CROSSINGS
A Journal of English Studies

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The name of our journal involves an act of traversing. It can also imply places where different tracks meet. The overarching frame of English Studies that includes language, literature, and culture offers us a window into the discipline as a discursive site. Over the last few years, we have established our journal as an academic niche for serious scholarly writings from all over the world.

Anjali Gera Roy, an eminent Professor of Humanities and Social Sciences at IIT, Kharagpur, for instance, explores the crossing over of two mediums: the verbal and the visual. Using R.K. Narayan's *The Guide* as her casestudy, Roy questions the cinematic codes that affect the textual nuances.

This volume has been enriched by Madina-based scholar Emad A. Alqadumi who has deconstructed tragedic genre to (dis)locate it in a chain of signifiers. This eclectic piece draws on examples from a wide spectrum of sources to understand the epistemic value of "tragedy" as a sign. Sonika Islam's article espouses deconstruction from a feminist perspective by anlyzing Gloria Anzadua's *Borderlands*.

We are equally happy to see our local scholars pursuing new avenues of cultural studies. Shahinul Islam's analysis of whataboutism and Towhidul Islam Khan's reading of the implicit cultural policies of US late-night comedy shows are cases in point.

Analogous to Bushra Mahzabeen's article which shows the connection between natural resources such as oil and oppression as manifested in certain fiction on the Middle East, Omolara Kikelomo Owoeye's article traces capitalism as the main basis of patriarchal assertion as exemplified in Nigerian fiction.

There are pieces dealing with canonical texts, which have their relevance to our current students. We, at *Crossings*, try to encourage articles by young scholars by giving them a space to voice opinions about texts in our syllabi. Some of our authors have chosen writers who are relatively undiscussed in our part of the world. Mamata Sengupta writes from India to reflect on Caryl Churchill's *Cloud Nine*. Abid Vali sends his piece from Kuwait to shed light on the Japanese Noh tradition and its formative presence in the modernist canon. Po-Yu, Rick Wei from China discusses the Faro ladies in Georgette Heyer's fiction. Rumana Siddiqui offers a comprehensive survey of poet Kaiser Haq's poetry.

The papers on language and applied liguistics are all very pragmatic in approach. They involve issues such as teaching in a digitalscape, writing skills necessary for tertiary education, child language acquisition for pre-school children with an emphasis on person markers, and cross-linguistic composition.

The issue of cross-linguistic compostition is broached by Christina Torres, who writes from Florida, in her review of the book *Teaching L2 Composition: Purpose, Process and Practice*. The book review section also features one of the most talked about books by the Father of the nation Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. His memoir is a must-read for those interested in dedicating their lives to the building of a nation and understanding subcontinental politics.

The *Crossings* team is delighted to bring out a volume that will excite others to not only read but also to contribute to a journal that is ready to undertake a crossing. Enjoy!

On behalf of the Editorial Board,

Shamsad Mortuza, PhD
Editor, *Crossings* Vol. 9

OCCASIONAL PAPER

Fiction into Film

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Abstract

R. K. Narayan's *The Guide*, considered a masterpiece, was made into an equally successful film. *Guide* was made in two versions — an English version in collaboration with Pearl S. Buck and directed by Ted Danielewski to introduce Dev Anand to Western audiences and the Hindi version directed by Dev Anand's younger brother, Vijay Anand. Despite being warned by all and sundry not to touch the project and his brother's strong reluctance to direct, Anand persisted with the film, which went on to fetch awards in almost all categories and remains a landmark in Indian Cinema. R. K. Narayan was most unhappy with the final film as he felt it deviated too much from his novel, particularly in Anand's change of setting from Malgudi to Udaipur and the film's ending, and disowned the film. The author's disappointment with the cinematic translation of his text is understandable. But it overlooks the difference between fiction and film, the main issue being that the novel is a verbal medium whereas film is primarily a visual genre. What is the process through which the filmmaker translates the verbal into the visual mode? How did Vijay Anand translate Narayan's complex fictional narrative that weaves in modernization, social reform, and development with spiritual quest in a cinematic code? How did he weave in the emboxed narrative of the unhappy dancer Rosie into the frame story about the Hindu concepts of the power of faith and renunciation? How did he handle descriptions of characters: "complexion not white, but dusky, which made her only half visible, as if you saw her through a film of tender coconut juice" and mood: "'I'm prepared to spend the whole night here,' she said. 'He will, of course, be glad to be left alone. Here at least we have silence and darkness, welcome things, and something to wait for out of that darkness'"; interior monologue; the passage of time; the switch from the frame to the emboxed tale and so on? Through examining *The Guide*, this paper will engage with the handling of narrative in fiction and film.

While adaptation has been a standard practice in the Western performing arts since Shakespeare's time, literary critics have looked down disdainfully at adaptations of fiction into film. In *Beyond Fidelity*, Robert Stam criticizes adaptation criticism for its profoundly moralistic tone and its suggestion that cinema has "somehow done a *disservice* to literature" (3). The adaptation of fiction into film, he asserts, elicits "an elegiac discourse of loss, lamenting what has been 'lost' in the translation from novel to film" ("Introduction" 3). The most frequent discussion of adaptation concerns fidelity and transformation. The assumption underlying the fidelity discourse is that fiction is the originary text and film its copy. The expectation in this discourse that the film must faithfully reproduce fiction has been challenged by Stam, Andrew, and, most recently, by Linda Hutcheon in her new book *The Theory of Adaptation*. If Andrew questioned the notion that "the task of adaptation is the reproduction in cinema of something essential about an original text" (31), Hutcheon is amused by the implied assumption that adapters aim simply to reproduce the adapted text. J. D. Connor, in "The Persistence of Fidelity," shows that notwithstanding the repeated onslaughts on the fidelity premise of adaptation, the "fidelity reflex" continues to persist in adaptation studies. Underlying the negative view of adaptation, which dismisses film as a visual copy, is a deep veneration of literature based on what Stam calls *logophilia* and a matching suspicion

of images or *iconophobia*. Literate viewers usually go to watch the film with their visual images of the fictional text and are disappointed when their mental images do not match with the visual images employed by the filmmaker to express the same meaning. The viewers' *iconophobia* and *logophilila*, married to a high cultural contempt for *kitsch*, are intensified when confronted with commercial adaptations of literary classics. Despite the reevaluation of commercial Hollywood cinema in film theory and criticism, Hollywood adaptations of literary classics continue to be evaluated by the overt judgmentalism of the fidelity discourse. Bombay commercial cinema, dismissed as a poor copy of Hollywood, failed to attract serious attention from film critics until recently. The adaptations of Bombay cinema went almost unnoticed except by the literati because the masses who comprised the primary viewers of commercial Hindi cinema came unburdened with the baggage of the "original." But the "fidelity reflex" is clearly visible in the "not as good as the original" response of literate, middle class viewers of Hindi cinema.

It is, therefore, not surprising that Dev Anand's film version of R. K. Narayan's *The Guide* in 1965 should have invited comparisons with Narayan's novel and that the story should have bitterly ended with the author disowning the film after having given his consent to its filming. But it was the "disloyal" Hindi adaptation of *The Guide*, directed by Anand's younger brother Vijay Anand, instead of the faithful American translation that became a milestone in Hindi cinema. It not only enjoyed an unprecedented commercial success, it also won the coveted *Filmfare* awards in the best film, best director, best male and female actor, and best music categories.[1] A fictional masterpiece translated into a cinematic classic should have left everyone happy but the film's departure from the novel remained a sour point with the writer until the end. In the ire of the writer and his English speaking admirers, the moralizing tone of adaptation theory is coupled with a high cultural moral indignation at the meeting of the haloed novel with Bombay *kitsch*. While an arthouse adaptation might have equally activated the fidelity reflex, the aesthetic experimentation of a "serious" filmmaker like Satyajit Ray would have complimented the refined literary sensibilities of Narayan's readers. While the generic difference between the "masala" Bombay film and Indian English novel produces a shock in *Guide's* literary viewer, the average Bombay moviegoer, though initially intrigued, decoded the cinematic text within the established conventions of commercial Hindi cinema.[2] The adaptation of Narayan's novel into a Hindi film is particularly challenging because it requires not only a transcoding from the medium of fiction to film but also from a high literary genre to a popular commercial one. New critiques of adaptation theory have demonstrated that the shift from the page to screen can actually be creative and that "language, sound, music, and visual images can be used to convey a once purely verbal narrative in a new way" (Hutcheon 42). Following the recent movement to critique the assumptions of adaptation theory, this essay views adaptation as a creative process involving both losses and gains as it transcodes the elite Indian English discourse of Narayan's *Guide* into the commercialized entertainment genre of Bombay Cinema and proposes, along with Kamilla Elliott, that we look at fiction and film as "reciprocal looking glasses" instead of rivals (209-12).

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1 *Filmfare* is a popular film fortnightly that has been organizing its annual award function since its inception. This commercial award is regarded as seriously by commercial Bombay filmdom as the state sponsored national award with its strong arthouse bias.

2 "When it was finally released in 1965, the first audience reaction was one of confusion." Anand remembers that "slowly, people began to find something thought-provoking in it. It grew on them, and snowballed into a major countrywide hit." (Anand in Hattangady)

In the West, film's emergence from the tradition that produced literature could be the reason why film theory has taken the intertextuality between fiction and film as axiomatic. In film history from 1930 onwards, cinema and fiction have been so closely intertwined that one could speak, along with John Izod, of "literary and cinematic fictions" as the shared property of the book and the screen (qtd. in Orr). Despite the oft-made argument about the blurring of the distinction between fiction and film in the Bengali language, in which the same noun *boi* denotes both genres, the book and film, Bengali intellectuals as well as the masses know that *boi pada* (to read a book) is not the same as *boi dekha* (to watch a film) because they belong to two different semiotic systems. Other Indian languages, which had no equivalents for cinema, did away with approximations such as *khel* or play recalling other performance traditions by importing corruptions of the original English term, *fillum*, *sanima*, or *pikchur* in native languages.

While the refined sentiments of Narayan's readers are hurt by the Bombay cinema's commercialized idiom, most Indian cinemagoers in the 60s first viewed the "filum" without having read *The Guide* or even heard of R. K. Narayan, the celebrated Indian English novelist and, thus, their cinematic experience of viewing *Guide* was free of memories of the novel. It must be granted that cinema is a more powerful mass medium than fiction that can affect both the literate elite and the non-literate lumpen. Anand's adaptation of the novel, which followed the Hollywood example of introducing Indian masses to the "great tradition" of the English novel, appears to have had the opposite result because *The Guide*, for the average moviegoer, became Vijay Anand's *Guide* and Dev Anand was Raju Guide. Dev Anand's memorable portrayal of Narayan's Raju became so strongly etched on the nation's imagination that not only Narayan's Raju Guide but any cinematic representation of the guide figure that followed has had to negotiate with Dev Anand's emblematic figure in *Guide*. For instance, India's current heartthrob Amir Khan's essaying of the feisty Rehan Guide character in the recent blockbuster *Fanaa* may be viewed as a parodic imitation of "Devsaab's" ebullient, loquacious, epicurean guide who also seduces a young tourist, a visually challenged Kashmiri damsel, which culminates in a consuming passion recalling Raju's doomed love for Rosie in *Guide*.[3] With Aamir Khan playing the guide only as a cover for his terrorist designs, the film and Aamir's character also have strong intertextual echoes of the "im-personation" motif in the 1965 film with the terrorist substituting the charlatan. The power of *Guide* confirms Orr's view that "if the book was essential to the picture, the picture, in turn, has been vital to the creation of a wider audience for the book" (Orr 1). Regardless of the price the book might have had to pay for visibility, its "filmi" adaptation expanded Narayan's audience from the negligible Indian English elite to embrace the entire nation.[4]

The furore in March 2006 about Dev Anand's strongly worded objection to Pritish Nandy on hearing about Nandy's intentions to remake the 1965 classic directed by the arthouse film director Rituparna Ghosh also raises the contentious issues of adaptation, authorship, representation, and originality that cannot be resolved by the primary or secondary relationship in which film and fiction have conventionally been placed. The octogenarian actor-filmmaker confessed that he felt "touchy" when he heard about the film being remade. In an interview with *The Hindustan Times*, he publicly staked his claims to *Guide* as one of its two original owners; "*Guide* is R. K. Narayan's *Guide*, *Guide* is Dev Anand's and Vijay Anand's *Guide*." When he confessed that he "didn't bother to get his [Narayan's] response to the Hindi *Guide* because it wasn't really his story anyway," Dev was

3 Dev Anand is addressed as Devsaab (Dev Sir) by the film fraternity in deference to his seniority.
4 The sales of the book are reported to have multiplied after the film's release.

also speaking for his late director brother Vijay who had maintained that he was never interested in merely copying any work of art from one medium to another unless there was scope for value addition. The stance taken by the Anands confirms Hutcheon's definition of the adapter as one who appropriates fiction for producing a new version, which is a form of reinterpretation and her view of adaptation as an essentially creative process. Anand's assertion about being "free to get inspired from any source" as "the creative mind's prerogative" voices one view in film theory that the filmmaker might go to literature only for the idea and build on it freely. This differs from the fidelity persistence that holds the fictional text as sacrosanct and not open to "violation" by a cinematic adaptation.

The conversation on originality that follows clearly shows that the fictional and film versions of *Guide* are two independent texts as far as the filmmaker is concerned and that he may rightfully claim his ownership of the film without contesting Narayan's ownership of the novel. Yet Anand's emphatic denial to permit anyone else to remake the film, "But you can't claim to remake *Guide*," subscribes to the myth of a cinematic originality and ownership that parallels the fictional and his anger at the proposed alteration of his classic equals Narayan's own. While Anand appears to approve of filmmakers' poaching of literary texts in search of new ideas, he believes that this turning to another film signifies a loss of originality and creativity, the reason why he himself did not contemplate remaking *Guide*. Anand reveals a firm grasp of adaptation as transcoding from one medium to another and views the transformations entailed by the transcoding as intrinsically creative but is unable to critique the originary myth. Another remark that the actor makes shows that the acrimonious Narayan-Anand collaboration raked up extra literary issues. The reportage of the mediatized dispute overwritten with the judgmentalism of fidelity theorists has maintained a polite silence on the human flaws that revealed themselves in the inconsistent responses of the canonical figure. When asked by another interviewer about what the novelist thought about the film, the actor replied: "After a pre-release screening of the English *Guide*, Narayan wrote me an effusive letter from America saying it's simply beautiful. But after the movie was panned by the American critics and failed at the box-office, he began denouncing it publicly." The problem with the fidelity reflex here is that the value question is sidelined. Adaptation critics invest the author's disavowal to commerce with a higher value than the aesthetic qualities of the novel or the film.

Hutcheon points out that the process of adaptation involves both translation and distillation of the adapted work and introduces a new element of transcoding by which she means "a recoding of a communication act into a different set of conventions" (41). Revisiting the history of the film shows that the making of *The Guide* foregrounded the dissimilarity between fictional and cinematic conventions that emerge as much from the difference in medium as from genre. The deciding difference in the adaptation appears to have been generic rather than semiotic and was motivated by gross commercial considerations of the Bombay "masala" film. Vijay Anand reluctantly agreed to direct the film that brother Dev Anand was obsessed with making after having turned it down twice. Anand's industry well-wishers had also warned him against committing professional *hara-kiri* by filming the novel. Their reservations problematize cinematic translation as the dissonance between the novel's conventions and socio-political universe with those of Bombay cinema. Vijay was reportedly horrified when he read the script because it dealt with the forbidden theme of adultery. The young director's agreeing to do the film on the condition that he was given a free hand also recalls Alain Resnaiz's warning that "the written fiction brings a pre-existent weight to the

cinema which burdens the process of filmmaking" (qtd. in Orr 3). Afraid of how the adultery theme might be received by Bombay cinemagoers, Dev Anand gave brother Vijay Anand the complete freedom to write "a new screenplay retaining the basic theme, but deviating somewhat from R. K. Narayan's novel" (Hattangadi "Dev Anand Unplugged"). The film's major deviations from the novel may provide a good entry into the generic differences between the two that are embedded in the semiotic systems from which they emerge – the literary milieu of Narayan's novel and the commercial field of Bombay cinema. These deviations in the film accentuate Hindi cinema's generic and socio-cultural expectations from those of the Western derived Indian English novel and had to do with the film team's perception of Narayan's novel as not conforming to the conventions of a Bombay "hit" film. It was the film which ultimately proved them right because the artistic and commercial failure of the English version faithful to the novel proved that fiction and film are altogether different languages and that fidelity alone can be used to assess cinematic value.

While Hutcheon argues that "there are always going to be both gains and losses" in the process of transposition from one medium to another, Narayan lovers denounce Anand's *Guide* as an act of desecration (40). In sharp contrast, the veteran actor was of the opinion that the film's departure from the novel actually improved it: "I was a little touchy when I heard about it […] because our film *Guide* touched the spiritual heights, which weren't there even in the novel. The book doesn't have that spiritual feel of our film." Whether one agrees with the filmmaker's contention that the film is an improvement on the novel or not, Dev Anand's claim that the Hindi *Guide* was not Narayan's story at all needs to be examined in detail. Hutcheon points out that the problems of transcoding certain kinds of writing into film bring out generic differences. The moral universe of the novel that permitted Narayan to depict an arranged marriage between an anthropologist and a dancing girl, and her adulterous liaison with a tourist guide, and her eventual desertion of her husband to live with her lover in defiance of the social norms of small town Malgudi were still alien to Bombay Cinema in the 60s. Anand's spiritualization of Raju and the Raju-Rosie relationship was in deference to the Bollywood code of conduct that glorifies self-sacrifice as the acme of romantic love.

Narayan had every reason to disagree with Dev Anand's view of the film as a spiritualized improvement. The Valmiki-like transformation of the guide facilitating his anointment as the saintly figure in Anand's *Guide* is a simple closure that robs the film of the complex ambiguity that Narayan's novel is able to sustain till the very end.[5] The spiritualization of the theme and the characters in tune with prevailing Bombay cinema trends and the formulization of the novel's conflict destroyed the comic irony that saves the novel from becoming melodramatic. Anand concedes that the Hindi version made the heroine more sympathetic but this is true of his own character in the film too. The complex shades in Raju's character in the novel are sacrificed at the altar of Bollywood heroism. Not only was Raju transformed in the end as a self-abnegating hero but his portrayal bore the strong stamps of the Bollywood star, the debonair Dev. Narayan's Rosie, similarly, is a complicated being torn between her desire to walk out of a loveless marriage to pursue her own interests and her loyalty to her husband. Like real human beings, she is generous, self-centered, loving, and insensitive in turns. But the film casts her in the familiar mould of the dancing girl with a heart of gold whose peccadilloes may be overlooked in the interest of a noble

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5 Valmiki is a mythical figure who transformed from a notorious dacoit to a sage through divine intervention.

cause. The film's conclusion where she agrees to wait for Raju until he returns from prison projects her as the errant adulteress on the path to reform. In inverse proportion to the "improvement" in Raju and Rosie's moral character, Marco is villainized in the film by being made to take on other undesirable attributes such as drinking, whoring, and gambling in addition to his original fictional sin of callous coldness and emotional incompetence. In the process of its spiritualization, Narayan's sophisticated frame tale of Raju's forced renunciation that contains the emboxed tale of the unhappy dancer Rosie and the complicated conflict that deals with the ambivalence of human relationships is turned into two simple stories, the rescue tale and the renunciation saga. Raju's amoral but consuming passion for the "snake-girl," which leads to his final destruction, is reduced to a rescue narrative where the debonair Raju rescues the unhappy Rosie from the clutches of a dehumanized husband. This is married to the miracle tale of the criminal turning saint in the unambiguous romanticization of Raju's self-sacrifice.[6] Thus, a complex narrative of human actors attempting to control their destinies through voluntary acts transforms into a romantic tale of love, betrayal, sacrifice, and salvation. Narayan had Raju's human failings – hunger – counterbalance his canonization till the very end. In *Guide*, Dev Anand makes himself a willing sacrifice for the sake of the community.

But *Guide's* equally audacious deviation, as far as the novelist was concerned, was the change of its setting from the mythical Malgudi to the touristy Udaipur. Considering Malgudi's centrality to Narayan's fiction and its connotations for Narayan's readers, this can be considered a grave violation. The shift to Udaipur, a familiar tourist spot, fixes Malgudi, denuding it of the polysemy that imagination can provide. While Narayan argued that Malgudi's mythical nature accorded it with a certain universality, Narayan's small town has a specifically South Indian ambiance that the "All India Film" nationalizes. Anand's poetic license might have been motivated by Udaipur's familiarity to the film's Hindi speaking national audience and its touristy appeal for its international audience. In the 60s, Anand could not afford to take the risks that a teleserial based on Narayan's *Malgudi Days* could in the 80s because the enormous production costs of commercial cinema compel the filmmaker to put practical considerations above all aesthetic honesty. In the 60s, Bombay Cinema and its audience still exhibited a North Indian slant that could not accommodate regional differences in the same way as contemporary Bollywood does. The conventions of commercial Bombay cinema that require a shift from the unknown charms of Malgudi to the exotic appeal of Rajasthan excise a central motif in Narayan's narrative that the author would find abominable.

But the difference between the fiction and the film is dictated not only by the conventions of Bollywood but also by the constraints and possibilities of the visual genre. It is in its distillation of the novel, necessitated by the time constraints imposed by the visual medium that the film splits the focus between the picaresque plot of the transformation of the loveable rogue into a saint and the rescue tale in order to conform to the generic requirements of Bombay romance. Vijay Anand skips a number of chapters that deal with Raju's childhood (Chapter 2 and 3) and compresses detailed descriptions of his evolution into Raju Guide (Chapter 5) into a couple of frames to jump straight into his dramatic meeting with Rosie. The filmmaker transforms the technical necessity for distillation to recode the action of the novel into the conventions of Bombay cinema in which the protagonist's childhood, even when thematically relevant, is reduced to a few opening shots

6 The rescue motif returned with a bang in *Fanaa* with the Amir Khan playing the shining knight or 'shehzada' whose release of Kajol from darkness humanizes the terrorist and his final self-immolation or *fanaa* for the sake of his beloved recalls Raju's destructive love for Rosie in *Guide*.

before the camera moves to the main romantic interest. In *Guide*, the effect of Vijay Anand's recoding is to reinscribe the picaresque tale into a tale of a doomed romance. The film's opening – Raju's dramatic meeting with Rosie – establishes its generic focus before the romance proceeds in conformity with Bombay Cinema's established conventions and culminates in Marco's desertion of Rosie. The director retains dramatic lines and scenes from the novel, skips the introspective ones and rearranges the rest into accepted Hindi cinema grammar. His signposting of familiar cinematic stereotypes of the cruel husband, the tortured wife, and the sacrificing lover sanctifies the manipulative relationship between Raju and Rosie as the idealized love of Bombay cinema. Unlike the novel in which the dancer's *kunstlerroman* is emboxed in the main plot of Raju's transformation, the film gives equal weightage to both the frame and the tale. Raju's gradual deterioration is also summarily condensed in a succession of shots in the second half of the film but the build up to his imprisonment is dramatized. Similarly, the patient wait for the rains in the last sequence is devoted considerable time. While transcoding always requires a degree of distillation, the adpater's choice of sequences reflecting the adapter's perceptive can change the story so completely that Dev Anand can claim *Guide* as his story.

For Orr, "the narrative language of feeling, attitude and judgment in the novel often becomes more ambiguous and problematic when rendered through the image" because "visual gesture and expression" that the film depends on cannot hope to replicate "the complex fiction language of feeling purely through the look" (Orr 2). In *The Guide*, however, the film removes the novel's ambivalence and Raju's moral ambiguity captured through Narayan's comic ironic vision. This happens due to the film being a medium which depends on "showing" rather than telling and loses the prerogative exercised by 19th century fiction through the omniscient narrator. Since the film has no equivalent for the narrative voice, the burden of communicating psychological complexity is placed on the actor. Even though Dev Anand surpassed himself through his flamboyant portrayal of Narayan's loveable rogue, his limitations as an actor became evident in his inability to express moral ambiguity. Added to that was Dev Anand's acting style, which capitalized on his personal mannerisms – speech, delivery, pauses, and made him the star he was. Anand admits that he was content to be himself in all his films "unless the character demanded something outside of my own [his] personality" as in the later parts of *Guide*. The actor Dev Anand's interpretation of the Raju character has mediated the relationship between the novelist and the cinemagoer since the film was made. Anand inscribed Narayan's loveable crook with shades of his own extroverted screen persona and overshadowed Narayan's Raju so completely that, to the Hindi film audience, Dev Anand is Raju and Raju is Dev Anand. Though Anand gets out of his personality in the later parts as he claims, he interprets Raju as a reformed criminal who wishes to repent for his sins rather than the bewildered trickster who finds sainthood thrust on him by accident. This steers the thematic interest of the novel from an inquiry into the nature of impersonation to a study of salvation.

The film's female lead, Waheeda Rehman, on the other hand, brought to life Narayan's Rosie with such sensitivity that satisfied even the fastidious writer. By accepting the negative role of Rosie, she had taken a great professional risk that could have tarnished the "goody goody" image Bombay cinema required of its heroines in the 60s. But Waheeda brought into her portrayal of Rosie that beguiling mix of vulnerability and self-centredness that defined Narayan's Rosie. She summoned her commendable acting talent to communicate both the high-strung tension of the frustrated wife and the dancer's joy. With her "complexion not white, but dusky, which made her only half

visible, as if you saw her through a film of tender coconut juice," Waheeda fitted Rosie's physical description perfectly and her being a trained dancer also brought greater authenticity to her portrayal of the character. Though Anand did try to sublimate Rosie into the Hindi film dancing girl with a heart of gold, Rehman transcended the stereotype through the controlled intensity she brought to the character of the dancing girl. Unlike Dev Anand who was happy playing himself in the first part of the film, Rehman metamorphosed into Rosie so completely that her impeccable public image was forgotten. The varied shades of innocence and guile that could be seen on her face communicated the essence of Narayan's adulteress.

In his introduction to *Cinema and Fiction*, John Orr avers that film is more limited than the novel because it has no analagous conventions for rendering thought to narrative language that is used to describe consciousness in fiction. In *The Guide*, Raju's first person narration collaborates with the omniscient narrator, in reproducing the "subterranean life of Raju's thought in all its verbal intricacies" (Orr 2). The viewer in the 60s must depend only on what the film shows, Raju's actions and visible behavior, to intuit the actor's thought. The shift in point of view from that of the narrator to character in the novel must be communicated by the camera through rapid cutting and tracking which the film does but perhaps not as effectively as the novel. Though Anand deftly employs the title sequence to make the transition from the narrator to character, the Indian cinematic grammar had not sufficiently evolved to communicate these switches. Anand resorted to convey inner thought through the devise of voiceover through which Raju's dilemma is verbalized and the unsophisticated Hindi cinematic convention of the dramatization of the inner conflict through twin images of the self speaking to the character that might strike the contemporary viewer as particularly unimaginative as do literal symbols such as the crossroads in the opening sequence.

Though the cinesemioticism of Christian Metz has been found to be abstract and removed from the actual film, his insights into cinema that "tells us continuous stories; it 'says' things that could be conveyed also in the language of words; yet it says them differently. There is a reason for the possibility as well as for the necessity of adaptations" are still relevant. *Guide* deftly manipulates an aspect of Hindi cinema's formulaic grammar that is beginning to be recognized only now, namely the song and dance sequence – to say things differently. The much maligned song and dance sequence of Hindi cinema has at last begun to be recognized as an indigenous grammar for articulating different kinds of meaning. Until this media-specificity of Bombay cinema – a stylized convention naturalized to express the unsaid, inner thought, mood, emotion – was made visible, the Westernized viewer found the sudden breaks in narrative disconcerting. But the elevation of song and dance into a new cinematic idiom can help one review Anand's translation of Narayan's novel into Bombay cinema's formulaic grammar as a form of reinterpretation.

While each song in the film can stand alone as a masterpiece, it is also incorporated in the narrative for a number of functions including expressing feelings, thoughts, and emotions. The title song in Sachin Dev Barman's voice, a *bhatiali* song about the individual as intrinsically alone, perfectly complements Raju's mood when he is released from jail and literally articulates his thoughts as well as provides narrative commentary.

> *Wahan kaun hai tera musafir jayega kahan*
> What pulls you back there, where would you go?
> *Dam le le ghadi bhar aisi chaiyyan payega kahan*
> Rest for a while; where else would you find shade?

Not only thought but also mood is expressed through the language of song and dance. When picturizing songs, Vijay Anand revealed a remarkable mastery of the cinematic apparatus missing in the narrative sections. No verbal description, even that of the venerable author, can match the emotional power of *aaj phir jeene ki tamanna hai* (I wish to live again) in articulating Rosie's relief, joy, and vivacity when she is temporarily released from Marco's deathlike grip. The famous low angle tracking shot of Waheeda Rehman dancing along the ledge of the temple is one of the most memorable images of *Guide* capturing Rosie's dangerous step of leaving Marco. Similarly, the haunting mood of *tere mere sapne ab ek rang hain* (Your dreams and mine are of the same color now), which was canned in just three shots with complex character and camera movements, elevates Raju's passion for Rosie to the spiritual love Dev Anand boasted about. The deterioration in the Raju-Rosie relationship is also expressed through the medium of song. Raju's alienation from Rosie is conveyed through *dil dhal jaye sham na aaye tu to na aaye teri yaad sataye* (The day has set but the night has still not arrived, you aren't back but your memory tortures me) and their mutual betrayal through *kya se kya ban gaya tere pyar men bewafa* (what has your love turned me into, you infidel*).*

Guide also proves that dance, in isolation from song, can provide a more powerful metaphor than verbal language. A haunting image of Rosie from the film demonstrates the exciting possibilities offered by the visual medium in translating visual metaphors in fiction. Rosie is repeatedly described in the novel as the snake woman, a mythical enchantress who uses her physical beauty to ensnare and destroy hapless males, and requests Raju to take her into the settlement of snake charmers where she performs a snake dance. The film can actually show her performing the snake dance, which is one of the most powerful iconic images in the film through which Rosie's ensnaring and destruction of Raju is staged. Hiralal's superb choreography in the snake dance performed by Waheeda Rehman produces a spectacular visual impression of the snake woman. As the snake dance would evoke the mythical stereotype of the fatal enchantress in the mind of the Indian viewer, the film sums up with remarkable economy one of the central motifs in the novel while visually complementing Narayan's mythic characterization. While watching Anand's picturizing of Rosie's dance, one is reminded of Hutcheon's statement that "no medium is inherently good at doing one thing and not another; but each medium (like each genre) has different means of expression and so can aim at (and achieve) certain things better than others (43).

But the most important transformation that the generic transcoding brings to the film is that it reverses Narayan's sardonic critique of exotic India by its celebration of the miraculous and the common masses' belief system. By ending the film with the benedictory rains that fall in response to Raju's fasting and prayers, it adopts the perspective of its mass audience who would believe in such miracles. Narayan's satiric voice continues to mock at both the protagonist and his believing admirers until the last line but the film settles for a populist closure. However, the strange case of real life imitating reel life that the filmmakers exploited merely confirms the power of Bombay cinema over the psyche of the Indian masses. "That year the Bombay monsoon was delayed, and the city was thirsting for rain. And the day Guide — in which the hero fasts unto death for rain — was released, it poured over Bombay. Our posters said, 'Guide Brought The Rains!' Sometimes, even the elements favor you," Dev Anand reminisces fondly. While the film failed to meet the writer's or his admirers' approbation, it interpreted Narayan's great work in the language of the masses.

As the above analysis shows, adaptation entails both loss and gain but it also shows that "language is not the only means to express meaning or to tell stories" (Hutcheon 43). Therefore, the rhetoric

of loss underlying literary denigrations of adaptation must be displaced by a better appreciation of the sign specificity of different media that endows each with capacities that the other lacks. Unfortunately, dismissals of *Guide* are marred by a fidelity reflex and marginalize the question of aesthetic value to moralistic judgments on the commercial motives of its makers and consecration of the simple living author. The assessment of *Guide* should be based on aesthetic criteria derived from its generic requirements rather than its fidelity to its literary original. Whether *Guide* is a gross or improved version of *The Guide* should depend on how successfully it transcodes the novel within the conventions of the commercial "masala" film rather than a valorization of the author's disavowal of commerce. In my view, *Guide* twists the conventions of the "masala" film to offer a reinterpretation that might be viewed as an independent text. After watching Anand's *Guide*, like Hutcheon "I have become convinced of one thing: that adaptation is not necessarily secondary or parasitic" (50).

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LITERATURE AND CULTURAL STUDIES

Tragic Displacements in the Pursuit of a Sign: Analyzing the Discourse Produced on "Tragedy" as a Subject of Knowledge

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Abstract

This essay seeks to shed light on the process of producing knowledge on a sign in language called "tragedy." It attempts to illustrate how the knowledge produced on "tragedy" is nothing but a tragic redeployment of disparate material. Like any other sign in language, including words such as "scholar," "critic," "academy," "university," and even "knowledge," the "word" tragedy can mean whatever a community wants it to mean; it can be defined and redefined interminably. As this essay demonstrates, the narrative produced on "tragedy" under the guise of knowledge is mainly based on a sterile process of displacing formerly produced narratives, knowledge, from one cultural boundary to another. The process of displacement occurs at the level of word, paragraph, book, institution, and so on. Given this fact, the pursuit of the meaning of "tragedy" becomes ceaseless, inaccessible, and perilous, as the process may involve economic exploitation and ideological subjection. Because the totality of the existing process of displacement is not visible for the class of critics, professors, scholars, or thinkers, this essay regards them as a class of displaced monks conducting their rituals of displacing narratives on "tragedy" in the modern monasteries conservatively referred to as universities.

Keywords: tragedy, discourse analysis, literature, language

This essay seeks to shed light on the process of producing knowledge on "tragedy" as a sign in language. It attempts to illustrate how the knowledge produced on "tragedy" is nothing but a redeployment of disparate material in which critics fail to recognize that what they are pursuing as knowledge is unobtainable. Being a sign in language, the word "tragedy" can be defined interminably. The production of knowledge on tragedy, and any academic subject, is highly restricted and ritualized in such a manner that governs and determines what is sayable and acceptable as knowledge and what is not. Critics, thinkers, or university professors involved in the process of producing knowledge on "tragedy" displace stories about specific subjects from one cultural boundary to another to produce new stories under the guise of knowledge. This process of perpetual displacement keeps certain sterile processes of producing narratives, or myths, about particular cultural nodes in circulation rendering critics, thinkers, scholars, and university professors members of mythical communities.

The failure of critics to recognize that the process of producing knowledge on "tragedy," which is taken as a part standing for the whole of producing knowledge on any concept or sign in language, renders them victims to a perpetual pursuit of empty signs that can be defined and redefined endlessly. What scholars, thinkers, and critics believe to be knowledge produced on "tragedy" *is*, according to this paper, nothing but a narrative or myth that results from the temporal stabilization of the term. As Georg Lukács in his *History and Class Consciousness* points out:

> […] if from the vantage point of a particular class, the totality of existing society is not visible; if a class thinks the thoughts imputable to it and which bear upon its interests right through to their

logical conclusion and yet fails to strike at the heart of that totality, then such a class is doomed to play only a subordinate role. (52)

Lukács' statement above is re-quoted in another text produced by David Hornbrook, as a contribution to *The Shakespeare Myth* in a chapter entitled "Go play, boy, play: Shakespeare and Educational Drama." Hornbrook's article attempts to reveal how the British educational system in general and Shakespeare in particular are nothing but ideological instruments of subjection accepted by the subordinate class of teachers, parents, and students as natural (145-159).

Reciting and re-siting Lukács is used as a point of departure for understanding how knowledge on "tragedy" is produced by displacing a cultural product from one domain to another. Bearing in mind that Lukács' quote is a message with a content sent by Lukács himself to an audience in 1971 describing the condition in which any class is doomed to endure if that class accepts its thoughts to be imputable, and bearing in mind that Lukács himself belonged to a school of thought called Marxism, which produces knowledge in the ritualized form of the principles of that school, one can assume that Hornbrook's act of re-quoting Lukács is nothing but a displacement of the context within which the message was originally produced. The quotation is a displacement of the producer, as Hornbrook is not Lukács. It is a displacement of time as Hornbrook reproduced Lukács' statement in 1988. It is a displacement in school, as the school to which Hornbrook belongs is called Cultural Materialism, which differs from Marxism proper, while being variously influenced by it. It is even a displacement at the level of narrative as the language that precedes and follows this quotation in Lukács' book is different from the one in Hornbrook. Despite all this, the practice of displacing ideas from one context to another to produce new ideas is at the heart of academic production and accepted as natural and immutable.

It is ironic that this applies to this essay as it is engaged in the same process of the linguistic manipulation in which both Lukács and Hornbrook are being displaced along with the totality of their contexts. However, the quotation tells us that Hornbrook, as a receiver of Lukács' message, identifies with that message and displaces it from its context, along with other disparate ideas, to apply it in a new one. This does not mean, of course, that Hornbrook identifies with Lukács in all other statements, or with the Marxist school. As such, it is merely an identification with one specific instance of linguistic production. By identifying with the quote in question, the statement or the message sent by Lukács becomes a truth conventionally accepted by at least two people, Lukács and Hornbrook. The process of identification can be extended to include any number of believers making Lukács more influential as the number of those who identify with his message increases. The message becomes a truth that can be generalized and applied to each situation that resembles the one within which it was originally produced. The process of identifying with the quote is important as it involves keeping Lukács' ideas and Marxist thought in circulation. In addition, this process perpetuates the practices of producing narratives in the academy, publication houses, and ideological institutions consequently leading to the ritualization, domestication, and even radicalization of Lukács' thought; therefore rendering the pilgrimage to congregations known as conferences where those who believe in Lukács' statement reproduce it in syntactically, semantically, and rhetorically different forms.

Hornbrook in his essay displaces both Lukács' quote and the meaning of the word "class" in that quote. In Lukács, the word "class" is used as a generic term that refers to any class that accepts its thoughts as immutable. Hornbrook, on the other hand, displaces it to refer to a more specific one,

a British class to whom teaching and reproducing Shakespeare in the United Kingdom, and to the more general category of education within which Shakespeare is nothing but a narrower category, or a sign. In other words, in the same statement, Lukács' general class becomes Hornbrook's British class. The process of displacing this statement can continue interminably to apply to any category or concept of language to which the word "class" can be applied. In the process of displacement, the meaning of class can be narrowed or expanded depending on the context and the class the writer intends to describe. For example, a critic can use it:

> Socially to refer the working class, the middle class, or the upper class
> Geographically to refer to a class in England, China, Jordan, India, Europe, Africa
> Ideologically to refer to Marxists, Capitalists, Jews, Muslims, Buddhists, Christians, etc.
> Educationally to refer to students, teachers, thinkers, critics, scholars, philosophers, etc.

These categories can also be mixed together to produce new statements endlessly. For example, one can narrow and redefine Lukács' paragraph by saying that:

> If for
> the (tragic) working class
> the British working class
> the Muslim British working class
> the Arab scholars
> the Marxist Arab scholars
> the Althusserian Marxist Arab scholars
> the Althusserian Marxist Arab scholars of the 1990s
> the twenty first century Althusserian Marxist Iraqi Arab scholars
> the totality of existing society is not visible; if (this) class thinks the thoughts imputable to it and which bear upon its interests right through to their logical conclusion and yet fails to strike at the heart of that totality, then such a class is doomed to play only a subordinate role. (52)

Lukács' quote is nothing but a single specific example of how the process of displacement at the level of paragraph keeps a person's ideas, school of thought, institution, and discourse in circulation and power. It also reveals how ideas can be moved from "one adjacent territory to another" (Greenblatt 13). The success of the power of displacement depends merely on the process of identification, in which someone, or a group of people, accepts or rejects the language produced by that person, school, institution, and the manner in which that language is produced as true. By moving Lukacs' quote from its context to another, that quote loses its identity because the new context and interpretation are never completely Lukács' but partly the new interpreter's. This is illustrated in another quote which this essay displaces from Greenblatt's context and in which Greenblatt believes that:

> Whereas most collective expressions moved from their original setting to a new place or time are dead on arrival, the social energy encoded in certain works of art continues to generate the illusion of life for centuries. (7)

Greenblatt here provides a commentary on the practice of displacing cultural material, of which the displaced quote is an example, from one context to another. The quote can be regarded as true or false depending on whether the receiver identifies or counter-identifies with it. Once this statement is accepted by the receiver as true, it will affect the way he or she interprets each displaced cultural product or interpretation. Since it is the only way to get the article published, and the only way to

attract attention to the vanity and futility of the practice of displacing ideas, this article ironically yields to the ritualized and institutionalized processes of displacing the material in the academy. The process of displacing interpretations from their original contexts is foregrounded in this paper in an attempt to defamiliarize its naturalness for modern monks, the critics, and thinkers who are trapped in the tightly knit plot and highly ritualized form of producing knowledge. In the attempt to reveal how displacement tragically produces knowledge, the subsequent part of the essay pursues the process of displacing the word "tragedy" to see whether this process really produces real knowledge about the world or whether it produces mere mythical illusions which critics and thinkers accept as "knowledge." The word "tragedy" in the discussion should be regarded as a concept in language that can mean whatever two or more people accept it to mean.

The Tragic Displacements of Tragedy

For literary critics, the word "tragedy" as a concept in language may seem transparent and clear. However, like any concept in language, this clarity is nothing but an illusion. This word is merely a linguistic sign that leads a chameleon-like existence. It can be defined in a single sentence, paragraph, page, essay, book, and even books. Like all concepts which have been structured as cultural nodes about which knowledge is produced, this knowledge is nothing but a narrative. The knowledge produced about tragedy, or any other cultural node, is nothing but a never-ending practice of producing stories, narratives, myths, and so on. Tragically, the scholars, critics, thinkers, professors, monks, etc. who write and rewrite those stories never reach closure. The so-called intellectuals, thinkers, critics, professors, teachers, and students are subjected through the power of language and discourse to a perpetual pursuit of empty signs. By accepting this process as natural and by believing in the unitary meaning, they are doomed to occupy a subordinate position (Chaney 54).

Like any other word in language, the word "tragedy" has its roots in metaphor (Nietzsche 5). At a specific time in history, as Hellenist scholars inform us, the Greeks decided to establish an arbitrary relationship with an animal in the outside world. A sign, written and spoken, was created to refer to that animal; it was called "tragos." The word "tragos" has its counterpart in English in another arbitrary relation; it is referred to by using the spoken and written signifier which the users of that language realize as "goat." Since the language system that is used to refer to the Greek tragos is an arbitrary one, this word can be replaced by an infinite number of signs in other languages like Chinese, Arabic, Hindi, Persian, etc. In every single instance, it is convention that allows the word "tragos" and its counterparts in all the other languages to have meaning. For it is the conventional nature of language that allows the word "tragos" to have that specific meaning for the Greeks, and allows the English to use a different word, "goat," to refer to the same thing in the outside world. In other words, "tragos" and "goat" are two signs that have supposedly the same referent (Culler).

The word "tragos" was later displaced from everyday popular usage, and another connection was established with another object in the outside world. The signifier "tragos" was extended to provoke a signified within a religious and ritual practice. It was displaced to be used in another specific historical period to refer not only to the animal English communicators call "goat," but to a ritualistic village ceremony which involved the death and resurrection of a God. As Vickers indicates:

> […] tragedy originated in ritual then it continued to be influenced by ritual. Therefore we can only understand it if we approach it as ritual; and as a ritual of a peculiar type, frenzied, ecstatic, destructive, based on the 'death and rebirth' of the hero as a paradigm of the movement of the seasons or the cycle of existence. (35)

Stanley Edgar Hyman similarly indicates that:

> Tragedy as we know it had its first and greatest flowering in fifth-century Athens, in the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and its fullest theoretical formulation in the Poetics of Aristotle. The forms of Attic tragedy, as Aristotle half knew from tradition, revived from the sacrificial rites of Dionysus, in which the god in bull or goat form was annually slain, dismembered, and resurrected. (287)

The displacement of the word "tragedy" from a communicative context to a ritualistic one is the focus of the following argument. It is, however, justifiable at this moment to enquire about what enabled the word "tragos" to be displaced from its everyday communicative field in which it refers to a small animal to a ritualistic one which involves the death and resurrection of a God.

At first inspection it seems that the word "goat" does not have any relation with the death and resurrection of a God. However, the answer to this question lies deep in the mode of signification itself – a mode that involves a process called "myth-making." As it has been indicated, the word "tragedy" shifted, or displaced, its referent from an animal in the outside world to a ceremonial activity. Although there seems no connection between the animal and the ceremonial activity at first sight, on a deeper linguistic investigation the connection may be established. This connection is not established at the level of denotation but at the level of connotation. Denotation strictly refers to the thing indicated by a word. The word "tragos" or "goat" can be defined simply as "an animal that has horns on top of its head and long hair under its chin" (Longman dictionary). This definition is opposed to connotation, the associations and implications of the word. The word "goat" is generally associated with lust and fertility. It acquired these interesting connotations as a result of its history in ancient religions. The Greeks regarded the goat as the most lustful of the animals and hence the most fertile. As Western anthropological texts inform us, "animal fertility was closely connected with the fertility of the earth. The Hebrews used it, symbolically, to load a goat with their sins and drive it out into the desert; Christ is sometimes compared to this *scapegoat*" (Bergson 153).

Thus, by associating the connotations of fertility and lust of the goat with the fertility of the earth and production, the ancient Greeks succeeded in displacing the manning of "tragos" metonymically and applied it to the person who can also be associated with the fertility of the earth. At the beginning, the God Dionysus, who stood for the fertility of the earth, was regarded to be the "tragos." Later, the God was displaced and a great man or ruler standing, not only for the fertility earth but for the welfare of the society, became the "tragos." Displacing the word "tragos" and associating it with the God Dionysus and later with a great man depended mainly on the process of displacing the connotations of the word "tragedy." This displacement was facilitated by establishing connections between the qualities of the "tragos" and those of Gods or men. The man to whom the qualities of the goat were transferred was not any man; like the goat, the man stood for the fertility of the earth. As anthropologists inform us, the scapegoat was not any man but the ruler of the tribe. Again, connotations and associations played an essential role in this cultural practice.

As is well known, the word "man" denotes "an adult human male" (Longman Dictionary). However, for those tribes, one "adult human male" possessed more dignified qualities than the others. That man was the ruler of the tribe. For ancient societies, the rulers of the tribes were regarded as divine or semi-divine beings and their life was identified with the lifecycle of nature and of human existence. Because of this identification, the safety of the people, even of the

world, depended, as those people believed, on the life of the god-king. A vigorous, healthy ruler would ensure natural and human productivity. On the other hand, being associated with sterility, a sick or frail ruler would bring blight and disease to the land and its people. This "statement" is universalised as a fact by James G. Frazer who believes that:

> If the course of nature is dependent on the man-god's life, what catastrophes may not be expected from the gradual enfeeblement of his powers and their final extinction in death? There is only one way of averting these dangers. The man-god must be killed as soon as he shows symptoms that his powers are beginning to fail, and his soul must be transferred to a vigorous successor before it has been seriously impaired by threatened decay. (265)

Here Frazer exemplifies the relation between the man-god and the welfare of his tribe. He conceives of this nature in general terms. Frazer does not present a fact about a specific tribe in the past, but he makes a generalization about a supposedly human activity that prevailed among all ancient tribes. Elsewhere, Frazer gives validity to his generalization by revealing the hidden tie between specific cases and this universal practice:

> Under the names of Osiris, Tammuz, Adonis, and Attis, the peoples of Egypt and Western Asia represented the yearly decay and revival of life, especially vegetable life, which they personified as a god who annually died and rose again from the dead. In name and detail the rites varied from place to place: in substance they were the same. (325)

Frazer's theory can be interpreted in different ways depending on the schemata operating at the time of interpreting it, the intentions of the interpreter, his or her background knowledge, and the discourses which control what can be said, who can say it, and where it can be said. Frazer's interpretation of tragedy can be taken as a true statement which can be activiated by those who identify with it each time the subject is discussed (Biilg, et. al 54). However, if one asks from where Frazer received his authority as a truth generator on tragedy, the answer can be found in the power of discourse. Frazer's discussion of tragedy is sanctioned by an institution called the academy which presumably produces forms of truth we label as "knowledge." The academy itself includes within its subcategories a discipline called anthropology which presumably produces truth about people, their societies, histories, and cultures. Witihin anthropology we have a group, or category, called Cambridge Hellenists which is presumably specialized in studying and producing truth about the ancient Greeks, their arts, history society, and culture. Frazer himself is a member of this group, while "tragedy" is an object about which they produce knowledge.

Frazer's theory reveals the power of myth in shaping the collective unconscious of a group of people. Because a tribe believed in the myth that a human sacrifice may ensure fertility, it was willing to sacrifice the life of one of its members exactly as it became later willing to sacrifce a goat instead. It was, of course, the power of convention that helped perpetuate that story as truth, and once people stopped believing in the power of sacrifice, that truth became a myth. Applying our theory of displacement, one can say that a myth is a past truth which no one believes anymore.

Taking these statements as expressing truth, and identifying with them as true statements on tragedy, one can positively state that tragedy has its roots in myth. Myth, like tragedy, is also an object of study. Like the language produced on tragedy, the language produced on myth is also influenced by two distinct sciences, anthropology and psychology, respectively represented by Frazer and Freud. Another great influence on the study of myth is Carl Gustav Jung whose study of myth and its archetypes can be said to be a synthesis of psychology and anthropology (Vickers 168). In other

words, Jung used a poetic device called a collage to establish a connection between two separate fields of study, consequently producing a third field of knowledge. By espousing anthropology and psychology, an intertextual web of knowledge was established in which the texts produced in those two distinct fields supported each other and gave power to each other. Both disciplines derive their validity to some exent from each other and from the institutions which also give them power. The stories produced on tragedy by psychology, anthropology, and their synthesis can be expanded and interpreted endlessly by utilizing mere linguistic devices. For example, one can espouse the statements on tragedy produced by the previous fields with another school of thought called Marxism. Take, for example, the following paragraph from Victor Kiernan's book *Eight Tragedies of Shakespeare: A Marxist Study*, where he approaches Shakespeare's tragedies by employing Marxist tenets while spicing them with anthroplogical flavor. Kiernan believes that in those tragedies:

> The hero who 'represents' us becomes in the end our expiatory sacrifice, whom we feel with as well as condemn. Even Coriolanus, whose death is most visibly a punishment visited on the sins of his class, has been applauded by all Romans, high or low, for his brutal violence against neighbouring peoples. All this carries with it associations with the scapegoat sacrificed to rid the body politic of a taint. Hamlet has to die because Denmark is 'rotten,' and with him the whole royal family under whose auspices things have become what they are. In an age so fiercely theological as Shakespeare's, neither he nor his audience could be forgetful of the doctrine of atonement; little as he was moved by religious dogmas, this one was too deeply rooted in social consciousness to have no meaning for him as a writer of tragedies. (205)

The practice of producing knowledge about the sign we call "tragedy" has produced innumerable books discussing the mythic origins of tragedy. Students within institutions called universities, colleges, theaters, and schools, repeated the truth about tragedy given to them by their patriarchs, educators. The reproductivity of this truth, consequently, perpetuated its circulation and endowed it with more validity. However, at a specific moment in history, former knowledge on the theory of the mythic origin of tragedy lost its truth-value and itself became a myth. The relation between the fertility of the goat and the play that carries its name was challenged by a new interpretation where "a growing number of scholars believe that the derivation of tragoidia refers not to a 'goat song' but to the goat which was the prize for which tragedians competed" (Vickers 34).

If one identifies with this new interpretation, then the whole knowledge produced on tragedy and the fertility myth would prove to be mere myths. Ironically, Frazer's theory as Vickers indicates is "now utterly discredited" and this "tradition has also received some severe criticism which ought to have annihilated it completely" (38). What is also ironic about both Frazer's theory and the theory which views the origin of tragedy in the reward and not in the sacrifice is that they both find their roots in George Puttenham's sixteenth-century interpretation of the origins of tragedy:

> Matters of great Princes were played upon lofty stages, & the actors thereof ware upon their legges buskins of leather called, Cothurni, and other solemne habits, & for a speciall preheminence did walke upon those high corked shoes or pantofles, which now they call in Spaine and Italy Shoppini. And because those buskins and high shoes were commonly made of goats skinnes very finely tanned, and dyed into colours, or for that, as some say, the best players reward was a goate to be given him, or for that, as other thinke, a goate was the peculiar sacrifice of the god Pan, king of all the gods of the woodes – for as much as a goate in Greeke is called Tragos, therfore these stately playes were called Tragedies. (73)

A meticulous inspection of the quote reveals that the once institutionalized Frazerean and

Hellenist anthropological scientific interpretation of tragedy was nothing but an expansion on Puttenham's claim. What is not extended in the knowledge produced about tragedy within the ritualized paradigms of knowledge, and which is referred to in Puttenham's extract, is that tragedy may refer to the "high corked shoes" which the players of tragedy used to wear. Those "high shoes were commonly made of goats skinnes very finely tanned, and dyed into colours."

If the quotes above reveal anything it is that the so-called scientific objective interpretation of tragedy, and the tremendous knowledge produced about the subject, were nothing but extensions using linguistic techniques on Puttenham's sixteenth-century view. However, the question which remains is why the class of the so-called critics, scholars, and thinkers reproduce stories, generally referred to as knowledge, about a Greek cultural node, or subject position, known as "tragedy." Since it is impossible to reveal how the subordinate minds of the class of intellects, thinkers, scholars, and critics tragically accept the process of reproducing knowledge about a node in a gigantic game of cultural and linguistic manipulation reproduces knowledge in ritualized forms mystically planned and re-planned at a particular time and place, I would tragically conclude by identifying and displacing Lukács who believes that:

> […] if from the vantage point of a particular class, the totality of existing society is not visible; if a class thinks the thoughts imputable to it and which bear upon its interests right through to their logical conclusion and yet fails to strike at the heart of that totality, then such a class is doomed to play only a subordinate role. (52)

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Bertha's Intuitive Quest: Recognizing the Feminine Self

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Abstract

This article puts light on the unmasking of Bertha's unawake self in Katherine Mansfield's short story "Bliss" published in 1918. Mansfield unlocks the shackled and entangled experiences of sexuality and femininity in the narration of the story. The phases of development of Bertha's conscience are metaphorically parallel to the way the story unfolds. The setting of the story too plays a dominant role in the projection of her cocooned self. The unrecognized personality in Bertha is reflected when she comes across Miss Fulton, her acquaintance as a foil in the form of a mask prepared beneath. The contradictions and dilemmas in her mind are concretized when she confronts the typical feminine essence in Fulton which later she finds to have attracted her husband, Harry. Furthermore, several instances in the story establish the gradual realization of Bertha. Her quest for a self is her inward struggle to set herself free from the stereotypical constraints of the society she lives in. Mansfield breaks the paradigm of seeing women through the patriarchal gaze. Hence, Bertha remains the insipient sojourner who never knowingly dares to rebel or submit to the worldly customs.

Keywords: quest, epiphany, submerged conscience, illusion

Modernism shows a radical break from the typical Victorian form of expressions in literature. This new form of expression reflects the crisis and the changes in the society relating to human consciousness. This movement also registers the changes in position of women and a high degree of aesthetic self-consciousness. Katherine Mansfield was greatly inspired to show the female protagonist's predicament and her ultimate transformation when she came in close contact with the modernist writers like D. H. Lawrence, Virginia Woolf, Marcel Proust, Wordsworth, Oscar Wilde, and other great English writers of the early twentieth century. As a modern writer, Mansfield's object is not to show the extraneous triumph of the condition of women in a patriarchal society but to reflect on their inner selves. Therefore, experiences of disintegration and fragmentation in the female characters are shown in her stories. That has made Mansfield stand apart from the stereotypical perception about women. The moment of crisis arises in Mansfield's stories for a short period of time when the central characters pass from a stage of innocence to personal and social consciousness. Her attempt to strike at the very basis of the thoughts and reflections of women is the focus of this paper. Mansfield's "Bliss" is a short story which encapsulates glimpses of Bertha's life. The experiences of Bertha lead her to find her inner self. In the development of the story, only the usage of certain words like "spark," "Bliss," "absolute Bliss" lays the foundation of the silent quest in her soul. Bertha's tacit compliance, that is the numbness of her "self," disallows her so long to see the reality of her existence. No quick transitions or unpredictable changes that form an identity of an individual have been shown in the benign form of her conscious self.

The co-existence of a binary self (one, the unfelt and the other, emerging) is laid as the underlying

self-generated beginning of an inward journey that helps the readers experience the exploration of Bertha's being. She is a modern housewife who goes through a discovery of her "true self" that affirms her existence. The illusionary world seemed to her more pleasant than the harsh reality. Later in the story, she no longer deceives herself by declining the reality and taking shelter from her false beliefs. The narrator constructs the short story using elaborate figurative devices such as imagery, symbols, paradox, anaphora, irony, and other narrative techniques to expose the journey she undergoes from the state of innocence to experience.

Mansfield starts the text with Bertha's restlessness through her "dancing steps," "running instead of walking," "to bowl a hoop," "throwing up something in the air, catching it again," and "laughing at nothing." These swift physical movements inexplicably mark Bertha's triumph over reality and the inner world of her mind, finally leading to an ironical encounter of her present unresolved "being" with her disillusioned self. Hence, the blooming pear tree is juxtaposed with the betrayed and desolated Bertha whose former naïve and unconscious notion of being in a bliss(ful) life/state is disastrously realized by her husband's deception of her.

Mansfield weaves the developments of the story so intricately that the representation of self appears to be intertwined in the very plot. The characters in her stories do not really conform to the conventional modes of living and rather attempt to find a new way of seeing unresolved things. The lived and undisclosed experiences of Bertha thus take her to a quintessential discovery of a "self" that has long been falling through her misconceptions. Mansfield (1927) in an interview affirms, "I want, by understanding myself, to understand others. I want to be all that I am capable of becoming." Hence, the embezzled Bertha in the last scene becomes the mouthpiece of Mansfield in showcasing the utter stagnancy of the position of a woman in her surroundings. The undisclosed attributes of reality in the self and the mundane yet decorative, fake and illusionary happiness in the form of "Bliss" are eventually illuminated. The understanding of Bertha is thus, paradoxically, hopeless, as it takes her apparently nowhere.

The sentence structure of "Bliss" corresponds with Bertha's mental stages. The cohesive clinging of the dispersed images, experiences, symbols in Mansfield's narrative paves the way to the formation of a newer dynamic structure in contrast to an organic one. Bertha's psychological mobility surmounts the progression to a state of maturity. This interpretation is also evident as "internal and cerebral narrative" in Feenstra's *Circling the Self* (72). The exaggeration of the emotion, namely "Bliss" or ecstasy, of Bertha ironically emphasizes the inwardly metamorphosed mind that brings the transcendental gloom of the tragic understanding. It can be felt that the repetitive exclamation marks (!) in the text create a sense of anticipation and expository queries that connect to the intuitive details of the blissful state. As if the "Rattling" (Mansfield 1) is the silent awakening from the "unbearable/tight clasp" (Mansfield 1) of the dormant but stark reality.

This internal evolutionary state of Bertha's being can also be related to the following excerpt from Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*:

> In claiming herself sovereign, he (man) comes up against (rencontre) the complicity of woman herself: because she is also an existent, she has the tendency for transcendence and her project is not repetition but transcendence toward a different future; in the heart of her being she finds the confirmation of masculine pretensions. (64)

Bertha feels that her romantic illusions overflow. Her fantasies form her romantic illusions though the "Bliss" in her finds no appropriate exposure. From the narrative technique it is apparent that

the journey she makes inwardly takes her eventually into materializing the sense of being. The juxtaposition of her feeling and expressing emotions, fears, thoughts, participating in the social events are created out of these stereotypical conventions of the society. Bertha gets stuck finding no possibility to break the shackles of society. This stagnancy makes her unable to seek/realize "the self"/her true identity/who she is, what she wants, how much she wants, or how far she can go with her choice. The immobility in a way puts her into an unknowing cycle around which she keeps whirling. As she says,

> Really – really – she had everything. She was young. Harry and she were as much in love as ever, and they got on together splendidly and were really good pals. She had an adorable baby. They didn't have to worry about money…. (Mansfield 4)

Bertha's incompleteness of expressions and the irregularity of her gestures display the dilemma that she constantly bears in her soul. She has internalized the codes and norms of the society, the expressions and gestures from her acquaintances as well as experiences. She is conditioned to repress real emotions and feelings though it is somewhat innate and through these inexpressive and unsought gestures she suddenly diagnoses her absurdity. Neaman suggests that by engaging in her role as "the good wife and mother, [Bertha] observes the conventions of social responsibility which pinion her whims and moods" (250).

