

4International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Culture (LLC)

2018 / September

Publisher:

**European Scientific Institute,
ESI**

Reviewed by the “International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Culture” editorial board 2018

September 2018 edition vol. 5, no. 3

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ISSN 2518-3966

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Parametric Variations: A Study of Wh-Movement Parameter in Igbo and English Syntax

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Doi: 10.19044/llc.v5no3a1

[URL:http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a1](http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a1)

Abstract

This study sets out to examine the wh-movement parameter in Igbo and English syntax with the intension to identify the wh-words the two languages employ in expressing wh-questions as well as finding out the differences and similarities that exist in their mode of movement in the syntactic structures. The Igbo language belongs to the West-Benue Congo language family, spoken predominantly in the Southeastern part of Nigeria. The principles and parameters model is the theoretical framework for the study. The study reveals that Igbo allows wh- in-situ questions in the language but English does not. While Igbo permits both the syntactic wh-movement and LF movement, English permits only overt visible obligatory syntactic movement of the wh-words into the [SPEC, CP] position. Both languages share in common leftward movement of wh-words into the [SPEC, CP] position. Igbo has both leftward and right movement of the wh-words while English has only leftward movement in the syntactic structures. The wh-words of the two languages leave traces behind after movement but Igbo has instances of resumptive pronoun traces phenomena in the language. Tone is also a question trigger in Igbo. Binarity principle does not uphold in Igbo because the language shares the properties of having two values of wh-movement, that is, [+wh] and [-wh] in the syntactic structures while English shares only value, that is [+wh]. This study attempts to tone mark all the syllables and this implies that high, low and downstep tones are marked.

Keywords: Principles, Parameters, Movement, Wh-words, Binarity.

Introduction

In the principles and parameters (P&P) approach to the linguistic study, emphasis has moved from the previous models of rule systems to the system of principles. The main interest here is that the universal principles

should be tested against the possible parameters of variations from the natural languages. So, the universal properties of human languages reflect the operation of a set of universal grammatical principles and grammatical variations among languages which are referred to as parameters. Principles are general operational rules that govern the entire languages of the world (such as structure dependency principle, movement principle, projection principle and so on). Parameter is a term in universal grammar used for the designation of the types of variations which a principle of a grammar exhibits from one language to another. Principle is language general whereas parameter is language specific. Therefore, no human language is fixed, uniform or unvarying. This is why Akmajian, Demers, Farmer and Harnish (2001:259) claim that all languages show internal variations. There are three major parameters in which language can differ in their grammatical structures. They include: null-subject or pro-drop parameter, wh-movement parameter and head parameter. Radford (1997) claims that these parameters are binary in all human languages of the world, so that every language selects solely one value either [\pm] for each of them. The wh-movement parameter which is the focus of this paper is one of the parameters of universal grammar. It is a movement which involves wh-words in the syntactic structures of the natural languages. In this parameter, items can be moved from one place to another within a syntactic structure. The items that can be moved may be either a lexical item or a phrase. In the movement parameter, each language chooses what is to be moved, the pattern of movement and what to be left behind at the extraction site as a trace after movement.

Background of the study

In the recent study of syntax, establishing the parameters of the universal grammar (UG) has been the centre of grammatical analysis. According to Ndimele (1992:70), universal grammar “lays down basic principles and each language is free to select the parameters along which those principles are realized”. Various scholars have contributed toward the realization of the above goal. Chomsky’s generative grammar witnessed three different models of grammar. The first was the Finite State Grammar (FSG). The FSG has some weaknesses which include not accounting for constructions that show discontinuous and nested dependencies. It cannot account for the ability of a native speaker of a language to produce and understand certain new utterances. Its rules cannot account for ungrammatical sentences and so on. These and other weaknesses led to the introduction of the Phrase Structure Grammar (PSG).

PSG is a form of rewrite grammar which provides the mechanism for splitting up a given sentential structure into its constituents and show how they are related to one another. It makes use of a set of rewrite rules which handle

one category or constituent at a time. It has its structural parsing for grammatical correctness as $S \rightarrow NP VP$. Like the FSG, PSG has its own weaknesses which include not accounting for ambiguous sentences and cannot be used to show that two or more sentences can be structurally related and so on. As a result of these and other weaknesses, Chomsky proposed another model of grammar known as Transformational Generative Grammar (TGG).

In TGG, there exist two levels of syntactic analysis: the surface structure and the deep structure. The surface structure is concerned with the area of grammar where the spoken form of language is provided. It concerns all the phonological specifications used in the actual speech. The deep structure gives a language its meaning from the native speaker's point of communicative competence but does not contain elements such as is seen in the surface structure. It is the area of grammar where all the affix reorganization or morphophonemic rules are applied. In the movement transformation, some elements are either moved, added, substituted, deleted or inserted within the constructions. Traces are left behind at the extraction sites to indicate that items were moved from those positions. Since the advent of TGG, several models of it have emerged. They include the Standard Theory (ST), which was reformed to Extended Standard Theory (EST). This was followed by the emergence of Reversed Extended Standard Theory (REST), which was a reformed version of EST. At the stage of REST, all the meanings were to be determined at the S-structure. However, in order to constrain the excessive power of the REST, Move alpha was introduced as a constraining element.

After these models of grammar and other versions of transformational grammar and their adjustments, the next important turning point in the development of Chomsky's syntactic theory, which marked a radical departure from the previous models of rule systems to the system of principles, is the emergence of the principles and parameters study to the study of syntax. The main concern here is that the universal principles should be tested against possible parameters of variations from the natural languages. Since the advent of the universal grammar, approaches to the study of syntax have been very modular. This novel understanding therefore, has opened up a novel idea of analysis of the modules of grammar. Some modules are thought to operate universally while others are applied specifically to individual languages. Since then, efforts became directed to those parameters, which capture these aspects of a language. For instance, universal grammar makes certain demands on word order in all languages, but the principles of word order allow languages a bit of leeway (Ndimele, 1992:2), hence, there are differences, that is, parameters and those parameters operate with certain principles in different languages. While principles are generalized operational rules in all natural languages,

parameters refer to the nuances of language universals. They are variants of the universal language principles.

Theoretical framework

This study adopts the principles and parameters theory (PPT) as the theoretical framework. This theory was postulated by Chomsky in (1981). Within this framework, a parameterized view of languages is accounted for. The theory maintains that the grammar of human language(s) combines not solely a set of collection of inborn universal principles that account for those features of grammar that are common to the entire languages, but also a collection of parameters that account for those features of grammar that differ among languages. In this theory, those features of sentence structures that are uniform among languages are attributed to the principles of UG, whereas those features of structures that vary among languages are specified in terms of a set of parameters. The major hypothesis of the PPT is that the entire structural differences among languages can be attributed in terms of a collection of parameters, each of which is binary; hence, two values are possible.

In this theory, there are two operational terms namely: principles and parameters. Principles describe potentially universal attributes of natural languages or properties of grammatical operations. Principle according to Mbah (2011:204) refers to those properties of natural languages that are common to man. The principles of universal grammar include: structure dependency principle, projection principle, binding principle, headedness principle, binarity principle, movement principle and so on. Parameter is a term in universal grammar used for designation of the kinds of differences which a principle of grammar exhibits in various languages. Radford (2004:350) refers to parameter as “a dimension of grammatical variations between languages or different varieties of the same”. Parameters are generally based on principles. Jahanguard (2010:518) claims that “they are in form of a set of options which individual languages draw on and which define the variations possible between languages”. The major difference between principles and parameters is that while principle considers all languages in general, parameter only considers some of the languages at the same time. Language variation is characterized as different setting of parameters provided by universal grammar. Therefore, in considering how principles are observed by language(s) in the form of parameters, only languages that behave alike along a certain parametric variations are said to behave uniformly and generalizations are made along such linguistic behaviour. However, other languages that do not observe such characteristics are not seen as exceptions to the rule, rather, they are regarded as not relevant to the parameter under consideration. So, languages are grouped according to their unique linguistic characteristics.

Movement principle

This principle requires that a natural language has the capacity to move elements from one place to another in a syntactic structure. This implies that each language chooses what moves, the pattern of movement and what it leaves behind at the extraction site after movement. Radford (1997:265) posits that movement is “an operation by which a word or a phrase is moved from its position in a syntactic structure to another”. It is conceived that once movement principle is employed in the syntactic structures, it affects a lot of other reactions in those syntactic structures. In linguistics, movement is extensively meaning conserving. It is parameterized differently by different languages. When an element moves from its extraction site into a landing site, the evidence of movement is indicated by a trace. Both the extraction and the landing sites must have similar categorical properties. The similarity of the categorical properties is licensed by AGR (Agreement) features as it is illustrated in (Mbah 1989; Chomsky 1992 and Mbah 2006). Trace is coindexed with the antecedent. Trask (1993:280) claims that trace is “a putative empty category left behind in a particular location by the movement of some elements out of that position”. Note therefore that using traces permits a tree to recall the original stages of derivation, and traces can be seen as a formalization of certain features of the original previous derivation constraints.

Movement parameter

The movement parameter involves move alpha. This implies that any element could be moved from one place to another in a syntactic construction. According to Radford (1997:18) “wh-parameter is that which determines whether wh-expressions can be fronted, that is, moved to the front of the overall interrogative structure containing them or not”. Wh-movement is a mechanism of syntax that helps to express a question. Trask (1993: 303) posits that “wh-movement is a phenomenon by which a wh-item appears in sentence-initial or clause-initial position rather than in logical position of non-wh-item of the same category”. Note that the element that can be moved across a syntactic unit should be either a lexical item or a phrase. When the item is moved, it leaves behind a trace following the empty category principle, which is stated in Radford (1988:55) that “any moved constituent X leaves behind at its extraction site an identical empty [X_n e]. This empty category is known as a trace, and a trace constituent is said to be the antecedent of the trace. This is why, when any category moves to another position, the source position and the landing site are coindexed. Therefore the general movement rule is “move something somewhere or move a wh-phrase into COMP” (Riemsdijk and Williams 1986:92).

A wh-word in pre-sentence position must have moved from some position internally within the sentence into its present position. This claim is evidenced in Radford's (1988:466) statement that "... clause-initial wh-phrase, cannot originate inside S... wh-phrase, cannot originate in their superficial position as the leftmost constituent of S-bar, but rather must originate inside S". Chomsky (1977) propounds the rule of wh-interpretation as yielding the following LF representation: Given an S of the form:

1. [C – [wh-N] –[wh] [s ... t...]

From the above data, *t* is the trace of wh-N, rewrite it as

2. [C for which X, X and N] [S ... [X] ...]

The above illustration indicates that wh-movement is into COMP, and that COMP is outside the S. Furthermore, Chomsky's (1986b) gives the rule involving wh-movement as:

3. $S' \rightarrow C'' = [... [c' C I']]$

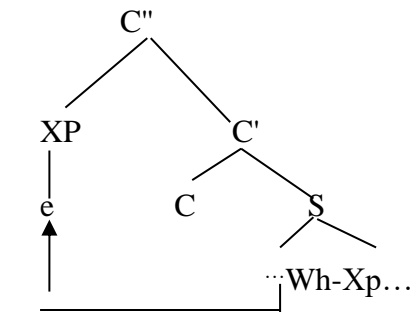
From the above illustration in (2), Chomsky accounts for the derivation of the following sentence from its D-structure:

- 4a. [[e] [C [John [see who]]]]

- b. Who_i did [John [see t_i]]

The diagram involving the movement of the wh-word is thus:

Fig 1.



(Radford (1988:504))

In the above configuration, XP is the base-generated empty specifier node for the complementizer projection [$C'' = CP$], and Wh-XP is the wh-word generated internally within the minimal S. From the above diagram, we can observe that XP (ie specifier of complementizer projection) into which the proposed wh-word moves is also outside the minimal S, represented by Chomsky as I' or IP .

Identifying the Wh-question words and their structures in Igbo and English

In wh-movement, the most typical of such constructions is the interrogative content word questions. The questions are so called because the

question forms begin with wh-letters in English. Even those that do not have such a spelling, for as long as they show similar behaviour, they are also called wh-constructions. The name is also used for languages that do not have wh-forms because they use similar formats to derive this sentence type. The wh-words in Igbo and English can be analyzed as the interrogative substitutes for nominals in the languages which function as temporal, locative, identity, manner, degree, frequency, reason and activity. In wh-questions, NP subject, NP object, PP, time, location, manner, reason and other adverbials can be questioned. Radford (1988:463) postulates that “in a wh-question, the speaker queries some entities in order to obtain information about the identification of some entities in the sentence”.

The Igbo language do not specifically have question words beginning with wh as in English language but the language has question words which are equivalent of the English wh-words which it employs in asking wh-questions. Green and Igwe (1963:39) asserts that question words in Igbo “are small classes distinguished by the fact that they can either constitute the link utterance by themselves or can initiate one without the low tone subject pronoun that characterizes the question form of the verb”. The Igbo question words can function like nouns in being the subject object of the sentence or object of the preposition or complement. All the question words in Igbo have initial basic low tone. Below are the Igbo equivalents of the English wh-words:

Table I

Igbo wh-words

Igbo Wh-equivalents	Gloss	Meaning/function	What the wh-phrase query
Ọnyé	Who	Person-singular – animate	This is used to query singular nominal human subject.
Èbéè	Where	Place/locative	This is used to query adverb of place. It indicates locative meaning.
G  nĩ	What	Thing – inanimate	This is used to query non-human subject or object NP.
Òlé	how many	Amount/frequency	This is used to query adverb of frequency/quantity.
Òléè	Where/which	Place/amount	This is used to query adverb of place. It is also used to query adverb of quantity
Òléè mgbè	When	Time/temporal	It is used to query adverb of time.
Ùgbòrò òlé	How many times	Frequency/degree	It is used to query adverb of manner. It queries the adverb of reason
Màkà g  nĩ	Why/for what reason	Rational	It queries the adverb of reason.

The English wh-words include:

i. who	(iv) when	(vii) whom
ii. what	(v) which	(viii) whose
iii. where	(vi) why	(ix) how

From the above English wh-words, it is observed that *how* does not have wh-form but it is treated as a wh-word because it exhibits the same syntactic behaviour and function as the interrogative words beginning with wh.

Unlike English, Igbo has some question words which can be used in isolation to ask questions without co-occurrence with any word when the speaker wants to elicit some responses of action(s) while some cannot be used to ask questions in isolation. The following question words can be used to ask questions in isolation:

- i. ònyé? 'who' ii. èbée? 'where' iii. gíní? 'what' iv. òlé? 'how many'
v. kedù? 'how'

The following cannot be used to ask questions in isolation:

- i. òlèè? 'which/where' ii. étú òlè? 'how' iii. mgbé òlè? 'when'

Note that the basic meaning of these question words however may change depending on the contextual occurrences. It is observed that some Igbo wh-words constitute two morphemes contrary to those of English which have only single morphemes.

Unlike Igbo, English wh-words can occur as complementizers where they function to generate relative clauses. The common wh-complementizers in English include: who, whom, which and whose. Consider the following examples:

5. a. The woman **who** killed the goat.
- b. The hunter **whom** we saw yesterday.
- c. The book **which** we read.
- d. The girl **whose** parents died

The Igbo equivalents of wh-words cannot function as complementisers, rather, they can function as full NPs in constructions.

Consider these examples:

6. a. Ùnù hùrù ònyé?
2PL see-rvpst who?
They saw who?
- b. Hà mèrè gíní?
3PL do-rvpst what?
They did what?
- c. Ònyé pùrù?

Who go-rvpst?
Who left out?

The above examples support the view of Goldsmith (1981) which argues that the Igbo equivalents of wh-phrases do not function as complementisers, rather they function as full NPs.

The characteristics of the wh structures in Igbo and English

The characteristics of the Igbo wh-words

The characteristics of the Igbo question words include:

- i. It does not have wh-words beginning with wh in, rather, it has their equivalents, that is, [-wh].
- ii. The question morphemes can function as noun phrases, that is, [+NP].
- iii. The Igbo equivalent wh-words do not function as complementisers, that is, [- complementiser].
- iv. It does not have relative pronouns, that is, [-relative pronoun].
- v. The question words can be one or more than one morphemes

The characteristics of the English wh-words

The characteristics of the English wh-words include:

- i. It has wh-words with wh-features, that is, [+wh].
- ii. The question morphemes can function as noun phrases, that is, [+NP].
- iii. It has wh-words which can occur as complementiser, that is, [+ complementiser].
- iv. It has relative pronouns, that is, [+relative pronoun].
- v. The question words exist as single morphemes.

Wh-words which can remain in-situ

Obviously in the natural languages, there are wh-words which can remain in-situ either in the subject or object position. A wh-in-situ is a S-structure, that has not visibly moved into COMP but instead remained in the position where the wh-word enters into the derivation of the question, whether by substitution or adjunction. Wh in-situ languages allow categories to be queried in their base-generated positions without necessarily involving any movement into the [SPEC, CP] position. Ndimele (1999) calls those that can be base-generated in the subject position, subject in-situ while those that are base-generated in the object position (predicate in-situ). Note that multiple questions are outside the scope of this study. The wh-in-situ questions we are going to discuss include:

- (a) Wh-words functioning as subject in-situ position in Igbo and English.
- (b) Wh-words functioning as object in-situ position in Igbo and English.

Wh-words functioning as subjects in-situ position in Igbo and English

It is interesting to note that the English wh-words are not base-generated overtly in the syntactic structures, rather they undergo visible overt syntactic movement into the [SPEC, CP] position. Any attempt to generate wh-phrase in English at the base in the syntactic structures renders the construction ungrammatical unless the interrogative construction is conceived in its echoic sense. English has a rule which states that at the S-structure, a wh-word must be moved to the [SPEC, CP] to be queried. Therefore, wh-movement is obligatory in English. This is because only categories in the [SPEC, CP] position can be queried.

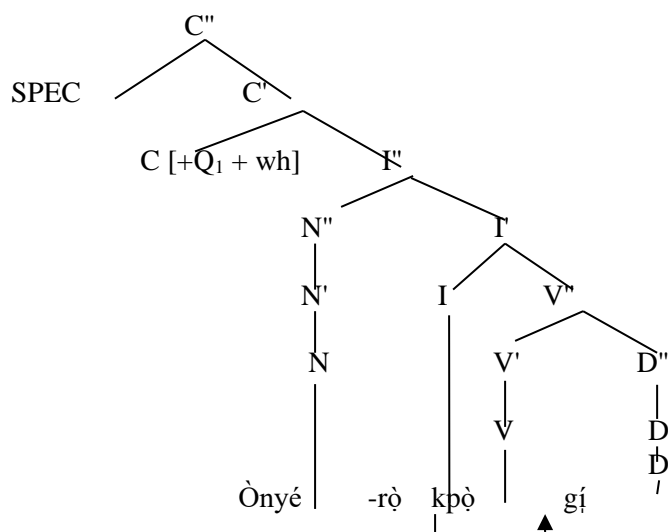
In Igbo, the basic property of wh- words is that they can be base-generated at the subject or object position without any visible syntactic movement into the [SPEC, CP] position. This implies that the Igbo wh-words can remain in-situ in subject position in the syntactic structures. The Igbo wh-words which can be base-generated at the subject or object position include: ònyé (who), gíní (what), èbée (where), òlé (how many), étú ólè (how), ógè òlè (when), ùgbòrò òlé (how many times).

Since English language does not allow wh-words to remain in-situ in the subject position without overt syntactic movement, we are going to give examples in Igbo where the wh-words have remained in-situ in the subject positions:

7. **Ònyé** kpòrò gí?
 Who call-rvpst 2sg1?
 Who called you?

Example is shown thus:

Fig. 2.



- b. **Gínī** mèrè gí n'ányá?
 What do-rvpst 2sg prep-eye?
 What happened to your eye?
- c. **Òléē** ákwúkwó áhù?
 Where book Dem?
 Where is that book?
- d. **Òlé** fòfòrò ànyí?
 How many remain-rvpst 1pl
 How many remained for us?

In the above data, Igbo wh-words ònyé (who), gínī (what), òléē (where), and òlé (how many) function as the subjects in the sentences. In this case, they function as full NPs with [+wh] features. They are base-generated in the subject position. The pronominal elements in the above sentences have retained their inherent tones as there is no evidence of overt visible syntactic movement.

Wh-words functioning as object in-situ position in Igbo and English

The Igbo wh-words can function as the objects of the sentences where they are base-generated in the predicate position. In this case, they remain in-situ in the object position.

8. Igbo Ì bù ònyé?
 2SG be who?
 Who are you?
9. English You are **who**?
10. Igbo Ùnù riri **gínī**?
 2PL eat-rvpst what?
 What did you eat?
11. English You ate **what**?
12. Igbo Ò dòwèrè ákwúkwó áhù **èbéē**?
 3SG keep-rvpst book Dem where?
 Where did he keep that book?
13. English You kept that book **where**?
14. Igbo Nàíjírìà nwèèrè ònwé yā **m̀gbé ólè**?
 Nigeria get-ovs-rvpst self 3pl when?
 When did Nigeria get her independence?
15. English Nigeria got her independence when?

In Igbo data above, the wh-words have remained in-situ in the object positions. The data clearly indicate that the SPEC position is empty. This implies that the wh-words do not undergo any overt syntactic movement; instead, they remained in-situ in their positions where they enter into

derivation of the questions. Note that the tones of the pronominal subjects in Igbo are consistently low and these low tones indicate questions.

In English data, examples (9) and (11) indicate echo questions whereas (13) and (15) indicate quiz questions. There is indication that English language does not permit wh-words to remain in-situ in the object position. There must be obligatorily syntactic movement of wh into the SPEC. In as much as the constructions contain wh-words, but that does not indicate typical wh-questions in English because there is no overt wh-movement into the SPEC

Furthermore, in the Igbo language, there is another kind of base generated object in-situ question that exist in the language where the wh-words in the object position can co-occur with the resumptive pronominal elements such as *o/o/ha* to indicate question. This type of construction does not exist in English. Consider the following examples:

16. a. [C" Òbí_i [I"ò_i gbùrù ònyé?]]
 Obi 3sg kill-rvpst who?
 Who did Obi kill?
- b. [C"Àdá nà Ézè, [I" hà kwùrù gíní?]]
 Ada Conj Eze, 3pl said-rvpst what?
 What did Ada and Eze say?

In the above data, we observed that the wh-words have remained in-situ in the object positions while the resumptive pronouns remained in the subject positions simultaneously. The pronominal elements *o/o/ha* occurs preverbally where the subject of the sentence is a full-fledged NP. It is the pronominal elements which appear pre-verbally, that is, in the IP internal subject positions that bear the question tone. This implies that the questions are licensed by the pronominal elements which bear the low tone; otherwise, no movement of the wh-words is involved. Nwachukwu (1990) and Uwalaka (1991) affirm that it is this subject pronoun that gives the relevant sentences question interpretations, hence, the wh-words do not need to vacate their base positions to move to COMP. The wh-features and the features associated with them always move in their in-suit positions together. It is also observed that the NP subjects agree in number with the resumptive pronouns.

Evidence of syntactic movement of the wh-words in Igbo and English

The syntactic movement of the wh-words is attested in Igbo and English constructions but there exist some parametric variations, as regard to the direction of movement. It can be argued that while English language depends on its structures for syntactic movement, the Igbo language has the combination of both syntactic wh-movement and LF movement. English language is characterized as having only syntactic wh-movement The Igbo language manifests the values of [+wh] and [-wh] movement while English manifests only one value of [+wh] movement. Unlike English, in Igbo

language, the wh-words which are base-generated in the object position can be optionally moved to the left-most of the sentence-initial position. This is demonstrated in the examples below:

17. a. [C" [C+wh] [I" $\dot{\text{I}}$ gwàrà ònyé?]

2SG tell-rvpst who

Who did you tell?

- b. [C" Ònyé_i [C kà [I" $\dot{\text{I}}$ gwàrà t_i?]

Who foc 2sg tell-rvpst.

Who did you tell?

18. a. [C" [C+wh] [I" Ò kwùrù gíní?]

3sg say-rvpst what?

What did he say?

- b. [C" Gíní_i [C kà [I" ó kwùrù t_i?]

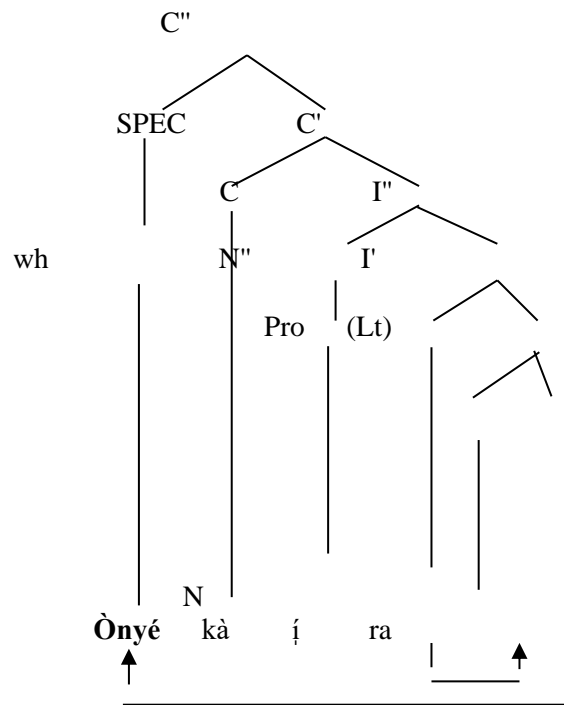
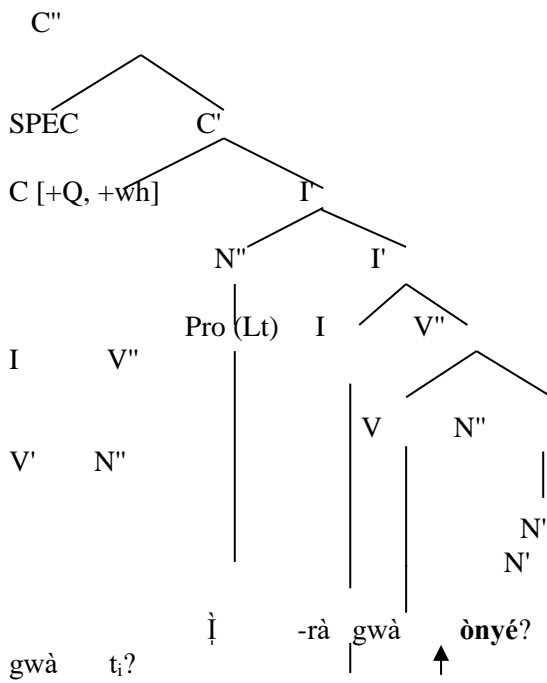
What foc 3sg say-rvpst what?

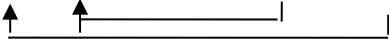
What did he say?

(17a) is represented in fig (3) while (b) is represented in fig (4) respectively.

