred or time-pass in local usage (Baldridge, 2002, p.3). A not so discerning user of the language even uses the plural and singular of words interchangeably, for instance women will be womans, sheep will be sheeps and deer will be deers. While many users will awkwardly use a singular form of the word in a structure such as "one of this chair" instead of "one of these chairs". On the other hand, a Marathi user of the language often commits a phonetic trespass by pronouncing the word "project" as "prozect" and the Guajarati speaker of the language utters the word "basic" as "bayseek"" rather than the word as spoken with a "z" in the pronunciation of "s". This perhaps is a naïve assumption on the part of such users of the language that any two languages hold similar linguistic and phonetic structures and hence are mutually alike. Today Indian English is an inherently pluralistic form of the quintessential British English. It lives in its myriad local variations and represents a traditional potpourri of local influences. To advance the experiential genesis of the use of language, I would safely assume that many users of English struggle to cut the language into bits of information which simply communicate what the apparent structure of the language denotes and may sometimes short-change the linguistic purity to accommodate individual preferences and may also borrow extensively from regional Indian languages. While teaching a group of learners with a limited exposure to English, a participant quickly resorted to a language shortcut and wrote "I took *ashray* under a tree." (here the word "ashray "means shelter in Hindi and is definitely a conduit to the user's inability to access the English vocabulary and use "shelter"). Simply to accommodate these anomalies, now commonplace usages of words of local origin such as "maidan" , "dharna", "haat", "bazaar", "chai" "badli" workers, "juggernaut" (a distorted usage of the word "Jaggannath"), coolie, rupiah, paisa and hookkah are now linguistically unmarked.
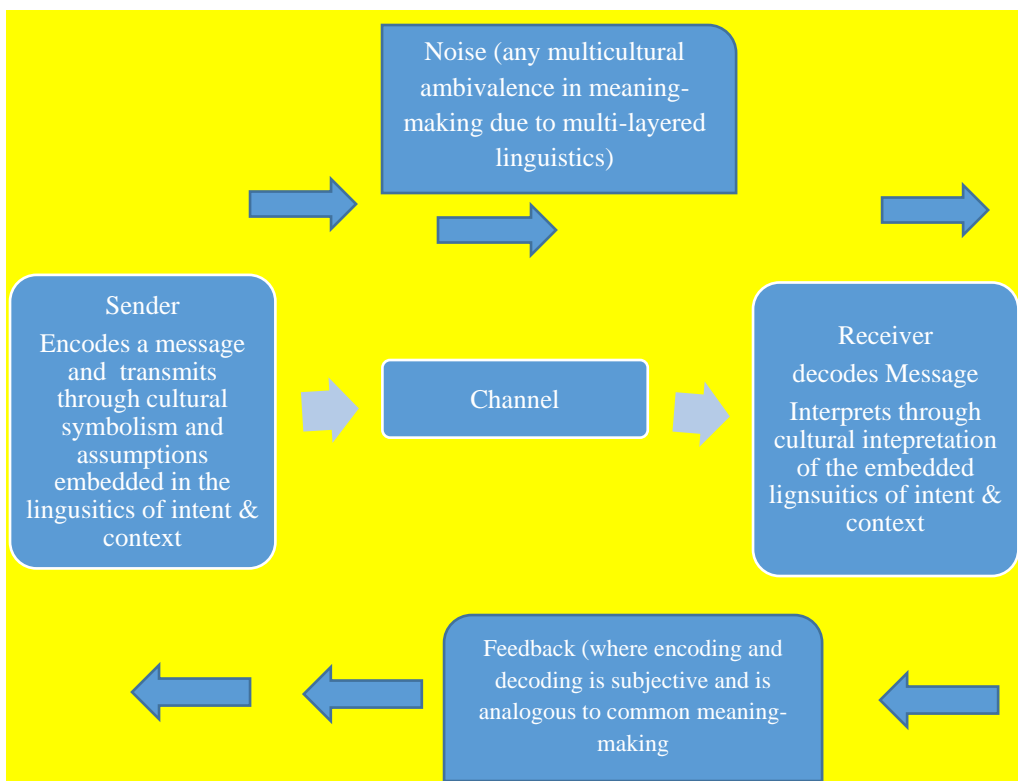
Figure 1. A Model of communication demonstrating the influence of multi-layered linguistics & meaning-making in use of English as a second language.

Conclusion: Redefining the English linguistics in the context of socio-cultural pluralism

The complete seizure of the Indian education system by Indian English has led the Indian sub-continent through a major churning of its linguistic identity in its educational discourses. Le Page and Keller (1985, p. 248) reflect that modern states seek to make "ethnic consciousness synonymous" and language is perceived as a tool to do so through the system of education. And they further mention that as opposed to this many nation states have tried to protect "cultural pluralism". I concur with this argument and believe that the Indian nationhood is coping with this dichotomous struggle to move to a universal linguistic consciousness while retaining the cultural pluralism which permeates the context of using a foreign language through the filters of local linguistic identity. Inclusivity of non-English elements through cultural assimilation has been the biggest linguistic poser for the use of English in education. Indian English thus tends to be an extension of Indian life (Mehrotra, 1998, p.16). Within a complex hierarchy of the languages in India, the nation uses different languages at regional or

state level and two major languages English and Hindi at the national level (Bergs & Brinton, 2012, p. 2083). This creates an inter-connected confluence of linguistic amalgamation which churns up a new concoction of the language leading to an extremely complicated variation of the British English. In India today, English has emerged as a primary language of the media, education and administration and has evolved as the language of the most influential and the elite of the land. Thus this language has come to be associated with power, prestige and success (Sedlatschek, 2009, p.22). This evolution of multicultural English has drawn on various ethnic varieties and has emerged as the new version of British English in a developing India. This language denotes the progress of a nation in its socio-cultural metamorphosis post-independence and reflects the heritage of an independent India while capturing the aspirations and dreams of a nation which has allowed its multilingual and multicultural identity to be redefined through its emerging nationhood. This linguistic diversity is not an accidental process and is rather inherited and is integrated within the nation-making philosophy and history (Lewis, 1972, P.17) of India. Although English assumes the unifying role of *Lingua Franca,* in India, respect for multiplicity is the original integrating factor (Pattanayak, 2007, p.xi). English is the real national language of India (Joseph, 2011, p.2) Often users of English in India are forced to renegotiate dual or multiple linguistic identities as they have to deal with several languages in their communication at different levels of social transactions.

To me, as a practitioner of a reflective pedagogy, the pluralism embedded within the context of the use of English creates an interesting academic exploration through use of films or even poetry (specially a bio-poem where a student confronts his or her linguistic identity) to enable the participants to experience and explore the inherent linguistic tensions and to understand how language carries a dual meaning-making representation through the intermediation of one's personal cultural self and subjective experience. Even use of case-based teaching enhances the enablers for clarifying trans- lingual context and allows the participant to move out of the frame of reference and access newer meanings outside one's mental models. Frequently there is a conflict between the reality of the performance of speech and the consequent expectations emerging from the orientation of linguistic norms. Thus formal teaching contexts need norm orientations, as to which linguistic forms are acceptable and this leads to the question as to whose norms are accepted (Schneider, 2007, p.18.). Hence, as a teacher of English as a second language, the journey has been an eclectic mix of these confrontations and the question is as Hall (2013) reflects:

about questions of using the resources of history, culture and language in the process of becoming rather than being: 'not who we are', or

'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we may represent ourselves. (p.4).

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Victimisation of Women in Ann Harries' No Place For A Lady

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Abstract

No Place for a Lady depicts the chaos created by army discipline during wartime. About 1866, a Boer family discovered diamonds in an area claimed by the Orange Free State. Great Britain angered the Boers by seizing the area in 1871 and it annexed the South African Republic (Now Transvaal). The ill-will and jealousy between the Boers and the British were the main causes of the war.

When two elephants fight each other, the environment suffers. The effects of the war fell upon the women and children who were deported in the concentration camps at Bloemfontein. Many appeals and resolutions were proposed by the women of the Great Britain to denounce the injustices committed to women of South Africa but in vain. Ann Harries deplores the unbearable conditions in the camps and thinks that war is foolish and that people should put an end to it.

I. INTRODUCTION

It is supposed that all human beings are equally dependent upon what the Maker provided them; seeing that all live on this planet, breathe its air, drink its water and eat the food that grows out of its land. Curiously, the population is victim of the ruling classes' political practices. For this moment on earth today, our race has been ravaged and degraded to conflict between individuals. Ann Harries the author of No Place for a Lady has selected her topic on war showing how those who provoke it live happily in their castle while those who suffer from it are thrown in streets helplessly, most of them being women and children. Of course, who is not upset at injustice, especially in places in which should be justice and equality? The answers to all these matters, a cast of privilege people dominating and exploiting the mass class, are Ann Harries' preoccupations throughout her novel.

Women are marginalized in South African society. They are victims of the war between two white nations: the Boers and the British. One should agree

with the English writer Percy Byssche SHELLEY who said that: "All evils in the world are due to tyranny. If oppression was removed, love would reign and life would be beautiful"(Gijssels, 1961:195). This is the message he wanted to bring to humanity.

Being involved in the literary domain, especially dealing with a frictional work, the method used in carrying out this article is stylistics. Some elements will intervene such as, summary of the plot and some female characters. Thematic analysis will follow to depict the victimisation of women, and followed by a conclusion and bibliography/webograph.