Bertha's benign experiences are articulated in the fiction. Her epiphanic moments intensify her greater understanding and acceptance of the presence of a contradictory self. D'Hoker, cited in Feenstra, states this moment of Bertha as the "ordinary reality is transcended in these moments and the moment achieves the perfection and timelessness of art" (66). Bertha is unable to relate the outer world with her personal experiences which crystallizes her to an utter obliviousness of the reality of life. Both Bertha and Fulton are the narrative projections of Mansfield. The objective correlation of these projections is related to the interconnectedness of their selves with the blooming pear tree and the silver moonshine respectively. The extensive manifestations of some exuberant colors are apparent in the fruit tray: blue, purple, white, green, yellow, pink. The colorlessly colorful decoration of fruits foreshadows her void. The suppressed domination in Bertha and her lack of assertiveness are indicated through the way she takes the supremacy in certain trifling household chores like arranging the dinner table.

Bertha's ideology prevents the blossoming of her emotions and intellect. It is evident in the party when the true faces of Harry and Fulton are revealed to Bertha as her internality confronts and comes in conflict with the socially constructed inhibitions. The moment when it is felt and grasped becomes the epiphany of Bertha's perception. It intensifies the deeper level of understanding and accepting the contradictory self. The finer details, like arranging the fruits, setting the flowers, etc., in the storyline are laid out chronologically to poke at the eventual intense inert psychological awakening and give the narrative linearity. Modern awakening is most often defined as "The combination of revolt against Victorian fathers, recognition of the artist's alienation, pursuit of the contemporary in language, psychology and behavior, creation of dynamic forms in which to contain a newly awakened sense of present reality" (Kaplan 6). The devastating blow that Bertha receives from her former unfelt experiences enables her to shed the "romantic, fantasized clothing" about her husband Harry.

Beauvoir suggests that individuals would be able to accept their respective incompleteness and in so doing also accept that this is sufficient for recognizing "the self" and "the other" in mutual

reciprocity (60). Bertha lacked freedom of expression and she did not have any definite moral connection with the patriarchal prerogatives of freedom. An individual surpasses the confinements by expanding the will and knowledge of the self. Beauvoir disregards the male superiority in terms of the hegemony and masculine subjectivity. Instead, according to the critic the masculine subject carves out the definitive path of the female entity towards freedom.

Bertha quickly moves from the dining room to the "nursery" where she asserts her authoritative self. Her restlessness is expressed through her failure to articulate promptly and her vacillation during the instructing of the governesses about the household chores. Getting embarrassed with her overt impulsiveness as she walks around the table, she feels the moments as celestial where Harry's trifling over the matters of Fulton becomes very intolerable and incomprehensible. Inability to express how she feels is a result of her long, withdrawing, misunderstood concept of seeing things. Inertia that succumbs her to stoop down is something that Mansfield puts light on. Her discourse is tempered by social conditioning as she remains unable to shower affections on her baby even and getting stuck over the phone while talking to her husband at a time when she is intensely euphoric and ecstatic. The narrator's repeated use of the word "fiddle" emphasizes the delusion, deception, and delirium that occur in Bertha's life. Similarly, "fire," "spark," "glow," and "flame" in the text represents the glimmer in her bosom that finally leads to her awareness.

Bertha encounters the tension between different aspects of the self which leads gradually to her "internal" authenticity and its comprehensiveness. She explores "an isolated self-identity" (Feenstra 65). She fails to understand the true nature of the relationship between her husband and Pearl Fulton. Bertha remains preoccupied with expressions of emotions as something spiritual. She naively perceives the incongruity of the extramarital affair of her husband and Fulton. The unconscious experiences lie scattered in Bertha's conscience and the conscious occurrence remains unknowingly vague. Her inability to blend reality of "reduced and muted existence" (Feenstra 66) abstains her from the unification of her experiences. The narrator indicates Bertha's helplessness in asserting her role of dominance as a mother using several instances in conversation.

> Bertha wanted to ask if it wasn't rather dangerous to let her clutch at a strange dog's ear. *But she did not dare to.* She stood watching them, her hands by her side, like *the poor little girl in front of the rich girl with the doll.* (Mansfield 2; emphasis added)

The diverse roles of maternity, companionship, matronship, and friendship consequently merge towards a composed materialistic self. It seems that Bertha's life is just a coagulation of some "wrong moment(s)" all dispersed due to lack of realization. At the end of "Bliss," Bertha relates herself with the fully bloomed "pear tree" and her smile asserts the revelation of her previous incompatible state. The objective correlativity between the bloomed pear tree and a hollow unawake inner space in Bertha evokes the eventual in depth revelation. Her adherence to the expected social norms (keeps her away from seeing the world as it is) makes her discontent. While talking about her feelings, she repeatedly uses the term "absolute bliss" and the gust of emotion that overwhelms her seems to be threatening socially coded norms and behavior. She is disgusted, failing to express her feelings that hinder the destined roles of a wife and a mother. With these expressions of Bertha, "Oh is there no way to express it without being 'drunk and disorderly'?" (Mansfield 1), the tension between the unrestricted freedom and socially defined individual self becomes vivid.

The social changes regarding the struggles of women for their rights around the 1920s in England had been a prevalent focus of many writers. Katherine Mansfield as a modernist short story writer was concerned with the trivial events and subtle changes in human behavior and the atmosphere. Hence, the characters are probed more deeply than the plot. The muted and silenced women in the domestic sphere of home thus remain the recurring themes in her writing though Mansfield never considered herself as a feminist writer. As D. L. He justly mentioned, "Many feminist movements offered Mansfield the materials and sources to depict the images of women, which on the other hand, furthered the development of feminism" (3).

Mansfield as a modernist short story writer portrays the characteristic moments of epiphany through several instances of life. The visionary glimpses eventually lead to the shaping of Bertha's illusive world. The selections of Bertha's life are the manifestations of the submerged conscience in her psyche and the finer instincts of apprehension. The narration of the story features fragmentation of her experiences which is actually the coexistence of the multiple consciousness. Mansfield's style of complexity is congruent to the layered psychological changes and developments of Bertha. Bertha repeatedly fails to express her emotions.

Discovering the true nature of Harry and Fulton's relationship puts light on Bertha's transformed dystopian view of life which once appeared to her as or shook her concept of "absolute bliss." Mansfield thus objectifies female subjective experiences with a newer awakening vision. The discrepancy between what she used to think about Harry and Miss Fulton, and later what is revealed to her, is intrinsically formulated as an implied advancement in her pursuit. Earlier notions of a "perfect wife" and "absolute bliss" determined and shaped her life in a stereotypical and monotonous frame/circle.

Mansfield's responsibility as a writer was ascertained in pretty circumstantial detail in depicting the phase of Bertha's life where the internal changes/changes in looking into one's own self taking place all around the world set critical standards that could adequately combat the outdated looks, ideas, and beliefs about family, society, man-woman relationships. Bertha finds herself stumbling in traditional values that haunt her efforts to grasp what is before her. The paradoxical feeling of "bliss" as portrayed in the story is the deliberate tool not to ridicule but to arouse compassion and humanity.

In the lexical and syntactical levels of the story, the idea of Bertha's repressed sexuality through eroticism, lesbianism, and sensuality is implied. The title of the short story is deceptively simple. Lexically, "bliss" stands for oblivious ecstasy which also refers to the spiritual happiness "typically that reached after death." The young Bertha, thirty years old, feels charged and outbursts of passionate sparks that "burn" in her bosom stimulate her fingers and toes. The running sensations create shivering responses in her feminine entity. The reader is led to seek the erotic implications of these unrelated quivering sensations and flickering emotional outbursts. Traditional criticism of the text already confirms the repressed sexuality of Bertha, the unconscious lesbian desire for Pearl, the symbolic illustrations of fascination and attractions through details of forms, colors and fruits (objects) with connotative meanings: "How idiotic civilization is! Why be given a body if you have to keep it shut up in a case like a rare, rare fiddle?" (Mansfield 1).

The imagery of the fiddle (violin) and the witty recurrence of the fidgeting playfulness are evidence of the explicit sexual elements in the text which is again supported by the reference to the feelings

that follow: "'No, that about the fiddle is not quite what I mean,' she thought, running up the steps and feeling in her bag for the key--…." It is also noticeable that there is no significant auditory image in the short story which shows the silent growth of Bertha's (dumb) nature in terms of her introversion. The moments of internal change in the character and the development of the self determines the rhythmic growth of the story. The realistic experiences of Bertha are blended with the pictorial poetic venture of the story.

Beauvoir affirms in *The Ethics of Ambiguity* that freedom begins with the self-recognition of not being a free subject in the present (60). Bertha remains unaware of the involuntary emergence of her cocooned and agitated self. She throws off her coat in a chilly, dusky dining room which allegorically reflects the metamorphosis of her former unquenched self. The dejected lady has an incessant reformative quest for attaining a greater knowledge and perception of other selves. She gets to a higher existential understanding and achieves a state of being where she incorporates the corporeal and the divine. The sonder is envisioned in the profound last scene of the short story where lonely Bertha in the moonlit night is driven into the vast gulf of unawareness. She, however, holds fast to the somber reality that flourishes into the becoming of her (self).

The lucid and compact syntactical structure of the narration is parallel to the consequent and cohesive growth and discovery of Bertha. The dichotomy in Bertha leads to her inauthentic and unexplored existence. Mansfield maneuvers the duality in Bertha's understandings which at times are a practical, imaginative, visionary and scrupulous way of seeing things. This inability to reconcile the dispersed personalities intensifies the aesthetic value of the short story. With the compatible self, Bertha's apparent failure is a complex psychological phase towards developing her true self. The incongruent selves of Bertha overshadow the narrative creating a sense of unease. The culmination of these shattered pieces of her real life experiences occur when she deciphers the deception and hypocrisy of her husband and Fulton. The writer draws the minute details of human behaviors to explicate and suggest the greater intricate contexts in relation. The triangularity of relations, according to Aihong is "a strong feeling of division and discontinuity between male and female experiences" (101). Mansfield's typical style of writing reveals the inarticulateness and the feeling of being nowhere that engender "positive femininity." The story is implicitly depicting the realistic disparaging condition of women, where the societal constrictions and compulsions repress the feminine emotions like the repressed "bliss" in this story. The story portrays the real "life" experience of Bertha and also makes her different as a "Bright one" (Celtic meaning of Bertha) as her very name suggests. Mansfield's long observant role of overseeing the typical patriarchal hegemony gives voice to the numerous contemporary modern interpretations. As in "Bliss," the final question asked by Bertha, "Oh, what is going to happen now?" enkindles both the identification with and alienation from her blissful and sentimental impulses. The attempts have been made to expose the concern over the feminine behavior and feeling as Wheeler in Knikelbein brings to light in "Bliss," Mansfield's "satire [is] modified by pathos and compassion which she employed for her knifelike criticisms of conventional relationships and social forms of behaviour, simultaneously revealing subtleties of behaviour and feeling" (8).

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Wole Soyinka's *The Lion and the Jewel:* An Allegory of Imperial Resistance

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Abstract

Since the composition of the drama *The Lion and the Jewel* in 1959 by Wole Soyinka, critics have been intrigued regarding its contribution to postcolonial and anglophone African literature but the objective of this article is to illustrate the drama as an allegory of imperial resistance with various theoretical approaches. The study delves into exploring how a counter-discourse is created against the discourse of racism and dominance of the imperialist. The paper deals with the unprecedented forms of psychological resistance from the colonized people. It also foregrounds an "ideological resistance" in the drama against Eurocentric politico-cultural hegemonizing and hybridizing effort. Thus, the paper argues that the drama conveys the imperial resistance through counter-discourse, psychoanalytical approach, and ideological resistance through syncreticism, and consequently, the drama has been a metaphor for all "marginalized voices" in the postcolonial world.

Keywords: allegory, imperial resistance, counter-discourse, ideological, hybridity

Colonial discourse analysis, theory, and criticism in postcolonial approach have increasingly elucidated that literature, criticism, and theory come from particular discourses which cannot be considered in any way impartial. Primarily, postcolonial reading advocates that colonialism and imperialism were not only about the physical suppression of *other* people but also engaged a more deceptive kind of discourse which is discursive in texts. As a postcolonial playwright Wole Soyinka tries to not only supersede this colonial discourse but also to expose the strategies engaged in the construct of "other cultures" as "objects" of knowledge for imperial hegemony. That is why he is considered a postcolonial writer "writing back" to the imperial "centre." He asserts Nigerian nationalism proclaiming it central and self-determining, and questions the bases of European concepts of polarity between the center and periphery. Being born in 1934 in the Yoruba community in Nigeria which had been a British colony from 1901 to 1960, Soyinka has an inevitable inclination towards subversion and his subversive strategies divulge both the dimensions of domination and the postcolonial responses to this domination. He perceived that Europeans were trying to change and stereotype his Yoruba culture to adapt the colonial exploitation, and the African artistic and cultural essence was becoming either dependent upon Western ideas or forced into silence. Soyinka rejects this European stereotyping by confirming the complexity, humanity, and even ambivalence of African culture. He developed "newer" literature which established the concept of national literary differences within English writing and is considered as discrete national formations rather than as a "standard" version of the metropolitan language. This study of national traditions in English is the leading way of rejecting the claims of the metropole to uniqueness and this system is characterized as the "process of self-apprehension" (xi) by Wole Soyinka in his *Myth, Literature and the African World*. The self-apprehension is the sense of difference that constitutes each national literature which is an element of a self-constituting entity. Through this self-apprehension Soyinka

welcomes the postcolonial cultural syncretism which does not deny pre-colonial language and culture and also does not reject the positive accretions from the colonial culture. During the 1940s and 1950s when Soyinka was at school and university, the politico-cultural consciousness among the Africans was so acute that they started a concerted effort to assert Nigerian cultures against the values imported from the imperial center. Various literary movements including the "Negritude School of Writing" and "Ethiopianism" by the politico-social conscious writers were the logical consequence of colonial resistance because "to become aware of one's self as belonging to a subject people is the founding insight of anti-imperialist nationalism. From that insight came literatures, innumerable political parties, a host of other struggles for minority and women's rights, and, much of the time, newly independent states" (Said 258). Chinua Achebe, leading Nigerian novelist, during his student life at University College, Ibadan, was a comrade for resistance movement and this influence encouraged him to write *Things Fall Apart* (1958) in which he "wrote back" to Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* (1899). Soyinka as a student of the same university in 1952 was highly influenced by Achebe and wrote the drama *The Lion and the Jewel* in 1959. Just after one year Nigeria became independent and the "contrapuntal approach" to the drama indicates that the cultural resistance against colonialism contributed a lot to the Independence or Nationalist Movement of Nigeria. But in the drama as a postcolonial literary piece, the ways of resistance against this British imperial propaganda is allegorical because "allegory becomes a site upon which post-colonial cultures seek to contest and subvert colonialist appropriation through the production of a literary, and specifically anti-imperialist, figurative opposition or textual counter discourse" (Slemon 11). This resistance is not a violent anti-colonial struggle and the rebellion of the colonized people against colonial authority as the traditional study of colonialism focuses; rather it is a "resistance that manifests itself as a refusal to be absorbed, a resistance which engages that which is resisted in a different way, taking array of influences exerted by the domination power, and altering them into tools for expressing a deeply held sense of identity and cultural being" (Ashcroft 20). In this sense Frederic Jameson's "national allegory" is different from the allegory *The Lion and the Jewel* confirms though the drama belongs to the third-world text because in the drama the isolated experience is not epitomized as allegorical of the public and national incident; the drama also does not develop out of the imitation of the Western literary forms. Rather, Soyinka enters the discourse of English literature, replaces English language through abrogation and appropriation, takes a dominant tool of imperial representation – the dramatic form – and provides a creative ethnography of Africa. As a result the drama has been a model of postcolonial resistance writings ever after.

In the drama, Soyinka develops counter-discourses against the colonial discourses showing that the colonial discourses are not seamless, totalitarian, and immune to doubt and reflexivity. As Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin say, "The term 'counter-discourse' has been adopted by post-colonial critics to describe the complex ways in which challenges to a dominant or established discourse (specifically those of the imperial centre) might be mounted from the periphery, always recognizing the powerful absorptive capacity of imperial and neo-imperial discourses" (56). Soyinka discovers the fractures within discourse, which allows for forms of resistance which as counter-discourse operate within discourse. On the other hand, Soyinka illuminates some psychological ways in which the resistance against imperialism is exposed through mimicry, hybridity, difference, and ambivalence which as a set of unexpected resistance are developed by Homi K. Bhabha, one of the most important theorists in postcolonial criticism. Soyinka is very far-sighted regarding resistance against colonial propaganda in the sense that in the postcolonial age his ways of psychological resistance is

effective because he knows that the authority of dominant nations and ideas is not as complete as it seems. Western civilization cannot be surely claimed very unique when other civilizations are so analogous. Consequently, during the development of cross-cultural relations for globalization, there is always a gap between the illusion of completeness of the dominant tradition and the reality of the indigenous culture, and this gap psychologically enables the dominated to transmit a message of resistance. Moreover, Soyinka emphasizes that liberation from imperialism is a fight for the conservation and survival of the ideological values of the people and for the synchronization and development of these values within a national context. Ideology is the prevalent system of thought and belief for looking at and interpreting any culture in the world. Yoruba ideology has been suppressed and changed as a result of its internal dynamics created by the colonial agents and outside European influence. Under these circumstances, in Anglophone African Literature, Soyinka not only resisted Eurocentric politico-cultural hegemonization but also offered a way out of the colonial impasse between the colonizer and colonized through replacing destructive cultural encounters with the acceptance of cross-culturality as the possible dissolving point of a ceaseless human history of subjugation and annihilation. He wants to develop an ideological unity through cultural syncreticism among the Africans because the ideological unity of any social group is a pre-condition for any liberation struggle. Thus the drama *The Lion and the Jewel* is considered an allegory of the resistance against imperialism for creating a counter-discourse, psychological confrontation, and ideological negotiation through cultural syncreticism, and, consequently, the drama has been a roadmap for all marginalized voices against imperialism in the postcolonial world.

Counter-discourse

Imperial discourse tends to depict the colonized or the native as the "Other" which carries all the dark human traits such as exoticism, violence, hostility, and mystery. The colonial propagandist writers such as Rudyard Kipling, EM Forster, Joseph Conrad, Rider Haggard, and Mary Kingsley are accustomed to objectifying the colonized, and dividing the colonized and the colonialist in the Manichean dichotomy ("us" and "other") though their writings were tempered with an ambivalence between sympathetic and critical attitudes towards the European imperialist mission in the Orient and Africa. This tendency of "othering" in the orientalists is so acute that "Michel Foucault describes the creation of mental illness in European society as a process of 'othering', where the madman is confined and silenced in order to define the normative, rational self" (Loomba 138). Against this imperial discourse *The Lion and the Jewel* as a postcolonial literary piece creates a counter-discourse through "simulacrum." French philosopher Jean Baudrillard in his book *Simulacra and Simulation* expands greatly on the idea of simulacra and proposes that people construct some sort of hyper-reality that is parallel to reality; this hyper-reality comes from the constructed reality of images we think of and know: "[i]t is the generation by models of a real without origin or reality: a hyperreal" (Baudrillard 1). Steven Connor adds another issue to simulacrum that "in response to the awareness of the fading out of the real, is a compensatory attempt to manufacture it (simulacrum), in an escalation of the true, of the lived experience" (56). In the fictional world, as well as in the real world, simulations of reality reinforce, and sometimes caricature. But if this simulacrum, a key that explicates the postmodern condition, can be used from the postcolonial point of view, the simulacrum will reproduce designs of cultural and racial "otherness" reminding us of the immediate past and offer the framework to make the colonial intruder an "other" through caricature. The objective of Soyinka in the drama will be fathomable regarding the simulation if we can understand how simulation in the drama works to disseminate hyper-reality that depicts an

immediate past colonial stranger through the circulation and proliferation of counter "otherness" and caricature is its logical consequence. *The Lion and the Jewel* in the name of "the dance of the lost Traveller" reproduces an incident of a photographer, a stranger (the Whiteman) who had come from Lagos to Illujinle sometime before the action of the play begins. The real incident is re-created through mimes and gestures. In the simulated event Lakunle, an agent of colonial modernity, is forced to participate in the dance and play the role of the photographer. Just like the photographer who suddenly fell into the river while focusing his lens on Sidi, the village belle and the heroine of the drama, Lakunle puts forward a reckless foot and vanishes completely, and the splash sound created by the local musical instruments echoes his falling in the pond and another musical sound expresses euphoria of the villagers. At last, "They (villagers) are in an ugly mood, and in spite of his (Lakunle's) protests, haul him off to the town centre, in front of the 'Odan' tree" (16). Moreover, the four girls, local friends of Sidi, are to dance the devil horse (the motor-car) by which the stranger arrived in the Yoruba community. Clearly, the author uses the simulated event to manufacture the past event for the awareness of the faded reality. Then, it exposes the truth through caricature. As a result, Lakunle – and, therefore, the stranger (the white man) – is made an alienated "other" socially and culturally, and becomes an object of laughter to the audience. So the "simulacrum" helps the author to innovate a counter-discourse by which the colonialist instead of the colonized is being categorized as the "other" and ultimately the imperial gaze turns on the empire itself.

In the drama Soyinka interrogates the cultural hegemonic discourse of "The White Man's Burden," a phrase coined by Rudyard Kipling to pronounce the strain and duties of empire to civilize the inferior or colonized races and the Eurocentric white racist supremacy. It also develops an ethnography of Yoruba culture as a counter-discourse against the colonizers' process of subordination and material exploitation through a so-called European burden. Generally, this European metaphysics provides the colonial authority with the justification of ordering the colonial reality for ruling the colonized. But the constructs of polarization – civilized and uncivilized, ruler and ruled, governor and governed – are defied as an essential way of ordering reality as Soyinka constructs a new liberating narrative not for reversing the colonial hierarchical order but for questioning the philosophical notions on which that order was based. In the drama, Lakunle, the representative of white Europeans, in his mission pretends to come across only inferior people, namely Sidi, Baroka, and Sadiku. He frequently uses the term "savage" for them, considering them barbarians, and puts them against his assumed civilized white identity as he thinks that the civilized white identity is characterized by abilities such as rationality, knowledge, intelligence, and power of judgment. Despite his ardent love and devotion for Sidi, he addresses her as "Bush-girl you are, bush girl you'll always be;/Uncivilized and primitive – bush girl!" (9). Similarly, he considers Baroka, the Lion and Bale of IIujinle, as an inferior and uncivilized man: "He (Baroka) is a savage thing; degenerate/He would beat a helpless woman if he could … (35). And "Baroka is a creature of the wilds,/Untutored, mannerless, devoid of grace" (58). Moreover, he terms Sadiku, the primary wife of Baroka, as "a woman of the bush" (36) and wants to teach her. He instructs her to attend his school. This attitude of Lakunle's typifies the imperial hubris of white racist supremacy that relentlessly tries to assert hegemonic persistence of its civilizing mission to the indigenous people. But ironically, Lakunle is completely unaware of the fact that the colonizer provokes and develops a cultural alienation in him and creates a social gap between him and other members of the society. Consequently, Lakunle is trying to assimilate the colonizer's

mentality and considers himself superior to his own society's people and looking down on his own culture. This assumption of Lakunle's produces a counter-discourse among Sidi, Baroka, and Sadiku. Sidi rejects his Western ambition of civilizing the indigenous people as absurd and farcical to the traditional society: "O oh. You really mean to turn/The whole world upside down" (5). It authenticates that Lakunle's ambition is not desirable because no culture is unique. That is why culture must be liberated from the destructive dialectic of history through the discourse of the multicultural, syncretic accretion against the cultural hegemonic discourse of "The White Man's Burden" and Eurocentric white racist supremacy.

Soyinka in the drama builds an eco-centered or eco-critical discourse against the discourse, "progress in the developing world through colonial technology." The common colonial discourse is that the quality of life in the colonized countries is improved due to the increased use of imported machinery and technology from the "metropolitan centre"; it was a colonial policy to build roads and railway engines seemingly for the betterment of the colonized. But the irony is that the destruction of the environment has been one of the most damaging aspects of European colonization. It also elucidates in the postcolonial eco-critical context that the ecological imperialism creates global warming, inducing a rapid climate change. In the drama, during a conversation between Lakunle and Sadiku, the former, an anglophile, says:

> In a year or two I swear,
> This town shall see a transformation
> …
> A motor road will pass this spot
> And bring the city ways to us.
> We'll buy saucepans for all the women
> Clay pots are crude and unhygienic
> …
> We'll burn the forest, cut the trees
> Then plant a modern park for lovers
> We must reject the palm wine habit
> And take tea, with milk and sugar. (37)

Lakunle's above specified notion of "progress" defines the procedure of establishment of Eurocentric norms and values. Lakunle is so infatuated with the modern or Europeanized way of life that he announces, "Alone I stand for progress" (26). The scramble for modernization entices Lakunle into the destruction of his own environment and he took up the technological benefits of modernity and turned himself into the barbaric instigator of environmental damage. Through Baroka, Soyinka creates a postcolonial environmentalism against the discourse of so-called progress in the colonized countries that such progress contributes nothing but the mechanical homogeneity of things, and defilement of virgin vivacity and magnificence of nature. That is why Baroka foils the surveyor's laying of the railway track by bribing him. Baroka's motto is to avoid the access of Eurocentric mechanical modern civilization to the heart of Africa: "I do not hate progress, only its nature/Which makes all roofs and faces look the same" (52). Baroka wants only the non-imperial, eco-friendly development, not "the murderous roads," the destruction of "the humming birds," and smoking "the face of Sango" (the God of thunder and lightning) in the name of progress (52). Since this modernity is based on the ideas of scientific and material progress that determine the colonial power, Soyinka's attitude towards modernity is tantamount

to Homi K. Bhabha's viewpoint in "Caliban Speaks to Prospero" where he wants us to consider modernity using the perspective taken from the experiences of the colonized people:

> Our major task now is to probe further the cunning of Western modernity, its historical ironies, its disjunctive temporalities, its much-vaunted crisis of representation. […] We must never forget that the establishment of colonized space profoundly informs and historically contests the emergence of those so-called post-Enlightenment values associated with the notion of modern stability. (64)

It is assumed that colonialism has been a hidden presence in shaping the meta-narrative of modern progress and as a result, colonialism and modernity are inseparably connected. So, Soyinka challenges and transforms the ideas of modernism which means the anthropocentric Western drive for degrading and destroying the environment in Nigeria in the guise of economic development.

Psychological Resistance

Psychological resistance against imperialism in the drama emanates from the colonial ambivalence and anxiety during "stereotyping" the colonized as "other" and the colonialist as "self." According to the "stereotype," the "self" always considers himself superior and unique, and the "other" as inferior, but this stereotyping as a colonial discourse is based on conscious or unconscious misrecognition of reality because the reality is that there is no basic difference between the "colonial self" and the "colonial other." This misrecognition of reality known as "colonial reality" brings in the colonizer a sense of narcissism which is simultaneously a source of colonial aggression and colonial anxiety as Homi K. Bhabha explains:

> The strategy of the stereotype, as a form of (mis)recognition, depends on staging the encounter with 'otherness' in an airless space of fixed coordinates. No mutual movement is possible in that space, because relationships there are largely predictable or reactive: the discriminated subject is reduced to a projection, an over-determined instance, while the perpetrator of the stereotype acts out only narcissistic anxiety and political paranoia. ('Black Male' 110)

Accordingly, since the aggressive attitude of the colonialist is based on misrecognition, there is a sense of weakness in the aggressor's minds behind their aggressive attitude. This psychological weakness of the aggressive colonialist works as a psychological resistance against imperialism. This psychological resistance is explained by Bhabha with the help of Lacan's "mirror stage," "a drama whose internal thrust is precipitated from insufficiency to anticipation" (qtd. in Homer 25), and he suggests "Like the mirror phase the fullness of the stereotype – its image as identity – is always threatened by lack" (77). Just like the mirror stage the colonial superiority (ego) is based on an illusory image of narcissism and out of the so-called narcissistic belief of superiority the colonial power shows an aggressive expression of domination over the other but simultaneously just like the infant who experiences the feeling of fragmentation in the mirror stage, the colonizer contemplates his own identity and observes that his identity is never quite as stable as his narcissism and aggression imply. As a result the ambivalence and anxiety is created in the colonial mind and Bhabha terms this situation a psychological resistance against imperialism. In *The Lion and the Jewel* Lakunle, an agent of colonialism, suffers from the malady of an unstable identity because superiority complexes constantly haunt him resulting in the collapse of his ego and self-esteem. He assumes the roles of a teacher, a cultural emissary, a representative of modernism, and a reformer of economic and technological progress. He thinks that his white colonial identity is characterized with rationality, loyalty, goodness, and intelligence. That is why, against the demand

from Sidi for bride-price, Lakunle terms the custom of bride-price as "A savage custom, barbaric, outdated/Rejected, denounced, accursed/Humiliating, unspeakable, redundant" (7). But in the concluding part of the play Lakunle's confessional statement, "I know I am the biggest fool/ That ever walked this earth" (61), exposes the irony that his position as a colonial agent is not as complete as he thought in the first part of the play. His mental condition is characterized by the colonial ambivalence and anxiety which, according to Bhabha, works as a psychological resistance against imperialism. Before Bhabha, Chinua Achebe introduced in "An Image of Africa" (1977) the same counter-attack based on colonial anxiety against the virulent stereotype when he tried to prove that the colonial authority in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, as in the case of the literary canon, is not at all stable and coherent as it seems to be. He says:

> Conrad did not originate the image of Africa which we find in this book. It was and is the dominant image of Africa in the Western imagination and Conrad merely brought the peculiar gifts of his own mind to bear on it. For reasons which can certainly use close psychological inquiry the West seems to suffer deep anxieties about the precariousness of its civilization and to have need for constant reassurance by comparison with Africa. (123)

So, Achebe's description of colonial anxiety pre-figures the structures of the stereotype which Bhabha elaborates. Interestingly, in the drama Soyinka reifies implicitly this stereotyping tendency which produces the colonial ambivalence and anxiety as a psychological resistance against imperialism.

The drama transmits psychological resistance against imperialism through "mimicry" which, according to Bhabha, "is an exaggerated copying of language, culture, manners, and ideas. This exaggeration means that mimicry is repetition with difference, and so it is not evidence of the colonized's servitude. In fact, this mimicry is also a form of mockery" (qtd. in Huddart 38). In other words, the colonized mimics the language, culture, manners, and ideas of the colonizer in an exaggerated form and sometimes repeats the mimicry with a difference but any way this mimicry is not evidence of the colonized's slavery but rather an agency of the colonized's resistance against imperialism through one kind of mockery. In the drama we find Lakunle as a colonial mimic man who grew up in a time of transitional whirlpool in Nigeria in the Yoruba community when more powerful and more advanced colonizers like Britain was destroying the indigenous Nigerian culture. In the first part of the drama "he is dressed in an old-style English suit, threadbare but not ragged, clean but not ironed, obviously a size or two too small. His tie is done in a very small knot, disappearing beneath a shiny black waist-coat. He wears twenty-three-inch-bottom trousers and blanco-white tennis shoes" (1). Lakunle tries to imitate the dress code of the colonizer but he cannot be identical due to his difference in dress. His inconsistent outfit produces a caricature which, as a mockery, conveys a resistance against imperialism. This mockery is exposed when Sidi blames Lakunle for pronouncing big loud words with no meaning and informs him "They (villagers) call you a fool – even the children –/Or you with your fine airs and little sense!" (3). Moreover, "Mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference" (Huddart 86). This process includes purposefully changing the colonial language, omitting some words and grammatical rules to break the stereotyping in language. As a result, the stereotypical superiority of the colonizer in language is shattered through mockery. During the first meeting between Lakunle and Baroka, Baroka addresses Lakunle, "Akowe. Teacher wa. Misita Lakunle" instead of Mister Lakunle, and welcomes, "Guru morn guru morn" (16) in lieu of good morning. This abrogation

and appropriation of the English language involves a rejection of the metropolitan power over the means of communication and remolding the colonial language to new usages such as mockery, caricature, etc. Besides, the drama uses the technique of selective lexical fidelity which leaves some words untranslated such as "Gangan and iyailu"(drum) (15), "Kabiyesi Baba"(thanks father) (16), "Sango" (god of fire) (23), "Tanfiri" (confection) (45) and this technique is used here as a strategy for transmitting the sense of cultural particularity and departure from the site of colonial privilege. But there is a difference between the result of Lakunle's mimcry and that of Baroka's mimicry because the mimicry of Lakunle produces ambivalence in his own identity, rational self-image, and that is why he frequently tries to define his identity; on the other hand, Baroka's mimicry deliberately mocks and undermines the ongoing pretensions of the superiority of the stereotyped language of colonialism and empire.

The Lion and the Jewel offers a psychological resistance against imperialism through "hybridity." "Hybridity" generally refers to the mixed-ness of various cultures within every form of identity but here the resistance against imperialism comes from the "on-going process of hybridity" which Bhabha terms as "hybridization." The process of hybridity or hybridization brings two cultures in contact and this contact constructs "in-between space" between the two cultures, and this space is termed by Bhabha as the "Third Space of enunciation" (*The Location of Culture* 37). Cultural identity always develops in the space where it cannot claim its individuality or hierarchical purity because every identity is identical with the other in the space. But ironically, the colonial discourse never lets the colonizers think themselves identical. As a result, the colonizers enter an ambivalent and contradictory space through disavowal: sameness between colonial culture and colonized culture is simultaneously recognized and repudiated. Then despite their apparent mastery, the ambivalence plagues the colonizer so much that the subversive and discursive practices implicit in the colonial process are hampered. Consequently, the process of hybridity or hybridization reverses the "structures of domination in the colonial situation" as Bhabha explains in his highly influential article "Signs Taken for Wonders: Question of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817":

> Hybridity is the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the 'pure' and original identity of authority). Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination. It unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but reimplicates its identifications in strategies of subversion that turn the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of power. (165)

Lakunle is convincingly a representative of "hybridity" because he demands that he represents the Western culture though he was born in the Yoruba culture. He is much fascinated by most aspects of colonial progress: he wants to spend the weekend in night clubs, to walk side by side with Sidi like the Lagos couples, to kiss Sidi just like in the West, to see the pictures of seductive girls in the daily newspaper, to show progress through the beauty contests of the indigenous girls, to do ballroom dancing in school, and to throw a cocktail party. Lakunle is an agent or imitator of colonial modernity, progress, and civilization. His sense of civilization and progress is clarified through eating with knives and forks on breakable plates as an act of civilized people. As the Western

civilization flourishes, the ruler will ride cars, not horses. So in the "in between space" of Western and Yoruba culture the identity of Lakunle emerges with these so-called modern characteristics. The space in which the identity of Lakunle emerges is very ambivalent and contradictory because his identity cannot be recognized/repudiated as either superior or inferior. He becomes too close to home for the colonizer and this closeness/similarity is not comforting for the colonizer because the resemblance is a reminder of the shaky foundations of racial stereotypes and therefore, the unjustifiable nature of colonialism. In this regard we may focus on Thomas Babington Macaulay's "Minute" of 1835 on education in colonized India; Macaulay wanted to educate Indians to create an "in-between" or "go-between" class to help the British govern India. Accordingly, the British created a class of educated Indians who ironically became "boomerangs" against the British, creating resistance against colonialism through anxiety. The situation in India is identical to the plot in *The Lion and the Jewel* even though the drama is written in the African context. So, Lakunle belongs to the "in-between" class in the Yoruba community and through "hybridization" he stands for resistance against imperialism.

Ideological Resistance through Cultural Syncreticism

Soyinka provides the means for the organization of resistance using imperial culture or ideology as a communicative medium or consuming it as "cultural capital." The colonial people engage imperial culture and consume it in a strategy of self-fashioning and self-representation. The force of these processes leads the colonial subjects to change the imperial culture and ideology to adapt it to their own culture; consequently, these changes provide the capital known as cultural capital to the colonial subjects. The acquisition of cultural capital provides comprehensive avenues with the colonial subject for appropriating and consuming the dominant, hegemonic culture, discourses, technologies and then the colonial subjects negotiate a place from which they articulate their own narrative of nationalism distinct from powerful ideology such as imperialism. But in the drama this nationalism is not "nationalist consciousness, as Fanon warns, which can very easily lead to a frozen rigidity with the potential to degenerate into chauvinism and xenophobia" (Said 258). Rather, this nationalism encourages the oppressed to consume imperial culture and use it as capital. This capital enables their own culture to sometimes take a radical and exploratory form so that their own culture becomes very sustainable and resistant against any dominant culture. That is why this liberal nationalism is considered by Cabral as a roadmap to cultural freedom from foreign domination:

> A people who free themselves from foreign domination will be free culturally only if, without complexes and without underestimating the importance of positive accretions from the oppressor and other cultures, they return to the upward paths of their own culture, which is nourished by the living reality of its environment, and which negates both harmful influences and any kind of subjection to foreign culture. (56)

Accordingly, in the postcolonial context, the cultural freedom comes from cultural capital or syncretic accretions from the imperial culture. This cultural freedom rejects such type of nationalism which turns into nativism just as in the case of negritude which "was the celebration of Blackness, of being Black, of specifically African culture and African values that sought to reify a pre-colonial African past" (Ashcroft and Ahluwalia 110). Soyinka also rejects this negritude as he points out that "negritude stayed within the Eurocentric intellectual formulation of Africa's difference, thus paradoxically trapping the representation of African reality in those binary terms" (qtd. in Said

277). That means, in negritude, the danger lies in the fact that it may incorporate the model of anti-thesis of the thesis of white supremacy. In *The Lion and the Jewel*, Soyinka not only makes a caricature about the notion of Lakunle's so-called modernism but also depicts negatively the crafty unscrupulous aged fox Baroka's cunning methods of winding stairs for adopting polygamy. Having affluence and power, Baroka has a harem full of the most beautiful women like new commodities added frequently. At the age of sixty-two he enjoys beautiful pictures of Sidi in a glossy magazine and sends his first wife Sadiku to woo her for him. At the same time, Soyinka portrays the same Bale positively: Baroka likes progress but does not want to "leave Virgin plots of lives." He wants to bring "rich decay and the tang of vapour rising from forgotten heaps of compost" (52). He hates "the skin of progress, masks, unknown, the spotted wolf of sameness" (52). Thus the drama has been equipped with multi-colored realistic scenes revealing African life and fashions very exactly; the local Yoruba culture is revealed as one with its own moral and ethical dilemmas regarding its negative treatment of women and positive accretions from the imperial modernity. Through such depictions Soyinka rejects the simple reversal of the imperial binary of civilized and savage by confirming the complexity, consciousness, and even ambivalence of African culture. Ultimately, the Nigerian people are portrayed not as a passive subject but rather as acquirer, utilizer, and negotiator of cultural transformation through cultural capital and this transformation fulfills many of the goals of imperial resistance.

The cultural transformation is also different from "Afrocentricity" which is "a worldview that emphasizes the importance of African people in culture, philosophy, and history; as an ideology and political movement" (Asante 133). Afrocentricity includes African culture, religion, belief, tradition, and ways of thinking and living in the African context for demonstrating pride in heritage which separates itself from the supposedly "universal" values of European taste and style. It is true that Afrocentricity offers the process of cultural decolonization which involves a fundamental deracination of the colonial binarism and a postcolonial subversion and appropriation of the rhizomatous European discourses; it also stresses the need to vigorously recuperate pre-colonial culture. But the fact is very clear to Soyinka that if he thinks recuperating pre-colonial language and culture means decolonization, it will create a colonial impasse which will create obstacles to development in postcolonial societies. Colonial impasse is a situation in which imperial discourse tends to depict the colonized or the native as the "Other" carrying all the dark human traits such as exoticism, violence, hostility, and mystery. On the other hand, the colonized enters in an antagonistic condition against the colonizer. Since he knows that the postcolonial culture is inevitably a hybridized fact that is based on the dialectical connection between the implanted European cultural elements and a peripheral ontology, this impulse of hybridization is a dynamic interaction which creates or recreates an independent local identity. That is why, in the drama, Soyinka implicitly hints at a long lasting dialectical relationship between European ontology and epistemology, and the Eastern urge to form or reform liberated local identity through postcolonialism which welcomes the postcolonial cultural syncretism. In the drama, the railway line through Illujinle is supposed to be constructed and for this, a white surveyor comes to Illujinle but Baroka foils this project by bribing him because he knows that many others will follow if the line is laid through the village. For this idea of Baroka, Lakunle calls him "a die-hard rogue" and "a sworn enemy" (24) against the scheme of progress. On the other hand, Baroka is allowing his servants to form "The Palace Workers' Union" (38) and announces a day off for them. Besides, during his persuasion of Sidi, Baroka shows her a stamp highlighting her image, and tells her

that her picture would embellish the official stamp of the village. The machine beside his room is also shown to be a stamp-producing machine. So we find that Baroka symbolizes the cultural syncreticity as an inescapable feature and strength of the postcolonial societies. Even Soyinka himself came out of Afrocentricity during the composition of *The Lion and the Jewel.* In Yoruba folktales an innocent maiden is often said to be attracted by a handsome stranger; this folktale is told to romantic young girls in Yoruba community to warn them about the danger that may come to them because they know nothing about the stranger's motive. But Soyinka changes the folktale a little to adapt his play in which Sidi, an attractive girl, has many suitors but the middle-aged Bale Baroka is the influential one though he has several wives. Out of curiosity and stubbornness, she tries to jeer at his impotency but ironically she becomes his prey. Apart from this, Soyinka depicts both the woman and male folk of the society as they are though the real depiction sometimes exposes the weakness in Yoruba culture because Soyinka knows well that all culture is composed of strengths and weaknesses, of positive and negative aspects, of virtues and failings, and of progress and regress. But he never supports such nationalism that brings any rigidity such as chauvinism, xenophobia, Afrocentricity, and negritude; rather he wants human liberation through adopting the positive elements from the oppressor culture and rejecting any form of binarism, oppression, racism, hegemony, and white racial domination.

Conclusion

One of the features of the play *The Lion and the Jewel* is to interrogate, question, and defy establishing Eurocentric domination, power, legacy, hegemony, and discourse. This text shows its difference from the constructs of the imperial center and this underlying difference makes the text distinctively a model of postcolonial resistance writings ever after. Innovating counter-discourse, Soyinka proposes a re-visioning inquiry about the colonial subversion of the canonical texts and their consecutive reinsertion in the process of subversion. Then such counter-discourse dislocates the colonial discourse and exposes the colonial "contingency" and "permeability." Consequently, the notion of Eurocentric white racist supremacy and the hegemonic persistence of the colonial civilizing mission for the indigenous people in the drama is threatened and disrupted. On the other hand, the drama has broken a traditional belief regarding colonial resistance that decolonization must come through the violent and rebelling struggles of the colonized people against colonial authority. Then it implements an unprecedented type of imperial resistance with a psychoanalytical lens which marks a hidden gap between the minds of the assumed colonizer and the colonized. This hidden gap creates at first caricature and mockery of the colonial stereotype, and then begets complex anxiety, tension, and uncertainties in the colonizer's minds. At last, such mockery, anxiety, tension, and uncertainties work as the active agency of the colonial resistance. Even in the postcolonial globalized world, when cross-culturality of the once colonizer and the colonized figures out the influence of the culture of the colonizers on the culture of the colonized, the play not only brings a resistant imagination of the once colonized people into being against imperialism but also reshapes the inner maps of the metropolitan center through the marginalized voices. Besides, the drama wants to develop an independent local ideology taking all positive indigenous cultural values and adopting the benevolent elements from the oppressor culture. Consequently, the ideology will be a perfect integration to show resistance against any dominant ideology. That is why the drama welcomes any technical, technological, and scientific development and modernity, and discourages such development that brings any forms of Eurocentrism, essentialism, Manicheanism, racism, patriarchy, and slavery. Thus the play as an allegory has designed a roadmap

for the imperial resistance from the colonized and marginalized people relegating and resisting Eurocentric domination, power, legacy, hegemony, authority and culture in the postcolonial world.

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Bangladeshi Politicians, the People, and Whataboutism

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Abstract

>Whataboutism is a logical fallacy used to discredit an opponent's claim by deflecting it to something else. In the present world the practice of whataboutism, an old phenomenon, spreads like a disease and it is the disease that is contagious. In the present world, whataboutism sees its distinct manifestation in the speech of Donald Trump, the present American president, and many others. To cut the ground from under the feet of their opponents, some Bangladeshi politicians, like Trump, use this whataboutism without paying proper attention to the effects of it in the long course of the country which is still fighting its way to an emerging social democratic state with a steady economy. This practice in Bangladesh, like many other countries, lets the politicians go loose on many happenings which they are accused of. Consequently, the condition of good governance in Bangladesh becomes vulnerable. Bangladesh, the country which already embarked on the highway of middle-earning economy in the world, has already been decelerated for such a political standpoint. These politicians always look to blame their opponents to convince the people that whatever they have done is of almost no harm in comparison with what somebody else has done. In this article, I intend to analyze, through a case study and analytical induction, the relationship between the Bangladeshi people and politicians who deflect real facts, and the impacts of whataboutism which results in impediments in the progress towards the social democracy envisioned before and during the inception of the Liberation War of 1971.

>**Keywords:** whataboutism, Donald Trump, Bangladesh, politics, social democracy

What is Whataboutism?

Whataboutism is a rhetoric device used to divert the charge of the misdeed one has committed. Whataboutism also encompasses political propaganda, hypocrisy, national ideology, etc. Although its uses vary and at times, according to perspective, it can be perceived as something good, mostly the term is negative and the people associated with whataboutism can be labeled as decadent. The comparison between two things which are used in whataboutism does not always have to be relevant or of a similar type. Whataboutism is a "cheap rhetorical tactic that relies on drawing false or sketchy comparisons between two things which may not actually be all that comparable" (Bump).

Politicians blame opponents for their actions mostly on similar issues to show people that their action is less harmful in degree. They are driven by some degree of madness essential for keeping their political shows on. Knowing for sure that their actions are wrong, politicians, once challenged, through comparison of others' actions, try to prove how less harmful their actions are and tend to prove that their seemingly erroneous actions will have a good impact in the long run. It is as if they, as leaders of their people, are walking on a rope with all their people and they do not believe in the power of the rope. Whataboutism does not only "help to deflect your original argument but it also throws you off balance," says Independent Russian journalist Alexey Kovalev (Zak). He also says, "You are playing chess and your opponent – while making a lousy move – he just punches you on the nose" (Zak).

Whataboutism is an ornamental persuasive speech device "that was particularly popular during the Soviet era, when officials would dodge difficult questions by throwing mud at the United States – at one point so common that it became the punch-line of a Russian joke" (Beckwith). Obviously, the clownish standpoint of those politicians, who frequently amuse themselves in thinking about their smart trick, was downplayed. It is important to register that people in the present world, because of the continuous flow of analytical news, editorials, writings, have already become good judges. The continuous flow of news and information has become the people's strength in the face of whataboutism.

The Source of Whataboutism

Our subconscious defense is a great source of whataboutism. Whataboutism is a hypocritical move and it works as a defense for the ones who use it to hide the guilt in them. In our subconscious state we do not want to recognize something that may frustrate our comfort zone. We remain alert that anything may come out and cause trouble to our regular rhythmic life. On the other hand it is language that is another great source of whataboutism. We experience ourselves and the world around us by means of language and "all language is an unstable, ambiguous force-field of competing ideologies (Tyson 257). Consequently, "we are, ourselves, unstable and ambiguous force-fields of competing ideologies" (Tyson 257). And thus the user of whataboutism senses the justification of deflecting facts.

In the present world it is Donald Trump who has become one of the most famous politicians for raising whataboutism to a cult status. Whenever Trump is asked or challenged by critics, politicians, and journalists about his wrongdoings, he immediately, in many cases, blames others who have made similar mistakes or gives an irrelevant answer. For him there is always an "other" to be blamed. Following the North Korea summit in Singapore on June 12, 2018, Trump was asked by Bret Baier of Fox News about his calling Kim a killer. In his usual Trump manner he dogged the question.

> Baier: You were asked in the press conference a number of different times, different ways, about human rights and that you called this relationship really good and that [Kim] was a very talented person. You know, you call sometimes killers. He is a killer. He's clearly executing people.

> Trump: He's a tough guy. Hey, when you take over a country, tough country, with tough people, and you take it over from your father, I don't care who you are, what you are, how much of an advantage you have. If you can do that at 27 years old, that's one-in-10,000 that could do that. So he's a very smart guy. He's a great negotiator, but I think we understand each other.

Trump turns this whataboutism into a dangerous device. In his desperate moments he thinks the only thing that may save his neck, even for the time being, is this device. To him this world has liars, frauds, deceivers and thus it cannot be stated that he is guilty for having one or all of those vices. For Trump, nobody is perfect, "[a]nd since nobody is perfect, all criticism is hypocritical and everyone should do whatever they want …" (Watch).

The most famous recent example was Trump's reaction to the alt-right rally in Charlottesville. When a neo-Nazi intentionally drove a car into a mass of people and killed protestor Heather Heyer, Trump responded by looking for equal fault on the other side:

When Trump is asked about a neo-Nazi who intentionally drove a car into the alt-right rally in Charlottesville and killed protester Heather Heyer, he instead of answering straight the question said, "A defense attorney could not stand up in court and say 'maybe my client did murder those people, but what about Jeffrey Dahmer? What about Al Capone? What about the guy from Silence of the Lambs? I rest my case'." (Watch)

Whataboutism in Bangladesh

Before the Liberation War in 1971, Bangladeshi politicians, better known to the rest of the world as East Pakistanis, had been striving for political and economic emancipation. Their actions and speeches were direct. In that dire situation, the whole nation had only one agenda – freedom. And the political leaders had no other choice but to fight for the nation's sovereignty. But after a few years of the nation's independence, the political leaders became divided in the name of ideological differences. After the killing of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman in 1975, many opportunists appeared on the political scene of Bangladesh. In the competition of being country's political leaders, some of them started transmuting facts and at the same time highlighting other political leaders' wrongdoings.

The practice of whataboutism aims to deprive the people's right to know about the actions of their elected politicians. In Bangladesh the same practice under the guise of euphemism and metaphor finds its way expanding. In both Awami League and BNP regimes, during the country-wide hartals, people got killed, shot, burnt, and the nation saw deceleration in its economic growth, social stability, and governance. While justifying their actions, the parties accused each other. During early 2015, the BNP was hurling petrol bombs in streets, buses, public gatherings. On February 1, 2015, BNP leader Salauddin from a hideout said, "Government agents are killing people by hurling petrol bombs but the government is putting the blame on the BNP-led 20-party alliance to stigmatise the people's logical ongoing movement" (BNP: Hartal). At the same time, in 2013, Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina told the House about BNP's country-wide violence: "The violent activities would not be able to stop the ongoing war-crimes trial, although the BNP chief has allegedly been fuelling violence against the state. She [Khaleda] must take the responsibility for taking so many lives" (Ruling). Both the AL and BNP leaders in their times of danger blamed each other, and whenever they are reminded about the heinous effects of their actions, they pointed to the opposition party's actions of the same manner.

Why Does Whataboutism Function in Bangladesh

After the coup in 1975 which killed Bangladeshi President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the political scenario of Bangladesh drastically changed and the subsequent politicians till date have continually been using whataboutism. In 1972, Bangladeshi politicians under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman started their journey with a new vision. They started towards a liberal democratic state which was grounded on four basic principles – nationalism, socialism, democracy, and secularism. But within a very short time, they made the system "highly personalized, centralized, and increasingly repressive" (Kochanek 52). After Mujibur Rahman two generals, under the guise of democracy, ruled the country till 1990. Within that time many opportunists entered into the politics of Bangladesh and they found whataboutism a feasible device to deflect the criticism directed at them. This trend is still in use. For example, to manipulate history for their political benefit, in 2014 BNP leader Tarique Rahman, the senior vice chairman, in a desperate move, labeled Sheik Mujibur Rahman, under whose auspicious leadership the country gained independence, as a collaborator

of West Pakistan. He said,

> Awami League claims that they are the pro-Liberation War party. And what did Sheikh Mujib do to this party – banned it. You (Sheikh Mujib) are the greatest Razakar of the world […] You have banned the pro-Liberation War party, and it was the worst act against the Liberation War. Who can take such action against the Liberation War? Only a Razakar would do that. Then what should Sheikh Mujib be called? (Tarique).

The Impacts of Whataboutism

The techniques, John Oliver says, are "depressively effective" (Watch) and its impacts upon the lives of the people concerned is effectively destructive. In Bangladesh, the negative impact of whataboutism is way too extended and it tends to complicate the whole course of the nation. Being in the process of acquiring freedom and sovereignty from the long oppressive ruling of the colonizers, the country as West Pakistan got partial freedom in 1947. Then again the country achieved its freedom in 1971 by driving the West Pakistanis away. The perplexed sense of nationalism that helped the whole country drive the English and Pakistani people away in 1947 and 1971 respectively, again got entangled within the claws of autocratic ruling from the politicians within.

Whataboutism takes its toll mostly on the working class, the most vital strength of the state, on whose labor the country stands. It is mostly they who run the wheels of the state. They are not there to be cheated by the politicians who justify the cheating with their fabricated speech. It is the politicians who have greater responsibility to make people believe that they belong to the country as citizens, irrespective of their race, color, and religion. The country runs better as a whole. When politicians lie, cheat, make lame excuses, and indicate others' transgressions to cover their wrongdoings, then for a country like Bangladesh not only the existing problems continue but the possibilities for future crimes gets extended. The two major parties – Awami League and BNP – in most cases, stand against each other, no matter what the issues are. It has become a political stance in Bangladesh. In 2011, Sheikh Hasina was asked by Anup Kaphle from *The Washington Post* about the Rapid Action Battalion's actions and how they play their role of judge, jury, and executioner, and operate with impunity, she immediately blamed the former government, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP), saying, "Actually in 2004 this force was established, but it is true that at that time the former government used this force politically and they were allowed to kill many people and this and that" (Whataboutism: The Cold War Tactic). So, the hint is, if there is mismanagement in RAB, BNP is there to be accused because it is during the reign of BNP that the Rapid Action Battalion was founded. On the other hand, regarding the abolition of RAB, former Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia said, "This force is working against the people and is not needed anymore" (Islam). She said it when she found the RAB's actions went against her party interests. On the other hand, Sheikh Hasina will not abolish the RAB now and if there is anything deplorable in them, it is BNP who will be held responsible since they established the RAB.

Former dictator Hussain Mohammed Ershad, accused of triggering communalism in Bangladesh for the sake of his political benefits, is one of the great practitioners of whataboutism. After the assassination of President Ziaur Rahman in 1981, General Ershad came to power by overthrowing the elected president Abdus Sattar on March 24, 1982. Ershad knew that his acceptability among the people was little and questionable. There was no fair chance for him to be the elected leader of the country. So, he had to frame something false at times and repeatedly deflect or lie to make the lies seem true to the people or divert the people to another issue. He wanted to rule the country

without making politics open to other candidates. When asked, in 1984, by Mary Anne Weaver, whether he was willing to "open politics" before the election, Ershad, instead of answering the question straight, said that he decreed martial law because the country "was going to the dogs." Ershad added, "If there was no martial law, who would run the country between now and the elections? Who would hold the elections?" (Weaver). Ershad dodged the question to justify his being in power. But what happened to him in the end was disastrous both for him and the country. He was ousted in 1990 and now his name is synonymous with bad politics.

In 2017 and 2018, many women were sent to Saudi Arabia as domestic workers. After a few months, their condition was reported as terrible. Many of them were abused, beaten, sexually harassed, and paid no salary. In desperation, some of them fled: "Naseeba is one of hundreds of Bangladeshi women that have fled their Saudi employers. The Bangladeshi embassy in Riyadh estimates that there are currently around 329 women seeking refuge inside the embassy awaiting to return. More than 500 were returned to Bangladesh at the end of last month" (*Daily Sun*). But the Bangladesh government rejects such reports of the repatriated women workers from Saudi Arabia: "Followed by a visit to Saudi Arabia, members of a parliamentary committee said lack of knowledge in local language, dislike for Saudi food and homesickness cause the women to return home" ("Bangladesh's Female Domestic Workers").

Conclusion

We are what we say, what we do. Our saying is language; our actions get subsequently transcribed into language. So politicians' words and actions are the languages exposed to the judgment of the people who voted for them: "Indeed, to understand the full implications of the idea of a 'constitutive human process' it is to changing concepts of language that we must turn" (Williams 20). Turning to the language of our politicians what we see is a blame-game that signifies the actions of the politicians who lead countries by which this world is made. Donald Trump, Valdimir Putin, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, Sheikh Hasina, Khaleda Zia, Narendra Modi – all of them at times use this blame-game instead of constructive answers when they are challenged.

Language itself is faulty once they are received by us. The way words produce their meaning in us indicates the irrevocable gap between the intended and the received meaning. Homi K. Bhabha observes, "Communication is a process that is never perfectly achieved and that there is always a slippage, a gap, between what is said and what is heard" (qtd. in Loomba, 89). And there are opportunistic politicians who try their best to use that gap of language for their own selfish needs. Since the development of Bangladesh depends greatly on the decisions of the politicians, the practice of whataboutism increases the political complexities which have already been proved as impediments in the ongoing progress of Bangladesh.

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Anzaldua's *Borderlands/La Frontera:* The Deconstruction of Phallogocentric Narratives

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Abstract

Poststructuralist theorist Derrida urges a need to break the binary positions in phallogocentric narratives. Following his idea, poststructuralist feminists like Julia Kristeva and Hélène Cixous also say that women need to be themselves while writing so that they are free from the phallogocentric influence. They also say that female authors write in a way to deconstruct the male narratives of history, religion, language, and even identity. Another poststructuralist theorist Judith Butler clarifies that to deconstruct does not mean to dismiss the previous meaning but to question that meaning. Gloria Anzaldua's text *Borderlands/La Frontera* (1987) is used in this paper to explore how her book is a reflection of the multifaceted identity of a colonized people like Chicana natives. In this book, Anzaldua mingles genres and languages to delineate how the colonized and colonizing cultures blur at a point and become a means to celebrate. This paper attempts to show how Anzaldua is not only deconstructing the binary opposition found in phallogocentric narratives but also recreating new narratives which are both feminine and masculine.

Keywords: identity, deconstruction, phallogocentric narratives, fragmentation, schizophrenia, chora

Narrative is international, transhistorical, transcultural: it is simply there, like life itself.

(Ronald Barthes 79)

It is by writing, from and toward woman, and by taking up the challenge of speech which has been governed by the phallus, that women will confirm women in a place other than that which is reserved in and by the symbolic, that is, in a place other than silence.

(Hélène Cixous 296)

This paper will explore how Gloria Anzaldua deconstructs the phallogocentric narratives in her semi-autobiographical and multi-lingual book called *Borderlands/La Frontera*. Gloria Anzaldua, in her fiction *Borderlands/La Frontera*, creates a new possibility of the multi-faceted identity of a woman who embraces femininity and masculinity as well as many other plural identities within herself. Anzaldua divides her book into two parts; one is in prosaic form and the other is a cluster of poetry. She further divides these two parts into different subtopics giving emphasis on each different phase of her life. Moreover, in the second part of her book she re-writes her life in poetic language, breaking and bridging the boundaries of her life to deconstruct every kind of binary opposition. Before the textual analysis, it is important to explain what is meant by the deconstruction of phallogocentric language.

