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POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS



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NOVA

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SAMUEL GYASI OBENG
AND
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This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information with regard to the subject matter covered herein. It is sold with the clear understanding that the Publisher is not engaged in rendering legal or any other professional services. If legal or any other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent person should be sought. FROM A DECLARATION OF PARTICIPANTS JOINTLY ADOPTED BY A COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION AND A COMMITTEE OF PUBLISHERS.

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PREFACE

This new book focuses on the analysis of language (possibly in conjunction with other semiotic systems) in course of our lives as citizens of established polities of various scopes. It includes social or human sciences (including political science, psychology, sociology, discourse analysis, linguistics, literary and cultural studies, education, etc.) insofar as they deal with discourse as politic behavior.

The articles range from an exploration of metaphor in Albanian translations, which takes its cue from cognitive linguistics (Rista-Dema), to a critical study of the implications of ESL training as culturally hegemonic practice (Hadley). Two studies use qualitative (interview) data to explore participants' sense of their political position: Alidou explores the importance of literacy in a multilingual context in West Africa, while Teye shows how Ghanaians experience political and economic alienation through their use of English as a "official" language. Finally, two of the articles share a focus on mass media: Agyekum analyzes how a radio call-in show influences the use of the local language mixed with the colonial language, while Mbisike uses speech acts to explore political ramifications of advertising discourse in Nigeria.

Chapter 1 - This paper concentrates on the functions and uses of English in the political discourse of Albania before the 1990s. Its focus is on the English translations of the memoirs of the Albanian political leaders during the Socialist Period (1945-1990). Political memoirs are characterized by rich figurative language which is distinguished for its stylistic power and informal register. Focusing on the use of similes, metaphors, and informal language, this paper shows how certain aspects of communication are affected by translation. The change of readership (from the Albanian people to the international community) necessitates certain accommodations in language register. While maintaining to some extent the figurativeness of language, the translated text in general loses the informality that characterizes the source text.

Chapter 2 - Momentous events of the late 20th and early 21st century have led to the rapid and sometimes disturbing growth of American influence around the world. This informal empire both explicitly rewards and implicitly threatens those living in nations of the expanding circle, depending upon their mastery of the English language and their conformity to Anglo-American cultural norms. Rewards often come in the form of greater access to political, economic and cultural power. Threats range from economic marginalization to cultural isolation. After understanding some of the cultural factors that seem to energize the American Empire, this presentation will consider some of the aspects related to the teaching of English as an International Language. What are some of the wider sociopolitical forces that

shape our decisions as language teachers? As educators ethically reflect upon their role, how will their decisions support or subvert the aims of those who have a stake in the continued supremacy of the English language?

Chapter 3 - The primary research question for this study is “What economic and political problems do Ghanaians of the Diaspora relate to the dominant use of English language and culture in the Ghanaian educational system?” The secondary question is “How can the Ghanaian Educational system blend the strengths of English and its indigenous languages to achieve sustained economic and political development?”

Chapter 4 - This paper extends the theory of speech acts proposed by Searle by showing how the illocutionary force of each speech act in a sequence of speech acts affects the perlocutionary force of the combined discourse. Nigerian public service advertisements are analyzed to explore the ways in which this sequencing alters the force of the message.

Chapter 5 - This paper seeks to highlight the mass media and looks at the sociolinguistics, communication, and modernisation of the Akan language in the media. It discusses the expansion of the lexicon of the Akan language to cater to new terms in politics, economics, environment, education, science and technology. The author discusses methods used in finding the terms and the modern concepts and methods used in translating aspects of the Ghanaian media into Akan. The study is based on a programme at “Radio Universe”, a local FM station at the University of Ghana, Legon. The paper also discusses the impact of the Afisem programme and the problems involved.

Chapter 6 - This paper explores the impact of multiple historical, educational, religious, and political trends on the interplay between language usage, orality, and literacies as related to Muslim women in postcolonial Niger. The main theoretical thrust of the paper is to demonstrate that contrary to the commonly held view about multilingualism as a barrier to trans-ethnic national communication in Africa, the cultural, educational and linguistic realities of Muslim women in Niger lead to the observation that multilingualism and code-switching can serve as a collective lingua franca in a way that aids inter-group intelligibility. The first part of the paper presents a theoretical overview of the history of women’s education/literacy and its interplay with gender in (post)colonial Niger Republic. The second part provides an ethnographic account of the impact of the multiple and overlapping traditions of multilingualism and literacies as they shape differently the life of one Nigerien woman. From these linguistic and literacy experiences, we begin to see how the concept of multilingual lingua franca operates in real life.

Chapter 1

**LANGUAGE REGISTER AND THE
IMPACTS OF TRANSLATION: EVIDENCE
FROM ALBANIAN POLITICAL MEMOIRS
AND THEIR ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS**

Mimoza Rista-Dema

Indiana University

ABSTRACT

This paper concentrates on the functions and uses of English in the political discourse of Albania before the 1990s. Its focus is on the English translations of the memoirs of the Albanian political leaders during the Socialist Period (1945-1990). Political memoirs are characterized by rich figurative language which is distinguished for its stylistic power and informal register. Focusing on the use of similes, metaphors, and informal language, this paper shows how certain aspects of communication are affected by translation. The change of readership (from the Albanian people to the international community) necessitates certain accommodations in language register. While maintaining to some extent the figurativeness of language, the translated text in general loses the informality that characterizes the source text.

DOMAINS OF ENGLISH AND THE ALBANIAN CONTEXT

English has become a worldwide language. The range and functions of its use, however, differ across countries and continents resulting in a plethora of varieties. In addition to cross-variety differences, an English variety undergoes important diachronic changes. Differences from period to period are especially salient when socio-political systems change.

Thus, the major political changes that took place in Eastern Europe in the last decades have resulted in considerable shifts in the functions of English. A common aspect of the sociolinguistic context of the East European countries before 1990s was the use of Russian,

the language of the Superpower, as an internal language of the Socialist Block. In addition, these countries used English as an external medium of communication in contacts with countries that were not members of the Socialist Block.

Although Albania had many aspects in common with the East European countries, it also developed differences in its profile due to its specific political context. Before 1990s, English in Albania was mainly used in contacts with English and non-English speakers who were representatives of political entities of certain countries and showed interest in the policies the Party in power was then pursuing. More specifically, spoken English was mainly used in the Party Congresses and some other political events, along with Russian and French, in the form of interpreting for foreign delegations. It was also used to communicate with the limited number of tourists who could visit Albania during the Socialist Period. On the other hand, written English was predominantly used in translations, which included political works of the Albanian leaders of that time, as well as literary works of some renowned Albanian writers.

Consequently, a quick search of U.S. libraries concerning books and documents in English published in Albania during that period of self-isolation shows that a high percentage of them belong to political discourse. They include works like *35 Years of Socialist Albania*, an album that shows the glorious aspects of life in Albania then; selected works of Enver Hoxha, the Albanian political leader, which describe the struggle of the Party of Labor of Albania with modern revisionism (Soviet, Yugoslav, and others) and the Party's work to revolutionize the country life. Among these publications in English, a number of memoirs written by Enver Hoxha also catch readers' attention. They occupy an important place in the political translations in English. Some of the titles found in American libraries include *With Stalin*, *The Khrushchevites*, *The Superpowers*, and *Reflections on China*.

Whereas the publications of the party leader memoirs in Albanian aimed at convincing the Albanian people about the righteousness of the political decisions made through the subtle use of intimation and solidarity strategies, their English translations were intended to have international propagandistic effects. In the case of the translations of the memoirs in question, a switch takes place "from internal political communication to external political communication" (Schaffner, 1998, p. 186). In other words, the reader of the original text, i.e. the Albanian people, is now replaced by the reader of the translation, i.e. the international community. As Horowitz (1987) points out "language and [discourse] grow out of human needs to construct, negotiate, and interpret meaning for an audience and the personal intentions of a speaker or writer" (p. 122). Therefore, it is of interest to see how the change of readership, which also brings about changes of writer's intentions, affects discourse. In other words, how can language be adjusted to appeal to a foreign audience? Studies on translation have provided important insights on the changes that take place during translating.