II. DEVELOPMENT
1. Summary of the plot

Ann Harries depicts the chaos created by army discipline during wartime. About 1866, a Boer family discovered diamonds in an area claimed by the Orange Free State. Great Britain angered the Boers by seizing the area in 1871. Six years later, it annexed the South Africa Republic (now Transvaal). The ill-will and jealousy between the Boers and the "Uitlanders", or "foreigners", who were mainly British subjects, were chief causes of the war, also known as the South Africa War.

From 1880 to the Boers fought for freedom of the South Africa Republic and defeated the British. This was considered as the First Boer War. In 1886, many Uitlanders rushed into the South Africa Republic after the discovery of the Witwatersrand gold fields. The Boers tried to deny them political rights and power growing tensions between the Boers and British resulted in the Second Boer War (1889-1902). In 1895, the British attached the Boers in an unsuccessful uprising led by Leander Jameson. Peaceful attempts to settle the problem failed. The Orange Free State joined the South African Republic in declaring War on British in October, 1899. The Boers won victories during the early stages of the war.

In 1990, the war changed the side. It is during that time Ann Harries' novel finds its root. General Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener Brought more British troops into the area fight against the Boers.

It is also at that time that there were alliance and involvement of so-called "Kaffirs", or the South African Blacks on the British side. The conciliation committee was established. It was noticed that the black could have right of vote if they helped the British. So many armed and uniformed Kaffirs; many black-skinned men were helping out in this white man's war. Apparently many of these blacks in khaki drill acted as scouts. Knowing the lie of the land so well they could smell out where there Boer commandos were hiding, though not even they could detect a Boer in a trench six feet deep and Barricaded with Memosa bushes (NPL, 127-8).

War became crucial. British captured the capitals of the two republics early in 1990. They won the war and Boer regions became British colonies. It created concentration camps that confined persons whom the government considered politically dangerous. Ann Harries states seven times of concentration camps.

While the war was ravaging South Africa, the women of the Great Britain raised their voice, called a meeting and took some resolutions to denounce inhuman condition made to South Africa women. Ahead of them was Mrs. SCOTT the spokeswoman of the United Kingdom who said:
 "You will be aware that on 24 may, Lord Roberts annexed the Orange Free State and renamed it the Orange River Colony. We can expert annexation of the South African Republic before long. But do not think this meeting is therefore in vain. Even if we can achieve nothing practical, we, the women of Great Britain, are coming together to express our combined protest against injustice. The two former republics will know that we have publicly expressed our outrage, and take some comfort from this. History will prove us right, of that I have no doubt" (NPL, 190).

In their respective resolutions, women from all parts of the United Kingdom condemned the unhappy war raging in South Africa as mainly due to the bad policy of the government, protested against the annexation of the Boer republics whose inhabitants allied to them by blood and religion, expressed their sympathy with the women of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, they were filled with profound sorrow seeing their sufferings and would express concern for the fate of the indigenous peoples of South Africa who were clearly being exploited and ill-treated by both the Boers and the British (NPL,154).

Despite all these proposed resolutions, the Government of Great Britain took a deaf-and-dumb attitude toward women's indignation. War spread everywhere in South Africa; farms were burst, houses were destroyed, women and children were killed and deported in the concentration camps. Briefly, the situation became alarming.

1. CHARACTERS AND CARACTERISATION
1. Characters
Mrs Eva Theron Dawie
She was a Boer women and the farmer Dawie's wife. She was against the occupation of their land by British Army and wondered how to find the place to cultivate after losing their property. While talking with Sarah the English nurse, Eva Theron addressed her severe remark in the following tune:

"Of course you are not yourself my enemy; says the Boer women. Her face suddenly flushes. But your people have taken our land for which our forefathers she their blood. Now can this land now be British? And she waves her hands at the vistas of yellow grass which bake like her bread in the warmth of the sun. Good gave us this land, my dear, and now for our sins he has deserted us. Your bread is burning, Mrs Theron for the smell of smoke now over whelms the pleasant form aromas, and a pall hangs above the form house. The women's eyes harden. That is what the British do to our farmhouses when we do not sign the oath of allegiance" (NPL, 237).

Besides, Eva Theron was against black people qualified "Kaffirs" because of Britain's promise to give them the right of vote once the war ended. Let us remember that, before the war broke out, black people were considered as slaves to Boers. They were submitted to" passes". Though the blacks were on the British side, they became Boers' enemies. Eva Theron was mocking them knowing that there was little chance for the British government to honour its engagement and utters:

 "The Kaffirs thin they can do what they like now. They think the British are going to give them our farms and that makes them cheeky" (NPL, 236).

Mrs Eva Theron was among the women who were brought in Bloemfontein concentration camp, particularily in "Hand-Uppers' Camp" in barbed wire fence which separated the two camps. She went there for her own protection. Despite her presence in the camp, their farm has not been destroyed. A troop of Tommies has been billeted there. One of the reasons for her to be taken in the Hands-Uppers' Camp was that there has been suspicion that most of women were spies and informers on Boer commandos' side to annoy the British army (NLP, 336).

Mrs Mopeli

Mrs Mopeli was a black woman and one of the women in the concentration camp at Bloemfontein. She took washing from the tin hut ward in Bloemfontein and was able to speak good English, having been partly educated in an English missionary school. On occasion she adorned the lower half of her body with red, with and blue stripes, which clung to her backs side like a patriotic spider.

She liked to talk about England, which she regarded as a fabled land, the very heart of civilization, where everyone lived in peace and harmony under the gracious reign of a benign monarch. She could sing God Save the Queen' perfectly, a skill which she then demonstrated to Sarah, even though

an exceptionally large basket of laundry was balanced upon her head and small baby was tied to her back by a blanket. (NPL, 160)

The description of England pleased Sarah who cried in admiration, for the rendition has been filled with a dramatic intensity which suggested that God was receiving orders from a woman whose overflowing head basket had assumed the qualities of gigantic crown. And Sarah to reply:

"That is very impressive, Mrs Mopeli. I see that you have a great respect for the British race" (NPL, 161).

In exacting England, Mrs Mopeli hoped to end with Boer's regime that had put blacks as their slave in their own land. Besides, the involvement of South African blacks promised the vote if they joined the British side, was the answer and the solution for blacks to regain their land.

Unfortunately, Mrs Mopeli's dreams, hopes and the future aspirations fell like drops in the ocean. After the British had defeated the Boers, things changed in the two republics. They did not fulfil what they had promised to the blacks after being helped the latters. Following their adventures, the British re-established passes to blacks. Furthermore, they came in relations with the Boers. Thus Mrs MOpeli was profoundly disappointed with the British attitude when she heard from Louise and Sophie saying that:

"Nothing will come of them, in any case-I am worried about the high expectations the black population here has of Britain's promise to give them equal rights with the white population if they help out in the war. From what Sophie has told me, this is extremely unlikely, as Milner's idea is to create a union of English and Dutch in which the black man plays no part. I fear the worst"(NPL, 162).

As far as passes were concerned, Mrs Mopeli was astonished to see blacks being still accompanied with their passes wherever they wanted to go. Worse again, it is previously to be remembered above that, when the British Army came to fight with Boers most of blacks had burnt their passes hoping to come to an end. They were surprised with the new administration to restore them again as she explains.
"We African people have chosen to help the British, Nurse Palmer we expect the British to help us. Now they have brought the Pass back worse than the Boers My husband, he received five lashes because he could not show his Pass. My husband, he is born in this town. He works for the Imperial Rail way. That is very terrible, Nurse Palmer" (NPL, 230)

As usual, Mrs Mopeli like other women was a prisoner in the concentration camp. She played the role of intervening for the causes of other women in the camp especially in the case of illness and underfeeding. At the sometime she was complaining against the war and its effects in the lives of back people saying:

"This war, saying Mrs Mopeli…is a bad bad bad thing. Now everyone is dying children are dying. We thought the British Army came to help us, to give back our land; to put our people into the government. Now we help the British Army and they kill our children they even kill the children of the Boer people"   (NPL, .301)

Indeed, Mrs Mopeli as patriotic woman did not want to hide anything about black situation. While conversing with Nurse Palmer, a British one, she went in concluding that:

"The black servants, who also lost their home when the Boers form are burnt. Where must they live"?
"They must build their shelters by the railway, and find their own food. The British do not think of them when they burn Boer homes. My very own aunties and uncles live down there now with nothing we are very disappointed, Nurse Palmer we want respects us expect respect…
"This is the messy aftermath of a war that is by no means over; devastation and homelessness for those very people who had expected just the opposite from the invading forces "(NPL, 231).

Mrs Potgieter
She was a black woman who was imprisoned in the Bird Cage. Before this, she was in the main camp. She was a heroic woman and did not tolerate the injustice practiced by British government, especially the soldiers who were guarding the concentration camps. Sanitation was very bad. Soldiers did not care of the situation of women in the camps. There were no latrines, people dug the trenches. Women were not capable to dig the ditches for their toilet. Imagine their situation!.
Aside from this, there was latrines only reserved to soldiers and no one was allowed to use these latrines. This situation angered Mrs Potgieter who found in it kind of discrimination. Therefore, she took the decision to use one of these latrines. Consequently, she was sent from the main camp to the Bird Cage because she had bitten the arm of a British trooper as it related in the following lines:

"One day, Mrs Potgieter, who had summoned up her courage and barred her way in into the latrines, was surprised by a visit from a British trooper just as she was raising her skirt and sitting down. Kindly leave the latrine while I am here, she called to him in her best English. So outraged was she by this unseemly behaviour that she leapt up, grabbed his arm, and dug her teeth into it she is imprisoned in the bird cage, where there are no latrines at all" (NPL, 286).