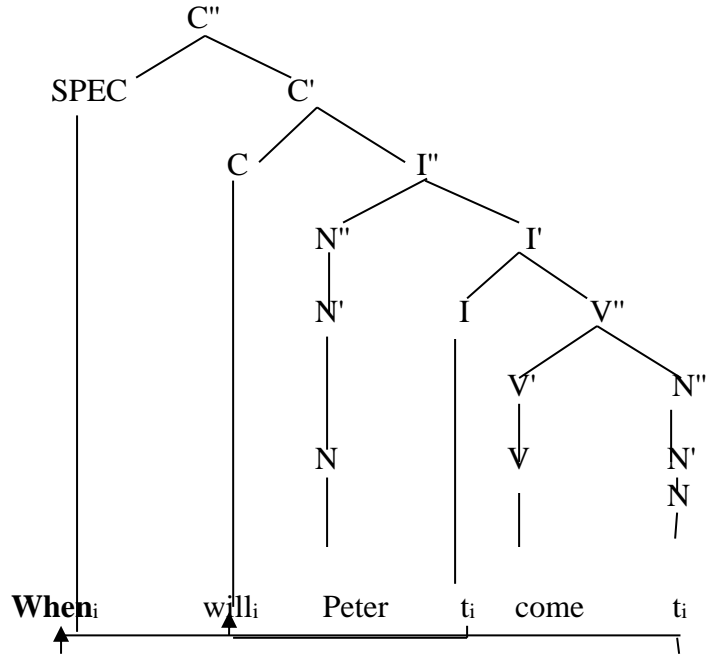
Fig 3.

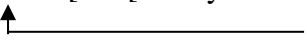
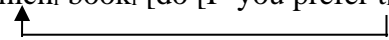
Fig 4.



19. a. Peter will come when?
b. When will Peter come?
c. **When_i** [will_i [I" Peter _{ti} come _{ti}?]]
- 

(19a) is represented thus: Fig 5.



20. a. They meet where?
b. Where did they meet?
c. **Where_i** [did [I" they meet _{ti}?]]
- 
21. a. You prefer which book?
b. Which book do you prefer?
c. **Which_i** book_i [do [I" you prefer _{ti}?]]
- 

In data (17a – 18a) of Igbo, the *wh*-words remained in-situ position. The pronominal subjects are consistently on low tones because of the interrogative *wh*-words. The data illustrate the fact that the SPEC position is empty. In data (17b) and (18b), it is observed that they differ in their structures at the S-structure, but they have the same semantic interpretations. The data illustrate that the *wh*-words have moved out of their underlying position to their focus positions at the sentence initial positions, followed by the overt focus marker *kà*, which occupies the C head position and it is consistently on a low tone. In examples (17b) and (18b), the *wh*-words bear [+wh] feature at

the initial position followed by [+foc] marker at C position. The moved wh-words left behind their traces at their extraction sites. In that position they moved to, there is nothing to bind them in the sense of a subject or an object. Indeed, COMP is not governed by a case assigner and therefore not bound by visible argument. The S' boundary protects COMP from government by anything outside the clause and because COMP c-commands everything and is not c-commanded by anything in the clause, it is not governed by anything inside the cl.

In English data, there exist visible overt syntactic movement of the wh-words into the [SPEC, CP] position where they are theta-marked. The movement is obligatory. This is because only categories in the [SPEC, CP] position can be questioned in English. This conforms to the English rule which states that at the S-structure, a wh-word must be moved into [SPEC, CP] position to be questioned. Like the Igbo, the movements of the wh-words to the sentence-initial positions left their traces at the original extraction sites. By the notations, we show that the wh-words actually moved outside the sentences marked by our brackets, that is, outside the IP. The raised wh-words bind their traces at the original extraction sites. The minimal clauses, from which the wh-words are extracted, are known as their scope.

In English, the sentences in (19a, 20a and 21a) are the bases and the wh-words are seen as the objects of the verbs respectively and those in (19b, 20b and 21b) are the D-structures. The items are repeated there for convenience while the paths of movements are noted in (19c, 20c and 21c) sentences. In (19a), the wh-word involves an additional instance of movement apart from the movement of the wh-word. There is also the movement of an auxiliary *will* which appears in two positions. The auxiliary occupies a position immediately preceding the verb in (19a) sentence, and we assume that this is the base position. However, in (19b), the auxiliary is separated from the verb by the subject as indicated in example (19c). We assume that the auxiliary undergoes movement. Its base position is after the subject as in example (19a). So, both the auxiliary and the wh-words are pronounced in the derived position before the subject. In examples (20c) and (21c), there is insertion of *did* and *do* respectively because of the purpose of emphasis and also to make the wh-words not to be stranded. We observed that in English wh-questions, there are two constituents that must be moved, the wh-word and the auxiliary. Like other transformations, wh-movement cannot eliminate any part of the previously formed structures. The position initially occupied by the wh-word is therefore not lost, rather, it remains as a trace (an empty category) indicating that the moved element corresponds to the complement of the verb as shown in the above examples.

From data (17-21) of both Igbo and English, it is observed that the wh-questions involved overt syntactic wh-movement in the two languages. The

movement involves left-word movement in both languages. However, there exist some differences in the movement of the wh-words in the syntactic structures of the two languages. It can be said that Igbo permits wh in-situ question whereas English does not permit wh in-situ questions. Igbo allows a combination of both syntactic and LF movement whereas English obligatorily involves only visible movement of the wh-word and an INFL (where there is an INFL). These two elements get moved into a position outside INFL. Furthermore, in Igbo, the wh-movement applies in appropriate context to NP with or without underlying wh. This movement is triggered by a focus marker *kà* in the specifier of C' for Igbo

Furthermore, unlike English wh-words, the Igbo wh-words can occur with the non-wh counterparts, that is [-wh] words in the syntactic structures such as *ónyé* (person), *íhé* (thing), *ébé* (where), *étú* (how), *mgbè* (when/time), *ógè* (when/time) and *nhè* (which). Consider these examples:

22. a. *Ónyé í gwàrà bù ònyé?*
 Person 2sg tell-rvpst be who?
 The person you told is who?
- b. *Ònyé bù ónyé í gwàrà tí?*
 Person be who 2sg tell-rvpst?
 Who is the person you told?
23. a. *Íhé í kwùrù bù gíní?*
 Thing 2sg say-rvpst be what?
 The thing you said is what?
- b. *Gíní bù íhé ì kwùrù tí?*
 What be thing 2sg say-rvpst?
 What is the thing you said?

In the above examples, the wh-words and non-wh counterparts co-occur in the sentences and in this case they are co-relatives, strictly bound by co-occurrence restrictions. Consequently, the underlying forms of the above data are illustrated below:

24. a. *e_i ì gwàrà ónyé bù ònyé?*
e_i 2sg tell-rvpst person be who
 The person you told is who?
- b. *e_i ì kwùrù íhé bù gíní?*
e_i 2sg say-rvpst thing be what
 The thing you said is what?

Furthermore, the above non-wh (-wh) words, apart from co-occurring with wh-words, they can co-occur with *kèdú* as in:

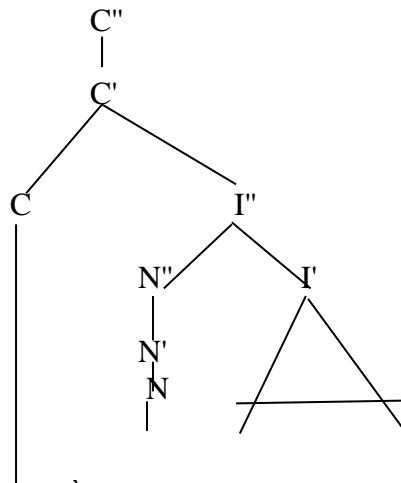
- 25..
- | | | | |
|-------------|---|---|---|
| Kèdú | — | { | íhé (what)
ébé (where/place)
ónyé (who/person)
étú (how)
mgbè (when)
ógè (time)
òkè (which)
òlé (how many) |
|-------------|---|---|---|

The interaction of *kèdu* and the [-wh] structures or non-wh words to give wh-readings are demonstrated below:

26. a. **Kèdú** íhé Òbí kwùrù?
 Kèdu thing Obi say-rvpst?
 What did Obi say?

Sentence (26a) is represented below:

Fig 6.



- Kèdú íhé Òbí kwùrù?
- b. **Kèdú** ébé há chòrò?
 Kèdu place 3pl want-rvpst?
 Where did they want?
- c. **Kèdú** ónyé há chòrò?
 Kèdu person 3pl want-rvpst?
 Which person did they want?

Kèdu has its specific in-situ position in Igbo constructions, that is, at the sentence-initial position. It is unique among wh-words in the sense that it does not undergo any kind of movement. The *kèdu* question in Igbo is of the structure: *kèdu* +NP. *Kèdu* is a full question in itself. *Kèdu* + NP complement can take any of the following forms:

27. **Kèdú + NP**

Íbè? (Where is Ibe?)

Yá? (Where is him/her/it?)

ńkítā? (Where is the dog?)

Furthermore, *kèdú* can appear in a sentence without a verb and takes the noun phrases as its natural complements as in:

28. a. **Kèdú** áhà gí?
What name 2sg
What is your name?
- b. **Kèdú** áhà íné gĩ?
What name mother 2sg
What is your mother's name?
- c. **Kèdú** égó áhù?
Where money Dem
Where is that money?

In the above data, it is observed that there is neither overt verb nor concord agreement in the sentences; yet, the sentences are correct and acceptable in Igbo.

Testing the binarity principle in the Igbo and English wh-movement parameter

Radford's (1997:18) claims that "this parameter is binary in nature in all natural languages of the world, in the sense that it allows for only two possibilities - viz a language does or does not allow wh-movement (that is, the movement of the wh-expressions to the front of the sentence)". Ndimele (2003), admits that some languages exhibit certain characteristics that tend more towards one of the binary values of a particular parameter. He further states that it appears that a normal child first acquires the dominant value of a parameter in a given language (whether plus or minus) and then over-generalizes. The deviant cases, that is, those structures that do not follow the regular more predominant values of a given phenomenon are now gradually learned as the child continues to be exposed to the linguistic data (Ndimele, 2003:855).

We are going to examine some data in Igbo and English wh-movement structures to find out whether Radford's claim upholds in languages. Consider the following examples:

29. Igbo: a. Íké ò gbùrù ònyé?
Ike 3sg kill-rv pst who?
Who did Ike kill?
- b. Ònyé; kà Íké gbùrù t;
Who foc Ike kill-rv pst?
Who did He/She kill?

30. English: a. The students came when?
 b. When_i did the students come t_i?
31. Igbo: a. Hà gàrà èbéē?
 3pl go-rvpst where?
 Where did they go?
 b. Èbéē_i kà há gàrà t_i?
 Where foc 3pl go-rvpst?
 Where did they go?
32. English: a. The teachers saw who?
 b. Who_i did the teachers see t_i?
33. Igbo: a. Ò nyèrè há ùwé ólē?
 3sg give-rvpst 3pl cloth how many?
 How many clothes did he give them?
 b. Ùwé ólē_i kà ò nyèrè há t_i?
 Clothes how many foc 3sg give-rvpst 3pl?
 How many clothes did he/she give them?
34. English: a. He was eating what?
 b. What_i was he eating t_i?

Data (29), (31) and (33) of the Igbo language demonstrate that Radford's use of the term "binary" seems not to be true as far as Igbo wh-interrogative words are concerned. In (a) sentences of (29), (31) and (33), the wh- words have remained in-situ at the object position while in (b) sentences, the question words are moved to SPEC, CP position by focusing with the introduction of the overt focus marker *kà*, yet; both (a) and (b) sentences have the same semantic interpretations. The above data also indicate that in Igbo both syntactic wh movement and LF movement are attested. The two positions are acceptable in the language. Therefore, Igbo language shares the property of having two the values of wh-movement that is, \pm wh-movement ([+] and [-] wh-movement). In the Igbo language low tone is a question trigger. The pronoun subject carries this low tone. It is inserted just in the case where the subject of the sentence is a full-fledged noun as in (29a) above. It is this pronoun that gives the relevant sentence a question interpretation, hence, the wh-word does not need to vacate its base position to move to COMP (Nwachukwu 1990), Uwalaka 1991). In Igbo language, it is assumed that in cases that do not have wh-movement, the question word undergoes movement of the wh at LF.

The English language allows only one value, that is, [+wh] which involves is overt syntactic wh-movement into the SPEC as shown in (b) sentences of (30), (32) and (34) above. These indicate that English wh-movement conforms to Radford's claim because binarity values upholds in the language. Only one value manifests in the language, that is, overt obligatory syntactic movement of the wh-word into the SPEC, CP position. Note that in

both languages, the multiple wh-question words violate the principle of binarity. However, multiple wh-questions are outside the scope of this study.

Conclusion

This study has examined the wh-movement parameter in Igbo and English. The findings reveal that both languages show evidence of wh-movement in the syntactic structures. Both have wh-words which can be used for expressing wh-expressions. The wh-words in both Languages share the same leftward movement to the specifier position. But rightward movement is only possible in Igbo language. The constituents of wh in English have apparent wh-configuration but those of Igbo have the semantic equivalents of the English wh. Some Igbo wh-words have overt wh-readings (examples, ònyé (who), gíní (what), èbéè (where) and so on while some do not have overt wh-readings, examples include ónyé (person), ébé (place), íhé (thing) and so on. These are called non-wh-question elements. The Igbo wh-words can co-occur with them in the syntactic structures to express wh-questions. A major syntactic difference is that Igbo permits wh-in-situ type of questions where English does not. The Igbo in-situ type of questions can be base generated in the subject or object position in the syntactic structures. The Igbo language permits both wh-syntactic and Lf movement while English language permits only overt visible obligatory syntactic wh- movement into the [SPEC, CP] position. Furthermore, Igbo language allows an in-situ type of question where the resumptive pronoun appears in the subject position and the wh-words appear at the object position simultaneously in the syntactic structures without any movement. As regards to binarity value, Radford's claim does not uphold in Igbo language because the language has two values, that is, [+wh] and [-wh] movement. The English language has only one value, that is, [+wh] movement into the SPEC, CP position.

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Classroom Culture and its Importance in the Post Methods Era for Designing Pedagogy in Bangladesh

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Doi: 10.19044/llc.v5no3a2

[URL:http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a2](http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a2)

Abstract

Classroom culture is an effective determinant for pedagogy to be effective in a particular context. In order to arrive at an appropriate pedagogy in the post methods era the classroom teachers, researchers and curriculum designers must investigate classroom culture. ELT practitioners of various countries are dissatisfied with the effectiveness of the borrowed pedagogy as the pedagogy has not been designed on the basis of the classroom culture as well as of the wider cultural and contextual realities of a second language learning situation. This dissatisfaction is severe in Bangladesh. So, it has been a must to reconstruct ELT practices. In this regard, some concepts of Post Method Pedagogy can help a lot for formulating a new process of learning English. The present study has been undertaken with a view to offering some new insights in the light of some aspects of Post Methods Pedagogy.

Keywords: Metaphors, Moral metaphors, Keywords, Financial crisis, Economic crisis.

Introduction

For designing pedagogy of a particular context it is important to know what happens in the classroom between the teachers and students, and the physical setting of that classroom. This notion is particularly supported by the concepts of Post Method Pedagogy. Many researchers have thought it to be an alternative way for exceeding the boundaries of borrowed methods and approaches. For the last two decades various patterns of classroom instructions had been implemented to teach English in Bangladesh following the methods and approaches borrowed from native English speaking countries.

Those patterns of classroom instructions are contradictory to the classroom culture of Bangladesh. None of them has been designed on the basis of the native classroom experiences and contextual realities. No methods or approaches have brought expected results. So, if pedagogy is to be formulated,

it needs to be constructed on the basis of the cultural and contextual realities of classroom by the ELT practitioners of this country.

Theoretical Framework

It has been supported by the theorists that it is necessary to develop teaching and learning methodologies that pay attention to classroom culture which is actually a reflection of outer social culture.

According to Schema theory (Barlet, 1932) Schema or background knowledge plays an important role in human learning process. If a child is accustomed with one cultural pattern or mode of teaching and learning, it exists and influences the child's learning throughout the life. Again the socio-cultural theory which is based on the works of L.S. Vygotsky (1978) maintains that psychological phenomena can be understood only by examining their genesis in a culturally specific activity. In this theory classroom and its interactions are considered as the legitimate domain of study for pedagogical decisions. Brew (1980) holds that, the way individuals respond to an educational program is influenced by the educational, cultural, social and employment milieu which they have experienced in the past.

According to structural view, language is regarded as a system of structurally related elements for encoding meanings. To learn a language one has to achieve mastery over structural elements of a language. In some contexts this view of language learning is fostered by the learners.

Literature Review

According to Holliday (1994), classroom teachers must investigate the classroom in order to arrive at appropriate methodologies. It is important to take "thick description" (p. 5) of the classroom situation which refers to depth analysis of the fragmented pictures of classroom. He has also suggested that when these small fragmented pictures are analyzed, understood and put together they will produce a bigger picture of particular setting the learners are concerned about. An ethnographic exploration of classroom is, therefore, vital in making sense of pedagogic practices.

Shohiduallah (1997) also puts much emphasis on students' culture for teaching to be useful and effective. Citing research by Hatano and Miyake (1991), he provides three reasons for this view:

- It is important for setting up situation in the classroom which corresponds to learners' culture outside the classroom.
- It is necessary to design instruction based on prior knowledge of learners so that they can make connections and learn quickly with ease and pleasure.
- It is beneficial to know about learners' beliefs and values.

Shohidullah(2002), further clarifies:

Language teachers specially need to know the preferred learning styles and content expectations of their students. If students in a learning culture feel, for example, that second language learning is mainly a question of knowing an explicit detail the rules of grammar, then this has clearly an effect on their learning, no matter whether they are 'right or 'wrong' to hold on such views. (p.88)

Gardner (1989) argues that cultural beliefs influence the development of some attitudes which help in second language acquisition. Gardner (1979) states:

It is proposed that the social milieu gives rise to many expectations in the minds of the teachers and students concerning the entire second language acquisition tasks. (p.175)

An insight into students' characteristic learning style is necessary to develop appropriate language skills (James, 1980). James also holds that language teachers specially need to know the preferred learning style and content expectations of their students. Researchers, furthermore, suggest that classroom situation with its physical and emotional environment provides the formal context of language learning. According to Allwright (1988) learning situation may be viewed as learning opportunities. Skilbeck (1984) provides a curricular model that comes to be known as the situational model. This model has its basis in cultural analysis and it begins with an analysis of the institutional situation. Skilbeck (ibid) also says that all educational institutions should be a living educational environment; characterized by a definite pattern of relationships, aims, values, norms, procedures and roles.

Holliday (1994) considers an analysis of learning situation, which he calls 'means analysis' important for meaningful and effective language program. Means analysis, according to Holliday and Cooke (1982), should involve:

An ongoing survey of the cultural, socio-political, logistical, administrative, psycho-pedagogic and methodological features of educational environment as it changes in the before and during the process of innovation.

Maley (1984) argues for an analysis of the constraints of the situation to provide the basis for designing meaningful language program. Pinxten (1991, p. 220) says that if a society-like situation is created in the classroom, learners will feel free from any cultural constraint and behave competently in the classroom. According to Saljo (1991), what occurs in the micro environment of the setting of learning is affected by larger contexts. Many studies now show that there is usually a productive learning environment when learners' beliefs, expectations and learning style preferences match with the activities and interactions in the classroom. If, on the other hand, there is a mismatch between these learners' factors and what actually happens in the

classroom learners resist and consequently little or none is the learning outcome (Claxton and Ralston, 1978).

Thus, the researches and linguists think that the small classroom culture as well as the wider culture of a particular setting, therefore, has to be the main consideration while selecting classroom tasks, techniques, materials and tests.

Culture and Psychological Buildup of the Learners

Culture is an integral part of language teaching and learning. According to Keil (1989, 1 cited in Lantolf 1999), the concepts developed through culture can be thought of as networks of systematic beliefs about how the world is. It is argued that the values, norms and beliefs as well as the perceptions and experiences which a child acquires in the socialization process are his/her cultural profiles which have a very close relationship with learning. Shore (1996, 47 cited in Lantolf 1999) points out that concepts have their origins in two primary sources, personal mental models and cultural models. Thus culture shapes beliefs, attitudes, manners, and expectations etc. of the people of a particular society in a particular way.

According to Vosniadou (1991, p. 286), our mental life is a reflection of cultural reality. To understand what goes on inside the head of a man, he says, it is necessary to understand the cultural context where the man operates. Again researchers also suggest that process of early schooling imprinted on learners has a continuing effect on them and it affects teachers' and learners' goals and strategies and mode of learning.

Educational Culture of Bangladesh

As a distinctive nation, Bangladeshi people possess a specific culture which is different from any other countries of the world. In Bangladesh there is an impact of the patterns of earlier educational culture of Indian sub-continent. Depicting the educational culture of Bangladesh, Islam (2000) says, "asking too many questions to and entering into a debate or argument with the teachers is a sign of disrespect and teachers hardly appreciate it." Students owed the utmost reverence and obedience to teachers as the possessors and transmitters of knowledge.

Books are regarded here as an embodiment of knowledge, truth and sacredness. Learners believe in the ultimate authority of textbooks as in the subcontinent religious books were introduced first. There was too much importance on pronunciation. The slightest mistake in accent or pronunciation was regarded as a serious lapse. Each student was assigned to memorize some parts every day. That is why, "knowledge is seen as a monolithic entity, a finite, inflexible 'object', to be accepted whole and to be memorized and regurgitated" in our country. (Rahman, 1999).

For several centuries those processes of education continue to exist. Bangladeshi people have occupied those aspects of educational culture.

Important Variables of Classroom Culture of Bangladesh

From review of literature it has been found that it is necessary to pay serious attention to cultural factors of classrooms for developing methodologies. To expose the actual state of classroom culture the researcher has highlighted the following major variables of classroom culture.

1. Psychological State of the Teachers and Learners

Among many other variables psychological state of the teachers and learners includes:

- a. Teachers' and learners' beliefs about language learning
- b. Teachers' and learners' expectations about language learning
- c. Previous experiences of the teachers and learners

a. Beliefs of the teachers and learners of Bangladesh are different from any other context of the world. Cottrell (1995) argues that learners' beliefs regarding the different aspects of classroom culture determine their readiness for and acceptance or rejection of the ideas and practices of teaching learning theory. In our context students believe that a teacher is the source of all knowledge. They depend on the teachers for their learning. Some students think that their teachers should do all the things for their learning. Similarly they have respective beliefs regarding classroom interactions, classroom atmosphere and other aspects of classroom culture.

b. Learners' and teachers' expectations are influenced by their social and educational background. Spolsky (1989) expresses the view that a second language learner brings to language learning situation a set of notions about what is involved in the tasks. In Bangladesh, learners are expected to be respectful to their teachers, and teachers are expected to be strict, omniscient and caring. Students too expect that their teachers will teach them seriously and will behave with them in a dignified manner in the classroom.

c. Learning styles refers to the way learners like to learn a language. Bannai (1980) describes the cognitive learning styles of Asian students as field dependent. She claims that students' orientation toward group success and individual behaviors emphasize restraint, co-operation, and obedience to authority. According to Cortazzi, (1994, cited in Shohidullah, 1997) the oriental learning style is characterized by:

- Considering only one correct point of view
- Describing information without critical evaluation etc.

2. Actual State of Affairs in the Process of Classroom Teaching and Learning

To expose the actual state of classroom affairs we need to know the following two variables.

a. Mode of Feedback and Error Corrections

b. Interactional Patterns

a. In our context mode of feedback and error corrections are integral parts of language teaching and learning procedures. Usually teachers provide immediate feedback. Contexts like ours correction of errors is taken seriously. Learners are basically worried about pronunciation, not about fluency.

b. In a classroom there can be various patterns of interaction. Here learners do not participate in pair or group tasks. In our classes, unidirectional flow of information is noticed as teachers deliver lecture most of the time of the class period.

3 Physical Setting of the Classroom

Spolsky (1989) says that the physical situation in the classroom can both assist and impede learning. To know about the physical setting of the classroom we are to consider :

a. Class Size:

b. Teaching-Learning Aids

c. Seating Arrangement

a. Class size refers to the number of the students in a classroom. In our context almost all the classes are large. It is suggested that a large classroom is not suitable for interactive teaching and learning. At least, a large class is suitable for some teachers-students interactions.

b. Teaching learning aids refer to the equipments which are used for the purpose of teaching and learning. For developing or poor countries like ours board is the most common teaching learning aids. For different available aids different processes of teaching can be effective.

c. According Cohen and Manion (1977) careful attention to seating arrangements contributes more than any other aspects of classroom environment. In case of seating arrangement the researchers need to consider

- The position of teachers in the class and
- Seating arrangement of the students.

In Bangladeshi classrooms teachers take a frontal position which gives the teachers an authoritative position and alienates him from the students. Students have fixed benches or desks arranged in long rows.

Major Concepts of Post Method Pedagogy

According to Kumaravadivelu (1994), the leading proponent of Post Method Pedagogy, no method or approach can be implemented in the purest

form in the actual classroom because they are “not derived from classroom experience and experimentation but are artificially transplanted into the classroom and, as such, far removed from classroom reality” (ibid. p. 29) . So “the notion that one method cannot be appropriate for every teacher and every learner in every time and every place” has been proved (Cattell, 2009, p. 59). Again it does not advocate for complete abandonment of the existing methods. In some cases it endorses any attempt on the part of the teachers to modify and adjust an established method to the realities of their local contexts. (Richards and Rodgers 2001, p. 251)

Post Method Pedagogy concentrates on the development of locally produced pedagogy by the local ELT practitioners based on the local classroom realities. To Kumaravadivelu (1994, p. 29), Post Method Pedagogy involves practitioners constructing classroom oriented theories of practice. Teachers are to formulate their own model or theories and develop procedures. Again it also suggests ‘teacher’s sense of plausibility’ (Prabhu, 1990, cited in Kumaravadivelu, 1994). It means their subjective understanding of teaching they do. Thus, Post Method Pedagogy aims to empower teachers with knowledge, skill and autonomy.

Post Method pedagogy demands re-evaluating the roles of the learners, the teachers and the teacher educators. Kumaravadivelu (2001) considers learners, teachers and teachers’ educators as co-explorers. The interaction between the teachers, educators and the prospective teachers should become dialogic as he mentions:

When, through a series of dialogic interactions, channels of communication between teacher educators and prospective teachers open up, when prospective teachers actively and freely use the linguistic, cultural, and pedagogic capital they bring with them, and when teacher educators use the student-teacher’s values, beliefs, and knowledge as an integral part of the learning process, then the entire process of teacher education becomes reflective and rewarding (p. 552).