RESEARCH ON TRANSLATION

Wilss (1996) notes that translation "is a specific kind of linguistic information processing in which three communicative partners interact: the ST [source text] author, the translator, and the TT [target text – translation] reader" (p. 5). Related to such interaction, Hickey (1998) draws attention to the role of translation in performing a perlocutionary act, i.e. an act that brings or may bring about some effect on somebody. According to Hickey a perlocutionary

act is “a joint endeavor between S(peaker) and H(earer). It involves S’s performance of speech acts and H’s performance of response-acts” (p. 218). Therefore, an important task for a translator is to achieve ‘perlocutionary equivalence’ between the source text and the target text (p. 219).

Hickey points out “exegesis” or “explanation of the ST” among the strategies a translator uses to render such equivalence. This strategy is an important step that helps readers to overcome the difficulties they experience due to the lack of access to the culture, language, and reality provided in the source text (p. 222). On the other hand, when explanation fails to provide the desired translation, a translator may resort to other strategies such as recontextualization. Through this strategy, a translator changes the text radically but attempts to maintain its perlocutionary effect. Hickey notes that recontextualization is applicable in the translation of proverbs, especially when certain words are purposely replaced in them in order to produce humor. In these cases, recontextualization “will involve finding a proverb in the target language and distorting it in the same way as the original” (p. 223).

Hickey emphasizes that the use of these translation strategies depends on text types. Whereas the translation of legal texts may require explanation, the translation of literary texts usually employs recontextualization. Hickey notes that the latter give translators more difficulty because they have to make stylistic choices, as well as render figures of speech and language-specific features. Therefore, when translating literary texts, the translator decides which way to choose in order to convey to the reader the closest perlocutionary effects possible to the original texts.

Thus, translation is a process of decision making, and as Wilss (1996) points out, it “is characterized by the combination of obligatory and optional, by constant and variable text elements” (p. 21). Furthermore, Wilss notes that the translator, just like other recipients of a literary text, “does not, at least not always, respond to a particular text in the manner intended by the text author. This attitude is due to the fact that in the approach to, and understanding of, a literary text, the text recipient tends to build his own, hermeneutic rather than analytical, text image. The meaning of a piece of literature is open-ended rather than authoritarian” (p. 25).

While defining translation as “a cross-linguistic sociocultural practice, in which a text in one language is replaced by a functionally equivalent text in another,” House (1998) points out that a translation is a text that is “doubly bound” (p. 63). It is bound to the original text in the source language, and also “to the communicative-linguistic conditions holding in the culture to which the addressees belong” (p. 63). She notes that

This double bind is the basis of the equivalence relation which, in turn, is the conceptual basis of translation. It has been an important aim of linguistic-textual approaches to translation to specify the equivalence relation by distinguishing a number of different frameworks of equivalence . . . such as, for instance, extralinguistic circumstances, connotative values, audience design or norms of usage that have emerged from research in contrastive rhetoric, contrastive pragmatic analyses, and from empirical investigations of pairs of translations and originals and parallel texts in different languages. (p. 63).

House emphasizes that “‘functional equivalence’ (in its different forms and types)” to the original text is the most important requirement for translation equivalence (p. 63). Looking at German translations of English texts, House points out important differences with regard to politeness. She observes that

[I]n the German translation, the addresser appears to be more forceful, active and direct, while the original expresses the action to be done by the addressee more abstractly and indirectly (nominally). The utterance in the English original seems to have the illocutionary force of a subtle suggestion: in the translation it has become a request” (p. 67).

In addition, House notes that German translations are generally more precise and “scientific” than the English original. House explains that the translator usually applies “a cultural filter making allowances for the differences in German and English politeness norms” (p.68). Thus, the translations in English of German texts have a stronger interpersonal function due to cultural differences in communicative preferences and politeness norms between English and German. Based on observations of such translations, House (1998) points out that “[T]he style level in the German translation is more formal, the social distance markedly greater, and ... the translation is much less involved, considerably toned down, flattened in its perlocutionary force and altogether more sober and factual than the original” (p. 69). Concluding she emphasizes “the great need for empirical cross-cultural research into communicative and politeness norms and preferences involving different language pairs. Only a solid basis of cross-cultural empirical studies can provide translators with the instruments necessary to transcend accidental intuition and personal prejudice” (p. 70).

Focusing on cognitive aspects, Wilss (1996) points out that “translation is part of linguistic behavior.” A sentence may consist of nominal and verbal phrases of different kinds, but only when those parts are put together into particular organization will underlying schema emerge. Wilss (1996) notes that a schema is a cognitive unit based on prior experience. “This prior experience or organized knowledge . . . takes the form of expectations . . . , saving the individual the trouble of figuring things out anew all the time” (Tannen, 1979, p. 144 in Wilss, 1996, p. 61). The fact that it is generally unlikely for the TT reader to share prior experience with ST writer makes the translation process difficult.

Therefore, a brief overview of the politics of Albania during the period of Cold War is expected to contribute to readers’ understanding of figurative language used in the genre of political memoir. Such exposure of the Albanian political context is also an important prerequisite for analyzing the translator’s choices.

POLITICS IN ALBANIA AND TRANSLATIONS IN ENGLISH

After World War II, the only party in power, the Communist Party of Albania, which was led by Enver Hoxha, strictly pursued Stalinism in both ideology and economy. As a result, the Soviet–Albanian relations deteriorated with the coming of Khrushchev to power after Stalin’s death in 1953 since the new leader of the Soviet Union denounced Stalin’s crimes. In addition, Khrushchev rehabilitated Tito, the Yugoslav leader, whom Stalin and the Information Bureau had expelled from the Socialist Camp in 1948. In Hoxha’s view, Tito was leading Yugoslavia on the road of capitalism, whereas Stalin was a loyal follower of Marxism–Leninism.

Even though Hoxha was in need of the Soviet Union’s economic aid, he would make no concessions with regard to the Marxist–Leninist principles. Faced with the revisionist and anti-Stalinist attitude of Khrushchev, and being aware that economic dependence would lead

to political dependence, Hoxha and the Party of Labor of Albania designed and supported an all-round development of the Albanian economy. The Albanian leadership disregarded all other alternatives of development suggested by the Yugoslavs and, later on, by the Soviets. Such policy led to the Soviet–Albanian ideological and diplomatic break in December 1961 and later relegated Albania to the most isolated and dogmatic country of Eastern Europe.

As a result of the strict implementation of the Marxist–Leninist ideology, political discourse always occupied a central place in the literature of socialist Albania. Among others, memoirs were a prominent genre of political discourse with a powerful persuasive role. They were basically written by Hoxha and a few other political figures. Though memoirs are considered to be personal, in a totalitarian system like the Albanian society, their goal goes far beyond the mere narration of real life stories. They persuade readers through the subtle use of intimation and solidarity strategies. Although memoirs are retrospective, the selection of rich language has persuasive effects, since it aims at convincing people about the righteousness of the decisions made. The extensive use of figures of speech, such as simile, metaphors, name-calls, and others had a great impact on the recipients.

On the other hand, Hoxha’s memoirs are also appealing at an international level because they describe the political developments of Cold War in Albania, a country which “enjoyed a prominence far out of proportion to its size and power” during that time (Pano, 1981, p. 189). In addition, these memoirs portray leading figures of influential countries of the Eastern Communist Block. Taking into consideration Albania’s specific political context during Cold War, an evaluation of these leaders from Hoxha’s viewpoint is expected to be unique and attract the attention of the international audience.

Just like the respective originals, memoir translations aim at discrediting the author’s opposing political entities and elevate the author’s political party in the eyes of the international community. In addition, English translations of the memoirs were supposed to make an important contribution to establishing links between the political leadership of Albania at that time and other political parties around the world that had common political views.

How is the genre of memoir rendered into English so that it can be accessible to the international community? As mentioned above, it is difficult to come up with equivalent translation of tropes because their meaning is culture-bound and the translation in English decontextualizes them. In addition, tropes and informal language, which includes vulgarisms, are mainly used as part of in-group language, and the change of the audience, from the Albanian people to international community, weakens the strength of these strategies.