Mrs Roos

Mrs Roos was a Boer woman incarcerated in the Bloemfontein Bird Cage, with other headstrong women. The ringleader of the headstrong women was Mrs Roos. Tall and angular, with piercing blue eyes, she was sent there for provoking a demonstration against the meat rations.

In February 1901, Mrs Roos was recessed from bird cage and to return back to main camp. Now that she was closer to the barbed wire, the approaching woman was suddenly recognizable. Mrs Roos the women clapped their hands and waved. Her name rustled among them, her children cried out in delight. (NPL, 332). She sailed in her sharp eyes searching for her children among the gathered in mates. They run up to her, shouting with joy as she embraced them one by one… we have already lit a fire for coffee, exclaimed the mother who had looked after those children. Though we used the last of our firewood, we could not celebrate your return without coffee. There was laughter all around. Even patch laughed. (NPL, 333)

2. Characterisation

Characterisation is the way the author reveals or shows the personality of a character to the reader. Characterisation is revealed through direct characterisation and indirect characterisation. Direct characterisation tells the audience what the personality of the character is while indirect characterisation shows things that reveal the personality of a character. Since characters are revealed through appearance, action speech, thoughts, and thoughts and comments of other characters, let us look at each of these elements individually to see how Ann Harries uses these elements to reveal his or her characters.

Appearance

When you meet people in life, their appearance strikes you first. Although physical appearance alone does not reveal the whole person, physical appearance is an important part of character. Ann Harries describes her characters' appearance, so you can see them; the characters become more than just words on a page as it can be seen in the following description:

'Fancy's image tumbled through his head in all its brilliant colours: her black hair gleaming with blue lights; her teeth whiter than the sprig of jasmine behind her ear; her brilliant red skits; her blue blouse checked with lemon yellow, and beneath it her warm brown breasts. (NPL:5)

Through Fancy's appearance you can assume that Miss Fancy is the most beautiful girl and she dresses wonderfully as if she is ready for wedding.

Action

People are always in action. They are always doing something, even if it is only breathing. Action brings a character to life. Every action means something. Again, Ann Harries presents the action through Mrs Potgieter, a black woman who bit the arm of a British trooper as follows:

'One day, Mrs Potgieter... was surprised by a visit from a British trooper just as she raising her skirts and sitting down into the latrines...so outraged was by this unseemly behaviour that she leapt up, grabbed his arm, and dug her teeth into it as hard as she could. For this reason she was imprisoned in the bird cage, where there were no latrines at all'! (NPL: 285-286).

Speech

What a character says shows us something about that character's attitude. It shows likes and dislikes. Each spoken word adds to the picture of the character. Every time we speak, we give ourselves away and show more of our inner selves. So do characters in Ann Harries fiction. Let us state the following speech:

'Good morning, Lizzie. How are you, my dear? Sarah greets the Child in her now confident Dutch. A suggestion of smile appears on the child's bluish lips. 'Good morning, nursil. Where is my mother?' 'I tell you what, Lizzie: will you sing for me?' The child thinks a moment, then oblingly sing, in a thin whispering voice, the first verse of a Boer hymn, De here his Mijn Gehulp (the Lord is my help) (NPL: 300)

Thoughts

Action and speech begin with thought. We all think. Sometimes we even become lost in thought. We are not aware of what is going around us. Characters may become lost in thought, too. They may think aloud to reveal

information about themselves and others. Let us see how Ann Harries shows a thought her through her or his characters:

‘He looks thoughtful; plunges his hand in his pocket... Lord, what Fools these mortals are. ‘I felt all my self-pity evaporates at once, so strong is my curiosity about the state of Sarah's heart. Was she at last about to confess to me her secret passion?’ ‘You may think me joyous, Sarah, but I can assure you that my happiness depends entirely on the approval of men. Without that, as you must know, I am in despair.’(NPL: 176)

From the last character's thoughts, we learn how Louise is obsessive i.e., without the presence of men she is in despair. That is why Sarah asks her:
‘So one man's love is not enough for you?’ ‘yes, it is, of course it is, but I must constantly reassure myself that others admire me too’ (NPL: 176)

3. Themes

Theme is the central idea or meaning of the story in a piece of writing or work of art (Hornby ,2010:1547). Theme in fiction is rarely presented at all; it is abstracted from the details of characters and action that compose the story. Themes convey a message or messages of the writer and may contain his beliefs and opinions (MONGBOLO NGALIMA 2013:12).

It is important to recognize the difference between the theme of a literary work and the subject of a literary work. The subject is the topic on which an author has chosen to write. The theme, however, makes some statement about or expresses some opinion on that topic. For example, the subject of a story might be war while the theme might be the idea that war is useless.

3.1. Injustice and oppression

It is defined as the fact of situation being unfair and of people not being treated equally (OALD,773). Ann Harries presents the social injustice in South Africa in general where black people were considered as inferior to white race, and in particular how South African Women were treated during the war. This distressing situation led the British women to react against their treatment as it can be seen bellow:
‘We, the women of Great Britain, are coming together to express our combined protest against injustice. (NPL: 190)

3.2. Racial Segregation

Segregation is the fact or policy of separating people of different races, religions or sexes and treating them in a different way (OALD, 1338).

As far as *No Place for a Lady* is concerned, it was conventionally decided that Black people once helped the British Army to win the war; against the Boers would have the right of vote in south Africa. Curiously, after winning, the British and the Boers formed union and Black people continued to remain in their original state as they had been before the war. This union was probably due to the fact that, in spite of enmity between Dutch and British, they all belonged to white colour. Ann Harries is astonished to 'Milner's idea to create a union of English and Dutch in which the Black man plays no part'(NPL: 162).

3.3. Exploitation

It is a situation in which somebody treats somebody else in an unfair way, especially in order to make money from their work (OALD, 516). It is to be remembered that before the occupation of two Boers republics by the British, the indigenous so-called Kaffirs were mainly working in the mines of gold and diamond. They were subjected to degrading treatment under the Boer's regime. The same situation occurred during the British occupation. Among the resolutions taken in the meeting of women brought together from all parts of the United Kingdom, the author of *No Place for a Lady* suggests the fifth resolution which runs as follows:

'we can adopt a fifth resolution at the meeting that would express concern for the fate of the indigenous peoples of South Africa who are clearly being exploited and ill-treated by both the Boers and the British' (NPL: 154)

This chows that between the Boers and the British, no one wished for the progress of the black people or indigenous to be developed in their own country.

4. Tone and Mood

Tone, an abbreviation of 'tone of voice' is the manner in which the writer expresses himself or herself. It is the writer implicit attitude toward the reader, his subject and himself or herself. Mood/atmosphere is the pervading feeling that experiences. It is created by the author through various language devices (MONGBOLO NGALIMA: 2013).

Since the tone conveys the writer's emotions, feelings and attitudes toward her subject, characters, or audience, it is expressed by the means of adjectives expressing these.

- *Author's attitude toward the audience*

Ann Harries, through her work, wants to expose to the audience the imperialism system in which one country controls other countries, often after defeating them in a war. This is what it is faced in *No Place for a Lady* with the expansion of the British Empire in South Africa.

She also wants to let the audience know how these so-called developed countries exploit the under-developed countries and leave them in extreme poverty and maltreat them as it can be seen in the following lines:

Civilised

"And do you know our beloved Britannia is doing to the women and children of South Africa? ... The soldiers of the Queen you admire so much are marching through the Boer Republics – Ex – Boer republics – setting fire to farmsteads and private homes, ... "Ah, never did I think a civilised nation like England could treat women and children so!" (NPL: 255).

1.1 **Some abuses committed to women**

Longtime passing, the nature has already posed questions about social issues such as how society constructs gender roles, how reproduction defines gender, how the political power of men and women are unequal and where gender inequalities are escalated. Around twenty-four centuries ago, Plato, according to Ilaine Haffman Baruch, argued for the total political and sexual equality of women, advocating that they be members of his class,… those who rule and fight.

French writer Christine de Pizan, the author of "The Book of the city of Ladies and Epistle to the God of Love", is cited by Simone de Beauvoir as the first woman to denounce "misogyny". In fiction, some women have been famous. For instance, Charlotte Brontë, Anne Brontë and George Eliot prose writers in the Victorian Age depicted women's misery and frustration. Louise May Alcott penned a strongly feminist novel " A Long Fatal Love chase", about a young woman's attempts to flee her bigamist husband.

Nowadays women react against the creation of dictionary of separate spheres for men and women. In this ideology, men were to occupy the public sphere (the sphere of wage labour and politics) and women the private sphere (sphere of home and children). (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ History of feminism. Accessed 17/6/2016 at 4.20 p.m)

Compared to novelist women cited above, Ann Harries, a novelist woman of "No place for a Lady", denounces some mistreatments and

disapprobation towards South African women who are victims of the legislation that seems to put them "nowhere", as wrote Thomas More "Utopia", describing the social conditions during the Renaissance in England (Gijssels, 1961). Thus, Ann Harries mentions some abuses from which women are victims:

- **Misogyny**

This is meant by misogyny a man who hates women (Hornby, 2010). In "No place for a Lady", Ann Harries fits together the French writer Christine de Pizzan to denounce misogyny, a kind of men's disdain to wards women.