PMP also pleads that teachers will revise their theories, techniques or strategies. It will be a continuous process. Continually they will go on experimenting their teaching strategies. They will remain in one kind of action research. When the teachers will develop a set of teaching technique he then will bring little changes in respect of cultural variables. There is no scope of selecting final copy. They also need to keep eyes to the latest development in the field of language teaching and learning.

Teachers’ training is of paramount importance in PMP. The proponents believe that no advice should be imposed rather teachers should be permitted to express their opinions. Teacher will share their views among themselves. Trainers can give some suggestions regarding how to develop their own strategies.

Kuranavadivelu (2001, p. 538) has suggested three parameters as the key points of PMP. In his parameter of particularity he suggests that pedagogy must be sensitive to “a particular group of teachers teaching a particular group of learners pursuing a particular set of goals within a particular institutional context embedded in a particular socio-cultural milieu” (p. 538). In his parameter of practicality he mentions that there should be a harmony between what the teachers of a particular context will theorize and what they will practice in the classroom. According to him a theory is meaningless unless it can be applied in practice. Teachers are to formulate theory while they are on the job.

Kumaravadivelu (ibid) has proposed that ten macro strategies. He, in Mac. 1, Maximize Learning Opportunities, views learning as a process of creating and utilizing learning opportunities. In another strategy, raising the consciousness of good language learners about various learning strategies and making the strategies explicit and systematic are described as important. It also supports that learners can raise cultural awareness by identifying the cultural knowledge learners bring to the classroom. In his Mac. 10 he urges for social relevance which refers to the need for teachers to be sensitive to societal, political, economic environment in which L₂ learning and teaching takes place. Teaching, as his Mac. 10 suggests, makes little sense if it is not informed by social relevance.

Kumaravadivelu (1994) also clarifies that the strategic framework is general plan derived from theoretical, empirical and pedagogical knowledge. The macro strategies are considered as broad guidelines depending on which teachers can develop their own situation specific classroom techniques. He also suggests not following macro strategies if they are not considered suitable.

A Synthesis of the Concepts of Post Method Pedagogy with the Actual State of classroom Culture

So far the researcher has tried to discuss various aspects of classroom culture and important aspects of Post Method Pedagogy. Now the researcher is going to implement some effective aspects of Post Method Pedagogy considering the actual picture of classroom culture.

The proponents of PMP argue for formulating a new set of strategies and procedures for language teaching based on cultural realities of classroom. PMP also values experiences and knowledge of the ELT practitioners. The very classroom culture of Bangladesh suggests the idea that it is obligatory to design pedagogy by the local ELT practitioners considering the classroom realities to make the pedagogy effective.

According to PMP, teachers are to play dominant role for exploration of pedagogy. They have to shoulder upon the main responsibility of pedagogy.

They have to theorize from their practice. They also need to shape and manage classroom learning. This role is also suggested by the classroom culture of Bangladesh. Here the teachers are accustomed to take responsibility of learning. Teachers want students to be dependent on them and learners like to depend on teachers for everything. The beliefs and expectations of both the groups and learning styles preferences of the learners support this kind of role of the teachers.

Post Method Pedagogy suggests considering every classroom as particular for pursuing a particular set of goals within the particular socio cultural context. At this point the total Bangladesh can be taken as a particular context. It is true that overall classroom culture of the whole country is almost the same. Pursuing a particular set of goals within the particular social cultural context of Bangladesh, a group of teachers can set teaching learning practices for the learners of Bangladesh.

Learners have to be made cautious about learning styles preferences, about the importance of beliefs and experiences. This idea is also highlighted by PMP. For the learners their consciousness can be fruitful. It is a must to take suggestions from them for pedagogic exploration. Raising learners' consciousness is also important for Bangladeshi context.

In PMP teachers educators are to promote the students' and teachers' values, beliefs for the entire process of teachers' education to be rewarding. The present realities of classroom demand evaluation and promotion of teachers' and learners' values, beliefs and expectations.

It is seen that learners want to learn knowing the grammatical rules which is suggested in one of the strategies of PMP. Furthermore, practice of all basic skills of language is very important for Bangladesh. PMP is also in favor of developing basic skills and their sub skills.

Teachers' training is of paramount importance in PMP. Not only the teachers but also the learners can be trained. In our context it is found that teachers are not trained at all. Training is the most important issue than any other factors of language teaching and learning at least for Bangladesh.

Some proponents think that PMP does not mean the end of methods rather it involves an understanding of the limitations of the concept of method and a desire to go beyond those limitations. Pedagogy designers of Bangladesh can utilize this concept of PMP by selecting fruitful concepts from a number of methods.

Conclusion

Pedagogy designers have to consider the present psychological state of the teachers and learners and accept the present physical setting of the classroom at the time of designing pedagogy. The present realities of classroom culture require a utilization of:

- The available facilities
- Interactional realities prevailing in the classroom and
- The present psychological condition of the learners and teachers.

In the light of the research following conclusions can be drawn as recommendations for pedagogic exploration.

1. General Recommendation

- Taking whole country as a particular context the practitioners need to construct a central methodology of learning considering the classroom realities. This would be suitable for our context as all the teachers don't have enough competence.
- A group of nationally selected teachers from various universities and different colleges of the country need to shoulder upon the responsibilities for implementing pedagogy. Those teachers can produce pedagogy based the suggestions of other teachers and learners who spend much time in the classroom.
- Sense of plausibility of the selected group of teachers, not all of the teachers, should be used to theorize teaching methodologies. They need to evaluate the beliefs, experiences, expectations and preferences of the teachers and learners. They should also involve learners to some extent in designing pedagogy.
- The selected group of teachers should keep eyes to the latest development in the arena of language teaching and learning so that they can keep pace with the international community.
- At the end of every session, individual teachers of the country can be asked to make some suggestions. Based on the ongoing feedback of the classroom teachers' suggestions the pedagogy needs to be continually modified, expanded and enriched step by step over some years. Following the process they will be able to find out most effective way of language teaching after some years.

2. Recommendations for Syllabus and Material Design

For Bangladesh it is important to design a syllabus. A syllabus complemented by teacher-controlled tasks and activities and grammar based items would provide the ideal solution for the students. The proposition of Huda can bring positive results in this regard. Huda (2004. p. 123&126) suggests "in a context like Bangladesh the main approach to learning English should not be through communication, but through learning its system". At the time of designing textbook there should have profusion of individual tasks in the textbook. Life styles, values, norms and customs of Bangladeshi culture and society should be depicted enormously in the texts so that learners

feel familiar with those things and therefore comfortably understand the texts. Social relevance of the contents and topics is also necessary.

3. Recommendation for Teachers' and Students' Roles

Teachers need to play dominant roles. They should guide learning, select contents, materials and methods taking the interest of the learners. After analyzing various aspects of the social and educational culture of Bangladesh, Rahman (1999) rightly remarks that for ELT innovation in Bangladesh a "synthesis" model embracing different models as deemed appropriate can be formulated. Teachers have to select contents and materials in consultation with students. As language is a skill-based subject the role of the learners has to be made more engaging in doing tasks and activities for developing their basic skills.

4. Recommendation for Interactional Patterns

There can be eclectic style including lecture method and activities under teacher control. Open ended discussions in whole class sessions under teachers' control can be another fruitful activity for learners' engagement in learning process. Since teachers and students like error corrections, there should be some error corrections in the language classroom. Teachers should provide feedback in whole sessions on students performance.

5. Recommendation for Trainings

Paramount importance should be given on teachers' and learners' training for developing the knowledge and skills necessary to construct their own pedagogy. The selected group of teachers needs to train the teachers of different districts and take recommendations for classroom procedures. There can be some learner training to orient them with the roles for their leaning .

To sum up, the pedagogy designer following the recommendations suggested above can devise an effective methodology for the learners of Bangladesh. Thus the present researcher believes that this dissertation can bring an overall change in the teaching learning of English in Bangladesh.

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Netlect in Albanian: The Social Network Variety

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Doi: 10.19044/llc.v5no3a3

[URL:http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a3](http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a3)

Abstract

Instant messaging, texting, or even Computer Mediated Communication are the terms used to refer to communication in social networks. These terms are not the most appropriate ones because the technology and platforms of this way of communication have evolved rapidly. Since this communication is widespread, there is a need to have a much more standardized communication in terms of the language variety used for it. Having in mind various principles of socio cognitive approach in terminology, the study aimed to build a new appropriate term in this regard. Having in mind all the circumstances and the scale of standardization of this way of communication, I think that the best term that fits it is “Netlect”. This is done in order to include, using the same word, the name of the platform where this communication is being developed (net) and the paradigm for linguistic variety (lect). The case of Albanian and other languages goes in favour of this term because we are talking about “a language variety that never existed before”, as Ferrara, Brunner, and Whittemore stated earlier in 1991.

Keywords: Netlect, Instant Messaging, Computer Mediated Communication, Language Variety, Texting, Vernacular, Slang, Terminology.

Introduction

Why Netlect?

In his book titled “Txting the gr8 db8”, David Crystal refers to what I had named the “language of messenger.” Thus, this relates to the language based on instant communication through online internet platforms. The paper was published in 2008, which was the same time David Crystal had issued the first edition of the book where this form of communication was named “texting.” While in his book titled “The Language of Internet”, published in 2001, David Crystal dealt with texting on only two or three pages on “Glossary of Netspeak and Textspeak (2004).” He dealt with this issue again in a more detailed aspect, by just including some of the most common abbreviations used in online communication. Having in mind that this form of

communication, being already a global communication, has evolved so fast, it can be hardly followed by scientific books. However, these books based on their nature are not as dynamic as technological developments. Linguists are used to follow and describe linguistic phenomena with their slow pace and, therefore, linguistic disciplines until now have felt comfortable in their slowness. This is caused by their pace of development of languages, especially based on the fact that their changes are imposed as slow pursuit.

However, since 2008, when David Crystal published his first book, certainly a very brave one on texting, or on the language of texting and instant communication language, a lot of things changed. With this book, he has surpassed even "The vocabulary of netspeak and textspeak", published only four years earlier. This was after the communication has evolved following the pace of technological developments. While messenger on MSN was fashionable in 2004, Facebook was launched as a site for posting personal pictures, and it has experienced a remarkable development with speed. It has its own messenger, separately from MSN's messenger, which has offered less complementary features. Viber, on the other hand, created conditions for an extra development of language of the Internet. The global platform provided an opportunity almost equal to all languages. Subsequently, this of course entails leaving the highest prestige to English, not only as a language through which they were providing these products, but also as *lingua franca*.

In 2008, I named this form of communication as the "spoken language in written form" or "written vernacular." I believe that it continues to be so. Moreover, the change that this communication has undergone in these eight years consists of a high degree of standardization. This might turn out to be a variety of nationwide communication, which would result to a rival in the standard variety that aims at this spread. After then, it was established in a Kosovo vernacular, having all the capabilities of the spread, while the prestige belongs to the spoken vernacular of Pristina.

Consequently, the rate of the spread tends to reveal the social belonging through a linguistic "set-like", which also reveals the differences in the language as a tool for social group control. This leads this form of communication towards a level of a linguistic formation. While having a certain age, this linguistic formation has felt the need to contain certain rules. First of all, this can be in terms of graphic reflection of sounds of words. This tendency, being more social than linguistic in its essence, unintentionally has achieved a certain degree of grammaticality. Having all these features, this linguistic formation is a kind of sociolect. However, due to the extremely large spread (as the communication exceeds the borders of a city, even if that city has metropolitan tendencies), I named it net-lect, by using "net" for the network as a ground for assembling of that formation and "lect" as a paradigm for the linguistic variety. Based on a socio-cognitive approach (Temmerman,

1997, 2000, 2001), the term gives a clear idea of linguistic formation with all the features, by not lying solely on the features of social belonging or differences.

Much earlier, the discourse used for instant messaging was named Interactive Written Discourse (IWD) by Ferrara, Brunner, and Whittemore (1991:26). IWD is a term coined by a designation of writing that is "a hybrid register that resembles speech and writing, yet is neither" (1991:10). Yet, the register we have tapped into is "a language variety that never existed before" (ibid.). So, it fully corresponds with what I called "spoken Language in written form", which has now emerged into a new linguistic formation or unit called "netlect."

What Crystal called "virtual communication" is such that, in fact, it is only by the way of its realization because the function is all the same. People in the past communicated in great distances. Nevertheless, without the possibility of instant communication, they had to wait for a long time for a response. For this reason, this type of communication continues to be a spoken language in written form. In its very beginning, online communication was seen more as a fun way to meet new people. Presently, this communication has replaced almost entirely the telephone communication, especially now when platforms providing instant written communication and which also have components of the voice communication, such as the phone are available. The world was initially concerned that instant messaging would destroy language. In his book titled "Texting db8 the gr8", Crystal (2008: 7) says: Some even think that texting was destroying language as a whole. "Written messages are destroying our language" was the title of an article in Washington in 2007, where the author says: "I knew this would happen. From the moment when a friend of mine sent me a message: 'I've got 2 go, talk to U later,'" I knew that the end is near". However, Crystal, based on research and experimental results, does not agree with the point of view that assumes that the use of acronyms and jargon, such as those in the language of SMS, will lead to lower levels of literacy and wrong spelling among children.

Shkumbin Munishi, in his paper titled "The Albanian Language in the Internet" argues that "In chat rooms, in forms of communication through instant messaging in messenger and in the other forms of communication mediated by computer, Albanian emerges in all its geographical variants, but also in the form of social codes; some of which may be referred to special registers, such as communication with the messenger." This leads to the justification for the netlect as a specific code, towards the launching of a netlect as a specific and variety of Albanian language, which is not a dialect as we used to define it. However, due to the lack of isoglosses, it has no geographical component and is not a genuine sociolect. In addition, it is used

more by different social groups for the purpose of inclusion rather than differentiation.

Style

Was Crystal right, or was he too liberal in his views towards online language? If one communicates with the new age, up to 25 years or even older, that are badly addicted to the internet or social networks, you can see a high degree of grammaticality and the use of almost all paralinguistic and linguistic tools during communication. Pausality, verbal, and nonverbal gap fillers in communication have been simplified to "hmmm", the feeling of doubt that in ordinary communication is expressed on a lifting arm raised eyebrows and other gestures. Here, they are expressed by "aha", while amazement and disbelief with "ahaa". Compliance is expressed with "OK". Hence, we will say to our interlocutor that we understand him/her by writing "op" (po-yes). Abbreviations are not a matter of fashion, but of the linguistic economy: Thank you is "flm (faleminderit)." Even though "m" does not give the idea of "nder/honor", "s'ka përse/you are welcome" as a response is written as "sps". Furthermore, "Ç'kemi" is a kind of a code to start the conversation as quasi-communication, while the real question that follows is "c(q)a ka 3" - wazzup, "tung (tungjatjeta)/ hello", "ntm"/good night, "ishmi"-CU etc. These questions are used to indicate the end of the conversation. Without these elements, the communication is considered incomplete. On the other hand, the etiquette and ethics are unfulfilled. These are the basic elements where one cannot see elements of social differentiations.

In an effort to follow the dynamics of fast communication, instant communication seems to be holophrastic. Here, a single phrase serves to establish the basic idea.

Phonetics

The differences appear in graphic realization of speech sounds, which are inclined towards extreme labialization of vowel "a". Osht, o- asht (is), jom -jam (I am), u kon - u kan (he/she was), koma - kamba (foot), dhomi -dhambi (teeth) etc. show only a few cases of this reflection. If someone writes "kam qenë (I have been)", he is not part of netlect. Therefore, youngsters will warn you. If one writes, in Standard Albanian, "kam qenë" or "kam ngrënë (I eat)" or even "kam hangër/ (mos common dialectic form)", in the attitude of netlect users, he/she is "bal" (redneck). The "right" form is "kom hunger", which fully reflects the spoken form of labialization a>o. Netlect users understand when one writes "lol", "brb", "cu" etc. Certainly everyone knows what "td (ILY)" means, or "tdsh (ILYVM)" whose synonym is "t lovi". This, therefore, entails the combination of the English word "love" with the short form of pronoun "ty, të/ you". It is an erroneous perception that Kosovo's netlect is the reflection of the Slang of Pristina. Slang of Pristina continues its life even

within the netlect for the same purpose as a spoken language. Therefore, it results to social differentiation.

Intonation and other elements are expressed through the extension of vowels and sometimes consonants "fortttt miiiiir" (veryyyy goooood), "t'duuuuuuu (I loooove youuu)", "ikkkk" (goooooo)!

Grammaticality

That such communication is the netlect indeed has been proved by the high level of grammaticality. Its users make "mistakes" as much as speakers of a vernacular do. The netlect of Pristina is similar to the vernacular of Pristina. Nouns take the same inflectional suffixes as in spoken vernacular and even in slang: itaqi / i, e itaqit / itaqit / itaqin / pi, itaqit, as seen by Rugova. Verbs also have a regular use, to the extent that such use is regular in the vernacular, according to Munishi, or more specifically in what Ismaili had called the Linguistic basin of Pristina (Pellgu gjuhësor i Prishtinës). The verb "flas (to speak)" is "unë foli/ ti fol/ ai fol/ne folim, ju folni/ata folin", while irregular verb "jap (to give)" remains irregular but in reverse order from the usual form of Standard Albanian. The present form is "dha" (ta dha, s'ta dha, with nasal vowel, but the nasality is not stressed in writing). The aorist is "jepa" (ia jepa ni liber), the imperfect is "dhasha (jepja)" (kur dhasha mesim n kursin e anglishtes), while the participle is "jep" (kom jep). This inversion in order has its sociolinguistic reasons. The fact that the vernacular of Prishtina is reflected in the netlect of Kosova (I speak of Kosovo, as the prevalence rate is incomparably greater, enabled by technology) demonstrates the use of short forms of pronouns. For example, instead of "jua" is used "jau". The form is used also for "ua", while the short form "i" is being used properly. In addition, "u" (for plural) is replaced almost entirely by "ju".

The syntax is completely regular and isn't expressed by any kind of differences.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations are not issue to netlect, specifically in the sense that they aren't differentiation features of this specific linguistic formation. Hence, they have achieved a standardization of use and they perform certain functions with a high degree of language consensus. Abbreviations are frequently used and they have achieved a high degree of consensus among the speakers of the netlect. In this code of communication, a huge number of abbreviations taken from English were used, while those in Albanian are built according to the same model as those of English. This does not represent the constituent elements of a composite or complex word, but, first of all, it relies in presenting the most representative consonants and sometimes those more marcant. For example, "faleminderit" (thank you) is shortened to "flm"

instead of "fmn" or "fn". Instead of "nm" for "natën e mire" (good night), the regularly used form is "ntm".

Formations of Albanian

"1her" (një herë- once); "2shim" (dyshim-doubt); "3gom" (tregomë-tell me); "7zon" (shtatzënë - pregnant); "as1her" (asnjëherë - never); "cka ka 3"? (çka ka të re?- wazzup); "dtl" (ditëlindje - b-day); "e vër8" (e vërtetë-true); "fk" (fakultet-faculty); "fr" (frajeri-boyfriend); "gz" (gëzohem- i'm glad); "hjk" (hajgare - joking, kidding); "i 3nt" (i trent - crazy); "kl" (klasë - classroom); "kz" (kallëzomë - tell me); "nsr" (nesër - tomorrow); "ntm" (natën e mirë - good night); "pldh" (pa lidhje - it makes no sens); "prsh" (përshëndetje - greetings); "sps" (s'ka për se - you are welcome); "spv" (secili për vete - each for itself); "srz" (seriozisht - seriously); "t2" (të dy - both); "td" (të dua - I love you); "tdsh" (të dua shumë - I love you so much); "v@" (vet/ë - itself).

Formations of English in Use in Albanian

atm -at the moment; bf – boyfriend; brb – be right back; btw -by the way; gr8 – great; gf –girlfriend; msg – message; omg -oh my god; pls/plz – please; RIP- Rest in peace; thnx -thank you; wtf -what the fuck

Conclusion

Communication through social network is the fastest developed way of communication. Therefore, it represents the fastest developing linguistic variety. This outburst of social networking equipped with sophisticated platforms and features resulted to the need of its users to reach a certain degree of standardization of the linguistic variety used in this way of communication.

Although we cannot talk about specific social networks for specific languages, it is obvious that the behaviour of English as Lingua Franca is inevitable. Due to the origin of technology, specific Languages are being developed in a way that it is independent. Nevertheless, this is accompanied with certain degree of influence from English, especially when it comes to the use of abbreviations.

The degree of development is very huge, both as linguistic variety and in technology. Hence, the terms used to name this way of communication are getting older and older, every day and by each applications. Nowadays, we can talk about Computer Mediated Communication, when the most part of this communication is realized on smartphones and other equipment. Also, the large scale of the use of this kind of communication resulted in a need to flatten regional differences. It created the conditions to have much more standardized use of grammar and reflection of graphemes for specific phonemes. It led towards larger scale of standardization in style as well. So, we have to agree that it is spoken language in written form, as Ferrara, Brunner and Whitmore characterized it "a hybrid register that resembles speech and writing, yet is

neither.” They further added that this is a Language variety that has never existed before. If it is a Language variety and has such well-established features which are still being developed, we can talk about a Netlect, which is a specific Linguistic variety (“lect”), realized in specific online platform (net).

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Assessing Al-Koura Rural Dialect Archaic Vocabulary among the Young Generation

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Doi: 10.19044/llc.v5no3a4

URL:<http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a4>

Abstract

The present study deals with the phenomenon of lexical loss in Al-Koura Rural Dialect in Irbid Governorate, in the northern part of Jordan. Some pre-cultural words suffer from loss and disappearance, and hence, become obsolete. The study aims at identifying the pre-cultural words that are undergoing lexical loss. The study also investigates the diffusion of pre-cultural words among the young generation speakers. The study also examines the linguistic and extra linguistic factors such as solidarity marker, level of education on certain pre-cultural words among the young generation. The present study involved two central methods necessary to achieve the purposes of the study. The first method was to make interview recordings with old group members to collect pre-cultural words through addressing general questions. The questions covered a variety of topics such as food, clothes, glasses and weather. The second method was to compile a questionnaire with the pre-cultural words to be distributed among the young speakers. The questionnaire contained 222 pre-cultural words which refer to several spheres and contexts of life in the society at the previous era. The questionnaire was distributed to 400 young participants. The study group included school and college male and female students. The study group also included other employees from different governmental sectors in Al-Koura District. The findings showed that 168 words were not much familiar to the young speakers. The findings also revealed that the pre-cultural words were sort of familiar to the male young speakers rather than the female young speakers. The lower the age, the less familiar s/he with the traditional pre-cultural words. The educated young speakers who have a lower or medium education level obtain little knowledge of pre-cultural words. The solidarity among the young speakers appeared to be higher than that of the old people.

Keywords: Language loss, dialect loss, lexical loss and attrition.

1. Introduction

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan is administratively partitioned into 12 governorates. Each governorate is subdivided into a number of districts which in turn combine a number of villages or towns. Irbid governorate embraces nine districts, each of which is consisted of a number of villages. The nine districts are: The Capital District (Al-Qasabeh), Al-Aghwar Al-Shamaliyyeh, Al-Koura, Al-Mazar Al-Shamali, Al-Ramtha, Bani Obaid, Bani-Kinanah, Taybeh and Wasatiyyeh. The current study explores Al-Koura District, which is located in the north western parts of Irbid governorate. Al-Koura District (henceforth, KD) is about 25 kilometers to the west of the Capital District (Al-Qasabeh). It has an area of 210 square kilometers and comprises 22 villages with its administrative center in Der Abi Saeed. It enjoys a high population density. According to the Jordan national census of 2017, it has a population of 170340. The young population who live in KD are 55181, whose age range between 18 to 35 years old. Besides, the youngest population are 75257, whose age below 18. It also hosts a great number of workers and labors from different countries. It is situated on a fertile and productive plain with a range of mountains. It is one of the most attractive areas of Jordan, that is characterized by its fertile soil and abundant springs.

“Arabic is the official language across the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan” (Welchman, 1988:868). Jordanian Arabic has a variety of dialects, including urban, rural and Bedouin dialects (Rosenhouse, 2016). “These forms of Arabic are mutually understandable, that is, each form is comprehensible to its instantaneous neighbors” (Suleiman, 1985:6). A dialect is generally considered as a technical term for a variety of language that is socially lower than the appropriate form of the language (McArthur and McArthur, 2005). Al-Koura Rural Dialect (henceforth, KRD) is a vernacular variety of Jordanian Arabic that is distinguished from other varieties by a set lexical features. KRD is a variety that reflects a historical contact between the people who reside in the villages across the district. KRD is used in Irbid, particularly, in the northwestern part of Irbid, Jordan. This variety is associated with and uniformly spoken by the villagers in KD. However, the dialect varies from one area to another and from one social class to another, it changes from one age to another (Finegan, 2014). Apparently, the vocabulary items and other aspects of the variety which are involved in the speech community are distinguished from other varieties with respect to particular words and expressions which are used as symbolic markers of one specific variety rather than another.

At any rate, Al-Koura community has recently experienced considerable social, economic, cultural, and technological changes as well as a movement towards modernization. This dramatically affects the pre-cultural and inherited vocabulary in the dialect which may, in turn, lead to some linguistic change across the region. That is because, on the one hand, “lexical use varies and

changes within communities across space and time, and this feature can be ascribed to the linguistic change” (Millar, et al., 2014:2). On the other hand, the words are used as a marker of cultures and hence a cultural index of the cultural world of society (Newman, et al., 2012). In this regard, the lexicon of a dialect is inclined to be contiguous to the nature and the geographical diffusion of a culture (Carver, 1987). As a matter of fact, there has been suggested crucial evidence of the process of first language loss (or a part of it) observed in the speech of native speakers who have never resided in a different environment (Sebina, 2014).

Therefore, KRD traditional pre-cultural vocabulary items which refer to the early tools and objects, follow and belong to the customs and behaviors may have experienced a kind of attrition across the region over time, and they have turned to be out-dated and lost among the successive generations. This change may have resulted from the fact that lexical loss unavoidably requires words for objects that are no longer culturally appropriate or convenient (Craig, 1998). Taking into account, the traditional words that suffer from a lesser geographical distribution and stop referring to steady formal contexts and regular situations appear to be more susceptible to loss and disappearance. Further, there is a general inclination towards substituting inferior dialectal elements of a moderately limited scale with principal dialectal elements that have a wider diffusion.

1.1 The Theoretical Framework

The present study examines the attritional process that affects traditional pre-cultural words and terms which are principally associated with general spheres of the social life in the society at the previous era. This is based on the first language and the first environment which results in the loss of a portion of the rural dialect in KD. A process that occurs across successive generations. The theoretical framework of the current study is primarily based on which language is lost (L1 or L2) and in what environment (first or second) that is made by de Bot and Weltens, 1985 but ascribed to Van Els, 1986. This will be made through establishing strong relationships between the linguistic change and sociolinguistic factors such as age, gender, level of education, etc. Lexical loss may be initiated by young speakers or may be internalized within the language system.