LANGUAGE USE IN THE *KHRUSHCHEVITES* AND ITS TRANSLATION IN ENGLISH

The Khrushchevites was written in 1980 and is based on Hoxha’s memoirs between the year 1953, after Stalin’s death, and the year 1961, when Khrushchev’s group cut off diplomatic relations with Albania. Its English translation was published in the same year. The language in this memoir is characterized by skillful use of tropes. Some of the figures of speech are distinguished for their stylistic power, whereas the others for their informal

register. In other words, side by side with the striking similes and metaphors, one can also find very informal and bold expressions of in-group communication.

Thus, combining research on translation and the theoretical framework on political discourse provided in Sornig (1989), Steinhart and Kittay (1998), and other researchers, this paper concentrates on the use of similes and metaphors in the political memoir *The Khrushchevites*, as well as on the strategies used to render these tropes into English. Comparing language use in the Albanian original with the respective English translation, the typical features of both discourses are highlighted in terms of figurativeness and level of formality. Therefore, in addition to the translation used in the English publication, the literal translation of the Albanian original is also provided for most of the selected examples.

Similes

Similes occupy a considerable place in Hoxha's memoirs. Their primary function is to vividly portray the situation created between Albania and the Soviet Union, and also between the former countries and Yugoslavia. Similes mainly characterize events and characters and create an atmosphere that allows the recipients to live through the experience of the describer. Examples (1), (2), and (3) show the change in the relations between Albania and the Soviet Union:

- (1) “Në mbledhje ra *një e ftohtë prej akulli*” (p. 25).

English translation

“The atmosphere of the meeting became *as cold as ice*” (p. 26).

- (2) “Dy, tri, katër ditë me radhë zgjatnin takimet, konsultat, ... por Shqipëria socialiste trajtohej me përbuzje nga të tjerët, *sikur ne t'u kishim zënë derën*” (p. 85).

Literal translation

(The meetings, consultations, . . . lasted two, three, four days in a row, . . . but socialist Albania was treated with contempt by others, *as if we had blocked their doorway*).

English translation

“The talks and consultations went on for two, three or four days on end, . . . but socialist Albania was treated with disdain by the others *as if we were a nuisance*” (p. 88).

- (3) “Ky u gjend ngushtë se nuk e priste *pyetjen si thikë* dhe ia nguli sytë Berias” (p. 25).

Literal translation

(He was taken aback because he didn't expect this question, which was *stabbing like a knife*, and turned his eyes to Beria).

English translation

“He found himself at a tight spot because he had not expected *this cutting question*, and he looked at Beria” (p. 26).

The underlined similes in these examples reflect the tense situation created between the two countries due to political disagreements. Similes are used to depict various aspects of the gradual worsening of the relations between Albania and the Soviet Union. Thus, the English translation of example (1), which is close to the original, characterizes the atmosphere that prevailed “as cold as ice”. On the other hand, the translation of example (2), which provides the change in attitude of the Soviets toward the Albanians, is far from literal. The Albanians were not welcomed guests anymore. The expression *zë derën* (‘block the doorway’) in Albanian implies ‘to stay at one’s place without the host’s prior permission’. The Albanians are familiar with this simile since it is part of the Albanian phraseology. Therefore, the schema is activated in Albanian readers of the image of the unwanted guests. On the other hand, the English translation diverts the focus from the event ‘block the doorway’ to a characteristic of the group, the Albanian representatives, who are described as “a nuisance”.

Furthermore, similes also show the nature of the discussion among the political leaders. The questions and answers had the power of stabbing ‘like a knife’. The English translation of example (3), however, does not use a simile. When “a question stabbing like a knife” of the literal translation is compared to “a cutting question” of the English translation, it is apparent that the translation is not as powerful and expressive as the Albanian original.

In addition, the majority of similes in *The Khrushchevites* add color to the physical and personality description of the characters. They are used to portray several Soviet and other leaders of the Socialist Camp countries, as shown in examples (4) through (7):

(4) “Hrushovi . . . shfaq natyrën e tij prej pehlivani në trajtimin e problemeve” (p. 33)

Literal translation

(Khrushchev . . . revealed his nature, which was like that of a trickster in the treatment of the problems).

English translation

“Khrushchev . . . displayed his clownish nature in the treatment of problems” (p. 34).

Due to semantic differences in the use of ‘clown’ in Albanian and English, the English translation fails to provide the intended meaning. The word *pehlivan* (‘clown’) in Albanian is used to refer to somebody who is skillful and capable of playing tricks. On the other hand, ‘a clown’ in English connotes a person who is innocent and stupid. Moreover, the general tendency in the English translation is to avoid the use of simile and provide their meaning through attributive adjectives and other devices, as in examples (5), (6), and (7):

(5) “. . . I hodha disa herë sytë Malenkovit, që ishte bërë *si baltë, i verdhë në të hirtë* . . .” (p. 36)

Literal translation

(Several times I threw a glance at Malenkov, who had become *like mud, a kind of greyish yellow*);

English translation

"I glanced several times at Malenkov who sat motionless . . . *his face an ashen hue*" (p. 37).

Thus, the simile "like mud" is avoided in the English translation of example (5). The Albanian original sounds stronger and more offensive.

(6) "Voroshilovi . . . ishte bërë *i kuq si paparanë*" (p.36)

Literal translation

(Voroshilov . . . had become *as red as a poppy*);

English translation

"Voroshilov, his face *flushed bright red* . . ." (p.37).

(7) "Vëllkoja rrinte *si një "shkëmb i ngrirë"*" (p. 148)

Literal translation

(Velko sat *just like a "frozen rock"*).

English translation

"Velko sat *in stony silence*" (p.155).

Again the similes 'as red as a poppy' and 'like a frozen rock' are avoided in examples (6) and (7) respectively.

As mentioned above, figurative language is used to describe situations and characters. Thus the changes in the Soviet policy, "like an ominous cloud" pervaded the whole atmosphere (pp.180-181). As many other characters, Dej, the Romanian leader "changed his colour like chameleon" (p.156). Sometimes similes are compounded with metaphors and, as a result, the level of indirectness is further enhanced, as in the following:

(8) "Sipas tyre *akulli i krijuar si mal* në mes nesh e revizionistëve titistë mund të çahet me një mbledhje apo takim të rastit, por ne nuk mendonim kështu" (p. 133).

Literal translation

(According to them *the ice created just like a mountain* between us and the Titoite revisionists could break with an occasional meeting, but we were not of that opinion).

English translation

"According to them, *the mountain of ice* created between us and the Titoite revisionists could broken with one chance meeting or contact, but this was not our opinion" (p. 139)

The metaphor “ice” in (8) shows the nature of the relation that existed between Albania and Yugoslavia, whereas the simile “like a mountain” denotes the intensity of aggravation in the relations between the two countries. The English translation employs only the metaphor “the mountain of ice”.

Metaphors

The differences between metaphors and similes are basically with regard to form. Metaphors, which are in abundance in Hoxha’s memoirs, make the language of this discourse highly expressive. Steinhart and Kittay (1998) point out that metaphors provide a further stretch of “the cognitive and expressive capacities of language” (p. 577). Therefore, an immense activation of recipients’ mental powers is required. As a result, the recipients gain more information if they process it in a metaphorical way (Wilson, 1990, p. 119).

Steinhart and Kittay (1998) group metaphors according to the following theories interpretation:

(A) *Elliptical Simile Theory* claims that “S is P” metaphorically suggests that “S is like P”:

“Polonia ishte “*motra e madhe*” e Bashkimit Sovjetik hrushovian. Pastaj vinte Bullgaria . . . të cilën hrushovianët . . . e kanë kthyer në një “*bijë të bindur*” të tyre (pp. 144-145).

English translation

“Poland was the “big sister” of the Khrushchevite Soviet Union. Then came Bulgaria . . . which the Krushchevites . . . have turned . . . into *their “obedient daughter”*”(p.151).

Thus, “Poland was the ‘big sister’ is equivalent to ‘Poland was like the big sister’.

(B) *Abstraction Theory* holds that metaphorical meaning is obtained by raising metaphorical predicates to a more abstract level at which there is no semantic incongruity:

“Këto e *gërryenin* partinë nga brenda, shuanin ndjenjën e luftës së klasave e të sakrificave dhe nxitnin rendjen drejt një jete “të mirë”, të rehatshme, me privilegje, me përfitime personale, me sa më pak punë e mundime” (Hoxha 1980, pp.44-45).