In fact, when the British troops reached South Africa they did not tolerate the presence of women. According to them, South African women were considered as their first enemies for two reasons: they considered them as hostile to their presence in South Africa because of invading their forefathers' land and because they were spies on the side of the Boer Commandos. This attitude is expressed in the following passage:

"…we are known as the hands-uppers, says the woman, a horrible insulting word. We are hated, even a woman-hater like Lord Horatio Kitchener would not want to exterminate the entire female Boer population, but that is what he will do, Sir Alfred, unless something is done immediately to ameliorate the situation" (Harries, 2005).

- **Bigamy**

This is defined as the crime of marrying somebody when you are still married to somebody else (Hornby, 2010). Here, Ann Harries denounces the attitudes of certain men who hid their marital status in order to seduce women. A typical example is found in Wole Soyinka's play "The Lion and the Jewel". The story tells about Baraka, a local chief in Nigerian village who used to invite girls in his room and seduce them. One day, he invited Sidi in his room for entertainment. Knowing how he seduced girls, Sidi refused the invitation. The chief sent one of his wives to tell Sidi that he has got virility. Sidi agreed but finally she was seduced and became one of his wives.

Similar cases occurred during the war in South Africa between the British Army and the Boer Commandos. It is to be remembered that many women were victims of this bigamy. Most girls were caught in this nest. Among many examples, let us mention that of Louise, a nurse from England who was sent to South Africa in order to rescue the wounded soldiers. Once arriving in Cape Town, she found a Boer Doctor called James who told her that he was bachelor. Hiding his status, Louise was the first victim and fell in

love with him. After being seduced, Louise discovered that this man was already married as it can be seen it in the lines below:

"…though Louise wants to go to the front, she is very much in
love with Dr. James, the chief medical officer of her hospital.
This is absurd says Sarah as he is a married man" (Harries, 2005:
91).
In spite of Sarah's counsels Louise maintained to be a second wife to Dr. James. In the letter she wrote to Sarah Cape Town 17 January 1901 she said:
"I may as well as tell you immediately, but on condition, dear
Sarah, that you will tell no one else. The truth is that I have
married a Boer! This may be scarcely to you, knowing my
original anti-Boer feeling, and I beg you to try to understand"
(Harries, 2005: 313).

The bigamy stated by Ann Harries during the Boer war in South Africa has in common with what is called the war of Liberation in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1997; particularly in Kisangani Town. Many Kisangani women were victims of this war in the sense that, when Uganda's Army entered in Kisangani, they were seduced by those soldiers. As a result of contact with these foreigners, some women got diseases others were even killed, some others got undesirable pregnancies and the rest went with Uganda's soldiers and never came back.

- **Xenophobia**

It is defined as 'a strong feeling of dislike or fear of people from other countries' (Hornby, 2010: 1725). Xenophobia is a common occurrence in South Africa. It is very often announced in the press that many immigrants in South Africa are hated, maltreated, expelled by South African people and sometimes killed.

As far as 'No place for a Lady' is concerned, Ann Harries had deplored the similar situation during the Boer war where the non-whites were marginalized, most of them being women. Before the conquest of South Africa, the Boers or Dutch people from Holland believed the Blacks or indigenous to be an inferior race and treated them like slaves. They denied political rights to anyone whose skin wasn't white. (Harries, 2005: 28).

At the same time, Emily watched the same phenomenon that was horrible as it is shown in the following passage:

'Mr Somerset-Glance!' cry Emily and Miss Griffen
simultaneously; then collapse in cruel mirth as they watch the
plump little man gingerly lower one spatted foot below the next,
clinging to the trunk of the tree like a child to its mother while a

band of delirious men, women and children leap round the corner, banging on tin pots and dustbin lids, chanting out two names in a fever celebrations: Bade-Powell (clash-clash boom!) Mafeking (bang-bang crash!)…
The sky begins to blaze with fireworks. She closes the curtains with a briskness that is final. 'Let's hope all this xenophobia isn't going to affect our bookings'." (NPL: 178-179).

- **Lack of freedom of speech**

Freedom is defined as the state of being able to do, the right to do or say what you want, without anything stopping you: freedom of speech, thought, expression, worship, action, etc. (Hornby, 2010: 596). Any ruler or government who suppresses freedom of speech is therefore a dictator. He or it goes against the spirit of democracy that is a way of life, that states that all persons are equal before the law, that provides freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of religion (WBE, 1968, vol. 5: 104).

As far as 'No Place for a Lady' is concerned, Ann Harries expresses the indifference of the British Government which refuses to associate British women in their war planning against the Boers in South Africa, knowing that the United Kingdom is ruled by the Queen.

Besides, when the war started in South Africa, the most affected persons were women and children who were deported in the concentration camps in a small town called Bloemfontein. This situation awakened the conscience of many women all over Britain as it can be seen in the following passage:

"The Queen's Hall is filling up with women. The balconies are in danger of over flowing as mothers, grandmothers, aunts, sisters, nieces and cousins. The circle is already crowded. A long, entirely female queue curls out into upper regent street and into a neighboring square. The women are conversing animatedly. The accents of Yorkshire, Scotland, Wales, Cumberland, amaze the cockney tradesmen and stall holders who have never tradesmen and stall holders who have never seen so many ladies in one place nor heard the entire country so represented on their streets. Miss Griffen and Sophie are distributing leaflets; Miss Hobhouse stands beside on one of the great door ways, exultant… Members of the press hover in the street, affecting world wearness. Only female reporters will e allowed. There will be no heckling, only the dignified protest of resolute women". (Harries, 2005: 189).

And then the entire hall was full. This set the scene of discussion among the women and the hall thundered with patriotic themes played by Mrs. Holloway. It was fitting that this historic meeting took place in a hall built for queens, as they waited, the audience acquired a certain majestic authority. Unanimously, some resolutions were proposed by the women of Great Britain" to support the women of South Africa against injustice and give them heart" (Harries, 2005: 190-192).

In spite of Great Britain women's resolutions, the government had not taken into account their indignation. Mr. Lloyd George, the radical member for carnarvon or Member of Parliament qualified women's meeting as nonsense when he uttered: "And to think this is a non political meeting." (Harries, 2005: 206-207). And patch to conclude: "That was what women were meant to be: mothers, not political firebrands" (Harries, 2005: 365).

III. CONCLUSION

In the light of what had been said throughout this work, any act of war led by men aimed indiscriminately at the destruction of entire cities of extensive areas along with their population, is a crime against God and man himself and merits condemnation. War is the paranoid or projective elaboration of mourning. We join Pete Seeger's view in his poem: *Where Have the Flowers Gone?* (Cartledge, 1967:178-179). We think that War is foolish. Ever since the world began, young men have gone to war as soldiers and have been killed and buried. A high proportion of those killed young men had not yet fathered children. If they had not had to go for soldiers; they could have stayed at home, where they would marry girls for whom they picked flowers, and would have had peaceful and happy lives. In other words, young girls who hoped to have husbands were left widows, being victims of the war. Our suggestion should be that War and quarrels among people ought to take an end and allow humanity to live in peace and without discrimination.

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Emergence of Historical Satire Through Patterns of Dream in Ahmed Yerima's Aetu

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Abstract

There is an emergence of history, exposure of social failings and attempt to correct them in Ahmed Yerima's *Aetu*. Previous scholarly engagements on satire have explored the tenets and attributes of either Horatian or Juvenalian satire or both. However, this paper examines the nature of Yerima's handling of history to make satirical drama through the use of patterns of dream to showcase his imaginative idiosyncrasy. In this work, Yerima's artistry is anchored vividly on his fusion of conformity to the traditional features of satire and his departure from them. The textual analysis is premised on psychoanalysis especially Carl Jung's model of dream theory. Psychoanalysis allows for the investigation of character's unconscious motives and collective archetypes. It is discovered that the patterns of dream serve as techniques of foreshadowing and flashback to the physical and psychological conflicts in the text. Significantly, the patterns of dream are used as signifiers of the protagonist's traumas, which are precipitated by her naive behaviours. The psychic and sarcastic exposition of the bigotry, crudity and exploitation that are aspects of Nigerian socio-political atmosphere are portrayed through the patterns of dream.

Keywords: Patterns of dream, Feminism, Psychic contexts, Satire, History.

Introduction

Functionally, satire has two prominent roles, which can be categorised as social and psychological functions. Socially, it is an effective source to understand a society and as such, it is the oldest form of social study (Rosenberg, 1960). As social study has to do with leading figures and values in the society, satire has satisfied the popular need to debunk and ridicule the leading figures in politics, economy, religion and other prominent realms of power and it confronts in general public discourse

(Knight, 2004). Psychologically, it provides the keenest insights into a group's collective psyche to reveal its deepest values and tastes. Psychologically, satire provides a satiric impulse and its ritualised expressions to carry out the function of resolving social tension. This is achievable by giving expression to the anti-social tendencies, representing a safety valve which re-establishes equilibrium and health in the collective imaginary, which are jeopardised by the repressive aspects of society (Szabari, 2009). Yerima has cauterised and galvanised social and psychological functions of satire as highlighted by Knight, Szabari and Rosenberg above into an effective stimulants that synergise the success of his historical satires in the play under examination in this paper.