1.2 The Statement of the Problem of the Study

The present study is concerned with KRD words that have begun to suffer from the processes of deterioration and obsolescence. There is crucial evidence that the pure speech of a dialect is hurriedly evaporating in the countryside due to modern facilities of intercommunication. It also explores the ensuing compensation for the loss of natural lexicon by utilizing other alternative words which are great fit to different situations and contexts. The study also focuses

mainly on the role of some significant factors responsible for such a phenomenon. This is intended to examine how far lexical change within the dialect has progressed over time and to provide a thorough analysis and clarification of this idealized picture.

1.3 The Objectives of the Study

The study aims to answer three main research questions addressed and posed thoroughly: 1-What are the words that are undergoing lexical attrition in KRD? 2-What is the level of familiarity with KRD old-fashioned terms among the young generation? 3-What is the effect of solidarity, level of education, gender and age on certain old and out-dated terms among the young generations?

2. Literature Review

Language loss is a blanket term that covers attrition, incomplete acquisition, language death and even language change (Schmid et al., 2004). In addition, language attrition has most often been considered a subdivision of language contact, language change and language death rather than as a subject of language acquisition and bilingualism (Schmid and Köpke, 2013). Language loss can be the consecutive situation of loneliness from human contact (Major, 2001). Language loss is a broad term pertaining to the processes involved in a reduction and decline of linguistic skills, which refers to the intergenerational process and this kind of loss is not caused by a brain damage such as aphasia and dementia. Suffice it to say that it refers only to the healthy individuals who suffer from attritional process (Extra and Verhoeven, 1999). This is an intergenerational course of action, where the first generation fails to or poorly transmit the entire knowledge system of the language or portions of that knowledge system to the successors.

On the contrary, the genuine loss of central linguistic characteristics as an attritional process is not restricted to languages. It is also present with dialects (Millar et al., 2014). Dialect loss or semi-loss occurs in the environment of the first language monolingual situations. This form of attritional process generally refers to the loss of a traditional and locally entrenched variety in order to create one either from outside the community or from a specific group within the equivalent community (Britain, 2002). Further, a dialect may evaporate as a whole, or it can vanish by its divisions in the course of a constant process of lexical loss which occurs whenever significant modifications influencing one linguistic group rapidly change the living conditions of its individuals, and this indeed intimidates the diffusion of words and their meanings (Filipović and Pütz, 2016). The degeneration of dialect involves the erosion of linguistic resources and the gradual deterioration of important regionalized stereotypical features which are most likely to result in decline in variation between varieties of the

same language, in combination with the fact that alternatives will be replaced by impressive forms spread over extensive areas.

Definitely, the loss of original and genuine terms in a dialect is specified and assigned to lexical attrition (Beal, 2006). A substantial number of scholars have agreed that the attrition process will have an effect on all facets of the language system in various ways and on many different levels. The most susceptible language areas in loss are the lexicon. Lexical knowledge appears to be more vulnerable to loss than any other linguistic perspectives. This is reasonable because vocabulary is formed of individual units rather than a sequence of rules. Nation (1990) makes clear that speaker's familiarity with words requires both receptive and productive knowledge. Briefly, receptive knowledge can be viewed as the ability to recognize and understand a word when it is spoken or written while productive knowledge can also be regarded as the ability to create a word when one writes or speaks. Therefore, it can be assumed that the words are recognized receptively first and after purposeful and incidental learning seem to be accessible to productive use (Zhou, 2010).

First and foremost, lexical attrition manifests itself in the first stages of the language loss, and this can be traced through determination of absent or modified elements in the oral discourse. This implies that when a term undergoes the process of loss, the speakers of that dialect avoid using it, and it is not passed on or transmitted to the next generation. Conversely, when speakers stop using some traditionally entrenched pre-cultural dialect forms, they have to substitute them with the latest patterns as they lose their impact on the inhabitants and culture. On the one hand, disuse generates a ferocious sphere of attrition particularly when the objects and things for which the words referred to become obsolete on account of their deep relations to the conventional customs no longer practiced. On the other hand, the effect of the existence of two languages or varieties which live side by side has either excluded a portion of one specific language or variety or filled in the huge linguistic gaps the language or variety begins to show signs of.

Lexical loss happens when the inhabitants of a particular region adopt and take on words and terms from a new neighboring culture which matches and conforms with their social class and prestige. Besides, the members of the community, particularly the younger people always attempt to discard some of the locally embedded pre-cultural words and this can be ascribed to the change in the self-esteem of the speech community (Saeidfar and Tohidian, 2012). A clear manifestation of lexical attrition can be justified as that dialect vocabulary in a regular and constant flux and acclimatizes to times and society (Beal, 2012). Consequently, the lower prestigious pre-cultural words and terms have become less effective and eroded over time. On the contrary, new critical words will acclimatize to new life styles, adapt to external contact, and become accustomed to modernity (Filipović and Pütz, 2016). This indicates that lexical attrition of

embedded regional vocabulary in the dialect is, to a greater extent, the outcome of modern acculturation or dialect fading.

Likewise, the decline in the frequency of pre-cultural words use among the young speakers of the community and the decline in the range of social areas of life allow traditional words to be affected by loss. Instead, loss is a result of innovation of new words in the community. The vanished words would end up replaced by new innovative words to keep up with the fashion in the speech for reasons of prestige, and that is most likely to help spread the new words to other members of the speech community. Introducing new words engenders a competition between different words that reach a point of non-use and consecutive abandonment. Consequently, the introduction of new words will trigger substitution. So when it is the time to explain the archaic words within the local rural dialect, what concerns most is the status of the words in terms of their sociolinguistic aspects.

However, the degree of language system deterioration depends on the number of words being disused in everyday life and the number of speakers who disuse the words and this is likely to provide empirical and decisive evidence of that phenomenon. This implies that the knowledge system may become worse and very hard to be accessed because of irregular input and frequent disuse of the first or primary language. As a result, the traditional words run away and contract as they slowly fall into abandonment among successive generations. The traditional words have become less common words and are most likely to be bound to be lost, like unique speech styles or register variants. In that behalf, the traditional dialectal words are being lost among the young generations, since there is a strong propensity for localized dialect terms to evaporate in favor of more prestigious, extensive, and nationally distinguished vocabulary items.

The amount of literature on traditional words loss is rather scarce. One attempt at providing an explanation and analysis of the lexical loss of a dialect can be found in Deli, et al.'s (2014) study, Saeidfar and Tohidian's (2012) study, Britain's (2009) study and Simmelbauer's (2000) study. Deli, et al.'s (2014) study was conducted to investigate the familiarity level of Sarawak Malay Dialect (SMD) words among the speakers of younger generations. This study included 50 SMD words consisting of a combination of popular and seemingly archaic dialect vocabulary. A 5-point Likert scale questionnaire was used and given out to 37 participants who are native of SMD speakers and their ages ranged between 13 to 26 years old. The general findings showed that approximately 50 percent of the words were not acknowledged and were very unfamiliar to the most of the speakers. The findings also showed that a quite number of words were identified and recognized as familiar to highly familiar but were less used in everyday dealings. However, minimal attrition takes place and indicates that words are rapidly failing into disuse among successive generations.

Saeidfar and Tohidian study's (2012) examined the impact of social class and age on attrition of some outdated words and expressions of Isfahani dialect. A questionnaire was given out to 120 male/female residents from three social groups each including 40 upper-social class; 40 middle-social class and 40 low-social class with ages range of 25 to 26. The questionnaire included 20 old words and expressions of Iran dialect. Each participant was required to mention the meaning in front of the words, they were familiar with. The results indicated that the lower the age, the less knowledge about the meaning of words. Besides, the lower the social class, the more knowledge about the meaning of the words.

Britain (2009) adopted a survey conducted by the Norwich-based Eastern Daily Press 1991. The regional newspaper carried out that survey of the local dialect words of Norfolk and north Suffolk in England. The principle objective of the study was to determine the degree of familiarity with local dialect words of Norfolk and north Suffolk in England among the younger people. The questionnaire compiled of a collection of local dialect words was dispensed across the region to adults of varying ages and school children, who were asked whether they were familiar and aware of the words proposed in the questionnaire. The findings showed that "those participants who were over 60 years old recognized over three quarters of the words, and those participants who were under 18 recognized less than one word in five" (Britain, 2009:124). Furthermore, the findings also showed that "words which were confined to Norfolk and Suffolk were less than half as likely to be recognized by adults and fourteen times less likely by the under 18-years-olds as those found beyond East Anglia"(Britain, 2009:125). As a matter of fact, the disappearance of lexical items seems to accompany localized entrenched words more than words with extensive geographical distribution (Britain, 2009).

Simmelbauer's (2000) conducted a study of lexical usage in Northumberland to determine the level of the traditional dialect lexis that had undergone lexical attrition. A questionnaire was designed to elicit 101 words. Interviews were conducted with subjects of both genders. The findings revealed that several words were known by few or no subjects, and the knowledge of others deviated according to the age or gender or location of the informants. The findings also provided evidence that many words had been eroded, while some of the traditional terms were confined to the elderly people. Simmelbauer asserts that female and male participants recognized the same number of the dialect words, and they tended to be very familiar with them (Simmelbauer, 2000:239).

3. Method

The present study involves two central methods of data collection. These methods are structured interviews recording with the old group members (control group) and a questionnaire among the young group members (study group) to determine the level of current knowledge and familiarity with the historical

lexical items. Therefore, the first step was to elicit the data (pre-cultural words) from old peoples' responses while they were making replies to the researcher's questions. These words are very unknown and unfamiliar to the researcher. The researcher prepared 82 questions in the native language. These questions covered a variety of topics. The second step was to compile a questionnaire to be distributed into the young participants. The questionnaire consists of 222 pre-cultural words. The pre-cultural words were selected on the basis of the researcher's unfamiliarity with and ignorance of. The control group of the study consisted of 20 old participants; and their ages ranged between 55-85 years old. Therefore, the average age is 65. The study group consisted of 400 school, college male and female students and other employees from different sectors across the region. This group's age range between 18-35 years old. It should be noted that all the involved participants of the study permanently reside in Al-Koura District.

The instrument of the current study is a 3-point Likert scale questionnaire rating for familiarity (Familiar, Uncertain, Unfamiliar). The familiarity rating technique is considered to be significant because it informs the researcher how frequent dialect speakers read, hear or use words and how well they recognize the meaning of certain dialect items. The questionnaire is used to elicit both qualitative and quantitative data. The questionnaire is based on a corpus of elicited interviews responses. The data being investigated is gleaned from those structured interviews. There were two sections included in the questionnaire. The first section of the questionnaire contained social questions about the participants' gender, age, level of education, participants' occupation, communal and social activities such as helping poor people and neighbors. The second section of the questionnaire consisted of a selection of pre-cultural words and terms that participants were required to fill in with a mark to show their knowledge of and familiarity with. The participants were also required to provide any other supplementary words that give the same meaning and refer to the same context to the marked words.

4. Data Analysis

The data was analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. Quantitative analysis was to find the occurrences of archaic words. Qualitative analysis answered the research questions regarding the level of familiarity of KRD old-fashioned terms among the young generation in addition to the effect of solidarity, level of education, gender and age on certain pre-cultural words among the young generations. ANOVA and Scheffe test were run to find any statistically significant differences among the participants' categories and variable.

5. Results

In this section, the researcher presented the results of the study. The traditional and pre-cultural words included in the present study were classified

into several spheres. The general spheres of life which contained the relevant words were classified as follows and the number of the words included in each sphere was marked as well: Food related words (13), Clothes related words (25), Glasses related words (2), Shoes related words (6), Housing internal-objects (52), Housing external-objects (27), Marriage related words (3), Names of Groups of people (3), Peoples' adjectives and professions related words (15), Animal related adjectives and objects (11), Women's' hairstyle related words (2), Coins related words (3), Weight units (4), Weather related words (10), Land related words (5), General social verbs (26), General traditional words (15). The overall total of the words is 222 traditional words.

This section aimed at identifying the traditional and pre-cultural words that have experienced attrition in KRD. It was used a specific equation to identify the phenomenon of lexical attrition in KRD. The equation was based on three main scales. Each scale was given a number in sequence. To be precise, Familiar was given number 1, Uncertain was given number 2 and Unfamiliar was given number 3. To this end, the highest scale value minuses the lowest scale value, and the total is divided into a number of the scales. The dialectal words that recorded the mean score between 2.35 and 3 were highly attrited. Whereas, the words that recorded the mean score between 1.68 and 2.34 were recognized as moderately abandoned. Otherwise, the words are considered to be familiar to the young speakers. All words included in the following table indicated that all words were highly unfamiliar to the young speakers. The table 1 presented an example of word of each sphere of life and the level of attrition.

Table 1: Means, standard deviation and percentage of the words.

N	Word	Mean	Standard deviation	Percentage	Level of attrition
1	alfæmænZor	2.72	0.56	90.6%	High
2	yazijat	2.77	0.47	92.3%	High
3	ξwinat	2.51	0.81	83.6%	High
4	Tæksijeh	2.79	0.47	92.9%	High
5	mestæhed	2.84	0.36	94.6%	High
6	fiabon	2.80	0.44	93.3%	High
7	Alfid	2.73	0.56	90.9%	High
8	Surbeh	2.77	0.47	92.3%	High
9	taref	2.84	0.36	94.6%	High
10	kokæh	2.81	0.44	93.6%	High
11	quðleh	2.54	0.72	84.6%	High
12	qærtæh	2.68	0.57	89.3%	High
13	Şaξ	2.65	0.58	88.3%	High
14	fielhæbon	2.73	0.49	90.9%	High
15	ξfir	2.77	0.47	92.3%	High
16	jexrez	2.84	0.36	94.6%	High
17	xænas	2.83	0.36	94.3%	High

It can be concluded that (168) traditional words registered the mean score between (2.35) and (3). These words achieved the percentage (0.76%). This

indicated that the relevant words were highly unfamiliar among the young speakers and pre-cultural words have become obsolete. These traditional words were not recognized or were not regular among most of the young speakers. The local dialect, thereby, is experiencing a kind of attrition because of dialects contact and some sociolinguistic factors.

The current study attempted to group participants on the basis of social factors such as gender, age and education. Then it looked at examining how certain traditional words were recognized by each specific group. The analysis presented in table 2 showed that there are significant differences at $p \leq 0.05$ between males and females. This indicated that the participants' use of the out-dated words varied. The females yielded a higher mean score (2.7045), whereas the males yielded a lower mean score (2.5944). This means that the male participants frequently recognize the archaic words more than the female participants. That is because they have a considerable contact with old people, meet with new people and move from one place to another.

Table 2: The mean, standard deviation and T-test by the gender variable

N	Sphere	V	Par	M	S	T-T	Sig
1	Food associated words	M	220	1.9342	.32339	4.08	0.00 *
		F	180	2.0878	.41101		
2	Clothes associated words	M	220	2.0213	.26911	2.25	0.02 *
		F	180	2.0873	.30809		
3	Glasses associated words	M	220	2.4250	.63659	1.75	0.04 *
		F	180	2.5477	.74082		
4	Shoes associated words	M	220	2.5130	.36245	2.65	0.00 *
		F	180	2.6091	.35865		
5	Housing internal-objects	M	220	2.2296	.32133	3.06	0.00 *
		F	180	2.3408	.39101		
6	Housing external-objects	M	220	2.4473	.32879	3.76	0.00 *
		F	180	2.6032	.46936		
7	Marriage associated words	M	220	2.2667	.44033	0.67	0.03 *
		F	180	2.2955	.40235		
8	Names of Groups of people	M	220	2.3537	.44539	0.25	0.01 *
		F	180	2.3652	.47030		
9	Peoples' adjectives associated words	M	220	2.4930	.34504	1.96	0.04 *
		F	180	2.5703	.44168		
10	Animal associated adjectives and objects	M	220	2.3523	.40368	2.85	0.00 *
		F	180	2.4761	.45514		
11	Women's' hairstyle associated words	M	220	2.4500	.49811	1.27	0.02 *
		F	180	2.5273	.68320		
12	Coins associated words	M	220	2.5463	.50415	2.35	0.03 *
		F	180	2.5712	.56239		
13	Weight Units	M	220	2.3819	.40284	6.35	0.00 *
		F	180	2.7398	.66140		
14	Weather associated words	M	220	2.4544	.33072	3.28	0.00 *
		F	180	2.5686	.35913		
15	Land associated words	M	220	2.6689	.39994	2.64	0.01 *
		F	180	2.7364	.41174		

1 6	General social verbs	M	220	2.5004	.34201	2.81	0.00 *
		F	180	2.6114	.42852		
1 7	General traditional words	M	220	2.5204	.39098	2.49	0.00 *
		F	180	2.6427	.55573		
Overall		M	220	2.5944	.33698	2.62	0.00 *
		F	180	2.7045	.47329		

The analysis also showed that there are apparent differences based on the participants' age. The results showed that the participants whose age ranged between 32-35 yielded the highest score (2.71). The participants whose age ranged between 18-23 registered the mean score (2.66). The participants whose age ranged between 23-28 yielded the mean score (2.65), while the participants whose age ranged between 28-32 registered the least mean score (2.64). Therefore, the overall mean score was (2.65).

ANOVA was run to find any statistically significant differences among the participants responses in accordance with the age variable. The analysis showed that there are significant differences across the traditional words of social life spheres. The results also showed that there are statistically significant differences at $P < 0.05$ level in accordance with the age variable among the young speakers. This implies that the age variable plays a vital role on the familiarity with and knowledge of the pre-cultural words. This is based on the F value that registered the score (0.352). The significant difference is (*0.011) level. The following table 23 shows the results of ANOVA analysis. The following table 3 presented the results of ANOVA analysis.

Table 3: The results of ANOVA analysis

N	Sphere	Source	Sum	Df	Mean	F	Sig
1	Food associated words	B	.069	3	.023	.165	*0.016
		W	55.407	396	.140		
		Total	55.476	399			
2	Clothes associated words	B	.384	3	.128	1.541	*0.042
		W	32.897	396	.083		
		Total	33.281	399			
3	Glasses associated words	B	.492	3	.164	.345	*0.039
		W	187.986	396	.475		
		Total	188.478	399			
4	Shoes associated words	B	.734	3	.245	1.864	*0.041
		W	51.977	396	.131		
		Total	52.711	399			
5	Housing internal-objects	B	.204	3	.068	.528	*0.010
		W	51.000	396	.129		
		Total	51.204	399			
6	Housing external-objects	B	.110	3	.037	.223	*0.009
		W	65.403	396	.165		
		Total	65.514	399			
7	Marriage associated words	B	.621	3	.207	1.157	*0.004
		W	70.901	396	.179		
		Total	71.522	399			

8	Names of Groups of people	B	2.382	3	.794	3.898	*0.000
		W	80.667	396	.204		
		Total	83.049	399			
9	Peoples' adjectives associated words	B	.131	3	.044	.282	*0.006
		W	61.453	396	.155		
		Total	61.585	399			
10	Animal associated adjectives and objects	B	.148	3	.049	.263	*0.013
		W	74.138	396	.187		
		Total	74.286	399			
11	Women's' hairstyle associated words	B	1.745	3	.582	1.685	*0.029
		W	136.732	396	.345		
		Total	138.477	399			
12	Coins associated words	B	.782	3	.261	.925	*0.025
		W	111.556	396	.282		
		Total	112.338	399			
13	Weight units	B	.114	3	.038	.119	*0.030
		W	126.406	396	.319		
		Total	126.519	399			
14	Weather associated words	B	.030	3	.010	.083	*0.019
		W	48.301	396	.122		
		Total	48.331	399			
15	Land associated words	B	.122	3	.041	.244	*0.014
		W	65.704	396	.166		
		Total	65.826	399			
16	General social verbs	B	.120	3	.040	.266	*0.023
		W	59.584	396	.150		
		Total	59.704	399			
17	General traditional words	B	.358	3	.119	.525	*0.033
		W	89.884	396	.227		
		Total	90.241	399			
		B	.176	3	.059	.352	*0.011
		W	65.990	396	.167		
		Total	66.166	399			

Scheffe test showed that there are significant differences between the four main categories of the age variable in favor of the categories (18-23) and (23-28). This makes the traditional words highly unfamiliar within the two previous specific categories. This is to ascertain that only two categories were highly affected by the attritional process, meaning that the age variable played a significant role in attriting and abandoning the traditional words among the young speakers. In other words, it can be suggested that the lower the age, the less knowledge of the traditional words. However, they might recognize the words, but they did not know their meanings. This is ascribed to the slight frequency of use among the two specific categories. It might be attributed to the little contact with old people. The following table 4 presented the results of Scheffe analysis

Table:4 the results of Scheffe test analysis

N	Sphere	Age	Mean	18-	23-28	28-32	32-
1	Food associated words	18-	2.0266	-	0.039*	0.935	0.256
		23-	2.0141		-	0.040*	0.476
		28-	1.9981			-	0.245
		32-	2.0410				-
2	Clothes associated words	18-	2.0758	-	0.021*	0.125	0.256
		23-	2.0753		-	0.012*	0.578
		28-	1.9976			-	0.962
		32-	2.0578				-
3	Glasses associated words	18-	2.5000	-	0.014*	0.874	0.145
		23-	2.5250		-	0.012*	0.658
		28-	2.4268			-	0.258
		32-	2.5000				-
4	Shoes associated words	18-	2.6122	-	0.027*	0.500	0.269
		23-	2.5597		-	0.013*	0.478
		28-	2.5346			-	0.562
		32-	2.4815				-
5	Housing internal-objects	18-	2.3189	-	0.024*	0.274	0.256
		23-	2.2712		-	0.010*	0.546
		28-	2.2699			-	0.314
		32-	2.2855				-
6	Housing external-objects	18-	2.5306	-	0.000*	0.846	0.145
		23-	2.5204		-	0.011*	0.963
		28-	2.5316			-	0.753
		32-	2.5778				-
7	Marriage associated words	18-	2.3312	-	0.001*	0.257	0.978
		23-	2.2528		-	0.010*	0.756
		28-	2.2642			-	0.124
		32-	2.2296				-
8	Names of Groups of people	18-	2.3333	-	0.000*	0.258	0.589
		23-	2.4528		-	0.019*	0.476
		28-	2.2439			-	0.245
		32-	2.4148				-
9	Peoples' adjectives and professions	18-	2.5399	-	0.024*	0.355	0.256
		23-	2.5361		-	0.031*	0.365
		28-	2.5065			-	0.986
		32-	2.5719				-
10	Animal associated adjectives and objects	18-	2.4156	-	0.004*	0.355	0.145
		23-	2.4104		-	0.003*	0.600
		28-	2.4146			-	0.362
		32-	2.4741				-
11	Women's' hairstyle associated words	18-	2.4673	-	0.006*	0.985	0.830
		23-	2.4667		-	*0.001	0.478
		28-	2.4756			-	0.782
		32-	2.6778				-
12	Coins associated words	18-	2.5338	-	0.021*	0.520	0.256
		23-	2.5500		-	0.012*	0.578
		28-	2.5569			-	0.962
		32-	2.6815				-
13	Weight Units	18-	2.5654	-	0.014*	0.586	0.756
		23-	2.5813		-	0.012*	0.159
		28-	2.5762			-	0.358
		32-	2.6222				-
14	Weather associated words	18-	2.5242	-	0.020*	0.457	0.256
		23-	2.5133		-	0.047*	0.759
		28-	2.5037			-	0.961
		32-	2.5289				-

15	Land associated words	18-	2.7111	-	0.021*	0.365	0.568
		23-	2.7250		-	0.041*	0.415
		28-	2.6805			-	0.962
		32-	2.6844				-
16	General social verbs	18-	2.5769	-	0.000*	0.258	0.330
		23-	2.5574		-	0.017*	0.222
		28-	2.5314			-	0.562
		32-	2.5744				-
17	General traditional words	18-	2.5730	-	0.039*	0.568	0.853
		23-	2.5794		-	0.040*	0.147
		28-	2.5813			-	0.235
		32-	2.6711				-
		18-	2.6642	-	0.039*	0.935	0.256
		23-	2.6543		-	0.040*	0.476
		28-	2.6406			-	0.245
		32-	2.7122				-

The analysis showed that there are clear differences between the four major categories of the education variable according to the mean scores. Respectively, the postgraduate participants registered the highest mean score (2.67). The secondary school participants registered the mean score (2.66). The diplomat participants yielded the mean score (2.65), whereas bachelor participants yielded the least mean score (2.63). Therefore, the overall participants registered the mean score (2.65). ANOVA was applied to find any statistically significant differences among the participants based on the variable of the level of education. The analysis showed that there are significant differences between the categories of participants. The results showed that the significant differences are at $P < 0.05$ level. This is based on the F value that registered the score (0.112). The significant difference is at (*0.005) level. The table 5 presented the results of ANOVA analysis.

Table 5: The results of ANOVA analysis

N	Sphere	Source of contrast	Sum	Df	Mean	F	Sig
1	Food associated words	Between groups	.106	3	.035	.254	*0.036
		Within groups	55.370	396	.140		
		Total	55.476	399			
2	Clothes associated words	Between groups	.481	3	.160	1.934	*0.022
		Within groups	32.800	396	.083		
		Total	33.281	399			
3	Glasses associated words	Between groups	2.016	3	.672	1.427	*0.031
		Within groups	186.462	396	.471		
		Total	188.478	399			
4	Shoes associated words	Between groups	.742	3	.247	1.884	*0.041
		Within groups	51.969	396	.131		
		Total	52.711	399			
5	Housing internal-objects	Between groups	.092	3	.031	.237	*0.020
		Within groups	51.112	396	.129		
		Total	51.204	399			
6		Between groups	.033	3	.011	.066	*0.029

	Housing external-objects	Within groups	65.481	396	.165		
		Total	65.514	399			
7	Marriage associated words	Between groups	.751	3	.250	1.401	*0.014
		Within groups	70.771	396	.179		
		Total	71.522	399			
8	Names of Groups of people	Between groups	1.624	3	.541	2.632	*0.010
		Within groups	81.425	396	.206		
		Total	83.049	399			
9	Peoples' adjectives and professions associated words	Between groups	.080	3	.027	.171	*0.016
		Within groups	61.505	396	.155		
		Total	61.585	399			
10	Animal associated adjectives and objects	Between groups	.049	3	.016	.087	*0.019
		Within groups	74.237	396	.187		
		Total	74.286	399			
11	Women's' hairstyle associated words	Between groups	.305	3	.102	.292	*0.029
		Within groups	138.172	396	.349		
		Total	138.478	399			
12	Coins associated words	Between groups	.115	3	.038	.136	*0.035
		Within groups	112.222	396	.283		
		Total	112.338	399			
13	Weight units	Between groups	.341	3	.114	.357	*0.010
		Within groups	126.178	396	.319		
		Total	126.519	399			
14	Weather associated words	Between groups	.107	3	.036	.294	*0.011
		Within groups	48.224	396	.122		
		Total	48.331	399			
15	Land associated words	Between groups	.159	3	.053	.321	*0.034
		Within groups	65.666	396	.166		
		Total	65.826	399			
16	General social verbs	Between groups	.124	3	.041	.275	*0.021
		Within groups	59.580	396	.150		
		Total	59.704	399			
17	General traditional words	Between groups	.039	3	.013	.058	*0.043
		Within groups	90.202	396	.228		
		Total	90.241	399			
		Between groups	.056	3	.019	.112	*0.005
		Within groups	66.109	396	.167		
		Total	66.166	399			

Scheffe test showed that there are statistically significant differences between the four major categories of education variable in favor of the secondary school and diploma categories. The descriptive analysis showed that the low or medium level of education has a great negative impact on the pre-cultural words prevalence and knowledge of among the participants who belong to the secondary school and diploma categories. The secondary school category yielded the mean score (2.66). The diploma category registered the mean score (2.65). This is to

determine that the merely two categories were typically affected by the attritional process. This means that the attrition process started at an early period of adolescence. It can be suggested that the lower and the medium level of education, the less knowledge of the archaic words. This also might be ascribed to the partial linguistic knowledge or partial linguistic experience, whereas a high level of education allows understandable knowledge of language (Bhat, 2017). Moreover, the participants might have a slight exposure to the traditional words. This might also refer to the variety used at the school and college which help to substitute the archaic words with new ones. The following table 6 presented the comparisons between the categories within the level of education.