This paper reads how Gloria Anzaldua is deconstructing the phallogocentric language in the light of poststructuralist feminists who are following Derrida's notion of deconstructing the phallogocentric texts. Throughout his book *Of Grammatology,* Jacques Derrida suggests a new way of reading texts where one should deconstruct the binary oppositions ingrained in the language. He also suggests that each word can create a new meaning and the reading of a text should be

subjective as each reader has a unique background while reading the same text. He further states that one should not stop only at deconstructing a text but also should create new meanings of the text by breaking the binary oppositions. Derrida criticizes that Western theories are phallogocentric as they are more male-centered where males are seen as the norm and woman as the "other." He says that one ought to deconstruct the phallogocentric narration or language.

Then poststructuralist feminists also denote a space for the accommodation of multi-narrations, dichotomies, and the mixture of genres to deconstruct the phallogocentric literature by reflecting the fragmented sexual identity of women in their creative writings. To further clarify how this paper is reading Anzaldua's work as a deconstruction of phallogocentric narratives, Judith Butler's explanation on deconstruction can be noted. She explains in her essay "Contingent Foundations: Feminism and the Question of Postmodernism," that to "deconstruct is not to negate or to dismiss, but to call into question and, perhaps most importantly, to open up a term, to a reusage or redeployment that previously has not been authorized" (397). And Julia Kristeva says that any poetic language is feminine because it reflects the identification with the maternal body during the chora stage. She points out in her book *Revolution in Poetic Language* that every literary text consists of phenotext and genotext. Phenotext is the physical text that we read and the genotext is the emotions, drives, desire, repressions that created the text. The phenotext tries to create an order of the genotext but the chora, the repression that occurred in the pre-linguistic stage, comes up and creates a "schizophrenic" nature in the texts. Kristeva also claims that this is why all the experimental texts are a deliberate fragmentation of the order. As language is unconscious according to Kristeva and, as she also says that a text can be read in two ways as phenotext and genotext, I will talk about both the style and background of the author. In her book, *Borderlands,* Anzaldua is not only deconstructing the phallogocentric narratives but also suggesting a new way to craft narratives by rewriting the history, religious genealogy, and by creating a new language.

Gloria Anzaldua was born in a Chicana community which had been repeatedly colonized by white nations in such a way that Chicana traditional culture and language now blends with those of the colonizers. So she believes that people who live in a borderland like her need to go beyond the binary oppositions of the phallogocentric narratives. She is a Chicana writer with hardly any Chicana literary genealogy to follow. Since the first self-identity formed in a baby is very fragmented and chaotic (Lacan) and poetic language reflects the splitting identity of the chora stage (Kristeva), Anzaldua is using the "creative schizophrenia" to delineate the identity of women which is also very fragmented and schizophrenic. Simon Gikandi, a postcolonial scholar, says:

> The writer who operates in the space between cultural traditions draws inventive energies from 'creative schizophrenia': speaking in an androgynous idiom, this writer does not have to choose between self and community, between private discourse and a national language, or even between the subjective experience and historical traditions. (11)

Gikandi's term reflects perfectly on the writing style of Anzaldua as she does not take any binary position of identity and rather uses all her identities, languages, genres to celebrate the plurality of Chicana women. In this fiction, we find that the author is going beyond the dichotomy of man and woman and deleting the binary line crafting a new method of narrating history.

In the very first chapter of her book *Borderlands*, Anzaldua deconstructs the Americanized history of Mexico by tracing the ancient history of her nation. Anzaldua condemns how American

historians are referring to Chicana people as immigrants or intruders when the first historical traces of Chicana people in Mexico can be traced from 3500 BC. She gives a traditional history of Mexico and before condemning the Anglo-American historians as dominating and patriarchal, she condemns her own ancestors for creating the first world of discrimination and binary oppositions. Huitzilopochtli was seen as a God with an eagle with a serpent in its beak. Later, he was seen with the eagle only. Anzaldua says "The symbolic sacrifice of the serpent to the 'higher' masculine powers indicate that the patriarchal order had already vanquished the feminine and matriarchal order in pre-Columbian America" (27). The Chicana culture holds the history of a place where women were treated equally as men and living without the patriarchal violence. She condemns the ruling elite of the Aztec nation because it had "subverted the solidarity between men and women and between noble and commoner" (Anzaldua 56). Thus, throughout the book, she tries to undo any binary line constructed between man and woman, or class or race distinction that has been created by patriarchal narratives.

Anzaldua also deconstructs the Anglo phallogocentric narrative of racial purity of Americans. Coming from a working-class background of a minor ethnic group, she boldly refutes the American culture of institutional religion and absolutism of patriarchal power. In her book, she delineates the "cultural assumptions and a worldview which contrast sharply with those underlying most non-Indian literature" (Dyke 339) of American or the White canon. Anzaldua rather follows the philosophy of José Vasconcelos, a Mexican philosopher's view on racial identity. Vasconcelos believes in the "inclusivity" of racial identity and opposes the "racial purity of white America" (Anzaldua 99). She goes on to say that the "'mixture of races' provides hybrid progeny, a mutable, more malleable species with a rich gene pool" (Anzaldua 99). Thus, Anzaldua makes a connection to all her fragmented identities which are derived by the multiple colonization of her Chicana culture and the new borderlines created as an effect of colonization.

Religion is another totalitarian ideology that imposes patriarchy. This is why Anzaldua has spent a good number of pages talking about the influence of religion in the construction of the identity of their women to deconstruct the phallogocentric religious narratives. Religion first crafted the identity for Chicana women, according to Anzaldua. As in all indigenous cultures, for a Chicana woman too, religion and culture blur at a point. For her, religion is more like a mythology as Malinowsky observes "mythology is the sacred tradition of a society … a body of narratives woven into their culture, dictating their belief, defining their ritual, acting as the chart of their social order and the pattern of their moral behavior" (249). Anzaldua condemns the patriarch of Aztec rule for empowering male deities over female ones because during the reign of female deities, the society was more egalitarian and there was less violence in the society. She recalls, "The tribal God Huitzilopochtli killed his sister, the moon goddess Malinalxoch, who used her supernatural power over animals to control the tribe rather than wage war" (Anzaldua 54). Anzaldua shows how patriarchy, even in the pagan religion, discriminated women and by doing so subverted the peace of the society.

She also mentions how the ancient religion, before Aztecs became patriarchal, was not phallogocentric. Before the Aztec rulers became powerful and tyrannical, "people worshiped the Lord and Lady of Duality, Ometecuhtli and Omecihuatl. Before the change to male dominance, Coatlicue, lady of the Serpent Skirt, contained and balanced the dualities of male and female, light and dark, life and death" (Anzaldua 54). The religion and deities were androgynous. She complains

"the true identity of three [goddesses] has been subverted – Guadalupe to make us docile and enduring, la Chingada (Malinche) to make us ashamed of our Indian side, and la Llorona to make us lone-suffering people. This obscuring has encouraged the virgin/puta (whore) dichotomy" (Anzaldua 53). She demands that to be a feminist "the first step is to unlearn the puta/virgin dichotomy and to see Coatalopeuh-Coatlicue in the Mother Guadalupe" (Anzaldua 106). Anzaldua believes in the "plural personality operating in a pluralistic mode" (101) and thus urges her people to accept Guadalupe, the version of Coatlalopeuh, brought to Aztec Indian culture by Spanish rulers "who is a synthesis of the old world and the new, of the religion and the culture of the two races in our psyche, the conquerors and the conquered" (Anzaldua 42), a fusion of multi-dimensional symbol of Chicana people. Thus, while accepting Guadalupe she reconstructs the harmony between oppressed and oppressor, native and foreign culture, the old and new world; by accepting the raped mother (la Chingada) and the mad mother (la Llorona) who first kills and then seeks her lost children, she accepts the plurality, the schizophrenic identity that exists in a woman.

Anzaldua's use of language in her book *Borderlands/La Frontera* also reconstructs a new language which is beyond phallogocentric. Anzaldúa recalls how she was punished for speaking Spanish in her school and she also had to take two speaking classes in the university to learn how to speak English like Americans. According to Anzaldúa, not only the English language but also the Spanish language is discriminatory to women. The language used by colonizers has many derogatory words for women who try to be different and independent. So Anzaldua suggests creating a new kind of language. She wants to reconstruct a language which is beyond any binary opposition and thus is spoken by people of all nations. She lists at least seven types of languages which she uses to write her book, *Borderlands*. She says "The switching of 'codes' in this book from English to Castilian Spanish to the North Mexican dialect to Tex-Mex to a sprinkling of Nahutl to a mixture of all of these, reflects my language – the language of the Borderlands" (Anzaldua 20) which is beyond any binary opposition. Then, due to code switching, the text becomes difficult for a monolingual person to follow. Even for me analyzing the book completely was not possible since I do not know Spanish. Anzaldua proclaims that "Chicanos no longer feel that [they] need always to make the first overture – to translate to Anglos, Mexicans and Latinos, apology blurting out of our mouths with every step. Today we ask to be met halfway. This book is our invitation to you from the new *mestizas*" (Anzaldua 20). Thus, this language that Chicana writers are using, stand on its own as the writers are not only accepting the violation of their original language but now also are using the best out of that violated language which has become their very own language with time.

Anzaldua neither internalizes the phallogocentric narration or concept nor does she throw away phallocentric identity to establish fragmented or multiple identities. She celebrates "mestiza" which in Spanish means someone who is beyond binary lines. Since Chicana culture is not monolithic and whole but a mixture of many other cultures, Anzaldua accepts her mixed culture, language, and identity. To depict this "mosaic of cultural fragments" (Craw 91) of Chicana culture, Anzaldua embeds a portion without any punctuation in the chapter called "The Coatlicue State." She writes another poem "Cihuatlyotl, Woman Alone" in the same manner with run on lines not maintaining the semantic structure of a sentence. So, the visual presentation of Anzaldua's writing portrays the fragmentary schizophrenic nature of a Chicana woman's sexual identity.

Anzaldua further deconstructs the phallogocentric narrative of sexuality by showing the horror of sexual exploitation through her poems. She not only writes about female sexuality but also spends

lines on male sexuality the way Butler sees the relationship between America and Iraq as a relation between a patriarchal man and a woman (Butler 294). Anzaldua too sees the colonized men as victims of patriarchy. She writes a whole poem about witnessing the sexual assault on a colored man by colonizers in the poem "Corner of 50th St. and Fifth Av." The narrator of the poem says, "I wade through the thick air thinking/That's as close as they let themselves get/To fucking a man, being a man" (Anzaldua 167). Anzaldua sees male oppression as more Anglo than general and says, "Machismo is actually an Anglo invention" and thus the "Anglo, feeling inadequate and inferior and powerless, displaces or transfers these feelings to the Chicano by shaming him (Anzaldua 105). And then Anzaldua depicts the horror of rape of a woman by colonizers in her poem "We Call Them Greasers." So, in Anzaldua's poems we find the gruesome reality of helplessness. This reflects what Derek Walcott ponders in his essay "The Muse of History": "the great poetry of the New World does not pretend to […] innocence, its vision is not naïve. In such poetry there is a bitter memory and it is the bitterness that dries last on the tongue" (372). Moreover, Anzaldua also writes the body with new vocabulary. She uses poetic language to express her thoughts. It seems that the only way equality can be met is through same sex intercourse where neither one is more powerful. She beautifully expresses the lovemaking between two women with new images:

> A cool tendril pressing between my legs
> entering.
> Her finger, I thought
> but it went on and on.
> At the same time
> an iciness touched my anus,
> and she was in
> and in and in
> my mouth opening
> I wasn't scared just astonished
> …
> Looking down my body I saw
> her forearm, elbow and hand
> sticking out of my stomach
> saw her and slide in
> I wanted no food no water nothing
> just her – pure light wound inside me. (Anzaldua 172)

Therefore, Anzaldua's novel goes back to the chora, the displaced, fragmentary identity that one should embrace. Anzaldua repeatedly stresses on going back to the past to identify oneself with the power of female deities. By being subjective towards her choice of literary tools Anzaldua is representing the idiosyncratic women in her text and thus deconstructing the phallogocentric narratives of religion, history, language, and identity. Closely looking at Anzaldua's writing style tells us now that she is trying to deconstruct the phallogocentric language and genre to give a new space for women with plural identity. Furthermore, while writing her history she is also writing the history of her culture and nation by creating a new way of narration beyond phallogentricism. This may infer that while the patriarchal society has created the myth of heteronormativiy, these new ways of narration may change the hegemonic perspective on the constructed identity of women.

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The Implicit Cultural Policies of US Late-night Comedy Shows

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Abstract

This paper argues how comedy is used as an implicit tool by US late-night shows to create an informed citizenry. It explores how late-night shows have transcended its original format to emerge as an alternative form of journalism and realized its potential to disseminate political knowledge and debunk political lies through the framework of a cultural entity. These shows successfully package humor as information shortcuts, making it easier to remember facts and leaving a greater lasting impact on both media-savvy and informationally-ignorant audiences. The effectiveness of these shows is strengthened as the use of comedy provides instant gratification, compared to a delayed gratification provided by other hard news sources. This paper further discusses weaknesses of such shows by exploring whether the political allegiance and self-selective set of knowledge of its audience influences the outcome of the viewing. It also argues that US late-night shows create a political/cultural laicity through the use of laughter.

Keywords: implicit, cultural policy, politics, entertainment, audience, information shortcut

For long, the study of cultural policy had focused solely on its explicit forms. Scholars looked at the formal cultural policies drawn up by different governing entities of society and studied how interpersonal and intercultural interactions were changing within the frameworks of those existing policies. Jim McGuigan defined cultural policies as "the clash of ideas, institutional struggles and power relations in the production and circulation of symbolic meanings" (1); but his argument of production and circulation referred to explicit cultural policies, which can be considered as an institutionalized organized form of action. However, over the past decade, there has been an expansion of our interpretation of such policies with the introduction of what Jeremy Ahearne calls implicit or effective cultural policy (143). Although the study of the implicit is new, such policies have been arguably active incognito throughout history with direct or indirect contribution from different agents of society. Ahearne goes on to claim that such implicit policies are "as old as political power itself" (143). But because culture is made of an evolving collection of habitual attitudes and values of a society, the effectiveness of different implicit policies has arguably evolved as well over the years. However, as the term "implicit" suggests, the population targeted by agents of such policies have always been unaware participants. It is indeed the informal and invisible nature of symbolic representations that has partly made implicit cultural policies so effective compared to the explicit policies that can be more easily identified and rejected by the public.

One of the issues up for debate is whether these implicit cultural policies are always intentional or not. According to Oliver Bennett, a cultural policy becomes a policy only when there is a "deliberate intention" of influencing a respective culture (157). If we accept Bennett's argument, then even an implicit policy should be identifiable through its explicit intentions. Another way of identifying these implicit policies could be to analyze its "unthematized" nature, and its effectiveness in shaping cultures compared with explicit or "nominal" policies (Ahearne 151). So

once the existence of implicit policies is recognized, the challenge becomes the identification and analysis of its agents.

This paper aims to identify one such agent: late-night comedy television shows in the United States of America. For the purpose of this paper, examples of such shows could be considered as comedy-oriented talk shows or *fake news* programs like *The Late Show with Stephen Colbert* (previously hosted by David Letterman) or *The Daily Show with Trevor Noah* (previously hosted by Jon Stewart). Although none of these shows act on any shared explicit rule, all of their operating policies can be termed implicit because, according to MacGregor, "since the media never use the phrase 'cultural policy' to apply to their work, any policy is by definition thereby implicit, covert and tacit" (240).

As a TV genre that occupies a well-coveted slot of media consumption in the US, there is little doubt on the potential of these shows to generate mass public opinion or to steer cultural discourse. This paper will argue that late-night comedies enforce an implicit cultural policy by using humor to "confront political dissembling and misinformation and to demand a measure of accountability" (Baym 268). Why this enforcement is implicit, instead of explicit, can be found in how late-night shows have transcended its original format to emerge as an alternative form of journalism. When political subjects first started to appear in late-night talk shows in the early 1990s, its producers ran on the premise that politics was drama, and as such always had entertainment value for the nation (Jones 14). So they created a hybrid form of journalism by packaging entertainment and political commentary together. But unlike mainstream TV journalism, which is arguably also an agent of implicit cultural policies to some extent, late-night comedy shows are not bound by any explicit rule of reporting the news and can exploit the comedic liberty of criticizing through satire. The freedom to operate as an entity of entertainment has allowed these shows to be more implicit and target a wide range of audience, especially in the backdrop of a mass media age where alternative news sources are increasingly gaining more legitimacy.

This paper further aims to look at the potential mobilizing powers of the shows and whether its contents are shaping the cultural and political practices of the targeted audience. Using existing research on this field and by drawing on secondary data from surveys, this paper will also explore how the effective reach of the shows directly contributed to changes in political campaigning strategies.

11:30 pm – Implicit Cultural Policy in Action
From its origins as niche variety shows to its current overwhelming dominance over the popular 11:30 pm slot of US television, late-night comedy shows have become a genre of its own. Through its evolution, these shows have seen the audience grow and change, while the proliferation of television in US households made these shows a part of Americana. By introducing segments of commentary monologues and celebrity interviews, late-night shows were (un)knowingly setting up the stage for a pivot towards a more political line of programming. Although politicians had arguably been presenting themselves as sources of amusement since the 1950s (Postman 135), the shift for late-night programs came in the 1990s, when there was a deliberate move to merge entertainment with political information and create a hybrid form of TV journalism.

According to Jeffrey P Jones, the first major blurring of the line between political news and entertainment programming was seen ahead of the 1992 US presidential election, when candidates first started making frequent appearances in entertainment talk shows (6). It was the first sign of collapse of what Jones called an "artificial separation between politics and popular culture" (6). It

was also arguably the first time that the producers, as well the audience, realized the potential of these shows to disseminate political knowledge through the framework of a cultural entity. Late-night shows became the tool for debunking political lies. Ahearne drew from Debray's idea that governments hide their inactions or incompetence through degrees of "bullshit" (142). For a late-night show, calling out the "bullshit" of politicians arguably became the main implicit operating agenda. Not only are these shows making the audience think twice about the credibility of what their leaders tell them, they are acting as a source or reference point for political knowledge as well.

Over the past century or so, there has been little change in the way people gather political knowledge. When Anthony Downs looked at how citizens were collecting campaign information in the 1950s, he claimed that people were reluctant to gather large amounts of information because they viewed their individual contribution to the overall political outcome as being minimal (228). Downs said that in order to reduce the burden of acquiring political knowledge, citizens relied on information shortcuts such as free information and explicit value judgment of experts (228). At the time when Downs suggested this, television had not yet established itself as the dominant medium we see today; but based on recent media consumption trends, it can now be argued that late-night comedy shows, which provide "information shortcuts" wrapped as entertainment content, were probably just the thing Downs was prescribing (220-237).

A key difference between the information shortcuts presented by TV news and those set out by late-night comedies is that the audience are keenly aware of what they can expect from the "hard news" of TV journalism. The information presented in TV news is explicit – facts, quotes, and images meant to feature only the denotative meaning. In comparison, the content of the late-night show is implicit – skepticism, satire, and images emphasizing the connotative meaning. Ahearne's argument of the implicit being the more effective form proves more appropriate when we consider that messages with humor are more easily remembered (Berg and Lippman 120). So when late-night shows use humor to explain news facts that are otherwise more difficult to understand, it has the potential to leave a far more lasting impact on the audience. Whatever potential was left for mainstream TV news to act as an agent of implicit policy, has been largely diminished because of what Jones argues to be an "increasingly media-savvy" audience who are aware that journalists often act "more like lapdogs to power than watchdogs of it" (182). Drawing on Michel Foucault's idea of *regime of truth*, Jones also argues that the news industry, for most of the twentieth century, had served as a primary institution in America's regime of truth (63-64); but in the twenty-first century, journalism's central status in this regard is being challenged by government authorities, new media actors, and active audiences, with new forms of political entertainment television leading such a challenge. So, with the explicit nature of journalism being exposed, a chance has opened up for these comedy shows to act implicitly and more effectively.

It must be noted that there exists a counter-argument for the perceptibility of a "media-savvy" audience, suggesting that electronic media can bypass stages and filters of literacy (Meyrowitz 60). According to this idea, people do not need to acquire a gradual sense of cultural sophistication in order to grasp any social phenomena; instead issues are thrust upon them through the visual screen. The removal of this need for analytical literacy allows late-night comedies to utilize electronic media's strength of highlighting more on feeling, appearance, and mood; unlike printed word's strength of emphasizing ideas (Meyrowitz 60). As a result, instead of the need to fully comprehend and analyze difficult issues such as foreign affairs strategies, the audiences of late-night shows get

a summarized version of events with additional simplified context. Apart from the basic political knowledge the viewers are expected to have, contents are packaged in a manner that would allow the lay people to understand the jokes or laugh at the silliness of the politicians. Any person with a sense of humor can be expected to appreciate satire without the need to comprehend every single fact attached to a joke, as long as they have the elementary context. Even though Jones and Meyrowitz present opposing arguments, both attest to the implicit nature of late-night shows.

Another quality that makes late-night shows agents of effective (or implicit) cultural policy is its ability to use comedy to provide a relatively instant gratification to its viewers, compared to a delayed gratification caused by the need to decipher other information sources. By triggering instant positive or negative emotions, late-night shows can directly, but implicitly, influence public perceptions. According to Brader and Wayne, emotions of positive feeling can lead people to more positive judgments and negative feelings to negative judgments (213). With the combination of simplifying the analytical literacy requirements and permeating the thoughts of the audience, these shows have the power to create what can be called a *political/cultural laicity*. The viewers are no longer required to be experts on details of a national security issue or a specific bill being presented in the Senate; instead the shows make such issues accessible to the lay viewers using a language easy to understand – humor. In many cases, the viewers might agree to political stances if the comedy makes them feel good about it, and oppose it if the contents are presented in a negative light.

In the case of US late-night shows, it is also the control of rhetoric that makes their actions an implicit cultural policy. Acting as "soft news," or an alternative source of information separated from the mainstream news reporting, these comedy shows exercise – if we borrow from Joseph Nye – a form of media "soft power" over their audience (5). Instead of confronting the audience with only hard facts and coercing their opinions, late- night shows use satire to co-opt people. In the 1970s, Jürgen Habermas emphasized how citizens could act as a public only when they were free of coercion. He wrote:

> Citizens act as a public when they deal with matters of general interest without being subject to coercion; thus with the guarantee that they may assemble and unite freely, and express and publicize their opinions freely. When the public is large, this kind of communication requires certain means of dissemination and influence. (Habermas 45)

At the time, Habermas named television as one of the mediums serving the public sphere. In 2017, the agent of such a service can arguably be narrowed down to TV genres such as late-night shows. The humor of these programs has an immense potential to bring political and cultural changes. Waisanen advocates for leaving as much space as possible open for "humorous free speech and liberating laughter in the public arena" because of their potential to "reinforce democratic norms or rightly challenge structures of power" (310). The jokes or issues raised in these shows are not ephemeral, but like most other television programming, they trigger "free-floating ideas" stored in the "preconscious or unconscious mind" to be later recalled and used to elaborate meanings of different encounters (Lembo 112). Again, it is this influence on the subconscious that makes late-night shows in particular, as well as television in a broader sense, agents of implicit cultural policies.

Real-life Effects and Mobilizing Power
In the overwhelming shadow of revenue-generating priorities for television's entertainment programs, it can be easy to forget that along with TV news, entertainment shows can also

strengthen democracy through information. Long before late-night shows pivoted toward politics, Hans Magnus Enzensberger wrote about electronic media's ability to shape consciousness of the people, and how the direct potential of media's mobilizing power becomes more evident when contents are consciously used for subversive ends (13-26). Although Enzensberger was writing from a strong Marxist point of view and did not mention the term "implicit," it can be argued that such a method of subversion is itself an implicit policy. The implicit subversion in late-night shows comes in the form of humor which criticizes and questions the political authority. The dissemination of subversive political knowledge through these programs becomes more significant during presidential election years. By criticizing candidates with jokes, late-night shows subversively and "accidentally" inform the audience about primary campaigns as they seek out amusement (Brewer and Cao 31). Such implicit dissemination of knowledge through new media helps remove the cultural monopoly of the bourgeois intelligentsia and shows the egalitarian structure of new media (Enzensberger 20).

While these shows deserve credit for presenting an alternative form of journalism, it would be remiss, however, if we fail to analyze the weakness of the content as well. Much of the humor in these shows remain non-issue oriented, focusing more on the personal foibles of political leaders (Niven et al. 130). Waisanen critiques this tendency of reinforcing stereotypes as it offers only a limited range of topics and bypasses detailed facts. He writes:

> In an effort to fit each day's news through the structure of a stand-up comedy monologue, a more nuanced and detailed understanding of politics is often bypassed. For years, Leno and other similar comedians have told jokes that simply reinforce stock stereotypes about, for instance, President Clinton as a womanizer and President Bush as unintelligent. (Waisanen 303)

Facing a need to generate laughter, the journalistic burden of accurately representing interviewees often takes a backseat. As Geoffrey Baym finds, producers at *The Colbert Report* presented interview segments as "5-minute constructions assembled from actual interviews that last as long as 90 minutes. In the editing process, Colbert's staff pays little regard to accuracy or facticity" (309).

Another weakness of late-night shows is its limited effect on audiences who are already firm on their political allegiance and hence possess a self-selective set of knowledge to draw from. As a result, Baum writes that these shows are "far more amenable to preaching to the choir than converting the flock" (326). Young and Tisinger also point out that even late-night show hosts and producers admit that their viewers would not be able to make sense of any issue-based jokes unless they had some existing knowledge on that particular subject (115). The problem remains that it is the audience who choose which perspective of political context they are drawing from. All these shows can do to create an informed citizenry is to add "nuggets of information" to enrich the existing knowledge of the viewers (Young and Tisinger 115). Furthermore, Waisanen points out that humor "can sometimes undermine our capacities to rationally reflect upon people, events, and the world at large – instead working to regulate or discipline our thoughts" (301).

Despite these criticisms, the growing popularity of late-night shows is irrefutable. Thus it is essential to understand which population is being influenced the most by these implicit cultural policies. A lot of these late-night show audiences is made up of the 18-49 age demographic, crucial both to advertisers and vote-seeking politicians. Different surveys over the years have all reached the same conclusion: late-night comedy shows are more popular among the young than

the old. In the 2000 presidential election year, a survey by the Pew Research Centre found that 47% of people under thirty were "informed at least occasionally" through late-night shows about the campaign or candidates. Even though the internet rapidly grew popular as an information source in the subsequent years, the popularity of late-night programs sustained through to the 2004 election cycle, when around 21% young people said they "regularly" got campaign news from comedy shows such as *Saturday Night Live* and *The Daily Show*, while 61% of people between 18 and 29 years of age said they *regularly* or *sometimes* learned something new from comedy and/or late-night talk shows (Kohut). A survey by University of Pennsylvania (National Annenburg Election Survey), which collected information from over 19,000 respondents, also found truth in the growing influence of late-night programs among the youth, but pointed out a weakness in the myth of how much effect it really was having. In its findings, the survey noted that the largest audience of the shows consisted of those least likely to vote – Americans aged 18 to 29. The late-night show audience was also identified as "relatively young, ideologically moderate, slightly more likely to be Democrats than non-viewers and also large consumers of traditional news like network news and newspapers" (National Annenburg Election Survey). Although the survey called the young viewership a weakness, it can be argued that targeting a younger demographic makes late-night shows more effective as its implicit operation begins to take effect from an early age.

Taking advantage of the implicit influence of these late-night shows, politicians started using these programs as an explicit tool for their own campaigns. Compared to the 25 late-night show appearances by candidates running in the presidential primaries of 2004, there were 110 appearances in 2008 (Jones 11). Politicians reshaped their campaigns to step into the entertainment game as these programs gave them a chance to "address hard-to- reach audiences, show their more 'human side' [...] while typically experiencing an interview that steers clear of controversial matters and doesn't engage in tough questioning" (Jones 11). According to Niven et al., during the 2000 presidential campaign, late-night shows allowed presidential candidates more airtime to speak in their own words than an average month's worth of coverage on evening news (130). This level of unprecedented reach through a new communications source introduced a new dimension to election campaigning. Niven et al. quoted the communications director for Republican candidate John McCain's campaign, Dan Schnur, as saying "[Late-night shows] often reflect what voters feel, and their observations have a tremendous effect on how voters view the candidates, much more so than evening news shows" (119). Not only for election campaigning, the implicit capabilities of late-night shows were used to disseminate knowledge about explicit government policies as well. In order to promote his healthcare reform plans, President Obama carried out a massive media blitz – agreeing to interviews on both news programs and entertainment programs like late-night shows. Unsurprisingly, his one-liners with David Letterman drew nearly 7.2 million viewers, compared to only 3.1 million the day before on an ABC news interview (Baum 325).

It is important to remember, however, that these shows are not just a bullhorn for politicians. Instead, they act as "alternative journalism, one that uses satire to interrogate power, parody to critique contemporary news, and dialogue to enact a model of deliberative democracy" (Baym 261). This approach to serving the public is also a testimony to the implicit agenda of these late-night programs. Taking the example of *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, Baym also found that even though the primary approach of the show was comedy, oftentimes "the silly is interwoven with the serious, resulting in an innovative and potentially powerful form of public information" (273). As credibility of these shows as a form of journalism grew, so did their ability to influence

public opinion. So much so that Senator McCain's communications director Schnur said: "During the campaign season, you're often cowering at 11:30 – what are these guys [hosts] going to say?" (Niven et al. 119).

Donald Trump's Hair (and Beyond)

The role of late-night shows prior to, and also during, the presidency of Donald Trump will surely be analyzed extensively in years to come. Compared to previous presidencies, these shows have arguably been more vocal against the policy decisions of Trump, and in turn, have provoked an unforeseen level of attack from the administration.

Taking a look at Trump's pre-election stance, one could argue that he followed a similar strategy as his predecessors – relying on the popularity and entertainment value of late-night shows to boost interest among a key demographic of voters. According to Hall et al.:

> Trump's campaign to become the Republican nominee was successful because it was, in a word, entertaining – not just for the white rural underclass, not just for conservatives, but also for the public at large, even those who strongly oppose his candidacy. (72)

Although the most popular shows satirized Trump's idiosyncrasies and portrayed him as a comic figure, they also arguably "humanized" him (Shepherd). Probably one of the most relevant examples of how a millionaire business tycoon from New York was turned into an everyman American could be found in a September 15, 2016 interview, where late-night host Jimmy Fallon ruffled the-then presidential candidate Trump's hair (CNN). Instead of grilling Trump on his policy plans, Fallon chose to take a rather easy-going tone and pursued what could be argued as a slapstick route. Fallon's actions created an instant backlash and the interview was "widely criticized for its fawning, forgiving tone" (Itzkoff).

As discussed previously in this paper, politicians frequent these shows – even the ones hosted by comedians most critical of them – because these TV programs have the power to merge the candidates' political image with their personal ones and allow them to permeate the audience sphere. As a result, the powerful men and women on the screen become more "accessible," "relatable," and "authentic" (Scacco and Coe 13). This is part of the culture industry's agenda of creating a faux reality that extends beyond the TV screen. According to Adorno and Horkheimer:

> The more intensely and flawlessly his [media producer's] techniques duplicate empirical objects, the easier it is today for the illusion to prevail that the outside world is the straightforward continuation of that presented on the screen. (35)

So when Trump's hair, which had been the center of ridicule for years, was literally touched by one of the most likeable personalities on screen – Jimmy Fallon – the implicit message or the illusion presented was that the rest of the US population could also make a human connection with the New York tycoon. However, Fallon later claimed that he ruffled Trump's hair not to humanize him but to "almost […] minimize him' (Itzkoff). So even though his implicit intention was to serve a particular purpose, the audience had the final say in how it was interpreted – in this case choosing to accept the humanizing image of Trump instead of ridiculing his comic figure. It shows that the implicit intention of the source and the implicit meaning being interpreted by the audience can often be polar opposites. So the original implicit cultural policies of a show can boomerang to strike the media producers – as was the case for Fallon's show.

This paper has so far argued that it is the late-night shows that impose implicit cultural policies on the population; but at the same time, further exploration needs to be done into how the audience also controls the shaping of such policies. An argument can also be made for how such continuous comedy routines would eventually create a new wave of "media-savviness" and shift further power of determining cultural policies into the hands of the audience. Jay Leno, one of the legends of late-night shows, argues that the "constant pounding" against politicians by late-night shows "does have a tendency to anesthetize your feelings" (Itzkoff). The strategy of these shows of imposing implicit cultural policies could also be co-opted by politicians, as was arguably the case with Trump, who understood that "crude humor has the power to bring down the princely classes – aka, the political establishment – as well as anyone who opposes him" (Hall et al. 82). So, by letting Fallon use crude humor and ruffle his hair, Trump allowed the rest of the country to virtually touch his hair as well – successfully establishing the human connection.

The fallout from Fallon's 2016 interview could still be felt two years later when the issue started a war of words between the US president and late-night show hosts. Trump criticized the host for "whimpering" about how he should have done the interview differently, and ended the tweet writing "Be a man Jimmy!" (@realdonaldtrump). Later, at a public rally, the president went on to call Fallon a "lost soul" and even attacked other hosts – calling Stephen Colbert a "lowlife" and Jimmy Kimmel "terrible" (Le Miere). Such comments show how politicians can exploit the implicit messages offered by late-night shows, but turn on the same practices when these shows challenge their policies. Trump's Twitter tirades against such shows give grounds to the argument that the implicit cultural policies of late-night entertainment are drawing explicit reactions from the US political realm, especially from the Trump administration. Such dynamics also open new avenues of exploring the relationship among entertainment, the audience sphere, and the state apparatus. Hall et al. argues that when Bakhtin's idea of the carnivalesque – and its relationship with Trump – is applied to broader modes of cultural analysis, entertainment becomes "a common anthropological trope for examining contestations of social hierarchy in everyday life, particularly with respect to humor, joking, and laughter" (73). This is why understanding the implicit cultural policies of late-night comedy shows are necessary for analyzing the existing political and cultural power struggles.

Conclusion

This paper has analyzed whether late-night shows in the US can act as agents of an implicit cultural policy that creates a *political/cultural laicity* among its audience. The hybrid form of entertainment-journalism has opened a new channel of creating an informed citizenry who can be better at self-governance. The very core of this hybridization process is implicit in nature, as it was previously mentioned that any "cultural policy" of the media is covert by definition (MacGregor 240). While studying the implicit cultural policy of US late-night shows, there is further scope of determining whether these programs are only subversive in their questioning of the authorities, or whether they are also serving any implicit state agenda as well. Regarding this, these late-night shows might be potential components of a cultural or communications ideological state apparatus (Althusser 80). In the context of the US, which constitutionally ensures freedom of speech to media, the extent of state propaganda being served might be argued; but at the same time, the apparent absence of the "explicit" in late-night shows also makes it effective as an implicit policy. All things considered, a certain level of caution must be maintained when judging the success or failure of these shows in influencing public opinion.

The indisputable outcome of US late-night shows is its ability to create an informed citizenry, irrespective of the different levels of reception capabilities by different audiences. The effectiveness of the shows' implicit cultural policy can be measured by how the people end up utilizing the transmission of information. Frank Vibert wrote:

> A better-informed public and a public with more reliable information and analysis at its fingertips will be more questioning of political authority, make its own judgements on the facts and wish to make its own informed decisions and interpretation of those facts in ever-increasing areas. (94)

The ability to empower and shape people's decision-making abilities is arguably what makes late-night shows so effective as agents of implicit cultural policy. As US society's understanding of media legitimacy evolves and the demand for alternative journalism grows, late-night shows can be expected to play a greater role in the coming decades as young people – the key targeted demographic – become policymakers themselves. If "soft news" can replace "hard news" as the choice of authentic information source, it will potentially have a major impact on the US culture and economy in the near future. With growing numbers of both media-savvy and informationally-ignorant audience turning on their TVs for a laugh at 11:30 pm every night, the content of late-night shows is transcending its original purpose and evolving rapidly towards becoming an unprecedented cultural force – something that can be identified as an effective implicit cultural policy.

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Petro-culture as an Oppressor of Women and Nature: An Ecofeminist Reading of Nawal El Saadawi's *Love in the Kingdom of Oil*

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Abstract

Oil, arguably a crucial natural resource for the development of human civilization, has often been treated in petrofiction as a representation of male power and consequently an apparatus for repression of women. Historically, nature and women have been dominated at the hands of the petro-capitalist male societies. In Egyptian author Nawal El Saadawi's novel *Love in the Kingdom of Oil,* it is found that the question of dominance over environment and suppression of women are inextricably linked. Oil is a commodity in the narrative which is used in an Islamic Gulf state as an agent to confine women in stereotypical roles and strip them of their unique identities as individuals. The petro-capitalism in the novel also works against creating a sustainable environment for the future generations. The female protagonist here fights for her dignity and right to freedom while facing the harsh realities of her social condition. This paper analyzes the text in order to expose the degeneration of oil societies and offers a view of how petro-cultural capitalism and politics, using religion as a shield, arguably work as key influencers behind the exploitation of women and nature.

Keywords: petro-culture, ecofeminism, petro-capitalism, petro-modernity, Islam

Oil has always been used to advance technological and scientific inventions with the goal of making people's lives comfortable on earth. Petroleum and its uses can be deceiving as masses of people might not be aware of the complete impact of abuse it brings forth. It sometimes goes undetected as the consumer culture creates a screen between the conditions of oil exploration, exploitation, and endangerment of nature. Allan Stoekl defines oil in the foreword of *Oil Culture* as not just a commodity but "the commodity" – not to be reproduced or replaced (xii), which is why oil is extracted from the ground and used indiscriminately from the very beginning. This natural resource is considered a so-called blessing with its power to drive the industries and households every day. But oil becomes a curse for the environment as illustrated in most oil fictions. In the essay, "Oil and World Literature," Graeme Macdonald analyzes the integral connection between oil and literature, which is often overlooked by readers:

> Most oil fiction, for example, contains certain thematic preoccupations: volatile labor relations and ethnic tensions, war and violence, ecological despoliation, and political corruption. Storage and 'peak' anxiety over levels of reserves and remainders shapes events and chronological structure. Petrofiction's preoccupation with environmental justice is also well established, ensuring close relations with green debates around the world. (31)

Literature and popular culture raises awareness about the petro-reality of the twenty-first century and this paper looks at the text *Love in the Kingdom of Oil* with its concern over oil as an oppressor of nature and women. Here, oil acts as a double-edged tool in the hands of the existing misogynistic patriarchal social structure. On one hand, oil is a commodity at the point of being exhausted by the petro-capitalists and, on the other hand, it becomes an apparatus for the male oppressors

to suppress female identities. The story starts in a world immersed in petro-politics, corruption, dehumanization of women, and usurpation of natural resources. By looking at this anxiety, violence, and volatile social system brought about by petro-modernity, this paper will also examine male dominance associated with oil and its impact on women.

Ecofeminism and Oil

Nature has a vital connection with the human species, especially women. Historically, both nature and women have been subjected to male oppression and exploitation as commodities. Ecofeminism is the concept that discusses this relationship of simultaneous suffering of both women and nature, and the "Introduction" to *Feminism and Ecology* defines the relationship like this: "Ecofeminism is a movement that sees a connection between the exploitation and degradation of the natural world and the subordination and oppression of women" (Mellor 1). The exploitation of women and the planet itself is done by the men who, in the name of development and progress, victimize both. This is pointed out by Andrée Collard and Joyce Contrucci in the book *Rape of the Wild: Man's Violence against Animals and the Earth*. Here Collard discusses how men thoughtlessly take pride in the destruction of nature by hunting for pleasure or keeping wild animals in cages to entertain spectators and earn money. The author points out that "Where the human hand has not greedily tinkered," nature is at its best, "magnificent" and "awesome" (2). This book links ecology with women while vehemently opposing the exploitation of nature, animals, and of course women. Collard writes, "The identity and destiny of woman and nature are merged. Accordingly, feminist values and principles directed towards ending the oppression of women are inextricably linked to ecological values and principles directed towards ending the oppression of nature (137). Oil is one of the key natural elements that men exploit to exert power over everyone and everything.

Love in the Kingdom of Oil is set in an unnamed Gulf state, with the backdrop of the Gulf War and its destructions in mind. In the selected text, oil is used as an apparatus to cause destruction of female entities as well as nature itself. The protagonist in the story desperately looks for ways to end her plight. The novelist Nawal El Saadawi gives a brief introduction to her book's setting:

> In my novel, oil is the hero. The island in the story is floating on a sea of oil, completely under the control of an oil consortium. The president of the consortium is a foreigner who cannot speak a word of Arabic and the Kingdom is ruled by the tribal Holy Family and Representative of Allah on earth. (*Reader* 17)

The novel opens with an unnamed researcher from the Department of Archaeology who is kidnapped by a man while doing fieldwork. She is a married woman and the two men in her life – her husband and her boss – treat her like a piece of property, without a unique identity. The woman finds herself in a terrible, almost dystopian, place where there is oil everywhere, seeping through the ground or falling from the sky (24). The setting of the story shifts frequently and is often confusing, which is Saadawi's way of portraying the protagonist's inner struggle to deal with her reality. The male dominant social structure stifles the woman's individuality, binding her with made up rules that work in favor of the masculine authority.

The story begins when the archaeologist leaves her home and no one knew where she went. There is a royal decree that prohibits women from going anywhere: "Women do not go on leave. If one does, then she does so in order to run some essential errand. Before going, she must obtain written permission either in her husband's hand or stamped by her boss at work" (6). Both the boss and

the husband come to the police inspector's office to find out why and how the woman has gone on leave. A psychiatrist has been summoned in the office as well to deduce any hidden psychological issues behind this unimaginable offence of a woman going on leave, alone. The inspector degrades the protagonist's choice of profession – or the choice of having a profession at all – by saying, "A young woman throwing herself in a pointless job like collecting statues. Isn't that an indication of illness or even perversion?" (9). He continues his argument by noting that the archaeologist looks for gods and goddesses with a chisel because she does not have the male genitalia, which, in his opinion, equates to power, and seeks to attain control from the statues. This attitude can be related to the misconstrued practice of religion and belief in male supremacy over women.

The woman escapes the prison of her husband's household and the sexual abuse of her boss, but finds herself in another kind of prison when she is kidnapped. Her captor beats and tortures her with oil jars that she must carry like all the other oppressed women in the vicinity, where the man profits without paying any wages to them. The archaeologist cries out in pain when the man puts an oil jar on her head, "It's very heavy! It'll break my neck" (31). Here, oil is an active agent in subordinating the women because to put the jars on the woman's head, she must "bend over" in front of the male (31). Even though oil acts as an incentive to imprison women both literally and symbolically, the women are equated to oil in the novel. During police interrogation, the psychiatrist says that he finds oil and women to be very similar, "I think there is in her, as there is in other women, something resembling oil" (71). These words show how men desire complete control over the females as well as the natural resources of the world.

Saadawi brings in an image of patriarchal dominance over writing the fate of women around them. In the police commissioner's office there is "a new, oil-powered typewriter" (6) which writes the past, present, and future of the nameless researcher. But it is impossible to distance oneself from this modern world because, "To step outside of petro-modernity would require a step outside of media, including the contemporary printed book" (LeMenager 64). Oil is providing power to both men and media, and they are playing God, creating or destroying identities of women on a whim. Misguided masculinity can be considered responsible for the desire to control oil, nature, and women, which may eventually end up destroying the earth itself. Simone de Beauvoir's observation on man's attitude towards nature clarifies the argument when she writes:

> Man seeks the Other in woman as Nature and as his peer. But Nature inspires ambivalent feelings in man, as has been seen. He exploits it, but it crushes him; he is born from and he dies in it; it is the source of his being and the kingdom he bends to his will. (197)

de Beauvoir explains here how human life springs from the biological mother and ends in Mother Nature and yet, men in their complacence, desire to overpower both. In a similar vein, Andrée Collard in her writing celebrates motherhood and women's biological link with nature as she writes:

> Nothing links the human animal and nature so profoundly as woman's reproductive system which enables her to share the experience of bringing forth and nourishing life with the rest of the living world. (102)

Incidentally, this celebration of motherhood and women's so-called inherent connection with nature may be used against them, in order to annihilate their identities as individual human beings. Discussing the problems of ecofeminism, Victoria Davion brings in critic Riane Eisler who in "The Gaia Tradition and the Partnership Future" talks about societies worshipping goddesses instead of gods, argues that those societies were better at forming a sustainable co-relation with nature and

those are needed today to "solve the ecological crisis" (23). Eisler calls for the "feminine values" to "reaffirm our ancient covenant, our sacred bond with our Mother, the Goddess of nature and spirituality" (24). But this is problematic in limiting female entity only as a compassionate and sacred being.

Saadawi in her novel questions the role of a "proper woman" when the protagonist muses on her not giving birth, not being a mother, "She had been on strike against pregnancy from the moment her mother had died giving birth to her. She did not know what the point of pregnancy was. All women became pregnant" (75). The stereotypical role of women as merely bearers and nurturers of children is a creation of patriarchy. Yet, many ecofeminists emphasize the role of a female mainly as a caregiver. Brian Swimme in "How to Cure a Frontal Lobotomy" writes, "Women are beings who know from the inside out what it is like to weave the earth into a new human being" (18). This point of view problematizes identities of females in a patriarchy not unlike the petro-culture of *Love in the Kingdom of Oil*. Caring about nature and the environment does not necessarily have to be an inherently female trait. Environmental activism is historically linked with the politics of exclusion of women in the male dominated societies. Unfortunately, the female voices have systematically been omitted from the politics of activism by the oppressors, so that the domination of both women and nature can continue without any obstacles. Canadian scholar Sheena Wilson discusses the relationship between oil and feminism in "Gendering Oil: Tracing Western Petrosexual Relations". In the essay Wilson invokes Heather Turcotte's writings on the Niger Delta about women involved in petro-politics. Turcotte in her work theorizes that, women who stand up against destruction of nature and its resources "are naturalized as mothers and grandmothers in mainstream discourses – maternal protectors of the environment" (qtd. in Wilson 246). This way activist women are "rationalized as unpolitical and external to the political economy" (Turcotte 2011). Therefore, the idea is to not take their protests seriously; mainstream media narratives very conveniently follow this course of publishing policy.

The truth about the relationship between women and the environment can further be clarified by Robert R. M. Verchick when he points out that many organizations and movements that protest injustice done to women and nature have been successfully led by women, therefore "while 'environmental justice' describes an environment and a civil rights movement, it also describes a women's movement, and, I suggest, a feminist movement" (63). He believes that when women fight for a cause, they do not easily give up. Instead, they put their passionate selves into creating a sustainable environment for future generations, a relationship of man and wild grounded in harmony, not exploitation. In the novel, the unnamed woman voices concern regarding female rights which can be directly linked to the question of environmental justice. Yet the male figures, dominating social structures in their deliberate denial, create a false narrative to continue with their neoliberal profit-seeking practices without acknowledging contributions by women activists.

Petro-capitalism and Dominance of Women
Sheena Wilson focuses on the Ethical Oil campaign and its effects on women in Canada as well as other oil countries in her essay, while analyzing how women protesting against exploitation of nature are termed "environmental terrorists." She writes:

> Within this paradigm, environmentalism, environmentalists, environmental science, and scientists – especially women and minority citizens acting on behalf of environmental agendas – become the targets of media attack, perceived not only as potential obstacles to oil extraction but also as threats to the proliferation of capitalism itself since oil and capitalism are considered symbiotic. (245)

Capitalism is one of the major reasons of injustice towards women and oil plays a very significant role in providing the necessary tools of oppression for the dominant male body. Since the media is an essential part of capitalism, they often tend to exclude women and their predicaments in petro-capitalist societies, and, on top of that, in a very crafty manner, objectify them to perpetuate capitalism's tyranny over them. Wilson unveils the hypocrisy of Western narratives of oil capitalism by focusing on the Ethical Oil billboards. In one of them, a woman is shown to be the mayor of Fort McMurray (an urban service area in Alberta, Canada, located in the middle of the Athabasca oil sands), and, in contrast, a burka-clad Muslim woman is being stoned to death and buried alive (250). The author critiques this form of "embedded feminism" which is used to "justify foreign policy, often in the form of political or military intervention by Western nations into the affairs of the Middle Eastern oil-rich nations – but it also validates the status of Western women" (251). But Wilson sees through the double standard of these narratives since the women in most twenty-first century Western societies repeatedly engage in struggles for their rights and survival of the environment, despite the proclamations of freedom and equal rights for all human beings given by the authorities of oil capitalist countries. Saadawi's text portrays how capitalism based on oil dictates fates of women and the helpless masses.

The researcher in *Love in the Kingdom of Oil* is a prisoner of the oil culture where the despotic ruler decides what happens to the citizens of his country. The story gives details of oil companies that procure oil from the villages and their labor force are the women in abayas. Hypocrisy is evident in behaviors of the company men and the ones that govern women's lives. The rule is that a man can take four drops of an oil-like substance to quench their thirst while women only get two. The women who almost break their necks carrying oil jars, cook, clean, bear children, and look after the household, earn nothing in comparison to the exploitative men in power. Since men are the authoritative figures, they do not participate in carrying the oil jars themselves. This act is symbolic of the social discrimination in the oil-rich Gulf States and working without payment is a form of socio-economic and political slavery for the women. The captor of the researcher announces in plain terms what the patriarchy think of women's wages, "It's not right for a woman to work for money" (41). The King of the land is an autocrat and nothing happens without his knowledge and command. The oil exploration is providing money for him to lead a lavish life and his men keep on destroying the land. Capitalism is seeping into every crevice of the land and, as a result, nature is being destroyed. The women do not have access to a better life of education or income and those who do, get kidnapped or are tortured in their own homes.

The concept of power is not a simple one to elucidate. The complexity lies in the fact that not only does the top of a social structure hold power, but the lowest order does as well. In his seminal work *The History of Sexuality*, Michel Foucault discusses the relationship between oppression and resistance when he says that power is not limited to any one individual or a group of people: "Power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (93). Then he goes on to define power:

> One needs to be nominalistic, no doubt: power is not an institution, and not a structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society. (93)

Power is a strategy that in certain situations generates distinct behaviors and usually is very different from other circumstances in society. Every individual has a unique quality of power which is not

necessarily used as a destructive force. The archaeologist is frustrated by her own inability to take a stand and voice her rage against oppression, and that is why she directs her anger at the women of the oil village, believing their silent suffering to be the primary cause of the men's growing dictatorial power:

> Women will remain in their state until the Day of Resurrection. Isn't there anybody to resist the oil? […] Don't blame anybody apart from yourself if you are buried in this lake. The oil will dominate everything, and it will make its way to every place. (75-76)

The nameless protagonist is a spokesperson for Saadawi when her words relay the message of the cause this author has been fighting for throughout her life. Power to resist tyranny is not limited to political organizations only; every human being has an innate power that gives them the right to speak against injustice.

In the land where oil is abundant, with no water, no trees, and no refuge, the nameless woman resists silently, planning to escape from the place, trying to convince the other worker women in the oil factory to free their minds from the burden of carrying oil in a capitalist culture. Surprisingly, the other women the researcher wants to save have a power of their own. They have become so accustomed to the oppression in the oil society that it is unimaginable for them to break free from it. They antagonize the nameless archaeologist as soon as their paths cross, first by way of questioning her about the veil, then informing her about their knowledge of her getting beaten at home. There is a kind of surveillance operating in the village and no one is outside of it. The sustained dominance of the petro-capitalism makes people susceptible to becoming agents for the oppressors, as the suffering women have themselves become. Not resisting injustice is often considered as consenting to it. When asked why she does not open her eyes and take another look at the world, a neighboring woman answers the protagonist, "I used to kick a great deal until I became weary with kicking as well" (63). The choice of not raising a voice against injustice is what Saadawi speaks against in her novel. These women have given up hope to be free from the hellish state and seem blissfully unaware of the injustice done to them. The women do not have rights to education and earning wages, yet they do not resist the exploitation which makes the dictatorship more powerful. The citizens do not raise a voice opposing autocracy in fear, thus they suffer in silence. The power of the people is not exposed in the novel *Love in the Kingdom of Oil*, which is the reality of the corrupt petro-capitalist society.

In Saadawi's novel, a very interesting form of power can be identified. While the autocratic ruler and his cohorts are at the top tiers of the social infrastructure, the common men, husbands, bosses also hold positions of authority. But it would be naïve to say that the women in that culture have nominal power over their lives and choices that are most of the time snatched from them. But it is important to acknowledge that, "Where there is power, there is resistance," which is "never in a position of exteriority in relation to power" (Foucault 95). The archaeologist believed in the power of education. That is why she became a researcher and defied the male narrative about women and their roles in society. There was, what the oppressive male order would consider, defiance in her acting on her own free will. Her husband tried to force her to quit studying, and the woman despairingly thought to herself, "He would no sooner see her opening a book than he would shout. As is the book was another man who was taking her from him" (28). But she did not relent and went on to do what she wanted – searching for ancient archaeological artifacts, gods and goddesses buried in the earth.

This novel takes the readers to a place where there are "massive pipes" of oil and the men dictate the supply of oil that comes to the surface. Women in this Gulf State are shown as being timid, obliging creatures who wear black abayas or long cloths to cover their entire bodies. This is forced on them in the name of Islam to further suppress any human demand or desire of women. One woman's question to the researcher, "Why don't you veil your face? Have you no shame?" (17), clearly indicates the stern judgmental customs of the village. The abaya is black and hides the women's identities, which Saadawi believes is a form of fundamentalist religious oppression. She writes, "The veiling of women is one of the most visible aspect of fanatic Islamic fundamentalist movements" (*Reader* 95).

While discussing ecology, Elizabeth Dodson Gray brings the theological rationale of the Great Chain of Being that establishes a structure of God's authority over Man, and "men's dominion over women, the darker races, children, animals, and wilderness" (qtd. in Salleh 71). This theorization might be true for many a religion but Islam promotes equal rights of men and women where Allah is the one force that can dominate Heaven and Earth, while men/women/animals are under his direct supervision. Saadawi discusses Islam in "Women and Islam" and she brings in an ayah from the Qur'an:

> Men have the right to what they can earn by their efforts, and women have the right to work and to earn their living, since it has given them the same right as men to what they earn. (*Reader* 85)

Although Islam asks both men and women to take caution and dress modestly, there is no imposition on women's rights to earn and keep property. A woman is seen as a "source of the cheapest labor in existence" by the oil capitalist economy, since "she does not own the proceeds of her labor" (*Reader* 89). This is true in the cases of the nameless females in *Love in the Kingdom of Oil* where religion is used by the petro-capitalist culture, negating women's existence and seizing their rights in production. This points to the fact that patriarchy imbued with oil power is responsible for the suppression of women, not Islam or religion, in this particular society.

In the novel women are treated as slaves. In this connection one is reminded of Ariel Salleh's writing where she discusses how Marx and Engels name women and children as "the world's first slaves" in patriarchy (73). This can also be found in Saadawi's discussion about the leftist Marxist groups, where she illustrates how women's liberation is considered separate from national liberation. The author writes:

> [T]he class system was founded on the slavery of women and children in the family, and that the basic profits of the patriarchal class systems which prevail in our world, are rooted in the accumulation of surplus value deprived from the unpaid labour power of women and children. (97)

The Marxist ecofeminist viewpoint emphasizes the position of women as a productive force in any economy. Although the primary theorizations of Marx and Engels were not exclusively about women in societal structures, the issues come in various forms in their writings. Marx sees only men as one of the main components of labor, which is why he speaks of "Monsieur le Capital and Madame la Terre" meaning, labor is "the father" and nature is the "mother" in the production process (Salleh 71). Women here are seen not as initiators of production but merely a force of re-production that paves the way for the actual economic production; in plain words, women bear male children, nurture them so that they may work one day in production. The housework usually does not generate income, women's labors are not "deemed productive" and for this reason Marxist feminists stand against wages-for-housework campaigns, fearing this system will continue the female labor to be hearth-bound and further arguments will be overlooked (Salleh 76).

The oppression on women intensifies because of the power that oil provides to patriarchy. Michael L. Ross, in his book *The Oil Curse: How Petroleum Wealth Shapes the Development of Nations*, discusses the role of oil in perpetuating male dominance over female bodies and identities. The author compares oil production and manufacturing of other products, and looks at ways they affect women's participation in work outside the home: "The scale of government's oil revenues, when transferred to households, reduces the supply of women looking for jobs" (117). While the garment sector employs women from lower classes, oil wealth provides sustenance and luxury to the men working in oil businesses, thus removing the need for females to go out and look for work. A significant number of women in most of the Arab countries, rich in oil wealth, do not have access to politics or positions of influence. Many critics from the Western world would argue that Islam is the major factor for the backwardness of and oppression on Muslim women, especially those of Africa and the Arab world, but Ross firmly believes, "More oil leads to fewer paychecks for women. And because entering the workforce is a critical route to political power, oil wealth can also diminish female influence in government" (118). Ironically, the conditions of women in the developed countries such as Canada or the United States of America are no different. It is not Islam, but the toxic masculinity coming from oil power which is responsible for oppression on women, all around the world.

In *Love in the Kingdom of Oil*, the women carrying jars of oil are not included in the production process despite their taking the burden of motherhood, housework, and oil company work outside their homes. The nameless researcher desperately tries to make sense of her existence as a prisoner in the man's dominion and more likely telling herself that, "I am a human being like you, and I have rights," but a voice operating for thousands of years suppresses any claim of freedom by saying, "We have the rights of the men only" (39). This capitalist culture that exploits wealth procured from oil is exposed by Saadawi and she believes it to be responsible for the women's continued suffering.

In many cultures that depend mostly on petroleum and its wealth, women are tyrannized both by the burden of oil and the owners of oil fields. Saadawi repeatedly emphasizes the dangerous and destructive power of oil. She illuminates:

> Oil was the reason for the Gulf War. Oil has been the reason for the continuing colonial aggression against us in the Arab world for the past half-century. Arab rulers, including the Gulf kings and princes, collaborated with the neocolonizers. Millions of women and men in our reign suffer poverty, ignorance and disease. My novel *Love in the Kingdom of Oil* is about that suffering. (*Reader* 7)

The reality here is that people long for wealth and power, which furthers the cause of petro-capitalist modern social orders. Maybe for this reason the author does not provide any indication of a future society that recognizes women as more than household goods and as a valuable force in economic production in the dystopian oil state.

Conclusion

This paper analyzes *Love in the Kingdom of Oil* which deals with the effects of petro-modernity – on the environment, women, and the future condition of the world – which is a grave concern for modern societies and their literature. The nameless archaeologist in the novel journeys towards an unknown future in quest for a better environment to fulfill her desire to be free, while in the process she becomes aware of the injustice done to her and others like her. This paper has focused

on the relationship between man and power; the dynamics of sexuality, power, and religion; and the power dimensions among oil, women, and the environment. The oppression of oil does not end in the narrative since the images do not directly point towards either an optimistic or a bleak future for humanity. The society in question can either be about oil, oppression, and a decaying wasteland or one with the hope of resistance, justice, or fight against the petro-oppression. Saadawi's ecofeminist critique of the oppression on women and nature carries a resistance to petro-cultural capitalism. This also raises awareness and sends a message of hope to the exploited in society, urging them to stand against women's rights violations and to put an end to the exploitation of the environment.

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Nigerian Female Playwrights and the Question of Patriarchy

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Abstract

One issue that Nigerian female writers have had to contend with repeatedly in their works is that of male domination as the manifestation of a deep patriarchal tradition that has for centuries been part of a people's culture, behavior, and attitude. In almost all the plays authored by women in Nigeria, there is an indubitable promotion of a sexist agenda based on the sufferings of women from their sexual counterparts, men. This study therefore employs the patriarchy theory in its interpretation of selected plays of Nigerian female playwrights and interrogates Hartmann's claim of a despondent relationship between patriarchy and capitalism. Through a study of selected works of female playwrights like Zulu Sofola, Tess Onwueme, and Foluke Ogunleye, the study discovers that capitalism, though an instrument employed for the furtherance of patriarchal interests, will not suffice to deliver women from male hegemonic deportments.