Though, a concise function of satire has been observed above, it will be complementary to explain the different types of satire to afford this study the opportunity to identify the type on which side the playwright is leaning and the source of his fascination and artistic talents. Satirical drama can be categorised as either Horatian or Juvenalian, though, the two are not entirely mutually exclusive. Horatian satire is named after a Roman satirist, Horace (65-8BCE) who playfully criticises some social vices through gentle, mild and light-hearted humour. It directs wit, exaggeration and self-deprecating humour toward what it identifies as folly, rather than evil. Horatian satire's sympathetic tone is common in modern society. The basic element in Horatian satire is humour no matter the gravity or density of it. Juvenalian satire on the other hand, is named after the Roman satirist, Juvenal who lived between late 1st century and early 2nd century. It is more contemptuous and abrasive than the Horatian. Juvenalian satire addresses social ills through scorn, outrage and savage ridicule. This form is often pessimistic and characterised by irony, sarcasm, moral indignation and personal invective with less emphasis on humour. The glaring distinction between Horatian and Juvenalian is the degree of their hilarity. Horatian is more hilarious while Juvenalian is less. Having seen the basis of satire in drama, it will be scholarly rewarding to examine the nature of Yerima's handling of history to make satirical drama, whether it conforms with the basis of satire as exists in both Horatian and Juvenalian satires or there is a departure from them or there is a fusion or mixture of conformity and departure.

Before textual engagement, it will be expedient to look at what other literary critics say on Yerima's style. Abdullahi (2013) comments:

> Of particular interest is the range of subject matters, cultural
> backgrounds and aesthetic approaches employed in the over
> 35 published plays of Ahmed Yerima. From his shifting
> cultural focus from play to play, mostly on cultures other
> than his own, one cannot but be interested in taking another
> look at Ahmed Yerima's multicultural imagination by

> attempting to unravel what inspired his peculiar creative
> attitude, the objectives behind the plays and the impacts of
> such plays on the reading audience or the intended audience
> (p. 104)

It seems that Abdullahi has been grossly fascinated with the eclectic imagination and style of Yerima's plays. He also sees Yerima as a dynamic literary scholar and dramatist. Similarly, Adeoti (2007) has noted the eclectic magnitude of Yerima's dramaturgy and he reflects thus:

> Yerima's plays in terms of literary and theatrical devices are
> intriguingly eclectic. He derives artistic influences from a
> variety of dramatic traditions and tendencies from classical
> Greece to Renaissance tragedy to naturalism; from Irish
> drama to Bretchian epic theatre; from the theatre of the absurd
> to the cockroach theatre traditions, etc (p.51).

The play that is examined in this work is referred to as historical satire, in which the playwright dwells artistically on the disillusionment and disenchantment that permeated African society. One remarkable thing about the play is the playwright's attempt to bring to the fore the ineptitude and shortcomings of individuals, groups, classes, and the Nigerian society in general to public scrutiny and to solicit improvement. The author achieves this purpose by deviating a bit from the traditional humour or dense invectives of both Horatian and Juvelian satires. He places his satirical instrument on the characters' psyches. He places more premiums on the psychological personality of his hero than the contextual situations in the play. He (Yerima) sees human minds or the mindsets of dramatic characters as latent and catalyst responsible for any action, change and impact of the situation or predicament that may arise in the play and by extension, in reality.

Aetu is a play that blends factual realities of the common people, the downtrodden and the people that are negatively affected by the past societal traditions which are still creeping into the contemporary world. With dramatic aesthetics and dexterity, Yerima portrays the pathetic and helpless state of womanhood under the firm grip of patriarchal hegemony and neurosis of tradition of inheritance in African culture.

The play places its satirical content within the real history of the common people. It re-presents the life story of the author's grandmother. However, it is not based on the entire profile of the playwright's grandmother but only on the bitter and unpleasant experience and dehumanising treatment society metes out to her as a result of men's strong adherence to the debasing tradition of inheritance and widowhood. In the author's note he observes:

Aetu….my paternal grandmother, a woman tough to the bones, inspired this play. I never knew her as an adult. But she loved me …. Or so I was told by my mother, Sadaatu, who dreads the memory of her to this day. But my father loved her, as he had first shortened the longer name Ayishatu, and replaced it with Aetu. And then deified her before her death, in his soul…. The real Aetu's life is slightly different from the one in this play …. But in a sad way, they were both victims of women as subject of inheritance within one family (p.7).

From this note, the play presents Yerima as an erudite artist, a mediator of some sort who is equipped with the hermeneutics of historical facts available to him, either written or oral, to blend fiction with fact. The available records of his grandmother, he transfers to a historical play, *Aetu*. To him, there is something lucid, lustrous, unusual and remarkable about Aetu, his grandmother that he wants to make known to the public. It is pertinent to note that the play identifies with the proletariat. This idea of blending the factual, history and the experience of the common people proves that Yerima artistic writings and talents are eclectic and commendable because it will afford the audience and society at large to note and know the plights of the common people and at the same time, instil the spirit and sense of belonging in the entire society.

As a satirical play, it portrays the callousness and wickedness of some men in the society, especially when issues of personal or individual interests are at stake. It also decries and bemoans some obnoxious inherited traditions that are dehumanising in the society. In this wise, the neurosis of patriarchal hegemony in the play negatively affects an innocent young girl whose innocence is bitterly transformed into a perpetual anger, pain and hermitic life of sorrow and revenge.

The synopsis of the plot structure exposes the young Aetu in her teen to the intrigue and callousness in human world. She is denied her heartfelt love, Atiba. Atiba is murdered by Oke, a man of about seventy years who wants to marry Aetu by force because he has money and influence. Having killed Atiba, Aetu is helplessly raped by this wicked man. Surprisingly, Oke tries to exonerate himself after committing two heinous crimes – murder and rape. The product of the bitter experience of the rape and forced marriage is Obajimi, son of Aetu. Aetu never knows comfort psychologically. Her mind is always full of turbulence and restiveness since her real love, Atiba has been gruesomely murdered. Consequently, she goes to seek revenge from Esu, a fiery god of revenge and evil. At the Esu shrine, she pronounces curses on her husband, Oke, their son and generations after them. With the pronounced curse, Oke dies mysteriously. After his death, the inheritance rite

gives Aetu to another husband, a brother of Oke who also dies of the spell of the curse. She is later inherited by the next younger sibling of the dead husband who also suffers similar fate of death. Aetu, not yet satisfied with the result of the curse, decides to be indifferent to the sons she has by the three dead husbands and she finally commits suicide by stabbing herself with a knife.

As a satire, the play portrays many vices of men, women and the entire society. It reveals such follies and vices as callousness of man, sexual acrimony, patriarchal hegemony, widowhood, obnoxious inheritance rite and lack of forgiveness. The historical or factual accuracy is not the focus of our analysis but the stylistic elements and techniques the playwright employs to make an excellent historical satire from the pathetic story of Aetu in the play. It is a play that dwells on human beings and psychology. The playwright, right from the beginning of the play, artistically dwells on the collective or stream of unconsciousness in the minds of the chief character, Aetu as espoused by Freud and Jung. It is the psychoanalytical elements and techniques that the playwright uses to develop the plot structure, characters and the characterisation that we shall copiously discussed. All the major characters in the play are involved in one pattern of dream or the other. The major device is dream motif, with the following dream patterns: nightmare, day dreaming, and hallucination.

In the making of historical satire in *Aetu*, the playwright begins the exposition of the protagonist and the heroine, Aetu, a young and beautiful lady whose desire is to marry her only love, Atiba. She is introduced as a confused lady because of the nightmare she has which seems to be an impediment to her heart's desire. The playwright presents her psychic context to project the rising action or complication of the play. The nightmare reoccurs severally, Nightmare as "an unpleasant dream can cause fear, horror, despair and great sadness to the dreamer(American Psychiatric Association, 2000). The dream may contain situations of danger, discomfort, psychological or physical terror. Aetu's nightmare causes fear and both psychological and physical terror as regards her desire and love. She narrates her dream to her love, Atiba:

> …. This is the third time. Each time, men…. strong bad ones, chase me. I run and I run in circles, until I get to a cliff, and with nowhere to go, I jump …. hoping I will fall into the Osun river, and swim away. Then I remember that I cannot swim. I become scared again. The only good thing is that I see you there at the bottom of the cliff to break my fall. And we hold each other like now…. ..(p.26)

Another effect of nightmare is that it helps the dreamer to integrate thoughts on the symbolic creation in the nightmare. Aetu, in her wakefulness, goes to Yeye Osun to inquire more about her love, desire and the nightmare but the goddess is too busy with celebration and she is unable to have what she wants. According to Aetu, "the priestess was so noisy, she sang and danced" (p.25). The inability of Yeye Osun to attend to her portends evil because she literally interprets the dream as love. "It is love …. Yeye Osun believes in love" (p.26). From the mindset of Aetu here, the audience has known that calamity is looming. The playwright in his usual manner has used this nightmare to artistically heighten the plot on one hand and to develop the protagonist, Aetu*,* and her characterisation, on the other hand. From her account of the dream and self-interpretation, the audience has the opportunity to adjudge her as a young lady that is psychologically insensitive to the wiles and vices of people of the world as suggested or symbolised by the strong and bad men chasing her in her dream. She is engrossed by youthful exuberance and naivety.