Table 6: The results of Scheffe test analysis

N	Sphere	education	Mean	Sc	D	B	PG
1	Food associated words	Secondary School	2.021	-	0.025	0.258	0.65
		Diploma	2.016		-	0.030	0.12
		Bachelor	2.003			-	0.52
		Postgraduate	2.060				-
2	Clothes associated words	Secondary School	2.065	-	0.033	0.545	0.15
		Diploma	2.073		-	0.003	0.48
		Bachelor	2.010			-	0.96
		Postgraduate	2.121				-
3	Glasses associated words	Secondary School	2.550	-	0.007	0.576	0.48
		Diploma	2.542		-	0.009	0.54
		Bachelor	2.387			-	0.25
		Postgraduate	2.488				-
4	Shoes associated words	Secondary School	2.622	-	0.002	0.500	0.87
		Diploma	2.569		-	0.009	0.44
		Bachelor	2.530			-	0.15
		Postgraduate	2.496				-
5	Housing internal-objects	Secondary School	2.311	-	0.036	0.356	0.65
		Diploma	2.272		-	0.005	0.68
		Bachelor	2.290			-	0.15
		Postgraduate	2.284				-
6	Housing external-objects	Secondary School	2.541	-	0.000	0.589	0.46
		Diploma	2.527		-	0.003	0.22
		Bachelor	2.524			-	0.35
		Postgraduate	2.549				-
7	Marriage associated words	Secondary School	2.322	-	0.001	0.658	0.95
		Diploma	2.253		-	0.025	0.45
		Bachelor	2.305			-	0.25
		Postgraduate	2.186				-
8		Secondary School	2.338	-	0.011	0.555	0.88

	Names of Groups of people	Diploma	2.430		-	0.005	0.56
		Bachelor	2.283			-	0.24
		Postgraduate	2.441				-
9	Peoples' adjectives associated words	Secondary School	2.545	-	0.024	0.124	0.25
		Diploma	2.537		-	0.031	0.36
		Bachelor	2.515			-	0.98
		Postgraduate	2.556				-
10	Animal associated adjectives and objects	Secondary School	2.432	-	0.020	0.875	0.42
		Diploma	2.413		-	0.007	0.10
		Bachelor	2.409			-	0.36
		Postgraduate	2.436				-
11	Women's' hairstyle associated words	Secondary School	2.483	-	0.013	0.511	0.14
		Diploma	2.474		-	0.027	0.30
		Bachelor	2.491			-	0.22
		Postgraduate	2.569				-
12	Coins associated words	Secondary School	2.558	-	0.006	0.239	0.45
		Diploma	2.561		-	0.000	0.35
		Bachelor	2.544			-	0.26
		Postgraduate	2.604				-
13	Weight Units	Secondary School	2.595	-	0.020	0.895	0.35
		Diploma	2.591		-	0.030	0.25
		Bachelor	2.535			-	0.25
		Postgraduate	2.616				-
14	Weather associated words	Secondary School	2.535	-	0.001	0.245	0.12
		Diploma	2.510		-	0.000	0.60
		Bachelor	2.498			-	0.63
		Postgraduate	2.537				-
15	Land associated words	Secondary School	2.723	-	0.004	0.857	0.25
		Diploma	2.721		-	0.001	0.45
		Bachelor	2.685			-	0.97
		Postgraduate	2.674				-
16	General social verbs	Secondary School	2.585	-	0.003	0.630	0.24
		Diploma	2.559		-	0.041	0.54
		Bachelor	2.540			-	0.24
		Postgraduate	2.559				-
17	General traditional words	Secondary School	2.572	-	0.000	0.699	0.11
		Diploma	2.592		-	0.017	0.22
		Bachelor	2.596			-	0.33
		Postgraduate	2.592				-
		Secondary School	2.662	-	0.001	0.365	0.22
		Diploma	2.657		-	0.040	0.48

	Bachelor	2.638			-	0.95
	Postgraduate	2.673				-

Solidarity is an honorable sense of belonging together (Doreian and Fararo, 2012). “Solidarity refers to a kind of connection to other people, to other members of a group, large or small” (Laitinen, and Pessi, 2014:2). A sense of solidarity permits the speakers to maintain the local dialect (Wardhaugh and Janet, 2015). Solidarity is a blanket term that covers pro-social behaviors such as money-donating to vagabonds, donating money to charity organizations, helping your neighbors and voluntary community work (Koster and de Beer, 2017). The researcher addressed questions to the participants so as to understand the social solidarity level among them and towards the old people. The relevant questions to the solidarity markers were suspiciously selected to spot any effect that might help identify evidence of lexical loss among the young speakers. The answers of the questions construe solidarity between the individuals and towards the old people. This seems more likely to develop empathy between the individuals.

Solidarity can also be construed through disusing the associated words and this clearly interpret empathy among the young individuals. The results showed that the positive responses of the participants whose age ranged in the two categories between (18-23) and (23-28) recorded the score 358, whereas the negative responses of the participants within the same categories recorded the score 425. The analysis also showed that the positive responses of the participants whose age ranged in the two categories between (28-32) and (32-35) recorded the score 182, whereas the negative responses of the participants within the same categories recorded the score 199. The final results showed that there are no solidarity markers of the young speakers towards the old speakers. However, there is a higher level of social solidarity among the young speakers.

5.1 Discussion

Lexical loss, on the one hand, takes place where the dialect itself may have equivalent forms to represent one thing or one specific context for which they may indeed compete to make one form survive and the other one disappears over time or the referents, on the other hand, to which the words refer become obsolete. There comes to a point that the disappearance of referents will result in a loss of local words over time. Besides, neologism plays a significant role in the process of lexical loss. The creation of new words generates a situation that requires a competition between words that come into disuse and other words that ultimately substitute them. Respectively, the results also showed that gender plays a critical role in abandoning the pre-cultural words. The female speakers feel highly unfamiliar with such pre-cultural words. Females are committed to select the urban words as a symbolic sign of asserting their identity. Females are

expected to work outside the house, so they make close bonds outside cultural community.

Age variable seems to be most evident in lexical attrition. The results showed that the traditional words loss occurs during a specific period of time. The traditional words declined within only two categories of age. The categories that the speakers' age ranged between 18-23, and speakers' age ranged between 23-28. Speakers choose the words which are more urban and get rid of rural words. This indicates that the more the younger speakers, the greater the abandonment and neglect of the traditional words from rural dialect.

The level of education plays, to some extent, a considerable role in lexical loss, but not a strong predictive factor among the young speakers. The level of education is considered an ambivalent factor. The findings showed that a higher level of education seems less likely to either help to change to alternative words or more likely to be relevant to a higher degree of retention. More to the point, the results showed that attrition rate is lower among participants with a higher level of education. Differently, the attrition rate is higher among participants with a lower or medium level of education.

Solidarity is an important social variable used in sociolinguistics. The use of pre-cultural words seem to be a marker of group solidarity towards the old speakers. The results showed that the pre-cultural words are less likely to be used by a quite number of young speakers especially the participants of the two certain categories whose age ranges between (18-23) and (23-28). This means that the young participants do not attempt to build a strong communal solidarity and do not attempt to maintain their heritage words and culture. The disuse of the pre-cultural words in specific contexts increases solidarity among the young generations of speakers. The essential purpose of the abandonment of pre-cultural words is related to the sense of solidarity among and towards the young speakers. It is hypothesized that the stronger the social network, the greater the occurrences and frequencies of such pre-cultural words and the weaker the social network, the greater the abandonment and neglect of the pre-cultural words.

6. Conclusion

The pre-cultural words are commonly regarded to be the least satisfying and pleasant components of the colloquial local dialect. The pre-cultural words have been considered to be obsolete on account of their low beauty rating particularly in the eyes of young female and male speakers who shift to the urban counterparts owing to their high prestige rating with respect to the effeminateness and the masculinity. The pre-cultural words have been associated with only the older and uneducated rural speakers. The pre-cultural words have generally been used by the older, uneducated rural women, and, to a lesser extent, old men.

It can be concluded that the phenomenon of attritional process that appears to be most likely at the heart of lexical change among the young speakers

of the community, and this is the result of the agricultural occupations, animal husbandry and social traditions that have become fundamentally moribund. More specifically, the words and terms related to agriculture, local environment and cultural traditions and norms have been perceived as fossilized words. It can also be concluded that the rural dialect is more jeopardized than the urban dialect due to the influence of levelling and convergence processes.

The old speakers use the heritage dialect in its full lexical aspect, the middle young speakers are rather acquainted with the same rural dialect but employ mostly the governing dialect with its component, and the youngest speakers are less familiar with the heritage dialect and probably recognize and identify few words. The youngest speakers of the district are not used to emphasizing their rigid social ties with their district and differentiate themselves from the old speakers. The youngest speakers assimilate the radically social, economic and political changes over time, and proceed in conformity with these changes in favor of feeling much development in several sectors such as health, agriculture, trade and education which help to identify evidence of improving the standards of living.

6.1 Recommendations

The researcher suggests, firstly, that young and adult speakers should be well-acquainted with the pre-cultural words in Al-Koura Rural Dialect. This will eventually allow for a better and more natural comprehension of the out-dated and old-fashioned words. In effect, these pre-cultural words and terms should be inherited and acquired from successive generations and they should also be passed on from one generation to another to preserve our culture and its annexes from obliteration. Furthermore, it is recommended to allow the young speakers to show solidarity markers with their old group members to establish breeding grounds of interests and benefits to the entire society. On the other side, it is also recommended to support and contain the younger generations' interests and desires in combination with the latest developments; changes and new technologies so as to preserve the heritage of the local inhabitants and genuine cultural values in favor of society prosperity and progress.

Finally, it is also recommended that social cohesion and unity among the local members of the community should be strengthened to avoid any danger that might affect the local dialect, social behaviors, culture and the identity of its carries; that can only be achieved through reconstructing the culture thoroughly.

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Exploring the Effects of Teachers' Different English Accents within English Language Learning Classrooms: Students' and Teachers' Narratives

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Doi: 10.19044/llc.v5no3a5

[URL:http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a5](http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a5)

Abstract

The study explored the effects of different Englishes as a means of instruction in the English language learning classrooms at the English Language Center of the Salalah College of Technology. The methodology of the study was based mainly on the narratives and personal anecdotes of thirty students registered in the fourth academic level of the English Language Foundation Center. The narratives covered all possible interactions that the students who told them encountered, from the historical and spontaneous reactions, as well as associated motivation levels, to audially receiving the English language delivered from a wide array of English accented lecturers, spanning more than a dozen nationalities from all over the globe. A cohort of teachers was also interviewed and selected to further enrich and elaborate upon the data obtained from the students. The data obtained from the study revealed that the students expressed significant levels of positive attitudes and high levels of motivation towards the diversity of accents they encountered. In order to enable the students to communicate more effectively with other people, so as to reflect the global reality of English as a lingua franca, the pedagogical implications of this study recommended that teachers from various and different countries around the world, making use of different Englishes and different accents by which to enunciate them, be utilized and speakers of different Englishes from wider communication contexts be given preference for possible inclusion or exclusion.

Keywords: English, Learning, Accents, Teaching, Attitudes.

Introduction

The focus of this research was on the individual narratives of the students regarding the different English language teachers representing different countries and geographic regions. Salalah College of Technology

(henceforth SCT) is the only higher college of technology within the southwest corner of the Sultanate of Oman. SCT operates the English Language Center (henceforth ELC) Foundation, within which the first four levels of English instruction take place, as well as a Post Foundation, where students go on to study English together with a curriculum for one of several various specialties, including information technology, business and several different disciplines within the general field of engineering. In the ELC Foundation, there are a total of 85 teachers representing 15 different countries spanning the globe from as far away as the United Kingdom and North America to other Arabic countries, including the host country, Oman, and other geographical and cultural regions of the world such as the Arabian Gulf and northern Africa, which include the sovereign nations of Jordan, Sudan, Tunisia and Yemen. SCT has, at any given time, between 5-6,000 students attending each of its various individual schools and specialties. The ELC Foundation, acting in the role of introducing and taking students in, on the average, processes around 1,500 new students in each academic semester.

Literature Review

There has developed, in the most recent past, a shared concept amongst many language researches, that there exists not simply one variety of English that is used to conduct business and global affairs around the world, but rather several different versions of English, which has given rise to the now familiar moniker of 'world Englishes'. Use and circulation of this terminology, in turn, has given rise to the associated concept that, within the amalgam of what most users and researchers of the English language are aware, there also exists something called 'language varieties' (Galloway, 2013). Applied linguists have revealed and exhibited an unprecedented level of interest in the study of the different native varieties of English as well as non-native varieties of English relative to other research endeavors they have undertaken.

The notion of having a wide variety of world Englishes may be viewed as having both a wider and narrower language application, within the broader fields of English language and learning. According to Bolton, Kachru, and Braj (2006), the wider application of the concept subsumes a multitudinous number of approaches, encompassing many that are diametrically different from each other. The narrower application of the term, however, refers simply to schools of thought closely connected to the Kachruvian approach. According to Kachru (1976, p.236):

The strength of the English language is in presenting the Americanness in its American variety, and the Englishness in its British variety. Let us therefore appreciate and encourage the Third World varieties of English too. The individuality of the Third World varieties, such as the Indianness of its

Indian variety, is contributing to the linguistic mosaic which the speakers of the English language have created in the English speaking world.

Today, English is used all over the world by different lingua-cultural groups of people. Even in countries where it has no official status, as described in Kachru's (1985, 1992) expanding circle, it is increasingly being spoken internally and spontaneously, without the presence of calculation or forethought, and English has therefore become ever more indelibly etched into people's lives. Kachru's (1994) classification of English speakers into the inner circle, where English is a 'native' language, the outer circle, where it is a second language (SL), and the expanding circle, where it is learnt as a foreign language (FL) with no official status, this taxonomy has been influential in raising our awareness of the existence of different Englishes, as well as the increasingly diverse and numerous fields and contexts that suggest not only its feasibility but also its necessity in conducting general business and in resolving spontaneous issues and conflicts that may come up within the course of a working day.

Curriculum designers and educators need to recognize the fixed position of importance, as well as prominence, that English has played, and continues to play, in our always changing world, in addition to the circumstance that the global spread of English has made English and other circumstantial issues which contribute to making its usage even more multifaceted. Previous research findings also raise questions with regard to how English learning and teaching (henceforth ELT) should be approached and subsequently analyzed for potential future suitability. Jenkins et al. (2011, pp. 304-5) noted that research results related to the concept of English as a lingua franca (ELF) "have major implications for a multitude of common beliefs and assumptions about what is sanctioned as good practice by the profession". They argued that there exists a high degree of necessity for L2 learners to be exposed to the different varieties of English to better prepare them to use English globally. The same contention has also been stated by McKay (2002).

Research has been conducted on language learners' attitudes within different ELT contexts, which reveals a set of positive attitudes towards native English (Butler, 2007; Dalton-Puffer et al., 1997; Galloway, 2013; Rubin, 1992). Familiarity with native English and associated high degrees of personal experience were influential in Dalton-Puffer et al. (1997), where students were, once again, most critical of the English spoken in their own respective countries. The number of English courses students had taken with non-native English teachers was also found to be the best predictor of listening comprehension scores, highlighting the effect of familiarity with such non-native English accents on attitudes. Thus, it has been shown that attitudes are clearly complex structures whose very dimensions suggest that their various

intricacies may be influenced by a number of different factors. Studies have also looked at teachers' attitudes towards the role of world Englishes, but only a few of them have looked specifically at students' attitudes, which, once more, reveal some similar preferences for native English (cf. Erling, 2005; Grau, 2005; Kuo, 2006; Matsuda, 2002).

Matsuda (2002) concluded that more exposure to different English accents is needed to raise students' awareness levels of the diversity of English. As an example, the students in Grau's (2005) study, were open towards adopting the tendency of incorporating a perspective of world Englishes into learning, and they continued to demonstrate an unfailing preference towards the reception and production of native English. There has been little research on the examination of what an ELT course that incorporates a global Englishes perspective would look like, how effective it could ultimately be in persuading students to continue to study English, or the possible influence it may have on learners' attitudes towards any given target language. A limited number of studies have been conducted to attempt to resolve these issues (e.g. Derwing et al., 2002; Kubota, 2001; Shim, 2002). Derwing et al.'s (2002) research involved native English speakers, as well as Shim's (2002) study, which investigated the influence of world Englishes 'instruction' on non-native English speakers' attitudes, however, neither of them provided a detailed overview of how to incorporate a world Englishes' perspective into the classroom.

Research, which has investigated attitudes towards English language teachers, has also been conducted regarding their respective individual capacities, as well as associated attitudes towards them. For instance, Mahboob (2004) conducted a study that involved teachers with different mother tongues, but most studies have involved non-native English teachers that share the same mother tongue as the students and all reveal positive attitudes towards native English speakers (e.g. Cook, 2005; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005). Although students think both types of teachers have different capabilities, native English teachers are favoured for speaking and pronunciation skills (Barratt and Kontra, 2000; Cook, 2005; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005). However, the possible influence of students' proficiency on attitudes was raised in Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005). Thus, previous research suggests that most English language learners highly value native English and prefer to follow a native English speaker model. It must be noted that these studies utilized verbal and matched guise techniques, questionnaires, interviews, classroom observations, personal experiences and narratives. While verbal and matched guise techniques, at an overall level, elicit useful data, they reveal little about what influences individual and group-based attitudes within a given classroom. Therefore, there exists a need to conduct further investigations about the factors that may influence language learners'

attitudes, particularly in relation to the influence awareness-raising of world Englishes instruction may have on English learners' attitudes and motivation towards learning the English language.

Methodology:

This study replicates the study of Sung (2014) on students from the University of Lingnan in Hong Kong. Although the inspiration for this study came from the related study in Hong Kong, our research made use of an entirely different research tool. Whereas Sung's study employed semi-structured interviews and a questionnaire survey, our research made use of personal narratives of a combined total of 30 students and 6 teachers, including one teacher from the United States, the United Kingdom, Oman, India, the Philippines, and one other Arabic country, respectively. The main purpose of the study was to explore the effects of different English accents and the attitudes of the students towards them. All of the selected students came from the fourth academic level, out of a total population of approximately 300 students in the second semester of the academic year 2017-18.

Participants of the Study:

The sample of the study is mainly thirty students purposefully selected to participate. The sampling technique used to choose the participants was the purposive sampling technique. Thirty students were so selected based upon a set of metrics or parameters which included eloquence, ability to express themselves in more than one given received accent, and their scores on class oral interviews or individual spoken English presentations. Fifteen boys and fifteen girls were selected equally to represent any potential gender differences, as well as to obtain a more holistic picture of how motivation, attitudes and general tendencies can affect given populations. Additionally, the students were selected because they had theoretically been exposed to a minimum of 8 different English accents from the time they entered the ELC Foundation Program until they reached the fourth academic level of instruction. The six participating teachers were selected based upon the different Englishes they speak, and the respective accents that are used to pronounce these Englishes. The teachers were chosen based upon the prevalence of their particular accent as it relates to the English as a lingua franca, as well as their exposure to having taught in all four levels of the ELC Foundation Program.

Research Procedures:

The study was conducted in the second semester of the academic year of 2017-2018. After the final exams, and during the break between the second and third semesters, a schedule was given to the 30 selected students for the

interviews. The included students were purposefully chosen and placed within the interview process with the intention to gather an optimal level of information from them. All of the participants were interviewed over the course of three consecutive days, with approximately 10 students being interviewed to narrate their stories over that time. Classroom 29 in the English Language Foundation building was used to host the students on the three consecutive days. The researchers were both in attendance, equipped with a tape recorder. A formal consent had been previously obtained by the administration of Salalah College of Technology and the English Language Center, as well as for the individual participants selected.

Interview Procedures:

The interviews that were conducted and recorded began at 8:00AM in the morning. Each interviewee was provided 20-30 minutes to narrate their comprehensive learning experiences from the first to fourth academic levels, as well as the entire range of the different accents they were exposed to over that same cumulative time period. The interviewers were, to some extent, guided by the notion that having more than one accent within an English classroom or language learning experience would provide tangible benefits regarding the affected students' levels of motivation, proficiency, eloquence, and the ability and initiative to set goals for themselves. All of the students were recorded on tape, and pseudonyms for all of the participants were established to ensure professional levels of confidentiality. The qualitative data was then analyzed based upon various themes that help to provide answers to the main question posed by the study. That question was, specifically.

Is there an effect of different English accents used by teachers from different countries that exists within English language learning classrooms?

Findings and Discussion:

This section will discuss the findings of the study. To achieve this outcome, this section is divided into two subsections. The first subsection deals with the student's narratives regarding being exposed to different Englishes, specifically the influence of being exposed to different types of English on their general levels of achievement and improved attitudes about continuing to study the language. The other subsection will shed some light on the perceptions of the six teachers who were selected and interviewed to investigate their observations of the classes, composed of the previously described students, that they have been teaching.

Student Narratives:

As mentioned earlier, the interviews consisted of a total of thirty students narrating their experiences. These students were in the fourth level

of instruction in the ELC Foundation Program. In these collective interviews, the opinions of the students will be reported collectively, as major trends and attitudes have emerged as predominant viewpoints.

Regarding the influence of world Englishes and English accents on the learning outcomes for students, 28 students have confidently stated that by being exposed to various aural stimuli and influences throughout their four semesters of foundation instruction, wherein they were being taught by different teachers who speak different Englishes, ranging from native to non-native speakers, they have gained a positive outlook on their perceived ability to understand the different varieties of English they have heard. These outlooks, in turn, help to spur their own virtuous cycle of personal development. In the first place, students in these situations have been able to successfully employ two-way communication with each of the individual teachers who all potentially hailed from different countries, and brought their own English language conventions and accents with them. Furthermore, students have gained new or additional exposure to several different varieties of English spelling, vocabulary and usage conventions which will inspire their curiosity and ability to understand and thrive in future communicative situations and endeavors. These findings have proven to be consistent with the previous results of Shim (2002), Mahboob (2004), Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005), and Sung (2014). Moving from the inside of the classroom to the outside, these same 28 students will also be able to make use of their newly found receptive and productive English skills when they choose to read and understand books, as well as go to movies, or even communicate with people in their individually chosen social and creative milieus. As with the first stated benefit, these findings have also been reported in previously conducted researches, as reported in the literature review. Examples include Kubota (2001), Derwing et al. (2002), Shim (2002), and Sung (2014).

Interestingly enough, there also emerged a small collection of thought (the other 2 students out of the selected 30) who demonstrated a clear and unmistakable preference for the individual English accents that are the most conventional, and emanate from the United States and United Kingdom. Although this preference was not absolute, the two students recommended giving these two Englishes a distinct level of priority over the other received pronunciations and usages they were exposed to. It should be noted that the other Englishes these students received were not regarded as inferior, rather, they simply perceived that the two predominant varieties would be of more assistance to them at their immediate levels of learning. The two students have admitted that non-native speakers who had taught them throughout the levels they have passed through were equally competent, able to teach given material in front of them, and effectively disseminate the knowledge they had transmitted through the prism of their own individual accents.

Teaching Narratives:

The six participating teachers have generally stated, based on their observations throughout their teaching experiences, that the majority of the students they have taught across all the foundation levels have exhibited a considerable level of positive attitudes towards the different English accents. It was also mentioned that students attempted to speak, and actively engage, in English, making use of the very same accents that they had previously been exposed to. These teachers, hailing from the United States, the United Kingdom, Oman, India, the Philippines, and another Arabic country, submitted narratives based upon all of their extensive years of experience, including previous time spent as teachers in the ELC Foundation Program. Although they were interviewed individually, similar findings and reactions were recorded. As reported by the teachers, the students were found to exhibit increasingly positive attitudes towards the different English accents of the teachers, and their motivations to learn English remained the same, in spite of the differing nature of the individual Englishes they have been exposed to. Another intriguing finding that was recorded by the majority of the six teachers was that the individual marks achievements of individual students, from the first level of foundation instruction to the fourth level, was consistent throughout all of the levels, suggesting that the different accents and personal vocabulary sets of the different English teachers had no adverse effect upon the students' ability to improve their capabilities and comprehension, creating a metanoic atmosphere.

Conclusion and Recommendations:

From the findings of this research project, it can be concluded, that the exposure to different English accents is an enormous asset that carries with it many potentially beneficiary educational and vocational outcomes at the individual level, as well as at an institutional level. For the students, and as reported previously, the exposure to different accents and language conventions have developed their general level of English, as well as their attitudes towards studying it for future purposes. A common misconception, still held on the part of many individuals and stakeholders in the institutionalized process of education delivery, is that such exposure can only hinder students' language development. However, as reported by the results of this study, this has been proven to be a falsely held premise.

It is therefore recommended that those stakeholders and policy makers responsible for hiring and procuring well qualified English teachers make a concerted effort to include a diverse linguistic background and potentially different originating accents of English amongst the teachers who will be ultimately selected to cater to the students' needs, as well as the needs of the individual institutions.

Another recommendation that can be made in this regard is the incorporation of these different Englishes as distinct and important parts of present and future college English curriculums and delivery plans.