English translation

“These evils *eroded* the party from within, smothered the feeling of class struggle, and sacrifice and encouraged seeking the “good life”, with comforts, with privileges, personal gains, and with the least possible work and effort”(p.47).

The metaphors of this kind are usually confined to the verb, which literally denotes a physical process of another domain. They provide a parallelism with the situation in question.

(C) *Analogy Theory* states that “S is P” metaphorically means, “S is analogous to P”:

“Partia mbulohej nga një ndryshk i rëndë, nga apatia politike, duke menduar gabimisht se vetëm koka, udhëheqja vepron e zgjidh gjithshka” (Hoxha 1980, p.43).

English translation

“The Party *became covered by heavy layer of rust*, by political apathy, thinking mistakenly that the head, the leadership, operates and solves everything” (p.45).

“Ndërkaq *nepërka* revizioniste që po gjallërohej *nisi të derdhë* edhe *helmin* mbi figurën dhe veprën e Stalinit” (Hoxha 1980, p.49).

English translation

“Meanwhile the revisionist *viper*, which was becoming active *started to pour out its poison* about the figure and the work of Stalin” (p.52).

These routes of metaphorical interpretation coincide with three respective types of metaphors. Thus, (a) type consists of nominal metaphors; (b) type contains predicates; and (c) type has two or more categories that are generally combinations of both nouns and predicates. As pointed out above, this classification is not flawless. However, it still represents a way to interpret metaphors and help us understand them better.

Thus, the metaphors in Hoxha’s memoir *Hrushovianët* are classified according to the above-mentioned theories of interpretation.

ELLIPTICAL SIMILE THEORY

The metaphors of this group are closer to similes because they are nominal; the only difference is that they do not use the comparative conjunction “like”. Just like similes, the metaphors of this group are also employed to describe events, situations and characters. Thus, the struggle for power is described as:

(9) “*Luftë bërrylash* në udhëheqjen e lartë Sovjetike” (p. 13).

Literal translation

(Elbow-struggle in the top Soviet leadership).

On the other hand the English translation does not employ a metaphor. It is rendered as :

English translation:

“*In-fighting* among the top Soviet leaders” (p. 13).

Thus, the English translation is less figurative and more formal than the Albanian original. In addition, the translation generally avoids the use of vulgarisms, as in (10):

(10) Pasi e lexuam ua kthyem menjëherë autorëve raportin e tyre të tmerrshëm. Nuk kishte se ç’na duhej me vete ai *llagëm* akuzash të pështira që kishte kurdisur

Hrushovi. Ishin të tjerë ‘komunistë’ ata që e morën me vete për t’ia dhënë reaksionit e për ta shitur kioskëve me okë, si një biznes fitimprurës (p. 175).

English translation

“After we had read it we immediately returned the terrible report to its owners. We had no need for that *package* of filthy accusations which Krushchev had concocted. It was other “communists” who took it away to give to [the] reaction and to sell by ton in their book-stalls as a profitable business” (pp. 183-184).

Llagëm is a colloquial word that means ‘a sewer’ in Albanian. This metaphor, which Hoxha uses with reference to the 20th Soviet Congress report, is rendered in the English translation by “a package”. In terms of register, the switch from the vulgar and informal to the formal is obvious in the English translation.

Some of the metaphors in this category portray Khrushchev. He is described as “a huckster” and “a disciple of collective leadership”. Others characterize the Soviet leaders like Malenkov, Beria, Bulganin and Voroshilov as “the visually impaired”. Furthermore, Malenkov and Beria are also “the roosters of the chicken-coop”, which is rendered in English as “cocks of the walk” (p. 24). In addition to being offensive, some of these metaphors, such as the last one, present very informal register and are related to pastoral life.

Abstraction Theory

The common feature of the metaphors interpreted by the Abstraction Theory is that they consist mainly of predicates that denote concrete actions in abstract contexts. Therefore, in order to be interpreted these metaphorical predicates are raised to a more abstract level at which there is no semantic incongruity. These metaphors provide very vivid descriptions of events as well as of the actions of characters. The situations provided become more tangible, and as a result have stronger effects on the recipients.

- (11) “Në fushatën gjoja për vendosjen e udhëheqjes kolegjiale, Hrushovi *u përpoq të xhonglonte* me marifet duke bërë një zhurmë shurdhuese për luftën kundër kultit të personit” (p.52)

Literal translation

(In the campaign to allegedly establish a collegial leadership Hrushov attempted to skillfully tumble by making deafening noise against the cult of the individual)

English translation

“In the campaign allegedly for the establishment of the collective leadership Khrushchev was trying *to perform a sleight-of-hand trick* under cover of a deafening clamour about the struggle against the cult of the individual” (p. 55).

A different and vivid image is provided to the Albanian recipients in example (12)—that of a jongleur (clown) tumbling. On the other hand the translation in English just provides the meaning with no use of metaphor. The same phenomenon is observed in (12) and (13).

- (12) “Kjo *trumbetohej* për të treguar se “Stalini e kishte shkelur kolegjalitetin” se ai e kishte bastarduar këtë normë të rëndësishme për udhëheqjen leniniste” dhe se “drejtimi i partisë e i shtetit qe kthyer nga kolegjal në një drejtim personal” (p. 51).

Literal translation

(This *was trumpeted* to show that “Stalin had violated collegiality “; that he had bastardized this important norm of the Leninist leadership”; and that “the leading of the party and state was turned from collegial into individual”).

English translation

“[This] *was publicized* to show that ‘Stalin had violated the principle of collective leadership’, that he ‘had degraded this important norm for Leninist leadership’, and that the ‘leadership of the party and the state had been transformed from collective leadership into individual leadership’” (p. 54). [“was publicized” is used instead of “was trumpeted” which is more formal and is not metaphorical.]

- (13) “Hrushovi me Mikojanin filluan të likuidonin njerin pas tjetrit dhe më në fund të gjithë së toku, ata anëtarë të Presidiumit të partisë që do t’i cilësonin si “grup antiparty”. Pasi *i vunë stërkëmbëshin* Malenkovit, duke e zëvendësuar përkohësisht me Bulganinin, radha I erdhi Molotovit” (p. 177).

Literal Translation

Khrushchev and Mikoyan began to liquidate, one by one, and finally all together, those members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the party whom they were to describe as an “anti-party group”. After they *tripped up* Malenkov, temporarily replacing him with Bulganin, Molotov’s turn came.

English Translation

“Khrushchev and Mikoyan began to liquidate, one by one, and finally all together, those members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the party whom they were to describe as an “anti-party group”. After they *brought down* Malenkov, replacing him temporarily with Bulganin, Molotov’s turn came” (p. 185).

The metaphorical predicates in (12) and (13) reveal Hoxha’s cynicism towards Khrushchev’s actions. Hoxha wants to show that Khrushchev first attacked Stalin indirectly through his criticism against the “cult of the individual”. Therefore, as Hoxha points out, Khrushchev “skillfully tumbled” by not mentioning the addressee of his criticism. Then Khrushchev would become more open and would “trumpet” that Stalin had not implemented collective leadership, which was an important principle of Leninism. Later on, Khrushchev and his people would openly attack and get rid of Stalin’s followers. The metaphor “tripped up” in (13) vividly characterizes the strategies that were pursued to accomplish the goals. The English translation “bring down”, however, avoids the use of the metaphor focusing on the change rather than the way the mission was carried out.

Abstraction Theory type metaphors are also used to describe the attitude toward other countries’ leaders who were compliant with Khrushchev’s policy, as in (14) and (15)

- (14)“Todor Zhivkovi . . . u pompua e u fry gjersa u *bë* Sekretar I Parë i KQ të PK të Bullgarisë” (p.145).

Literal translation

(*Todor Zhivkov . . . was pumped up and bloated with praises till he became the first secretary of the Communist Party of Bulgaria*).

English translation

“Todor Zhivkov . . . *was publicized* and inflated until he became first secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian CP” (p. 152).

- (15)“Me eleminimin e tij, Hrushovi *pagëzoi* udhëheqës të Bullgarisë ose, më mire me thënë, “qehaja” të sovjetikëve në Bullgari, Todor Zhivkovin” (p. 203).