The author plays on her naivety about the world she lives in and suffers greatly in by not taking the nightmare seriously. The "strong bad men" in the dream appear in the physical and shatter her desire and love. The wrong and literal interpretation causes her the inability to take a firm and pragmatic action that will accentuate the realisation of her desire and love. It therefore, becomes a belated action when she suggests to Atiba to leave the village in anticipation of an elopement. The conversation between Atiba and Aetu buttresses this:

> AETU: The bad men in my dream. It is them. They are after me again. Let us run, Atiba.
> ATIBA: To where? I have your father's herd here. I have the herd belonging to other people too. I cannot go or I will get into trouble with my customers. You hide ...
> AETU: (*Aetu runs out to save Atiba*) leave him alone! You will kill (*But it is too late*) Atiba! *(realising Atiba is dead, she begins to cry)* (p.27)

The psychic context of Aetu's mind, through the dream, is projected above the social situation in the play. Her father wants her to marry his business partner, Oke, an old man that is above seventy years. She knows that her father will not approve her marriage to Atiba, and there is need for her to take a decisive action like elopement to free herself from the shackle of the ignoble societal culture, that she must succumb to her father's wish in term of marriage. The dream and the interpretation she gives to it serve as

hindrance to her desire but she delays in taking actions. The repressed, as parts of her life (her father's wish) and mind, suddenly becomes satisfied through fantasy in the latter part of the dream: "the only good thing is that I see you there at the bottom of the cliff to break my fall" (p.26). She gains control over emotions resulting from distressing experience by her naivety and literal interpretation of the nightmare.

The playwright uses dream motif as a stylistic device to develop the internal structure of the play, to create and develop characters and to expose the vices and follies in the society in order to correct them. As a satire, the play decries the debasing and ignoble aspects of African culture of patriarchal hegemony. It ridicules the neurosis of patriarchal hegemony that portrays women as toys and tools of their male counterpart. *Aetu* cannot marry her choice of man because of this social menace. As she wants to free herself to become an independent woman, Oke, another man with unchecked effrontery shatters her dream.

The placement of the psychic context of the character above the historical and textual content is fully realised when Aetu's mind loses all traces of naivety and becomes devoid of youthful exuberance. She has been shattered and destroyed by men. Her beauty has turned sour. Life has become miserable and unbearable to her because Oke, her unwanted husband, has died and she becomes an exchangeable gift from one husband to another due to unpleasant inheritance rite. At this point, she returns to her nightmare with mature mind and she decides to commit murder in order to join Atiba at the bottom of the sea (the world beyond). An old woman intimates us:

> When she found that she could not continue to swallow the stones life was forcing down on her throat. When she found out that it was better to fall from the cliff into the river of Yeye Osun, and deeper into the hands of Atiba, six feet below, than walk the interred streets jeered by her peers (p.35).

The nightmare eventually becomes a device for foreshadow whose manifestation surfaces at the end when Aetu commits suicide to afford her the opportunity to re-unite with Atiba in the other world that is free of worries, patriarchal hegemony, pains and unrealistic hope. Dream, especially nightmare, as a stylistic device has helped the play to spread its thematic message as a historical satire. It obviously creates the characters and develops them. It has to develop the plot through foreshadowing. Thus, dream is used as part of history to unfold the social and cultural realities in the play, *Aetu* and by extension, the human world.

Another aspect or pattern of day dream in *Aetu* is wishful thinking. This is a psychological state of mind or belief that a person's desire is

happening or will happen, though this is actually not true or very unlikely. It is a stage in one's life when one's obsession or over-ambition seems to come to pass. The point to be borne in mind is that it is an occurrence that happens when the mind is lost in thought and restive. The wishful thinking or desire may eventually become manifest but not willingly or naturally. Draaisma (2004) sees wishful thinking as an innate obsessive and abrasive egocentrism that often characterises the life of a sadist. Yerima employs this to buttress Draaisma's view. In the character of Gbade in the play, as a brother of late Oke, Aetu's husband, his duty is to ensure even sharing of his late brother's property. Though, the patriarchal hegemony and existing inheritance rite put him in a better position to choose what he wants or desires than the wives. Yet, he wishfully takes almost everything that is good as a result of greed and uncontrollable desires.

Yerima artistically places premium on the unconscious mind of Gbade, one of his characters through a wishful pattern of dream. His state of mind is to acquire what his brother has, either lawfully or not. His thinking does not have human feeling concerning the children and the widows. Gbade exclaims hilariously and greedily that all his brother's properties are here. "His clothes, his shoes, his cups, his landed properties and his wives, all three of them …. All his children do not matter here" (p.3). This greedy statement is a product of wishful thinking, it has been on his mind even before the death of Oke. The playwright x-rays the mind of Gbade to heighten the plot structure in a way to reveal further the calamity of Aetu. As a widow who is entitled to her husband's wealth, Gbade denies her and she later becomes an unwilling wife to Gbade who has no iota of passion for her. His level of wishful thinking and greed is shown in the selfish and greedy manner he shares his brother's wealth as revealed in the following conversation between him and Aetu:

> AETU: Nothing, my lord. Let me return to my father. I had only one child for your later brother. Let me go, my lord. My brother and mother just died, and my father's sight is going bad. I am the only child left, let me return home. I beg you.
>
> GBADE: Did you hear the voice and the concern of a good woman? Young in age but tender in everything else. Otedola, today I make my choice of my brother's properties. First is the land at the riverside, good for the planting of rice. The cocoa farm at the centre of the village to the left, the two houses at Ije, the kolanut farm at Oke-oko and of course for

the sake of my impending old age, I shall take this Tapa woman to enrich my bed. If I die with her by my side caring to my needs, let no one blame the gods for loving me. I am not a greedy man. Otedola take your desires and let the children have what is left. Our brother lived well, it is our right to enjoy his wealth after him … (p.34).

It is wishful thinking and greed that make him to choose almost every substantial parts of the property of Oke, his late brother and husband of Aetu. The dream motif in form of wishful thinking is employed to wheel the tragic vehicle of the play. But for his uncontrollable and egocentric psyche, Aetu would have returned to her father and her subsequent tragedy in the play would have been averted. Hence, the unconscious mind of Gbade as a character adds immensely to the plot development, development of characters and it depicts the thematic qualities. As a satire, the play attempts to ridicule and correct the patriarchal hegemony that has reduced the entire womanhood to lacklustre entity in the society. Also, the act of selfishness, egocentrism and greed the society should attempt to expunge are satirised.

Another pattern of dream as a stylistic technique in *Aetu* `is hallucination. Hallucination is an example of unconscious state of the mind when a person sees or hears things that are not physically seen or heard by others around him. Fftyche (2012) sees hallucination as "illusory symbolic creation or perception in human psyche" (p.27). Thompson (2006) further classifies hallucination into visual and auditory hallucinations. Yerima uses both visual and auditory hallucinations to show the plot structure and direction of the play. Hallucination is further used to develop the character of Obajimi as a victim of human acrimony and ignoble inheritance rite. His (Obajimi) hallucinatory state of mind is used to present the conflict in the play. It is the negative effect of the curse Aetu pronounces on those who deprive her the actualization of her dreams and desires. Consequently, the hallucination brings or produces actions which help to identify the owner of the voices he hears and the faces or images that appear in the hallucination. However, the hallucinated person (Obajimi) is innocent of this but he is presented as the sacrificial lamb that will put an end to the epidemic effect of Aetu's curse. In his ailment, Obajimi often sees images and he speaks to them, to the consternation of Kande, his son. When this becomes unbearable, Kande takes his father to a priest of Esu, Suara, in anticipation of a cure. And this brings about the exposition of the conflict in the plot structure. Let us see the reaction of Kande to his father's hallucination:

Another sign of his ailment, Mama. Like his uncles, his father, and his brothers who also suffered from this sickness

> before their deaths. Often he goes into a state of trance and talks of goats, a boy being strangled ….. One night he called out a name
>
> …. Atiba! Sometimes Atiba would appear to haunt him, and he would be asking and pleading that he did not have a hand in his death (p.22).

Unfortunately, Obajimi had not even been born before the gruesome murder of Atiba. This hallucination sparks off action that contributes to the development of the plot and the character of the heroine, Aetu. Artistically, Yerima employs hallucination to unknot the complication and the climax of the plot in the play. Obajimi, one of the sons of Aetu, hallucinates:

> Go, son. Hurry. My mother is happy now. There she smiles at me. Hurry out, son, my mother accompanied by death comes for me. Everything is now so perfect. Thank you, son. Go. Hurry! (p.55)

Obajimi is happy in this hallucination. He gives order to his son who has been so helpful and caring. The hallucination shows an end to an epidemic curse and, artistically, it shows the resolution of the play, which means the return of peace, comfort and normalcy to Aetu's grandchildren. No more death and revenge for a crime they are innocent of. Beck-Sander, Birchwood and Chadwick (1997) call this type of hallucination a command hallucination. According to them, command hallucination is used in defence of a crime, and as a proclamation of victory. It is essentially a voice one hears and it tells one what to do, as it is seen in Kande and Obajimi in the play.

There is also an aesthetic of daydreaming as a pattern of dream motif in *Aetu*. This daydreaming also contributes in great magnitude to the arrangement and development of the plot and in the development of the characters. Barret (2010) posits that daydreaming is a visionary fantasy, especially one of happy, pleasant thoughts, hopes or ambitions imagined as coming to pass and experienced while awake. From Barret's definition, day dreaming is a product of minds reflection or human psychic imagination about a positive solution to a current conflict, it also means an optimistic viewing of a bleak situation. There is a similitude of daydreaming in the play. Kande, the troubled son of Obajimi, daydreams by envisaging a possible solution to his father's health predicament. He psychologically and philosophically imagines a hopeful remedy to his father's conflict which, of course, is the major conflict in the play. He sees a silver lining in the cloudy atmosphere of the plot. In Kande's daydream, other characters around him, like old woman and Saura, see him as an impetuous man. But he reiterates his point and view that the mysterious situation must be unravelled:

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> … Excitement took over my senses. These are questions my
> children will ask. I want answers for them. This is all I have
> always prayed for. To hear someone tell me about my
> grandmother. All I got for answers, to this moment, were lies
> in coded forbidden whispers…. I am overwhelmed with
> excitement… Hear the stories that can untangle …mystery of
> pain (p.35-36).