Literature, from the very beginning, has been dominated by men who, without any prevarication, have written from a male perspective that is almost often patriarchal. Dramatic literature especially admitted no female participation either in scriptwriting or stage-acting when it originated in classical Greece in the 5th century. Worthen William explains that the Athenian theater admitted no woman and "female characters were played by men" (16). The classical age itself had no female writer; all the tragedians of the period were men, led by Sophocles, Euripides, and Aeschylus and, as such, their plays are downright patriarchal. The patriarchy of the Classical period was equally complemented by the writings of male playwrights in Elizabethan England. Great plays such as *Richard II, Dr Faustus*, and the *King Henry* series are woven around notable male characters who bestride the plays. Even the female protagonist of Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* operates only within the whims of patriarchal interest which she fights to the death. M. H. Abrams notes that

> patriarchy pervades those writings which have been considered great literature and which until recently have been written mainly by men for men. Typically, most highly regarded literary works focus on male protagonists – *Oedipus*, *Ulysses*, *Hamlet, Tom Jones*, *Faust* – who embody masculine interest in a masculine field of action. To these males, the female characters, when they play a role, are marginal and subordinate and represented either as complementary and subservient to, or in opposition to masculine desires and enterprises. (95)

The scenario is not different in the African literary scene especially in the domains of Nigerian dramatic literature where earlier writers have taken almost completely after their Classical and Elizabethan predecessors. Pacesetters of written Nigerian drama including Wole Soyinka, Ola Rotimi, and J. P. Clark have been undeniably patriarchal in their approach. In response to many criticisms of this male chauvinistic approach noticeable in his writings, Soyinka is of the opinion that a man cannot correctly write about women and that it is the responsibility of women to write about women.

Thus male dramatists write from a masculine perspective that either leaves women out of the picture or portray them in a dented form that is usually unacceptable to the female reader/critic.

To this end, female writers who have evolved in Nigeria have deliberately tackled patriarchy and female gender imaging headlong, leaving no one in doubt of their sexist agenda in almost all the plays they have authored. Critics have reacted variously to gender issues in female-authored plays but mainly through the angle of gender imaging, gender roles, and characterization. Many such reactions decry the negative portrayal of women in modern Nigerian drama without delving deep into the patriarchal culture and background responsible for such imaging. Such critical ventures are yet to tackle the subject of patriarchy in Nigerian drama of female authorship by answering questions arising from the subject of male domination in the plays as in virtually all the cultures of the world. To this end, this paper hopes to find out, who institutes, practices, and benefits from the notion of patriarchy that characterizes social relations the world over as seen in the selected plays. How does patriarchy and capitalism, its backbone, sustain each other? Also, what choices are there for women in patriarchal settings?

The Patriarchy Theory

Patriarchy is an issue to contend with in most societies of the world where men tend to rule over women. From Western societies to Asian and African communities, attitudes that set the man over the woman in family and societal settings are upheld and this affects all areas of life such as agriculture, marriage, commerce, childrearing, and property holding. Patriarchal attitudes uphold the headship of the man and demands subservience of the woman in any adventure that brings both sexes together. Notions of patriarchy have been among human beings since as far back as the 4th century BC and become highly evident and prevalent in classical Greece where women were seen to be inferior to men by all standards.

Patriarchy became a matter of interest to feminists because of the disadvantaged position it places women in every area of life. Feminists such as Miriam Dixson and Juliet Mitchell soon developed a theory of patriarchy because feminism as a movement views patriarchy as the most potent weapon of male dominance and describes it as an unfair system against women. The theory of patriarchy affirms that there is an established division between men and women from which men gain power. Miriam Dixson in *The Real Matilda* launches the theory where she claims that the oppression of Irish women is due to the actions of working class men who in turn benefit immensely from the lot of the suffering women. The theory of patriarchy lays emphasis on different aspects of male domination ranging from the home and family life to the workplace and political circles. Kate Millet is the one who popularized the patriarchy theory among American feminists. Aside from the popular claim of male domination by other theorists of patriarchy, Millet maintains that women themselves are weak and passive. To her, it is because women are not putting up any resistance that men continue to dominate and oppress them. She maintains that patriarchy plays crucial roles in sexual relations and illustrates her points from literary works. Harris Mirkin later expatiates on the subject of women's passivity raised by Millet and concludes that:

> The theorists of patriarchy also adhere to the patriarchal vision when they view traditional women as passive and weak. This, according to the theorists of patriarchy themselves, is the way in which men saw – and see – women. The only difference is that men have believed women were passive by nature, and the current theorists think that she was psychologically and institutionally enslaved by the dominant males. In other words, women are perceived as even weaker than the patriarchs saw them, because they are viewed as enslaved not by God, or nature, but by men. (55)

Proponents of the patriarchy theory are mainly socialist/Marxist feminists who rely on a Marxist analysis of the woman question to interpret the domination of women by men. They see men

almost exactly the way Marxists perceive the ruling class and see women as the oppressed class. Mirkin explains that "the advocates of the concept of patriarchy are often soft Marxists, who argue that underlying the economic class dialectic of Marx is an even more fundamental sexual class dialectic" (41). Heidi Hartmann in her essay, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Towards a More Progressive Union," attempts to bridge the gap between the two conflicting positions and detail the intricate aspects of the patriarchy question especially in a capitalist society. Hartmann's postulation on patriarchy links patriarchy and female domination to capitalism and the control of it by men who also control one another in a different hierarchical order. Though still speaking from the standpoint of a socialist feminist, she attempts to find the nexus of Marxist and feminist views of gender relations and excoriates the pretentious correlation that exists between patriarchy and capital. She thus defines patriarchy as "a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence among men that enable them to dominate women" (177).

It is perceptible from the above discussion that the dominant purpose of patriarchy is the domination of women and the gain of men. In the attempt to dominate women therefore, men will have to first dominate one another through capitalism. The final result of the hierarchy among men is that, in the end, every man is dominating some woman. Hartmann's position on the patriarchy issue clearly reveals that patriarchy is about domination that is deliberate, calculated, and systematic. As she later explains, "the material base of patriarchy is men's control over women's labour power" (180). In sum, Hartmann's perception of the problem with patriarchy is a capitalist one; it is because men control capital that they dominate women, it is so that they might dominate women that they control capital. In her explanation of the conspiracy between the male gender and capitalism however, one is more fundamental than the other; to her, patriarchy is more fundamental than capitalism though they work together.

Patriarchal Overthrow in *The Reign of Wazobia*

The first aspect of patriarchy that Tess Onwueme attacks in *The Reign of Wazobia* is political domination. In most traditional African societies, women are trampled upon politically and treated as irrelevant where it concerns serious matters of state interest. To this end, African, and consequently Nigerian monarchical structures are headed by only male members of the ruling families. Female descendants of the royal families are set aside when kingship consultations are being made and that includes oracular predictions of the next occupant of the throne. However, to prevent interregnum and anarchic reactions, a regent must be placed on the throne to act as king anytime a king passes on, till a substantive king is installed. Initially, the tendency in regents to sit tight on the throne, arising from the fact that he is usually a member of the royal family and consequently has a right to the throne, led to the culture of appointing women as regents. In that case, the woman would constitute no threat and she is installed and uninstalled at will as determined by the male dominated group of kingmakers. This obvious exploitation of womenfolk in their whimsical coronation and removal as regent forms the central theme of Onwueme's *The Reign of Wazobia*.

The woman regent in *The Reign of Wazobia* seizes the power at her disposal as regent and begins to reorder the culture that has put women in political, economic, and domestic servitude for innumerable generations. Wazobia starts by deliberately exceeding the three years stipulated as maximum for any (female) regent to reign before a substantive (male) king is enthroned. She

declares her agenda to upturn the sexist system of their customary operations right from the beginning of the play as she states:

> … Ask yourselves
>
> Why the law prescribes a female Regent?
> Where are the men
> If rulership is the sole preserve of men?
> Do you think they contradict themselves when
> They make a female regent rule for only
> Three seasons when a king passes beyond?
> They plant us as king unasked and supplant us at will.
> I, Wazobia, know everything at my fingertips
> They, of their volition threw the throne on
> my lap and lap it, I must.   (7)

This appears to be Wazobia's mission statement because, throughout the play, she refuses to relinquish power to the right owners as expected by the men and dedicatedly fights oppressive male practices from the throne. Wazobia draws the battle lines very clearly and states it without any prevarication while garnering every available support in order to uproot all forms of masculine oppression meted out to fellow women. *The Reign of Wazobia* is thus a revelation of the patriarchal, chauvinistic, and other male hegemonic factors that are in connection with the culture of regency as practiced in most African communities and a clear call for a discontinuation of such practices.

The rebellion of Wazobia against the traditional structure that permits only men to reign as king is stiffly opposed by men and Wazobia discerns that a real fight has to be put up before she can break the grounds she intends to because male resistance to her agenda is direct, strong, and insistent. At the first State Council she calls Iyase, her second in command, and informs him of her plans but Iyase replies plainly: "Then king, if we must deliberate on such serious state matters, women and the youth must be sent away" (27).

This resistance gets stronger as the play progresses but Wazobia's resoluteness, coupled with the unalloyed support she finally enjoys from the women populace and the youths, secures victory for her and the other women. The women not only seize but also maintain control of political powers till the end of the play and this affects the relationship between men and women in all sectors of the society of the play.

Patriarchy is also the bedrock of the relationship between men and women at the home front, and this affects a greater number of women than political domination. Men rule over their women at home and expect the women to kowtow along in unalloyed subjugation and deference. The men rule over the women and some are high-handed in the process while at the same time neglecting their responsibilities to the women. This signals a sharp departure from Hartmann's opinion that men control women because of capital. The assumption of responsibility that can naturally elicit submission from the women is absent yet the men expect the women to cater to the family needs and still be subservient to them. The following altercation between a man and his wife in *The Reign of Wazobia* captures the situation more accurately. The woman runs to Wazobia for solace while her husband pursues her hotly:

MAN   *(Threateningly):* You may run into a mouse hole.
     These hands must teach you today that
     They were not made of decaying plantain stem.
     Come out and I'll show you …

WAZOBIA   *(To the man):* Do you realise
     That what you are doing now is against tradition?
     Tradition forbids you to touch anyone who has
     Protection of another. And more so, your king?
     Is it that men in these parts make traditions
     For others to bear them?

MAN   Tradition?
     And is that why a woman
     A mere woman that I paid to get with my own hard-
     Earned money should challenge me in my house? Does
     She think I carry these balls in my thighs
     For nothing?

WAZOBIA   And is that an answer to your king?

MAN   It is no matter for king and subject, but a matter
     For man and woman. The gods of our land ordained
     That a man must own a wife to bear him children … (24)

Through a self-conceited character, simply named Man, Onwueme has subtly displayed for all to see, the injustices suffered by women from their male counterparts in the family. This particular man apparently does not consider his wife having a higher status than his other property in the house hence the woman's stay in his house should justify the money he spent to acquire her by being obedient to him and bearing him children. Wazobia's response to the man's last claims demonstrates to us where her sympathy lies and this actually sounds a bit authorial:

WAZOBIA *(Interrupting):*   And did your gods also ordain that
     You must turn these women to slaves?
     That their tongues must be slashed for daring to see
     With their eyes? And with their ears that dare
     To reveal to them what tune time beats? (25)

From here, we see that Wazobia is beating the drum of change and is intent upon ensuring that all, both male and female, dance to the tunes. The sheer unfairness that pervades what is regarded as tradition in the relationship between man and woman receives her full attention in this play and is approached from different angles. The same man who goes on raging about his wife's lack of submission is later revealed to have abdicated his traditional role as breadwinner of the family and leaves his wife to provide for the family. This double injustice suffered by this woman and many others like her usually remains unspoken of but now with Wazobia's posture on the matter, the woman replies her husband thus:

MAN   I have said it time and time again
     I will offer myself for castration
     The day I allow a woman
     That I paid for with my own money
     To lie on my top and taunt me with her fingers.

> WOMAN

Tell me how
In my own house
Why I should come home
And not find my food
With my woman waiting on the table?
Why not? Of course I am part of the furniture
in your house and once you come home,
You have a ready platform to sit on.
You pursue lizards while those with whom you started
Now pursue rats.
And if I must go in search of the food
You must eat.
Must I not leave the house to fetch that food? (32)

The significance of this utterance is that the material base of male domination has been removed in this and many other instances, while male domination still subsists and characterizes the relationship between men and women. This statement by Man is a shocking revelation of the state and attitude of the authoritative and unloving posture of the husband who still insists that he must always come home to have his food waiting for him on the table since he is the "head" of the home. *The Reign of Wazobia* here exposes quite unambiguously that patriarchy thrives on the silence and docility of women who are at the receiving end of the oppressive cultures and traditions thus confirming Millet's and Mirkin's opinion that female passivity is the sustaining power of patriarchy. This need for more self-assertive actions is what the play addresses and the women are made to take actions that lead to desired change in their situations.

The play consequently reveals the huge imbalance in familial and political customs, and calls on the female gender to break the silence and insist on fair treatment. Onwueme's use of this play to display such politically and domestically uncanny attitude by men therefore breaks the silence and confirms Sanusi's point that African women writers use their works "to redress the situation […] by challenging the domination of African life socially, politically and economically by African men" (185). Women in *The Reign of Wazobia* actively resist oppression and break the silence by personally taking over the fight against patriarchal bondages. In *Wazobia*, the feminist battle against patriarchal control is won. That the women emerge victorious from the battle is seen in the final subjugation of the chief force of opposition against Wazobia: Iyase. Adeoti comments that "Iyase's final submission therefore illustrates the erosion of the authority of patriarchy" (265). The play thus proposes that feminine passivity will only make women walk in circles and that liberation from masculine oppression can only be obtained by putting up strong resistance.

The *Idegbe* Tradition as a Manifestation of Patriarchy

The *Idegbe* tradition among the Igbo of Southern Nigerian is one the symptoms of the patriarchal culture basically because of its persistence of the sustenance of the paternal lineage. This particular practice obtains in some African societies because most patriarchal societies are patrilineal in which case property and title are inherited by the males. To this end, every family must produce a male child to continue the lineage and any family that does not have a male child is compelled by ageless tradition to solve the problem anyhow. In such cases, one of the female children, usually the first, is saddled with the responsibility of getting pregnant outside marriage in order to give the child to her father for the continuance of the family lineage. She is thus an *Idegbe*, a male daughter. This

culture, a popular one among the Igbo of Western Nigeria, is the main source of the dramatic conflict in Onwueme's *The Broken Calabash*. It is also the reason behind the tragedy of Okebuno in Zulu Sofola's *Old Wines are Tasty* although a cursory reading of the play might lead one to deduce that the tragic hero's rejection of the ways of his people is responsible for his eventual destruction at the end of the play.

In Sofola's *Old Wines are Tasty,* Okebuno comes to his village after living for five years in Lagos without visiting his hometown but later seeks the approval and support of his hometown for his political dreams. Okebuno behaves like a foreigner during his stay in his village Olona and this arouses the angst of the elders who firmly place a stamp of disapproval upon his candidature. This play has been read as the tragedy of a man who abandons the good old path of his forefathers to tow the line of foreigners to his detriment. Indeed, Okebuno has refused to honor the elders and comply with the traditional requirements of the people of Olona whose approval and votes he needs to achieve his political ambition. Okebuno is obsessed with Western ideas and ways, and this drives his disgust for the attitudes and actions of the Olona people which he considers primal and obsolescent.

The actions of the play at the beginning clearly point to the direction of failure for Okebuno. His failure is imminent from the display of ignorance and pride that inform his disregard for the same elders who hold the reins of the political horse he hopes to ride on in their hands. Okebuno's political opponent in Olona, Oloko, understands the terrain much better and soon begins to exploit Okebuno's ignorance to his (Oloko) own benefit. The reader therefore already anticipates Okebuno's failure in his political aspiration while Oloko would be chosen in spite of his educational disadvantage. It is thus a remarkable twist of events when Okebuno suddenly comes back home to question his mother about his paternity. In a quick turnaround of events, Anyasi's background is revealed: she is an *Idegbe* so she has to give her father a son since he had no male child. As fate would have it, her father got a son very shortly after Okebuno's birth so she had to give Okebuno to the next man in line, the husband she married after Okebuno's birth. She explains to Okebuno in her hurt:

> ANYASI: Son, I was not a harlot. I did what every daughter of a man without a son does. I was an Idegbe because my father had hoped to get the son he lacked through me. I had your father as the man through whom I could satisfy my people's wish. But a few months after you were born, one of my father's wives gave him a son. (55)

This statement reveals the facts about Okebuno's real father, though not the details. Though Mr. Mukolu, his mother's husband, is Okebuno's official father, his biological father remains unknown in name, character, vocation, and town of origin and this accounts for Okebuno calling himself a "glorified bastard."

Okebuno's initial actions in the play can then be put in perspective through this revelation of his paternal background. Okebuno evidently has no ties with Olona and is most likely not an indigene of Olona; hence his inability to feel at home there. He is unable to either accept their ways and customs or be in tune with their cultural practices. This ingrained contrast between what Olona accepts and what Okebuno can give can be traceable to the secrecy and mystery that shroud his paternity. His uncle, Akuagwu, also insinuates that Okebuno is not from Olona in the following exchange between Ndudi, Okebuno, and Akuagwu:

> NDUDI: 'Buno, where are you going?
> OKEBUNO: I am going back to where I came from.
> AKUAGWU: Do that, because that's where you belong. (56)

In the play, therefore, the driving wheel of tragedy is the practice and promotion of patriarchal ideals without taking cognizance of how they impact the lives of the individuals concerned. Okebuno's tragic death in a fatal accident right in front of his mother's house at the end of the play is another accurate portrayal of the ills of patriarchy as manifested in the *Idegbe* traditional practice. What's more, the *Idegbe* culture ruins the lives of the female child who has been designated an *Idegbe* by virtue of being the first or only child in the family. Such women are often left with a permanent marital dent as in the case of Anyasi who is later considered as a harlot by the same society that places the burden on her.

The *Idegbe* tradition is a demonstration of male domination at its extreme and the gains, both material and psychological, go to the men, while the pains are the lot of the women who have been caught in the trap. For Anyasi, it is a multiple tragedy because the son is no longer acceptable to her father by the time she gave birth to him since he already got one. With Anyasi's father having the choice of still fathering a son through any of the women in his harem, it becomes an issue that Anyasi too easily and quickly accepts the responsibility of solving her father's problem in that manner. This corroborates Millet's claim that female passivity is one of the sustaining factors of male domination. Anyasi put up no form of resistance against this congenital bondage but easily aligns herself with the traditional scheme of things. Yet the fact that Ona puts up a resistance in *The Broken Calabash* also critically queries the position of Millet and Mirkin that the problem of women is passivity. Truly, Anyasi is passive in her acceptance of the odd responsibility of giving her father a son but Ona, as shall soon be revealed, is not.

Onwueme's *The Broken Calabash* appears on the surface to be a play about radical university girls rebelling against parental guidance and societal values. However, the dramatic conflict in the play is brought about by a dilemma created for Onaby, a tradition whose roots are deeply ensconced in the fertile soil of patriarchy. It is in pursuit of patriarchal values that every family is expected to have a male child to perpetuate the paternal lineage. In *The Broken Calabash* Ona is perceived and accepted to be both male and female. She is an *Idegbe*, a male daughter with a choice of either procreating for her family herself or marrying a woman who would do the same for her father. The main interest is in getting children who will continue the family name/lineage.

Ona, unlike Anyasi, hates the culture with a passion and is highly disgusted by the description of her cultural responsibility as the only child of her parents. As a university undergraduate, Ona desires to live a normal life in her youth and have fun. She has a boyfriend whom she hopes to marry in the near future. However, her father's extreme actions and claims of love choke and frustrate her aspirations. Courtuma, Ona's father, resists all her movements and fences off her boyfriend, Diaku. In the course of the semester break that brings Ona and Diaku home, Courtuma reveals Ona's status as an *Idegbe* to her and tells her to choose between bringing him a pregnancy and marrying a fellow woman to bring Courtuma a pregnancy. Ona would have neither of the options. She pleads with her parents to let her live a normal life like her friend. She even asks Diaku to come and know her parents officially. Courtuma reveals through his actions that men would not allow women to break off the shackles of patriarchy without putting up a fight to defend the domination from which they have benefited for a long time. Courtuma insults Diaku's family and they leave in anger.

While this tears Ona apart completely, Courtuma is satisfied that that marriage prospect is destroyed and that Ona can still hold the "homestead" together. Once again in Onwueme, the issue of men's insensitivity to women's happiness and emotional well-being is raised.

Ona's resolve not to stay bound within the shackles of a barbaric tradition is not enough to obtain liberation for her. Her father, representing the oppressive patriarchal tradition, is unwilling to let go freely. He deliberately destroys Ona's only love relationship, expecting her to settle down thereafter and attend to the cultural demands on her as the only child of the family. On the contrary, Ona's sense of loss upon discovering that Diaku now belongs to her best friend leads her to take desperate steps and avenge the injustice done to her. She meets her father's display of absolute inconsideration for her happiness with an equally unkind action which leads ultimately to the tragic end of the play.

Although the attack on patriarchy in this play is almost without a material base, it is still discernible that patriarchal tradition is the bedrock of the crisis that upsets Ona's life and catalyzes the tragic ending of the play. The heavy burden placed on Ona and every girl child in her position by strict observance of such culture is the underlying factor behind the composition of the play, which makes it another attack on oppressive patriarchal structures that weigh women down. Ona's life is overtaken by her circumstances and her singular resistance is too feeble to have any impact on the deeply rooted culture of her ancestors. Although Ona puts up a desperate fight against male domination of her life, she fails because her fight is a lone battle with no support, not even from her mother. Her mother and members of her gender refuse to take a stand by her side and remain passive while Ona languishes under the unbearable yoke of masculine oppression.

Nesting in Patriarchal Cages
The subject of objectification alluded to in the case of the unnamed couple in *Wazobia* is given full treatment in Foluke Ogunleye's *Nest in a Cage* and further amplified. Ogunleye's perception of masculine domination in this play is seen from the angle of polygamy and female objectification, and her approach is an examination of the polygamous propensities of patriarchal cultures with focus on the modern man who, though married to one woman, keeps a harem of girls for sexual pleasure. Right from Biblical times, patriarchs have been polygamous. The main essence of polygamy is capital. Hence, in Africa where patriarchy is deeply entrenched and polygamy is taken for granted, women form only a part of the political and agricultural estates of great men who acquire them with money just like other properties and expect them to stay so.

Out of the four girls in *Nest in a Cage*, three of them have "Sugar Daddies" as they call the men who exploit them sexually and pay them in return. Nike's case is peculiar and pathetic because, being a newcomer in the game, she dabbles on blindly without caution and ends up burning her fingers, and that very badly. She gets permanently scarred by erroneously entering Chief Agbabiaka's net and believing every lie he tells her without considering that Chief only recently dated and jilted her friend, Lanre. Nike's naïveté soon catches up with her as she gets pregnant for Chief, thinking the prospects of a marriage with him would now be higher. Her thinking is that a marriage to the wealthy Chief will solve her problem of poverty permanently. Quite contrary to her expectations, Chief demands an abortion immediately and throws her out empty-handed.

The weapon of male domination briefly alluded to in *The Reign of Wazobia* is also used here and even enlarged. Male domination is fuelled mainly by economic control that rests, in most cases, in

men who almost literally purchase and sustain the interest of members of the female gender with the power of money. This scenario is again a confirmation of Hartmann's claim that capital is the material base of patriarchy and that in patriarchy women are exploited. Just as the man in *Wazobia* says he will not take nonsense from a woman he has paid for, men in *Nest* use money to curry the attention and affection of young girls for their own advantage. Alhaji takes Deola to America and lavishes a lot of money on her only to dump her on arrival, for another catch most likely. Chief Agbabiaka dedicates a whole house to his extramarital affairs and spends a lot of money on any girl who is reigning at particular points in time. The ironical reality of his own case is that the entire wealth he parades about belongs to his wife.

Ogunleye has thus carefully nullified the basis for male domination, women objectification, and patriarchal oppression. Financial power, which is the backbone of male hegemonic attitudes, can now reside in women since whoever owns the weapon wields the power. This raises an entirely special subject. The peculiar situation of Chief Agbabiaka and his wife serves to confirm Hartmann's claim that "capitalism adjusts to patriarchy […] patriarchy adjusts to capital" (183). Chief, though unable to control his promiscuous instincts, is hamstrung by an ingrained dependence on his wife for financial sustenance. Agbabiaka "submits" to his wife's control to a certain extent. He hides his philandering from her and takes his financial supplies from her company. He was only a clerk in his wife's company prior to their marriage and is under a very strong constraint that the day any of his adulterous trysts with girls result in pregnancy, he will lose his exalted post and become a clerk again. This explains his severity with the girls on the issue of pregnancy and the huge amount he pays to procure an abortion. While Mrs. Agbabiaka's attitude may be queried and excoriated, it reveals quite distinctly that male control is a matter of economic buoyancy. Thus, patriarchy adjusts to capital.

Nest in a Cage cleverly raises the question of the paternal family line which is a direct product of a patriarchal tradition. Chief Agbabiaka's wife, though a successful and rich woman, has only one problem in life, her inability to bear a male child. She is thus willing to acquire the male child fathered by her husband at any price. Although she arrogantly and very impersonally makes the request, the fact remains that she recognizes in Nike's son a missing part of her marital life which she would need to put an end to her fears. She is equally aware of the kind of power Nike can wield over her marriage in the near future if she so chooses as a result of the importance attached to the continuation of the male family lineage. Her request for the boy is thus a step calculated towards the real security of her shaky marriage by ensuring that her husband would not go in search of Nike's male child to maintain the family name. Mrs. Agbabiaka is still enslaved to patriarchal values in spite of her affluence. Therefore, capitalism adjusts to patriarchy.

Conclusion

It becomes quite clear, judging from the circumstances of the husband and wife relationship between Chief and Mrs. Agbabiaka in *Nest in a Cage*, that capitalism is the material base of patriarchal traditions and attitudes. The play reveals that both institutions – patriarchy and capitalism – respect and adjust to each other. The scenario from the warring couple in *Wazobia* sharply contradicts this claim by the insistence of the male on his supremacy and leadership even when the resources for sustaining the family are acquired from the woman's labor. Thus, in this case and in many others in Africa, patriarchy ignores and insults capitalism with its attendant powers.

The major opposition to Hartmann is in the two women cited above and the women of Wazobia who eventually seize the reins of political, and consequentially, financial power from the men

and exert it in their own interest. Another disconnect between Hartmann and the male-female relationships in the selected texts is that female oppression continues in spite of the fact that women may not rely on men for financial sustenance. Beyond the dictatorial powers of capitalist customs, the roots of patriarchy in Africa go deep down into obsolescent beliefs and practices which capital power alone will not suffice to uproot. Part of the problem therefore, as Mirkin and Millet claim, remain the passivity of women due to psychological bondage to which they have been subjected from time immemorial. Thus, passivity is one protracted predicament of women of older generations which Onwueme tackles headlong in *Wazobia* and proposes as a solution to patriarchal oppression.

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"Talking like Men": Interpreting Revisionist Mythmaking in Carol Ann Duffy's *The World's Wife*

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Abstract

Myths unravel an overwhelmingly patriarchal order in society and consequently validate the androcentrism of language. As cultural texts, they show and legitimize the victimization of women. "Revisionist mythmaking" is a process, suggested by Alicia Ostriker, which tends to subvert the patriarchal structure of the cultural elements and "correct" the gender stereotypes of women. Carol Ann Duffy's *The World's Wife* is a remarkable addition to the tradition of revisionist mythmaking in English literature. Almost all the poems focus on hitherto invisible and "silenced" female counterparts of mythical and quasi-mythical characters. The ending of the stories remains unchanged, but the perspectives change as Duffy subverts the male-subject position into a female one. This paper argues that here the female speakers attain superiority mainly through speech and considers it the main strength of the process of revisionist mythmaking. Duffy's use of dramatic monologue, as the dominant genre in this collection, helps to capture the essence of "performance" through the speech in a brilliant way. The female-subject speakers give commands which are meant to be executed; they narrate acts of violence, stories of victimization, and experience of motherhood. They adopt colloquial language and masculine expressions which make the subversion more effective. Austin's speech-act theory has been used to explain the locutionary effect of the speeches. The paper also draws upon Judith Butler's notion of performativity, as it helps to theorize the revision of myth that occurs through subversion of the masculine discourse.

Keywords: act, gender, myth, revision, speech, subversion

Mythological narratives constitute a palatable framework for inserting patriarchal codes in the lives of women. "Revisionist mythmaking," on the other hand, has become an effective tool for women writers to undo the hierarchical injustice practiced in those narratives by offering a re-survey and a review of the discrimination and subordination on the basis of gender and sexuality. Carol Ann Duffy's celebrated collection *The World's Wife* (henceforth *TWW*) retells mythical stories from the perspective of the women who had been either silenced or invisible in the popularly known masculine version of the myths. Just like myths, language also operates through a set or pattern of rules and structures that shape our psychology with almost equal influence. This study tries to establish that the effectiveness of the revisionist mythmaking in *TWW* lies mostly in the linguistic act.

In "The Thieves of Language: Women Poets and the Revisionist Mythmaking," Alicia Ostriker explains the process of revisionist mythmaking:

> [w]henever a poet employs a figure or story previously accepted and defined by a culture, the poet is using myth, and the potential is always present that the use will be revisionist: that is, the figure or tale will be appropriated for altered ends, the old vessel filled with new wine, initially satisfying the thirst of the individual poet but ultimately making cultural change possible. (72)

Ostriker further details how

> [o]ld stories are changed […] by female experience, so that they can no longer stand as foundations of collective male fantasy. Instead […] they are corrections; they are representations of what women find divine and demonic in themselves; they are retrieved images of what women have collectively and historically suffered; in some cases they are instructions for survival. (73)

Duffy's *TWW* can definitely stand out as one of the finest examples of this process. The collection presents an array of mythical, quasi-mythical, and historical women – mostly the wives of superior men – and we hear their stories in terms of their "supposedly" lived realities. Where the world commonly knows the men as heroes, scholars, and high achievers, they turn out to be obnoxious poets, bad lovers, greedy capitalists, spiteful or boring husbands, devils, apes, and even pigs to the women related to them. The women, on the other hand, are not essentially angelic or endowed with all the fair features of human characteristics; but much more sensible, pragmatic, and high-spirited than their male counterparts.

The poetry collection of Carol Ann Duffy has been mostly read from a feminist perspective. Avril Horner, along with many other critics, argues that Duffy aims to challenge the tradition of Western philosophy by demonstarting" how it underpins particular forms of patriarchy, and as a consequence, and how both sexes have been damaged by it in different ways" and also considers her a "feminist postmodernist writer" (99). She traces an emotional chronology in *TWW* where the womenfolk of this collection gradually move from "listening to speaking, from silence to eloquence, from weakness to strength, from marginal to central, from passivity to action" (112). Jane Thomas, on the other hand, concentrates more on the performance of gender in her poems and uses the notion of Butler's performativity to explain the relation between gender and language, "The act of gender requires a performance that is repeated. This repetition is at once re-enactment and re-experiencing of a set of meanings already socially established. Many of them represented in, and by, linguistic terms" (123).

Duffy executes the remaking of myth by bringing change in the area where language operates. The first and foremost effect is carried out when she deploys dramatic and interior monologue in presenting mythical stories. According to David Kennedy, if Duffy's preferred poetic form is the dramatic monologue, it is because it allows the poet to explore the breach between what is said and the person speaking, to explore "the gap between 'what it is like' and 'what it is like in words' by playing with the split between her speakers and what they speak, or, more often, what is 'spoken' through them" (227). In both types of monologues, the form helps in disclosing three important issues: the psychology of the speaker subject (attitude towards the male counterparts in the case of *TWW*), the reception of the speaker's rhetoric by the object (mostly male in *TWW*), and the penultimate effect in the world external to the monologues.

Technically, dramatic monologues offer a convenient framework for staging the performance of the role-reversals of the mythical women. We can study this performance as an execution of speech acts. The idea that speaking refers to doing something forms the basis of the speech-act theory which originated with J. L. Austin and has been further developed by John Searle and others. For Searle, especially, "the illocutionary act constitutes the basic unit of human linguistic communication" (107). Whereas illocutionary acts proceed by way of conventions, perlocutionary acts proceed by way of consequences (Searle 107). For example, in the sentence "Keep quiet," the intended effect is that the interlocutor stops talking or making noise but it is not definitive; whereas "I got him quiet" shows that the perlocutionary effect is achieved by force. Both the illocutionary

and the perlocutionary as utterances that perform, act either in the course of the utterance itself or as a consequence of the utterance. Duffy combines both speech acts to dramatize the role reversals in *TWW*.

In the final section of her seminal essay, Alicia Ostriker formulates a kind of pattern through which renowned women poets have accomplished revisionist mythmaking. She considers the intertwining of "multiple voices" in those narrations as the most significant and widely used technique. The poet-speaker is hidden underneath the overpowering voices of individuals in *TWW*, and the dramatic monologue appears to be the most perfect form to contain the voices.

We may now move to the interpretation of "voices," i.e., how Duffy carries out her project of mythmaking at the linguistic level. The most notable feature of the language in *TWW* is its colloquialism, which has been a recurring feature in revisionist mythmaking (Ostriker 87). It operates at two levels: it brings down the status of myth as a part of "high culture," and therefore subverts it, and it makes the language more accessible and modern. There are 30 poems in *TWW* with 30 different individual female speakers. Most of the poems are discussed under subcategories on the basis of the speech-acts.

Speech in Action

Women belonging to this section assert their agency through the perlocutionary force of their speech. The reversal of masculine discourse takes place when the male listeners act in accordance with the (female) speakers' utterances. The readers can assess the emphatic force of the utterance because the "consequences" of the speech lie in the ending of the mythical stories that are already known.

The discussion can begin with "Mrs. Aesop." Mrs. Aesop, the frustrated wife of the renowned fable maker, devices her own fable of the "little cock that wouldn't crow," signifying his incapacity to please her sexually: "*I'll cut off your tail, all right,* I said, *to save my face.*/That shut him up. I laughed last, longest" (26-27). "Eurydice" explores the dynamics of creativity and ridicules the so-called "male" literary tradition. The female subject speaker turns the table when she asserts that she herself did not wish to return to the land of the living with Orpheus – the egoistic legendary poet-singer – and tricked him:

> My voice shook when I spoke –
> *Orpheus, your poem's a masterpiece.*
> *I'd love to hear it again …*
> He was smiling modestly
> When he turned,
> When he turned and looked at me. (108-113)

The readers already know the penultimate effect of "looking back," but this time we know that the course of action was the making of Eurydice herself. Looking becomes a violent action in the case of mythical Medusa. Duffy's Medusa feels cheated and spiteful towards her husband: "Wasn't I beautiful?/Wasn't I fragrant and young?/Look at me now" (40-42). The assertion has multiple meanings. It might be a frantic urge to the husband to turn towards her, or it might reflect the intention of the speaker to petrify the husband or it is a threatening challenge to the listeners/readers who know how scorned she is.

Being authoritative is not always the strategy for empowered women. In some cases, Duffy adopts language in a tricky way to show how speech turns into action. We find a plain diary entry in "Mrs. Darwin": "I said to Him –/Something about that Chimpanzee over there reminds me of/you" (3-5). Duffy ensures that Mrs. Darwin is credited as the creator of the "theory of evolution" in a rather humorous manner, and subverts the popular myth.

Another witty subversion is devised in "Frau Freud." She begins with her own perception and then proceeds to the views of other women to support her argument, parodying the methods of Sigmund Freud: "ladies, dear ladies, the average penis – not pretty …/the squint of its envious solitary eye … one's feeling of/pity …" (13-15). Duffy re-interprets Freud's "penis envy" in the poem – it is not pretty, not a lack in woman, rather an object of pity.

"Pygmalion's Bride," on the other hand, tricks Pygmalion into abandoning her. In Duffy's version of this myth, the statue is not really a statue, but "plays" one. She does not desire Pygmalion, but Pygmalion's relentless pursuit makes her devise a new strategy to cope with him:

> So I changed tack,
> Grew warm, like candle wax, kissed back,
> Was soft, was pliable,
> Began to moan
> […]
> begged for his child.
> and at the climax
> Screamed my head off –
> all an act. (39-48)

The expression of sexuality through speech and utterance threatens Pygmalion and the perlocutionary effect is that he leaves her which the bride finds quite pleasing and does not complain about.

Sexuality also remains a crucial issue in "From Mrs. Tiresias." Tiresias turns into a woman, as he does in the myth. In Duffy's version, he is a regular conventional suburban man, quite unlike the prophetic enigmatic Tiresias from the original myth, who cannot cope with the transformation because of his male vanity. The wife, on the other hand, tries to accommodate him, compassionately treating him in a "sisterly" manner. As the relationship deteriorates, we find Mrs. Tiresias opting for a new beginning by bringing a third person into the relationship: "*And this is my lover*, I said" (76). She is the first speaker in this collection who welcomes a lesbian relation when a heterosexual relation has failed. And Duffy makes the assertion much more effective by voicing the statement in direct speech instead of a reported one.

The last and the strongest persona in this section would be "Queen Herod" whose identity as a queen is overshadowed by the identity of an over-protective mother who can be merciless:

> Take men and horses,
> Knives, swords, cutlasses.
> Ride East from here
> And kill each mother's son.
> Do it. Spare not one. (73-77)

This, again, is a direct speech act reflecting her authority.

Voicing Victimization

In this section we can include a long list of suffering wives who, mostly in the form of interior monologues, narrate their version of the stories. The discussion can begin with the estranged wives who have been awaiting their husbands for a long time and the focus is on the spiteful language that they use to voice out their resentment.

Mrs. Sisyphus is portrayed as the wife of a mindless workaholic. Sisyphus is a "jerk" and "a dork" (21). Mrs. Icarus also expresses extreme disgust at the stupidity of her husband's legendary flight towards the sun and calls him "a total, utter, absolute, Grade A pillock" (5). "Mrs. Faust" is presented as an unusual woman in this collection who is quite indifferent and unloving towards her spouse. Her statement at the very end reveals her state of utter frustration and disgust: "the clever, cunning, callous bastard/didn't have a soul to sell" (134-135).

The legendary Circe – who is a scorned lover – calls most men "pigs" in "Circe." She revels at her knowledge of the differences between "tusker" and "snout," or "hogs" and "runts," showing her adept knowledge of different men's personalities and traits (47). Mrs. Midas is threatened by the transformation of Midas and is separated willingly. At the end, Midas is just a "fool" and the personification of "Pure selfishness" to her (13).

Another significant section of wives are those who have internalized the pain of separation from their husbands and considered it a chance to restart their lives. "Penelope," "Mrs. Rip Van Winkle," and "Mrs. Lazarus" would fall into this category. Penelope is the legendary wife of the Greek hero Ulysses, who had been the mythical epitome of a loyal wife. In Duffy's version, she finds "a lifetime's industry" in needlework and embroidery, and sincerely prepares for the next stitch when she hears "a far-too-late familiar tread outside the door" (43). Mrs. Rip Van Winkle fuels her artistic creativity and considers the absence of her husband a boon: "But what was best,/what hands-down beat the rest,/Was saying a none-too-fond farewell to sex" (113-115).

There is no trace of love left in Mrs. Lazarus for her reincarnated husband:

> I breathed
> His stench; my bridegroom in his rotting shroud,
> Moist and dishevelled from the grave's slack chew,
> Croaking his cuckold name, disinherited, out of his time. (37-40)

In all three cases, the climactic illocutionary effect is produced with a combination of resentment and disgust at the arrival of the unwelcome husbands. These women shatter the patriarchal myth of self-sacrificing devoted wives.

Voicing Violence

Enacting violent actions and narrating them constitutes a powerful discourse in Duffy's *TWW*. In retelling the acts of violence, the speaker achieves a kind of cathartic and liberating effect. The very first poem of the collection "Little Red Cap" retells the story of Little Red Riding Hood, the wolf here being the male poet, signifying the male literary tradition; an object to be eliminated in order to make a feminine discourse possible and meaningful: "I took an axe to the wolf/As he slept, one chop, scrotum to throat, and saw/The glistening, virgin white of my grandmother's bones" (37-40). Salome is one woman in this collection who relishes in getting men killed: "Woke up with a head on the pillow beside me – whose? –/What did it matter?" (4-5).

In "Mrs. Beast," Duffy recreates and transforms the mythical "Beauty," and endows her with incredible toughness. All the words that she can find to compare with the beast are: "… a horse,

a ram, /an ape, a wolf, a dog, a donkey, dragon, dinosaur" (45). Duffy subverts the male tradition of dirty talk, playing Poker games and cards as she asserts, "We were a hard school, tough as fuck" (47). She justifies her abuse towards the beast ("turfing him out of bed") as an act of vindication on behalf of the "tragic ladies" from history and myth.

"The Kray Sisters," who also advocate solidarity and promote feminism in practice like "Mrs. Beast," are the feminized versions of the real Kray twins in London around the seventies. They take pride in carrying out the legacy of their fictive grandmother, "a tough suffragette"; one of her achievements was keeping London safe for women. Their words are law, and their diction gangster-like: "Rule number One –/A boyfriend's for Christmas, not just for life" (45-46).

Their acts of violence are implied, quite unlike "Mrs. Quasimodo." She is very much in love with her husband initially but feels threatened on the arrival of a beautiful "other woman." She would destroy Quasimodo's most favorite musical instrument in order to hurt him the way he had hurt her. Her action reverberates ruthless murder:

> I sawed and pulled and hacked.
> I wanted silence back.
> Get this:
> When I was done,
> And bloody to the wrist,
> I squatted down among the murdered music of the bells
> And pissed. (137-143)

"Delilah" is an adaptation of the biblical story of Delilah and Samson, where Delilah betrays Samson by cutting his locks of hair – which contained the source of his strength – to make him vulnerable to the Philistines for revenge. Duffy appropriates the myth by changing the intention of Delilah. His hair seems to signify not only his source of physical strength but also incapability towards the softer values in life. So she gets the scissors ready to "change" him for the better: "Then with deliberate, passionate hands/I cut every lock of his hair" (141-142). All actions belong to a perfect cause and effect framework, subverting the stereotypical notion of men as the reservoir of reason and rationality in *TWW* which is an important aspect of the performance of a linguistic act.

Voicing Motherhood

One important facet of Duffy's revisionist effort is bringing the experience of motherhood to light. Her pregnancy and childbirth experiences echo Cixous's urge to record the feminine experience of childbirth and pregnancy in feminine writing. "Thetis" and "Pope Joan" narrates the event of childbirth as an empowering moment. Duffy revises the myth of Thetis by transforming her into a modern woman who frantically tries to conform to the patriarchal codes by constantly changing "sizes" and "shapes." In the climactic stanza the changes stop, indicating her ultimate attainment of maturity: "So I changed, I learned,/turned inside out – or that's/how it felt when the child burst out" (46-48).

Motherhood is the ultimate sanctuary for the semi-mythical protagonist in "Pope Joan." The story goes that she was the only woman who had the capacity to lead the Church but died during childbirth. The experience of childbirth is narrated like an act of "transubstantiation":

> That the closest I felt
> To the power of God
> Was the sense of a hand

> Lifting me, flinging me down
> Lifting me, flinging me down
> As my baby pushed out
> From between my legs. (21-27)

The subversion becomes most effective when the speaker considers it a miracle which is exclusively hers – as opposed to Pope-ship which is exclusively the domain of men. Duffy adopts an indirect speech act, which, according to Searle, is used when someone wants to communicate a different meaning from the apparent surface meaning and she succeeds in presenting motherhood strongly.

So far we have seen how Duffy uses the power of speech-act to make her language fit to fulfill the agenda of revisionist mythmaking. The wives in *TWW* conform to and "re-enact" the patriarchal convention in the first place, as most of them are known by their husbands' names and have a domestic aura around them when they start narrating their stories; but gradually the readers are shocked by their irreverent language, taboo and slang words and phrases, and insulting remarks. The patriarchal discourse that shapes the psychology of the readers typically associates masculinity with the expressions that Duffy makes her women speakers use. Thus the poet disrupts the linguistic signifying process that is inherent in the structure of Western myth. Duffy has fulfilled the "possibility" that Butler mentions:

> In a sense, all signification takes place within the orbit of the compulsion to repeat; 'agency,' then is to be located within the possibility of a variation on that repetition. If the rules governing signification not only restrict, but enable the assertion of alternative domains of cultural intelligibility, i.e., new possibilities for gender that contest the rigid codes of hierarchical binarisms, then it is only within the practices of repetitive signifying that a subversion of identity becomes possible. (129)

Carol Ann Duffy subverts the dominant form of subjectivity in *TWW*, uses the signifying process of the given patriarchal myth, and successfully revises it. The close reading of *TWW* helps us to conclude that the revisionist mythmaking, in this case, is a powerful act of linguistic performance.

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The Old Playhouse: Culture, Constrictions, and Subversion in Caryl Churchill's *Cloud Nine*

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Abstract

Right from its very inception, both society and culture require man to adhere strictly to a set of norms in order to get accommodated into its protective fold. Such a prerequisite, however, robs man of his freedom of thought, action, and expression. The present paper seeks to re-read famous British playwright Caryl Churchill's much celebrated play *Cloud Nine* (1979) with a view to highlighting how society frustrates man's rights on their own bodies and beings by levelling every act of defiance or deviance as abnormality, sickness, possession and/or corruption. Efforts will also be made to trace how the marginalized characters of the play like Betty, Joshua, Edward, and Victoria break free from the shackles of "normative" and then therefore "normal" existence, and how they brave the dangers inherent in such acts of utter defiance and try to articulate their long-silenced tales of forbidden and potentially disruptive experiences.

Keywords: society, culture, colonialism, patriarchy, hegemony

The socio-cultural history of mankind can roughly be translated into a tale of continuous struggle against different constrictive forces that try to control, censor, and eliminate every single human thought, action, and behavior that deviate from or try to defy what has traditionally been decided to be the expected/accepted codes of conduct. In fact, both society and culture, as meta-institutions, owe their raison d'être to the human need for protection, communication, and affiliation. But instead of being affiliative presences, they operate as mechanisms for exercising what Eric R Wolf calls "organizational" and "structural" power whereby individual actions are socially monitored, directed, or circumscribed to conform to a predetermined setting to achieve a preset goal (5). In fact, it is only through surrendering one's essential quiddity (essential quality/whatness) and thereby succumbing to these codes can an individual be accepted in the security and the shelter of the "old playhouse" of society (Das 1). Needless to say, people who fail to conform to these standards are right away excluded from the social fold and are subjected to uneasy/painful consequences.

The present paper seeks to re-read Caryl Churchill's 1979 play *Cloud Nine* with a view to highlighting how society attempts to condition, cajole, and/or coerce individuals to conform to its parameters of normality, morality, and respectability. I shall try to show how the characters of the play become unwitting victims of the cultural hegemony and end up getting transformed into mere puppets at the hands of "those in power" (Das 24). Efforts will also be made to see how some of these characters ultimately attempt to escape from this great old playhouse of cultural stereotyping and thereby try to assert their own individual identity.

Cloud Nine was first performed on February 14, 1979 at Dartington College of Arts by the Joint Stock Theatre Group. The play is divided into two acts: the first is situated in a British colony in Africa in the Victorian age, while the second act takes place in 1979 London. However, what is interesting about such a time frame is that while for the audience the time gap between Acts One and Two is more than a century, for the characters it is only 25 years, as indicated by the playwright

herself in the note to the play (Churchill 45-46). This vast time frame of *Cloud Nine* at once enables Churchill to juxtapose the cultural framework of the Victorian era with that of the post-war period and to show how, in spite of all changes in attitudes and perspectives, culture has remained both ruthless and relentless. As Amelia Howe Kritzer puts it, "Victorianism [in the play] has not been entirely laid to rest, despite all the evidence of sexual liberation" (91).

The play, as Churchill herself states, is the product of a three-week Joint Stock workshop with Max Stafford-Clark (45). This workshop technique worked particularly in favor of Churchill not only because it brought her in direct contact with a series of varied human experiences of socio-cultural marginalization based on issues such as ethnicity, colonialism, gender, and sexual orientation, it also helped her explore these issues from multiple perspectives. As Michelene Wandor notes, "The workshops have two inter-related function: to establish a good working relationship between members of the company and to provide the mass of 'raw materials' which Caryl will draw on to write the play" (qtd. in Fitzsimmons 46). The result of this dialogic mode of writing was quite startling, for it at once lent to *Cloud Nine* its unique clarity of vision and provided it with a frank portrayal of the clash between the individual and the collective aspirations. As Max Stafford-Clark comments:

> the collection assembled for the workshop includ[ed] 'a straight married couple, a straight divorced couple, a gay male couple, a lesbian, a lesbian-to-be, at least two bisexual men and […] the usual number of heterosexuals'. (qtd. in Roberts and Stafford-Clark 70)

This, according to Stafford-Clark, provided Churchill with "a varied diet" of both "testimony" and "improvisation" (qtd. in Roberts and Stafford-Clark 69).

As a creative artist essentially interested in asking questions rather than providing answers, Churchill in *Cloud Nine* seeks to explore the various power relations operating within a 19th century hetero-patriarchal British family wherein the male protagonist of the play Clive happens to be the paterfamilias. Clive is out and out a colonial administrator. For him, it is a person's ability to comply with the ideals of white imperial patriotism and heterosexual paternalism that marks his/her naturalness and thereby decides the acceptability quotient of the person concerned both in the society and in the family. Thus, when he leads his family to sing and celebrate the glory of the mother country under the national totem of the Union Jack, "Come gather, sons of England, come gather in your pride," it is as much in praise of the "imperial pride" of being British as in that of being the male heir, that is the "son" (Churchill 251). Thus it is not surprising to notice that the rest of the song presents a proud proclamation of the family members' perfect performance of their roles and duties according to their national, economic, social, familial, and gender status. In the song, Clive is referred to as the "father," his son Edward is visualized as a "real man in the making," Clive's wife Betty is called "a man's creation" and a "dream wife," and the servant of the house Joshua is pictured as "black skinned but white souled" (Churchill 251-252). The only member of Clive's household who remains silent during this celebration is Victoria, for in form she is but a mere doll who can neither speak nor act according to her own wishes:

> CLIVE: I am a father to the natives here,
>   And father to my family so dear.
>   My wife is all I dreamt a wife should be,
>   And everything she is she owes to me.

BETTY: I live for Clive. The whole aim of my life
                 Is to be what he looks for in a wife.
                 I am a man's creation as you see,
                 And what men want is what I want to be.
CLIVE: My boy's a jewel. Really he has the knack.
                 You'd hardly notice that the fellow's black.
JOSHUA: My skin is black but oh my soul is white.
                 I hate my tribe. My master is my light.
                 I only live for him. As you can see,
                 What white men want is what I want to be.
CLIVE: My son's young. I'm doing all I can
                 To teach him to grow up to be a man.
EDWARD: What father wants I'd dearly like to be.
                 I find it rather hard as you can see. (Churchill 251-252)

Churchill clarifies in her note to the play that while writing *Cloud Nine* she was highly influenced by Jean Genet's concept of "the parallel between colonial and sexual oppression" (Churchill 245). And it is nowhere better than in this song that this "parallel" is worked out. On the political plain, the imperialist imagination not only perceives the colonized (both territories and communities) as socially, culturally, economically, and intellectually inferior to itself but also substitutes the colonized body for a set of fantasies and beliefs. Within the hetero-patriarchal familial space, the paterfamilias wields a similar sort of power over the other members and thereby exercises perfect control on them as the master superior.

Thus, to the imperial agent in Clive, Africa gets reduced to a dark, mysterious, and hence a potentially subversive land which needs to be enlightened, civilized, and therefore colonized, not so much for its own sake but for the safety and smooth progress of the colonial enterprise: "I am pitching my whole mind and will and reason and spirit against it [Africa] to tame it, and I sometimes feel it will break over me and swallow me up" (Churchill 277). On the sexual level, hegemonic patriarchy works out a similar kind of image for the female; and this gets pronounced by Clive not only when he talks about his wife Betty as "everything she is she owes to me" but also when he tells Mrs. Saunders "Caroline, you smell amazing. You terrify me. You are dark like this continent. Mysterious. Treacherous" (Churchill 263). A similar attitude can be seen when Clive tries to define what femininity actually holds for him: "There is something dark about women that threatens what is best in us. Between men, that light burns brightly […] Women are irrational, demanding, inconsistent, treacherous, lustful, and they smell different from us" (Churchill 282). Thus in *Cloud Nine,* family becomes a microcosm for the power politics that operates in the macrocosm of colonized Africa.

It is for this reason that Clive takes on himself the responsibility to "father" (govern and protect) not merely the members of his family but also the natives, visualizing his wife Betty as a gender inferior and his servant Joshua as an ethnic inferior. For Clive, there is little difference between his wife and his servant – one gratifying his sexual desires and the other serving his physical needs but both existing merely in relation to him and not as themselves in their own rights. As Awam Amkpa puts it:

> The aspirations and subjectivity of the colonial wife and the colonized servant are permissible only within the framework of Clive's absolute suzerainty. Within the overlapping familial realms they occupy – of household, colony, nation, and empire – they are formal citizens, but with minimal subjectivity. (150)

While Betty's access to Clive lies in her ability to perform well as a consort, Joshua can only reach out to his master through their shared masculinity. The close ties that bind Clive with his wife as well as with his servant cannot and do not blur their differences in terms of the power hierarchy.

The song that Clive teaches his family to sing at once highlights and undercuts such hierarchy. On the surface level, Betty's and Joshua's near equivocal comments except for the gender and chromatic signifiers ("men" and "white men") "And what men want is what I want to be" and "What *white* men want is what I want to be" seem to confirm their co-option by the hegemonic/supremacist discourses of patriarchy and ethnocentrism (become what the male or the colonizer wishes the female or the colonized to become respectively) (Churchill 251-252). On a deeper level, however, these comments vocalize the colonized subject's subversive desire first to equal the colonizer (become what the male or the colonizer himself wishes to be) and then to overthrow his authority. Therefore, Churchill's deployment of a male actor to play Betty's role and of a White man to play Joshua's character becomes doubly significant. If on the one hand, such dexterous cross dressing and drag lay bare the only criteria for socio-cultural acceptability, that is, to become a male or, better, a white male, then on the other hand, they highlight a scathing attack on patriarchy and racism which are unable to see through such performances of acceptable identity as potential strategies for disruption.

In fact, in *Cloud Nine*, Churchill often proclaims an ideal only to dismantle it. Through a number of "fast-moving, satirical series of set pieces," as Wandor puts it, Churchill "reveals the complexity of sexual desire festering beneath the neatly pressed exteriors" in a world where "double standard rages," "female and children's sexuality is denied" and "male homosexuality lurks" (173). The first scene of the opening act strategically set in the Victorian era with its pronounced imperialist agenda soon hints at the rather unsound basis of the proverbial white man's burden. The more the putatively inferior characters of the play engage in their day to day activities under the coercive-compulsive stewardship of Clive, the more their deviation from the standard versions of the norm gets pronounced. As Amkpa notes, "Scene after scene depicts the characters' departure from their prescribed roles in ways that shatter the illusion of the completeness of Clive's domination" (151). To put Amkpa's comments into perspective, Clive's hegemonic dominance is perceived to encounter a gradual yet a systematic subversion as over time the internal discrepancies of his code get exposed. Ellen, the "well bred" English governess, reveals her "unnatural" sexual preference as a lesbian thwarting thereby the in-house sexual codes of conduct as laid down by Clive's heterosexuality and as promoted by Betty's conformity (Churchill 271). Similarly, Harry Bagley, the houseguest, betrays a transgressive homosexual/bisexual propensity that is sure to disrupt the same sexual codes for the male (Churchill 270-271).

To continue in the same vein, the mere presence of these disruptive subjectivities within Clive's family meddles with some of the hitherto unquestioned givens. Ellen's growing fondness for Betty poses a serious threat to Clive's sexual authority over the female bodies of his family (Churchill 281). Harry's growing intimacy with Edward coupled with Edward's increasingly "female" knack for playing with dolls challenges Clive's paternal control on his son whom he wants to grow up as a

real "man" replicating thereby the hetero-patriarchal ideals of masculinity (Churchill 270). Though Clive tries to "cure" Ellen's and Harry's "abnormal" sexual interests by marrying them off to each other, he himself understands the utter futility of such an effort, for Harry, as Clive comes to know later, is actually a bisexual which ruins his marriage to Ellen and he ends up getting Betty attracted to him. This is further aggravated when Clive becomes attracted to the unresponsive young widow Mrs. Saunders and imposes himself upon her (Churchill 262-264).

At this point, Joshua, the apparently submissive servant, betrays his subversive agency. During the wedding ceremony of Ellen and Harry, Joshua is visibly disturbed to see Clive raise a ceremonial toast not so much to the newlywed couple as to his own ability to control lives around him (Churchill 288). Unable to tolerate Clive's display of power, Joshua showcases his defiance by shooting Clive (Churchill 288). While critics have seen this act as indicative of a servant's betrayal of his master, Joshua, it must be remembered, has dropped more than one hint of his subversive nature from the very beginning. His continued sarcasm of Betty's subservience (Churchill 255, 278), his mockery of Edward's ineffectual masculinity (Churchill 278-280), and last but not the least, his grand show of allegiance to the White alpha male Clive (Churchill 284) – all now prove to be something more than they initially seemed to mean. Though one may find Joshua's professed hatred of his own tribe quite problematic to analyze, it has to be understood that this hatred is not due to any perceived lack of his own people, but is a way to express his inner frustration at his own tribe's inability to resist the colonial encroachment of the West. Thus, Joshua has no other option but to take on himself the duty to perform tasks that his own community has failed to do.

Opening at this stage, the second and the last act of the play takes the story forward by a century but, as has already been said, for the characters it is merely a gap of some twenty-five years (Churchill 289). This temporal shift becomes significant when we remember how drastically the political scenario of the world changed during these intervening hundred years. In fact, the 20th century not only saw the phenomenal rise of America as a new super power, but also witnessed the rapid diminution of the strategic importance of a once mighty Britain into "a third-rate power," as Inder Kumar Gujral has called it (qtd. in Hewitt and Wickham-Jones 201). If on the one hand Britain lost much of her empire, then, on the other, it became what Philip Larkin has termed the "first slum of Europe" (80). Political unrest, economic crises, and external pressures only exacerbated the situation. Thus when the second act of *Cloud Nine* actually begins, we find the family of Clive already shifted to Britain. Needless to say, this geographical relocation is the result of the failure as much of patriarchy as of imperialism.

If the first act of *Cloud Nine* is a study of the colonizer's wish to coerce the colonized body into perfect submission counterpointed by active subversion of the same wish by the colonized, then the second act lays bare what Amkpa sees as "the promise of relational identities as a strategy for the politics of coalition-building" (155). According to Andrew Wyllie:

> Betty and Clive in Act I are stereotypical products and victims of a system designed to reinforce patriarchal power structures. Their endorsement of the status quo, however, is drastically undermined by Churchill's farcical treatment of them. Subsequently, in Act II of the play, Churchill presents us with a series of radical alternatives, thus effectively endorsing the attempt to find new and more flexible approaches to gender identity. (17)

While all the main characters other than Clive are present onstage and a few new faces join them, what has changed in the family is its view on the conformation/transgression dialectic. Betty has finally been able to free herself from Clive's highly suffocating wifehood, and, with this, Edward too has been relieved from the hegemonic masculinity that his father wanted to thrust on him. However, it is through the character of Victoria, Betty's daughter, that Churchill highlights how, in spite of all these changes, culture still continues to exert a constrictive influence on individuals.

Victoria is a bisexual young woman in a conventional heterosexual marriage with one Mr. Martin and presumably a mother too of a boy Tommy. Though she seems to have come out of the doll's life (both literal and metaphorical) that she had to endure during the first act of the play, her absentmindedness, brooding nature, and her apparent dissatisfaction with her life reveals that she too is overburdened with the culturally accepted notions of femininity and sexuality. Though her husband Martin is a self-proclaimed "new man" who has no qualms about paying attention to his wife's sexual or psychological needs, Victoria can easily perceive that behind such tall talk about women's liberation movement lies Martin's own wish to justify his extra-marital affairs: "my one goal is to give you rolling orgasms like I do other women" (Churchill 300). Thus when Martin talks about making Victoria "stand" on her "own feet" and thereby letting her be "a whole person," it is not so much Victoria's but his own interest that he seems to mind. This proves how, in spite of the changing times, women are always expected to conform to the idealized versions of femininity as stipulated by patriarchy:

> I'm not putting any pressure on you, but I don't think you are being a whole person. God knows I do everything I can to make you stand on your own feet. Just be yourself. You don't seem to realize how insulting it is to me that you can't get yourself together. (Churchill 301)

According to Kate Millet, in a patriarchal setup, the "female is continually obliged to seek survival or advancement through the approval of males as those who hold power" (54). This is precisely the patriarchal strategy of apparent condescension and actual control that Victoria has to contend with in her dealings with Martin. As Millet further states, such a permission to be herself actually has "a devastating effect upon her [the female's] self image"; for this "customarily" deprives the woman of "the most trivial sources of dignity or self respect" (54).