Limitations of the Study:

There are several limitations to this study which make any conclusions drawn or results to be generalized very difficult, only with another study in similar contexts and participants that were found and selected in this study. In the first place, the research method employed, which was the personal narrative, is one that may be regarded in its own right to be a shortcoming, but due to prevailing time constraints, as well as the controlled nature of the study environment, was adopted out of basic necessity. Other more conventional research tools, such as in-depth interviews, questionnaires and observations, could certainly be used for future research endeavours. Other constraints include the total period of time, the number of participants expected to submit comprehensive narrative accounts within that time, as well as a wider number of participants, including both the number of students and teachers included, and the potential of including other stakeholders from administrative and supervisory divisions. In order to obtain more insightful and accurate information, it is highly recommended that the total number of participants, and by extension a longer period of time, be employed for future research endeavors on this general topic.

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Traditional Shrines and Artefacts in Oroko Land: The Judicial, Ethical and Social Significance

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Doi: 10.19044/llc.v5no3a6

[URL:http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a6](http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a6)

Abstract

Prior to the introduction of Christianity and modernism in Oroko land, many traditional shrines and artefacts existed in the land with far reaching influences on the culture of the people. A study was conducted to find out the judicial, ethical, and social significance of traditional shrines and artefacts in Oroko land. Six prominent shrines and artefacts were studied: *luwa la mboka*, *bole bwa ngomo*, *ekili*, *etana*, *nya lioh*, and *isimbi*. The Oroko believe that these traditional shrines and artefacts are important to them in many ways: protection of their communities from harm, either from internal or external forces and sources, communication with the living and the dead (ancestors), maintenance of order and discipline in the villages, moral behaviour in homes, respect for one another, but especially for the elderly, and above all culture continuity.

Keywords: Shrines, Artefacts, Ethical, Judicial, Oroko Land.

1. Introduction

The greatest danger in African religion is that the old should disappear, without some new religious force to take its place. Unchecked individualism, self-seeking, corruption and materialism are the great enemies of modern Africa. Yet the past has been so thoroughly impregnated with religion and its ethics that it is difficult to see how an ordered society can be established without them.

(E. G. Parrinder, *African Traditional Religion*: 146)

When Parrinder talks of religion and its ethics that filled the African past, we think of the social order that existed within the African traditional belief systems and religion. These belief systems and religion are exhibited in the many traditional shrines and artefacts that are found in Africa and used by Africans for specific purposes. Shrines and artefacts are sacred relics in a traditional religious formation with idols, trees, stones, images, and statues often erected over them as immemorial objects of worship and activity. The

traditional artefacts, which are non-verbal symbols of communication and authority are held in high esteem by the people of the community in which they are found. Thus, Parrinder's concluding words in his book *African Traditional Religion* (1962) that 'the dead are felt to be ever near, and no people have a greater consciousness than Africans of the reality of the watching "cloud of witnesses"' (3) describe Africans' belief systems about the dead through these shrines and artefacts. This is because the Africans believe that the dead (ancestors) have a role to play in the lives of the living and that they have to be revered through the shrines and artefacts ordained for them. Christopher I. Ejizu in "*African Traditional Religion and the Promotion of Community Living in Africa*" attests that every social group evolves its distinct ethical code. Every society has its norms of acceptable behaviour, taboos and prohibitions. Many traditional African groups have, in addition, motivational features and incentives through which compliance to the norms of approved behaviour and social ideas are encouraged. There are equally rituals of purification, as well as punitive measures that try to deter and curb the tendency to deviate (6). All of this is true to the judicial, social and ethical significance of traditional shrines and artefacts in Oroko land. The fact that the ancestors have been enshrined in these various shrines indicates that their spirits have to be summoned to assist at important crises in life. These shrines and artefacts are put in places to serve frontality, and the figures are composed to give them permanence and durability. Sacred shrines, like artefacts, are among the noblest activities of Oroko peoples' genuine art and manifestations. These arts are directed towards expressing the infinite beauty of creation in works made by human hands in Oroko. Shrines in religious cultures are human relation to divinity, to reverence, worship, obedience and submission to mandates, precepts of supernatural beings and they perform the duties for which they are made. The Oroko people, whether converted to other religions or not, are a people who respect their traditional shrines and artefacts because of the role they play in shaping their lives as a people.

In this paper, we shall describe six prominent traditional shrines and artefacts in Oroko land; namely, *luwa la mboka*, *bole bwa ngomo*, *ekili*, *etana*, *nya lioh*, and *isimbi* and discuss their judicial, ethical, and social significance in the culture of the Oroko people.

2. The Oroko Ethnic Group

The ethnic group which is today known as Oroko was formerly and, in fact, is still known by some as the Balondo. The Oroko are made up of ten clans: Bamusso, Bakoko, Batanga, Bima, Bakundu, Balondo, Ngolo, Mbonge, Ekombe and Balue. It is fallacious, therefore, to refer to the Oroko as Balondo as is common place. To make this clearer, it is important to note that the Oroko are found in both Meme and Ndian Divisions of the South West Region of

Cameroon with more than half of the surface area of Meme being occupied by three of the Oroko clans: Bakundu, Mbonge, and part of the Ekombe. The other seven clans are found in Ndian Division. The Oroko are so hospitable, honest, trustworthy, and peace loving that their history has no substantial traces of tribal wars, be they inter-or intra-tribal (1). Basically the Oroko are farmers.

Historical evidence has it that the Oroko are a people of the Bantu Negro race like the Duala, Bakweri, Balong, Bakossi etc. who originally settled in the Congo Basin. According to oral sources, there were two waves of migration that brought the Oroko to Cameroon and to their present settlements in the Ndian and Meme Divisions. This oral information is corroborated by Godwin Penda Itoe in “The Ngolo: A Cultural History”, quoted by Ekole Chabanga Michael in “The Form and Content of Oroko Birth Songs” who intimated that the Bantu group that moved from the East African Region:

[...]migrated southwards to Angola through Southern Rhodesia. From there, it migrated along the Atlantic coast to the coastal region of Cameroon [...]. Those who settled around the Rio-Del-Rey region are said to be the ancestors of the Oroko people. (1994:10)

This explains why the Batanga found around the coast of Kribi and the Batanga in Oroko have the same tradition. This is also why the language spoken in some parts of the D.R. Congo (Lingala) is similar to some of the dialects spoken by some clans in Oroko.

3. Description Of The Shrines And Artefacts And Their Significance

A) *Luwa la Mboka* (Fig 1). At the entrance into every Oroko village, there is supposed to be a “*luwa la mboka*”, some sort of a door that leads to the village. It is important to mention here that not all Oroko villages still have this because of the intrusion of the new religion and modernism. The *luwa la mboka* is made up of so many things. First, there is some sort of a door curtain made of the young raffia palm leaves that beautify the entrance to the village. On this, one can perceive the things hung on the leaves. These are fresh fruits of alligator pepper harvested from the forest. The alligator pepper acts as protective amulets that x-ray each person entering the village. In case a visitor carries any destructive objects, the fruits are believed to transmit information to the elders of the village of the impending danger. Second, there is a plant on which the raffia palm leaves hang. The plant never gets dry no matter the season. The plant, which often grows into a tree, is significant too, as it is medicinal. This plant is used during the circumcision of all the male children born in the village. During circumcision, the leaves of the plant are harvested, squeezed and applied on the circumcised penis of the baby. This helps the

wound to heal fast. On both sides of the *luwa la mboka* are two small fences. Inside each little fence is a wooden dish called *eboki*. In the two dishes there is cooked food, most often boiled plantains and meat steeped in palm oil. This food is offered to the village ancestors and gods for having provided for the village throughout the year with the aim of establishing a covenant between the people and their ancestors and gods. The ancestors are believed to share in the food which they have aided in producing so that the village can be self-sufficient in food and, therefore, experience no famine.

The ropes used on the *luwa la mboka*, whether on the curtain or on the fences are all significant. One of them is called *bwendende*, a large forest rope that holds the sticks of the little fences together. This rope is significant in that it acts as a binding force among the villagers because as it binds the sticks of the fence together, it is believed to symbolically bind the people together, so that the village can never fall apart and keeps the village intact. Another forest rope called *epinya* is used at the *luwa la mboka*. It is also medicinal. The *epinya* is sometimes used on a woman who gives birth to a set of twins to stop it from recurring, because it was, and in fact still believed that to have a set of twins was or is an ill omen and some punishment to the parents. The *epinya* is tied on the woman's waist at the time of birth and she can stay with it as long as she breast feeds the babies. These ropes also act as deterrent to witches and wizards.

Another artefact found at the *luwa la mboka* is the *ngombo*. This is a bundle set below the curtain of the *luwa la mboka*, held by two forked sticks. At times it is a stone with four stripes of chalk on it (see fig.1). Under the stone or inside the *ngombo* are medicinal leaves and other components. These elements help to bring order and discipline in the village. The elements set underneath the stone also sooth the hearts of the villagers to the extent that it is difficult for villagers to use dangerous weapons like a gun, machete etc. to harm another villager or even think evil against the entire village. The *luwa la mboka* in itself adds beauty to the village. This beauty helps to attract attention to the means of worship. The *luwa la mboka* is used by the village elders during traditional ceremonies to get to the spirit world and in the life forces that come from the life of the spirit through incantations and certain rituals.

There are two socio-judicial rituals associated with the *luwa la mboka*; namely, *etonga mboka* and *bwiande*. The *etonga mboka* is a traditional ritual during which the village is cleansed of all impurities such as killings, adulteries, theft, etc., such that the village prepares itself for better harvest, more births, and less death. The *luwa la mboka* ritual called *etonga mboka* is done annually and only in the dry season, often in the months of November and December. This is done to take the village to a more prosperous level for the coming year. During the *etonga mboka* (usually four days) considered the days of peace, no one is allowed to break firewood, saw timber of any sort

with any instrument that produces unbearable noise. Quarrels during this period are not entertained by village authorities, nor is beating up someone taken lightly. These are considered acts of spiritual infirmity and call for cleansing rites. The four days of peace are believed to be the period when the spirits are supposed to be enjoying peace and tranquillity so that they can work effectively to effect positive change in the lives of the villagers. It is believed that during this period, the village elders who perform the *etonga mboka* ritual communicate the problems of the village to the ancestors and spirits. The supplications are made to the gods in request for more money, food, meat, children, etc. Oroko's communication with their ancestors is in line with Parrinder's words that "To the Africans, the spirit world is so real; near, its forces intertwining and inspiring the visible world that, whether pagan or Christian, man has to reckon with things invisible to mortal sight (3). A case in point of the atonement of crime is when a person commits a sacrilege during the four days of peace. Purification rites are performed immediately to appease the gods of the land and the person concerned pays a fine depending on the gravity of the crime, with part of the fine given to the ancestors.

The *bwiande* is a ritual with a social, entertaining and judicial role. It is a singing masquerade that comes out from 10pm-4am during the four days of peace (*etonga mboka*). Its melodious voice entertains the population while they are relaxing in their beds after their daily chores at home and in their farms. The *bwiande* creates fun while exposing all the wrong doings of the villagers, whether individually or collectively done in the land. Though it creates fun, the *bwiande* is endowed with the mystical power to know even those things done in hiding like stealing, adultery or fornication etc. The *bwiande* denounces all these ills and puts individuals to shame in song. It debunks lazy people and it acts as the village police that caution the villagers of all their misdeeds. After doing so, the villagers are left to do a self-judgement and often the guilty ones do not go back to commit these crimes. It is worthy of note that the *etonga mboka* and all the activities that take place at the *luwa la mboka* are exclusively a male affair and women are exempted for several reasons. First, women are generally known to be the non-custodians of peace especially because of their talkative nature and because men want to keep the secrets of the village and tradition from invading modern values. Secondly, because women can marry out of the tribes there is the fear that they may reveal the village and tribe secrets to outsiders.



Fig1. Luwa la mboka (Source: Researcher's Photography)

B) Ancestral Stone (*Bole bwa Ngomo* or *Mabando ma Mboka*) (Fig 2).

The ancestral stone (*bole bwa ngomo*), otherwise known as *mabando ma mboka*, is another important place of worship that is found in all Oroko villages. This is a stone usually planted in the middle of the village around which all public traditional ceremonies or activities take place. It is also referred to as the ancestral stone. It is at the ancestral stone that all traditional oaths are taken. Once here, the accused person is obliged to tell the truth and nothing but the truth, failing which devastating consequences may befall the person. Such consequences may include an incurable disease like epilepsy, insanity, etc. If someone takes the oath and pleads not guilty, whereas he committed the crime, the person mysteriously dies after a few days. The Oroko believe that the *bole bwa ngomo* has supernatural powers. When one is accused of witchcraft, adultery, theft, or other crimes, one is called upon to prove his/her innocence by sitting on the stone and a ritual performed on him/her. If the person is innocent, he is exonerated by the simple fact that nothing befalls him or her after the oath taking process. Also, if a person is thought to have been bewitched, he/she is taken to the *bole bwa ngomo* and a ritual called *ebune* is performed on him/her to stop the wizard or witch from killing the person. This is the judicial significance of the *bole bwa ngomo*.

It is on the *bole bwa ngomo* that a base drum is played during every ceremony while the smaller drums are played around it. So, all formal traditional ceremonies that involve the village take place here. The *bole bwa ngomo* and its environs act as playground for village and traditional celebrations. It is believed that the ancestors (*melimo*) reside here, and most of the time, it is here that communication with the ancestors and gods is done. The elders in the land of the living commune with the inhabitants of the land of the "living dead" at the *bole bwa ngomo* in a ritual before such ceremonies can hold. This is to ensure that the ancestors have accepted and are at peace

with the occasion. Thus, during such ceremonies, people who assemble at the *bole bwa ngomo* commune here with one heart and spirit as they sing and dance round the stone in harmony. This is another binding force of the village. In *Things Fall Apart* by Chinua Achebe, the market place serves, not only as a place to sell things to each other in standard trade, but also as a meeting place. All village meetings and judgments hold at the market place. The market place is important to the traditional Igbo community as the *bole bwa ngomo* is important to the Oroko. This is because it is here that traditional ceremonies hold, cases are judged, and crucial decisions concerning the villagers and the clan are taken, thus bringing about its social, ethical and judicial significance. For example, it is at the market place that the men of the clan meet to discuss the murder of a clanswoman in the markets of Mbaino (*Things Fall Apart*, 1958.) Thus, the *bole bwa ngomo* is a symbol of love for one another, respect, reverence, unity, and justice for all.



Fig 2: The Ancestral Stone (*Bole bwa Ngomo* or *Mabando ma Mboka*)
(Source: Researcher's Photography)

C) *Ekili* (Fig 3): The *ekili* is a small fence built in the middle of the village. It is another symbol of peace in every Oroko village. It is believed that every villager's heart is represented in the *ekili*. Only one person is allowed to put his hands in the *ekili* for any cause, but not for a cause that can be detrimental to the villagers and the village. This person is the *moweke mboka*. The *moweke mboka* is the traditional authority of the village. He is the keeper of the traditional seal of the village. He is the only one who is allowed to weed off all the unwanted plants in the *ekili*. What is found here is food offered to the ancestors and the gods and this content is put during the four days of peace (*etonga mboka*). It is during this period that the content of the *ekili* is renewed, signifying renewed modes of life of all the villagers wherever they are and that

the villagers have renewed their commitment to the ancestors and the gods. In fact, even the keeper of the village seal, who is the traditional authority (*mowele mboka*) is not allowed to always visit the *ekili*, otherwise he may become suspicious. The *ekili* acts as the village security and women are excluded from the ritual talk, and even from going closer to it for obvious reasons. This little fence also contains certain medicinal plants that are used for the security of the village and also for the cure of certain diseases like epilepsy and those caused by witch hunting.



Fig 3: *Ekili* (Source: Researcher's Photography)

The *ekili*, per excellence, is the heartbeat of the village and this is another important sacred place where ancestral veneration is done. It is revered by the Oroko because of the importance attached to it. To corroborate the fact that Africans revere and respect their sacred places, Philip Musoni, had intimated in his “Contestation of ‘the Holy Places in the Zimbabwean Religious Landscape’: A Study of the Johane Masowe Chishanu yeNyenyedzi Church’s Sacred Places” that the Zimbabwean:

Chivavarira hill continues to be an icon even after the tribal wars. The hill continues to be given respect due to two important phenomena. First, the indigenes of Chirumhanzu continued to revere the hill for its numerous caves which are now burial shrines for the chiefs...Secondly, the hill continues to be sacred because of the big cave at the centre which is to the indigenes a religious shrine for ancestor veneration.
(<http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v721.3269>)

To Musoni and Zimbabweans, the natural endowment, the Chivavarira hill and the caves therein become a revered place because this is where their chiefs are buried. This shows their respect for authority, whether living or dead. It is in the hill that the ancestors are venerated. Thus, to the African, “authority does not forget a dying king”.

D) *Etana (Fig 4 and 5).* The *etana*, also known in local parlance as *palaver house* is a house built in the middle of the village where all meetings of titled and initiated men are held. Cases that are not supposed to be heard by women, children, untitled, and uninitiated men are judged and judgment handed down in the *etana*. Thus, it is a traditional court that handles judicial cases. It is here that vital issues concerning the village are also discussed. Lessons of moral behaviour are taught to young initiates in the *etana*. It is worth noting here that other visiting males from other Oroko villages can be allowed to enter the *etana* only if they can show proof that they had been initiated into the secret cult that allows them to be members back in their villages of origin. Every male of a particular age is supposed to be initiated into this cult which is the lowest of the secret societies, called *itondo* that teaches men how to lead responsible lives in their homes and communities. Any man who does not belong to the lowest secret society (*itondo*) is considered a worthless man whom Chinua Achebe refers to as “*efulefu*” in his *Things Fall Apart*. Suffice here to note that most Oroko villages lost their *etana* with the coming of the Christian religion to Oroko land. Ekoi Peter Myango submits that the missionaries dealt ruthlessly with our culture and with the proliferation of law courts, most of these secret societies and shrines have stopped to perform the judicial role they were well known for and aspects of cultural values were indiscriminately burnt. (4)

The *etana* also serves as a touristic site as far as the Oroko tradition and culture is concerned, being the custodian and museum of all sacred traditional artefacts, values, and masquerades. Mekunda in “*Oroko Oral Poetry as a Didactic Tool in the Education of the Cameroonian Girl Child: The Case of Disongo Songs*” (2006) posits that the missionaries, with their early converts had within 40 years of their existence on our land, wiped our culture when they burnt each *etana* in many Oroko villages (5). However, some Oroko villages like Itoki, Mbu, and Ngolo Bolo stubbornly and intelligently refused to allow theirs burnt. Some of the villages that lost theirs to fire rebuilt them stubbornly after the establishment of the Christian churches in the villages for culture continuity



Fig 4: The Researcher with the *Etana* and *Ekili* as background of the picture *Researcher's Photography*)



Fig.5.The Researcher in front of the *Etana*, nobody enters the *Etana* with shoes. (Source: *Researcher's Photography*)

Figure 5 is the *etana* of Itoki village that was built between 906-1908. It is worth noting that formerly, the *etana* in Itoki had only one door, not until most Itoki able-bodied men were killed in the war, known in Oroko land as

Bila ba Nakeli, (Nakeli's war), while the men were in session. The *etana* was burnt down by soldiers who were fighting for Germany under the pretext that the village was harbouring a criminal called *Nakeli Nw'embeli* of Ikoi in Ngolo, who had caused the Germans so much trouble and resistance to their rule in Ngolo. Nakeli escaped from Ikoi and found refuge in Itoki. When the German soldiers arrived in Itoki, and found the village men in session in the *etana* but could not be allowed to enter because they were not initiated and titled men, they thought *Nakeli Nw'Embele* was hidden in there among them, so they burnt down the *etana*. Itoki lost close to 500 able-bodied men during the war against *Nakeli Nw-Embele* and the Ngolo Resistance to German rule in Cameroon because there was no door at the rear of the *etana* through which they could escape and the men who came in to rescue the others were all killed in the process. This oral source of history is corroborated by Ebune Joseph Betoto when he states:

The commander of the German patrol asked the interpreter to close the only door leading into the etana with all the men locked inside. The house was set ablaze while the German soldiers made sure that no one escaped. Those who attempted to escape were shot. (Epasa Moto, 2015)

E) Nya Lioh (Figs 6 and 7): The *nya lioh*, otherwise called the evil forest, has as constituents to the entrance, some of the things found at the *luwa la mboka*; namely: the curtain, the stone planted underneath, etc, which serve the same purpose as described before. One cannot access the *nya lioh* from any direction for whatever reason. It is believed that the *bwiande* emerges from the *nya lioh*. The *nya lioh* is a traditional policy of forest conservation that helps in various ways and for certain purposes. The policy of forest conservation is so strong among the Oroko that nothing is ever taken from this forest, even by the village elders, let alone entering it without the permission of the traditional authority. The use of the word "evil forest" helps to keep scoundrels, ordinary villagers, and strangers away from invading the forest. No one is allowed to extract the bark of trees, leaves, timber, stones and everything found in the evil forest. If one is sick, somebody, usually an initiated male of a certain level and class, is sent to look for herbs in the evil forest to treat the person. Usually, if you hear people say *okweli ileya nya lioh* (you have cut the cane of the evil forest), this means that one has committed an abominable crime that requires purification rites and the atonement of the gods. The *nya lioh* is the only forest that is not supposed to be tempered with in every Oroko village because of the medicinal value attached to it and because of the forest conservation policies adopted by the said village.

The *nya lioh* is preserved for several reasons: a) for the effective use of traditional rites performance like the *etonga mboka*, b) for natural vegetation and medicinal plants, c) for forest conservation policy, and d) for cultural education and moral development.



The Entrance to the Evil Forest

Fig 6. The Entrance to the Evil Forest (*nya lioh*) (Source: Researcher's Photography)



Fig7. Picture of the sign post in the *nya lioh* with the inscription “No hunting, No Fishing, No Cutting”, note that “D” has been used in “diah” on the sign post of instead “l” for convenience in pronunciation (Source: Researcher's Photography)

As the song goes *olaka osa mekele, elaka nwana nyongong' a uwaka mokol' o mbenge* (eat but do not exhaust, one of yours is on the way) that there usually should be reservation for everything we do, so too is with forest conservation because future generations will always need it. It is worthy of note that the security of the evil forest is carried out by *bwiande* (the singing masquerade) and the most dreaded masquerades in Oroko land because of its importance. The evil forest (*nya lioh*) showcases the love for nature of the villagers and the Oroko. Death sentences are implemented in the *nya lioh*, to the extent that if a relative is taken there, his family members know the fate

that awaits him. This, however, happens only when a hideous or unpardonable crime has been committed that requires nothing less than execution. The *nya lioh* activities are exclusively male affairs.

Like the Oroko in Cameroon, the Igbo in Nigeria hold their shrines and sacred places in high esteem because they “serve many purposes that aid sustainable development. They are the trusted avenues for conflict resolution, social control, cultural education and moral development, thus, they are instrumental to sustainable development [... that] desacralizing of African shrines has conversely enhanced the rate of corrupt practises at all levels in many African societies” (Onyedinma and Nwachukwu, 46). Thus, sacred shrines and traditional artefacts in Oroko do not have to be desecrated and destroyed for many reasons.

F) *Isimbi* (Figs 8 and 9): The *isimbi*, a type of a talking drum and one of the numerous talking drums found in Oroko land, is a traditional non-verbal symbol of communication used to transmit messages in Oroko and used in Oroko folklore; therefore, it is an artefact. It is usually played alongside other drums during a traditional festival. Exceptionally, the *isimbi* is played alone when there is an impending danger in the village to alert the villagers of the new development. It is also played when an intruder invades the village, during wars and during attacks by alien forces. In the case of the death of an important traditional authority, the *isimbi* is taken to the highest points of all the forests around the village and played there to send the news to neighbouring villages about the death. It is also used to summon all initiated men into the *etana* for emergency purposes. The *isimbi* has different rhythms for different messages and occasions and everybody knows the different sounds and their purposes. It is a dominant symbol because of its tremendous potential as an effective means of communication in the oral cultural background. It is a prominent traditional artefact in the socio-cultural and religious dynamics of the people’s life. Other than the above significance, the *isimbi* is also a force-pulling and a rallying instrument in the village. Thus, in every traditional Oroko village, no one gets its sound without immediate response and without inquiring what the matter is.



Fig. 8 *Picture of the Isimbi in front of the Etana* (Source: Researcher's Photography)



Fig.9. *A Village Notable Playing the Isimbi, there is an Occasion* (Source: Researcher's Photography)

Conclusion

The study revealed that though Christianity and modernism have been a threat to the existence of traditional shrines and artefacts in Oroko land, the Oroko still believe in the importance of traditional shrines and artefacts in their culture. In their belief system, traditional shrines and artefacts serve a multi-purpose function, including protection of Oroko communities from external evil forces, communication with the living and the dead (ancestors), maintenance of order and discipline in the villages, moral behaviour in homes,

respect for one another, and especially respect for the elderly, and above all culture continuity.

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Multiple Consciousness: Laye Camara 'S *The Dark Child* and Richard Wright's *Black Boy*

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Doi: 10.19044/llc.v5no3a7

[URL:http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a7](http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a7)

Abstract

This article re-examines Camara Laye's *The Dark Child*, a major African literary canon novel, against the tendency to consider it a non-confrontational novel regarding racism and colonization. From a multiple colonial historical background, this book's pretentious title, compared to the consciousness of its American counterpart (Richard Wright's *Black Boy*), fails to give satisfaction to important issues of the clashes between Africa and the West. The unique aspect of this article is that it reveals how the ostensible African black boy got stuck many a time in the quicksand of color.

Keywords: Camara . Color . Multiple consciousness . Black boy.

Introduction

"One can successfully write about the African experience without creating a conflict between the races. (...) I find it meaningless to create a fictional dramatization of racial tension or to talk (...) of racial discrimination in a restaurant."¹

--Laye Camara

"The Negro writer who seeks to function within his race as a purposeful agent has a serious responsibility. In order to do justice to his subject matter, in order to depict Negro life in all his manifold and intricate relationships, a deep, informed, and complex consciousness is necessary."²

--Richard Wright

A reader's life history can sometimes come to strongly mingle with stories he/she reads, especially when the materials are autobiographies. I want, therefore, to hold from my personal viewpoint that the act of reading an

1 "Camara Laye: Commitment to Timeless Value". Interview by J. Steven Rubin. *Africa Report*. (May 1972). Retrieved from http://www.webguinee.net/bibliotheque/camara-laye/commitment_timeless_values.html

2 Richard Wright. "Blueprint for Negro Writing". 1937. in *African American Literary Theory: A Reader*, by Winston Napier, ed. (New York: New York University Press, 2000), p. 49

autobiography is itself an autobiographical act. My reading of Camara's *The Dark Child* and Wright's *Black Boy* is illustrative of this.