This expression by Kande accentuates his readiness to make the sacrifice that will atone and pacify the spirit of vendetta in Aetu, his grandmother. After the provision of the items of the ritual, Kande's daydream suddenly comes to manifestation. At this juncture, the song of sorrow or mysterious atmosphere suddenly changes to a happy one. Kande now sees himself as the pillar of the house. He joyfully exclaims:

> It will never happen again. Not within the walls of our house.
> I am the Olori ebi, the oldest child alive and the head of the
> family after my father. I give my word ….. Never! (p.54)

The daydream has been portrayed by the playwright as psychotherapy that brings solace and satisfaction to the inner mind of Kande who represents all the family or the offspring of Aetu. It is therefore, pertinent to say that the author presents Kande's psychological reflection to resolve issues that heat up the plot structure. The daydream also describes the characterisation of Kande as a caring and optimistic character who is not deterred by unfavourable and mysterious occurrences. One thing that is remarkable with Kande's state of mind after the atonement has been made is that his sad mood over the deteriorating health condition of his father suddenly changes to a happy one.

Yerima's engagement of the characters' mindset, as in Kande's example, is to regulate mood and control emotions from distressing experiences. Yerima, through Kande's daydream, has shown that dream is not simply a collection of unconsciousness permanently fixed to a particular time and place in history, but an on-going social practice within every society. And the multifaceted nature of dreams makes them easy to find connections between dramatic events, characters and realities. If one compares the gloomy expression of Kande at the beginning of *Aetu* with the excitement shown in the triumphant expression above, one will see the link between daydream and envisioning on one hand, and optimism and manifestation on the other. At the beginning, Kande is disturbed, worried and inquisitive but he never gives up. His words and pleas attest to this:

> Baba, I beg you, save my family from shame. Save my father
> from death. We have been everywhere, we were told that only
> you and the god you serve can save my father. I have money.
> (p.10)

He has the fantasy and vision that the social and dehumanising imbroglio in Aetu's descendants will give way and this comes to stay at the end. Thus, Kande's frame of mind in the play has helped to ridicule follies in the society and also helped ameliorate the unstraightened ways and hedges. The author employs daydreaming in the play for three dramatic purposes; to portray the themes, to develop the plot structure and to comment on the characters and their roles. *Aetu* is a play that artistically fits into psycho analytical appraisal of Freud and Jung's collective unconsciousness with the various patterns of dream like nightmare, daydream, hallucination and wishful thinking that Yerima has put in place.

Conclusion

This paper has explored Yerima's eclectism and multiculturalism in form and content respectively. We have seen areas of his adherence to Horatian and Juvenalian satires and his areas of artistic departures from the traditional forms and nature of satires, which have really proven his dramatic uniqueness and idiosyncrasy. His artistic talent in the play examined in this work lies largely in the penetration into human psyche through dream motif to show the distinction between socio-political realities and illusions. The exploration of dream motif as device has afforded Yerima the opportunity to use the various patterns of dream to unfold the realistic events in a typical African feminine environment.

In the play examined in this paper, there is artistic fusion of history and drama with high tempo of hilarity and provocative poignancy to check and correct the excesses of the members of contemporary societies in the area of culture. In *Aetu,* the actual happenings in the life of Aetu, the playwright's paternal grandmother, are ridiculed in order to improve societal shortcomings like patriarchal hegemony and inheritance rite. Artistically, the playwright explores dream patterns to unfold unpleasant societal injunctions that subject women to socio-psychological traumas. Hence, the playwright produces sato-feministic drama, a marriage of satire and feminism in drama. Thus, the exploration of dream patterns in the play, as analysed, succinctly makes Yerima also a psycho-historical dramatist.

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The Ambiguously Realistic Villain in the Enemy of the People

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Abstract

The dramatic art to go beyond the sheer aim of art for art's sake in the realm of literature has been concerned with the revelation of the condition of the time and the era of the playwright. In this article, Henrik Ibsen's Work *the Enemy of the People* has been closely analyzed from the orientation of theme and character development to show his tact in pinpointing the social dilemma and problems of his time. It tries to show how the protagonist status as the realistic hero turns out to be a mere villain of the society and the time. At a macro level, Ibsen's overwhelming characterization can be taken as a good indicator of the different demanding social domination of pre modern age idiosyncrasies.

Keywords: Villain, Realistic, Enemy of the People, Drama.

Introduction

The Enemy of the People stages the character of a doctor who has a perfect knowledge of the city water storage. He is accompanied by his brother who is the mayor of the city. Dr. Thomas Stockmann, the protagonist of Ibsen's play, *An Enemy of the People*, discovers a serious health threat in the Baths of his Norwegian town. The Baths have been marketed as a health resort to lure visitors. Dr. Stockmann alerts officials about the problem and assumes that they will close the Baths until it is corrected. He is met with fierce resistance, however. His brother, the town's mayor, favors keeping the Baths open and correcting the problem gradually. He advances multiple arguments that appeal to the economic interests of the town and Thomas's role-related obligation as a citizen. He finds himself under the pressure of his family and his friends alike though they all know that he is right. Sometimes, some officials on their responsibilities make annihilating decisions. He knows the wrong side of his decision but he sacrifices the rest at the cast of covering his own wishes and faulty attitude. This maybe a good indicator for the mayor, his brother. His wife, Katherine, wants him to cooperate with the mayor. Seemingly, she has succumbed to the terrible side of the society's

force in persuading her husband in leaving the case and swim with the river and not against it. Ibsen Wants to remind us of this reality that we live in societies in which everything can be justified at the cost of some plans and purposes of private nature.

Discussion

He has proved successful in his family life and his own career and is really respected by everybody in the society. This has been the igniting fuel behind his inner zest for more help and enthusiasm towards his people and the society welfare. Henrik Ibsen's play, An Enemy of the People (1882), is set in the nineteenth century in a Norwegian coastal town. The town has recently opened its Baths, a kind of health resort designed to attract 'visitors' and 'convalescents'. The Baths are expected to bring great economic benefits to the town and enable its citizens to flourish in ways they have not previously done.

The protagonist of the play is Thomas Stockmann, a physician. His brother, Peter Stockmann, is the town's mayor. Thomas and Peter have an intense sibling rivalry, a force that is present throughout the play. Early in the play (Act I, p. 6) readers learn that they often quibble about whose idea the Baths were.

Though all of the townspeople are excited about what the Baths will do for their standard of living, early on readers are alerted that Dr. Stockmann may have uncovered a problem (Act I, pp. 10–11). Because some of the previous patrons had become more ill, Dr. Stockmann had taken a sample of the water and requested that a local university test it. The results are back. Dr. Stockmann declares that the Baths are a 'cesspool', 'poisoned' and a 'serious danger to health' (Act I, p. 18). The pipes must be re-laid in order to purify the water. Though this will be inconvenient, Dr. Stockmann expects to be treated as a hero (Act I, pp. 19–20).

Dr. Stockmann's expectations prove to be naïve, however. The press—represented by Hovstad, editor of the People's Herald, Billing, a journalist, and Aslaksen, a printer—claim that they will give Dr. Stockmann full support. When Mayor Stockmann questions the report's accuracy and points out how costly it will be to re-lay the pipes, however, the press's allegiance changes. Dr. Stockmann becomes an object of ridicule and is eventually declared 'an enemy of the people' (Act IV, p. 85).

Given how quickly the press and the townspeople turn against Dr. Stockmann, and given that they do so based on little or no evidence, one suspects that this play is a critique of one aspect of democracy. Arthur Miller suggests that a central theme of the play 'is the question of whether the democratic guarantees protecting political minorities ought to be set aside in times of crises' (Miller (1950): This seems correct, and such a theme gives

the play much contemporary interest. But there is another theme at work that is also of consequence to contemporary readers. The three main characters in this play—Thomas Stockmann, Peter Stockmann and Thomas's wife, Katherine—each has special obligations in virtue of his or her role. But these special obligations are not jointly dischargeable. The moral success of one agent seems to require the moral failure of another. These agents are in what Heidi Hurd calls 'moral combat' (Hurd, 1999). Dr. Stockmann's role as a physician gives him a special obligation to look out for the health of people. But correcting the problem with the Baths may have an adverse effect on his community. Such a conflict may be similar to those faced by other physicians who occupy dual roles, such as those asked to assist the state in carrying out the death penalty, or by doctors who are serving in the military.

Analysis

This drama is composed of five acts and is perfectly symmetrically constructed. In the first act the characters, social environment, and roots of the conflict, and the social and political aspects of the drama are introduced. The city's water has been contaminated by something which Dr. Stackman is well aware of. This leads us towards some climaxes in the course of the play. The first climax happens in the second act in the discussion between the doctor and the Mayor about the content of the report. He believes that in an ideal world (and a democratic one may well be one) every citizen has the right and should speak his or her mind. So he decides to take his discovery to the authorities. Hovstad. You said yesterday that the water was contaminated by impurities in the soil.

Dr. Stockmann. Yes, there's no doubt it all comes from that poisonous swamp up at Mölledal.