Literal translation

With his elimination, Khrushchev *baptized* Todor Zhivkov the leader of Bulgaria or more precisely “the steward” of the Soviets in Bulgaria.

English translation

“With his elimination, Khrushchev *named* Todor Zhivkov as the leader of Bulgaria or more precisely the ‘steward’ of the Soviets in Bulgaria” (p. 212).

The metaphor “was pumped up” in (14) is rendered as “was publicized” in the English translation. Also, the metaphor “baptized” (*pagëzoi*), which shows Hoxha’s irony toward Khrushchev’s actions, is translated as “named”. The use of metaphors is avoided in both examples and the lexical items chosen in the English translation are more formal and less figurative than the ones used in the Albanian original.

Furthermore, Hoxha employs metaphor when portraying the Romanian leader, Dezhi, who “bombarded” (*bombardoi*) the Albanian representatives “with his bragging about their bravery shown towards the corrupted king, Michael, whom they had forced to abdicate” (Hoxha, p. 150). Moreover, Hoxha uses metaphorical predicates to show his cynicism about the activity of the Yugoslav leader, Tito:

- (16)“Në arenën ndërkombëtare Titoja ishte bërë “komunisti” i dashur I imperializmit amerikan dhe kapitalizmit botëror, të cilët e *ngopnin* atë me ndihma e kredi, që ky të *hamulliste* kundër shtetit dhe rregjimit sovjetik e njëkohësisht t’ua shiste Jugosllavinë kapitaleve të huaja” (p. 100).

Literal translation

In the international arena Tito had become the beloved “communist” of the American imperialism and world capitalism, who *were feeding him up* with aids and loans, so that he would *howl* against the Soviet state and regime, and, simultaneously sell Yugoslavia to the foreign capital.

English translation

“In the international arena, Tito had become the “communist” dear to American imperialism and world capitalism, which *lavished* credits and aid on him, so that he would *howl* against the Soviet regime and the Soviet state and at the same time sell Yugoslavia to foreign capital” (p.104).

In example (16) “lavished” provided in the English translation is more formal than “were feeding him up”. The Albanian term *ngopnin* is very informal. On the other hand, “howl” is rendered literally in the English translation. The juxtaposition of “lavish” and “howl” in is stylistically striking.

After Tito’s rehabilitation into the socialist camp, Hoxha describes the change in attitude of the communist parties as follows:

(17) “Më vonë të gjitha partitë në fjalë, përveç Partisë së Punës të Shqipërisë, *lëpinë* çfarë kishin thënë dhe kishin aprovuar kundër Titos dhe titizmit” (p. 141)

Literal translation

(Later on all the parties in question, except the Party of Labor of Albania, *licked* what they had said and approved against Tito and the Titoites).

English translation

“Later, all these parties, apart from the Party of Labor of Albania, *ate* the very words which they themselves had said and endorsed against Tito and Titoism” (p. 147).

The Albanian word *lëpinë* (‘licked’) is more demeaning than its English counterpart ‘eat’.

Through the use of metaphorical predicates Hoxha also points out his reaction against the attitude of the Soviet leaders who would use all kinds of pressures and skills in order “to prune” (*qethnin*) the Albanian requests for aid. As a result Hoxha would “boil with anger” (*zieja me zemërim*) and “wrangle” (*u hënggra*) with them. These expressive predicates powerfully convey to the recipients the user’s feelings towards the political changes that were taking place. The general tendency in the English translation is the use of more common and formal terms, as is also shown in example (18), where the phrase ‘was dumped in the trash can’ is rendered as “was rejected”:

(18) “Por, më vonë, në një konsultë të partive të kampit, kjo “byro” *u hodh në kosh*, ca sepse hrushovianët u penduan, ca se pati kundërshtime, veçnerisht nga polakët” (p. 209).

Literal translation

Later, however, at a consultation of the parties of the socialist camp, the proposal for the “bureau” *was dumped in the trash can*, partly because the Khrushchevites had changed their minds about it and partly because it was opposed, especially by the Poles.

English translation

“Later, however, at a consultation of the parties of the socialist camp, the proposal for the “bureau” *was rejected*, partly because the Khrushchevites had changed their minds about it and partly because it was opposed, especially by the Poles” (p. 218).

Analogy Theory

The most common group of the metaphors used in Hoxha’s book are the ones interpreted by means of the Analogy Theory. With regard to form they are mainly combinations of nominals and predicates. They provide a higher level of indirectness than the two other groups of metaphors because more than one sentence element is used figuratively to depict events and characters. Analogy metaphors cover a range of topics. They are used to describe the changes that were taking place in the Soviet leadership with the coming of Khrushchev to power, the attitude towards Stalin, the personality of several party leaders, the activity of Khrushchev and Tito, the development of Soviet and Yugoslav relations, as well as Hoxha’s reaction towards these events and characters.

Thus, with the coming of Khrushchev to power “the green lights” were turned on “for all those revisionist elements who, up till yesterday, were wriggling and keeping a low profile awaiting for the opportune moments” (English translation, p. 39). In Hoxha’s view the principles of Marxism–Leninism were no longer pursued by the Soviet leadership. Therefore, he points out that “the Khrushchevite caste *corrodes the sword of revolution*” (English translation p. 41). According to the Stalinist interpretation, one of the requirements of Marxism–Leninism was the constant need of waging class struggle. The metaphor “corrodes the sword of revolution” implies that the Soviet leadership was weakening its struggle against the bourgeoisie and the other classes overthrown by the socialist revolution. Hoxha would further describe this situation as “*the breeze of liberalism*” which “*is blowing in the Soviet Union*” (p. 41).

The author depicts the effects of the changes of the Soviet leaders’ attitude through the following scene:

(19) “*Kjo valë po ngrihej dalëngadalë, po përgatitej me kujdes opinionioni*” (pp. 55-56).

Literal translation

(*This wave was rising slowly, and the opinion was being carefully prepared*)

English translation

“*This was being built up slowly, public opinion was being carefully prepared*” (p. 59).

There is no ‘wave’ metaphor in the English translation of (19). The level of figurativeness is much higher in the Albanian original. The Albanian readers perceive the image of a sea wave that was gradually rising.

A considerable number of the metaphors of this group characterize Khrushchev, who is the main initiator of the changes. From the very beginning Hoxha describes Khrushchev’s greed for power as follows:

- (20)“Prapa tyre ato ditë, pak si më në hije qëndronte një ‘panterë’ që përgatitej të gëlltiste e të likuidonte dy të parët. Ky ishte Nikita Hrushovi (p. 16)

English translation

“Behind them in those days, a little more in the shade, stood a ‘panther’ which was preparing itself to gobble up and liquidate the former two” (p. 16).

The English translation provides the same strong metaphors displaying Hoxha’s attitude towards the Soviet leader. Through this the international community becomes aware of Hoxha’s feelings toward Khrushchev.

Later on Hoxha points out that the situation changed quickly as soon as Khrushchev came to power.

- (21)“Hrushovi kishte marrë revan në rrugën e tij të tradhëtisë, por revanin e kishin marrë edhe të tjerët” (p.86).

Literal translation

(Hrushov was on the trot towards treachery, the others were also on the trot)

English translation

“Now Khrushchev was going headlong down his road of betrayal, but the others, too were galloping after him” (p. 90).

The English translation is slightly different. It does not include the metaphor “to be on the trot” which provides a vivid image.

One of the changes that occurred with the coming of Khrushchev to power was the improvement of the relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, which Hoxha describes as the beginning of “the romance of the Khrushchev–Tito love affair” (p. 114). He continues to ridicule Khrushchev’s approach to Tito as in (22):

- (22)“Pas një viti e ca kontaktesh të fshehta e të hapëta me të dërguar të posaçëm, pas një korrespondence të ngjeshur e shumë intime; ‘shokut Tito’ nga ‘shoku Hrushov’ dhe anasjelltas, më së fundi Titoja i dërgoi haber të dashurit të tij të ri, në prill 1955, se ishte dakort të vinin kurorë dhe e ftonte ta bënë ‘dasmën’ ose ‘në një anije në Danub, ose, nëse ju do të jeni dakord, ta bëjmë atë në Beograd’ (p. 113)

English translation

“After a year or so of secret and public contacts through special envoys, after an intense and very intimate exchange of correspondence between “Comrade Krushchev” and “ComradeTito”, in the end, in April 1955, Tito sent the good news to his sweetheart that he was ready for the marriage and invited him to hold the “wedding ceremony” either “on a ship on the Danube, or if you agree, in Belgrade” (p. 118)

Hoxha uses the Turkish loan *haber* (‘good news’) which is very informal. It is difficult to find an English word that would render the same connotation. In addition to showing

contempt towards Krushchev's decision to rehabilitate Tito, Hoxha also wants to make the situation as ridiculous as possible to the recipients.