According to Amkpa, "Martin's expression of liberalism is in fact an adept performance of a masculinist insecurity" (157). It is this insecurity and fear of losing his hold on his wife that makes Martin speak in favor of women's liberation and thereby keep up his image of a just man. In fact, just like Clive, Martin too is a born patriarch but with a difference. While Clive's attitude to women was apparent from his words, Martin, as John M. Clum shows us, evolves a roundabout strategy to get things done (109). Instead of establishing his authority over the members of his family through coercive measures, he manipulates them by initially supporting their "deviances" only to cajole them later into perfect compliance with what he considers to be the "rules." Thus, while talking to Victoria, Martin is able to punctuate all his references to women's liberation with the need to stick to patriarchal regime without ever being politically incorrect. Similarly, all his words regarding his eagerness to give Victoria a "proper" orgasm actually highlight her inability to have an orgasm (109).

It is at this juncture that Victoria's friendship with Lin provides her with an opportunity to bring some change in her life (Churchill 290). Lin is virtually an outsider in the conservative British

culture – a single mother and a lesbian working woman – who is completely unattached to and therefore unaffected by familial or moral ties. Through her presence in Victoria's life, Lin enables the latter to realize what she could have been. However, a stifled existence that she has grown habituated to makes Victoria feel a little disconcerted at Lin's proposed lesbianism as she becomes worried about the notions of sexual normalcy and marital fidelity: "Does it count as adultery with a woman?" (Churchill 296). However, it is this very "abnormal" relationship that makes her ask a few rather "normal" questions if not to Martin then, and even more profitably so, to herself: "Why does Martin make me tie myself in knots? […] No, not Martin, why do I make myself tie myself in knots? It's got to stop […]" (Churchill 302). Interestingly, the more Victoria questions Martin's attitude, the more she is able to see in it just another projection of the same ideologies that her father Clive had followed.

This is a liberating moment in *Cloud Nine*. While Victoria gets rid of her dependence on Martin and becomes ready to accept her lesbian inclination, her brother Edward too moves beyond his pronounced homosexuality to accept his transsexual desires:

> EDWARD: I like women.
> VICTORIA: That should please mother.
> EDWARD: No listen Vicky. I'd rather be a woman. I wish I had breasts like that, I think they're beautiful. Can I touch them?
> VICTORIA: What, pretending they're yours?
> EDWARD: No, I know it's you.
> VICTORIA: I think I should warn you I'm enjoying this.
> EDWARD: I'm sick of men.
> VICTORIA: I'm sick of men.
> EDWARD: I think I'm a lesbian. (Churchill 307)

That Edward does not merely like women but actually likes himself to be one astonishes Victoria. But her own experiences of life have taught her so much that she is able to accept people not as what they are expected to be but as what they really are. Therefore, whether her brother is gay or transsexual does not matter much to her. It is at this point that Churchill brings in another unnameable desire – another taboo – incest, which is highlighted in Victoria's caution to her brother that she is actually enjoying him touching her breasts. This is followed by a set of equivocal statements from the siblings – "I'm sick of men." While Victoria's disgust with men stem from the gendered subservience which women have been taught to live with, Edward's sickness is another name for his frustrating experience of playing the gendered superiority of a "male" which men are forced to comply with. Thus Edward's closing remarks "I think I'm a lesbian" is emblematic of his rejection of the myths not only of femininity and masculinity but also of normative sexuality.

Opening at this crucial point, the third scene of the second act captures Lin, Victoria, and Edward engaged in a ritualistic invocation of the spirits (Churchill 307). As the ghost of Lin's dead brother Bill starts narrating his tale, Martin breaks into the scene followed by Edward's lover Gerry. What follows is a series of incoherent references to both real and surreal things. The scene closes with Gerry and Edward professing mutual love and Gerry leading all the other characters to sing the Cloud Nine song: "It will be fine when you reach Cloud 9 […] Upside down when you reach Cloud 9" (Churchill 312). Needless to say, "cloud nine" refers to that ecstatic state of wish fulfillment which man always pines for but never actually achieves.

The final scene of the play brings the falling apart family together once again, and it is during this scene that Betty masters the courage to accept her own sexuality (Churchill 316). Following in the footsteps of Edward, her son, and Victoria, her daughter, both of whom have already embraced their sexual and social alterity, Betty, the mother, talks about how she discovered her own latent sexuality:

> I used to think Clive was the one who liked sex. But then I found I missed it. I used to touch myself when I was very little, I thought I'd invented something wonderful. I used to do it to go to sleep with or to cheer myself up, and one day it was raining and I was under the kitchen table, and my mother saw me with my hand under my dress rubbing away, and she dragged me out so quickly I hit my head and it bled and I was sick, and nothing was said, and I never did it again till this year. (Churchill 316)

One of the most debated terms in the history of human sexuality, masturbation, has been subject to numerous religious proscriptions, legal prohibitions, socio-cultural stigma, and medical threats. Since masturbation, as J Laplanche and J Pontalis put it, gets orgasm "delivered" not through the "natural object" (male/female genitalia) but through a "phantasy," it has been seen as a rather liberating exercise that makes the individual free from his/her dependence on the opposite sex (46). Needless to say, when a woman practices such a liberating taboo, it becomes all the more subversive.

Therefore, when Betty's mother discovered her with her "hand" under her dress accessing and caressing the forbidden part of her own body and thereby "rubbing away" the socio-cultural mandate by actively taking hold of her own sexuality, she immediately coerced Betty to put a stop to it; for such prerogatives lie not with the woman but with the owner of her body, that is, the husband. That after this incident Betty "never did it again till this year" indicates how patriarchy had made her surrender and forget the experiences of clitoral stimulation through active self-eroticism for that of vaginal sexuality through passive femininity. When after so many years Betty touches (comes close to) herself once again and experiences thereby a long forgotten orgasm through masturbation, she realizes how this experience has completely changed her. Forgetting the sense of fear and shame that have been instilled in her by hegemonic patriarchy, she now feels triumphant, "Afterwards, I thought I'd betrayed Clive. My mother would kill me. But I felt triumphant because I was a separate person from them" (Churchill 316). Needless to say, it is this change that shocks Clive when just before the play ends he enters the stage and finds himself at a loss to relate the Betty that he now meets to the Betty he used to be with, "You are not that sort of woman, Betty. I can't believe you are. I can't feel the same about you as I did" (Churchill 320). Though *Could Nine* still leaves a number of questions unanswered like Cathy's assault at the hands of some boys who are unable to accept a girl as their playmate ["I can't play. They said I'm a girl" (Churchill 317)], the presence of characters such as Edward, Lin, Victoria, and Betty promise a better tomorrow. This promise is bolstered by the closing image of Betty of the first act embracing Betty of the second act – a gesture that Elaine Aston sees as signifying the union of the "split selves" of the hitherto silenced Betty (37) and Kritzer reads as symbolic of the breaking apart of "the unitary patriarchal construction of women" (127).

According to Michel Foucault, the notion of "culture" can only be discussed as "a number of conditions" that among other things include "coordination, subordination, and hierarchy" (179). In fact, culture always aims at overwriting the individual identity with what John A Loughney calls

"cultural identity" which allows "a person" to achieve "the fullest humanity" but only "within an accepted context of traditional symbols, judgments, values, behaviour, and relationships with specific others who self-consciously think of themselves as a community" (185). To resist such an appropriation of one's selfhood what an individual can do is either to hazard a head on collision with the conditioning forces of culture or to mislead it by playing the submissive one while retaining under its façade the potent fragments of one's identity. If, on the one hand, countering the constrictive bulwark of culture may immediately bring the individual under the social panopticon and mark him/her as a potentially disruptive entity, then, on the other hand, performing as the submissive may help the individual to go unnoticed as insignificant and therefore harmless. In *Cloud Nine*, characters such as Betty, Joshua, Edward, and Victoria are all initially made to adhere to rules that the White patriarch Clive or his next generation dummy Martin, as guardians and representatives of the cultural framework, stipulates for them. But when these marginalized ones ultimately come out of their silenced avatars and start clamoring for their rights on their bodies and beings, it gives voice to the thousand muted cries that often lie buried under the authorized versions of history. Betty's discovery of her latent sexuality, Victoria's constant self-questioning, Edward's wish to become a "lesbian," and Joshua's decision to take arms against his master Clive – all are, beyond any doubt, acts of resistance and subversion whereby these characters break free from the shackles of a highly hegemonized constrictive socio-cultural bulwark they were so long made to inhabit and embrace.

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History, Location, and the Poetic Consciousness in Kaiser Haq's Poetry

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Abstract

South Asian poetry in English comprises an amalgamation of Western literary traditions and an ambiguity regarding the poet's location that subsequently stirs up questions regarding identity. Both these features can be attributed to the relationship between the poet and the use of English language as opposed to his/her mother tongue. The syncretism and hybridity that occurs as a result of cultural clashes and convergences has become increasingly apparent in identity formation in today's diasporic world. However, for those South Asian poets writing in English and borrowing from Western traditions, who can neither be identified as migrants or exiles, anxieties of identity and belonging have been a marked feature of their work. Most of these South Asian poets, despite displaying a strong sense of belonging to their national cultures, also exhibit a global heterogeneity in their identity due to the multiple affiliations that define their cultural consciousness. This paper attempts to explore the poetry of one of the major South Asian poets, Kaiser Haq, who has not only established himself as the leading Bangladeshi poet writing in English but has also carved a niche for himself as a recognized international poet. Like most other poets writing in English from the Indian subcontinent, Haq carries the burden of a colonial inheritance and his work has been and is subject to innumerable labels such as Commonwealth literature, postcolonial poetry, sub-continental poetry, etc. He defends his use of English as the medium of his poetry as a unifying force in fusing the disparate parts of his Bengali psyche. However, in his work, when placed within the context of national identification, there seems to be a refusal to limit "location" within national boundaries and yet there is a continual return to Bangladesh which remains an underlying presence in his poetry. This study focuses on how the perceptions of history and location have impacted and contributed to the identity and creative consciousness that articulates Kaiser Haq's poetry.

Keywords: history, location, individual and collective identity, hybridity, consciousness

In a critical study of South Asian poetry written in English, Mitali Patil Wong and Syed Khwaja Moinul Hassan attempt a definition of it, "The experience of South Asian poetry in English takes us on a journey through time, place and literary history by uncovering aspects of modernism, pastoralism, Victorian realism, Romanticism and ultimately reaching a condition of permanent dislocation" (13). This definition denotes two aspects of South Asian poetry in English. Firstly, it comprises an amalgamation of Western literary traditions and secondly, there is an uncertainty regarding the poet's location that subsequently stirs up questions regarding identity. Both these features can be attributed to the relationship between the poet and the use of English as opposed to his/her mother tongue. The syncretism and hybridity that occurs as a result of cultural clashes and convergences have become increasingly apparent in identity formation in today's diasporic world. However, for those South Asian poets, writing in English and borrowing from Western traditions, who can neither be identified as migrants or living in exile, the resultant anxieties of national identity and cultural belonging have become a marked feature of their work. Most of these South Asian poets have found themselves circumscribed within the condition of contemporary

nationhood, which comprises a multi-focused process loosely contained by a national boundary interacting with globally circulating constructions and process. Despite a strong sense of cultural belonging to their nations, they are aware of a global heterogeneity in their identity and of the multiple affiliations that define their cultural consciousness. As Homi K. Bhabha points out, "the very concept of homogenous national cultures, the consensual or contiguous transmission of historical traditions […] are in a profound process of redefinition" (5).

This paper attempts to explore the poetry of one of the major South Asian poets, Kaiser Haq, who has not only established himself as the leading Bangladeshi poet writing in English but also carved a niche for himself as an acclaimed international poet. Like most other poets writing in English from the Indian subcontinent, Haq carries the burden of a colonial inheritance and his work has been, and is subject to, innumerable labels such as Commonwealth literature, postcolonial poetry, sub-continental poetry, etc. Very cognizant of this multi-labeled legacy, Haq points out, "We live in an age of multiple labels and identities or at least in an age in which we are conscious of and deliberate on our multiple labels and identities." However, he contends that, "I don't let labels bother me. They come and go. I just want to keep writing" (Interview with Ahmede Hussain). Nevertheless, Haq has earned labels as both a poet whose "poetry is rooted in Bangladeshi life and culture" as well as "a Bangladeshi poet writing in a major and international tradition of poetry" (Alam 323). He defends his use of English as the medium of his poetry as a unifying force saying that "trying to write in English" was, from his early years, an exercise in fusing the disparate parts of his Bengali psyche (Interview with Kathryn Hummel). His poems exhibit, by virtue of history and cultural alliance, an openness to the world. The focus of this study is a close reading of Haq's poetry to show how the perceptions of history and location as well as global literary traditions have impacted upon and contributed to the identity and creative consciousness that articulates his poetry. Haq's poetry draws from both a host of prominent modern poets like T. S. Eliot, D. H. Lawrence, William Carlos Williams, Philip Larkin, Derek Walcott as well as absorbs elements from modern Bengali poetry from his Bangladeshi contemporaries and other poets from the region such as Nissim Ezekiel, A. K. Ramanujan, Dom Moraes, Arvind Mehrota, and Arun Kolatkar.

Haq has been described as a poet who has paved a road which other Bangladeshi writers having similarly embraced hybridity as their condition can follow and a road that may well lead to creative excellence (Alam 322). The growth of a hybrid identity is described by Melucci as "the multiple experience of the self [which] obliges us to abandon any static view of identity, and examine the dynamic process of identification" (64). A number of Haq's poems actually delve into the self to reveal some of the anxieties that surround individual and collective identification. The poem "Growing Up or Softly Falling" about his early formative years as a child and youth charts the growth of his global consciousness:

> People of this subcontinent
> squat or sit cross-legged
> with an ease occidentals
> can only painfully acquire
> There are people squatting
> on riverbanks, backyards, rice fields,
> cross-legged on cinema seats, football fields,
> yogis sitting on Himalayan glaciers,

> fakirs under a banyan tree …
> One of my earliest memory post-cards
> shows me squatting in a field; another
> shows me sitting cross-legged. Someone
> might have pushed me as I squatted
> and I broke my fall
> rolling backwards, then got up
> and sat cross-legged on the grass (63)

The use of the word "falling" as a metaphor for being pushed to conform and the subsequent use of the word as part of the process of fighting back to "grow up" (as intentionally placed in the title) is significant. The poem starts off betraying some of the anxieties and awkwardness that surround his individual identity as it negotiates with a collective sub-continental identity. The poem goes on to describe "growing up" as a process of imposed and laborious cultural absorption and expansion:

> In missionary school I learnt to sit at a desk –
> with cramped back, sleeping legs, and stiffening neck –
> sniffing civilization between two covers.
> My chi-chi made me
> a citizen of the world ("Growing Up or Softly Falling" 63)

Finally the poet arrives at a more confident and assertive but hybridized identity that he acknowledges as having been grafted or rather sharply stitched on to him as implied by the British airline imagery used in the closing stanza of the poem:

> I too scatter;
> schizoid
> split
> between this and that,
> between my western know-how
> and eastern wisdom
> between that and this
> forever falling
> …
> I squat on a grassy bump,
> one of millions,
>   (A British Airways jet goes like a needle,
>   its vapour trial threads
>   stitch nothing to nothing)
> But I am singular in American jeans,
> smoking an English briar. ("Growing Up or Softly Falling" 65)

Thus the poetic consciousness moves beyond the limitations of traditional, stable notions of identity into a form of identification that is fluid and limitless in nature and reveals the multiplicity of the "self" in terms of both individual and collective identity. His portrayals of both individual and collective identities seem to be in a continual state of process. In theorizing cultural identity, Stuart Hall acknowledges identity as a "production" which in always "in process" (392) and Hall's

focus is on "positioning" within a particular historical and cultural environment as the key concept of identity (395). The dynamics of Haq's postcolonial South Asian identity represent a "production" attained via a process of assimilating a multiplicity of memories, histories, traditions, myths, and desires. The Asian, the European, and the American presences which are clearly discernible within him gives him a sense of belonging to what Benedict Anderson terms "an imagined community" that aberrates his worldview from the "location" of his native geographical space into "dislocation" within a transcendental global space. The consciousness of being a "citizen of the world" and the vision of his native land as ultimately a microcosm of a global landscape and culture is recurrent in his poems:

> I am struck
> by a double-barrelled epiphany:
> Dublin is Dhaka is any city
> And Bloomsday is today is any day …
> Henceforth,
>   the map of Dublin as in Ulysses,
> suffices for all cities,
> and calendars are redundant
>   For everyday is Bloomsday …
>   ("Bloomsday Centenary Poem in Free Verse and Prose" 17-18)

Haq's poetry thus negates the concept of a "fixed" identity and is ameliorated by moving away from the binary notions of "here" and "there" to a third and almost transnational space (in terms of a mental sphere) that is "somewhere else." However, whether this notion of an un-representable "Third Space" constitutes a space coterminous with Bhabha's "Third Space" (37) seems to be contentious. Haq accounts for this extension of the boundaries of poetic consciousness as just an aspect of the modern poetic tradition he espouses (Interview with Rumana Siddique). However, that Haq also uses his poetry as a space which allows for "the enunciation rather than the erasure of difference" (Mackey 73) is evident from lines that insist on homogeneity like,

> Loneliness is the same
> in Frisco or Soho,
> Delhi or Dhaka, … ("Growing Up or Softly Falling" 64)

Haq's poetic vision more often opens up or widens to accommodate an encompassing world view that cuts through history and geographical space as is common among other modern poets. His metaphors and images portray a consciousness that merges confidently with those of Joyce's Ulysses as they view the nightmare of history together ("O Clio"), or frolics with Eliot's hollow men on the notion of a good life ("Short Shorts"), oscillates between musing with Ovid on devious-deviant desires and Yeats' doomsday vision ("A Happy Farewell"), mourns passionately the passing of a fellow confessional poet, Lowell ("Homage to Robert Lowell") or on a monsoon-drenched day, celebrates the fortieth birthday of another, Eleonore Schonmeier, on the opposite corner of the world appropriating Edgar Allan Poe's raven as a substitute messenger-pigeon to convey glad tidings across some ten thousand miles ("The Raven"). This shared sensibility is an integral part of his poetic consciousness with allusions to EE Cummings, Samuel Beckett, TS Eliot, Walt Whitman, Allen Ginsberg, and a host of other twentieth century English and American poets and writers woven organically into his verse.

Haq's poems, however, just as fluidly embrace the other side of his identity alluding to Tagore, Jibanananda Das, and his contemporary Bengali poets and writers. There is as comfortable an integration and adaptation of hymns from Vedantic Hinduism and figures from Hindu mythology as there is from Greek mythology. His poems on life in his homeland often borrow from the semi-surrealistic style of the Bengali poet Shahid Qadri ("Surreal Morning") whom he also alludes to in his poems "On a Street" and "Ode on a Lungi." Haq is just as happy to integrate a free translation of a line from Jibanananda Das ("Published in the Streets of Dhaka") as he is to integrate as a title a line from Ben Jonson ("Drink to Me Only with Thine Eyes"). He pens a poem in homage in serious overtones to Tagore ("Lord of the Dark Sun") and another in a cheekier tone parodying Jibanananda's most famous poem "Banalata Sen" ("Ms Bunny Sen"). All these reveal the multiple cultural and historical heritages that shape and enrich Haq's poetic consciousness. This consciousness transcends any fixed notion of cultural identity and can perhaps best be defined as a product of syncretic acculturation. Bhaba comments, "the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, re-historicized and read anew" (37). Haq's poetry is characterized by this transgression of cultural boundaries. He enjoys spring rooted in Dhaka's grassy beds while admiring the tilted bed of the Greek Orion in the corner of the sky ("Spring in Dhaka"). This multiple consciousness is what renders his poetry with a sense of dislocation. Even his most celebrated poem, "Ode on a Lungi," despite its deceptively simple title, is heavy with Western literary, cultural, historical, and social references.

Haq's poetry does not offer a coherent definition of nationhood; rather, it suggests that whilst the idea of nation continues to endure and is still seen to confer identity, it does so through a constant process of change and through the transcendence of national boundaries. The way in which national identity is conceptualized is beyond fixed or distinctly dichotomous forms of identity become a process of identification that refuses fixity. Thus no totalizing definition of nationhood satisfies the poet and his vision of his nation has an insider-outsider aspect which leads to a mixed bag of standpoints, skepticism, cynicism, alienation, disdain, sympathy, and nostalgic affinity. He is at once a rooted cosmopolitan, an existential nomad, and an international citizen. Fakrul Alam comments, "Haq's poetry is rooted in Bangladeshi life and culture, although he prefers to view it from an oblique angle" (323). Despite his active role in the Liberation War of Bangladesh, Haq retains a very clear-headed view of both the war and the chain of leadership that followed it. He seems to be suspicious of all ubiquitous public displays of nationalist euphoria and voices his apathy for political dictators or despots and their followers in lines like,

> I hope you will forgive my inability,
> to accept your most generous invitation
> to join the noble enterprise
> of your party and the people. ("Your Excellency" 130)

Haq claims to not care so much for national associations in celebrating freedom as he does for individual freedom (Interview with Hummel). Thus he excuses himself from the political scene saying,

> I just try
> to write poetry
> which is neither nation-building
> nor an income-generating activity ("Your Excellency" 130)

However, despite the refusal to limit "location" within national boundaries, there is a continual return to Bangladesh which remains an underlying presence in his poetry. Haq's poems do reveal an innate confidence about his place in the nation as he explicitly states in poems like "Homecoming" where, as he takes the "straightest homeward route" acutely aware of the world around him darkening, changing, and shifting, he asserts "but I am clear about my position/In the middle of a black swamp/Where wrecked boats come alive with frogs" (72). In another poem titled "Arriving on a Weekend" he voices a sense of union with the rural land of his birth in lines like,

> Arriving means twisting around clumps of bamboo,
> their sterile swish loud in the air,
> skirting crude fences, missing
> a rat's tail by a split second,
> cutting across red rays from kerosene lamps
> trickling through pores of bamboo walls,
> through warble of rote-learning voices
> …
> And arrival means my dull footsteps
> on the dung-plastered yard announcing
>
> <div align="center">presence. (51)</div>

A number of other poems such as "My Village and I," "Cousin Shamsu, Durzi," "Peasant's Lament," "Master Babu," "As Usual," and "On a Street" celebrate humble, unknown, and rustic lives of sons of the land like tailors, peasants, house tutors, roadside sages, a defiant nanga pagla (naked madman), and capture the very quintessence of a Bengali consciousness effortlessly. However, a more premeditated effort to assert a national label may be discerned in more recent poems such as "Published in the Streets of Dhaka" and "Ode on a Lungi." Both poems register the postcolonial angst of the downtrodden third-world citizen but also take on a subversive tone which challenges the forces that seek to undervalue this status.

The poem "Ode on a Lungi" has gained most popularity and recognition because of its explicit stance on identity and the challenge it throws back to the forces of Western supremacy. The strength of the poem lies in the way Haq wields an extended scope of allusions from Western cultural, literary, academic, scientific, historical, and political fields to present a succinct counter-discourse. Haq turns a simple poem about sartorial rights of the lungi-wearers of the globe into a strong argument to expose how identity politics of the West has created a world of discrimination and double standards instead of one of democracy and equality as it otherwise claims. This is one of the few poems which seems to show Kaiser Haq's political leanings.

The poem "Published in the Streets of Dhaka," like "Ode on a Lungi," eschews patronizing ideals of the west. The poem basically epitomizes the protest of a postcolonial writer/intellectual struggling for recognition. Haq presents a skeptic view of Western society's attempts to promote non-Western writers who choose to settle in the west and dismiss all others. This poem too is heavily laden with cultural symbols of assumed Western literary superiority as priggish "poets moustached with bitter froth" in London sit over "cigar and port," and while "nibbling nuts and gossip in equal measure," they dismiss as trash anything that might be written and published in remote monsoon-racked Dhaka. The poem presents contrasting symbols that define his identity and location "Under the bamboo, the banyan and the mango tree" and among bookseller's bazaars

from where he defiantly refuses the impulse to shift, as numerous others have done, to any place in the west by accepting it to be the primary location of literary culture in English, dismissing them instead as "Diaspora dead-ends" ("Published in the Streets of Dhaka" 31). The poem articulates a clear postcolonial voice which resists the attempt to manipulate it into a mouthpiece for Western civilization. Haq asserts his determination to "stay, plumb in the centre/Of monsoon-mad Bengal" from where he will continue his activism of counter-discourse versus pompous Western ideology. The poem ends on a combatively triumphant note,

> And should all these find their way
> Into my scribbles and into print
> I'll cut a joyous caper right here
> On the Tropic of Cancer, proud to be
> Published once again in the streets of Dhaka ("Published in the Streets of Dhaka" 30)

The poem undoubtedly takes its cue from Nissim Ezekiel's lines, "I have made my commitments now/This is one: to stay where I am/… My backward place is where I am" ("Background Casually" 23). The reference to the "Tropic of Cancer" is significant in its allusion to the self-exiled Henry Miller. Haq, who believes in the spirit of individual freedom as compared to national affiliation to explore his creativity, has referred to modernist writers like Pound and Joyce who wrote in exile. But this poem also seems to mark an actual homecoming in the mental sphere, as Haq finally appears to have found and accepted his place in the world. Many of his earlier poems betray a sense of being left out or denied belonging "always becoming something/that will never be me" ("Growing Up or Softly Falling" 65). "Language is a life-sentence," he laments in "Baby Talk," and in the poem "Eleven Serious Warnings" he articulates an acute sense of being perceived as insignificant and forgotten,

> For no matter what you don't do
> you'll remain as you are
>   hanging
>   like washing
>   a woman has forgotten
>   to take out of the rain (62)

In an interview with Kathryn Hummel, Haq asserts, "Maybe I look at the world through my city, as it were. It's interesting how some writers adapt to each other and some can't or some change. It's about finding your spiritual home […] Being here helps you to retain your country's voice." One of his poems also gives us a glimpse of his poetic philosophy,

> I am not concerned here with Poetry
> My subject is Life, and the protest
> against the enemies of Life.
> The poetry is in the Protest ("A to Z Azad" 12)

The poem "Published in the Streets of Dhaka" marks Haq's turning full circle on his creative axis to return to his own land, his own city as the vantage-point of a global creative vision and confidently promotes his own new manifesto – that if writing in English must have a primary location, then that location must surely be Bangladesh. The amalgamation of multiple and diverse literary, cultural, historical, and political traditions within his psyche have resulted in a dynamically

open and fortified consciousness that is concurrently Bangladeshi and global. Kaiser Haq's poetry bears witness not to the creation of a space in the world but indeed a new world which he defiantly dares to construct,

> To say there is no world
> but what we make with words ("A to Z Azad" 11)

The main impulse that fuels Haq's poetry is the freedom to be and to create without limiting labels. Kaiser Haq's poetry reveals a poet who uses irony and satire, parody and droll humor, rational logic and emotional absurdity to express his free spirit's take on his homeland and the wider world.

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Noh Collaboration: Ito, Pound, Yeats, *Nishikigi*, and *Certain Noble Plays of Japan*

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Abstract

Ezra Pound was initially more interested in Noh than in Ernest Fenollosa's notes on Chinese poetry. The attention paid to "Ezra Pound and China" often obscures Pound's interest in Noh, his first love in Fenollosa's notes, and the actual work of the collaboration/s that resulted in the published texts. Pound gained specific ideas and cultivated particular relationships due to his prior attention to Noh. In fact, given the presence of Japanese interlocutors and translators to aid Fenollosa in the creation of his notes which Ezra Pound then went on to utilize, it might be argued that the Noh plays, such as *Nishikigi*, that Pound published would be "closer" to the originals (given one less level of "translation"), as it were, than his efforts in *Cathay*, thus, more suited to his purpose of bringing disparate cultures to an understanding rooted in their common humanity.

Keywords: Ezra Pound, modernism, Noh drama, Japonisme, Ernest Fenollosa

Noh Collaboration

As Ezra Pound sought to redefine poetic modernism in light of the Vorticist theories he was working on with Wyndham Lewis in the last months of 1913, he received assistance from an entirely new direction in the form of Ernest Fenollosa's notebooks on Chinese poetry and Japanese Noh drama. While these notebooks ultimately resulted in the publication of *Cathay* in April 1915 and *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* (henceforth, CNJ) in September 1916, Pound was initially more interested in Noh than in Fenollosa's notes on Chinese poetry. Miranda Hickman explains the critical relationships of Vorticism, not only between "the men of 1914," but also as they pertain to Hugh Kenner's glorification of them and the subsequent scholarly acceptance of the fact that Vorticism was "both a crucial site of origin and a negligible flash in the pan" (5-13) – something which she says needs to be revisited as she attempts in her study of *The Geometry of Modernism*. The idea that Vorticism may be of overblown interest in Poundian works is just as important to consider as the one that Noh may be an underdone one.

Pound's first publication from Fenollosa's notebooks was the Noh play *Nishikigi*, which appeared in May 1914. This reflects an actual working time of less than five months after Pound received the notebooks from Mary Fenollosa in December 1913 (Qian 56). In a title style to be repeated, with certain key modifications, in *Cathay*, it was published as: "*Nishikigi* Translated from the Japanese of Motokiyo by Ernest Fenollosa. Edited by Ezra Pound." Two other complete plays, *Hagoromo* and *Kinuta*, followed soon after in October 1914.

The clearest indication we have that Pound *chose* to work on Noh first (rather than have Mrs. Fenollosa simply send him the notes before she did the ones on Chinese poetry) is his letter to Louis Untermeyer on January 8, 1914 where he enthuses "I've come in for Fenollosa's very valuable mss. on the Japanese 'Noh' plays and the Chinese lyric. I suppose I'll have the first paper on same in the 'Quarterly Review' for about May" (Pound *Selected Letters* [Henceforth PSL] 29). Instead of *Quarterly Review*, it was *Poetry* that published *Nishikigi*. More attention is usually paid to the fact that,

by 1917, Pound had already dismissed Japan as "a special interest [i.e. not fundamental] […] I don't mean to say there aren't interesting things in Fenollosa's Japanese stuff […] But China is solid" (PSL 101). However his publication history shows that earlier, Noh was paramount. Thus it was arguably Noh that led Pound onward from imagism and vorticism to *The Cantos* as Peter Nicholls has suggested: "Japanese theatre led to a fundamental redirection of Pound's early poetics" (2).

Nicholls explains that Pound's "shift in 1914 from *image* to *vortex* […] as he began to draft the early *Cantos*" led him to seek "ways of using the image not as a static 'equation' for a particular mood but as a device of reference and allusion which would hold in tension the various materials of the poem" (3). Through the application of Noh – where "the better plays are all built into the intensification of a single image" (CNJ 27) – Pound could facilitate the change from a short Imagist poem to a long one. Pound did not abandon Imagist ideas. Through his transnational collaboration with Noh ideas, texts, and the interlocutors through which he sought to read them, he translated them over to Vorticism producing yet another avant-garde aesthetic movement. Yet Pound's transnational collaboration is, I will show, not just a means to a Vorticist end. Instead the Noh interaction offered Pound potential allegories for modernism itself as a practice of transnational collaboration. In *Nishikigi*, we find tradition encountered as if from an estranging distance, and an allegory of cross-cultural collaboration.

In a letter to Pound dated November 25, 1913, Mary Fenollosa noted

> [y]ou will see also frequent reference to 'Mr. H.' This always means little Mr. Hirata, a pupil of my husband's, who always went to the No [sic] performances with us, and did the translations … (qtd. in Kodama 6)

Nicholls calls the "tripartite structure" of Noh key to understanding why it is important for Pound. Nicholls goes on to explain that the "Buddhist theory of salvation" as an "unending cycle of birth, death and rebirth" is the source of this triangulation – even though, according to him, "Pound seems deliberately to play down doctrinal elements in his version of the plays" (4). The tripartite view is key and becomes even more important to Pound in the aftermath of *Nishikigi*'s May 1914 appearance in *Poetry*. This triangulation comes to allegorize the transnational collaboration in *Nishikigi* and, following on from that, precisely which "doctrinal elements" are being emphasized and played down, and to what ends, are what we shall address below. However, we should also be aware of the effect on Pound's thinking (about Noh, his other poetry, and his continuing work with Fenollosa's notes) of Yeats' well-documented excitement about Noh and the effects of some (live) "native informants," who entered the scene after the initial publications of the plays but before their collected edition appeared, in early 1915 – among them, the dancer, Michio Ito.

Triangulating the Action – Ito, Pound and Yeats
Nishikigi's three distinct characters allow the audience to pay heed to the web of relationships that are possible between them, thus allowing another element of the play to surface strongly: the element of ritual, involving the "tripartite structure" that Nicholls finds so important. In the story of *Nishikigi*, the relationship of the main characters is key to the production of a ritual that is then meant to have an effect on the audience. The allegory of the play allows us to see how new and untutored perceptions can question the traditional version.

The triangulation was to be achieved with another set of collaborations. While Pound's publication of *Certain Noble Plays of Japan* in 1916 stemmed directly from Fenollosa's notebooks, Fenollosa's

own notes, translations, and impressions were dependent upon those of his student, Kiichi Hirata, who attended the plays with him, as Mary Fenollosa averred. From early 1915, however, Pound's, and indeed Yeats', encounters with Noh were strongly influenced by Michio Ito. Ito was born in 1892 in Tokyo and died in November 1961. His career began as a singer on a Tokyo stage in a German opera, *Buddha*, in 1911. Later that year, Ito left Japan for Paris to continue his voice training, but switched shortly thereafter from opera to dance (Caldwell 37-42).

Arriving in London in 1914, Ito barely got by until he was invited to dance at a party early in 1915 given by Lady Ottoline Morrell, and attended by, among others, Yeats, Shaw, and Lady Cunard, who immediately asked Ito to dance at her home the following night. Ito's biographer, Helen Caldwell, makes no mention of Pound being present on either night but Ezra was certainly the flavor of the month with Yeats at this time and might well have been there. The appearance of the refugee Japanese dancer must have seemed miraculous to him, engaged as he was with Noh. Pound certainly took to Ito as much as Yeats did, "arranging for Ito to perform five dance-poems in Noh mode by October 1915" (Foster 39). Caldwell notes that once they had met, Pound immediately asked Ito for help with Noh: "When [Pound] asked Ito for his help, Ito's response was, 'Noh is the damnedest thing in this world'" (44).

This entirely honest statement from the targeted native informant may well be the source for Pound's critically exasperated pronouncement to Harriet Monroe the following year: "Drama is a dam'd form" (PSL 81). The key issue here is that the perception of value is not to be made by the native informant, supposedly the one who is being approached for her superior knowledge. It is, rather, the outsider, the poet-expert, who recognizes and prizes literary and cultural value. By doing so, Pound starts to perform a sleight of hand, perfected in *Cathay*, which allows him to take the credit for being expert enough to present "unquestionable" art to a (hitherto) undiscerning public while insisting that the art is, itself, the key thing.

Unfortunately for this budding transnational collaboration, Ito clearly knew, or cared, very little about Noh. Although he had studied the piano and European style singing in Japan, and had also had early training in Kabuki, Ito told Pound that he had not been to see a performance of Noh since the age of seven (and then only under compulsion). Nevertheless, he agreed to help, even though this meant that he had to study the archaic Japanese in which the plays and much of the commentary were written (Caldwell 45). The allegorical shadow of *Nishikigi* now starts to thicken: we have the desire for a complete understanding but no real interlocutor who can give us such an ideal view. The tradition is left interpreted by untutored responses. Fortunately for Pound, Ito also recruited two Japanese friends, Tamijuro Koumé and Jisoichi Kayano, who did have training in Noh. Sanehide Kodama notes in *Ezra Pound & Japan*:

> When the dancer Michio Itoh [sic] arrived in London in 1914, he knew next to nothing about classical Japanese drama – but, most fortunately, a fellow expatriate, the painter Tami Koumé, did. So it was in London, not Tokyo, that Itoh learned about his own cultural tradition. (xi)

This is precisely the point about the collaboration at work here – it is not that we should try to determine the content of each culture in some kind of percentage value comparison but that we should be open to the idea that multiple protagonists *are* involved and that they bring discernibly different sets of "practices, problematics, and cultural engagements" (Berman 7), by way of their varied mixture of languages, cultures, and traditions, as in Ito's training in and knowledge of

Western dance and music, to the table. Ito went on to play the "Guardian of the Well" in Yeats' *At the Hawk's Well* on its debut at Lady Cunard's in April 1916. He left in the autumn of that year for America and never returned although he did perform *At the Hawk's Well* twice in the US (Caldwell 54). In 1939, Ito translated that play into Japanese and it has ultimately come to be regarded as a Noh play and made a permanent part of the Noh repertory. Years later, in a letter to Katue Kitasono, Pound referred to Ito and Koumé:

> Miscio's [sic] strong point was never moral fervour, and he may have a sane desire to popularize […] HOWEVER Tami Kumé [sic] who HAD studied Noh, though he hadn't in 1915 Itoh's inventiveness etc/ had by training something that Miscio hadn't (quite naturally had NOT at age of 23) got by improvisation. (qtd. in Kodama 105)

This 1940 passage is notable precisely because Pound was never under any illusions as to the "native-ness" of his key living informant, Ito; thus he must have valorized his collaboration for its "inventiveness" despite the "sane desire" which, on a closer reading, clearly runs counter to Pound's own inclinations as he might have projected them back to WWI. Ito has that in-between, liminal position that was important to Pound. Pound clearly represented himself as translator, and, therefore, mediator of an "other" tradition but neither he nor Yeats seemed (or claimed) to be in any way desperate to gain popular appreciation for that tradition as we have seen above. At any rate, this revealing discussion about Ito is in direct contrast to the usual idea that "Pound and Yeats […] thought they had discovered the living tradition of Noh dancing" (Longenbach 198) in Ito. Pound is often praised for having grasped the "essential nature" of Noh with an "intuitive grasp" (Taylor 345) – which is simply to transfer the artistic merit of his publications into the realm of cultural expertise and has him providing the right ethos even when in obvious error. In fact, Pound thought his own ideals to be still superior when confronted with the lived experience of Noh. In an article in *The Japan Times and Mail* in 1939, Pound wrote of Koumé and how he and Yeats had approached Noh together:

> Tami Koumé had danced the Hagoromo before the Emperor, taking the tennin part when he was, as I remember, six years old. At twenty he still remembered the part and movements of the tennin's wings, which as [s]he returns to the upper heaven, are the most beautiful movements I have seen on or off any stage. Tami knew something of Noh that no mere philologist can find from a text book, BUT when it came to the metaphysics he could not answer questions which seemed to me essential to the meaning. Very probably the original author had left those meanings in the vague. There may not have been ten men in Europe who would have asked those particular questions, but it so happened that Yeats, in my company, had spent several winters trying to correlate Lady Gregory's Irish folk-lore with the known traditions of various myths, psychologies and religions. (qtd. in Kodama 152-3)

We may see Spivak's warning about the relegation of the "native informant" borne out here through the pitfalls of a "somewhat dubious" situation that "demand[s] that ethnics speak for themselves" (40) and, if they cannot to the satisfaction of the dominant strand of thought, they are simply denigrated or written out. James Longenbach confirms that "[r]ather than bringing an authentic understanding of the Noh to Pound and Yeats, Itow [sic] confirmed their own Western expectations, making Yeats's *At the Hawk's Well possible*" (200). In fact, as we have seen, Pound, at least, was under no illusions as to Ito's authentic knowledge, rather his ideal, or, more to the point, idealized (by Pound at least), experience. The informant knows but cannot comprehend whereas

the privileged observer, with experience in the field, excels in question and knowledge, and only needs some factual ("movements") data to achieve comprehension. Here, not only is the informant unknowing, but the idealized author may have been remiss too – it is the questioner who holds all the power, the interviewee is merely meant to perform. This is a transnational collaboration to be certain – but not one to be celebrated as a meeting of equals connected by literature. This "complex interaction" is far too fraught for that.

It is also complex in that Pound and Yeats were clearly not philologist Western experts in the Japanese tradition but self-acknowledged amateurs. Hence this is a somewhat different situation from the one Spivak explicates. In this case, rather than privileged Western knowledge of an ancient tradition being favored over contemporary native informants, Pound favors improvisation and instinctive poetic knowledge, associated also with one native informant (Ito) over Koumé's expert knowledge. This then provides a neat précis of the very real complexities of the power dynamics of triangulation and transnational collaboration.

Nishikigi

The addition of these characters to the Pound-Yeats collaboration did what it does for *Nishikigi* – producing the effect of "triangulating" the action of the play. We are no longer watching two characters agree with or confront one another for, with the addition of the third, or more, the possibility of a majority – whereby the point of view of two may be highlighted above the third – is introduced, as well as the chance for one of the characters to represent the audience. This representative is the priest who functions rather like a conduit to explain the themes of the play – being outside the tradition he does not understand much of it and he is given much explication – making queries and filtering responses. The priest approaches the village of Kefu and encounters an old couple who offer to sell him the painted sticks and woven cloth that each is carrying. From them he elicits the story of the objects themselves: in times past, by placing an ornately carved wand (nishikigi) into the ground near a house, a suitor announced his attentions to a young girl. For her part, the young girl waited within, weaving a cloth, presumably as part of her trousseau. The old couple relates the story of a suitor who placed a thousand wands near the house of a maiden without receiving her favor. The suitor eventually died and was buried in a nearby cave along with his wands. At the priest's request, the old couple takes him to the cave. Falling asleep while waiting there, the priest has a dream of the suitor and maiden (the transformed old couple) now enabled to unite by the priest's act of interest in their story. The play ends with the couple's disappearance and the priest's very real perplexity over the true nature of what he has seen; the play's division falls roughly into two acts separated at the point where the old couple becomes enervated into (now) young lovers.

Nishikigi presents a tangible image to the audience and an allegory for the relationship of the present to the past/to tradition. There is the real sense that by attending to the tradition/to the past, we can make it live anew. The title refers to the wands the suitor places before a maiden's house to signify his love. The initial action/image of the play is such a wand that the old man offers to sell to the priest. As such the wand not only signifies the man's love for the woman but also draws the priest, and the audience, into the story. It still functions as it was meant to though – as a lure, a declaration of interest. The wand has additional value; the old man displays the intricate carving and painting that adorn it to justify its value as an item of interest to the priest. Yet these markings are not simply ornamental, as we soon discover. They are written indications of the sentiments that the suitor wishes to convey to the woman of his dreams. The wand is, right at the

outset, a multi-layered image into which people may read different times and meanings as in the cross-cultural transference of the text itself. We have the woven cloth that the old woman offers, adorned to convey the feelings of the maiden and attract the attentions of the connoisseur. So far, apart from the fact that there are twin foci, we have seen nothing untoward in the valencies of these images.

In the context of Pound's publication of the play in English, the wand could also be read as an allegory for the cross-cultural transference of the text itself. Indeed our reading of the allegory and the images in the play deepens for, as the old couple spins out their story, we realize that the wand and the cloth are not any old objects for sale but may be the very products of the loving labors of the couple in the legend. This was, after all, the place where their lives played out and the suitor is entombed nearby. Now we see that the objects stand not just for the ritual, the almost forgotten tradition – "I wonder what they call them," the priest muses (CNJ 77) – which they represent and which an audience, used to the touristic possibilities of a well-established capitalist and bourgeois tradition of acquisition of objet d' art and souvenirs, immediately understands the virtue of. They may also be the specific products of a great love, works of art produced before the age of mechanical reproduction, as it were. But is the latter a real possibility? What specifically is the identity of the old couple holding the items? Immediately after the priest's entrance (but outside his hearing), the couple addresses each other:

> Shite (to Tsure)
>
> Tangled, we are entangled. Whose fault was it dear? Tangled up as the grass patterns are tangled in this coarse cloth […] we neither wake nor sleep, and passing our nights in a sorrow which is in the end a vision, what are these scenes of spring to us? This thinking in sleep of some one who has no thought of you, is it more than a dream? And yet surely it is the natural way of love. In our hearts there is much and in our bodies nothing, and we do nothing at all, and only the waters of the river of our tears flow quickly. (CNJ 76)

This is a fascinating manifesto for a tourist-stall couple. Are they real or is their reality a Manichean trap where only the transcendental is real and the physical world nothing but an illusion? Just as we note the declaration that this is a "vision […] thinking in sleep" we are brought back by the very trenchant observation that this kind of despair "is the natural way of love" and so, presumably, simply to be taken as par for the course by those among us not so afflicted/blessed? The priest very clearly does not see the old couple as ghosts:

> Waki
> (not recognizing the nature of the speakers)
>> Strange indeed, seeing these town-people here,
>> They seem like man and wife,
>> And the lady seems to be holding something,
>> Like a woven cloth of feathers,
>> While he has a staff or a wooden scepter
>> Beautifully ornate.
>> Both of these things are strange;
>> In any case, I wonder what they call them. (CNJ 77)

The objects are clearly as foreign to him as the couple is mundane. Though he feels that something is unusual in the meeting, the priest does not recognize anything supernatural in the old couple

– though the audience certainly may. The imagism inherent in the objects immediately starts functioning differently for priest and audience: while he feels the wands and cloth indicate the survival of an old tradition, and, perhaps, the personae of the old lovers mentioned in the tale, for the audience the more significant aspect of the proceedings must surely be the suspicion, or outright conviction, that it is the old couple who are the young lovers. Here, the old couple is, simultaneously, what they appear to be *and* what they actually are. It is the question of which is the appearance and which the actuality that is irresolvable. To the more romantically inclined, it may be that the aged pair are disguised to the priest and undisguised to the audience, still wearing the costumes of the old couple in Act I but seen in their true form in Act II.

In that sense *Nishikigi* better captures the sense of difficulty that Pound must have felt when he faced Fenollosa's notes, vide his desire for "metaphysics […] essential to the meaning" above. Whilst the technique of focusing on a clearly defined image, then multiplying its meanings and layers of importance while depicting the relations of the characters is present here, these elements are much harder to isolate from the stream of events that constitutes *Nishikigi* since it is unclear whether the true image is the objects or the couple themselves with their multiple possibilities, oscillating between past and present, youth and decrepitude. By this I mean that since the priest, the audience's prime "translator," has no real understanding of the objects and their breadth of possible meaning, he, and, perforce, we, must focus on the couple and their enactment. Jonathan Stalling reminds us that

> Modernism may have signaled a break with the signature themes and poetic forms of Romanticism's organicist, idealistic, and unified epistemological vision; nevertheless, vestiges of earlier heroic visions (even if Nietzsche's and Yeats's visions were self-consciously so) continued to permeate modernist poetics. So while Modernism may have inaugurated a dissolution of epistemic coherence through what Marjorie Perloff later came to call its 'poetics of indeterminacy,' the aesthetic fragmentation of Ezra Pound's Cantos still *required readers to create or reconstruct ontological wholes through complex yet eventually coherent images* (the 'concrete image' may well be the primary device […]). (12, emphasis added)

Long before *The Cantos* starts to take shape, we can see this requirement in *Nishikigi*.

At any one point we have Pound's genius and his own poetic sensibilities, certes, but we must never forget the very real presence of the notes and the means of their production by Fenollosa and Hirata. The problem of interpreting the play, the wands, and the couple is also the problem of interpreting the situation of multiple points of view via the players and their use of the play. Pound's rendering of *Nishikigi* ultimately points to the spectators and asks them to decide what has taken place before them – a neat encapsulation of his own doubts, rather than his certainties in either "invention" or "appropriation" of the other with whom he was collaborating. According to Kodama, Ito, or Pound, is meant to show the way but may be, almost tragicomically, unable to because of his own unfamiliarity with "his" culture. Certainly this is the claim of orientalist studies in its heyday during imperialism and shortly after – that it taught the "native" what had been forgotten and recovered history that was otherwise lost in what is termed

> the Whig interpretation of history. The past is retroactively reconstructed to establish and demonstrate the inevitability of the present. A quasi-natural linkage between Western Europe and modern science and technology is assumed in order to trace the one-way diffusion of the latter to the 'people without history'. (Baber 40-41)

Ironically, of course, Pound is working after Japan has become the first recognized non-European imperial power of the modern era after defeating the Russians (1905) and establishing itself in treaty ports in China, alongside the French and British. Japan becomes a key example of how the history of modernity is not simply the history of the West and its expansion. Like Ito, the country by this time occupies a difficult to place position – combining a non-European culture and tradition with elements of Western culture, tradition, knowledge, science, and technology. Koumé might have done better but he suffered, as Zaheer Baber points out above, from a lack of the relevant knowledge of his own history, a lack which might only be identified if one knew how to ask the right questions – which clearly these Japanese did not. Ultimately the collaboration here is "complex" because it is one where Pound is almost desperate to find wisdom but settles, almost perforce, for his own interpretations due to the lack of "worthy" collaborators. In doing so, he enhances, willy-nilly, the idea that it is his individual genius that has allowed these texts to come forth rather than the listed and unlisted collaborators whose work it is all based on. At a certain point in this presentation the idea would no doubt have started to take root that he really was "creating" another tradition in English for "his" times but, nevertheless, *Nishikigi*'s allegory is acutely discernible in our postmodern era – the author, rightfully in a work of this nature, disappears, to be replaced by the web of possible perceptions created by our textual, socio-historical, and personal awareness of, and reactions to, the play.

Nicholls has "Pound's famous injunction to 'Make It New' […] point[ing] not simply to an idea of cultural renovation but to the far more complex process […] grafted together, each somehow 'supplementing' the other" (12). One of the key precepts of Saidian inspired critique is that the production of colonial/oriental knowledge is not simply a matter of what was advanced by knowledge practitioners in the West. Indigenous intellectuals and antique traditions of knowledge actively, even equally, shaped the imperial agenda. Thus, we no longer speak of a hegemonic western reality. While the center may have had powerful illusions of a fully autonomous archive, the reality on the ground was that a massive repertoire of native informants, bearers of indigenous knowledge systems, enabled and greatly expanded colonial knowledge. Yet it is problematic that such "native informant" cultural consultation assumes that there is a singularly identifiable way that a work of art with multiple valencies in its original setting would bear. In our arguments about whether Pound captured the "essence" of the works depicted in Fenollosa's notes or not, whether he translated successfully or appropriated infamously, whether Japan or China are represented thereby in distorted or sympathetic ways, we do violence to the text/s by assuming that Pound alone is responsible for what occurs on the page rather than the collaboration of ideas that gives us the publications. In contrast to these simplistic assumptions, a more compelling analysis of the power of literary texts to function cross-culturally comes from the notion of the image as it moves into and out of the various levels of cultural and critical meaning that we have access to.

The hitherto explicit discussion of collaboration in Imagism and Vorticism, and works such as *The Waste Land* should provide a blueprint for continued critical efforts. However, due, at least in part, to Pound's own dismissal of Japan as a "special interest" (PSL 101), the attention paid to "Ezra Pound and China" (itself understood to be an unceasing interest of comparative literature – "[T]he questions and ideas," notes Eric Hayot, "apparently remain both relevant and provocative," but it is telling that he prefaces this statement with the somewhat weary point that, "[t]he flood of books on the subject shows no signs of abating" (2)) often shades Pound's interest in Noh, his first love in Fenollosa's notes, and the actual work of the collaboration/s that resulted in the published

texts. In a sort of anachronistic progression the critical themes of the former may stand in for the treatment of the latter. One can see such conflation in Michael Alexander's contention that *Certain Noble Plays* "is a little-known cousin of *Cathay*" (108); in Daniel Tiffany's aesthetic judgment that "[t]he apparitional and nostalgic features of poems directly associated with Imagism become more elegiac in Pound's adaptations of Japanese Noh dramas […] and in his "translations" of Chinese poetry" (59); and in Ming Xie's location of "the "Noh image" in his study of the Poundian misreading that led to the *Cathay* version of "The River Song" (119-20).

In fact, Pound gained specific ideas and cultivated particular relationships due to his prior attention to Noh. Given the presence of Japanese interlocutors and translators to aid Fenollosa in the creation of his notes which Ezra Pound then went on to utilize, it might be argued that the Noh plays that Pound went on to publish would be "closer" to the originals (given one less level of "translation"), as it were, than his efforts in *Cathay* had been, thus, more suited to his purpose of bringing disparate cultures to an understanding rooted in their common humanity to take the high, Kennerian reading. As we have seen, this is far from the actual case. Longenbach gives us the details of Eliot's refutation of that idea as, by collaboration with Yeats at Stone Cottage, too much of an idiom that was "not […] of Mr. Pound" (qtd. in 203) had crept in. Not to put too fine a point on it, the shite sounded Irish to an Eliot who "prefer[red] the Noh in English" as that "brings us much nearer to the Japanese" (qtd. in Longenbach 203). Given Hayot's nuanced defense of Eliot's breadth of understanding as to the proven excellence and the necessary limitations of Pound's accomplishment in *Cathay* (4) we now see a very different shade of meaning expressed in relation to the work on the Noh, too Irish by far to be "Japanese drama for our times." This collaboration was clearly not to the fastidious Mr. Eliot's taste. *Nishikigi* shows us that, on the one hand, there is the perception that Pound again attempted to create the sense of an "ideal," even "aristocratic," ethos in his "translations from the Japanese" that bore the burden of having to reflect universal ideals. On the other hand, the exciting, messy locutions of the texts, their production, and their critical appreciation by Pound and all those he involved clearly show us that the doubling and tripling in the plays is not just an allegory for collaboration – it is an exemplar thereof, thus placing transnational collaboration right at the heart of these textual acts of composition/translation. Rather than pass judgment on whether a sense of unity or of difference results, it may be more fruitful to study the "complex sense of interaction" that best illuminates Pound and his various collaborators.

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"She is a Jade": A Georgian Gaming Woman Re-imagined in Georgette Heyer's *Faro's Daughter*

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Abstract

This essay aims to study the images of a modern Faro lady in Georgette Heyer's historical romance *Faro's Daughter*. It is divided into three parts. The first part examines Faro ladies in the history and literature of Georgian England, and it compares Heyer's heroine Deborah Grantham to them. The second talks about how Deborah embodies female virtues that are not appreciated by eighteenth-century gender law but are celebrated by feminist thinking such as Mary Wollstonecraft's. The third shows that Deborah in Heyer's work reflects the first-wave feminist thinking but does not follow all the trends of criticism and literary taste. The study juxtaposes Heyer's heroine with one of the notorious Georgian female gamer Lady Albinia Hobart and argues that Deborah is a reformed Faro lady. The study also examines Deborah in *Faro's Daughter* as a combination and rejection of eighteenth- and twentieth-century feminists such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Simone de Beauvoir, showing that Heyer finds her own path of feminist criticism. If historical romance is a sub-genre that revises history, Heyer's heroine, as the essay tries to point out, represents a revision of feminist discourse.

Keywords: Georgette Heyer, gaming, eighteenth-century England, feminism

Georgian Gaming and Faro Ladies

Gambling was called gaming in eighteenth-century England, and it almost became a national amusement. The historian Roy Porter writes about the obsession of Georgian gaming: "England was gripped by gaming fever. Men bet on political events, births and deaths – any future happening" (255). The obsessed gaming was intolerable to moralists, as John Gregory called gaming "a ruinous and incurable vice" (26), and John Moir referred to gaming as "the worst species of diversion" (207). If men's gaming is deplorable, women's gaming draws more criticism and is more controversial. John Essex wrote in *The Young Ladies Conduct* that "a Woman who has once given herself up to Gaming has taken leave of all Moral Virtues, and consequently lies expos'd to all Vices" (37). Charles Allen warned that any woman who games too much "might produce a habit of avarice, the most base and sordid passion that can enter into the breast of a young lady" (120). By the end of the eighteenth century, John Bennet in *Letters to a Young Lady* denounced gaming women with harsh words, for gaming "has a tendency to eradicate every religious and moral disposition, every social duty, every laudable and virtuous affection" (29). The opinions of these moralists and critics point to one fact: women's gaming is immoral, condemnable, and should be banned.

The concern of eighteenth-century British moralists towards female gaming arose from a group of middle or upper-class female gamers, or "Faro Ladies," who were so called because of the Faro card game they often played. Faro ladies hosted their Faro card tables at their own houses, and the act that broke gender, law, and moral boundaries were usually targets of moralists and public opinion. In eighteenth-century dramas, satirical illustrations, and literature, Faro ladies were often characterized negatively. They were presented as greedy, wanton, swollen, sensual and vulgar women with heavy makeup. Some illustrations, for example, James Gillray's, even presented Faro

ladies as cuffed and taunted. In literature, Faro ladies have a similar and unfavorable representation. Mrs. Berlinton in Fanny Burney's *Camilla* neglects all her domestic duties and seeks comfort at Faro tables, "and the company which Faro and Fashion brought together, she soon grew ambitious to collect by motives of more appropriate flattery" (809-10). In Mary Robinson's comedy *Nobody, a Comedy in Two Acts* (1794), the heroine Lady Languid is a rich widow with gaming addiction. She knows that gaming is harmful but cannot stop playing: "Play! destructive Play! perpetual Losses, & no rest have destroy'd me!" (32). The anonymous mock-epic *The Rape of the Faro Bank* published in 1800 also denounced and parodied Faro cards and the sumptuousness of the upper class in London. In this work, Faro is called the "fatal Cards" (Canto the Second, 18), and the goddess Themis determines to eradicate Faro playing: "She, as so mighty on her Throne she sate, / Regarded Faro with eternal Hate" (Canto the Third, 27). Mrs. Berlinton, Lady Languid, and the Faro ladies in *The Rape of the Faro Bank* are all targets of eighteenth-century authors, and to contemporary readers, they function as moral lessons and cautions.

The Rape of the Faro Bank is inspired by the theft in the gaming house of Lady Albinia Hobart, one of the most representative Faro ladies in British history. Before marriage, Lady Albinia Hobart was Albinia Bertie, a young, beautiful, and lively maiden, as well as a rich heiress. Her husband George Hobart assumed the title of the Third Earl of Buckinghamshire in 1793, making Albinia the Countess. Lady Buckinghamshire was deeply attracted by the fashionable and social life of London, and even after several years of economic crisis and debts, the Lady returned to her townhouse in St. James Square and ran her gaming house. In this fashionable townhouse, Lady Albinia Hobart was known for her hospitality, and she even treated her guests with drama and musical performances. But what went on inside these fashionable town houses were usually law-forbidden and morally corrupted. As Jennifer Kloester puts it,

> The elegant surroundings of the gambling hells of St James's and Pall Mall were often a cover for the ruthless play and unfair practices of the houses, which were frequented not only by the rich and fashionable, the clergy and the nobility, but also by cheats and swindlers known as 'black-legs', 'Captain Sharps' or 'ivory-turners.' (132)

Lady Albinia Hobart indeed had a bad reputation and dared to play deep; it was not until 1797 that she was fined for hosting a private, illegal gaming house.

However, modern scholars do not judge Faro ladies in a moral way, and the gaming table that welcomes both men and women do not represent chaos and obscenity. Gillian Russell believes that the gaming of Faro ladies has a feminist consciousness and that their gaming overthrows eighteenth-century gender ideology. Russell points out that although Faro ladies violate their duty as wives and mothers, and even make their bodies the gaming bet, the "most disturbing aspects of the activities of the Faro ladies was that they were not obviously the victims of a gambling addiction, as the Duchess of Devonshire seemed to be, but were in control of the table and actually making an income from it" (487). As the result, "[b]y using 'private' entertainments as a pretext for gambling, they undermined the status of genteel sociability as an index of taste and refinement" (Russell 487). Faro ladies interfere in the male-centered political activities, sponsorships, negotiations, and even marriage settlements by facing male gamers. What they overthrow, as Laura Brace sees it, is "the norms of genteel sociability" and "social distinctions," as "the men who played with anyone as long as they had the money" (117). Faro ladies governing their own gaming houses challenge both eighteenth-century moral principles and patriarchal culture. Clare Walcot carefully studies

Lady Albinia Hobart's "career" and eighteenth-century London upper social circles, pointing out that gaming tables are often described as battlefields, in which high bets are symbols of honor and class. In the war-like gaming, Walcot suggests that a Faro table offers women an opportunity and space to rival men: "female players would have been in direct competition with, and in danger of succeeding against, their male counterparts" (466). Feminist criticism sees Faro ladies' gaming tables as battlefields where women fight against men, and gaming as women's challenge to male discourse and hierarchy. Based on this premise, Faro ladies may be seen as practitioners of eighteenth-century feminism. They ignore the regulations and orders set by men, putting female consciousness into effect and breaking gender boundaries with Faro cards and gaming.