The central idea of this paper stemmed far back from my childhood reading experience, and so did my controversial encounter with the issue of race and its implications in my understanding over the years. This paper intends to discuss the difficult boundaries in understanding race as addressed in *The Dark Child* and *Black Boy* with regard to the 'blackness' of the main protagonists of these two autobiographies.

Too often readers tend to minimize the importance of their life histories in favor of jumping into theoretical discourses. My point is that in processing texts, of whatever genre, which are associated with race, blackness, whiteness, and Otherness, a reader ought to consider in fine detail the origins of the prejudices, opinions, and historical events (for example German, American, and French colonialism in my own case) that enable him/her to make interpretations.

Perhaps with the advent of slavery, and certainly by the beginning of European colonialism, race has been a complex and shifting concept. Scholars versed in post-colonial theory and more recent developments in Diaspora studies and world literature have encountered and entered this terrain with a degree of vitality and intellectuality³ that have re-charted the direction of literary studies over the last several decades. Notwithstanding the re-mappings, critical problems and gaps persist, in significant part, because of structural and institutional frames associated with the American and European provenance of the sources and resources. For example, in the United States, despite the 1890s advent of pan Africanism, stewarded by W.E.B. Du Bois, often called its "father" figure, the African-American intellectual canons have been internally focused. Figures like Frantz Fanon disrupted this, but by and large the canon was itself segregated from Africa and other minority canons within the United States.

One need not detail the deep and manifold implications here, for many scholars on all sides of the Atlantic know them well enough, but it is worth pointing out and iterating the obvious *omission*: caught in the clutches of this

3 Quite a bit of this scholarship has been, unfortunately, too esoteric, and thus not useful for change. One of the abiding complaints about post-colonial theory, which has re-directed it toward the perspective of the common people, is that it is too academic and European or American. This reality has been largely pointed out by Gayatri Spivak in "The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues", ed. Sarah Harasym, London, Routledge, 1990 and Matthew Libman in "Postcolonial Cultural Affiliation: Essentialism, Hybridity, and the NAGPRA", ed. M. Liebmann and U. Rizvi (2008). *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*. New York, Altamira Press, pp. 73-90. The complaints have been highlighted by Rita Arahamsen in her "African Studies and the Postcolonial Challenge". *African Affairs* (2003). 102, pp. 189-210 before she fully engaging in challenging the dismissal of the theory and its appropriateness in addressing African studies.

dynamic are small West African countries, those little known to the canon, whose place in the “black Atlantic” remains, for all intents and purposes, an invisible vacuum.

Illuminating case studies from these invisible vacuums are useful, for the racial micro-politics of nations declared post-colonial—the continuing influence of colonial powers is too well known to dispute—simultaneously reveal fissures between the privileged location the African-American canon enjoys and make possible bridges to abrogate or ameliorate such divides. One particular example, known to me personally as a native and professionally as a scholar of literature, is the complex intersection of *erased* race, (post) colonialism, and Francophone African autobiography in Togo, a West African country. *The Dark Child*, the title of the autobiography, is the rich, contradictory site to begin this examination, for unlike Richard Wright’s 1945 classic, which centered race in America, Laye Camara’s *The Dark Child* (1953) erases France, and thus distorts race for its francophone African audience. The francophone African readership may be disserved by this erasure, but broad terms are incommensurate with the intense micro-politics of Togo past and present. As I demonstrate in this essay, the invisible vacuum into which Togo lies in *terra obscura* is amplified by the post-colonial legacies of Germany and France, and a little-known history of the Tuskegee Institute’s 1901 expedition, that make race in Togo resonant with the paradox of culture: it is both everything Togolese, German, French, and African American, and yet, thanks to Camara’s *Black Boy*, much ado about nothing.

Although the book’s title was racialized by Plon⁴, the French publisher, many readers seem to agree with the writer’s refusal to involve in confrontational issues against the colonizer. Camara seemed not to care about the heights and affects of racism and colonialism, and many readers could think that only the book’s title was affected by color. As a matter of fact, *The Dark Child* has generally and in aberrant ways been construed as being centered on African culture and civilization, thus both covering and effacing cultural legacies of colonialism. Existing scholarship about this work mostly followed in Camara’s steps of using Western eyes to blur race. In a 2003 essay, Afagla who interestingly covered already a comparative analysis of both Camara and Wright’s classical autobiographies held that Camara’s “cultural integrity is judged to be total and he does not feel separated from his people by an inner distance, but by a geographical space” (8), and that “French colonialism had not been totally negative because he had no identity problem as a result of the colonial encounter” (ibid), thus voicing the author’s ostensible attachment to his traditional Africa although he was living and

4 The book’s initial title had been *L’Enfant de Guinee*, which will literally be *The Guinean Child* in English.

writing on a distant land, in colonial France. Afagla and other scholars could highlight Camara's blatant separation from his people, his being strongly influenced by color. They rather succeeded in consolidating Camara's faking ties to the African continent.

Camara's quotation which opens this essay is a 1972 interview with Steve Rubin in which the author, voicing his pretentious choice to demarcate his writing and themes from racial issues, described his perspective in self-assured tones. Alluding to how segregation/racism occurring in American public facilities is unabashedly and bluntly denounced by some African American writers, he thought it was futile to do so, when speaking about his African experience. This quotation which also expresses Camara's authorizing his manifesto as a writer opens a breach for examining the way in which he blatantly fails to avoid friction between races, except that he rather keeps the racial fire burning.

I want to give a brief account of Togo, a country with multiple colonialist histories, which expectedly yields, in readers' mind, to a complex and multiple consciousness in terms of interpreting literature, race, double-consciousness, and postcolonial issues, as it does importantly add to them.

I. Background to the Need of Multiple Consciousness

Like other African countries, Togo forcibly experienced the brutalities resulting from Europe's late nineteenth-century invasion of the continent. Being in a 'no-man's land' between two then existing kingdoms (Ashanti to the west and Dahomey to the east), the people of what would be later known as Togoland mainly lived on agriculture, hunting (rich, vast plains mainly in the south), and fishing (the Atlantic Ocean, lakes, and rivers).

The coastal populations first experienced connection with German missionaries in 1847. Later on, German traders followed suit. Some of the fetishes they worshiped "forbade the presence of Europeans in some areas" and were employed "as an organized form of resistance to European rule" (Zimmermann, 2008: 130).

European powers recognized Togoland as a German colony in 1885 after Gustav Nachtigal, a German imperial commissioner had signed a first protectorate agreement with Mlapa III, the chief of Togoville, a coastal town in 1884, in Germany's attempt to claim colonial territory like Britain and France. Many achievements, ranging from churches and schools to roads and railroads soon mapped Togoland and showered the German colonizer with great pride.

Local industries existed in Togo and already assured some economic independence to local people, mainly weaving and pottery. Togolese weavers claimed paternity over the well-known *Kente* cloth since the eighteenth

century before they were attacked and subjugated by the Ashanti⁵. Interestingly, cotton was well known and manipulated into handicraft by the natives long before the arrival of Europeans. Pottery industry flourished mainly in the region of Tove and assured some economic independence to women especially. Tragically, the pottery industries of Tove were attacked by German colonizers, breaking apart the pots and burning down houses, during an expedition led by Gruner and Lieutenant von Carnap in 1894 and 95⁶. The economic freedom was a threat to colonial Germany whose major concern was to establish German supremacy in the region. As a matter of fact, fear of Germany was ‘successfully’ spread after that dreadful attack, even to neighboring Gold Coast. Less, then no, consideration was given to local industries, the means of which were thought to be irrational, thus savage, by colonizers, henceforth the necessity to civilize them, necessity to relegate local weaving to the backstage. The invitation of the Tuskegee Institute scholars to Togo by the German government worked to both reinforce this view about the people of Togo and suppress in them their endeavors for economic independence.

The arrival of Tuskegee members late December 1900 marked a new step in reinforcing the colonial stronghold in Togo. Alabama’s presence in Togo was controversial because it was an all-black expedition and the natives would have felt closer to them but their first lodgings in Tove were the huts taken by force from natives by the German army. Most surprisingly, although sharing the same race, Tuskegee members had a totally debasing view about the Togolese.

As a matter of fact, just five months after their arrival in Togo, John Robinson succeeded in gathering elements about the Togolese, sufficient for him to side with European views about black people. That unforgettable presence which served to assist local population with agriculture was also conspicuous by abusing more the natives in Togo. The description of the Togolese in a report that he sent to their master Booker T. Washington back in the U.S. was shocking. Describing the Togolese along with animals by viewing them through the colonial telescope, Robinson proudly wrote: “The picture here in, represent[s] the force of cows, horses and boys trained to help with the technical (sic) part of the work. I speak of them together for I am quite sure that it was more difficult to train the boys than to train the horses” (128). It was not difficult for Robinson to give a view of people and animals together.

5 Most complete story about this can be found in *Encyclopedia of African History Volume 1*. Kevin Shillington, ed. (2005), New York, Taylor and Francis Group.

6 Andrew Zimmermann covered this story and more in his groundbreaking work: *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South (America in the World)*. Princeton, N.J, Princeton University Press, 2012. Reprint

Associating human beings to animals was not new in that context and just reinforced how black people were treated during Slavery with the association of men to horses, women to cows, and children to pigs. This description erases the humanity of the people he had to train. Moreover, Robinson who was thinking of the Togolese as living in an irrational world on irrational means—irrationality belonging to animals—reduced the men he was training to boys, a way of infantilizing them, which emphasized his own position as a master and ‘the boys’ as slaves. It is more demeaning when he thought his assigned horses were easier to teach/tame than the Togolese people.

That colonial view of Africans is no longer to be discussed here. The last paragraphs of Robinson’s report highlighted too his internalization of racist views of Africans. A portion of this runs: “We are getting on well as can be expected being so far from civilization. There are ten only civilized persons within a radius of 50 miles or more (...) (129)⁷. The benightedness of the African continent as projected in the reporter’s mind made him believe he was “far” from America, the City upon the hill, the civilization *par excellence*, and the way they felt in Togo was no surprise to the expedition, since it was unquestionably expected. When mentioning ‘civilized persons’ in this famous report, Robinson was simply referring to the 107 Germans present on the Togolese soil before the arrival of ‘prestigious’ Tuskegee there. All the non-Germans—non-whites—were logically uncivilized, in Robinson’s terms. This sadly and tragically biased view of Africans added to the irrecoverable trauma Germans already caused in the region raises questions about Tuskegee and its presumably humanitarian projects for Africa, its role as henchman beside European colonial strategies.

However, assuredly and more expectedly, the expedition helped set up a cotton school in the south that “gave three years of training in cotton growing to male students from all over the colony” (Zimmermann, 16). Cotton was one of the cherished raw materials at the turn of the century, and local populations, while growing cotton did not enrich the traditional weaving industries they had but served to enrich German textile industries, boosting Germany’s economy. The income was not used to assist the population in terms of economic independence. Moreover, Germany’s vow to make Togo a *Musterkolonie* could not quench off its thirst for demeaning brutalities against local populations. At least, neighboring colonizers viewed German policy in Togo in terms of “brutality, lack of educational opportunities, and forced labor.” (Zimmermann, 17). Basically, native populations were all the time “subject to rigid colonial justice that made *much* use of corporeal punishment (emphasis mine)” (Stearns, 2008: 134). The colonial justice mentioned here

7 Barbara Kraft, Louis Harlan, and Raymond Smock, eds. *The Booker T. Washington Papers*, Vol. 6: 1901-2. University of Illinois Press, 1977

dealt more harshly with people who refused to submit to the colonizer's order. This form of justice replaced the existing traditional administration before the arrival of German colonizers. Brutal treatments occurred mainly during institutionalized forced labor, which peaked with railroad constructions.

Surprisingly later, the Togolese eye-witnessed Germany's defeat during World War I, which largely contributed to bringing down the ramparts of Germany's supremacy there. The event left the land's fate into the hands of both Great Britain and France first, and then of France alone. A part of the land was given as a reward to the British who brought it under its Ghanaian jurisdiction. However, France did not want to follow the British example by allowing the rest of the land to join Benin but kept it as a separate country with a north-down-to-south frontier of two French-colonized countries. In more than many regards, France's role in every single reality of Togolese life has been questioned since, a France whose ubiquitous presence in the life of Togolese has opened another Pandora's Box to the nation. The complexly difficult ties France imposed on its colonies were so tightly close that it got a name: *Françafrique*⁸. France's special control over political and social life in Togo dismally shines even after the country was declared independent in 1960.

This multiple colonial experience, yet far from disappearing, is one of the unique one and yields in more than a double-consciousness. This reality of colonialism is reflected in daily lives when it comes to sending a mail to a different country or finding a direct flight to the U.S. They should be transited through France first. So, with that type of complex consciousness in mind, let us see how dissatisfaction grew about a book that pretended to describe the reader's life and tried to say he/she can make it without being influenced by the spreading tentacles of colonialism.

II. Camara and the White Color

As the debate seems to be over among scholars in the United States and Europe, I want to raise some "coloring" issues that seem to be overlooked, using my personal experience as a native of a West African country with a triple history of European colonialism: German, British, and French colonialisms.

It is a well-known fact that *The Dark Child* was published in Paris, France in 1953 and quickly emerged to the center of francophone African literature as its acknowledged first autobiography. Many readers and critics, especially in the U.S. unquestionably refer to this writer as Camara Laye and thus naturally use Laye as his surname, which is not one. The writer's real

8 Consider, for example "The Dark Side to French African Ties." NPR Broadcast. <http://www.npr.org/2013/02/15/172130146/the-dark-side-to-french-african-ties>. Feb 15, 2013

name is Abdoulaye (the full for Laye) Camara. Camara is known to be a large family patronymic in Guinea and neighboring countries such as Senegal and Mali. The inversion of names from Laye Camara to Camara Laye is nothing typically African but a colonial fact, a result of the French colonial system in Africa. As a matter of fact, to make a distinction between the French and local people, the colonial masters instituted this form of inversed appellation, last name first, first name last. This in many regards sounds like a strategy of dehumanizing African people before colonial Europe. The situation is so complex that it sows much confusion, not only in Africa but everywhere in the world, when it comes to knowing the difference between first names and last names of people from French-colonized backgrounds⁹.

Without attempting to reinvent things, this is the reason why it is just normal to refer throughout this work to the author of *The Dark Child* as Laye Camara, not only to make him a normal world writer but also make readers and critics understand that, whether African or not, his name—and other name as well—has no special reason to be inversed. Actually, when in the very text of *The Dark Child*, Marie, one of his girlfriends, is referred to many times as “Madame Camara” (160) and not “Madame Laye,” it speaks volumes about this reality. Therefore, the use of Camara throughout this essay just as Balzac, Eliot, Hugo, Turgenev, or Wright would be used, correctly fits in.

Camara wrote his autobiography in the colonial France and intended to publish it with the initial title *L'Enfant de Guinée*. The book's reception initially invited controversy as Camara's contemporaries were rather versed in vexatious issues of colonization's dehumanizing effects on African people and then using literature as a political tool to right things. Many people, however, lionized the book for its authenticity to African culture and civilization. In francophone Africa mainly, where students were early introduced to Camara's book, it becomes a challenge to later read Richard Wright's *Black Boy* without thinking about *L'Enfant noir*. Through a thoughtful contrasting comparison of the two books, Afagla successfully underscores this fact and even plays with the idea that: “As both [books] share the same title, the reader's natural assumption is that they might address the same issue, in more or less the same way” (2003: 2). There is a veiled project by Camara to take a distance from his origins, which can be discovered by the reader. In the context of *The Dark Child*, race relates to the people of Camara's traditional environment who share the same cultural values. This could be understood with the many uses of this word especially in the first chapter. One can understand his being part

⁹ Examples among many are to be found with Camara Laye, Sembene Ousmane, and the long-time president of Togo; actually, Wikipedia and many other sources have always presented him as Gnassingbe Eyadema, and use Eyadema as they would use Obama, Myung-bak, or Pahor.

of this race as his father helps explain things to him. Several times does he use “our race” to emphasize this (*The Dark Child* 24, 25, 26) but suddenly writes in the next chapter where he mentions the word for the last time: “my father had spoken of the guiding spirit of his race” (37). The absence of Camara’s association with the father’s race also marks the beginning of his distance from his origins, of his veiled, but now unveiled, “white” preferences and when at the coming of age, he could be later praised to reach the “white man’s” wisdom, there should be no doubt. This is also to be construed as an expression of self-denial. Other choices by the writer increase the reader’s disbelief in his African authenticity.

Evidently enough, color does not seem to matter for Camara. He does not appear to be influenced by race, by color, although he grew up under colonialism. Nonetheless, the choice of colors by Camara in his *The Dark Child* raises suspicion about his being both influenced and trapped by color. In the exaggeratedly idealized world of the protagonist, where events unfold smoothly and take him to places of dream, where black humanity is made to surpass the boundaries of colors, one color mainly exists: the white color.

Let us consider how he describes his hut when he returns home from Conakry where he attends the French school. “Each time I went home for my vacation I found my hut newly plastered with white clay. My mother would hardly wait to show me the improvements she had made from year to year” (169). Clay, whatever color, is mainly used to either distemper or whitewash houses in African rural zones. This simply gives a new look to the dwelling places, just like the role lime plays in city houses. This is, unless otherwise, what the protagonist’s mother was doing over the schooling years of her son. But the way Camara evaluates this “improvement” work of her mother, the way he evaluates the role ‘white’ clay plays on his mind, and the transformation it gives to his hut do not seem to be innocent. He does not clearly claim that, among the huts in the household, only his personal hut profited from his mother’s art but there is great belief it is so. Camara made the maternal figure of the book choose particularly her son’s hut to make it white. She does not simply or naturally make it white in sight but what actually occurs here is, “Originally [Laye’s hut] had been like the other huts, but gradually it had begun to *acquire* a European look” (*italics mine, ibid*). The Otherization of family members’ huts explains Camara’s gradual intellectual and spiritual distance from his origins. How can an essentially African hut, because it was simply chosen to be whitewashed would *acquire* a European look? No other masonic art was applied to this hut, neither was its architecture modified. Camara might believe in progress with the look of his hut, when it turns from what it originally, African-wise, was to what it was gradually, European-white-looking, becoming. The original color of Laye’s hut is not revealed, probably purposefully, but its white, therefore new, color is clearly

voiced. Moreover, the choice to simply whiten Laye's hut, and henceforth foster European look, "made the hut more comfortable," and for him this was unquestionably "tangible proof how much [her] mother loved [him]" (ibid). The maternal love that just grows on white-looking walls remains questionable. Moreover, he continues claiming that "Though I spent most of the time in Conakry, I was still her favorite. That was easy to see, and the appearance of my hut emphasized the fact" (ibid). This is another form of strangeness in attitude. If this was the reason for her mother to increase love for him, if her mother chose to make his hut look European, it would mean his mother was encouraging her son to turn European in his future. However, the mother's adamant opposition to Laye's departure for France does not seem to support this idea.

Laye Camara's 'Francophiliness' is no longer to be questioned, neither is his faithfulness for French school tradition. But more than that, Camara was simply and too loudly fantasizing about whiteness. For instance, the day came when Laye was getting prepared for the airport, to 'bitterly' leave Africa, his beloved family, and his effortless mother who was internally paining to let her son go away, this time farther from her. At this time, Camara chose to describe his clothing: "I was wearing white cotton trousers, a sleeveless sports shirt open at the throat, sandals, and white socks" (187). This picture is, for many reasons, difficult to represent. There is a priori nothing wrong with this type of clothing only that its representation will meet with a complication. As if the other clothes, shirt and sandals, were not any colors, *The Dark Child's* protagonist chose to reveal the color of his cotton trousers and his socks only. This choice to not reveal the color(s) of the other clothes cannot be any haphazard occurrence. The reader can easily guess the other clothes are not colorless. They simply are *not* white.

In addition, Camara's linking beauty with whiteness is not limited to hut and clothing only. Two girls mainly marked Laye's love story in the book. One was in his early school years and the other he met while at Collège Georges Poiret, a vocational French school in Conakry.

Laye's first love was Fanta, a friend to Laye's sister. It was genuine love between two young persons, the type of love that expresses itself only through naïve and sly behaviors. Camara never revealed Fanta's color and never did he openly express description of her beauty. However, it did not take him long to comment on the color of Marie, the second girl he was in love with when he moved to town to continue schooling. He describes Marie as being "a half-caste. Her skin was very light, almost white" (158). Comment on her beauty unsurprisingly follows: "She was very beautiful, surely the most beautiful girl in her school. I thought her (sic) as beautiful as a fairy" (ibid). Again, Camara's silence about Fanta's color, evidently as naturally black as himself, and stressing Marie's forced whiteness and ensuing fairy beauty is

too informing about the author's fantasizing about whiteness, about colonial Europe. Whereas Camara would not describe Fanta in her clothes with much emphasis, he would depict Marie wearing "European clothes" to highlight the "Guinean tunic" (ibid) she wears sometimes during her helping with house chores in his uncle's home. The fact that 'half-caste' Marie could be (very) beautiful might not raise a problem but Camara did not yield the room to doubt about her being the *most* beautiful in her school by using the word 'surely'. In real life, Camara married a certain Marie Lorifo, described as a light-skinned woman, in 1954 and got four children with her. Like in the case of the description of his clothes en route for France, Camara is careful about the description of who will later become true love, true beauty.

Camara lived with other African contemporaries in France and could not ignore the relationship the colonizer established between color and beauty and could have paid attention when it comes to portraying beauty along with color in his African-celebrating book in which many African youths will definitely not see themselves.

The relationship whiteness-beauty created in Camara's mind does not take him to love and dwelling place only. Young Laye's journey on foot to Tindican, his mother's birthplace, was full of marvels, foreshadowing more pampering upon arrival. Excited walk with uncle, dislodged beasts, flying and fleeing birds marked the journey and rendered the walk less tiring; and so did conversations with the uncle. One of the most interesting conversations was about newborn calves. The uncle talked to young Laye about a white cow that gave birth to a calf with a star on the forehead. The appreciation Laye comes to is no surprise: "It must be very beautiful" (45). Remarkably, Camara does not use colors a lot when describing people, places, and things in this book but when it comes to highlighting the slightest presence of whiteness, he does not hesitate. Whether it is the long threads (103, 4, 7, 8), the "boubou" (113, 4), or Kouyate's father (120), Camara would be carefully highlighting what appears to be white in his environment, slowly but carefully devaluing the traditional grounds that prevail in his environment, even the wisdom of his ancestors. One important example is revealed by the praise song for him preceding his departure for France. The song praised him, saying: "Already thou art as wise as the White Man, (...) Verily thou art as wise as the White Man" (142). The argument presented by Camara, under the mask of poetry, is quite problematic for a variety of reasons. Given the nature of Camara's European orientation, from the traditional Mading perspective his claims work to undermine structures of African autonomy in a way not unlike the colonial regimes. Much of this knowledge is represented, traditionally, by the wisdom of his African ancestors, the Manding griots. Camara's Eurocentrism reveals itself in two very important ways in this passage. The transcendence of whiteness dictates Camaras's hand, for it is not a simple white man, but the

“White Man” who serves as the model Self. This European Self is inaccessible to the reader, for the poetic rhetoric adds a temporal divide to the ethnic and ontological ones. In this regard, “Verily thou art as wise” is at once poetic, suggestive of Elizabethan poetic form, and biblical. “Thou art” authorizes Camara as a God-ordained creative Self, one that would be acceptable to a French audience.

Reading Frantz Fanon’s *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) offers important clarification about blacks’ psyche regarding whites. Richard Wright’s call for consciousness seems dangerously to be overlooked by the West African, African black boy, who by the ostensible dint of bringing his work beyond times falls into the trap of white supremacist view.

More interestingly, the first paragraph of *The Dark Child* has always questioned my mind about Camara’s evaluation of the white readership he targets when writing his book in France. Many autobiographies about childhood often open with the age of the narrator, except, unless otherwise, for slave narratives where the narrators usually have a vague idea about their age. During slavery, the law did not allow to keep record of the birth date of children which were born. Moreover, babies were separated from their mothers at early age; therefore, not only was motherly affection lost, children (born candidates to slavery) were cast to have a vague idea of their age too. Frederick Douglass’s *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* is one example. When Camara puts this question right at the beginning of a narrative: “How old would I have been at that time?” and answers by “I [cannot] remember exactly. I must still have been very young: five, *maybe* six years old” (emphasis mine, 17). This hesitation about his age both feeds and reinforces stereotypes about people of African descent.

III. Troubling Contrasts with two ‘black’ Boys

The above troubling remarks about *The Dark Child* portray the reader’s refuting the book’s failure to respond to colonial environment but made him/her quickly but assuredly find a close way into critical issues that prevail. Contrasting elements that cut the bridge between that book and *Black Boy* are too evident to be discussed more here.

One contrasting idea that easily shows up while reading the two autobiographies under consideration in this paper is the use of race. In the context of Richard Wright, race clearly means color. Issues opposing white victimizers and the victimized blacks are so clearly and circumspectly showcased in *Black Boy*.

Richard Wright is largely understood as someone who sees race in almost everything, even where he should not. Wright’s strong ties to the central concern of his 1937 essay, quoted as epigraph, can be quickly felt in his *Black Boy*. Growing amidst and at the same time refuting the racially

onerous environment of the American south, his deep consciousness, as one can encounter many times in his book, was “coloring everything [he] saw, heard, did” (249).

The appearance of train, railroad in both *Black Boy* and *The Dark Child* could not help drawing the reader’s attention. It is evident that the American black boy’s Jim-Crowed South already offers no surprise for the related story at the railroad station, where young Richard had to travel by train to Arkansas. “At last we were at the railroad station with our bags, waiting for the train that would take us to Arkansas; and for the first time I noticed that there were two lines of people at the ticket window, a “white” line and a “black” line.” (*BB*, 46). Undoubtedly, sitting later on the train after the ticket window would also have been made in colors. Although this observation could not be made at the time of Laye, the protagonist of *The Dark Child* (actually, the white population was very little to appear in line at a train ticket window), Camara, who was writing to throw into relief his Guinean/African identity, had his memory escape the terrible reality that surrounded railroads and trains in his so cherished Africa. I am not suggesting that Camara should have decried that in his book, in his childhood memories, yet his legacy for the next generation could turn out to be questionable. As somebody who is only concerned, in his own words, with “the timeless quality of the specific values of our culture,” could this reality have freely escaped him? In the book, young Laye and his family “live beside a railroad” and curiously “much of [Laye’s] time was spent *watching* the iron rails.” (21, emphasis mine).