On the other hand, Hoxha confirms his strong position towards the Yugoslavs.

Using metaphorical language he points out the attitude of the Party of Labor of Albania as follows:

(23) "Partia jonë e dënoi vajtjen e Hrushovit në Beograd dhe veçanërisht vendimin e tij për larjen e të palarit Tito" (p. 113).

English translation

"Our Party condemned Krushchev's going to Belgrade, and especially his decision to *cleanses the uncleanable Tito*" (p. 118).

(24) "Në marrëdhëniet tona me Jugosllavinë *s'do të kishte "pranverë"* e shkrijë akulli në fushën ideologjike dhe nuk *kishim në mend të mbyteshim në pellgjet e ujrave të turbullta të hrushovianëve e të titistëve*" (p. 133).

English translation

"There would be no *"spring thaw"* in the ideological field in our relations with Yugoslavia and we had no intention of *plunging into the murky waters* of the Khrushchevites and the Titotes" (p. 139)

The metaphor in (23) "to cleanse the uncleanable Tito" in addition to being offensive, also shows Hoxha's strict attitude towards a person who deviates from the road of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, the lack of forgiveness on Hoxha's side wouldn't bring about any improvement in Albanian-Yugoslav relations, which are symbolized in this trope with "no spring thaw". It is interesting to point out that the longer metaphors that constitute an analogy are closer to the original than others. Such closeness to the Albanian original may also be due to the general character of events and topics used as the basis for these metaphors. These metaphors are not as culture-specific as the ones of the other categories. Thus, in (22) the interactions between political leaders are compared with a common human behavior, a love relationship. Similarly, the changes in political relations between countries, provided in (24), are compared to season changes.

Informal Language

Most of the similes and metaphors in Hoxha's memoir are rendered through very informal language which is not usually used in writing. The low-register lexical items are mainly employed to describe political figures and situations. The tropes Hoxha uses are drawn from the common type of communication of rank and file Albanians. This kind of language choice considerably contributes to establish solidarity between the user and the recipients. Through the use of the same language register, the author wants to show that he is an integral part of the recipients. By using speech variants that connote intimacy, as Sornig (1989) points out, the author insinuates chumminess and creates "an atmosphere of mutually shared fates" (p. 108).

Most of the lexical items used in the informal expressions in Hoxha's book are of Turkish origin. In Albanian, Turkish loans have either become obsolete, or are used in very informal situations of everyday life. They carry connotations of remoteness and ruralism, as in the following:

- (25) "Për të hedhur poshtë kërkesat modeste, por të vendosura që bënë ne për zhvillimin e industrisë, ai dhe shokët e tij si zakonisht përsëritnin *të njejtin avaz*" (p. 79).

Literal translation

In order to refuse the modest, but well determined requests that we made for the the development of industry, he and his friends, as usual, would repeat *the same old stuff*.

English translation

"In order to reject our requests for the development of industry, which were modest enough, but on which we insisted, he and his comrades, as usual, repeated *the same old refrain*" (p. 82).

To the Albanian reader the Turkish loan "avaz" clearly signals Hoxha's disagreement with the Soviet leader's excuse. The English translation 'the same old refrain' is not as negatively charged as this Turkish loan.

- (26) "Pasi na e dha edhe "rrugën e dytë" të zhvillimit, Hrushovi u hodh te "rruga e tretë" që do të na *nxirrte në selamet*. Kjo kishte të bënte me peshkun"(p. 95).

Literal translation

After he provided "the second road" of development, Khrushchev jumped to "the third road" of development, which *would be our saving grace*. This had to do with the fish (reserves).

English translation

"After giving us his "second road" of development, Khrushchev began on the "third road" that would *lead us to salvation*. This had to do with fish" (p. 99).

The expression *nxjerr në selamet* means 'to save somebody/something from bad things, or a difficult/poor situation; bring somebody/something to light'. The Turkish loan *selamet*, which is an old lexical item, is only used in very informal communication. Through the use of the above expression Hoxha exhibits his irony towards Khrushchev's suggestions for the development of Albania at that time. What is inferred through the ironic use of this expression is that Hoxha would not even consider the suggestions offered to him by Khrushchev. The use of these remote Turkish words adds a kind of flavor that relegates the suggestions of the Soviet leader to an object of common mockery. The English translation provides the idea but lacks the pertinent connotations.

- (27) “Në këtë mënyrë, problemi, sipas Hrushovit, na dilte fare i thjeshtë: në themel të prishjes me Yugoslllavinë s’kanë qenë shkaqe, por *sebepe*, “kot u kemi rënë në qafë, fajtorët u gjetën: Beria te ne, Gjilasi te ju” (p. 105).

English translation

“Thus, according to Khrushchev, the problem turned out to be very simple. The breach with *fabricated pretexts*, so we wronged you for nothing and the culprits have been found: Beria on our side, and Gjilas on yours” (p. 110).

Likewise, the translation “fabricated pretexts” in (27) is redundant and sounds much more formal than the Albanian original rendered through the Turkish loan *sebepe*. The colloquial lexical item *sebepe* means ‘false reasons’. This Turkish loan is also used in very informal situations, and through its use Hoxha satirizes Khrushchev’s handling of the decisions of the Information Bureau against Yugoslavia. Hoxha’s attitude toward Khrushchev’s relegation of these decisions is expressed in the following example:

- (28) “Me një të rënë të kalemit Hrushovi u vinte kryqin problemeve të mëdha parimore që kishin qënë në bazë të luftës kundër revizionizmit jugosllav, i quante ato ‘arësye joserioze’ e ‘keqkuptime’, u kërkonte, pra, ndjesë tradhëtarëve se i *paskëshin goditur për pesë pare spec!*” (p. 105)

Literal translation

With just one stroke of his pencil Khrushchev crossed out the big principal problems which were at the basis of the struggle against the Yugoslav revisionism; he considered them to be “misunderstandings” and “not serious reasons” and was, thus, begging the traitors’ pardon as they [the Soviets] had attacked them [the Yugoslavs] *for five cents pepper!*

English translation

“With one stroke of his pencil, Khrushchev cancelled out major problems of principle which had been the basis of the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, described them as ‘not serious reasons’ and ‘misunderstandings’ and hence, begged the traitors pardon because they had allegedly been attacked over *trifles*” (p. 109).

The expression “for five cents pepper” (i.e. for nothing), brings in front of the recipients the scenes of the peasants’ market days with a variety of agricultural products and by-products, such as pepper which was sold in small paper bags. The English translation avoids the use of this trope and is less informal.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The language used in the genre of memoir in the Albanian political discourse displays some interesting features. It is especially rich in similes and metaphors, which are generally rendered in very informal language. When confronted with Sornig’s (1989) platform, it becomes clear that the rhetorical and lexical devices used in Hoxha’s political memoir have a

significant power of persuasion which is mainly due to the use of in-group language. The similes and metaphors expressed through informal register reflect the background culture of the rural majority of the Albanian speech community. Such language contributes considerably to the establishment of solidarity between the user and the recipients.

On the other hand, the English translation, while maintaining the feature of high expressivity, is not as metaphorical as the Albanian original. High expressivity in translation is maintained through the use of powerful lexical items. With regard to translation strategies, the tool commonly employed in the translation of the Albanian political memoir is recontextualization. In terms of register, a major shift from informal to formal language takes place in the English translation. Therefore, one can hardly say that perlocutionary equivalence between the source text and its translation has been achieved. Certain accommodations to international “Englishes” are made due to the change of the readership from the Albanian people to the international community. These adjustments are required because most tropes are culture-bound and understood only within a speech community.