In this hierarchical regulation and domination, Faro ladies deserve sympathy. Beth Kowaleski Wallace studies earlier eighteenth-century plays, *The Basset-Table* (1706), *The Lady's Last Stake, or The Wife's Resentment* (1721), and *The Provoked Husband* (1728), and asserts that in these plays the heroines are all "objects of a voyeuristic gaze" (22). To modern critics, Faro ladies are no longer troublemakers or criminals but defenders of female power and sovereignty. This justification of female gaming also appears in Georgette Heyer's historical romance *Faro's Daughter*, which redresses the foul reputation of gaming women, rectifying the label by which they have been demonized. Published in 1941, *Faro's Daughter* is a romance set in London in 1795. The young nobility Adrian Mablethorpe vows to marry Deborah Grantham, a Faro hostess. Lady Mablethorpe asks the rich Max Ravenscar to investigate and stop her son's love affair. Ravenscar plans to buy Deborah off, and Deborah determines to avenge the insult and humiliation. Deborah later saves young Phoebe Laxton from an improper marriage by sheltering her in the gaming house. Meanwhile, Ravenscar threatens Deborah with all the bills and mortgages of the gaming house he claims at a card table. The furious Deborah has Ravenscar kidnapped and kept in the basement of her gaming house. Ravenscar escapes and sends back all the creditor's rights to Deborah, but he believes that Deborah has already married Mablethorpe. The two have a quarrel before they clarify all the misunderstandings, confess their feelings, and end with the two making marital promises to each other.

Deborah's character is influenced by Lady Albinia Hobart, whose name also appears in the novel (15). The fact that the fictional Deborah and the real Lady Albinia Hobart appear in the same story adds a sense of historical reality to Heyer's novel. Both Deborah and Lady Albinia Hobart are hostesses to Faro tables, and both of their gaming houses attract guests with luxury and hospitality. Walcott points out that in order to run a gaming house in the fashionable London, Lady Albinia Hobart paid a great price, but still a "town house was seen by some to be an expensive liability, not a wise investment but an unproductive drain on finances, with the risk of overexpenditure in keeping it far exceeding the potential rewards it would likely bring" (462). Like Lady Albinia Hobart, Lady Bellingham, Deborah's aunt and the real owner of the gaming house, also complains to Deborah about the high expense of her gaming house:

> Where is that odious bill for coals? Forty-four shillings the ton we are paying, Deb, and that not the best coal! Then there's the bill from the coachmakers – here it is! No, that's not it – Seventy pounds for green peas; it doesn't seem *right*, does it, my love? I daresay we are being robbed, but what is one to do? What's this? Candles, fifty pounds, and that's only for six months! (47)

In order to attract and keep her guests, Lady Bellingham even rents a box in the opera house (for four hundred pounds), just as Lady Hobart did for her guests' entertainment. However, there are still differences between Deborah and Lady Albinia Hobart. Deborah's aunt runs the gaming house for a living: "Of course, I do see that it puts us in an awkward position, but how in the

world was I to manage? And my card parties were always so well-liked – indeed, I was positively renowned for them! – that it seemed such a sensible thing to do!" (49) However, unlike her aunt, Deborah does not host the gaming table for her gaming addiction. Instead, she sits at the card table only to help and repay Lady Bellingham for raising her.

Deborah is also the justification of feminine images represented by real Faro ladies. Although she has many suitors, she still values female virtue and chastity. Lord Mablethorpe defends Deborah: "It is not Deb's fault that she is obliged to be friendly towards men like Filey, and Ormskirk: she cannot help herself!" (41). Deborah understands that she does not deserve marriage, as eighteenth-century moral standards look down on gaming women. In *Faro's Daughter*, Deborah is called a "hussy" or "Cyprian," names for fallen women. Knowing that her son has fallen in love with a Faro lady, Lady Mablethorpe responds angrily that "One does not marry women out of gaming houses" (5). But it is this unorthodox woman who justifies the female subjectivity and the feminism that Faro ladies embody.

Improper Femininity and Eighteenth-century Feminism

By eighteenth-century British society definition, both Lady Albinia Hobart and Deborah are unfeminine women. Lady Albinia Hobart, a mother to eight children, spent almost all of her time at the Faro table. The problematic maternal role to the conservative Georgian people is a great shock, for Faro ladies, or any female gamers, are usually connected with sexual transgressions such as prostitution or adultery. Jessica Richard points out that when at the gaming table, a woman's body is equivalent to the gaming stake or debt, and in religious works or literature, "the female gambler displays a passion for play that is physically disfiguring, her absorption in play supplants her attention to lover, husband, or children, and her play inevitably leads her to pay her play debts with sexual favors" (112). This also explains the characters' concern for Deborah in *Faro's Daughter*. Knowing that her son has fallen in love with Deborah, Lady Mablethorpe shows her great anger:

> Nothing would induce me to speak to such a woman! Only fancy, Max! she presides over the tables in that horrid house! You may imagine what a bold, vulgar piece she is! Sally says that all the worst rakes in town go there, and she bestows her favours on such men as that dreadful Lord Ormskirk. He is for ever at her side. I dare say she is more to him than my deluded boy dreams of. (9)

The implication is clear that Deborah has a career that goes beyond being just a Faro hostess. Lady Mablethorpe continues to call Deborah a "honey-pot" (10) and suggests that a woman from a gaming house is not suitable to be a wife. Lady Mablethorpe's imagination gives the readers an impression that Deborah is not a "natural" woman. Ravenscar, clear-minded, believes that even the dreadful Lord Ormskirk "would not look for his new bride in a gaming-house" (20) because what men seek at a Faro table is a plaything. Even Deborah herself accepts her fate and realizes that she could not escape spinsterhood. Talking about Mablethorpe, Deborah admits her inferiority in the marriage market: "I am his calf-love. He won't marry a woman out of a gaming-house" (49). Deborah continues to persuade her aunt that marriage for a Faro lady is impractical: "I wish you will not think so much about my marriage. I doubt I was born to wear the willow" (50). However, a Faro lady's female charm that Deborah denies is what Heyer wishes to justify, and through romance, Heyer represents an improper femininity that challenges the eighteenth-century gender norm but is welcomed by radical feminists.

In a romance, though, the hero and the heroine's effort is to find a companion. Under this rule, Deborah, although a gamer, is not without female sexual attraction. Deborah's appearance fits in the standard of mainstream beauty and leaves a good first impression on Ravenscar:

> The lady's eyes were the most expressive and brilliant he had ever seen. Their effect upon an impressionable youth would, he thought, be most destructive. As a connoisseur of female charms, he could not but approve of the picture Miss Grantham presented. She was built on queenly lines, carried her head well, and posessed a pretty wrist, and a neatly turned ankle. She looked to have a good deal of humour, and her voice, when she spoke, was low-pitched and pleasing. (16)

Being tall and young, Deborah is desirable to men. Deborah as a Faro's daughter is unlike the images of gaming women presented in eighteenth-century satirical caricatures. Not only Deborah's beauty but also her career is a model. Knowing what Deborah does in a gaming-house, Phoebe

> asked a great many questions about the house, and said wistfully that she wished that she too could preside over an E.O. table. Nothing of that nature, she explained, had ever come in her way. She had had a very dull life, sharing a horridly strict governess with her sisters, and being bullied by Mama. She thought she might do very well in a gaming-saloon, for she was excessively fond of cards, and had very often played at lottery or quadrille for hours together. It was true that she knew nothing of Faro, but she thought (hopefully) that she would soon learn. (106)

The passage is an important turning-point of how the public's opinions of Faro ladies can be justified. Instead of following the arguments of eighteenth-century critics that a Faro hostess is nothing but a criminal, Heyer makes it a desirable job. To Phoebe, being a Faro lady means liberation from female confinement. In Phoebe's eyes, a Faro lady is a woman who has control over her own life, and the skill in cards suggests the ability for women to gain independence. By elevating carding skill to knowledge, Phoebe's speculation justifies gaming and echoes early feminist arguments. Mary Astell in *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* argued that ignorance is women's enemy: "A being content with Ignorance is really but a Pretence, for the frame of our nature is such that it is impossible we shoul'd be so, even those very Pretenders value themselves for some Knowledge or other, tho it be a trifling or mistaken one" (287). What Phoebe implies, though in a comic way, is the importance of the necessary skills for women to make their own living.

A Vindication of the Rights of Women, Mary Wollstonecraft's vehement, even radical, work criticizes the treatment of women as incomplete individuals, subordinate beings, and even as not being a part of the human species (Wollstonecraft 7-8). To Wollstonecraft, education is important to women's elevation in the society, and it is also through education that women can become rational beings. "Men and women must be educated, in a great degree," writes Wollstonecraft, "by the opinions and manners of the society they live in" (21). The best education in Wollstonecraft's opinion is "such an exercise of the understanding as is best calculated to strengthen the body and form the heart" (21). Wollstonecraft also opposes female accomplishments, dismissing them as frivolities:

> It is acknowledged that they spend many of the first years of their lives in acquiring a smattering of accomplishments; meanwhile strength of body and mind are sacrificed to libertine notions of beauty, to the desire of establishing themselves, the only way women can rise in the world, by marriage. (10)

In *Faro's Daughter*, Deborah and Ravenscar's discussion regarding the former's accomplishments echoes Wollstonecraft's comments. Ravenscar sarcastically says that Deborah is an accomplished woman because she knows how to game. Deborah responds angrily: "It is my business to know those things. I have no accomplishments. I do not sing, or play upon the pianoforte, or paint in water-colours. *Those* are accomplishments" (23). Ravenscar is impressed by these words: "You were wise to waste no time on such fripperies: you are already perfect for your setting, ma'am"

(23). Through Ravenscar's comments, Heyer again reminds the readers of Wollstonecraft, who in *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* writes that female accomplishments are "at best but trifles, and the foolish, indiscriminate praises which are bestowed on them only produce vanity" (26). Although not without irony, Deborah's gaming skill is to be considered professionalism.

However, it is not Deborah's choice but her incapability of making choices that makes her a Faro's daughter. The right to make choices is also Wollstonecraft's concern. In *Faro's Daughter*, both Deborah and Phoebe are women who cannot choose either their way of living or partner. Deborah protests the idea that she and her aunt become hostesses in the gaming house out of willingness. When Lucius, the friend of Deborah's late father, says that Deborah chooses to play cards because "twas in your blood," Deborah disagrees and claims that "it's tedious beyond anything I ever dreamed of! I think I will have a cottage in the country one day, and keep hens" (58). Deborah even blames her young brother who despises the aunt's gaming house: "You cannot suppose that she keeps a gaming-house from her own choice" (149). In the society that left women no choices to make a living and deprives women of the chance of proper education, Faro ladies may be a unique phenomenon that speaks of women's awkward situation. Deborah is incapable of embracing the life she desires while other female characters are denied the right to pick their own husbands. Marriage without love, as Wollstonecraft criticizes, is the consequence of women's limited intellectual independence and liberty:

> With the same view she represents an accomplished young woman, as ready to marry anybody that her mama pleased to recommend; and, as actually marrying the young man of her own choice, without feeling any emotions of passion, because that a well-educated girl had not time to be in love. Is it possible to have much respect for a system of education that thus insults reason and nature? (105)

Deborah gives a similar opinion in *Faro's Daughter* when she tries to comfort Phoebe who is forced to marry the vulgar Sir James: "'No one can make you marry against your will,' Miss Grantham assured her. 'You have only to be firm, my dear!'" (103). Even Ravenscar's half-sister Arabella complains about the marriage arrangement that her entire family makes for her: "but you have no idea how tiresome it is to people making such schemes for one!" (137). Heyer's characterization of these women is in debt to eighteenth-century feminists, and her heroine is, if not an eighteenth-century feminist, at least an unusual woman who is contrary to the hierarchical ideology.

Heyer and Twentieth-century Feminism
In addition to representing eighteenth-century feminists, the main argument of *Faro's Daughter*, a historical romance, follows the trend of first-wave feminism, although some deviations exist. Historical romance is itself a very female-centered genre and is mostly written by women for women. The genre offers women a place to engage, even challenge, hierarchical discourses, especially in history. Diana Wallace has asserted the very special connection among female writers, readers, and the historical romance:

> The historical novel attracted women writers as a genre which they could use to explore, and indeed recover, their past as a 'prehistory of the present'. Moreover, it is in historical fiction, even in the 'popular' kind, that some of the most radical ideas are to be found during a decade which was in many ways retreating into conservatism where gender was concerned. (80)

Heyer's work, as Wallace continues to argue, "initiates a new, third phase of historical novels aimed predominantly at a female audience and using 'history' to explore the restrictions and injustices,

past and present, of women's lives (82). In *Faro's Daughter*, it is more than clear that Heyer does not intend to create a heroine who subjugates herself to the norm of eighteenth-century gender ideology, and the heroine does not hesitate to show her physical strength. Confronting Ravenscar, Deborah claims that "I mean to fight him to the last ditch!" (128). She gives the speech that almost no eighteenth-century heroine would dare to: "Do you think I will give in as tamely as that? You do not know what language he used towards me! He insulted me, and now he dares to threaten me, and nothing – *nothing!* – would induce me to yield to him!" (131). Deborah even faces Ravenscar directly and boldly when the latter calls her a cyprian: "If you dare to call me by that name I will hit you!" (156). Deborah's physical power culminates in Ravenscar's confinement in the basement of the gaming house, and although Ravenscar escapes because Deborah shows compassion for him, she is still a daring heroine who would surprise an eighteenth-century audience but satisfies twentieth-century female readers' appetite.

If Heyer's novels are celebrated for their historical accuracy, her heroines are not historically accurate. Heyer's heroine is not the meek type like Samuel Richardson's Pamela; hers is more familiar to twentieth-century readers, who seek economic independence and freedom in love and marriage. As previously suggested, Deborah's "job" and "career" is what distinguish her from eighteenth-century heroines and bring her closer to a modern woman. Simone de Beauvoir strongly celebrates women's work, and in "The Independent Woman" in *The Second Sex*, Beauvoir wrote that work guarantees women's freedom: "It is through work that woman has been able, to a large extent, to close the gap separating her from the male; work alone can guarantee her concrete freedom" (813). Although Beauvoir continues to criticize the exploitation women face in their work, a job still bespeaks a woman's independence and achievement. In *Faro's Daughter*, Deborah is not afraid of Ravenscar because of her economic freedom, and this makes her a modern, twentieth-century heroine in an eighteenth-century context.

Pamela Regis also sums up three aspects of Heyer's heroines that betray eighteenth-century femininity:

> First, the typical unmarried Regency girl of good family would have been far more swayed by confining societal strictures on her behavior than the affective individuals. Second, she would not have possessed money or marketable skills or have the opportunity to learn or practice such skills. Finally, unmarried Regency girls of good family would be as likely to follow the advice of their parents in choosing a mate as they would in assuming the twentieth-century ideal of companionate marriage that Heyer invests them with. (127)

None of the above characteristics describe Deborah, who ignores social strictures, has the skill of cards, and pays no mind to her aunt's opinion on marriage. Accordingly, Heyer's historical romance serves not only as a utopia that aims to escape the past but also the mirror that reflects the present. Heyer knows and gives what her readers want, and history to her is more than just a background; it is the target of her criticism. However, Deborah is not a traditional eighteenth-century heroine, and neither is she the victimized female character that is common in first-wave feminism literature. Deborah does not have to move to other cities or places to hide her true self, for she already has the gaming-house. Nor does she have to learn a new skill to prove that she can make a living without men. What she needs is an equally powerful and worthy partner. Maureen Honey suggests that, "the New Woman character transforms what she finds into a humane system, creates a community of women to replace the one that confined her, and persuade a man who

admires her that a relationship of equality will enhance his life" (32). An equal partnership is also Beauvoir's concern, and to Beauvoir, men should also learn this relationship: "When he has an attitude of benevolence and partnership to ward a woman, he applies the principle of abstract equality; and he does not *posit* the concrete inequality he recognizes" (34). In *Faro's Daughter*, what Deborah asks is Ravenscar's equal treatment of her, and a partnership based on respect. Ravenscar certainly understands this by the end of the novel. Instead of trying to overthrow the entire male-centered society, feminism or literary heroines in the twentieth century aim to refine civilization and human relationship by proposing what women need.

Heyer's feminism, therefore, is closer to Hannah More's, which is less radical than Wollstonecraft's, but still approves the development of the full character of women. As an Evangelical, Hannah More encourages a female education system based on moral reform, charity, and philanthropy. Upper-class women are important for More, for they are the beginning of the nation's moral reform, and an upper-class woman's study "enable[s] her to regulate her own mind, and to be useful to others" (2, vol. 2). More also recognizes differences between the sexes, but she further holds that women can educate men, for a woman

> is not merely a creature who can paint, and play, and dress, and dance; it is a being who can comfort and counsel [her husband]; one who can reason, and reflect, and feel, and judge, and act, and discourse, and discriminate; one who can assist [the husband] in his affairs, lighten his cares, sooth his sorrows, purify his joy, strengthen his principles, and educate his children. (106-7, vol. 1)

A woman's role to More is the moral support first in the domestic realm and then the nation. In *Faro's Daughter*, Deborah always keeps her virtue and integrity, and has never shown the intention to exceed men. Money does not buy Deborah, who confronts Ravenscar: "You thought you had only to dangle your money-bags before my eyes, and I should be dazzled! Well, I was not dazzled, and I would not touch one penny of your money!" (161). However, she does express the longing for marriage, "that to have someone to protect her was every woman's dream" (185). Deborah, therefore, owns qualities of both eighteenth-century and twentieth-century heroines. Diana Wallace in "Difficulties, Discontinuities and Differences: Reading Women's Historical Fiction" again holds that a historical romance "will allow us to make connections both within and across historical periods, and within and across the categories of 'literary' and 'popular' fiction, on a much wider scale than has happened as yet" (217). In Deborah, one reads Wollstonecraft's criticism on female achievement and women's lack of choice as well as Beauvoir's celebration of partnership and women's right to work. The heroine combines female courage and virtue, and one can further tell that Heyer's attitude towards gender is closer to More's but at the same time sums up criticism from the two centuries. This also explains how Heyer's feminist thoughts deviate from feminism in both the eighteenth and the twentieth century but find its own path in the historical romance.

Conclusion

Deborah belongs to what Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication to the Rights of Women* calls the "masculine women," the ones who embody "the imitation of manly virtues, or, more properly speaking, the attainment of those talents and virtues, the exercise of which ennobles the human character, and which raise females in the scale of animal being, when they are comprehensively termed mankind" (8). Throughout the novel, one sees that Deborah is masculine but not because of the image of "a frustrated spinster or a harridan" as twentieth-century feminists are sometimes described (Walters 90). Deborah is masculine in the way that she manages to outwit Ravenscar and strives to

fight against the marriage that is unfair to women. However, Deborah still maintains her feminine quality by longing for marriage. Deborah's virtue, courage, and determination make Ravenscar call her "a jade" (172) and praise her as "a remarkable woman" (178). If Deborah yields to Ravenscar's fortune and power of influence, there will never be the hero's confession that "I shall marry a wench out of a gaming-house with as much pomp and ceremony as I can contrive" (258). The hero and the heroine find in each other respect, important to Wollstonecraft, and the equal match, celebrated by the first-wave feminists.

Although *Faro's Daughter* may be easily labeled a feminist novel, Georgette Heyer herself may not be that strong a believer in feminism. Most of Heyer's novels end up with marriages, and her heroes and heroines marry according to their social layers. The feminist element of *Faro's Daughter* lies partly in the happy ending which, according to Melissa Schlub, is "probably the least believable" (68) one. To Heyer, there still exist differences in rank between men and women. Jane Aiken Hodge, Heyer's biographer, notes that Heyer prefers men to women in the aspect of gender. Heyer's works, as Hodge puts it, is based on the idea that "man is logical, woman intuitive. Man therefore tends to be more interesting than woman" (13). Jennifer Kloester also stresses that Heyer, who lived in the time when England still had class consciousness, was not a feminist in ideology but by temperament: "a strong woman who never questioned her ability or her right to succeed in a patriarchal world – a modern woman in an Edwardian shell" (134-5). One cannot help but ask how a romance author can be so "unfeminist"? How can an author who writes romance, a female-centered genre, show more interest in men than women? The answers may lie in Heyer's own idea about writing. Like Jane Austen, Heyer "disliked pretentiousness in any form, and excess of any kind. She disliked bores and suffragettes; bluestockings and baby-worshippers" (Hodge 12-3). In the time when attitudes toward gender were undergoing dramatic changes, both Austen and Heyer remained conservative, observing the world's changes but being sensitive enough to the inappropriate novelties to them. It is also true that in *Faro's Daughter*, although Deborah and Ravenscar break gender rules, they never show ill intentions to each other. In Heyer's world, "manners and morals were almost the same thing, and equally important. In these days of compulsory sex in the novel, one turns with relief to the manners and morals of Georgette Heyer's private world" (Hodge 41). The "escape literature" that Heyer describes her own work as not only enables her readers to flee from the horrors of war but also liberates the readers from the oppression of the gender ideology that still needed amendment.

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The Language Debate: Thiong'o and Achebe on English in Africa

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Abstract

Thiong'o's groundbreaking book *Decolonising the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature* is one of the most discussed and critically acclaimed postcolonial works. The book has four essays; "The Quest for Relevance" is the last essay which discusses the importance of prioritizing African literature in the academia. According to Thiong'o, the only way African students can benefit from studying literature is by prioritizing the study of their own literature in their own language. In fact, Thiong'o has taken his view to such an extreme that he has declared this book to be his "farewell to English" as a means of any of his writings (1). In contrast, Chinua Achebe embraced English as a medium of his writings which not only made him famous, but also earned him a permanent place in the pantheon of the greatest postcolonial authors and scholars. Like Thiong'o, Achebe was also a strong proponent of promoting African literature and African experience; but unlike Thiong'o, he did not shun the use of English. This paper examines Achebe in light of Thiong'o's essay "The Quest for Relevance" and explores Achebe's success as an author in *Things Fall Apart*.

Keywords: postcolonial, African languages, afrocentricity, English, decolonization

In order to understand the context of Thiong'o's essay "The Quest for Relevance," it is important to discuss the main issues and ideas that Thiong'o focuses on in the first three essays of his book, *Decolonising the Mind: the Politics of Language in African Literature*. In the first three essays, Thiong'o discusses the nature and use of the African languages in creative literature focusing on the language of theater and fiction (Thiong'o 87). He elaborately portrays the richness of African language and culture by presenting the wealth of African literary traditions to the world. He discusses how the African languages are used in different literary genres including orature and fiction. He also brings the age-old African tradition of performance art in his discussion and elaborates on how the Africans use their native languages in their theatrical tradition. In all of the first three essays, what Thiong'o actually tries to point out is the inextricable relation between life and language in Africa. He projects that no matter what the literary tradition is, language plays the most vital role in all of them, and that is, language carries with it the essence and flavor of life in Africa – the African experience. But it is his first essay titled "The Language of African Literature" "for which he has almost become more famous than for his novels" because of his arguments about disavowing English in favor of using native African language (Williams 141).

In his fourth essay, "The Quest for Relevance," Thiong'o discusses how language and culture are interconnected, and why it is important for the educational institutions in Africa to include African literature in the syllabus. He further elaborates on this idea and urges that the use of African languages in the study of literature is the only way to ensure a perfect portrayal of African experience. His logic behind making this point is that there is no better way of depicting life other than by the use of the native language.

But before discussing how the use of native African languages is the best way to uphold African experience, in the essay, Thiong'o first discusses the place of African language and culture in

the study of literature, and why it is of extreme urgency to put African experience at the center of African writing. He points out that the dominance of Western literature in the educational institutions in Africa has jeopardized the growth, perception, and preservation of African literary tradition. As a result, if the African students are only exposed to Western literature, not only will that alienate them from their own history and culture, but also distort their perception of their own identity. He mentions that, "African children who encountered literature in colonial schools and universities were thus experiencing the world as defined and reflected in the European experience of history" (Thiong'o 93).

From the viewpoint of his African identity, Thiong'o perceives the quest for relevance to be a "search for a liberating perspective within which to see ourselves [the Africans] clearly in relationship to ourselves and to other selves of the universe" (Thiong'o 87). Thiong'o thus considers it relevant to prioritize academic study of African literature in order to ensure that the African experience gets the highest priority. In Thiong'o's view, the quest for relevance is a journey to discover the relationships, interconnectedness, and interdependence among life, language, and culture which will help the Africans uphold their own identity by putting up resistance against the unfounded projection of Africa in Western literary tradition. Thiong'o asserts that the young Africans must be able to define their identity in their own terms which will only be possible if the educational system gives the students necessary exposure to African culture. To put it in a nutshell: the African students must have the ability to see the world from the perspective of an African, and to ensure that, it is absolutely necessary to put African experience at the very center of the academic study of literature in Africa rejecting the dictatorial dominance of the Western literary tradition. This is basically what Thiong'o means by the quest for relevance.

Many other African scholars are in dialogue with Thiong'o, Molefi Kete Asante being one of them. Asante, who started the Afrocentric movement, is on the same page as Thiong'o about prioritizing African identity and experience: "Afrocentricity is the frame of reference wherein phenomena are viewed from the perspective of the African person. The Afrocentric approach seeks in every situation the appropriate centrality of the African person" (Asante 171). Asante maintains that an Afrocentric education gives African students the "opportunity to study the world and its people, concepts, and history from an African world view" (171). Afrocentricity also seeks to find a solution to the problem of "unconscious adoption of the Western worldview" by young Africans which manipulates their "conceptual framework" (Mazama 387). In this regard, both Asante and Mazama are in dialogue with Thiong'o.

Apart from emphasizing the relevance between the African experience and the study of literature in Africa, Thiong'o discusses another type of relevance which deals with the study of literature and the language used in this purpose. According to Thiong'o, there is an important connection among the study of literature, the medium of instruction, and the language in which the literary works have been produced. In his view, the use of native African languages as the language of literary production is the only way to meaningfully capture African experience in literature. In fact, Thiong'o has taken his view to such an extreme that he labels *Decolonizing the Mind* as his farewell to English (1). Even though Thiong'o's idea of putting Africa at the center of experience shows a great deal of conformity with the ideas of other African scholars about prioritizing Africa, his view of using African language in literature as the only reliable way to project true African experience seems to be an entirely different approach which often contradicts the ways in which an author like Chinua Achebe projected Africa in his literary and scholarly works.

The most important meeting point between Thiong'o and Achebe is that both want to put Africa at the center of experience. But their approaches are different. Thiong'o stops writing in English and chooses to use his native language instead. In contrast, not only does Achebe use English in his writings to glorify the image of Africa, but also to challenge the dominant Western colonial discourse. Achebe uses English – the language of the British colonizers – to create a new wave of change. His novel *Things Fall Apart* is arguably his most notable work which has earned him a permanent place among the most influential postcolonial authors. Through this groundbreaking novel, not only does Achebe challenge the misrepresentation of Africa by the West, he also upholds the image of Africa to the world by using English.

Things Fall Apart is lauded for being a successful counter-narrative to the European colonial discourse. In this novel, Achebe projects an entirely new image of Africa. According to many critics, this novel is a response to Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness* where Africa is presented as an uncivilized dark continent. In his famous article "An Image of Africa" Achebe repudiates such a racially prejudiced projection of Africa and excoriates Conrad by calling him a "bloody racist" (Achebe 788). Since *Things Fall Apart* is an extremely important postcolonial literary work, it is no wonder that the novel has been studied from a postcolonial perspective for decades. The novel is also a great repository of knowledge about African cultural history. With *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe reconstructs the image of Africa, shows the negative projection of Africa by the West to be unfounded, and proves to readers that Africa as a dark continent is untenable. Unlike Thiong'o, Achebe achieves this remarkable feat by using English – the colonizers' language.

Achebe aims at fulfilling three objectives in *Things Fall Apart*. His first objective is to portray the true image of Africa – to portray Africa as a civilized continent rich with unique culture, language, and social customs. In the dominant Western literary tradition, Africa had previously been projected as a dark continent with "primitive" and "uncivilized" people. Their representation of the African people made it clear that in their mind, the Africans are mere "symbols of qualities which, however important, are nevertheless subordinate elements in the total complex of the European psyche" (Innes 22). Going against the tide, Achebe's *Thing Fall Apart* challenges such misrepresentations of Africa with great austerity. This novel is a "[p]ower-packed, multi faceted work of literary revision that seeks to correct misconceptions, challenge the misrepresentations of the political history and culture of African peoples, and rearrange other established notions on who the African is" (Mezu 16). Achebe's Umuofia "becomes a prototype of traditional Africa before the advent of the Europeans" and proves that Africa has always been civilized in its own unique way which "speaks of values, moral issues, truth, wisdom and an appreciation of human respect and dignity" (Mezu 16-17). Such elevated portrayal of the Igbo society in this novel is not a product of imagination at all; rather, it is based on factual evidence as Rhoads claims that the Igbo society in Africa developed sophisticated socio-cultural systems including "democratic system of government" (Rhoads 63). Their social structure was organized, and they valued valor, courage, honesty, leadership, and responsibility. The so-called civilized West could never understand and appreciate African culture, and regarded Africa as a landmass inhabited by barbarous indigenes. In his much-discussed essay "An Image of Africa", Achebe points out that the Westerners had always projected Africa as a place subordinate to Europe; Africa was nothing but "a place of negation at once remote and vaguely familiar in comparison with which Europe's own state of spiritual grace will be manifest" (Achebe 783). When the Western colonial discourse utterly failed

to recognize Africa for what it actually was, Achebe presents the true picture of Africa in front of the world through *Things Fall Apart*. He spends more than half of the novel to portray the socio-cultural structure of the Igbo society in Africa, and to show how culturally rich Africa was. Achebe illustrates the point that Africa had a glorious past unique on its own, that the idea of Africa being a dark continent is abhorrently misleading, and that judging the African civilization according to the standards of the West would be a wrong approach to evaluate Africa.

Here, Achebe is perfectly in dialogue with Thiong'o as both deal with the distorted projection of Africa in Western colonial discourse and address the importance of liberating Africa from Western perspective by rejecting the Western attitude towards Africa, and most importantly, by recreating the history of Africa on their own. In this issue, they find a stalwart like Edward Said on their side who, in his famous book *Orientalism*, expresses almost the same idea in the context of Asia. Said argues that "early scholarship by Westerners" was "biased and projected a false and stereotyped vision of otherness" on the colonized that "facilitated and supported Western colonial policy" ("Edward Said"). This implies that both Achebe and Thiong'o are dealing with a common and universal colonial experience found in almost every region in the globe that went under colonial rule. Both Thiong'o and Achebe address the importance of liberating the image of Africa from the Western perspective, and even in this issue, they find an intellectual like Frantz Fannon on their side. According to Fairchild's analysis of Frantz Fanon's famous essay "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness," Fanon voices deep concern over the split-identity of middleclass African people who are inadequately prepared to free themselves from the confines of the colonial system because of their acceptance of the ideologies and values established by their colonial rulers (196). In his essay "The Quest for Relevance," Thiong'o illustrates almost the exact same point as he argues that because of the colonial education, the African students' "entire way of looking at the world, even the world of the immediate environment" became Eurocentric (Thiong'o 93). According to Thiong'o, the quest for relevance involves the quest for being free from the colonial gaze, and this is exactly what Achebe has achieved in *Things Fall Apart* – all by using the English language as a means of challenge. His masterful rendition of African proverbs and riddles in English made it possible for readers from all across the globe to appreciate the wisdom and the universal appeal of African proverbs and riddles which were integral parts of African culture. This is how in *Things Fall Apart* Achebe uses English successfully to dismantle the misrepresentation of Africa, and to uphold the true image of Africa to the world.

Achebe's second objective is to reveal the true picture of colonization. In *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe portrays the "systematic emasculation" of the entire African culture at the hands of the British colonizers (Emenyonu and Nnolim 62). *Things Fall Apart* is a study of the consequences "when a belligerent culture or civilization, out of sheer arrogance and ethnocentrism, takes it upon itself to invade another culture, another civilization" (Emenyonu and Nnolim 62). Achebe illustrates how the European colonizers exploited the limitation and weakness of the native Africans to subjugate them. Achebe reveals the virulent intentions of the colonizers to exploit Africa and the concomitant atrocities resulting from the forceful subjugation of the indigenes. In this novel, he also exposes the tactics and strategies adopted by the colonizers to complete the scramble for Africa. Igbo religion and the associated rituals receive the first blow with the initiation of Christianity into Igboland. The novel reveals how the Christian missionaries converted the natives "not through persuasion, but by sheer force of an obtrusive dogma" (Emenyonu and Nnolim 63). According to Mulwafu, the Christian missionaries acted "as a precursor to colonial rule" who

actively encouraged their respective governments to colonize Africa (Mulwafu 305). As Christianity permeates across Igboland, Igbo religion and rituals gradually lose their appeal among the natives – a phenomenon that marks the beginning of the disintegration of Igbo society itself. After that, the colonizers took economic control of Igboland by grabbing land, establishing trading posts, and forcing the natives to work in farms. In order to make their path smooth, the colonizers invented, employed, and empowered native agents like tribal chiefs despite the fact that in Igbo society, there had never been such a concept in tribal chiefs before. According to Williams, ruling Africa through the tribal chiefs was "the colonialists' preferred model of leadership" (26). All these actions destabilized the very sociocultural fabric of Igbo society, paving the way for the colonizers to establish their exploitative dominance over Igboland and the Igbo people. In *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe masterfully exposes the dark side of European colonial enterprise in Africa. Thus far exceeding its fictional domain, Achebe's Umoufia becomes the microcosm of Africa itself mirroring the reality of what happened in almost every corner of the continent during the scramble to colonize it. This is how Achebe debunks the Western propaganda that the European colonial enterprise was based on humanitarian grounds.

When it comes to countering such propaganda, not only are Thiong'o and Achebe in dialogue with each other, but also with Aimé Césaire, who is considered to be one of the most prominent postcolonial scholars. According to him, the European colonial enterprise was nothing but a "collective hypocrisy" which was "neither evangelization, nor a philanthropic enterprise, nor a desire to push back the frontiers of ignorance, disease, and tyranny, nor a project undertaken for the greater glory of God, nor an attempt to extend the rule of law" (Césaire 32). In the essay "The Quest for Relevance," Thiong'o illustrates the point that the Western colonial enterprise was not a benevolent project, but an imperialist assault. He argues that the "quest for relevance and for a correct perspective can only be understood and be meaningfully resolved within the context of the general struggle against imperialism" (88). This is exactly what Achebe does in *Things Fall Apart*, but unlike Thiong'o, he does not move away from using English. Rather, Achebe's use of English helps him earn a wide range of readership and makes him more successful.

Achebe's third objective in *Things Fall Apart* is to point out the flaws within Igbo society, and also within Africa in general, which paved the way for the colonizers to conquer Africa and subjugate its people. Throughout this novel, Achebe has been incredibly dispassionate about exposing the problems deeply rooted in the Igbo community which made them vulnerable to foreign intervention. *Things Fall Apart* reconstructs how the "inherent flaws" within the Igbo society eventually becomes "the nuclei of its destabilization" (Mezu 17). The novel exposes the abysmal malpractices that pervaded the Igbo society in the form of religion and rituals. Disabled people were excommunicated, twins were considered evil, horrific exorcism rituals were practiced (for example, the dismembering of the stillborn child in the first part), and human sacrifice was also a ritual (for example, the slaughter of Ikemefuna). Along with all these malpractices, subjugation of women was another major weakness in the Igbo society which was taken advantage of by the missionaries. *Things Fall Apart* clearly portrays that the Igbo women, along with the disabled, the outcasts, and the discontented people, were the first ones to instantiate the disintegration of the Igbo society by embracing Christianity. It is never a point of contention that in order to colonize Africa, the colonizers used force to such an extent that the legacy of colonization is forever stained as one of the darkest periods in the history of modern human civilization. *Things Fall Apart* comes as an unabated criticism of colonialism, but in so doing, the novel does not hide

the flaws within the Igbo community that also contributed to their downfall. Such dispassionate evaluation is necessary in order for a community to move forward. With *Things Fall Apart*, not only does Achebe make Africans feel proud of their rich past, but he also makes them aware of their flaws. With *Things Fall Apart*, Achebe inaugurates the "tradition of novels of cultural nationalism which promotes consciousness of what is great in African culture," and "rehabilitates the dignity of the black world so badly bruised by colonial subjugation" (Mezu 18). Like Thiong'o, Achebe did not have to renounce English in order to establish and communicate such sense of pan-African cultural nationalism through his writings. Rather, Achebe achieves this remarkable feat by using English – the language of the British colonizers – as a means of pointing out Europe's tenuous grasp of Africa's rich past. Achebe uses English as weapon to challenge and dismantle the distorted projection of Africa in the dominant Western colonial discourse, and to create a powerful counter-narrative to the colonial discourse.

In his Nobel speech, Gabriel García Márquez pointed out the bitter colonial experience of Latin America. He vehemently rejects any kind of dominance from the former colonizers saying that "Latin America neither wants, nor has any reason, to be a pawn without a will of its own; nor is it merely wishful thinking that its quest for independence and originality should become a Western aspiration" ("Gabriel García Márquez"). However, he ends with a positive note saying that:

> In spite of all these, to oppression, plundering, and abandonment, we respond with life. Neither floods nor plagues, famines nor cataclysms, nor even the eternal wars of century upon century, have been able to subdue the persistent advantage of life over death. ("Gabriel García Márquez")

The same indomitable spirit can be seen in Okonkwo. Even though he finally kills himself, he chooses to die as a free spirit, as a man who would rather accept death then live a life of slavery in his own land. Through the story of Okonkwo – the true tragic hero of Africa – Achebe urges Africans to rise up and reestablish their true identity as Africans. In William Shakespeare's famous play *The Tempest*, Prospero teaches Caliban the art of language, but he takes away his freedom. So Caliban protests his lack of freedom by using the same language to curse Prospero. In *Things Fall Apart*, not only does Achebe reveal the evil of colonialism, he also paints the true image of Africa to shatter the Western idea of it as a dark continent. Achebe's greatest success is his use of nothing but the colonizers' own language to challenge them; and this is what makes him different from Ngugi wa Thiong'o.

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LANGUAGE AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS

Motivation in Digital Learning: Understanding Serendipitous EFL Learning through Cyberspace

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Abstract

The arrival of digital tools has the potential to profoundly influence learners of English as a foreign language in our country and this paper offers an account of how these proceedings may work. The focus of the study is to recognize how, in terms of English language learning, the teaching-learning environment can be created in cyberspace and how it could function with special emphasis on serendipitous learning. The paper then aims to explore the role of motivation in learning the English language from the perspective of Bangladeshi EFL learners. Later, the paper introduces a mechanism of inspiring the less motivated learners by concentrating on unconscious and semiconscious learning through utilizing tools in cyberspace. The study is based on data collected from a number of students from five public and private universities of Bangladesh. The research employs both qualitative and quantitative approaches by analyzing both questionnaire responses and one-on-one interviews.

Keywords: motivation, cyberspace, serendipitous learning

To shape the practice of everyday teaching, teachers need to have a holistic understanding of what happens in their classroom. They need to systematically observe their teaching, interpret their classroom events, evaluate their outcomes, identify problems, find solutions, and try them out to see once again what works and what does not (Kumaravadivelu, 2003, p. 2).

We are living in the digital era where feeding on data is arguably more important than feeding on food. We have thus entered a time where certain methods have become obsolete and new methods or post methods are on the rise. For learning the English language, the same thing can be said. In the 1st IML International Conference held at the Institute of Modern Languages, University of Dhaka, Professor Dr. B Kumaravadivelu (2017) claimed that CLT was already a dead method and countries which have adopted it, have done it because of the label "communicative." So if CLT is no more an expedient method, then what method can take its place? A lot of talk has been going on about "eclectic" and "heterogeneous" methods that do not hold firmly to a single model but instead depend on multifarious theories to access harmonizing comprehensions into the development and application of the specific approach. Dr. Kumaravadivelu (2017) certainly believes in a method that advocates trial and error, casting away the possibilities of an already existing method ready to be discovered and readily imitated and implemented. Certainly, the time has come for English language teachers to endorse and customize their own methods to achieve maximum output and the popularity and availability of digital/cyber spaces provides us with ample area to do just that.

Integrating ICT for the advancement of language teaching is not new in our country but using it to its full potential in order to achieve maximum output is still not common. Keeping that in mind, this paper attempts to put forward a methodology of creating an online language learning

environment for students in cyberspace based on the students' perceptions and acceptance of having an online environment for learning. The objective of the digital and/or virtual learning environment is to trigger serendipitous learning or what is more commonly known as learning by chance or coincidental learning (Buchem, 2012). The second part of the paper will further deal with the importance of serendipitous learning and its role in generating and sustaining learners' motivation. Since motivation is seen as an important feature to accomplish any objective, in learning a second language its function remains the same. Woolfolk (1998) defines motivation as, "an internal state that arouses, directs and maintains behavior" and there is no argument on the fact that serendipitous learning is heavily dependent on the learner's motivation levels (p. 372.). The paper therefore will shed light on the different levels and categories of motivation from the perspective of the learners of this country and examine how the serendipitous learning method can raise the motivational levels of the learners, consequently inspiring the less motivated ones.

Literature Review

Incidental Learning. To describe unexpected, fortunate discoveries, the term "serendipity" was coined by the novelist Horace Walpole in the 18th century (Buchem, 2012). Therefore, serendipity or serendipitous learning is learning that takes place as a by-product of other activities in a virtual environment. Buchem (2012) defines it as a subset of incidental learning which is sought by gaining new insights, discovering unrevealed aspects and recognizing seemingly unrelated connections. The users, while surfing the web, encounter information, process, and discourse which enable them to get new perspectives and polish language and other skills incidentally or by chance. A number of researchers have examined the nature and characteristics of this kind of learning. Incidental learning is tacit and unconscious as well as permanent and this is the most pervasive form of adult learning (Marsick and Watkins, 2001). Since incidental learning or serendipity is unconscious and takes place without the learners being aware, it has some analogy with language learning; as language is best learnt by acquisition which is also an unconscious process. A study conducted by Kabilan, Ahmad and Abidin (2010) among 300 undergraduate students at Universiti Sains Malaysia (USM), Penang, found that students believe Facebook could be utilized as an online environment to facilitate the learning of English and 72% of the students agreed that Facebook could be an environment for enhancing students' motivation to communicate in English. Buchem (2012) claims that the emergence of Web 2.0 services, including microblogging tools such as Yamner, Status Net, Plurk, and most notably, Twitter, can lead to meaningful learning and enhance exploratory behavior. Apart from facilitating learning, studies have found a link between learner motivation and fortunate unexpected discovery or serendipity. McFerrin (1999), through a study of 22 members of three sections of a graduate level asynchronous online distance education course at Northwestern State University of Louisiana in 1998, found that learners were very enthusiastic, better in time management and organizational skills, and, to be more specific, were fuelled by basic desire to learn something new which was in his words "[a] motivation which is rare in traditional classroom setting" (p. 1422). The present study tries to locate and outline a channeled or controlled serendipitous learning environment in cyberspace using social media which will educate learners and generate motivation for learning.

Motivation. Motivation has always been largely identified by scholars as one of the major variables which attributes to determining the level of success of a second language acquisition. The expertise of the instructor in motivating learners should be vital to effective teaching (Dornvei, 2001). Since this paper emphasizes on the importance of motivating the less motivated learners by introducing a new method, to understand which form of motivation works best for the learners

in the context of Bangladesh is of paramount importance. Therefore, comprehending various existing motivational theories is equally significant. The willingness to take part in the process of learning is one factor which is influenced by the motivation levels of the learners. Lambert (1963) developed a "social psychological model" and underlined cognitive aspects like intelligence and language abilities, and affective variables like motivation and attitudes in it (p. 114). In this theory, he argues that the level to which a person effectively learns a second language will rely on motivation, attitudes towards the second language, and ethnocentric predispositions. Oxford and Shearin (1974) stated that motivation influences the students' use of second language learning strategies regulating how much they interact with native speakers in that language, how well they do in tests, and ultimately how high their overall proficiency increases. They also went on to argue that after the learning experience is over, it is down to their motivation levels that determine how long learners preserve and maintain the second language skills. They also examined a number of motivational theories and six variables were confirmed which influence motivation in terms of language learning: a. attitude, b. self-belief, c. goals and objectives, d. involvement, e. environmental support and f. personal attributes. It is often seen in the context of our country that out of these six variables, environmental support becomes the biggest predicament. Therefore, the importance of constructing a learning-friendly environment is required. RC Ditual (2012) claimed that learners of second languages who have a positive attitude towards it are highly motivated both instrumentally and integratively whereas Christo Moskovsky and Fakieh Alrabai (2009) were of the opinion that English as a foreign language is more influenced by Instrumental motivation and English as a second language is more dependent on integrative motivation. As for the learners of the English language in the context of Bangladesh, they could either be motivated interactively or instrumentally, something we would later discover from the findings of a survey.

Theoretical Perspective

Understanding Learning Environment in Cyberspace. Anderson (2004), stating online learning as a subset of distance education, claims that it is more flexible in time and space than campus-based education. This type of learning needs to be learner-centered, knowledge-centered, community-centered, and assessment-centered (Bransford, Brown and Cocking, 1999 as cited in Anderson, 2004). Online learning or learning in cyberspace, however, is different from conventional or formal learning and, hence, can be argued to be a form of informal learning. Marsick and Watkins (2001) defined informal learning as "a category that includes incidental learning may occur in institutions, but it is not typically classroom-based or highly structured" (p. 25). Incidental learning is a by-product of other activities such as accomplishment of tasks, interactive communication, identifying structure, trial-and-error experimentation, etc. (Marsick and Watkins, 1990). One very prospective aspect of web-based learning is serendipity or leaning subconsciously and unexpectedly. When it comes to learning a language, there is no one perfect way to establish an online language learning environment and the factors that dominate in successfully creating one of these environments range from time, funding, ICT skills to learners' access to gadgets and internet service required to navigate the environment once it is complete and ready for use. The nature of such an environment should be user-friendly where the learners can learn by observation, repetition, interaction, and problem solving.

The Role of Motivation in Serendipitous Learning of the English Language. The Acquisition-Learning hypothesis of Stephen Krashen (1982) claims that grammatical rules and drills are not required in language acquisition and language acquisition happens subconsciously. Language acquisition is informal in this process, and the "picking up" of the language takes place when the

users use the language to convey meaningful messages, unaware that the speakers are concerned with the messages they are conveying and understanding is of necessity (p. 10). This "meaningful interaction" when done in a serendipitous manner can become more fruitful for the learners because it is assumed to be directly related to the learners' motivational levels. It is here that we are going to divide our trajectory into two premises to better understand and appreciate the role of motivation from the perspective of Bangladesh. The first of the two premises claims that there is a big difference in the methods of English language teaching in the different stages of the education system in Bangladesh and they are based on economy and geography. It is no wonder that a self-sustaining gap subsists in the many educational institutions in the way English is taught and learnt or facilitated and acquired depending on the money one can spend and the location in which the learner is situated. Therefore, when the learners arrive at the tertiary level, they find themselves in a very diverse group in terms of English competency. To understand the learners' varied competency of English in the same course by the same instructor, two samples of the introduction paragraph of a contrast essay titled "Education in co-ed schools and in an all girls'/boys' school" were taken. They will testify that, despite being from the same department, in the same institution, admitted in the same intake year, the difference in their written language is colossal. The paragraphs are reproduced as received.

> (1) Paragraph written by Student 1:
>> In Bangladesh, the number of co-ed schools is less than the number of all girls'/boys' schools. Now the question is, does being in an all boys'/girls' school or in a co-ed school effect a child's education and behavior differently? The answer is simple – both educating systems differ from each other and each has it's own flaws and benefits. [*sic*]

> (2) Paragraph written by Student 2:
>> Out of the co-ed schools of smart girls/boys students in the world. Students girls and boys are the most common popular in the school. They are computing platforms that the often very similar user interfeces and also experiences. However, they are also quite different from another major contrast are in the choices of students relationships, girls and boys composition related. [*sic*]

Paragraphs (1) and (2) are from two separate essays produced as an assignment in a course titled "Composition and Communication English" and written by two different individuals. Of the two excerpts, it is evident that what makes the second student produce such an error-filled paragraph which hardly makes any sense is his lack of basic language knowledge despite being in the tertiary level of education. Bringing the second student's language quality anywhere near to the first student's not only requires rigorous practice and hard work but also a unique level of motivation which can be facilitated through incidental and/or serendipitous learning.

The second premise focuses profoundly on outcome-based education (OBE). William Spady (1994), in his book *Outcome Based Education: Critical Issues and Answers*, has defined OBE as an educational system which clearly focuses and organizes everything around what is essential for all students to be able to do successfully at the end of their learning experience. Regardless of the different levels of strengths and weaknesses in the abilities and skills of various learners, it is expected that by the end of a particular learning experience, all would possess similar levels of aptitude. Now if we just go back to the previously exemplified paragraphs – for paragraph (2) to reach the standards of paragraph (1), although seemingly impossible in the course of one semester (4 months), a lot of hard work, guidance, feedback, and most importantly, motivation is required.

It is very important for the facilitator to identify the learner's motivation as either integrative or Instrumental because based on that, the learner is to be motivated. Integratively motivated learners show a desire to learn a language with the objective to better comprehend the language, to have a better understanding of the community who use that language. Ellis (1997) describes that particular learners learn a target language to fulfill a desire of mixing with the people and culture associated with that particular language. On the other hand, learners who characterize Instrumental motivation have pragmatic reasons to learn a certain language like going for higher education, sitting for an IELTS test, etc. Gardner and Lambert (1992) understood Instrumental motivation as a way to obtain economic and social superiority. Many also argue that both types of motivations are of importance and a combination of the two can also fulfill the objective of language learning. However, Clement and Kruideniet (1983) believed that potential learners who want to befriend speakers of the target language can be motivated both instrumentally and integratively. Again, Woolfolk (1998) and Santrock (2004) define Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation respectively. For Woolfock, intrinsic motivation is "[m]otivation that stems from the factors such as interest or curiousity" (p. 374). Santrock defines extrinsic motivation as motivation that which "involves doing something to obtain something else (a means to an end)" (p. 418). A connection can be drawn between the two types of motivations and integrative and instrumental motivations can be seen as intrinsic and extrinsic motivations as well.

Methodology

Online Language Environment and Serendipitous Learning. This study on the construction of an easily accessible environment is based on the direct feedback of language learners who are tertiary level students undergoing the English language learning process.

Participants. 50 students from five public and private universities were randomly selected on the basis that they were all attending a similar course that focused on learning the English language for academic purposes. All the participants had completed secondary and higher secondary level education, and were in the process of completing tertiary level education. The students were from different departments including Business Administration, Law, Engineering, Information Studies and Library Management, Pharmacy, and English Literature and Language.

Research Instrument and Data Collection. Each of the respondents was placed in a natural setting and provided with a questionnaire based on the Likert scale and comprising 10 questions. The students responded by circling the corresponding letter in the questionnaire.

Data Analysis Procedure. The data collected from the respondents were later analyzed using percentages and raw numbers. 48 students out of 50 responded to the questionnaire related to Online Language Environment.

Motivation. To understand what type of motivation will work more effectively in the context of the tertiary level learners of Bangladesh, another survey was carried out. This survey was also carried out on 50 respondents. However, these respondents were a different from those who responded to the first questionnaire.

Participants. The sampling was the same as for the first questionnaire, although they were not the same individuals.

Research Instrument and Data Collection. The 50 students were provided with a questionnaire each and this time the feedback form had 15 questions where in the first 10 questions, a nominal

level variable was used in the form of two values (yes or no). The other 5 questions were open-ended short responses.

Data Analysis Procedure. This time, too, the data collected from the respondents were later analyzed using percentages and raw numbers. In this survey, however, all 50 students responded to the questionnaire which will give us a better understanding of the type of motivation that is better suited to these specific students in the tertiary level of education in Bangladesh.

Findings and Discussions
Online Language Environment and Serendipitous Learning
48 students out of 50 responded to the questionnaire and provided the following results:

- 41 students strongly agreed that access to the internet is of immense importance for a learner of any particular language, not just English. The other 7 students agreed to this.

- 36 students strongly agreed that an online language learning environment would make the language learning process faster. 4 students agreed to it, 5 students remained undecided, and 3 students disagreed with the idea.

- 40 students strongly agreed that if an online language learning environment was created, they would feel more comfortable in practicing the language. 3 students agreed to this and 8 students remained undecided.

- 46 students strongly agreed to the idea that it would be more positive from their perspective if they learned the language without realizing that they were learning something at all. 2 students agreed to this.

- 47 students strongly agreed to the fact that the online language learning environment must remain easily accessible and inexpensive to use. 1 student agreed to it.

- 32 students strongly agreed to the fact that they are familiar with at least five different social media websites. 5 students agreed to this point. 4 students remained neutral and 7 students disagreed with this statement.

- 45 students strongly agreed that they use Facebook frequently. 3 students agreed to this point.

- 27 students strongly agreed that they use social media websites other than Facebook. 11 students agreed to this. 1 student remained neutral. 7 students disagreed and 2 students strongly disagreed with this statement.

- 35 students responded strongly in favor of using English as the medium of communication while using online platforms. 5 students remained neutral on this matter, and 8 students disagreed with this statement.

- As many as 44 students strongly believed that learning through social media is/can be fun. 3 students agreed to this, and 1 student remained undecided.

The feedback gathered from the respondents made it clear that an online language learning environment would provide them more time and space to work on their language development. It would also ease the process of learning but the method must remain user-friendly and economical.

The respondents were already in support of serendipitous learning and it must be kept in mind that the potential method will be heavily dependent on learning by chance and without the feeling that one is actually learning. Further conversations with the respondents made it clear that they spent most of their online time on a social networking site called Facebook and it was decided that this particular website can serve as a good space for the learning environment. Accessing this particular website is inexpensive, all-embracing, user-friendly, communicative, and, most importantly, already in use by most of the learners of the language. This will be later used in the paper to construct the serendipitous learning environment.

Motivation

All 50 students responded to the questionnaire and the following results were found:

- 84% of the respondents stated that they were learning the language because
  - they looked forward to landing good jobs with good salaries;
  - they could get good grades in language tests which will enable them to migrate abroad;
  - they thought it will be easier to go for higher studies if they are competent in another language;
  - they were asked by their parents/relatives to learn the language;
- 12% of the respondents replied that they were learning the language because
  - they were already good at the language and they want to continue;
  - they have developed an affection towards the language;
- 4% of the respondents provided the impression that they are learning the language because it is considered as the language of "smartness" and "intellectual aptitude," signifying the language of the upper class.

From the outcome of this survey it can be understood that the percentage of instrumental or extrinsically motivated learners outnumbers the percentage of intrinsically motivated learners. So we can conclude that, in the context of Bangladesh and the tertiary level, learners are highly extrinsically motivated when it comes to learning the English language.

Now that we have understood what mostly motivates the tertiary learners in the perspective of our country, we must also try to comprehend that the extrinsic motivation is like an external force. It is generated by external factors such as tests, expectations of family members, facilitators, etc. and this form of motivation is not self-sustainable. As the second survey showed, Bangladesh is dominated by extrinsically motivated learners and if a way could be found to turn their extrinsic motivation into intrinsic motivation, the outcome of the English language learning would be far greater. And this is where the idea of the serendipitous learning method will come into play.

Recommended Serendipitous Learning Method

In the serendipitous learning method, the facilitator will use a language learning environment which is often used by the learners. Our first survey depicted that an online language learning environment is welcomed by most of the learners and we decided earlier that the social media site, Facebook, can be used. The facilitator's job from here on in is to mask the extrinsic nature of motivation within the learners, with an imitation of intrinsic motivation towards learning the language. This can be done by realizing the concept of targeted serendipitous learning. Now, serendipitous learning as we know it, is learning by chance. The idea of targeted serendipitous

learning propagates that, whereas the learner will intrinsically learn or acquire the language thinking that it was accidental, the facilitator will know that the content shared in a particular place and time was deliberately done to fulfill the objective of facilitating the language acquiring process. Various language pages and groups on Facebook like 'Grammarly', 'Grammar Girl' and 'FluentU' are testaments that targeted serendipitous learning is possible. The facilitator only needs to "share" the contents (self-created or readily available) to his profile or in certain groups where the learners can come across them (by chance) and acquire the rules/spellings/techniques of the language. After a considerable amount of time, the targeted serendipitous learner will begin to show greater aptitude in the particular language. Since 2011, Facebook has been attracting the most number of visitors and a vast number of people among them use Facebook as a tool to harness education. Web 2.0 and its synchronous communications platforms provide new avenues for teachers to deliver curriculum and facilitate learning. Furthermore, they provide new avenues for students to engage and intensify their own learning. In the evolving and flexible tertiary environment, effective computer mediated communication (CMC) alternatives need to be explored (Van Doorn, 2013). Using social networking sites such as Facebook to facilitate language acquisition is also advantageous in terms of transgressing time and place, enabling subconscious and/or unconscious learning. Therefore, to ensure serendipitous or incidental learning through online platforms and to systematically achieve learning goals, a few steps can be performed. In the following recommendations, the social media platform, Facebook, has been used as an example:

1. The facilitator must first create a platform for interaction. The platform can be both open (Facebook wall, Facebook profiles, etc.) or closed (Facebook groups, Facebook pages, etc.).

2. The learners, then, must have access to the designated platforms. They must be connected as "Facebook friends" with the resource person and/or be members of the designated groups and pages.

3. Next, the facilitator will upload, share, or demonstrate images, documents, or files related to the target topic (grammar, vocabulary, reading or writing strategies, etc.), keeping in mind that the shared materials must align with user preference such as subjects of general popularity, trends, fashion, sports, pop culture, etc. The images can also depict specific rules and regulations of a particular topic in the target language and/or facilitate exercises which the learners feel compelled to complete.

4. The learners will come into contact with these images either through target groups or scrolling down on their Facebook newsfeed. Without having prior warning of such experience, the manner of contact with these images will be serendipitous. Given that the subject matter (images, names, objects) is of interest to the learner, the learner will read (and in some cases write and/or solve) the information or exercises provided. Discussions and answers can be communicated through the comment section of the post.

5. The facilitator, in their next meeting, will ask the learners to discuss the document(s) or image(s) among peers and communicate their ideas in small groups of three or four. In every case, the facilitator will be responsible for providing corrective feedback.

6. Exercises and tasks based on their incidental learning can be provided to the students in a class room setting for more precise understanding and for achieving learning goals.

Suggestions and Limitations

Earlier we claimed that a substantial gap exists in the language learning process in the tertiary level education system and its earlier educational stages in our country. To make amends for lost time, learners who do not have the required level of mastery in the English language that is expected of them, can spend extra time surfing certain websites to enable serendipitous learning which does not become tedious or monotonous since the process is unconscious. Also, since the language learning environment is a computer mediated network, communication between facilitator and learner also becomes easy and time-efficient, paving the way for extensive corrective feedback. Channeled serendipity or targeted serendipity (Rodgers, 2001) can also be an excellent method of learning the language for learners who are the least motivated. For this, the facilitators must also be proficient in online content creation in order to make interesting lessons that can grasp their learners' attention completely. Facilitators must also keep experimenting with new and stimulating strategies that will assist and enable learners to acquire the English language both for pragmatic benefits and also for the love of it.