Hovstad. You'll forgive me, Doctor, but I think it comes from a very different swamp. (p.47)

But then, he faces a new aspect of human society, the mind frame of politicians. He is amazed but undoubtedly sees that the opinion of the masses is wrongfully manipulated to confirm the ideas of their authorities. DR. THOMAS STOCKMANN: And so I am to give myself the lie, publicly? PETER STOCKMANN: We consider it absolutely necessary that you should make some such public statement as I have asked for. (Ibsen, 2005, p. 60- henceforth An Enemy of the People)

In the course of the play we come across different characters that represent different fractions of the society. An enemy of the people is a one of Ibsen's so-called problem plays, which by some are termed critical realism and by others modern cotemporary drama (Hemmer, 1994 cited in Eide, 2009). The character of the doctor can be interpreted as the modern day equivalent of a whistleblower. This social and political role which is

often filled by the members of the press is very important in a democratic world. As we can see nowadays, people often come across realities and facts that apparently no one knows about. Then the battle begins in the mind of the whistleblower whether to literally blow the whistle or not. For instance, recently we have seen and heard the news about Edward Snowden the American computer professional; A former systems administrator for the Central Intelligence Agency and a counterintelligence trainer at the Defense Intelligence Agency. He found out all about the NSA spying on all the people of the US as well as the world leaders. As the doctor in Ibsen's play, he decided to speak his mind. But what happened then is a literal copy of the play that we are talking about now. He was forced to leave his country; he was named a threat for the people and an enemy of the nation. It seems that the politicians depicted in Ibsen's play are artfully depicted to resemble the real politicians out there. We can see that in the course of the play: 'Did you never think what consequences this might have for you personally?' 'For you and your family' (Act II, p. 37). Those politicians hate whistleblowers and manipulate the ideas of the masses in order to demote the contrary ideas spoken by responsible individuals. Another character in the play is the mayor which is conveniently the doctor's brother. He symbolizes the real politicians of the world. He knows that the problem that his brother is talking about can have catastrophic consequences, but instead he feels that the money which is going to be made, of course till the majority of people get sick, is much more important than the health of the people. What he does in the end is the fact that he is behind his brother's dismissal from his job. He comes to inform his brother that he is fired.

PETER STOCKMANN [taking a big letter from his pocket]: I have this document for you, from the Baths Committee.
DR. THOMAS STOCKMANN: My dismissal?
PETER STOCKMANN: Yes, dating from today. [Lays the letter on the table.] It gives us pain to do it; but, to speak frankly, we dared not do otherwise on account of public opinion.
DR. THOMAS STOCKMANN: [smiling] dared not? I seem to have heard that word before, today. An Enemy of the People, pp. 134-135)

Here we can clearly discern the methods that the politicians use in order to control the nation or community. As Trimothy has asserted the society "In its exploration of the culturally ascendant man of science, it addresses the communal and psychologically problematic dimensions of a missionary reformism in a society resistant to its demands".

They do not sit beside you as a citizen or brother and talk about the problem. They consider all the contrary ideas as pure nonsense and try to

convince everybody to just shut up and not talk about it. On the other hand, when they cannot convince you, they resort to the tools at their disposal, their authority, their friends and timid people to do whatever they can to demote and devalue the contrary ideas. They say

"We give falsehood a violent blow with the Truth to knock it out and behold! Falsehood vanishes away". (Malik, 2011, P .137)

"There is no doubt that politicians are experts at manipulating everything. They know the interests of people well and manipulate the truth in such a deceitful manner that seems to be in line with the people's interests and welfare." (Hooti and Davoodi, 2011)

One of the tools available for the politicians includes those people who can be bought. Hovstad and Aslaksen are among that category of people. What Mc Covel has asserted in is article well clarifies this" When Thomas tells Peter that he will proclaim the truth about the Baths on every street corner, the Mayor calls him 'absolutely crazy' (Act III, p. 65). When Morten Kiil tries to force Dr. Stockmann to recant by tying all of Katherine's inheritance to stocks in the Baths, Thomas nevertheless refuses. This prompts

Kiil to say, 'But you couldn't be so stark, staring mad as all that, not when it affects your wife and children' (Act V, p. 97)."(p.85)They can be so manipulative since they do not have any real internal values. In the play, they both promise the doctor to back him up and publish his report:

ASLAKSEN: IS WHAT I HEARD FROM MR. BILLING TRUE, SIR—THAT YOU MEAN TO IMPROVE OUR WATER SUPPLY?
DR. THOMAS STOCKMANN: YES, FOR THE BATHS.
ASLAKSEN: QUITE SO, I UNDERSTAND. WELL, I HAVE COME TO SAY THAT I WILL BACK THAT UP BY EVERY MEANS IN MY POWER.
HOVSTAD: [TO THE DOCTOR] YOU SEE!
DR. THOMAS STOCKMANN: I SHALL BE VERY GRATEFUL TO YOU (AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE, P. 43)

When the mayor gets to them and talks about the financial burdens of publishing such news, they turn and change their minds as quickly as possible:
ASLAKSEN: IF YOU OFFERED ME ITS WEIGHT IN GOLD, I COULD NOT LEND MY PRESS FOR ANY SUCH PURPOSE, DOCTOR. IT WOULD BE FLYING IN THE FACE OF PUBLIC OPINION. YOU WILL NOT GET IT PRINTED ANYWHERE IN THE TOWN. (AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE, P. 98)

It all shows the devilish power of the society and the political systems. The way they quickly can handle the situation is something which is at their disposal.

Socially speaking, we can have a reference to the web hovered on the society and its members. They are being manipulated, deployed, and controlled by the social and political figures. They, each, per se have their own sense of contribution to the monitoring and control of the social segments.

ASLAKSEN: Both as a citizen and as an individual, I am profoundly disturbed by what we have had to listen to. Dr. Stockmann has shown himself in a light I should never have dreamed of. I am unhappily obliged to subscribe to the opinion which I have just heard my estimable fellow-citizens utter; and I propose that we should give expression to that opinion in a resolution. I propose a resolution as follows: "This meeting declares that it considers Dr. Thomas Stockmann, Medical Officer of the Baths, to be an enemy of the people."(An Enemy of the People, pp. 119-120)

The behavior of Dr. Stockman and his family, the press people and their instability, the destructive trick of the society and official members upon their being, for sure, all indicate some sense of strange, unfathomable, and bizarre interactions. Therefore, the individual must always be prepared to reject the norms of society for the sake of the higher authority of a personally valid way of life. Kierkegaard ultimately advocated a "leap of faith" into a Christian way of life which was the only commitment that could save the individual from despair. (593, 2010, Yegane).They get even as tough as putting an end to the job, social identity, and the existence of the person in the society. They become fierce and vicious as if enemy from birth in case of doctor and his brother, the mayor. Eide asserts that, "The conflicts of political interest are being put aside and a new alliance is born. With the symbols, Ibsen reminds the reader who the Mayor really is—a man of power with means of retaliation and punishment "(P.9). Humanity turns pale, morality gets blurred, social identities is violated, the social welfare proponents turns insolent and detached from the whole society to the point that they are left with no choice.

As the doctor refuses to leave the city and says:

DR. THOMAS STOCKMANN: GOOD.--GOING AWAY, DID YOU SAY? NO, I'LL BE HANGED IF WE ARE GOING AWAY! WE ARE GOING TO STAY WHERE WE ARE, KATHERINE! PETRA: STAY HERE?
MRS. STOCKMANN: HERE, IN THE TOWN?

DR. THOMAS STOCKMANN: YES, HERE. THIS IS THE FIELD OF BATTLE-- THIS IS WHERE THE FIGHT WILL BE. THIS IS WHERE I SHALL TRIUMPH! AS SOON AS I HAVE HAD MY TROUSERS SEWN UP I SHALL GO OUT AND LOOK FOR ANOTHER HOUSE. WE MUST HAVE A ROOF OVER OUR HEADS FOR THE WINTER. (AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE, P. 150)

The great people when forced by social forces, succumb to the wills. Miseries would drive them to the corner. The humiliated identities of different types due to telling the truth and keeping the disciplines and moral responsibilities, pushes the protagonist towards misery and desolation. Stockman's bravery and readiness for a victorious battle in the battle field, retreats as he tries to get along with his family coming up with this idea that his family members do not follow his capability and belief in his believes and attitudes. The society has got to be blamed for the cruel actions it takes against people in the world of Ibsen and other worlds for assigning Dr. Stockman its own "shape and destiny" (Budgen, 2004). Finally, the seemingly hero turns into a defeated villain in the course of the play.

Conclusion

Dramatic art has the power of revealing the problems of the era on the stage deploying what tact available. Ibsen in *the Enemy of the People* talks about the ambiguity of the real hero of the play and the society which may introduce as a villain who should abandon the society. This can be the oppressing political systems which cares for no humane discipline and try to turn everybody in a way they want; if they do not conform, they will be labelled the identity of the beholder in a way that even he himself is forced to accept. They have the power to introduce the realistic hero into a ruined villain like Dr. Stockman who was the main objective of this article as micro level manifestation a macro level social phenomenon. They make his/her identity ambiguous and blurred. He is sociologically and morally threatened. It shows that the very basic conditions of the humanity is called into questions which are not normally correct, but through violating the man's state in his own mind, his family status, as well as the society in which he lives. This may be in a sense the reflection of the Huxley's *Brave New World* in which everything is formed in a way they want. What happens in the play is such a modern condition of the world and their conspiracy on the way of their desired objectives not that of the humanity and this should be done under any circumstance no matter turning a realistic hero into a villain one which has proved to be one of the idiosyncratic features of modern world. Hence, the revelation of such themes via the dramatic genre has been the purpose this article has tried to serve.

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