The Dark Child’s protagonist was not restricted and could play all day long. His attraction to the rails, his admiration for the rails, could not have escaped his exceedingly caring parents. It would then have been impossible for his parents to tell him what it took to construct Laye’s object of admiration. What is more, in case his parents failed to inform him, history lessons failed to tell him during his schooling year, the idea of a young player, now in memories, spending hours a day watching that token remains questionable. Furthermore, railroads that favored colonizers to have a control of Africans in order to better impose their laws, met with resistance in Sub-Saharan Africa. Many rulers as well as the ruled voiced hostility to that enterprise. Report about Lat Dior Diop’s firm opposition to the French Governor Servatius is known and spread throughout the region: “As long as I live, be assured, I shall oppose, with all my might the construction of the railway.”¹⁰ Diop was in Senegal, a neighboring country to Camara’s French Guinea. This magical world, if it exists at all and “translates the common life of African children”

10 BBC. (2002). Railways. In *Story of Africa* (Africa & Europe 1800-1914). Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/africa/features/storyofafrica/11chapter12.shtml>

(Timeless Value) as Camara claims himself, is pretty difficult to represent in real effects.

Contrastively, as wide gap opens between the West African black boy and the American black boy, Richard's family seems to carefully and accurately translate my own environment, even if not in all aspects. The first scarecrows for young Richard's life are more to be found at home than anywhere else. Richard describes his father as a lawgiver, which denotes an absence of tenderness, dialog, understanding, the reason why Richard "never laughed in his [father's] presence" (10). This authoritative, authoritarian fatherly figure dominates then most homes, and what is more than likely to happen is that when you are beaten in school, you had better not tell back home, lest the father worsen the case, beating you more. By the way, most parents hurry their children to school to be beaten by the 'masters'.

Compared with Wright, Camara seems to be presented as someone who has a positive view of his origins, enjoys peace of mind far from racial turmoils, although he lived under colonialism, although he went to live with the colonizer. Afagla holds that, for Camara, "French colonialism had not been totally negative because he had no identity problem as a result of the colonial encounter" (8). However, Camara does not seem to stick to his African identity and civilization.

As a matter of fact, colonialism seemed to belong to history since many African countries were declared independent and administration seemed to be given back to Africans. The color line showcased in fiction by African Americans, the color line as portrayed by Richard Wright seems to be visible, touchable sometimes. Two colors made distinctive with sharp attitudes, visibly map and trap the life of young Richard. As a prophet, W. E. B. Du Bois moved at the turn of the twentieth century that: "(...) the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line" (Du Bois, 1982: xi). Indeed, the after-World War I was reportedly the period of incessant race riots in the United States. Blacks' daily lives were tantalized by inhumane treatments such as lynching and amplified forms of segregation. 'Americanness' was suddenly and more officially racialized, and anything black was unwelcome in the society. Race can be said to mean a lot—if not all—in the United States. Consequently, life was hardened for African Americans only because of the color of their skin. Racism became institutionally reinforced and the color line turned out to be the great divide between Blacks and Whites who could not, and because they should not, any longer share the same public facilities. For black intellectuals, race has come to be—and eventually should—be at the center of every discussion. The situation has led to the speaking of a different voice in the African American critical tradition, a voice made of racial discourse. Richard King in the introduction to his book, *Race, Culture, and the Intellectuals*, writes: "All in

all, race is the modern West's worst idea" (King, 2004: 1). And it dramatically influences the life of black people living in the United States.

Interestingly, Richard Wright colors his grandparents. He even raises an existential question about his grandmother especially, as color arouses curiosity in him. He could easily deduce first that his grandmother was white. "My grandmother was as nearly white as a Negro can get without being white, which means she was white" (39). However, this deduction will soon yield to complexities in him. These complexities range between being and becoming. Simply put, his highly inquisitive mind raises the question whether one is white or becomes white. His mind questions this issue for some time before he decides to ask his mother. "I had begun to notice that my mother became irritated when I questioned her about whites and blacks, and I could not quite understand it. (...) Now, there was my grandmother... Was she white? Just how white was she? What did the whites think of her whiteness?" (47). Implications of race made the young boy raise those questions and more.

Richard's incessant questioning about his grandmother's color is not mere fantasizing. Understandably, beyond a mere look, color means something different in the American context. As Richard sees clearly cut lines at the train ticket window and in social stratification matters based on color, as he notices both races would touch only in violence (47), he wonders why her grandmother, white-looking, could live with them, with Richard's black family at all. Logically, something might go wrong with her grandmother's 'whiteness'. The truth was later uncovered to Richard. He learned about his grandmother that she "came of Irish, Scotch, and French stock in which Negro blood had somewhere and somehow been infused" (48). Infusion of black blood, however remote in one's genealogy, just catches up with one's destiny, not naturally but institutionally, and makes the life terrible for Negroes in the American South.

Richard is always reminded about his race. He is called "black little devil" (50), "impudent black rascal" (173) and is to "understand you're black" (203), the church he was brought to by his religious family was a "*black* Protestant church" (166), italics mine. Race, racism, and color visibly are ubiquitous in Wright's account of his childhood, which ultimately harden things for him and narrow his future development. Understandably, Richard Wright does not *invent* race for his own mind but he is made to know that it exists and affects any single circumstance in his life.

Conclusion

I want to end this analysis by reminding again about my background of a reader from an ignored place where racism could not be directly felt, where colonialism seems to be over but, most of all, where the colonizer always appears to have the deepest root and the strongest tie. Being informed

by a mind influenced by a popularized West African black celebrating African culture and the American black boy trying to make a living against all odds, I could not stop questioning the environment that sees me grow up, as the young protagonists of the autobiographies under consideration in this essay do. My mind could feel more easily the reality of the frustrations of the black boy whose life is portrayed as ceaselessly being in the claws of visible racists than the joy of one who carelessly chooses to hide those frustrations.

The role black intellectuals, writers, and critics should play in their community, the role literature should play among the oppressed people, is still under discussion. While the focus on identity seems to be much praised, many questions remain unanswered in terms of loyalty to the “master”. *The Dark Child* is evidently “an autobiographical story to be read at one sitting” (Introduction by Philippe Thoby-Marcelin, 7), even if that one-sitting reading may not always be easy for all readers. Its plot is almost without complication. Yet, the author’s approach to important issues regarding the presence of the black race in a white-controlled world sparks off complications. If Camara was forced by Plon to racialize his book title, there is evidence the text itself could have been too. Camara was the only African writer to be awarded the Charles Veillon prize—a prize originally for European essayists. Conclusively, between the two black boys, only one was really growing ‘black’ to satisfy the complex reader’s mind.

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The Value of Friendship in Anthologies of Short Stories by Dewi Lestari

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Doi: 10.19044/llc.v5no3a8

[URL:http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a8](http://dx.doi.org/10.19044/llc.v5no3a8)

Abstract

This paper focuses on describing the positive attitudes of the value of friendship in anthologies of short stories by Dewi Lestari. The method used in this research was qualitative. Objects of this research were fourty two short stories in three anthologies of short stories by Dewi Lestari. Three of those anthologies short stories were *Filosofi Kopi*, *Rectoverso*, and *Madre*. The research data were collected by reading the three books anthologies of short stories conscientiously. Then, data coding, data selection, data reduction, and test of validity were conducted. Each data was analyzed through intrarater and expert judgment to obtain their reliability. Finally, the data was displayed. In conclusion, the results of the research show that by using research's instrument in positive attitudes of the value of friendship in three anthologies of short stories by Dewi Lestari, there were seven positive attitudes. The seven positive attitudes include care, understanding of buddy's uniqueness, empathy, listen to advice, mutual assistance, keep gathering, and give a beneficial thing. In addition, as many as fourteen short stories had a few or all main elements as a means to teach the value of friendship.

Keywords: Value of friendship, Positive attitudes, short stories, buddy, attitudes.

Introduction

The value of friendship teaches someone to increase his/her concern for another person. However, this concern can be seen in the form of a close relationship between two persons which helps to improve their social relationship. A friendship's deportment is a condition where someone has a clear understanding of the problem of another, helped in solving it, and which often results to an argument with his buddy who is facing the problem. Majorly, the positive side created from that deportment and feeling is peace,

mutual assistance, and harmony among the human race. Therefore, the value of friendship is an important aspect in people's lives.

Based on research, friendship is a very important thing to consider in the development of children (Carter & Nutbrown, 2016). In their research, students play an important role when they get a friend, lose a friend, and discussed with their peers. Therefore, their research showed that students could express their feelings due to many conditions. They appeared sad when they lose a friend, happy when got a friend, and intimate when they engage in serious discussions. The result of the research shows that students should be trained to show concerns for one another.

However, the moral value in friendship can be inculcated through an effective means. Literature could also serve as a medium for moral value. In all scaffold of education, literature continually obtained a beam because it has a significant influence on power as a moral structure (Lickona, 1991). Thus, a few result of the research about literature, as moral builders, have been carried out. In addition, the research results also showed that this strategy was effective. A routine of reading the literature could influence the morals of students because it gave an illustration about peoples' lives with many risk based on each action they took (Tighe, 1998; Jones, 2004; Freeman, 2013).

Short story is a part of literature that is easy for student reading. A clear difference formed between novel and short story were in the thick and thin (Stanton, 2012). Short story could be the medium for character building to the person reading. Due to trainings acquired, a person is able to develop good morals and humility (Bathali & Nichols, 2016). When students read that literature, they struggled to reconstruct their knowledge that was discussed and to apply it into their social lives (Balakhrisnan & Thambu, 2017). Therefore, these three researches were proofs that short story as a part of literature could be a medium to teach important values in life.

Furthermore, there were three anthologies of short stories that were written by Dewi Lestari: *Filosofi Kopi*, *Rectoverso*, and *Madre*. Stories that were written gave an illustration of modern lives with its problems. Stories that taught the values of kindness, happiness, sadness, concerns, and love were included in these anthologies. *Filosofi Kopi*, *Rectoverso*, and *Madre* generally had the same theme. For example, the story about friendship's work to be a success was included in an open story of *Filosofi Kopi* and *Madre*. The traitor of love and enmity of friendship that change to be a good relationship were also included too. Therefore, these three anthologies had similarity of plots and themes.

Woman's Author Style showed by Dewi Lestari had given a good pattern for friendship. Dewi Lestari's style of writing her stories was simple without difficult language. On the other hand, the style of Dewi Lestari didn't show vulgar statements like that of other Indonesian women authors: Ayu

Utami and Djenar Maesa Ayu. Ayu Utami and Djenar Maesaa Ayu were famous by their vulgar language style. The Novel “Saman” by Ayu Utami and “Cerita Pendek Tentang Cerita Cinta Pendek” by Djenar Maesa Ayu were one of their books that explained it. The style of Dewi Lestari is suitable for adolescences or adults readers Thus, this helps the readers to comprehend quickly the message of the stories.

Research Questions

“How are the positive attitudes of value of friendship in anthologies of short stories by Dewi Lestari?”

Review of Literature

Becket and Maynard (2005) stated that the value refers to things that are organized for the kindness of human. These kindness includes values as a guide for measure, value in system, value in social's work, value in personality, value in society, value in pressure, and value in ethics. Value can be defined as the belief and attitude of a way that people obliged to do a thing (Sandrock, 2014). The transition of a friend to become a close friend has been changing the emotionality of persons (Demir & Urberg, 2004). Therefore, the affinity of friendship is based on similarity, proximity, and attractiveness (Griffin, 2011). A social relationship as it is well-known as friendship is built based on the similarity between two or more persons who became a buddy due to the relationship that exists between them (Hassan et al., 2011). As a result, the friendship was explained as a close relationship between two persons who changed themselves through unity (Kulsum & Jauhar, 2014). From both definitions about value and friendship, it could be formulated that the value of friendship was a relationship between one person with the others who have made their lives count.

Short story is a fiction work that is relatively brief (Abrams, 1999). This was similar to the definition of short story which was a brief prose fiction narrative that is shorter than a novel, which usually contains a few character (Kuiper, 2012). Then, the short story as media for student's character building could be seriously selected by teacher because the failure of the target could result if students read a literature that is not recommended (Saka, 2014). So, short stories had a form as a prose with a brief story with main elements like theme, plot, character, setting, point of view, style, and message of story to give a good influence.

This research makes use of psychology of literature approach to find the real data for the value of friendship. Psychology of literature is an approach that deals with literature as an expression. Thus, this condition couldn't be released by the author's mind. This approach, however, comes from Freud's idea about the theories of dream (Abrams, 1999). Mentality of individual in

their unconscious state think as a first premise, sex desire that well known as libido as a second premise, and the social power to endure sexuality and desire (Guerin et al., 2005). Psychology of literature approach is an approach to know about people without first knowing them or listening to them. In understanding ourselves, human could have a good understanding about people. Through this approach, a literature could be analyzed based on human condition in general and gets a good reason to describe every intertextual (Tyson, 2006).

Method

Instrumentation and Data

The data for analysis in this study were three anthologies of short stories by Dewi Lestari with title *Filosofi Kopi*, *Rectoverso*, and *Madre*. Through reading contentiously, there are seven positive attitudes that show up in a few short stories. Finally, from a quote of text in every short story were a data as a value of friendship. This is based on the seven positive attitudes that show up in a few short stories.

Data Analysis

Positive Attitudes that Showed on Value of Friendship in Anthologies of Short Stories by Dewi Lestari

No.	Code	Care	Understanding of Buddy's uniqueness	Empathy	Listen to Advice	Mutual Assistance	Keep Gathering	Give a Beneficial Thing
1.	FK/FK/01	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
2.	MH/FK/02	√	√	√	√	√	√	-
3.	SG/FK/07	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
4.	SKK/FK/10	-	√	√	√	-	-	-
5.	LL/FK/13	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
6.	BB/FK/17	√	√	√	√	√	√	-
7.	CBS/RO/01	√	√	√	√	√	√	-
8.	MJT/RO/02	√	√	√	-	-	-	-
9.	HI/RO/05	√	√	√	-	-	√	-
10.	F/RO/09	√	√	√	-	-	-	-
11.	MA/MA/01	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
12.	HYE/MA/05	√	√	√	√	√	-	-
13.	G/MA/10	√	√	√	-	-	√	-
14.	MLL/MA/12	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

Based on the table, there were 14 short stories that had a positive attitude in value of friendship. The 28 others do not have this value because

the story was not suitable with seven attitudes that were found in every story. As a result, this research continues to analyze the 14 short stories by Dewi Lestari from three anthologies.

The coding technique was taken by a symbolized title of short stories, the anthologies, and the number of short story in anthologies. This include the first data FK (Filosofi Kopi), FK (anthologies of this short story), and 01 (number of short story in anthologies). So, 14 short stories that have a value of friendship were "Filosofi Kopi", "Mencari Herman", "Sikat Gigi", "Sepotong Kue Kuning", "Lara Lana", and "Buddha Bar" in *Filosofi Kopi* (FK) anthology, "Curhat Buat Sahabat", "Malaikat Juga Tahu", "Hanya Isyarat", "Firasat" in *Rectoverso* (RO) anthology, "Madre", "Have You Ever", "Guruji", and "Menunggu Layang-Layang" in *Madre* (MA) anthology.

Positive Attitudes that Showed on Value of Friendship in Anthologies of Short Stories by Dewi Lestari

a. Care

In the friendship, care was a good attitude that showed up from an unconscious condition. In Freudian's idea, a person could be cared for because the many moment of others that needs help were recorded by the person in his mind. This feeling comes immediately and is built every time a person becomes intimate with the friend.

"A year ago, I dedicated to be his partner in work. Based on belief between close friend and determined to speculation, I gave all my deposit to be an asset in his café. Beside an asset in money form and administration skill myself, I didn't know everything about coffee. That to be Ben's Asset at all (Translation of Lestari, 2012, p.2)."

That quote was a symbol of Jody's concern with his best friend, Ben, in "Filosofi Kopi". Jody believed that Ben was really professional in the coffee business, and he gave all of his assets. In addition, they combined their skill together: Jody with administrative skills and Ben as Barista (Coffee maker skill). Together, they were able to make a great coffee shop.

"Name of the community is 'Firasat'. They gathering once a week, start at 07.00 PM. Their location always change, but same activity: twenty person gather make a circle; sometimes sit in a chair or floor, than one tell a story and listen by others (Translation of Lestari, 2015, p.104)."

Consequently, this quote above was a quote from "Firasat" short story. This quote gave an example of a condition of a group of human who had concerns and shared their stories about their problems. One storied and the others listened. Thus, these good activities help to maintain a good ego in everyone as well as help to keep their friendship.

"You may call me everything you like. I will not confuse. Along your hearts who called. I know what is your mean." "Reflect, my hand's up. Defends a

flow of his word. Stop! Let us to be an usually Ari. Deal? (Translation of Lestari, 2015a, p.125).”

Guruji Character in this story was not complaining about Ari’s Attitude who needs an attention. Ari then accepted the wisdom of Guruji and called his name as usual. If we analyzed from this part, Ari as a woman is willing to change her mind for details. The woman disposed think about anything through her feelings. This condition is really different from Guruji as a man who thinks more easily and ignores the details of life. Then Guruji used his superego to understand about Ari’s complain and made it a good condition.

b. Understanding of Buddy’s Uniqueness

Being a unique person is a reason for someone to be introduced or associated with them. However, someone can be regarded as a unique person from his speaking style, finding them in a beautiful place, thinking, and others. This uniqueness would make other people to become interested to learn from them and become intimate with that person. Understanding of buddy’s uniqueness is a good attitude from friendship. In those 14 short stories, a few short stories showed that an understanding of buddy’s uniqueness was clearly discovered in the text. In those 14 short stories, his entire buddy was appreciated.

c. Empathy

“But, Ms. Herman who I met a month ago had changed. Didn’t fussy and chummy anymore. Mr. Herman had passed away a week ago. Left a wife who hadn’t no one in the world, left Hera without handshake and said: Herman. Ms. Herman Cried, Hera Cried, and I Sad too. Look like two meadow who left by their husband” (Translation of Lestari, 2012, p.36).

Feeling that showed from character Abang was his struggle to find people with Herman’s Name. Based on the quote of “Mencari Herman” above, it shows that Abang had failed and Hera became sad. Abang felt Hera’s soul who became disappointed because she couldn’t achieve her dream.

“My friendmate was a happy person. She enjoyed a chicken’s back without knowing another part. She only knew what she can have. I was almost sad because I knew something that I hadn’t it. I finished my storied with a hit on a bottle of beer that couldn’t be a trophy anymore and suddenly became interesting (Translation of Lestari, 2015, p.52).”

The quote above is from “Hanya Isyarat” in *Rectoverso*. Character I was illustrated as a form of her empathy. She tried to see her life with that of her buddy. Everything became different and Character I felt she was a lucky person in this world and her buddy was not. Everybody who listened to her story gave many empathy and they really loved her story as a lesson for life.

“I cannot surely guess who are “them” that she mean. But, I am more sure “them” are mans. I will say that the coming of psychopat person is only time’s problem in soul of Starla (Translation of Lestari, 2015, p157).

Advice that was messaged by character Che on “Menunggu Layang-Layang” in *Madre* was a empathy to Starla. Che tried to finish her problem. However, there are different thinking of man and woman as a unique problem in this story. Che, finally, was able to make Starla think more about her habit and accepts Che’s empathy.

d. Listen to Advice

A friendship had routine conversation moment. A conversation that focuses on personal problems is always a favourite activity in friendship. From 14 short stories that had positive attitude in friendship, four short stories didn’t include this attitude. Therefore, “Malaikat Juga Tahu”, “Hanya Isyarat”, “Firasat”, and “Guruji” do not have positive attitudes. From those four short stories, a character of the stories has an egoism for they dream and mind to do everything more better than the advice of their friends.

e. Mutual Assistance

Jody’s Attitude in “Filosofi Kopi” showed that he helped Ben totally. Hence, he gave all his assets to make a great café with his best friend. Abang in “Mencari Herman” showed loyalty to find somebody who had Herman’s name. Tio in “Sikat Gigi” helped Egi to find solution to her problems. Four short stories were not included in this attitude. In “Lara Lana”, Lana tried to give the best help by renting a home and meeting every need of his buddy. Bejo in “Buddha Bar” is a great icon in his friendship. Bejo always helped in solving the problems of his friend. In “Curhat Buat Sahabat”, the principle of both character between “I” and “You” had finished their problem and had changed from clash to become good conversation. “Madre” was illustrated as a mutual assistance between Tan Sen, the owner of bread recipe, and Mei, the good bread seller. In “Have You Ever”, Dharma and Howard finally understood one and others so as to finish their problem as a new friendship. In the last story “Menunggu Layang-Layang”, Starla had a bad habit, while Che is referred to as a good man. By this difference, personality is regarded as a moment that helps both of them to grow up more and have a clear understanding about life.

f. Keep Gathering

When somebody makes a decision to make friendship, a wish to always gather would show up. A gathering was built by comfortable, same way of think, and interest with the unique person’s feeling. Usually, people who are in friendship would always find a special place to meet. “Sepotong

Kue Kuning”, “Malaikat Juga Tahu”, “Firasat”, and “Have You Ever” do not possess these attitudes.

g. Give a Beneficial Thing

A gift is given when somebody had helped, showed concern, and helps in meeting the deep desires of one’s heart. In friendship, somebody gave a gift to make his buddy happy. In these three anthologies, there were 5 short stories that had this positive attitude.

“When he was a lecturer, live in credits home type 36 in estate of university that a half condition still in a marsh, Lana helped him moved moreover stayed and slept on mat. Fluorescent of television shone on the gloriously empty wall that never got decoration. Lana had no colony in the moon, but his achievement was enough to prize a television (Translation of Lestari, 2012, p.91).”

Lana Character in “Lara lana” above had given a television to character ‘he’. Lana tried in giving that prize because in character ‘he’, there were no television or a luxury thing. Lana wanted his buddy to feel happy with that gift. Television here was, therefore, symbolized as a beneficial thing.

Then, Character Tan Sen in “Madre” gave some cakes sample to Mei. Tan Sen wanted his friend to try out this flavour of cake. Mei felt happy because his friend believes that she had an ability to give a mark for great bread. Thus, this was the reason Tan Sen gave a recipe to Mei great ability: it is believed to be because of the feelings they shared in their friendship.

Another good example came from “Menunggu Layang-Layang”. Starla is seen as a stupid woman because of how easy it is for her to date so many men. Che was the best friend of Starla who gave up everything for Starla despite the disappointment she had received from so many men. Che brought Starla to a special place, gave her CDs Burn with many good song in there, and took her to the cinema to help Starla forget all the disappointments.

Conclusion

Based on the data analyzed, as many as five short stories had all of the positive attitudes in friendship. The five’s short stories were “Filosofi Kopi”, “Sikat Gigi”, “Lara Lana”, “Madre”, and “Mencari Layang-Layang”. The nine others do not have all of the positive attitudes of friendship. Nevertheless, at least, more than two positive attitudes had it.

Based on Freudian’s idea, the seven positive attitudes in value of friendship of Anthologies of short stories were taken by id, ego, and the superego of people. Care, understanding of buddy’s uniqueness, empathy, listen to advice, mutual assistance, keep gathering, and give a beneficial thing were coming out of people’s soul from an unconscious condition to a conscious condition. Based on the text of 14 short stories that has a value of

friendship, these seven attitudes were for human's need. Their id was naturally shown by human character that needs a social relationship, an ego, and superego in each character in those stories that tried to make it right and keep their friendship nice.

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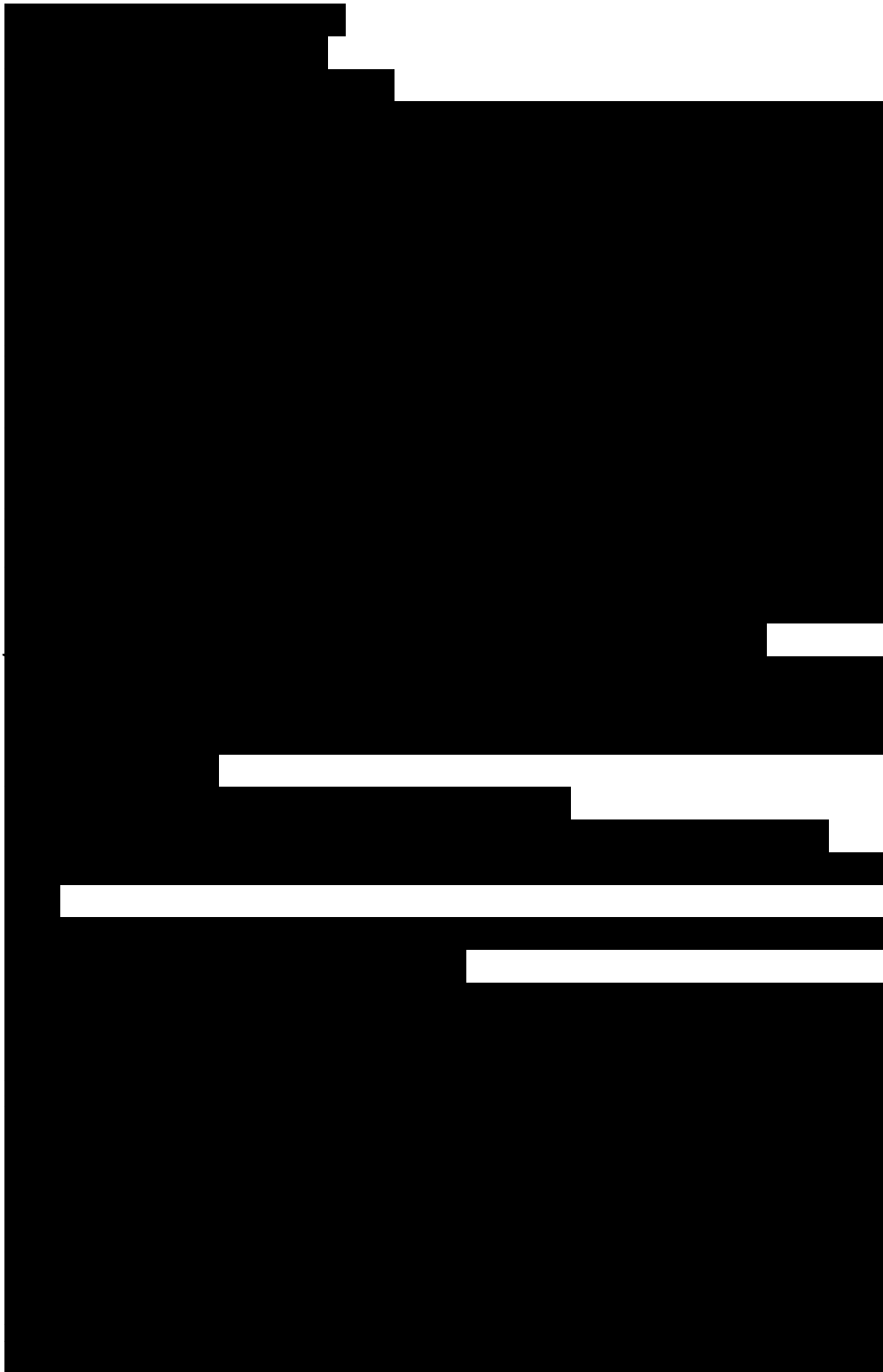


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