The paper has its fair share of limitations as the method of serendipitous learning is based on a conflation theory between the role of motivation and the use of digital environments to assist in language learning. The practical use or outcome of this has not yet been quantified with proper surveys either. Further research and investigations are required to truly understand the nature, both positive and negative, of this process and only implementation and time can shed further light on this particular method.

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Appendix A

Ten questions based on the Likert scale

A – Strongly Agree, B – Agree, C – Neutral, D – Disagree, E – Strongly Disagree

1. For various reasons, access to the internet is very important in terms of learning a language other than your mother tongue.
2. The pace of learning a second language is faster in an online language learning environment.
3. Practicing and exercising a second language online is comfortable and non-regulatory.
4. Do you think that learning a second language would be easier and more efficient if the process of learning was subconscious?
5. Do you think the online language learning environment should be easily accessible and open for all?
6. You are familiar with different social media websites.
7. You use Facebook frequently.
8. You use social media websites other than Facebook.
9. English is mostly the medium of communication when you use social networking sites.
10. Learning through social media is fun.

Appendix B

10 questions based on a nominal level variable of two values (Yes or No)

1. Do you think learning the English language and being efficient in it will allow you to land a good job with a good salary? (Y/N)
2. Do you think being a competent user of the English language adds an extra dimension to your professional expertise? (Y/N)
3. Does being proficient in the English language help you in your academic ventures? (Y/N)
4. Did you consider learning the English language because it was just another language? (Y/N)
5. Do you learn the English language because you are forced to learn it for various professional or academic reasons? (Y/N)
6. Do you think you will be considered more knowledgeable or smart by your friends or family if you become a good communicator in the English language? (Y/N)
7. According to your belief, does being a good correspondent in the English language necessarily mean that you will do well in any responsibility you are provided with? (Y/N)
8. Do you find yourself using English only for class assignments and exams? (Y/N)
9. Are you interested in reading books and watching movies in English? (Y/N)
10. Do you think learning the English language will enable you to become an open minded sociable person? (Y/N)

5 open-ended questions

1. What is the primary reason behind your learning of the English language?
2. Do you like communicating in different forms (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) of the English language?
3. When communicating in English, what types of difficulties have you encountered?
4. Was peer-pressure ever an issue in terms of learning the English language?
5. How vital do you think learning the English language is in the context of Bangladesh?

Improving Writing Skills in English at the Tertiary Level: The Gap between the Standard Practice and Classroom Scenario

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Abstract

Writing in English, especially writing creatively or independently, is usually a challenging endeavor for learners in the tertiary level classrooms in Bangladesh. The study aims at discovering the present scenario and the reasons for these challenges. This paper also prescribes to the learners some ways for developing writing skills so that they can apply them in their academic life. Data was collected using a questionnaire which was formulated on the basis of different processes of writing and classroom practice by the learners. The survey was conducted among the students who were studying or had taken language skills courses at the Department of English in a private university of Bangladesh. Based on the findings, some practical recommendations have been made for all three stakeholders: learners, teachers, and institutions.

Keywords: process writing, brainstorming, listing and clustering, looping, prereading, sharing, revising

In all considerations, writing is one of the must-learn-skills in all students' academic lives and for this reason, teaching writing has been taken as a very important curriculum objective in all the educational levels in Bangladesh, especially at the tertiary level. Interestingly, it has been observed that, in spite of putting an enormous amount of emphasis on developing students' writings, it has always been a challenging skill to most of the students. Gathering ideas, organizing them in the right order, maintaining the flow of writing, writing error-free and cohesive sentences, and using attractive expressions are some of the areas they face challenges in. All these problems and hindrances occur as most of the learners do not possess a good knowledge of the processes of writing. However, the problems can easily be overcome and the task can be very inspiring and interesting for them if they can follow some effective processes during writing. The primary goal of the study is to reveal the reasons for the inability to organize ideas and put them in writing. Another goal of the study is to find and explain the different processes of writing to help the learners find ways to overcome the challenges and to raise awareness among the learners and other stakeholders about how to develop writing skills. To reach the goals of the study the following research questions were posed:

Research question 1: What processes do the students follow in writing classes to develop their writing skills?
Research question 2: How much knowledge regarding different key concepts of writing do the students have?
Research question 3: What are the standard processes to be followed to develop writing skills?

To answer these questions, a brief survey was conducted at a tertiary level institute of Dhaka to elicit the views of the students. The survey results are presented and discussed in this paper. Finally, based on the findings and discussions, some implications for pedagogy have been highlighted.

Literature Review

ELT Policy in Bangladesh and the Ground Reality

According to the University Grants Commission, Bangladesh has 40 public universities providing education to the bulk of higher studies students and there are 97 private universities that are operational in seven divisions of the country (2018). These universities put special emphasis on English because the language is in much demand in the national and international arenas. They are also interested in gaining financially by attracting students with their English-speaking environment.

Under National University, all the BA, BSc and BSS pass and honors students have to study a compulsory English course – General English of 100 marks and another course titled English for Specific Purposes (ESP) that will facilitate both their academic studies and future needs. In this regard, Hossain's (2013) observation also confirms the same. In the tertiary level institutions, students have to carry out a good number of writing tasks ranging from academic paragraphs and essays to different types of academic papers, reports, etc. Therefore, it is generally expected that students will be proficient in writing at this advanced level and their writing will be coherent, where the thoughts and ideas will be organized (Cohen & Miller, 2003). The reality, however, for Bangladeshi tertiary learners is that though they try to learn all the four language skills – listening, speaking, reading, and writing – writing is deemed the most difficult skill for them (Karim, Maasum & Latif, 2017). Regarding the teaching of writing in the tertiary level classroom, Sinha (2013) observes similar challenges faced by the tertiary level learners (p. 77). According to her, one such challenge is that they lack necessary skills and expressions for carrying out different writing tasks. Another challenge they face is the worry about making their grammar and language accurate. These challenges make writing difficult for them and cause inhibition to go ahead with their writing tasks.

In support of this view, Barman and Akhter (2014) opine that writing has always been a subject of aversion, dislike, and even hatred to the students except for those having a knack or passion for it. A similar view is also given by Alam (2007). He observes that it is often found that students may have knowledge about vocabulary and grammar (e.g., tenses, collocation, and prepositions) but they face problems in writing coherently and restructuring ideas after evaluating them. Bernstein (cited in Higgins, 2003) stated,

> For most people writing is a lonely, frustrating and unhappy experience. The writer who actually enjoys the process of writing seems to be unusual. Most writers enjoy having written but get no joy whatever from the actual task of moving a pencil across a sheet of paper or hitting one key after another. (p. 8)

As language teachers we have also experienced that in the classroom whenever learners are asked to write on a topics related to daily life, they seem to be facing an intellectual challenge. A similar problem is identified by Barman and Akhter (2014). They hold that whenever the learners set out to write, they feel blank inside. They seem to be in the dark, groping for ideas but finding nothing. Most of the time they feel defeated and lost, which ultimately makes them frustrated, demotivated, and uninterested in writing (p. 100).

Teaching Writing: The Process Approach

To meet the challenges of L2 writing and develop skilled L2 writers, various approaches to writing have so far been introduced by different scholars. Two of the most common approaches are product approach and process approach. Product approach values the construction of the end product as the main focus rather than the process of writing itself (Harmer, 2011, pp. 325-326).

Harmer holds that many scholars, however, advocate a process approach to writing in the ESL context. In light of the process approach, writing is viewed as a "thinking process" (Brown, 2001, p. 336). In this approach, emphasis is given on writers' creativity and "the cognitive relationship between the writer and the writers' internal world" (John Swales, 1990, p. 220). Stressing the importance of the process approach, Brown (2001) regards it as useful to students in language learning and states that in the process approach students become able to manage their own writing because they get a chance to think as they write. In this approach students' writing on a given topic is not limited by time constraint. As Raimes (1983) states, "while writing in the process approach students do not have any restriction of time … rather they explore a topic through writing" (p. 10). This approach puts emphasis on the various stages that any piece of writing goes through. While talking about the benefits of the process approach, Harmer (2011) opines that, by spending time with learners on pre-writing phases, editing, re-drafting, and finally producing a finished version of their work, a process approach aims to get to the heart of the various skills that most writers employ (pp. 325-326).

Processes work as tools needed for discovering ideas. These can help the learners overcome their inhibitions and open the fountain of ideas concealed inside them to guide them forward in the proper direction. In this study, writing has been presented as a process, not as a product, which helps a learner to begin with the generation of ideas and move forward till the accomplishment of the task.

Tribble (1996) states that "although there are identifiable stages in the composition of most extended texts, typically writers will revisit some of these stages many times before a text is complete" (p. 38). So, after analyzing various frameworks and models of the writing process, it can be said that there are five key stages involved in writing. These are pre-writing, drafting, revising, editing, and sharing. In the pre-writing stage, students are encouraged to cultivate their creativity. They are also allowed to think about what main points they should focus on and which dimension of the chosen topic they should approach.

Brown (2001) suggests the following classroom activities for the pre-writing stage: brainstorming, listing, clustering, free writing, reading (extensively) a passage, skimming and/or scanning a passage (p. 348).

In the drafting stage, learners try to generate ideas and write them down without being concerned about grammatical or mechanical errors. Producing ideas, organizing them, developing a theme, evolving a plan, taking audience into account, and getting started are the sort of activities that writers do to write the first draft (Tribble 1996, p. 113). The later drafts will receive feedback from teachers and peers.

The revising process is also part of the writing process. Tompkins (1990) describes the revision process as "Revision is not just polishing writing; it is meeting the needs of readers through adding, substituting, deleting, and rearranging materials" (p. 83).

Editing is considered one of the most important stages in an ESL classroom where students pay attention to mechanics, checking for grammar, spelling, choice of words, and punctuation.

In the sharing stage, students share their writing with their teachers, their fellow learners, and other readers outside the classroom. According to Tompkins (1990), by sharing their completed written products with peers, friends, or family, students can develop a real communication between themselves and their readers.

Acknowledging writing as a process, different researchers propose varied models of writing strategies. However, though the scholars use different terms and connotations, they refer to more or less the same strategies. Brainstorming or generating ideas or discovering the thesis, listing ideas or developing support or focusing, scaffolding or making an outline, branching and looping or organizing, free writing and mapping, drafting, evaluating, revising, redrafting, jigsaw writing, editing or correcting, and improving the first draft, preparing the final version are some prominent strategies suggested by the researchers (Barman & Akhter, 2014; Byrne, 1988; Hedge, 1988; Heffernan, Lincloln & Atwill, 2001; Langan, 2005; McDonough & Shaw, 2003; and Miller, 1999).

Having studied all these prominent strategies, however, we focused mainly on the following strategies in our study:

1. **Brainstorming:** This is the most common strategy for generating ideas. Through brainstorming, learners list all the ideas related to a topic. In this stage, the learners will write freely based on their outlines. They will generate ideas and write the first set of sentences without bothering much about grammatical and organizational accuracies. Very simply, brainstorming means beginning with a topic or idea, putting pen to paper, or fingers to the keyboard, and scribbling down whatever comes to mind.

2. **Listing and clustering:** In this stage, learners explore a subject through a picture of related ideas and an outline of connections. All relevant ideas are listed in the form of words and phrases. The listed words and phrases are grouped and, thus, a process of links is created. It is a process of moving from general ideas to specific areas. It is also a process of streamlining thoughts. It allows the writer's mind to meander to the detailed ends of an idea. As a whole, it is a way of developing and grouping ideas.

3. **Pre-reading:** This is a very useful strategy which help writers expand their horizon of knowledge. This always gives them the opportunity to be updated with the latest knowledge and the thoughts of other people regarding the topic. Reading is always helpful for the writer to generate creative ideas.

4. **Drafting and organizing ideas:** Discovering a thesis often through prewriting, providing solid support for the thesis often through more prewriting, organization of the thesis and supporting material, and writing it out in a first draft are a very pragmatic set of strategies for the writer to produce effective and organized writings. Without doing this, writers will not be able to produce any well thought and well directed writing, and ultimately will lose their readers' attention.

5. **Cooperating and sharing ideas with co-learners and teachers:** At the planning stage, sometimes sharing ideas with co-learners and teachers help learners to form better ideas and have greater insight into the subject matter. So, for the learners who keep struggling for ideas and structures of writing, it can be a very useful strategy to develop their writing. The same strategy can also be employed during the whole process of writing whenever needed.

6. **Revising:** Revision is the stage in the writing process where learners review, alter, and improve their messages which have been drafted. Revision follows drafting and precedes editing. Drafting and revising often form a loop as a writing task moves back and forth between the two stages.

7. **Editing and proofreading:** Editing involves examining each sentence carefully, and making sure that it is well designed and conveys the right message. Proofreading is an

active part of editing that involves checking for grammatical and punctuation errors, spelling mistakes, etc. Proofreading is the final stage of the writing process.

Research Methodology

In the survey the focus was the writing process – the strategies which tertiary level learners should follow in order to produce a balanced piece of writing. Quantitative method was employed in the investigation. The data were collected from students through a survey.

Participants: The participants in this study were the students of different batches of the BA Honors in English program at a private university in Dhaka. The participants were randomly selected on the basis of their response to an invitation to participate in the study.

Data Collection Method: In the study, 101 students from six batches participated. Before administering the questionnaire, students were briefed about the background of the study. The questionnaire was carefully designed to ensure that it included all questions on major and important techniques required for the development of writing skills. While conducting the survey, we made sure that the respondents understood the questions and the options well. They were allowed to ask questions so that they could get their confusions cleared. The results of the survey were collected and then tallied on SPSS. The results are displayed in percentages in the following pie charts.

Data Analysis

Students' Interest and Confidence to Undertake a Writing Task

The pie chart (Figure 1) shows that less than 22% of the focus group students feel keenly interested and confident to undertake a writing task while 47% have a moderate interest in writing. About 32% students do not possess much interest in undertaking a writing task.
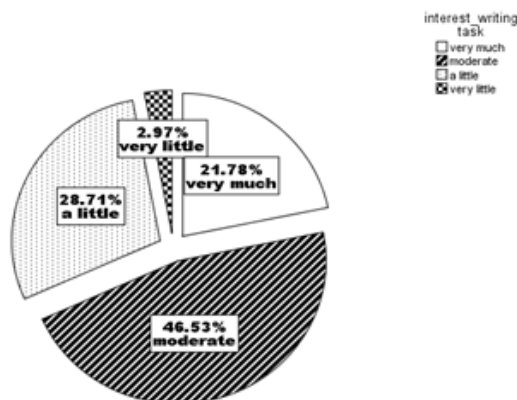

Figure 1: Possessing Interest

Brainstorming

Figure 2 shows that over 43%of the students who participated in the survey always brainstorm while they write and over 50% of the students brainstorm sometimes. The survey also reveals that about 5% of the respondents never brainstorm.
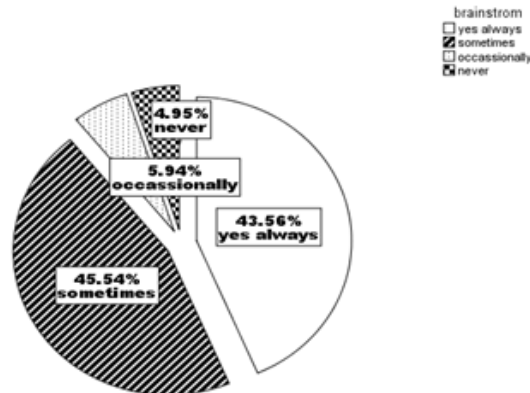
Figure 2: Brainstorming

Knowledge about Listing and Clustering

Listing and clustering is again another important technique for the generation and organization of ideas. Figure 3 shows that 48% of the respondents are unaware of the technique. In contrast, it is found that about 44% of them have some idea about listing and clustering.
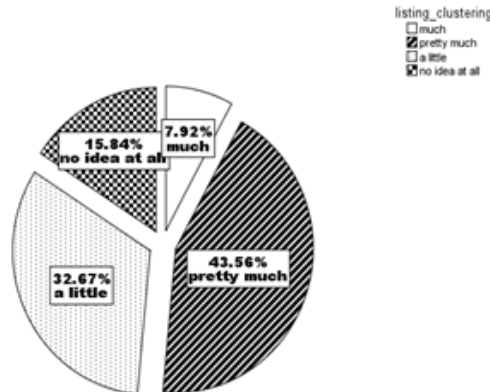

Figure 3: Listing and Clustering

Reading as a Pre-writing Activity

From Figure 4, it is clearly seen that about 55% of the respondents read relevant literature before the writing task they undertake while about 45% of the respondents do not take reading as a serious prewriting activity.
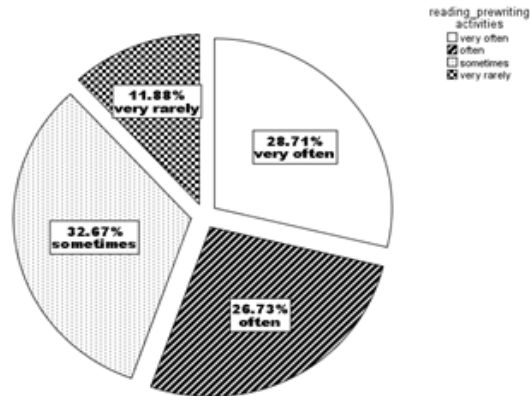
Figure 4: Reading as a Prewriting Activity

Concern about Grammatical and Mechanical Errors in the Drafting Stage

When the participants were asked about their concern over grammatical and mechanical errors during the drafting task, over 75% of them stated that they were concerned about these issues though almost 25% showed little concern over grammatical and mechanical errors (Figure 5).
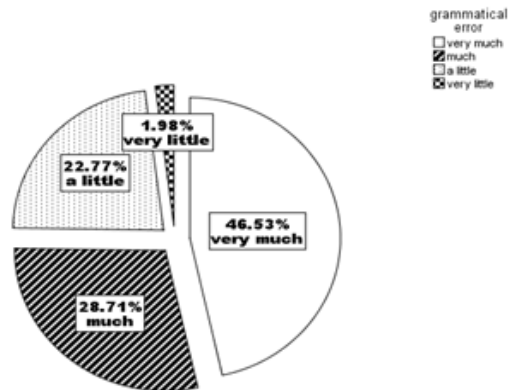

Figure 5: Concern over grammatical and mechanical errors in the drafting stage

Effort Given to Organize the Ideas and Develop a Theme for Writing

From Figure 6, we can see that about 64% students put emphasis on organizing ideas in the prewriting stage while 36% students do not do so. Though a majority of students put due emphasis on organizing ideas, the percentage of the students who do not do so is also not negligible.
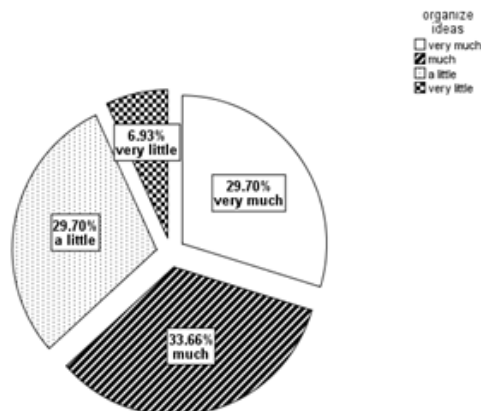
Figure 6: Organizing ideas

Effort Employed in Collecting Feedback from Teachers and Peers while Producing the First and Succeeding Drafts

From Figure 7, we can have another significant scenario about the strategies students adopt during their writing tasks. Collecting feedback from peers and teachers is one of the important strategies of developing writing skills. According to the survey, we can see that 43% students collect feedback during writing, while majority of the students (57%) do not care much about collecting feedback from their friends and teachers during the developmental stage of writing.

Figure 7: Collecting feedback from peers and teachers

Revising Writing

According to Figure 8, we see that very few students have a comprehensive idea about revising writing. Though, in the ideal sense, revising means making an overall development of the work, very few students have such a comprehensive idea about it. In spite of this, it is worth mentioning that about 76% students feel that revising means meeting learners' needs though it is partially true for the definition of revising.

Figure 8: Meaning of revising writing

Learners' Effort during Revision
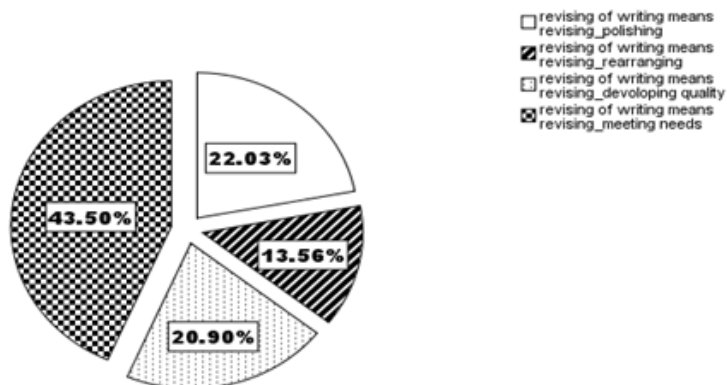
From Figure 9, we see that about 65% students revise their writings and the rest 35% do not care much about it. Though a majority of students do revise, their writings are not much improved by their task of revising as they only have a partial idea about the process.

Figure 9: Putting emphasis on revising

Editing and Seriousness in Editing Writing

Editing as a writing strategy has always been neglected. However, it is an important technique to help develop writing skills. It is usually implemented after the first draft. From Figure 10, regarding editing, it is seen that a large portion of learners has a clear idea about editing their work. But from Figure 11, it is revealed that majority of the students (almost 65%) do not take editing very seriously. 52% of them sometimes edit their writing and 13% never do it. Only a minor group of students consisting of just above 35% edit their writing.

correction during editing
editing_grammar

correction during editing
editing_spelling

correction during editing
editing_punctuation

correction during editing
editing_none

1.45%

15.46%

39.13%

43.96%

Figure 10: Correction during editing

edit
always
sometimes
rarely

12.87%
rarely

35.64%
always

51.49%
sometimes

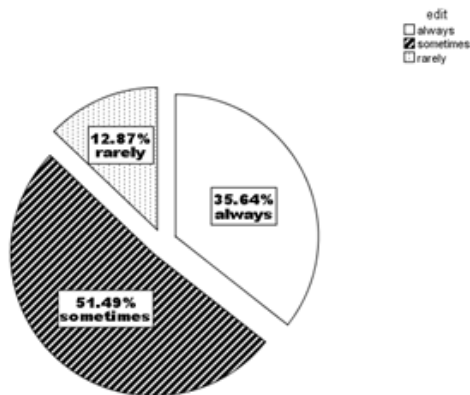*Figure 11: Percentage of students who do editing in the proper manner*

Dependency on Memorized Material or Rote Learning

Figure 12 shows that almost all of the students, except an insignificant number, are somehow dependent on their memory. 28% students are always dependent and 53% of them are sometimes memory-dependent while only 19% students are found to be creative. They think while writing.
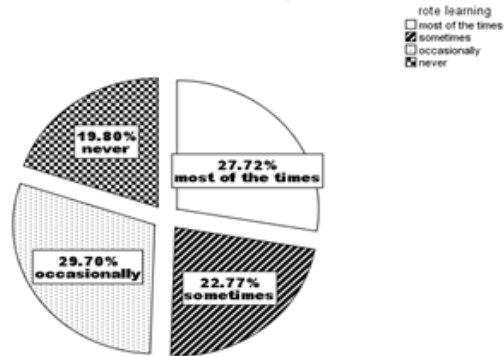
Figure 12: Using rote learning or memorized material

Discussion

Our survey mainly focused on the most common processes used in generating ideas and developing students' creative writing faculty. The major findings are given below.

It is found that the lack of idea about writing processes and lack of interest or motivation are some of the major obstacles in the development of students' writing skills. So it can be deduced that students' proper knowledge and awareness of writing processes and their application in their academic life will help students overcome their inhibitions to gradually equip them to be successful writers.

The data also show that though a large number of students brainstorm while they write, a fairly large number of the students are unaware of the technique of listing and clustering. This implies that they are unable to create and organize their ideas well.

It is also clearly evident that though about half of the students read relevant literature before the writing task they undertake, a similar number of the students do not take reading as a serious pre-writing activity. Reading, as a rich input provider, always helps learners gather and enrich their knowledge. So it can be said that a big portion of the learners are deprived of such input which may work as a hindrance to the qualitative development of their writing ability.

It is also seen that, in the drafting stage, majority of the students remain concerned about grammatical and mechanical errors which affect the use of their creative faculty. The present teaching-learning contexts and pedagogical methodologies cannot help the learners to overcome the fear.

The survey further shows that though some students collect feedback from their peers and teachers while they write, majority of the students do not care much about this. The lack of a proper teaching-learning environment and proper support are to be blamed for this.

It is also clear that very few students have a comprehensive idea about revising their writing. Though a majority of students do revise their writings, their writings are not much affected or improved by their revisions as they only have a partial idea about the process. Also, many learners have a clear idea about editing writing but a majority of them do not take editing very seriously. Though a good number of students edit their writing sometimes, some students never do it.

The data also displays a very disheartening picture. The factor, dependence on memory, is one of the greatest hurdles in developing writing skills. Almost all of the students except an insignificant percentage are dependent on their memory which, without any doubt, works as a big impediment to their being creative.

The results presented in this paper were the findings of a small scale study and thus cannot be generalized. Nevertheless, the findings are useful in that they provide an insight about the deficiencies that tertiary level learners have in developing their writing skills. The study also reveals a gap between the standard practice in developing writing skills and the classroom scenario. Based on the findings of the study, some implications for pedagogy are presented.

Implications for Pedagogy

Good writing ability requires a wide range of skills which consist of a deep passion, creative uses of language, appropriate knowledge of syntax, proper idea of the context, and the needs of the readers. The development of good writing skills results from intensive practice and application of appropriate techniques. A learner's writing skills are also largely dependent on reading skills which helps the learner to generate ideas, be introduced to different styles of writing, and access a wide range of creative vocabulary. So a very strong recommendation for the development of writing skills is to get the learners involved in different kinds of interesting reading activities in writing lessons, libraries, and homes. It is also very useful to teach the learners different strategies of writing and to use one or more technique effectively whenever they are engaged in writing. Classrooms can offer the scope for this purpose. However, it is very important that all members of an educational institution – teachers, learners and the institution itself – play their respective roles in this connection. Some of the recommendations in this regard are given below.

According to Hefferman et al. (2001), one of the significant roles for a teacher is to create a congenial environment so that learners become encouraged to write. Nunan (2003) suggests some principles that every teacher can consider while planning a writing course. Some of the principles are: understanding students' reason for writing, providing sufficient opportunities for students to write, making feedback helpful and meaningful, and declaring how students' writing will be evaluated (p. 92).

Being conversant with the principles and approaches of writing strategies is a must for language teachers. For this to happen, teachers must engage in both in-house and external teacher development programs. Teachers should also play the role of a motivator and feedback provider. They should make their lessons engaging and provide a variety of interesting reading and writing tasks to help their learners become passionate writers. Oxford's (1990) Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL) can be adopted by classroom teachers for this purpose as, in Bangladeshi contexts, in most cases, teachers are the last resort for providing a helpful learning environment in the classrooms which generally lack many facilities required for students' skills development.

Learners also need to follow some strategies to develop their writing. They need to enrich themselves with appropriate knowledge about different categories of writing and writing processes. They have to develop an extensive reading habit and expand their vocabulary. A habit of note-taking will also help them be creative and organized with their ideas. Writing journals, short stories, and writing on other relevant issues regularly should be an important part of their academic life. Proper understanding of classroom tasks, being engaged in group work with peers and taking

their feedback, and teachers' feedback should be taken as another compulsory part of students' academic life.

Institutions need to try their best to create a congenial learning environment. They need to facilitate effective learning by providing trained teachers and ample sources of reading materials, thereby opening different windows to encourage writing activities. Classrooms and libraries must be equipped with modern technological devices and appropriate updated resources. Policies for interpersonal interactions should be devised, implemented, and evaluated in an appropriate manner.

Conclusion

The study has explored and described the teaching and learning situations of writing in the tertiary level. The study shows that majority of the students are unaware of the required knowledge of writing processes. Though some of the students have some understanding of different writing strategies, a large number of them do not know how to carry out these techniques. Another core finding is that, in the drafting stage, a majority of the students remain too concerned about grammatical or mechanical errors and, consequently, it works as a hindrance towards the development of students' creative faculty. These worries could be minimized through adopting another strategy, cooperative learning, but evidently this practice is also largely absent from classroom teaching. Another remarkable finding is that a majority of the students depend on rote learning. This limitation can easily be connected to the lack of a proper teaching-learning environment in the institutions and inadequate support from the teachers.

Learners need to be much more self-conscious and have a deeper understanding of the objectives of writing courses and the appropriate processes of writing skills. They need to build up a rapport with the teachers and take necessary assistance from them. Teachers also need to extend their supporting hand towards the students, and provide interesting study resources and a motivational classroom learning environment to expedite students' writing and creative skills.

Though this paper has brought out a good number of findings about the deficiencies the learners have in their writing skills and some crude classroom teaching-learning scenario, it has some limitations too in terms of samples, instruments, and task types. It represents the findings from only one university. If the samples had been drawn from some more institutions, the paper might have given more comprehensive and reliable results. For future research, this paper proposes to include more tertiary level institutes and to use more instruments like writing samples of the learners, interview data from teachers and students, and data from focused group discussions for developing a richer database and more valuable findings.

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Appendix

Questionnaire for the students:

Name: _____ Batch: _____

Program: _____ Department: _____

University: _____ Phone No.: _____

Tick the right option/options as answers to the following questions.

1. How interested and confident do you feel about undertaking a writing task?
Ans: a. very much   b. moderate   c. a little   d. very little

2. Do you brainstorm whenever you begin to write?
Ans: a. yes always   b. sometimes   c. occasionally   d. never

3. How much knowledge do you have about listing and clustering as one of the important pre-writing activities?
Ans: a. much   b. pretty much   c. a little   d. no idea at all

4. How often do you take initiatives to do some reading of relevant areas as a prewriting activity?
Ans: a. very often   b. often   c. sometimes   d. very rarely

5. How concerned do you become about grammatical and mechanical errors in the drafting stage?
Ans: a. very much   b. much   c. a little   d. very little

6. How much effort do you give to organize the ideas and develop a theme for your writing?
Ans: a. very much   b. much   c. a little   d. very little

7. How much effort do you employ in collecting feedback from teachers and peers while producing the first and the succeeding drafts?
Ans: a. very much   b. much   c. a little   d. not at all

8. Which of the following do you think revising of writing means? (Mark all that apply)
Ans: a. It is polishing writing.   b. It is rearranging ideas.   c. It is developing the quality of language.   d. It is meeting needs of readers through adding, substituting, deleting and rearranging materials.

9. How much effort do you employ in revising your writing?
Ans: a. very much   b. much   c. a little   d. very little

10. What do you do during the time of editing?
Ans: **I correct:**   a. grammatical errors   b. spelling errors   c. punctuation errors   d . none of them

11. How seriously do you edit your writing?
Ans: a. always   b. sometimes   c. rarely   d. never

12. How much, in practice, do you depend upon memorized materials or rote learning while writing independently or creatively?
Ans: a. most of the time   b. sometimes   c. occasionally   d. never

Development Sequence of Person Markers in Pre-school Children

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Abstract

This study investigates the development sequence of person markers in pre-school children. It observed participants' accurate use of person markers through a picture-supported elicitation task. Ten children with normal language development, aged between 2.5 and 4 years, participated in the task. Eight different verbs with three person markers for progressive aspect in present tense were elicited from participants. The mean score and standard deviation for each person marker used indicated that participants faced difficulty in producing accurate second person marker. Each participant showed highest accuracy in producing third person marker for each verb form. An implication of the study can be to determine the accuracy order of verbal inflection based on person markers in the process of Bengali language acquisition in children. It can also be helpful in cross-linguistic studies on morphological development of young children.

One of the generally accepted notions regarding child language acquisition is that by age of 4, children master the basic structures of their first language (Lightbown & Spada, 2006). This mastery does not necessarily assure the accuracy of their performance. For instance, children having English as their first language can show an asymmetrical pattern in using verbal inflections (Buijs, Reijen & Weerman, 2013). However, children's grammar also develops gradually as they grow older (Ionin & Wexler, 2002). Several studies have tried to investigate the development sequence of linguistic items, with specific regard to morphological features of English. On the other hand, even though Bengali has richly inflected morphological features, it did not receive much attention (Chakraborty & Leonard, 2012).

In this study the researcher examined production and accuracy of three person markers with eight verb forms for progressive aspect in present tense. The purpose of the study is to find the development sequence of person markers in pre-school children. The researcher also took a brief look at how children can use other markers, such as simple aspect, even after getting prompts in progressive aspect. Thus the central research question of this study was: what is the development sequence, with regard to Bengali person markers, in children aged 2.5 to 4?

The study examines existing literature on the language acquisition process of Bangla. It could also contribute to the understanding of the difficulty of Bangla person marker acquisition among pre-school children.

Literature Review

In Bangla language, a total of three types of verbs can be identified: simple, conjunct, and complex (Bhattacharyya, Chakrabarti & Sharma, 2006; Bhattacharja, 2010; Chatterjee, 2014). A detailed table demonstrating the verbal system of Bangla language is given in Appendix A. According to Cysouw (2001), there are three categories of linguistic coding that are used to give reference to speaker, addressee, and participant. These specialized linguistic elements that code for speaker is called "first person," the coding for addressee is "second person," and the coding for any other participant is "third person" (Cysouw, 2001, p. 6).

In Bangla, the agreement of verb does not change its form based on gender or number; rather it changes with respect to tense, aspect, modality, and person only (Bhattacharya, Choudhury, Sarkar, & Basu, 2005). This verb agreement feature is restricted to three forms of persons, i.e., 1st person, 2nd person, and 3rd person (Mondal, 2014). In order to use these person markers separately based on different verb forms, a child needs to understand the differences among different persons. In this respect, research showed that one of the most important steps in cognitive development of children is to understand the difference between the "self" and the "rest of the world" (Schmalstieg, 1977, p. 72). Therefore, it might be reasonable to claim that the person is considered to be more "vulnerable" in terms of error production than tense and aspect (Chakraborty & Leonard, 2012, p. 50).

Researchers claimed that children acquire the knowledge of verbal agreement at a very early age (Buijs, Reijen & Weerman, 2013). However, Ionin and Wexler (2002) mentioned that while acquiring L1, children aged 2 to 4 years can show inconsistent behavior in using verb forms. In case of English language, a study also showed that development of "noun versus verb" agreement and "verbal inflection" in children is asymmetrical (Conti-Ramsden & Windfuhr, 2002). Furthermore, in case of Bengali, the development of verbal inflection for 1st and 3rd person emerges earlier than 2nd person marker (Chakraborty & Leonard, 2012).

In the case of language itself, Bengali is considered to have "morphological richness" since a single verb root can take more than 50 different forms (Dasgupta & Ng, 2006, p. 312). Pienemann (1999, 2003) proposed *processability theory* that suggested that language acquisition deals with one's capacity to process. This processing capacity allows an individual to exhibit his/her existing knowledge in real life (as cited in Lightbown & Spada, 2006). Therefore, the diversity that Bengali morphology offers may cause the possible difficulty a child might have to process varied choices during language acquisition.

In order to observe grammatical production capacity of participants, elicitation tasks can be considered one of the effective instruments (Hesketh, 2004). However, it can also lead to some difficulties. Mackey and Gass (2005) mentioned that even after receiving prompts, participants can use different forms other than the target form. Hence, a researcher needs to design the study in such a way that it can ensure the target response through elicitation.

The present study used an elicitation task to investigate the development sequence of person markers in young children. A similar study by Chakraborty and Leonard (2012) used the elicitation task and demonstrated that Bengali-speaking children achieve high level of accuracy in verb inflection both in present and past tense (Chakraborty & Leonard, 2012). It also claimed that agreement paradigm of Bengali could be the reason for which children used accurate verbal inflection (Chakraborty & Leonard, 2012).

Methodology

This study was a quantitative research on the development sequence of person markers in children aged 2.5 to 4 years. There are 4 kinds of aspects in Bengali: simple, progressive, perfect, and habitual (Mondal, 2014). This study focused on participants' correct use of three person markers for progressive aspect in present tense.

Participants: The participants were 10 children from Old Dhaka in Bangladesh. There was no particular rationale behind choosing this place, however. The researcher simply had an acquaintance

through whom she could get access to those children. This particular aspect also helped the researcher to control some of the variables, i.e., socio-economic status, overall language input, etc. of the participants. They all belonged to middle-class families.

The age range of the participants was from 2.5 to 4 years. The group of participants comprised five boys and five girls. All of them had Bengali as their first language. They were selected based on their age. The researcher also made sure that they have typical language development by asking their parents. In order to preserve anonymity, the researcher deliberately did not provide the names of the participants.

Materials

Elicitation task. Elicitation tasks make it easy not only to achieve the target grammatical construction but also to score quickly (Hesketh, 2004). The researcher attempted to elicit person markers use for eight different verbs in Bengali. The participants had to respond in present progressive tense. The researcher herself did not perform the task, however. Rather, another person, who is well acquainted with the child, participated as an elicitor. The elicitor was well informed beforehand regarding her role. She was also strictly forbidden to help or correct the language production of any of the participants. The role of the elicitor was to elicit answers from the participants by showing pictures, and also through enacting different gestures. Before starting the data collection process, the elicitor practiced her role with the help of the researcher. It is to be mentioned that the siblings of the participants also participated in the enactment and were trained beforehand.

Verb forms. While choosing the verb forms, the researcher was cautious to select those verbs which were familiar to Bengali children. Being a Bengali speaker herself, the researcher's instinctive tendency was helpful to choose frequently-used verbs. Besides, since this study used enactment, the researcher chose those verbs which were possible to be acted out. The eight verbs were: /jharu deowa/ ("sweep"), /ghumano/ ("sleep"), /hasha/ ("laugh"), /laphano/ ("jump"), /chul achrano/ ("comb"), /ranna kora/ ("cook"), /boi pora/ ("read"), /nacha/ ("dance").

Pictures. Eliciting through pictures or models makes it possible to ensure the use of target grammatical structure (Hesketh, 2003). Hence, the researcher used eight cliparts from different websites that matched the focused eight verb forms. The colorful cartoon images were also helpful in grabbing the attention of the participants. All eight pictures can be found in Appendix B.

Procedures

The study was conducted over a period of two weeks. Each session had different time durations based on participants' elicitation. Allowing time to think can change the quantity and quality of one's language production (Mackey & Gass, 2005). Nonetheless, the researcher considered the young age of the participants and allowed time, provided that they delivered answers. Through elicitation tasks, all the three person markers were being elicited. In order to test the person marker contrasts, the researcher kept the verbs consistent for each person. In other words, each participant used three person markers for a single verb. In this way, they applied eight different verbs, which gave 24 responses from each participant.

The 1ˢᵗ person marker use was elicited with the help of picture-supported elicitation task. Eight pictures were shown where each carried a particular verb form. While showing the picture, the elicitor asked, /tumi ekhane ki korcho?/ তুমি এখানে কি করছো? [What are you doing here?].

The participants had to imagine themselves as the child in the pictures. Then, in case of the 2nd person marker use, the elicitor enacted all the eight verb forms. While enacting each verb, she again asked the participant, /*ami akhon ki korchi?* /আমি এখন কি করছি? [What am I doing now?]. 3rd person marker was elicited through the question, /*apu/babuta akhon ki korche?* / আপু/বাবুটা এখন কি করছে? [What is sister/the baby doing?]. In this case, the participant's sibling enacted the verbs and elicitor asked the question. Only in case of participant B the elicitor asked him/her to describe what the baby in the picture was doing.

Responses from the participants were recorded during the elicitation task. Later, the researcher transcribed only those features which were of interest to the study. Apart from the researcher, two listeners were involved in transcribing the data so that there were no discrepancies between participants' responses and transcription. Throughout this paper, the researcher used the Romanized transliteration for Bengali terms along with Bengali transcription. Only the raw data presented in Appendix C was kept in Bengali.

Scoring procedure. The results were analyzed using the quantitative method. A score of 1 was assigned for each accurate person marker use. The standard use of person markers in Bengali determined the accuracy. A score of 0 was assigned to each inaccurate use of person marker. Some participants did not respond to some questions. Those were also marked as 0. However, if a participant used accurate person marker but failed to recognize the correct verb form, the response was counted as correct. For example, in case of the verb /*chul achrano* / চুল আচড়ানো, Participant A said /*halo kortase*/ হ্যালো করতাসে. The researcher counted it as accurate since s/he used the correct person marker, i.e., 3rd person.

It is to be noted that there were some exceptions in terms of responses from paricipants. To calculate those, the researcher solely focused on the person marker use; not on the correct verb use. For instance, in case of the verb /*nacha*/নাচা, participant C responded /*eta ammu*/ এটা আম্মু. This response was completely irrelevant and did not carry any person marker, and therefore, was considered inaccurate.

After scoring each participant, the researcher presented the central tendency for each person marker by calculating mean score and standard deviation.

Results

The responses of each participant for each person marker are provided in Appendix C. The participants are listed from A to J chronologically based on their age. Besides, the inaccurate responses are underlined. In cases where the participants did not respond, the spaces are kept blank.

Each participant was expected to provide 24 verb forms. Some of the participants did not give any answer in certain cases, probably due to their disinterest or shyness. For this reason, the researcher got 206 responses instead of 240 responses from participants.

Each participant was scored out of eight for each person marker using the eight verb forms. Therefore, the score could range from 0 (lowest) to 8 (highest) for each person marker.

Table 1. Individual Percentage Correct Scores of 10 Participants

Participant	Age	Scores for Person Marker Use (in percentage)		
		1st	2nd	3rd
A	2.5 years	0	0	62.5
B	2.6 years	75	0	75
C	2.7 years	0	12.5	75
D	3 years	75	37.5	87.5
E	3.1 years	62.5	75	87.5
F	3.5 years	100	100	100
G	3.6 years	100	75	100
H	3.9 years	100	100	100
I	3.10 years	100	100	100
J	4 years	100	100	100
Mean Score		71.25	60	88.75
Standard Deviation		37.93	41.00	13.05

Data Analysis

From Table 1, the mean score for each person marker can be seen. The mean score increases in this manner: 2nd person< 1st person< 3rd person, and the standard deviation decreases in such manner: 2nd person> 1st person> 3rd person. This particular phenomenon indicates that participants performed accurately mostly in using 3rd person marker. Besides, participants showed more homogeneity in terms of accurate use of 3rd person marker than the rest two person markers.

A further analysis was also done to investigate which person marker is easy to acquire than others. In order to do so, the researcher divided the participants into four groups based on their age. The groups were named Group I (2.5-2.9 years), Group II (2.10-3.2 years), Group III (3.3-3.7 years), and Group IV (3.8-4 years). The age difference was consistent for each group, which was four months.

After dividing the participants into four groups, the researcher determined the ratio of mean scores for three person markers for each group. The mean scores of Group I, II, III, and IV for 1st person marker use were 2, 5.5, 8, and 8 respectively. For the 2nd person marker use, the groups got 0.33, 4.5, 7, and 8 respectively. The mean scores of groups for 3rd person marker use were 5.67, 7, 8, and 8 respectively. These findings are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Ratio of Elicitation Task Scores for 3 Person Markers

Figure 1. Line graphs for showing the ratio of correct mean scores for each person-marker. The X axis represents the groups of participants based on their age range. The Y axis shows the correct mean scores ranging from lowest '0' to highest '8'.
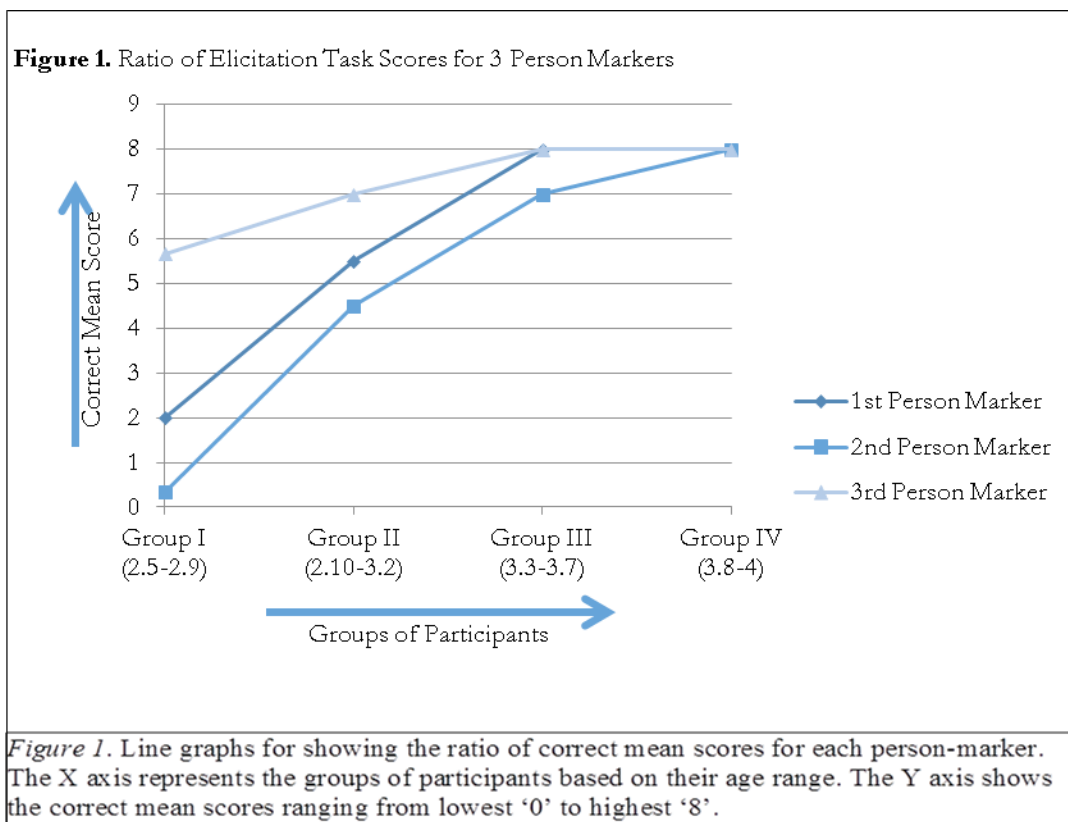
Figure 1 illustrates that the participants aged 2.5 to around 3 years struggled with the use of 2nd person marker. Nonetheless, all the participants of groups performed comparatively well in using 3rd person marker. There could be several reasons behind such a performance.

Firstly, for participants of Group I, it could be difficult for them to imagine themselves as the child in the picture and respond to the questions on 1st person marker use. Hence, their performance in this particular case may be due to their young age. Moreover, one of the studies stated that children can get confused while using correct person markers at an early age, especially between 2nd and 3rd person markers (Schmalstieg, 1977). This phenomenon is particularly visible when participants C and D expressed 2nd person by using 3rd person marker, in case of some verb forms.

Besides, the 3rd person is frequently used in regular conversation in any language. For this reason, participants might make fewer errors in 3rd person marker use. Another reason could be the imitating tendency of young children. To illustrate, the focus needs to be given on the questions that were used to elicit responses. The 1st person marker question was /*tumi ekhane ki korcho?*/ "তুমি এখানে কি করছো?", which expected an answer carrying /*korchi*/ '… করছি. Again, 2nd person marker use was elicited with the question /*ami akhon ki korchi?*/ ""আমি এখন কি করছি?", where the answer was supposed to have /*korcho*/ '… করছো'. In case of 3rd person marker use, the question was /*apu/babuta akhon ki korche?*/ "আপু/বাবুটা এখন কি করছে?" that should have been answered with /*korche*/ '… করছে'.

It can be seen that only in the case of 3rd person, the person marker remains the same in the question and in the answer. Therefore, the question itself might have guided the participants to use third person marker accurately. Only 2 participants, D and G, showed evidence of imitating 2nd person marker from the question in case of 2nd person. Having said that, the researcher would also like to point out that none of the participants imitated person markers directly from the question for 1st person marker.

That language production itself is very complex process needs to be taken into account here. For the competing demands of language production, it can become difficult for children to exhibit their potential entirely in using any individual linguistic item (Hesketh, 2004). Besides, Meisel, Clahsen and Pienemann (1981) proposed that the development sequence of linguistic features depends on how easy the feature is to process (as cited in Lightbown & Spada, 2006). From Figure 1, we therefore can consider that 3rd person marker is most likely to be the easiest person marker to process for young children. Furthermore, all 3 lines in the graph increase in a positive manner, i.e., there is a positive relationship between participants' age and their mean score. This can indicate that the use of inaccurate verb agreement by young children can eventually resemble the target accurate form along with their maturity (Ionin & Wexler, 2002).

Some General Observations
While analyzing the data, the researcher observed an interesting phenomenon, i.e., the use of other markers by participants. Even though the researcher asked questions in progressive aspect, some of the participants responded in the simple aspect. One example can illustrate this point. Participant C, while responding to a 2nd person verb form /*chul achrano*/ responded as "/*chul achray*/" instead of saying /*chul achrachche*/. Even though around 14% of total responses was in simple aspect, considering the research question, the researcher counted those responses correct which used accurate person marker.

Through the elicitation task, this study attempted to focus on the performance of participants. However, if a participant did not produce the target construction that will not necessarily indicate his/her incompetence in that particular construction (Hesketh, 2004), as the cognitive development of children plays some role in first language acquisition (Lightbown & Spada, 2006). There might be other reasons which probably were behind the findings of this study.

Firstly, the language itself is highly inflectional in nature (Dasgupta & Ng, 2006), and that can confuse young children. Besides, the addition of certain suffixes changes the root of some verb forms that lead towards the nonlinear behaviour of Bengali (Bhattacharya et al., 2005). Hence, the complexity and irregularity of Bengali verb morphology can make it difficult to process. Even though children might have the knowledge of the inflectional system, processing factors may obstruct their performance (Buijs, Reijen & Weerman, 2013).

Conclusion
Different sorts of processing abilities may determine the development sequence of different linguistic features (Lightbown & Spada, 2006). Research on English morphology showed that children tend to produce verbs in present progressive at a high percentage (Conti-Ramsden & Windfuhr, 2002). This study also showed similar findings for Bengali verbs. However, since verbs are changeable along with changing person, the process of acquiring different person markers asks for more processing capacity.

The participants did show productiveness in using person markers at around 2.5 years of age. Nonetheless, children who are one year older than them, aged around 3.5 years of age, achieved accuracy. By the end of 4 years, children show evidence of using three person markers accurately in present progressive form.

To conclude, this study does carry certain limitations. The researcher would like to acknowledge that the current findings are based on a specific elicitation task, i.e., question-answer form. Future studies can include other examples of elicitation tasks to further strengthen the findings. Besides, the present sample size was small which could limit its generalizability. A larger sample can give comparable data allowing generalization.

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Appendix A

Table 1. Verbal System of Bengali

Bangla Verbs	Subtypes	Components of Verbs	Example of Each Type
Simple		1 Verb	*lekha* or *to write*
	Conjunct	Noun+*do*	*ranna kora* or *to cook*
Complex		Noun+do+Verb	*jiggesh kore neowa* or *to ask someone for oneself*
	Compound	Verb+Verb	*ghumiye pora* or *to fall asleep*

(Chatterjee, 2014, p. 50)

Appendix B

Pictures Used in Elicitation Tasks

Appendix C
Responses of Each Participant to Elicitation Tasks

A: 2.5 years	1ST	—	ঘুমাইতাসে	—	—	—	—	বই পড়তা সে	নাচতা সে
	2ND	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	3RD	ধালু দিতাসে	ঘুমাইতাসে	হাসতা সে	—	হ্যালো করতাসে	—	—	নাচতা সে
B: 2.6 years	1ST	ধালু দেই	ঘুমাই	হাসি	লাপ দেই		নান্না	বই পড়ি	নাচি
	2ND	—	—	—	—		—	—	—
	3RD	ধালু দেয়	ঘুমায়	হাসছে	লাফাই দেয়	চিরুনি	নান্না	বই পড়ে	নাচে
C: 2.7 years	1ST	পরিষ্কার করতাসে	শুয়ে আসে	—	—	শুয়ে আসে	রান্দে	এটা যাচ্ছে?	এটা আম্মু
	2ND	—	তুমি ঘুমাইতা সো	হাসতা সে	—	আচড়ায়	রান্না করতা সে	—	—
	3RD	এরাম করতাসে	ঘুমায় আসে	—	—	করতাসে	রান্না করে	বই পড়ে	নাচে
D: 3 years	1ST	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছি	ঘুমাচ্ছি	Smile	লাফাচ্ছি	চুল আচড়াই	রান্না করছি	বই পড়ছি	Dance
	2ND	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছ	ঘুমাচ্ছি	হা_হা_হা	লাফাচ্ছি	চুল আচড়াচ্ছি	রান্না করছো	বই পড়ছি	Dance করছে
	3RD	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছে	ঘুমায় গেসে	Smile	লাফাচ্ছে	চুল আচড়াচ্ছে	রান্না করছে	বই পড়ছে	Dance করছে
E: 3.1 years	1ST	ঝাড়ু	ঘুমায় রইসি	হাসছি	লাফাইতা সি	মাথাটা আচড়াসি	রান্তা সে	পড়তা সি	লাম্পাস করে
	2ND	ঝাড়ু দাও	ঘুমায় রইসো	হাসতা সো	লাফাইতা সো	মাথা আচড়াইতা সো	রান্দা	বই পড়তা সো	—
	3RD	ঝাড়ু দেয়	ঘুমায় রইসে	হাসতা সে	লাফ দেয়	মাথা আচড়াও	রান্না করছে	বই পড়তা সে	নাচতা সে
F: 3.5 years	1ST	ঘর ঝাড় দিতাসি	ঘুমাইতাসি	হাসি দিতাসি	লাফাইতা সি	চুল আচড়াইতা সি	রান্দাবাড়ি করতাসি	পড়তা সি	নাচতা সি

	2ND	ঝাড়ু দিতাসুইন	ঘুমাইতাসুইন	হা.হা করতাসুইন	লাফাইতাসুইন	চুল আচড়াইতাসুইন	রান্নাবাড়ি করতাসুইন	পড়তাসুইন	নাচতাসুইন
	3RD	ঝাড়ু দিতাসে	ঘুমাইতাসে	হাসি দিতাসে	লাফাইতাসে	চুল আচড়াইতাসে	রান্নাবাড়ি করতাসে	পড়তাসে	নাচতাসে
G: 3.6 years	1ST	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছি	ঘুমাচ্ছি	ঝুটি কচছি	নাসছি	চুল আচড়াচ্ছি	রান্না করছি	পড়ছি	নাচছি
	2ND	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছ	ঘুমাচ্ছো	হাসো	লাফাচ্ছো	আচড়াচ্ছি	রান্না করছো	পড়ছি	নাচছো
	3RD	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছে	ঘুমাচ্ছে	হা.হা নাচে	লাফাচ্ছে	আচড়াচ্ছে	রান্না করছে	পড়ছে	নাচছে
H: 3.9 years	1ST	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছি	ঘুমাচ্ছি	হাসছি	লাফাচ্ছি	চিরুনি ঝাড়ছি	রান্না.বান্না করছি	পড়ালে খা করছি	নাচছি
	2ND	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছ	ঘুমাচ্ছো	হাসছো	লাফাচ্ছো	চুল আচড়াচ্ছো	রান্নাবাড়ি করছো	পড়ালে খা করছো	নাচছো
	3RD	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছে	ঘুমাচ্ছে	হাসছে	লাফাচ্ছে	চুল ঝাড়ছে	রান্না.বান্না করছে	পড়ছে	নাচছে
I: 3.10 years	1ST	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছি	ঘুমিয়ে আছি	হাসছি	লাফ দিচ্ছি	চুল দিয়ে মাথা আচড়াচ্ছি	রান্নাবাড়ি করছি	বই পড়ছি	Dance করছি
	2ND	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছ	শুয়ে আছো	হাসছো	লাফাচ্ছো	চুল আচড়াচ্ছো	রান্নাবাড়ি করছো	পড়ছো	Dance করছো
	3RD	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছে	ঘুমিয়ে আছে	হাসছে	লাফাচ্ছে	চুল আচড়াচ্ছে	রান্নাবাড়ি করছে	বই দিয়ে পড়ছে	Dance করছে
J: 4 years	1ST	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছি	ঘুম যাচ্ছি	হাসছি	লাফাচ্ছি	চিরুনি আচড়াচ্ছি	রান্না.বান্না করছি	লেখাক রা করছি	Dance করছি

2ND	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছ	ঘুম যাচ্ছো	হা-হা করছো	লাফাচ্ছো	মাথা আচড়াচ্ছো	রান্না-বান্না করছো	পড়ালে খা করছো	Dance করছো
3RD	ঝাড়ু দিচ্ছে	ঘুম যাচ্ছে	হাসতে সে	লাফাচ্ছে	মাথা আচড়াচ্ছে	রান্না-বান্না করতে সে	লেখাপড়া করছে	নাচতে সে

Cross-linguistic Composition: Writing Skills and Self-report Strategies of University Students in Bangladesh

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Abstract

This article reports the findings of a study that intended to understand the development of L2 writing performances in English in the EFL context of Bangladesh. The 70 participants (male=42, female=28) of the study were freshmen at a private university in Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh. The age of the participants ranged from 17 to 24 years. The participants completed a background questionnaire, a grammaticality judgment, and a vocabulary test in English. The participants also completed writing tasks in their L1 (i.e., Bangla) and their L2 (i.e., English). At the end of both the L1 and L2 writing tasks, the participants completed the same questionnaires that gleaned information about their usual practices and perceptions of writing across two languages. One of the critical findings of the study was that scores in the essays in both languages correlated, which implied that a good or a poor writer in his first language is apparently the same in his L2. The study also discovered that L2 writing was significantly similar to and different from writing in L1 as far as the foci, purposes, and the times and areas of revision of essays of the participants were concerned. The study indicated that knowledge in grammar and vocabulary significantly predicted the performances in writing in English as an L2. The results implied that the teaching of L2 writing in English should be informed by characteristics common across languages as well as the essential differences between an L1 and an L2.

Keywords: L1 and L2 writing process, grammar, vocabulary

While both Bangla and English are languages of the Indo-European family, these are not cognate languages. The ontological differences in alphabet, syntax, and lexis severely limit transfer between these two languages. Nonetheless, L2 writers apply literate strategy from their native language along with applying translation as a writing strategy (Matsuda, 2013). An unfamiliar and unexplored context of L2 writing as Bangladesh is, no study has attempted till date to appreciate the reciprocal relations between Bangla and English. This quantitative study is a significant first step toward that direction.

Literature Review

Language is the matrix of thought, in that one cannot have an idea if one does not have a word for it (Bizzell, 1982). As such, the structure of a language affects the perceptions of reality of its users and thus influences their thought patterns and world views. However controversial this hypothesis appears, when it comes to L2 writing, it is buttressed both by anecdotal and empirical evidence.

Kaplan (1966), for example, argues that the speakers of English, Semitic, Oriental, and Romance languages write essentially differently. Through some doodles, he demonstrates that while the native English speakers write in a straight line, the native speakers of all three languages write circuitously in various ways. Canagarajah (2006) is critical of Kaplan's views for equating one language with one discourse, as is Matsuda (1997) for not considering the heterogeneity and hybridity implicit in an individual culture. Despite such compelling criticism, Kaplan's view endorses that one learns to think only by learning a language (Bizzell, 1982), and because writing is thinking, it follows that one's native language will influence one's writing.

However, "the relationship between linguistic knowledge and L1/L2 writing proficiency is a complex one" (Williams, 2005, p. 25). How one's L1 influences one's acquisition of an L2 is unclear. L2 writers vary socially, cognitively, and affectively; they go through potentially different learning curves; and they will inevitably hail from diverse L1 backgrounds. These factors aside, the L2 writers of English hail from diverse L1 backgrounds. Empirical evidence is as yet inadequate to compare and contrast L1 writing with L2 writing to discover how they are similar to and different from each other. What makes research in L2 writing more problematic is that it typically revolves around works in North America (Bazerman, 2013). Silva (2005) contends as such that the field of L2 writing has not yet critiqued L2 writing in English outside of North America. Because of "the complex contexts of L2 writing (Silva, 2005, p. 117), researchers have endeavored to investigate "intergroup homogeneity" (Crossley & McNamara, 2011, p. 272) to predict a generic model of L2 writing development despite differences in L1 backgrounds of writers. Research along this line has already yielded information and insights, which are critical to informing theories and pedagogical practices in L2 writing.