Thus, *readership* seems to be an important variable that impacts translation. Its importance is especially noticed when one compares the Englishes of the institutionalized varieties like Indian, Nigerian, Ghanaian, Singaporean, etc. with those of the “Expanding Circle” where English is taught as a foreign language. Because the primary readership in the former varieties consists of the local people who use these varieties, there is not much difference between the discourse of their native languages and that of their English varieties in terms of the level of figurativeness and formality. As in Albanian and also in Hindi, similes, metaphors and other tropes abound. Subrahmanian (1977) observes that Indians are fascinated by embellished expressions: . . . [they] equate objectivity and matter-of-factness with dullness.” When Indians write in English, Subrahmanian continues, “most write and like ‘poetic’ prose because of such tradition in our literature” (p. 24). On the other hand, due to the change of the audience—from the Albanian people to the international community—the general tendency in the English translations of memoirs is to avoid the use of similes, metaphors and other tropes and to use a less informal language than in the Albanian original.

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Chapter 2

ELT AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER: NATION BUILDING OR NEOCOLONIAL RECONSTRUCTION?

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ABSTRACT

Momentous events of the late 20th and early 21st century have led to the rapid and sometimes disturbing growth of American influence around the world. This informal empire both explicitly rewards and implicitly threatens those living in nations of the expanding circle, depending upon their mastery of the English language and their conformity to Anglo-American cultural norms. Rewards often come in the form of greater access to political, economic and cultural power. Threats range from economic marginalization to cultural isolation. After understanding some of the cultural factors that seem to energize the American Empire, this presentation will consider some of the aspects related to the teaching of English as an International Language. What are some of the wider sociopolitical forces that shape our decisions as language teachers? As educators ethically reflect upon their role, how will their decisions support or subvert the aims of those who have a stake in the continued supremacy of the English language?

INTRODUCTION

Just over ten years ago, Phillipson (1996) stated that, in terms of language teaching, "...the connections between the English language and political, economic, and military power are seldom pursued" (p. 8). This state of affairs changed dramatically following the Anglo-American-Australian invasion of Iraq in 2003. According to Morgan (2003), even conservative think tanks are now proclaiming that America has drifted from a republic to becoming an unacknowledged empire. Templer (2003) reports that discussions are underway within the British Council and US State Department to recruit English teachers in the "reconstruction" of Iraq. He states:

...the lucrative market for EFL being opened up by our generals will be a windfall for teachers from Sydney to Seattle. Experts from numerous other fields will also be recruited to reshape Iraqi education from kindergarten to university. Platoons of Western researchers, including graduate students, will likely descend on Iraq as transnational foundations seek to fund new projects. (p. 4)

EFL teachers, according to Edge (2003), have become an academic army that pacifies intellectual resistance and occupies the linguistic dominions of an Anglophonic empire:

...it is now possible to see us, EFL teachers, as a second wave of imperial troopers. Before the armoured divisions have withdrawn from the city limits, while the soldiers are still patrolling the streets, English teachers will be facilitating the policies that the tanks were sent to impose. And wherever, and to whomsoever, I teach EFL, I am part of that overarching system. (p. 10)

With America in the nexus of this overarching system, explicit rewards and implicit threats are meted out to those living in what Kachru (1992) calls “expanding circle countries” (p. 13). Greater access to political, economic and sociocultural opportunities is bestowed upon those on the linguistic periphery who have mastered the English language and conformed to Anglo–American norms. Economic marginalization, cultural isolation and, as in the recent cases of Afghanistan and Iraq, full-scale military action await the rogues who rebel.

What are English language teachers to do under the shadow of this Anglo–American hegemony? By teaching English to our learners, are we contributing to the improvement of our respective nations and communities, or are we unwittingly cooperating in neocolonial reconstruction? This paper reviews several current themes that may stimulate further debate on this issue, first by examining some American cultural constructs that, it is believed, often frame the manner in which English is taught to speakers of other languages. Current debates in TESOL¹ on the influence of economics, cultural politics and religion on English language education will be considered. Applications for the language classroom will be offered at the close of this paper.

AMERICAN CULTURAL BELIEFS: A FEW WORDS

It is not my intention to dismiss the considerable contribution that countries such as the UK, Australia and Canada have made to the world and the field of TESOL. Countries within this linguistic “inner circle” face a constant struggle with how to deal with America’s cultural, political and economic power, while at the same time trying to maintain their identity and interests. However, Kaplan (1987) states “. . .English speakers are participants in an international information cartel far more powerful and influential than OPEC could ever be” (p. 139). Inner circle countries stand to gain more from their participation in the *Pax Americana* than going it alone. One need only observe the level of political interaction,

¹ Because of the negative connotations associated with the word “foreign”, the acronym TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language) was avoided in favor of TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages). In most cases during this report, TESOL will refer to pedagogic practices, not the professional organization, (also known as TESOL) which is based in the United States.

cultural respect, quality of business relations as well as the nature of scientific and other academic cooperation between the United States and expanding circle countries to fully appreciate the (sometimes begrudging) degree of camaraderie that inner circle countries share with America. The common threads of language and (to a lesser degree) historic development in these countries allow for the hegemonic acquisition of vast resources.

In terms of TESOL, there continues to be a historic divide between countries that have been influenced by North American TESOL and countries that prefer the British model. Today, however, regardless of the politics and historical events that created this distinction, Fishman (1992) claims that, “the sun never sets on English” (p. 23). Wherever and however English is studied, the incentive for doing so stems from the fact that it is currently the language of the world’s only economic and military superpower. For this reason alone, it would seem expedient to consider some of the motives that have stimulated America’s interaction with the world.

A word also needs to be offered on the difficult task of describing “cultural beliefs”. Culture in this paper is understood sociologically, as what Adaskou, Britten and Fahsi (1990) call “culture with a small c” (p. 3). Culture will refer to the nature of interpersonal relations, customs and institutions, and is defined as “membership in a discourse community that shares a common social space and history, and common imaginings” (Kramsch, 2001, p. 10).

While it is generally believed that such belief systems exist, and that they affect the ways we live and relate to each other (George and Aronson, 2003, p. 3), Hunter (1991, pp. 42-46) rightly observes that there is no single culture within the United States (or any other country for that matter). Cultural beliefs are very difficult to pin down. Like ghostly shadows projected on a screen, cultural beliefs seem to be easiest to define when viewed from a distance. The closer one approaches a culture, the less he or she will be able to explain how and why the people of a certain country tend to believe and act the way they do.

American cultural beliefs are formed from a wide array of subcultures that are suspended between the poles of orthodoxy and progressivism; these give impetus to a wide range of conflicting notions about reality and the world. McElroy (1999) sees American cultural beliefs as “. . . extremely simple . . . and communicated through behavior over more than three generations” (p. 4). He suggests that American cultural beliefs can be better discerned when studied from a historical perspective. This approach is not without its problems, for it does not get around the question of *whose* beliefs, behavior and history are considered as the prime model. George and Aronson (2003) make clear what McElroy (1999) only implies: “. . . although the United States is called the great melting pot and the land of opportunity (a place where all citizens have an opportunity to succeed), the predominant culture is grounded in and shaped by white, middle-class values and expectations” (p. 3).

Any discussion of how cultural beliefs might affect our profession as language teachers, therefore, requires a certain suspension of disbelief. This paper should be interpreted as only a rough sketch of a few of the dynamics in cultural studies that potentially influence TESOL in today’s world. With this in mind, McElroy’s (1999) model, imperfect as it is, will be used as a point of reference from which to consider the potential influence of key American cultural constructs on TESOL. These four key constructs are:

- Progress through Practical Improvement
- America is Special

- Expansion is Safety
- Healthy Competition Stimulates Progress

Progress Through Practical Improvement

Historically speaking, the present idea of Progress is a relatively new phenomenon. Harvard College president Michael Ruse (1996) contends that although the notion of Progress was an important aspect of Greek, Roman, and later European cultures, it was slowed by worldviews that valued the cyclical nature of life, stratified class systems or an over reliance upon Divine Grace and Providence (p. 20). Progress today is a concept that is rooted in “. . . a belief about change, from the past, to the present, and most probably onwards and upwards into the future” (p. 20). Progress, at least in the American sense, is not a passive force: It requires human effort (p. 21) and must have practical value for as many people as possible. It was this belief in the possibility of progress that motivated many to leave their countries and start a new life in (what was considered at the time) a “Stone Age wilderness” (McElroy, 1999, p. 15). People saw their countries as connected to a crumbling past. In America, many believed they could improve their lives in the present and create a better society for the future: “Old Europe” was seen as inferior to the “New America”.