For example, Reid (1992) studied the essays written in English by speakers of Arabic, Chinese, Spanish, and English to determine whether or not there existed differences in the production of cohesive devices among the language backgrounds of L2 writers. She investigated the use of four features of cohesion: pronouns, conjunctions, subordinate conjunction openers, and prepositions. Reid (1992) found that L2 writers, regardless of their L1, produced a significantly greater number of pronouns and conjunctions, as well as fewer prepositions, when compared to L1 writers. She, however, found no similarities among the L2 writers in the productions of subordinate conjunction openers. These findings suggest that L2 writers, regardless of their L1, share more similarities than differences. While these findings imply that L2 writers are somewhat alike given their L2 writing development, they are open to further interpretation. Lunsford (1980) claims that basic writers' texts are generally egocentric, which is characterized by a high percentage of personal pronouns. Silva (1997) claims that ESL texts in general exhibit more coordination than subordination. It can be argued that Reid's (1992) participants were basic writers, who exhibited the typical characteristics of ESL writers.

Hinkel (2002) carried out a similar investigation to Reid's (1992), though her research slanted more toward intergroup heterogeneity than homogeneity. However, her study yielded critical evidence, which indicated a common pattern of development among L2 learners of different L1 backgrounds. Hinkel (2002) examined 1400 academic essays written by native speakers of English and L2 learners of English whose L1s were Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Indonesian, and Arabic. For each text, she computed incidence scores for linguistic, subordinate clause, and rhetorical features. While her analysis of the data reported numerous features, which distinguished

L1 essays from specific groupings of L2 essays, she discovered a predictable pattern of L2 writing, when the L1 essays were compared to L2 essays without considering the specific L1 backgrounds of the L2 writers. Hinkel (2002) defined L2 writing as generally being similar to personal narratives because they contain restricted syntactic variety and complexity as well as limited lexical sophistication. These are, indeed, some of the common characteristics of L2 writers, regardless of L1s. These are, however, characteristics stemming less from their infelicity with the L2 than from their specific L1. Novice writers generally produce what Flower (1979) calls writer-based prose, which are personal narratives. However, expository prose is the only prose that students need to do in their school work (Arapoff, 1967), and as most basic L2 writers struggle over their incomplete control of the language, they cannot demonstrate lexical and syntactic sophistication and complexity in their writing needed for expository writing.

Along this line, another influential study was conducted by Crossley and McNamara (2011). They investigated whether the features of cohesion, lexical sophistication, and syntactic complexity could discriminate between texts written by L1 and L2 writers. They analyzed a huge pool of L2 texts from the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE) written by L1 speakers of Czech (Slavic), Finnish, (Finno-Ugric) German (Germanic), and Spanish (Italic), which are languages of four different families. To compare and contrast the L2 texts with the L1 ones, they collected 211 essays written by undergraduate students at a large a university in the US. All of the L1 essays were argumentative and ranged between 500 and 1000 words. Most of the essays from the ICLE corpus were argumentative and ranged between 500 and 1000 words, too. Essays from both the corpuses, then, enabled the researchers' discourse-oriented as well as grammatical and lexical investigations. The study provided evidence that in such linguistic features as hypernymy, polysemy, stem overlap, and lexical diversity, intergroup homogeneity existed across the L2 writers, regardless of the writers' L1s. As well, using these four features, L2 writers could be distinguished from L1 writers with an accuracy of over 70%. The data revealed intergroup homogeneity between four groups of L2 writers from different and disparate language backgrounds in those four linguistic features. While Crossley and McNamara (2011) cautioned not to interpret their results as a demonstration of universal characteristics of L2 writers, regardless of L1, the findings of their study support those of Reid's (1992) and Hinkel's (2002).

A study that distinguishes the writings of participants of a particular language, which is an L1 for some participants and an L2 for others, falls under the theoretical framework of cross-linguistic influence (CLI) (Crossley and McNamara, 2011). Research has already demonstrated that CLI affects almost all areas of linguistic and communicative competence in L2 learners (Jarvis & Pavlenko, 2008). This has been especially true for L2 writers, for some writing theorists argue that people learn to write only once (Williams, 2005). Influence of the ur-language, therefore, will be pervasive in the texts of L2 writers, who may have learned to write in their L1, however incomplete and partial their learning was. While CLI is more common with novice writers (Rinnert & Kobayashi, 2009), people cannot avoid displaying their identities, values, and interests in the texts they compose (Canagarajah, 2006). L2 writers are not always novices; they are, in fact, writers, who write with a varying degree of accent. Admittedly, beginning L2 writers are more susceptible to this accent than the advanced ones because of their lack of exposure and experience with the language. No feature of a foreign language exposes this accent of beginning writers than errors with grammar.

The degree and dimension of a causal relationship between an L1 and English as an L2 has not been discovered yet, but Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982) contend that less than 25% of grammatical errors in adults' speech is due to transfer from L1. The implication here is that L1 is one of the sources of errors in L2 writing. Errors in L2 writing may also stem from the cognitive, affective, and social development of an L2 learner. While one's L1 does not predict the numbers and types of errors one makes while writing in English, all errors are not essentially grammatical either. Briedenback (2006) claims that, generally, a piece of writing has four constitutive features: content, rhetoric, style, and mechanics. She considers grammar and punctuation as mechanics, and she claims that most written papers focus on mechanics far more than all other considerations. But mechanics is theoretically the least important aspect of the process of communication (Mills, 1953; Pinker 2014). Unfortunately, this least important aspect of the process of communication has been the most critical aspect for L2 writers to learn writing.

Fulkerson (1979) claims this as the formalist approach to teaching writing, which posits that "good writing is correct writing at the sentence level" (p. 344), in that it conforms to "certain internal forms" (p. 344) of grammar. This approach to teaching writing is at best reductive, and at worst, ineffective, for two reasons. In general, writing comes along through some predictable steps and stages such as prewriting, writing, and re-writing. Ideally, writing instruction intervenes in all these steps and stages of writing. The physical act of writing, however, takes only 1% of a writer's time and energy, while 85% of a writer's time and energy is consumed in the prewriting stage (Murray, 2011). A grammar-dependent approach ignores the pre-writing and re-writing phases of writing, and is keyed to writing only. What happens is that writing, accuracy, and editing become more important than writer, fluency, and revision. In a situation such as this, a writer does not have to experience what Perl (1980) calls "felt-sense," which evokes images, words, ideas, and vague fuzzy feelings anchored in the writer's body to engage in a creative process of discovery for crafting meaning through writing. Writing essentially explores and exploits the generative possibilities of language, but a grammar-dependent approach to teaching reduces writing to a test of students' ability to utilize mechanical skills (Spack, 1984).

Secondly, theorists in the field of writing claim that grammar has little or nothing to do with the process of writing (Zamel, 1985; Krashen, 1984; Greenberg, 1985; Arapoff, 1967; Pinker, 2014). Writing is thinking, and grammar is a tool for transcribing thoughts. Thinking is not reflected through an application of grammar or a lack thereof, as much as it is reflected by a writer's semantic, syntactic, and rhetorical options of writing. Ferris's (2002) classification of error as treatable and untreatable is germane in this context. She claims that mechanical or grammatical errors are treatable, in that students can be referred to manuals to find out the solutions of those errors. However, for discursive problems with writing, which is reflected through semantic and rhetorical features of writing, a writer cannot be referred to manuals to locate the solutions. Discursive errors of writing are not as apparent or identifiable as those of mechanical ones. So ESL instructors apparently deal only with those errors that are easily identified (Zamel, 1985). Teaching writing through a grammar-dependent approach is convenient for writing instructors, but it marginally helps students learn writing. Besides, because writing teachers are chronically overworked (Conners & Lunsford, 1988), they do not mark as many mechanical errors as popular stereotypes might have people believe (Lunsford & Lunsford, 2008). This adequately explains why Mills's (1953) complaint – that students cannot write – remains true even after seven decades.

Certainly, writing in second versus foreign language contexts may not be essentially different (Matsuda, 2013), but writing in L1 and L2 are not alike in any way. It is not only the basic L2 writers who demonstrate their incomplete command of the language in their writings, but expert L2 writers also seem to have been haunted by the specter of a second language. Edward Said, a literary critic, for example, has been one of the most elegant and eloquent L2 writers in English. Said (1999) claims that he wrote in English with almost but never native-like fluency. Writing in an L2 is an enriching experience, but the language also colonizes writers too much and turns them into ghost-writers (Bradatan, 2013). This considered, every L2 writer is a ghost-writer who has no subliminal link to the language, and who is overcome too much to be swayed by its essential idiosyncrasies. This breeds uncertainty about the mechanical, syntactic, and semantic options and opportunities for an L2 writer. Apparently, then, an L2 writer writes with actual or perceived accents. The speakers of Bangla, a language from the Indo-European family, who are the participants of this study, might yield information that can conform to or challenge these views and beliefs about L2 writing in English.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to investigate factors that influenced performances, perceptions, and practices in writing in an L2, English. The study contrasted writing across the participants' L1 and L2, and compared their writing performance with measures of vocabulary and grammatical knowledge. The study revolved around the following two research questions:

1. How is writing in an L1 (i.e., Bangla) similar to and different from writing in an L2 (i.e., English)?

2. To what extent do grammar and vocabulary predict performance in L2 writing?

Method

Participants. Data collection lasted for six weeks at a private university in Dhaka, Bangladesh. Data were obtained from students in three classes as they consented to volunteer for this study. Altogether, 95 students participated. However, 70 students completed all the components of the study. The current analyses were based on the data from these 70 students. The participants were all first-year undergraduate students. When the data were collected, they signed up for one of the three core English courses mandatory for all students to earn a Bachelor's degree, regardless of majors. Participants reported ages between 17 and 24 (the majority, 60%, were 19-20 years old) and 42 students (60% of the sample) were male. Entry to the mandatory English courses was based on the results of an English placement test, which suggested that L2 proficiency levels of the participants were apparently uniform during the time of the study.

The participants reported an average of over ten years of formal English learning (mean 13.53 years, standard deviation 4.33), when the average age of exposure to English was about four. These formal learning and exposure data are consistent with the school system in Bangladesh that provides formal instruction in English from the initial years of primary school. This makes these students a potentially interesting group to study, since although English holds the status of a foreign language in Bangladesh, all learners have to study it formally for several years. Besides,

the possession of the English language is very critical in the context of Bangladesh because of its economic and academic significance. The majority of the participants (80%) reported that they were studying English in order to either obtain a job after graduation or to pursue higher studies.

Instrument

Background Questionnaire. Every participant filled out a background questionnaire, which asked for such biographical information as the learners' age, gender, language background and languages spoken, number of years spent in learning English, the age of first exposure to English, last academic qualification earned, the purposes of learning English, and difficulties encountered in learning English. The background questionnaire was completed in the first session with the participants during which an Information Sheet and Consent Form were also discussed and completed.

Grammaticality Judgment Test. This task (Appendix B) comprised 30 items covering 15 areas of English grammar: article, tense-verb, singular vs. plural, interrogative, word order, third person singular, parallel structure, apostrophe, continuous, redundant, incomplete/fragment, sequence of tense, verb tense, double negative, wrong pronoun, and perfect modal. Each item was a three-sentence paragraph in which a single grammatical error was embedded. Each grammar area appeared twice in the test, with the exception of errors of apostrophe and perfect modal, which appeared only once, and problems with interrogative appeared four times in order to represent the multidimensional aspects of this area in the English language. The test was developed based on the work of Johnson and Newport (1989), though the current measure was qualitatively and quantitatively different from that used by Johnson and Newport, which comprised more items and errors contained within one-liners. The rationale for providing a short paragraph was to minimize the chance of fortuitous error identification and to provide a more realistic written context to the detection of errors. The participants were asked to underline errors found in each short paragraph. They were informed that there was an error in each passage, but not the type of error. The participants had half an hour to complete the test.

Vocabulary Task. The participants were given a vocabulary size test based on that developed by Nation and Beglar (2007). The original version of the test comprised 10 vocabulary items from each of 14 sections, from the first to the fourteenth 1000 word families in the English language, and was designed to provide a "reliable, accurate, and comprehensive measure" (Nation & Beglar, 2007, p. 9) of a non-native speaker's vocabulary size. Nation and Beglar (2007) claimed that initial studies using the test indicate that non-native undergraduate students studying at an English speaking university have a vocabulary size of 5000-6000 word families. Given the proficiency level of the participants of this study, who were about to undertake studies in New Zealand, vocabulary items were selected from the first six 1000 word families. Half of the 10 items from each of these six word families were selected, making a total of 30 vocabulary words. For each item in the test, a sentence context was provided in which a single word was italicized. For each italicized word, the participants were asked to underline the approximate synonym from four options underneath the sentence. The participants had 30 minutes to complete the test.

Writing Task and Writing Questionnaire. The writing task was conducted in two different sessions. On the first, participants were given a writing task in English. They were asked to write an expository essay on a topic selected by the researchers (i.e., *Many students choose to attend schools outside*

their home countries. Why do some students study aboard?). Of the various modes of discourses, expository prose is the one that students typically need to use in their academic work (Arapoff, 1967); hence, this was selected for the essay task. The participants were given 25 minutes to write the essay, and were told to use their normal style of composing. There was no instruction about the amount to be written, though they were informed about the 25-minute time limit. Having written the essay, the participants spent another five minutes to complete a questionnaire that asked them to report about their planning and revision strategies as well as their areas of focus during the writing task.

At the next meeting, the participants were given a writing task in Bengali. The topic for the English and Bangla writing tasks were identical. The rationale was that a rhetorically and cognitively similar topic would glean apparently authentic data across these two languages. This session also lasted 30 minutes. They wrote for 25 minutes and completed the questionnaire for the remaining five minutes. The post-writing questionnaire again asked about their planning and revision strategies as well as the focus during the writing task in Bengali.

Each student's writing was evaluated with the rubric used by the Educational Testing Services (ETS) on a 0-6 scale (Educational Testing Services, n.d). Two independent raters evaluated all wwritings; both raters had been English second-language writing instructors for several years, with Bengali being their first language. When the scores of the two independent raters were within one score, the average was used to determine the final score of an individual essay. If the markers differed by two or more marks, a third-rater was enlisted and the average between the two closest was used.

Results

The results are presented in three sub-sections, with the main focus of each sub-section being each of the research questions. In the first sub-section, analyses of the four main measures used in the study were performed to compare scores on the two writing tasks (Bangla and English) along with the measures of grammatical knowledge and vocabulary. The second section focused on the students' perceptions of writing in English, whereas the third considered the self-reported strategies used by the participants during writing in English (L2) and in Bangla (L1).

Skills Associated with Writing Performance. The results of the writing, grammatical knowledge, and vocabulary tasks are presented in Table 1. These showed a range of scores indicative of differences in performance across the participants.

Table 1. Means, standard deviations, and minimum-maximum scores for the grammatical knowledge and vocabulary tasks, and English and Bangla writing tasks

	Mean score	Standard Deviation	Minimum-Maximum score
English writing score	3.24	0.88	2-5.5
Bangla writing score	4.09	0.80	2-5.5
Grammatical judgment score	15.39	6.33	3-28
Vocabulary score	24.11	3.44	13-30

The study measures were then investigated to assess potential relationships between these areas of performance.

In Table 2, first-order and partial correlations, controlling for years of learning English, are reported. The partial correlations are performed to ensure that any relationship found across

measures was not simply a factor of general language experience.

Table 2. Correlations (above and to right of clear diagonal) and partial correlations controlling for years of learning English (below-left of diagonal) between the writing scores in English and Bangla, the English grammatical judgment, and vocabulary scores

	English writing score	Bangla writing score	Grammatical judgment score	Vocabulary score
English writing score		.733	.195	.306
Bangla writing score	.779		.077	.269
Grammatical judgment score	.153	.098		.321
Vocabulary score	**.292**	**.299**	**.284**	

Note: bold = correlation significant at .05 level; bold+italics = correlation significant at .01 level

Self-reported Perspectives on L2 Writing. Questions about engagement with writing in English produced mixed responses. In addition to academic engagement with English, the vast majority of the respondents (93%) reported that English was most likely to be experienced through watching English-language movies, though some 60% participants also engaged in reading and speaking in English as well as listening to English-language music. The majority of the participants (96%) also indicated that they sometimes (56%) or often (40%) practiced writing in English outside of their academic requirements. Hence, there was evidence for a reasonable amount of engagement with English. However, over 60% of the participants felt that they needed more practice speaking in English to support their current studies, whereas only 7% felt that more writing practice would improve their academic work. This suggested that the motivation to practice English writing may not have been high among the participants of this study. Similarly, Table 3 shows the participants' self-reported views of their ability as English second language writers, and it suggested that their confidence levels as writers varied significantly across the two languages. As can be seen from the table, the majority felt that they were fair to good writers in English, whereas their reports of the writing levels in their L1, Bangla, suggested that most felt that they were good to excellent writers.

Table 3. Numbers of participants self-reporting different ability levels in English versus Bangla writing

	English writing	Bangla writing
Excellent	1 (1%)	26 (37%)
Good	29 (41%)	32 (46%)
Fair	34 (49%)	11 (16%)
Poor	6 (9%)	1 (1%)

Self-reports about the areas of writing that caused them difficulties when writing in English suggested that, of the five areas provided (i.e., grammar, vocabulary, punctuation, critical thinking, and topic knowledge), most difficulties in the English writing were encountered with vocabulary. Indeed, the responses indicated that some 74% (52 of the 70 respondents) participants felt that this was an area of difficulty in writing compared to 40% participants, who reported that grammar was an area of difficulty.

Self-reported Writing Strategies. When the participants were asked to report what they felt was their focus when writing in English and in Bangla, similar results were found across the two languages. Clarifying their own ideas as they wrote was the most common focus reported across the two languages. For example, 50 participants (71%) indicated this focus when writing in English, and 52 participants indicated it (74%) while writing in Bangla. Thinking about commutating with the readers was also indicated as roughly equally important in both writing tasks – by 24 (34%) participants in English and by 27 (39%) in Bangla. The same was true for those who claimed that the focus of their thinking during writing was to discover new ideas through writing. This was reported by 27 participants (39%) for the English writing task and by 23 participants (33%) for the Bangla writing task.

Self-reported planning and revising strategies also indicated relatively consistent findings across English and Bangla. For the essays in English, 56 participants (80%) claimed that they planned before writing, and 51 (73%) claimed the same for Bangla. And when participants reported planning in one language, they were more likely to report doing the same in the other. For example, 48 participants claimed that they planned in both languages, with only 11 of the 70 reporting that they planned in only one language. Such planning strategies showed evidence of leading to better essay scores, with those planning in both languages receiving overall better writing scores (3.36 for English and 4.21 for Bangla) than those not planning or only planning in one language (2.95 for English and 3.84 for Bangla).

Additionally, for English and Bangla writing, similar numbers of students reported revising during and/or after writing (see Table 4), though there was a slight tendency for more students to indicate that they revised English after writing compared to Bangla. For Bangla, the tendency was for more to report revising during writing compared to when they were writing in English. However, these tendencies were relatively small compared to the overall picture of similar self-reported revision strategies across L1 and L2. Such revision strategies also appeared to support better writing, with those saying that they did not revise typically gaining lower writing scores (see Table 4). Again, there was a tendency for those revising both during and after writing in English to produce the best writing scores, whereas for Bangla the best writing scores were produced by both those who stated that they revised during and after writing, and by those who stated they revised during writing (Table 4).

Table 4. Self-reported revision strategies and writing scores in English versus Bangla writing

	English writing		Bangla writing	
	Number of students (% in brackets)	Writing score (SD in brackets)	Number of students (% in brackets)	Writing score (SD in brackets)
Revise during writing	16 (23%)	2.97 (0.81)	19 (27%)	4.26 (0.75)
Revise after writing	33 (47%)	3.15 (0.77)	29 (42%)	3.95 (0.70)
Revise during and after writing	18 (26%)	3.77 (1.03)	14 (20%)	4.29 (0.78)
Do not revise	3 (4%)	2.68 (0.58)	8 (11%)	3.88 (1.25)

Furthermore, the focus of revisions differed somewhat across the two languages (see Table 5). For English, the vast majority of the participants (70%) focused their revision strategies on grammar and spelling, whereas in Bangla the majority of the participants (over 50%) reported focusing on revising organization and spelling. Indeed, this focus of revision seemed to be the main difference in strategies in writing across the two languages.

Table 5. Participants' self-reported aspects of English versus Bangla writing in need of revision

	English writing	Bangla writing
Grammar	49 (70%)	24 (34%)
Spelling	50 (71%)	37 (53%)
Punctuation	18 (26%)	19 (27%)
Vocabulary	29 (41%)	22 (31%)
Organization	36 (51%)	39 (56%)
Clarity	25 (36%)	31 (44%)

Discussion

This study was conducted in the EFL context of Bangladesh, and it aimed to discover the features of university students' L2 writing in English to inform options about teaching and learning of L2 in such contexts. Overall, the findings indicated that despite these participants' relatively long period of formal English learning and despite their selection based on a placement test, there was variability in performance in L2 writing along with English vocabulary and grammatical knowledge. This variation in L2 writing performance was related to variation in L1 writing, as well as vocabulary, but not grammatical knowledge. The majority of the participants also self-reported vocabulary as an area of difficulty in L2 writing, with more participants finding this problematic compared to grammar. However, most participants reported revision strategies in English writing that focused on grammar. Grammar was not one of the areas of difficulty for the participants and grammatical knowledge not linked to good writing in English; nonetheless, the participants felt that grammar was an area in need of targeted revision. Grammar loomed so large in the revision strategies perhaps because the writings, of the first draft at least, were riddled with grammatical errors. Or it could flatly indicate the preoccupation of the Bangladeshi instructors with grammar at the expense of other features of writing.

Except for one participant, who did not respond to this question, all the participants of the study were exposed to English before the age of seven. The mean age of the participants of this study was about 19 years, and the mean age of learning English was about 14 years. Numerous studies have established that to achieve academic competence in a foreign language, one needs five to seven years of exposure or more (Ernst-Slavit, Moore, & Maloney, 2002). This considered, the participants of this study may be considered to have achieved a reasonable level of competency in English. However, the variability in grammar, vocabulary, and writing scores indicated that some participants were not as competent in English as their years of learning ideally predicated. This leads to two potential implications about the participants in this study. For one, years of exposure, as well as years of learning a foreign language, do not necessarily predict competence in that language. Secondly, the achievement of competency predicted by the years of exposure and years of learning is likely contingent upon other academic, environmental, and personal factors. As for the participants of this study in the EFL context of Bangladesh, the age of exposure and years of learning were not apparently buttressed by other factors to enhance learning.

In the context of Bangladesh, while writing is the most critical skill to predict academic success, the majority of the participants indicated that practicing speaking more would support their current studies, whereas few indicated the need for additional writing practice. This pits the academic culture against the culture in general. Generally, as Canagarajah (2002) claims regarding South Asia, speaking is considered superior to writing. As such, competence in a foreign language is demonstrated though fluency in speaking, instead of fluency in writing. Another perception about writing may have prompted the participants of this study to lean more toward speaking than writing. A culturally held belief regarding writing, particularly in Bangladesh, was that writing is not amenable to instruction or practice, for it is absorbed (Shamsuzzaman, 2014). Because in the academic settings in Bangladesh, writing is valued more than speaking, one of the objectives of writing instruction is to acculturate learners into the culture of academic writing, which is amenable to instruction and practice. Success of instruction in writing may require changing perceptions about writing in Bangladesh.

A significant number of participants indicated that vocabulary was the most difficult area for them in writing. This is understandable in that L2 learners see the acquisition of vocabulary as their greatest source of problems (Green & Meara, 1995; Meara, 1980). This can be contrasted with perceived difficulties with grammar. Grammar is mechanical, and as such should be amenable to simple rule-based teaching (Elbow, 1973). On the other hand, vocabulary is semantic. While words come loaded with meaning, it is a writer who has to manoeuvre and manipulate the lexical resources to move from what Murray (1982) calls meaning identified to meaning clarified. In a situation such as this, a writer is left with no universally acknowledged conventions of composition. A writer, instead, embarks on an inductive and idiosyncratic process of composing, which is daunting mainly because of inadequate vocabulary of L2 writers. Despite that, Folse (2004) claims that vocabulary is hardly taught compared to grammar. This may have been the case with the participants of this study in the EFL context of Bangladesh. What identifying vocabulary as their most difficult area of writing might imply was the need for more instruction in vocabulary to hone their skills in writing in English.

This study reconfirms that L2 writing is strategically, rhetorically, and linguistically different in important ways from L1 writing (Silva, 1993), and that L2 writing processes are more laborious than those in L1 (Silva, 1992). Out of the 70 participants of this study, 26 (37.1%) participants claimed that they were excellent writers in their L1, that is, Bangla. However, only one participant (1.4%) out of the 70 claimed that he was an excellent writer in English. Although Zamel (1982) asserts that ESL writers who are ready to compose and express their ideas use strategies similar to those used by native speakers of English, the perceptions of the participants of this study about their performance in writing in English vis-à-vis their performance in writing in Bangla did not ascertain that. Bradatan (2013) is revealing in this context as he claims that there is something natural in one's becoming a writer in one's native language, but becoming a writer in another language goes against nature. Essentially, every L2 writer is a ghostwriter, who is colonized by the language he writes in (Bradatan, 2013). The implication in this context is that the ontological differences in composing between L1 and L2 may never be eliminated, especially for adult L2 writers. However, the differences can be minimized, as far as academic writing is concerned. Academic writing is convention-ridden, and the conventions of academic writing are amenable to instruction. Therefore, to ease the process of writing in English as an L2, instruction in writing should explicitly focus on teaching the process of writing.

Because a piece of writing is never final (Murray, 1969), revision is key to writing. The participants of this study demonstrated this truism about writing across languages. About 95% participants of the English essay and about 88% participants of the Bangla essay indicated that they revised their essays at different times during composition. What was more critical in this regard was that the times of revision of the participants across languages were uniform. Regarding the English essay, about 47 % participants of the study indicated that they generally revised after writing. Likewise, 41% participants of the study, regarding the Bangla essay, indicated that they revised after writing. The writing behavior of the participants, while shifting from one language to another, did not vary significantly. While revision is anathema for student writers like expert writers (Emig, 1967), sophistication in writing presupposes adequate and informed revision. Zamel (1982) is relevant in this context, claiming that revision should become the main component of writing instruction. Because the participants of this study indicated that they extensively revised, writing instructors must provide the learners with appropriate schemata to revise effectively. Teaching writing across languages and across contexts does not change the fact that revision is integral to writing, and that writing instructors cannot abdicate the responsibility of teaching techniques of revision.

Writing in an L2, therefore, is not completely different from writing in a first language (Matsuda, 2012). Zamel (1983) contends that certain composing problems transcend language factors and are shared by both native and non-native speakers of English. A logical deduction here is that if the composing problems persist across languages, so do the facilities of composing, and the correlations between L1 and L2 found in the current study are consistent with this perspective. Skills in writing are not necessarily tied to one language; they can be generic or translingual. This conclusion aligns with Arapoff's (1969) assertion that native speakers are not always native writers, given the essential differences between speaking and writing. However, identifying factors or strategies that can cross languages does not mean that teaching L2 writing is unnecessary, for no one is born with English composition skills per se (Pinker, 2014). Writing in English should be taught regardless of the individual's L1 skills. Rather, certain strategies that support good writing may be taught in one language and used in a second as long as the links between the two languages are clear to the student (and the teacher). Indeed, strategies taught in L2 writing may be usefully assimilated into L1 writing. As Kaplan (1966) has argued, the conventions of North American academic writing are linguistically, strategically, and rhetorically so distinct from the conventions of writing in other parts of the world that prior ability (or a lack thereof) in writing in one's L1 hardly predicts one's ability (or a lack thereof) in English. Someone from a different cultural and linguistic orientation in the North American academic setting has to learn the written code (Raimes, 1985) apparently from scratch to learn writing in English. However, once successful writing strategies have been acquired in English, these may be applied to the individual's L1 writings.

An implication that emerged from analyzing the perceptions and practices of writing of the participants of this study in the academic setting in Bangladesh was that writing should be taught as a process. Shamsuzzaman, Everatt, and McNeill (2014) urged writing instructors in Bangladesh to teach writing as a process. In doing so, writing instructors in Bangladesh must be cognizant of some potential pitfalls or qualifications. Santos (1992) and Faigley (1986) contend that the concept of process pedagogy in writing revolves around such three schools as cognitivist, expressivist, and social constructionist. The expressivist school of process pedagogy emphasizes the personal voice in writing, while social constructionist school of process pedagogy emphasizes social and political aspects of writing (Santos, 1992). The participants of this study indicated that they were not slanted toward the expressivist and social schools of process pedagogy.

These participants were responsive, instead, to the cognitivist school of process pedagogy, which emphasizes the intellectual, analytical approach to teaching writing. Simply put, the cognitivist school of process pedagogy explores and exploits what goes on inside the brains of writers as they write. Fulkerson (2005) contends that today's process approach to teaching writing is deeply influenced by the cognitivist approach, which considerably draws upon the works of Linda Flower and John Hayes. Flower and Hayes (1981) contend that the writing process is not a creative accident; it is, instead, plain thinking. The participants of this study appeared inured to thinking, for they focused on clarifying their ideas to themselves as they wrote. However, as the participants of this study indicated, the cognitivist process approach that Flower and Hayes (1981) proposed needs to be adapted to the needs and linguistic development of these L2 writers. The correlation between vocabulary, grammar, and writing of scores of this study implied that vocabulary and grammar were deeply implicated in the process of writing that these participants perceived and enacted. Unlike the process proposed by Flower and Hayes (1981) that emphasizes the discovery and generation of thoughts, this process is contingent upon adequate knowledge in grammar and vocabulary. The participants of this study indicated that they wished to discover and generate thoughts through a process of syntactic and lexical exploration. Writing instructors in Bangladesh must come up with strategies to teaching that accommodates this aspect of process in L2 writing in English.

Conclusion

This study yielded some specific as well as ambivalent information regarding writing in general and L2 writing in particular. It demonstrated that writing in an L1 and an L2 was significantly similar as far as the process of writing was concerned. However, it also demonstrated that the process was enacted differently in L1 and L2. While the study demonstrated that scores in grammar and vocabulary tests as well as scores in L1 and L2 essays correlated, it demonstrated that scores in all those tests significantly varied across individual participants. This implied that even in the same academic, cultural, and linguistic setting, L2 writers did not learn L2 writing alike even when they were in the same age range. The difference between L1 and L2 writing was further reinforced when the data demonstrated that the participants of this study did not perceive writing to be similar in L1 and L2. They indicated that writing in an L1 was easier and more natural than writing in an L2. The participants claimed that vocabulary was more critical in L2 writing than grammar. The findings of this study merit critical consideration to promote the teaching of L2 writing in English in the EFL context of Bangladesh and beyond.

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Appendix A

Background Questionnaire for Bangladeshi Participants
Name:

1. Age:
2. Sex:
3. Indicate where you undertook your primary/secondary education:
    a. Urban area in Bangladesh
    b. Suburban area in Bangladesh
    c. Rural area in Bangladesh
    d. Outside of Bangladesh (specify the country):
4. Indicate where you undertook your higher secondary education:
    a. Urban area in Bangladesh
    b. Suburban area in Bangladesh
    c. Rural area in Bangladesh
    d. Outside of Bangladesh (specify the country):
5. The last qualification earned:
    a. HSC
    b. A' Level
    c. Other
6. Name the language/languages you speak (underline the primary language):
7. Approximately how old were you when you were first exposed to English?
8. Mention the approximate number of years you have already spent in learning English:

Please tick the appropriate option/options below:

1. What is the highest qualification of your parent/parents?
    a. primary   b. secondary   c. tertiary   d. none

2. Do you practice English in any of the areas below at home and/or with members of your family?
    - speaking   **Yes**   **No**
    - reading   **Yes**   **No**
    - writing   **Yes**   **No**
    - listening   **Yes**   **No**

3. Which one of the following do you think you need to practice more to support your current studies?
    a. Speaking   b. reading   c. writing   d. listening

4. What is your purpose for learning English? (Tick as many as apply)

    a. job   b. higher studies   c. intellectual development   d. peer pressure

    e. parental persuasion   f. emigration   g. others (please specify):

5. Besides academic training, what are the activities that you personally engage in to improve your English? (Tick as many as apply)

    a. watching movies/documentaries in English   b. reading texts in English

    c. speaking in English with friends and family members   d. listening to English music   e. none

    f. others (please specify):

6. If you at all engage in any of the above mentioned activities to improve your English, how often does it happen?

    a. daily   b. once a week   c. twice a week   d. less than once a week

7. Besides your academic assignments, do you write in English?

    a. often   b. sometimes   c. never

8. While writing, what is the area you find most difficult to deal with? (Tick as many as apply)

    a. grammar   b. vocabulary   c. punctuations   d. critical thinking   e. knowledge of the topic

    f. all equally difficult

9. How would you rate yourself as a writer in your mother tongue?

    a. Excellent   b. good   c. fair   d. poor

10. How would you rate yourself as a writer in English?

    a. excellent   b. good   c. fair   d. poor

11. I would much appreciate if you would share your experiences as an English language learner that is not covered by this questionnaire.

Appendix B

Grammaticality Judgment Test
Name:

*Instruction***: Each item of the grammaticality judgment test has ONE error. Please underline that error.**

Example: I am going to an Indian restaurant for lunch. Will you go with me? It's not too far away. It <u>serve</u> the best food, I believe.

1. He played the cricket with few of his friends yesterday. He enjoyed the game, too. But he left the field a bit early. He forgot that he had to prepare for an exam the next day.

2. Sean always reaches his office in time. He is truly punctual and responsible. Yesterday, however, he is late by an hour to reach his office. That surprised everyone.

3. I prefer cricket to soccer. Although cricket is more time-consuming than soccer, it is more exciting than soccer. Sometimes, I go to the stadium with three of my cousin to watch cricket.

4. Who does believe it? He did not turn in his assignment once again today. He was sick. Strange that he was only sick before the due date of assignment.

5. I went to the mall for some groceries. As I was coming home from the mall, I saw my friend Delta. He there went for groceries, too. We exchanged pleasantries.

6. I take care of my teeth as well as possible. I see a dentist at least once a year. Yet, two of my tooths are developing cavities. I can't believe it.

7. Ronny know that his cousin is coming to visit him today. He is very excited. He plans to go to the movie with his cousin in the evening. He anticipates wonderful times ahead with his cousin.

8. John is an attentive student. But he also loves to play, to swim, and catching fish. He is knowledgeable. He is physically fit as well.

9. My neighbor sometimes complain about the loud music from my house in few mornings during a week. But I don't listen to music loudly. She should know that I only play the piano.

10. Perhaps no game requires the captain to be so responsible as cricket. He has to perform; he must motivate other players to perform. A captain responsibility is immense in cricket.

11. Writing in English is very difficult for me at the moment. I don't know many English words. Grammar is not easy to learn, too. But my teacher is teach me the skills to improve my writing.

12. When I saw Susan, she was reading book in the cafeteria. I went close to her. She saw me. She said Hi to me, but she kept reading again.

13. Does she already knows that she is a good student? She can think critically. She writes persuasively. She reads deeply as well.

14. I find New Zealand really scenic. The weather of this country is soothing as well. In my opinion, I think this is one of the best countries to live.

15. Eric visits his country last month after staying five months in New Zealand. He felt homesick in New Zealand. He learned English here. He missed his parents, friends, and the food of his country.

16. She is writing a letter to her friend. She will send it by post. She knows that it will take some time to reach. Why should it takes so long to reach by post?

17. I could not find my car as I stepped out of the mall. I was edgy. I saw a police around. So I him asked a question about the car.

18. I am scared of writing in English. Because English is not my first language. I am trying to improve my writing skills in English to continue my studies in New Zealand.

19. I thought that he scores a century in that match. But he got out on 99. He played really well. That was unfortunate.

20. Bret invited his friend, Andre, for a dinner at his place. It was Bret's birthday. Andre was too late. Why did not Andre knew that he had to come in time?

21. It is one of the best articles I have ever read on Sachin Tendulkar. It's detailed, and it is easy to follow. You must have to read it.

22. The day was rainy and windy. I stayed home and watch cricket on TV. The day was enjoyable altogether, though it was not productive anyway.

23. Yesterday, I attended a lecture on Yoga. The speaker was inspiring and informed. I listened to him attentively, sincerely, and serious. Yoga looked helpful for our physical and mental health.

24. I had a class at room no. 21 at 9:30 am. I reached there on time. But nobody was not present. Perhaps, I went to the wrong room.

25. He must have go there before. The place looked confusing to me. I felt lost. But he helped me roam around.

26. The man drove fast to the station to catch the train. He was late. The train already left. It disappointed her.

27. They played well, and they almost won the match. Their supporters were cheer for them. But they lost too many wickets in the end. It was a very tight match, though.

28. Russell looked upset in the cafeteria. I went close to him. He left. Saying nothing.

29. My friend was cooking for both of us. I was trying to help him. But I severely burnt one of my fingers. My friend said, "Don't come to the kitchen never."

30. Rebecca came to New Zealand as a tourist from the UK. She liked New Zealand. She could not decide instantly himself whether she would live in New Zealand, or go back to the UK.

Appendix C

Name:

Writing Task

Instruction: Write for 25 minutes on the topic below first, and then answer the following questions for another 5 minutes.
Many students choose to attend schools outside their home countries. Why do some students study aboard?

Writing Task Questionnaire (English)

1. Did you plan for some time before you started to write on the topic?
    a.   yes   b. no
2. When do you generally revise your writing?
    a.   during writing   b. after writing   c. both   d. never
3. What do you generally revise if you revise at all? Tick as many as apply.
    a.   grammar   b. spelling   c. punctuation   d. vocabulary   d. organization   e. clarity
4. Which of the following do you generally think about as you write? Tick as many as apply.
    b.   communication with a reader   b. clarifying our own ideas about the topic   c. discovering
         new meanings through thinking   d. correct sentence   e. finishing as early as possible
5. Would you like to take the opportunity to compose a few drafts to improve your writing?
    a.   yes   b. no   c. do not know

Appendix D

Writing Task in Bangla

নির্দেশনাঃ লিখিত অংশের জন্য নির্ধারিত সর্বমোট ৩০ মিনিট। প্রথম ২৫ মিনিটে নিম্নোক্ত বিষয়ে লিখুন। তারপর বাকি ৫ মিনিটে অন্য প্রশ্নগুলোর উত্তর দিন।

অনেক শিক্ষার্থী দেশের বাইরের স্কুল বা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে পড়তে যায়। কেন তারা বিদেশে পড়ে?

Writing Task Questionnaire (Bangla)

1.   Did you plan for some time before you started to write on the topic?
a. yes   b. no

2. When did you revise your writing?
a. during writing   b. after writing   c. both   d. never
3. What did you revise if you revised at all? Tick as many as apply.
a. grammar   b. spelling   c. punctuation   d. vocabulary   e. organization   e. clarity
4. Which of the following did you think about as you wrote? Tick as many as apply.
a. communication with a reader b. Clarifying my own ideas about the topic   c.   discovering   new
ways of thinking about the topic   d. pleasing the researcher   e. finishing as early as possible
5. Would you like to take the opportunity to compose a few drafts to improve your writing?
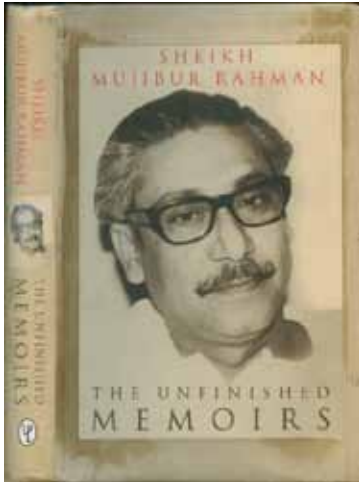a.   yes   b. no   c. do not know

BOOK REVIEWS

The Vanguard of Freedom

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The Unfinished Memoirs
Sheikh Mujibur Rahman
Translated by Dr. Fakrul Alam
Dhaka: The University Press Limited, 2012. 323 pp.
ISBN-13: 978-0670085460

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's *The Unfinished Memoirs*, one of the most interesting autobiographies, was published in 2012 by the University Press Limited, Bangladesh. The book was simultaneously published by Penguin Books India and by Oxford University Press Pakistan. This posthumously published memoir traces the life of Sheikh Mujib from his boyhood to his leadership of the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). It also unveils his indomitable spirit for independence, his lifelong fight against tyranny and injustice, his undying love for his people, and altogether manifests Mujib as the vanguard of freedom. Thus, the book inevitably carries great significance for Bangladesh as well as for the world.

Sheikh Mujibur Rahman was the architect of independence and the first prime minister of an independent Bangladesh. He led the struggle for independence against the ruthless rulers of the erstwhile West Pakistan and spent around twelve of his fifty-five years in prison for this. Hence, Mujib is rightly called the "Father of the Nation," "Friend of Bengal" (Bangabandhu), and the "Poet of Politics." Not only that, in 2004, BBC conducted a survey among Bengalis around the world where he was voted "The Greatest Bengali of all Time," pushing the World Poet Rabindranath Tagore to the second position in the list of great Bengalis born in the last thousand years.

Mujib's autobiography was discovered by his nephew in an abandoned office in 2004 and handed over to the Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, who later had it published. The present volume was written intermittently between 1967 and 1969 while Mujib was in Dhaka Central Jail as a prisoner of the state. In the book, he mostly describes the larger aspects of his struggle against institutional and ethnic discriminations, and explains some core issues regarding Bengali politics, communal riots, famine, Bengal partitions, various movements, and conspiracies ingrained in the system of that time. Though the book under review spans only thirty-five years from 1920 to 1955, it encompasses the writer's life, education, family history, and political activities. Apart from his long prison life, the writer also talks about his parents, wife, and children, especially their sacrifice and love for him. Some of the passages in the book are striking yet very lucid and simple, such as when he narrates how his young son, Sheikh Kamal, failed to recognize his own father and asked his elder sister Sheikh Hasina, "Sister dear, can I call your abba my abba too?" (208).

Sheikh Mujib's narrative takes readers beyond his family history and political career into the world of East Pakistan. Mujib was born in a well-known Sheikh family on March 17, 1920 in Tungipara village of Gopalganj, located in the southern part of Bangladesh. His father was Sheikh Lutfur Rahman and mother was Sayera Khatun. Being the son of a civil court clerk and a landowner, Mujib did his schooling in Gopalganj and Madaripur. It was at school that he fostered the seeds of independence under the influence of the Swadeshi Movement against the British. At the same time, he became involved in the Muslim Students' League of Gopalganj under the patronization of one of the influential leaders of all Pakistan, Hussain Shahid Shuhrawardy. While doing his Bachelor of Arts at the Calcutta Islamia College, Mujib played a leading role in the communal riot in Calcutta during the India-Pakistan partition in 1947. Later, he oriented himself to the national political movement when he got admitted in the Law Department of Dhaka University and eventually formed the East Pakistan Muslim Students' League in 1948. In the same year, when Khawja Nazimuddin, the then Chief Minister of undivided Bengal declared that "Urdu would be the state language of Pakistan," Mujib raised a spontaneous protest against the declaration. During the language movement in 1952, despite being in prison, he was organizing strong protests against this unjustified decision.

The Unfinished Memoirs highlights Mujib as a charismatic leader, a dynamic orator, and an undaunted advocate for democracy for the people. Being an unflinching voice against all kinds of corruption, oppression, tyranny and discrimination, Mujib never compromised his principles and ideologies. Ideologically, he believed in socialism and considered it to be the only means for liberating people from exploitation and for making economic and social progress. As he writes: "I myself am no communist; I believe in socialism and not in capitalism. I believe that capital is a tool of the oppressor. As long as capitalism is the mainspring of the economic order, people all over the world will continue to be oppressed" (237). As a leader of the exploited, Mujib empathized not only with his own people but with all oppressed people. As a pragmatic politician, to love humanity was his central political philosophy, to better the condition of human beings was his vision, and to ensure the welfare of the masses was his mission: "As a man, what concerns mankind concerns me. As a Bengali, I am deeply involved in all that concerns Bengalis. This abiding involvement is born of and nourished by love, enduring love which gives meaning to my politics and to my very being" (n.p.). However, he was not a mere theorizer but a man of action, never afraid to make mistakes.

As he wrote, "When I decide on something, I go ahead and do it. If I find out that I was wrong, I try to correct myself. This is because I know that only doers are capable of making mistakes; people who never do anything make no mistakes!" (85).

The book under review reveals Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's unique personality. Mujib inherited his integrity and sense of justice from his ancestors and consolidated these with his patriotism, emotion, hospitality, bravery, tenacity, and eloquence. Mujib also took note of others' good qualities and inculcated those in himself. It is important to note that Mujib was fortunate enough to come into close contact with three great personalities of the Indian subcontinent – Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, and Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq – from whom he acquired some of his personality traits. In all probability, Sheikh Mujib might have imbibed Suhrawardy's generosity, Bhashani's sense of sacrifice, and Fazlul Huq's magnanimity. However, in spite of being very close to the influential leaders, Mujib never hesitated to point out erroneous acts of the senior party leaders, but he did this respectfully. An example can be drawn from the book. In 1944, Mr. Suhrawardy called upon all student leaders to settle a dispute over a prominent party post and asked them to give it to a candidate who was dissenting, fraudulent, and discouraging for good workers in Mujib's opinion. Mujib instantly protested against Suhrawardy's decision. The latter eventually burst out, "'Who are you? You are nobody'; I [Mujib] retorted, 'If I am nobody then why have you invited me? You have no right to insult me; I will prove that I am somebody; Thank you sir, I will never come to you again'." (30). This demonstrated that Mujib was not a blind follower; he was unfalteringly firm in his principles.

Thus, Mujib's family legacy, aptitude for learning from others, and interaction with diverse groups of people made him an all-encompassing personality. People from all walks of life had great respect and reverence for Mujib. As mentioned in the book, for example, once Mujib was travelling in a small boat along the River Modhumati to his village. Suddenly, his boat was surrounded by a gang of river pirates. As he wrote, "They asked him [the boatman], 'Who is on the boat?' The boatman said that I [Mujib] was on it. One of the pirates immediately hit our man with an oar, saying, 'You swine, why didn't you tell us that this is the boat of our honored Sheikh?' They left quickly" (133). This shows how strong Mujib's personality was that even criminals could not but show high regard for him.

The autobiography exhibits the intellectual flair of the author. Like a true anthropologist or a historian, Mujib used to study and talk about all aspects of the nature, culture, and history of his own nation. As a politician, Mujib could easily feel the pulse of his people, read their minds, and reach their hearts. As a writer, he remained unbiased in discussing the true nature of his people, even the negative ones. For instance, Mujib mentioned that "instances of envy and treachery can be found in our history" (51) and "blind faith and belief in the supernatural are the faults of our people" (52). Distinctively, he wrote, "Envy and malice are qualities people all over the world have but only Bengalis are stricken by grief at another's prosperity. They are never happy to see their brothers do well. This is why Bengalis have been oppressed by other races throughout the ages despite being blessed with so many good qualities" (51). Yet, the author was proud of the Bengalis because they had always been politically active and informed. Thus, he stated: "[O]rdinary Bengalis are knowledgeable about politics and are very much conscious of the political situation … Bengali Muslims loved their religion but they would not allow themselves to be made fools of by the people who were interested in using Islam for political gains" (262-263).

The Unfinished Memoirs, in one sense, can be read as a non-fictional bildungsroman as it educates readers about the writer's qualities and helps them see almost thirty-five years of his world. In another sense, it can be singled out both as a vivid description of a personal memoir and an earnest account of Bangladesh's journey towards freedom. Thus, it becomes not just an autobiography of an author but the autobiography of a nation. Still, some readers might argue that the book is carelessly written and not very well-knit like other great autobiographies. This is true to some extent, but readers need to keep in mind that it was not planned as an autobiography. Rather, it was written more as reminiscences. Yet, the book turns out to be a useful work for our future leaders and researchers because of the wealth of intimate details it provides concerning Sheikh Mujib and his vision for an independent nation. It will also remain an extraordinary document of a man who altered the course of history, transformed the fate of a nation, and turned the dream of freedom into reality.
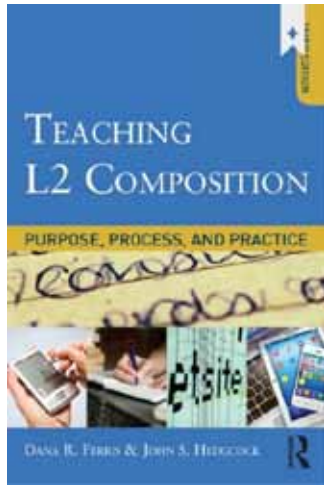
Originally written in Bangla, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's *Oshomapto Attojiboni* was translated into English by Dr. Fakrul Alam as *The Unfinished Memoirs*. It is an excellent work of translation and Alam's passion for translation shines through in this work as he remains faithful to the language, style, and spirit of the original, as well as making it reader-friendly. It is evident from the quality of Alam's translation that he has diligently worked to recreate the original as closely as possible without compromising the taste and meanings of the source text. In this translation, Alam imparts ample value to the literary function of the work as well as the impact it has upon the readers' appreciation of the autobiography.

The Unfinished Memoirs is a great piece of work providing the most authentic introduction to Mujib's ideologies which were, after all, the driving force of his life. It will always continue to impact Bengalis as well as all freedom-loving people of the world. In short, the memoir and its translation reveal what the world would otherwise never have known: the pain, suffering, and sacrifices of a man whose love for his country was undying.

Teaching L2 Composition: Purpose, Process, and Practice

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Learning how to write is a complex task in any language, but learning to write in a nonnative language presents its own special set of challenges. Teaching second language (L2) writing is about more than just creating lesson plans. It is about grounding classroom decisions in pedagogical principles supported from the research literature. *Teaching L2 Composition: Purpose, Process, and Practice* by Ferris and Hedgecock (2013) provides valuable information for a wide range of L2 professionals. Currently in its third edition, the book makes a useful reference to pre-service and in-service L2 writing professionals as well as writing centers which serve an L2 population.

Ferris and Hedgecock (2013) noted some improvements of interest in this 3rd edition of the text. For example, the term "ESL" was changed to "EL" to include a broader and more current term. Acknowledging multilingualism, students are referred to as "multilingual" or "L2" writers in the text. The authors also added three new chapters to the 3rd edition with the aim to provide a broader description of student population in L2 classrooms, focus on theory behind composition pedagogy, and expand on developing practical language skills in the writing classroom (pp. xiv-xv). Finally, the authors decided to imbed a discussion of technology into each chapter instead of keeping it in a standalone chapter. The authors address their text towards their intended audience with a blend of research and practicality which will appeal to researchers, teacher trainers, and L2 writing instructors alike.

A strength of the book is its clear organization, which enables the target audience to understand the material effectively. *Teaching L2 Composition: Purpose, Process, Practice* has three main sections. The

first section (Chapters 1-3) is what Ferris and Hedgecock (2013) call the "foundation chapters," and these chapters discuss the underlying theories behind teaching pedagogy. The second section (Chapters 4-6) applies theory in a discussion of "reading-writing connections, [practical] instructional design, and assessment" (p. xvi). Finally, the third section (Chapters 7-9) directly addresses error correction and feedback on L2 writing. Every section builds from discussion in prior chapters. To illustrate, sociocultural theory introduced in the theoretical discussion in Chapter 3 is touched upon in Chapter 5's discussion on course design, and again in Chapter 6's overview on assessment practices in L2 writing classrooms. An additional benefit to this text is that every chapter begins with reflective questions. All chapters then conclude with resources for additional reading, reflection questions, and useful application activities. These built-in questions and activities are useful for an active reading experience and also as classroom activities for teacher educators, thus appealing to the target audience.

The three chapters in the first section focus on the history of writing, types of L2 learners, and pedagogical theories which successfully lay the foundation for the practices discussed in the rest of the book. Chapter 1 effe   ctively ties the history of writing along with features of L2 writing to address "intercultural rhetoric" (IR) and its potential impact on L2 writing teaching. The historical overview of writing forms begins in 3500 BCE and explains the development of writing from its origins in Sumerian cuneiform to modern lexigraphic and logographic systems. An important connection is made between different types of script systems and how these may either aid or interfere with learning to write in a new language. For example, logographic systems like Mandarin Chinese may make word analysis difficult for these students in an English language classroom (pp. 12-13). Ferris and Hedgecock (2013) also connect dimensions of writing development in L2 to schemata (content, cultural, formal, and linguistic), which shape how students approach writing (p. 17). Connection to Kaplan's well-known 1966 study of contrastive rhetoric situates the discussion of intercultural rhetoric and its implications on L2 writing challenges. The authors clearly address two purposes for their chapter: to show the impact writing has had on culture throughout the world, and (more practically-oriented) to contrast writing systems across languages to highlight potential challenges L2 students may have from L1 transfer into a new language. Chapter 1 succeeds at connecting history and written language differences to understand why this matters in L2 writing classrooms.

Chapter 2 classifies and contrasts types of L2 learners and learning settings in order to educate teachers who will work with these populations. Ferris and Hedgecock (2013) broke down the recognizable English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) category of English learners to explain strengths and challenges these populations face. For example, international students in an ESL setting have several strengths, such as being typically well-educated and literate in their L1s, a trait Cummins agrees aids in L2 literacy development. The authors also state several challenges international students may face such as weaker speaking and listening skills compared to reading and writing skills. They may also not understand or value the workshop-style writing classes and peer review processes common in the US English language classroom. Additional strengths and challenges for other ESL students, such as resident immigrants and Generation 1.5 learners as well as EFL students, are described. Also, institutional contexts such as academic, nonacademic settings, and intensive language programs are classified in terms of strengths and challenges. Readers may notice more emphasis on the ESL context in this chapter compared to the EFL context. However, the classification of learners and learning settings

are provided in a clear and effective way for the target audience to apply this knowledge to their own educational contexts.

Chapter 3 is the most theoretically-driven chapter which takes the reader on a journey through the evolution of theory, research, and practice from the early 20th century to arrive at the current trends in modern L2 writing instruction. The authors accomplish this by featuring multiple large themes within the subject such as history of rhetoric and linguistics; the intersection of theory, research, and practice for L1 and L2 English composition instruction; shifts in pedagogy in these fields over time. One of the key areas included in the text, which is most relevant for the target audience, is the explanation of process-oriented approaches to writing in English composition contexts. Ferris and Hedgecock (2013) show current trends in L2 writing have moved away from the 1960's "focus on discursive form" which simply used writing to showcase linguistic accuracy (p. 75). Instead, these current trends focus on writers, collaborations with peers, and writing for intended academic disciplines. The authors also argue that modern sociocultural theoretical orientation indicates an "appreciation for the social, and often political context in which L2 writers must learn and live" (p. 87). The authors call for "purposeful and contextualized communicative interaction" in writing classrooms (p. 87). Interactive classroom pedagogy in L2 classrooms is a current and important trend in the TESOL field (Ellis, 2008). The wide berth of information in this chapter is certainly easier for readers with a background in theory, but it is a valuable component of this text because it grounds the statements about pedagogical decisions in future chapters.

The three chapters in section 2 address classroom planning and assessment in L2 writing instruction, effectively tying theory into practical application. Chapter 4 emphasizes the deep connection between reading and writing skills. These thoughts are also echoed in mainstream American university level English composition texts (DasBender, 2011; Bunn, 2011). Ferris and Hedgecock (2013) show support for the bidirectional and nondirectional perspectives on reading-writing relationships, and use this point of view to advocate micro as well as macro skills in reading instruction in a writing classroom. The authors also argue that genre analysis instruction has an important part in a socioliterate writing classroom because this exploration, understanding, and questioning of genres "demystifies texts" to the betterment of the L2 writers (p. 117). Besides preparing teachers for the writing task design in their classrooms, this chapter also provides an important theoretical orientation from which to evaluate textbooks, a task with many implications for learner outcomes. The practicality in the application activities in this chapter is particularly helpful for teachers. For instance, the chapter includes useful activities such as how to produce an effective writing prompt for a target student audience.

Chapter 5 discusses additional practical elements of course design for an L2 writing classroom. The authors describe clear steps towards effective L2 writing course development, from needs assessment followed by syllabus creation, and finally lesson planning. The authors created a very user-friendly chapter with helpful guidelines and illustrative tables to accomplish course design. In addition, the chapter highlights interconnection of needs analysis, curricular framework, goals, and learning objectives. To their credit, the authors acknowledge that there is no single "robust framework for curriculum and syllabus design for L2 writing" (p. 147). However, they state that grounding the process of curriculum design in sound principles creates a "defensible instructional framework" satisfying student and teacher needs within an institution of learning (Brown, 2011, as cited in Ferris & Hedgecock, 2013, p. 158).

Chapter 6 focuses on the practical elements and considerations of assessment in L2 writing classrooms. The authors classify and describe multiple types of assessment, discuss issues of reliability and validity, and conclude with practical considerations for choosing them. Within the discussion of assessments, the section about scoring papers is of particular value to teachers because it is such an instrumental element of a writing class. Therefore, Ferris and Hedgecock's (2013) description of rubrics and scoring methods is highly applicable to all the teachers who read this chapter. The chapter concludes with a discussion of practical considerations to be taken when deciding how to score student papers, a theme which is further explored in the final section of the book.

The third section of the book centers on feedback, treatment of errors, and development of skills in L2 writing. Chapter 7 grounds the discussion of feedback in existing research literature on the subject, and then provides a practical description of feedback processes and options to provide this feedback for the L2 writing classroom. This is an important subject for all writing teachers, as Ferris and Hedgecock (2013) rightfully state, "[feedback] represents the single largest investment of teacher time and energy" (p. 238). The authors state that research on feedback has naturally focused on effects of teacher comments on student writing, student opinions of teacher comments, and studies of how teachers give comments to students. The consensus in the reviewed literature is that students want feedback from their teachers and use the feedback given in their writing. However, the authors highlight that teacher feedback must be clear and consistent to be useful to the students, and provide a practical guide for teachers to accomplish this task. Another useful element presented in this chapter is the reminder of alternatives to written teacher commentary, such as peer conferences, teacher conferences, and writing center assistance. The authors acknowledge L2 writing teachers' common feelings of being overwhelmed by feedback responsibilities for their classes, and give options to increase efficiency in the feedback process as well as alternative options for this important part of an L2 writing class.

Chapter 8 focuses on treatment of errors in L2 writing. It includes a survey of relevant research perspectives and follows with an overview of different types of error correction and recommendations on these approaches. Ferris and Hedgecock (2013) acknowledge the academic argument Truscott (1996; 2007) made against error correction in L2 writing. However, Ferris and Hedgecock emphasize teachers' understanding of their "responsibility to help students move past serious meaning-impeding errors and stigmatizing errors" (p. 281). Core concerns about error correction in L2 writing are listed in a helpful manner for the reader, and recommendations on what type of error feedback to give are provided with empirical support. Support for perspectives on error feedback included in this chapter follow current trends in the research literature (Biber et al., 2011; Hyland & Hyland, 2006).

The final chapter in this text, Chapter 9, brings together the conversation of feedback practices and teacher training with practical takeaways for the L2 writing class. Practical principles for grammar/language instruction are listed and supported, clear advice on how to selectively teach grammar lessons is given, and structures of mini-lessons are explained with examples. The authors provide a useful chart that includes a helpful summary of L2 writing errors teachers need to know. The application activities in this chapter provide practical advice for educators as they give step-by-step models for identifying student language learning needs, using course texts for language lessons, and developing mini-lessons in the L2 writing classroom.

Ferris and Hedgecock (2013) have effectively created a text to reach their intended audience: educators, current L2 writing instructors, writing program administrators, and researchers in L2 writing. The text acknowledges ESL and EFL L2 writing contexts and supports process-approach L2 writing instruction. The authors offer a variety of practical recommendations for L2 writing classes based on theory and research literature, although implementation of these recommendations may vary according to setting and class size (Christensen, 1994; Lin, 2009).

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