When U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld recently used the same terminology in describing France and Germany’s opposition to American policies (Outrage, 2003), he was touching upon beliefs of American superiority through progress that have been preached since the Industrial Revolution, even though at this time it was Great Britain, not America, that was seen as the powerhouse of progress. By the close of the Second World War, when Rumsfeld was a teenager, scientific and technical progress was increasingly linked to the nationalistic myths of American Identity. As one propaganda poster at the time put it, “Despite war restrictions, America’s living standard is still the world’s best—thanks to U.S. industrial progress” (Industrial Progress, 2003).

Although American Progress has been increasingly questioned since the 1960’s, the words “new and improved” still fill the airwaves, and one only needs to consider American-led industries in computer software or electronics to see that the frenetic quest for concrete, widespread, and practical progress is still a powerful force in American society today.

It is believed that American progress also influences various aspects of TESOL. Take, for example, the seasons of change in TESOL every few years, in which new approaches and methods replace earlier designs. Although Brumfit notes that most of these changes tend to be a cyclical reconstruction of earlier models that had been previously deconstructed (Talking Shop, 1981, p. 35), many language teachers adopt new approaches in the belief that practical issues are being addressed and that progress is being made. While this sometimes may be the case, perennial problems remain: In this author’s survey of the past twenty years of articles written in the Japan-specific journal *The Language Teacher* and the international *ELT Journal*, the pedagogic difficulties experienced by students and teachers in language classes during the 1980s are essentially the same as those being reported today.

Anglo-American Progress in TESOL can also mute the voice of language teachers in “obscure places” (Peters and Cenci, cited in Harwood and Hadley, 2004). Canagarajah (cited in Harwood and Hadley, 2004) describes the difficulties that researchers in the expanding

circle have in getting their papers published by center journals. These researchers often cannot afford to obtain center journals or travel to conferences, thus making it difficult for them to keep up with research developments or the latest jargon in their fields. As a result, their manuscripts may contain a preponderance of dated references, making their work look like “old news” to editors and reviewers. Many journals, it seems, are “international” in name only, because the papers they publish are overwhelmingly from inner circle countries.

America Is Special: “The City Upon A Hill”

When Ronald Reagan used the phrase, “a city upon a hill” to describe his conservative vision for America, he was borrowing from a sermon by John Winthrop, a clergyman and first governor of the Massachusetts colony. In 1630, while traveling to the New World, Winthrop put forth his vision of a kinder, gentler Puritan society that could become a shining beacon to the socially and morally corrupt Old World. Winthrop’s ideas were eventually developed into the belief that America is a special country with a unique mission in the world, a concept for which Alexis de Tocqueville coined the phrase *American Exceptionalism*. A growing number of educated Americans are embarrassed by the political incorrectness of American Exceptionalism, which is essentially a localized form of Western Exceptionalism, but this belief occupies a long established place in the shrines of American patriotism. The conviction that *America is Special*, heard especially during seasons of political conservatism, takes on the aspects of a civil religion, in which politicians unashamedly use spiritual metaphors to describe America’s mission in the world. A few examples from U.S. presidents will suffice:

Woodrow Wilson, cited in Monbiot (2003):

“America has a spiritual energy in her which no other nation can contribute to the liberation of mankind.”

Ronald Reagan, in his speech “We Will Be a City Upon a Hill”, thirty years ago:

“You can call it mysticism if you want to, but I have always believed that there was some divine plan that placed this great continent between two oceans to be sought out by those who were possessed of an abiding love of freedom and a special kind of courage.”

George W. Bush, during his 2000 Inaugural Address:

“I know this is in our reach because we are guided by a power larger than ourselves who creates us equal in His image. And we are confident in principles that unite and lead us onward. . . . The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake: America remains engaged in the world by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favors freedom. . . . And to all nations, we will speak for the values that gave our nation birth.”

While those values may sometimes have motivated America to help improve the quality of life for others in the world, Lipset (1996) warns that American Exceptionalism, as

expressed by ultra-conservatives, is a double-edged sword, especially since the United States has been “the most religious country in Christendom” (p. 19). Monbiot (2003) goes further:

The United States is no longer just a nation. It is now a religion. . . . As George Bush told his troops on the day he announced victory [in Iraq]: “Wherever you go, you carry a message of hope—a message that is ancient and ever new. In the words of the prophet Isaiah, ‘To the captives, come out’, and to those in darkness, be free.” So American soldiers are no longer merely terrestrial combatants; they have become missionaries.

Little attention in the literature has been given to the effects of American or Western Exceptionalism on TESOL, though it is strongly implied in the work of academics such as Phillipson, Kachru, Pennycook and Braine. One institutional means, however, that English language teachers employ to declare to other nations the values that gave their nation birth is the Special Interest Groups (SIGs) of Anglo-American dominated organizations such as the Japan Association of Language Teachers (JALT), or Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL). From platforms such as Social Responsibility, Environmentalism, or Peace Studies, like-minded educators create lessons and materials aimed at teaching both cultural and political beliefs that are based on these themes. It is perhaps coincidental that lessons on identical topics can also be accessed anywhere in the world from the US Department of State’s English Language Programs website (“Language and Civil Society”). All of this goes well beyond simply teaching the English language (if indeed such a thing is possible) to encourage language learners to consider, (and in some cases, reconsider), various social, political and moral issues from the Anglo-American liberal academic tradition. Intentional or not, the aim of such work appears to be that of freeing captives who live under the shadow of unenlightened ideologies.

EXPANSION IS SAFETY

America in the late 1700s, according to Mauk and Oakland (2002, pp. 153-155), was much like many present-day Third World nations. Economically and militarily disadvantaged, America was surrounded on all sides by the colonies of the great European superpowers. As such, Americans were in constant fear of an invasion. Once America had grown stronger, however, the insecurity that its citizens felt led them to expand their borders by negotiation or war, until it was the only major power on the continent. Expansion was motivated not only by fear, but also by the belief that America had a manifest destiny to enlighten and develop the continent. By molding the continent into the image of the United States, all people (especially the Americans) could enjoy peace and prosperity.

America’s fear of the world has led to periods of isolationism, but for most of its history, America has felt safe only if expansion has been possible. Lack of expansion implies the possibility of defeat: somewhere, someone may be preparing to encroach upon America. In the past, American insecurity was an important factor in the invasions of Hawaii, Puerto Rico and the Philippines. It contributed to America’s “expeditions” into Cuba and Central America, wars of “containment” against communism, and the creation of military bases in every corner of the world. America entered into two world wars only when it felt that its borders were at risk. The “Star Wars” program, which attempts to provide a defense shield

from nuclear missiles above, is an expression of America's continued need to seek safety by now expanding its borders into outer space (Mauk and Oakland, 2002, p. 154). Recent invasions into Afghanistan and Iraq were felt by a large number of Americans to be justified because they were convinced that America's national security was threatened. "Expansion" into these countries insured American safety and, as the US Agency for International Development website assures us, brought freedom, economic growth, education and democracy to people who have suffered under years of oppression and mismanagement (USAID: Assistance for Iraq, 2003).

Troike (cited in Phillipson, 1992, pp. 6-7) and Crystal (2000, p. 53) are among many scholars who have noted how the expansion of TESOL correlates with the growth of the former British and present American Empire. The expansion of English as the world's most-studied foreign language has also been accelerated by massive amounts of US foreign aid in the form of EFL programs. Within the US State Department, the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs contains an Office of English Language Programs that sends Regional English Language Officers (RELOs) to teach TESOL. These teachers serve as part of the educational aid packages exported to countries throughout South America, South East Asia, Africa and the Middle East. The British Council runs similar aid programs in Europe, with crossover in Southeast Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Both organizations dedicate the lion's share of their work to training local language teachers with the most recent materials and methods from the inner circle.

Not all see these efforts as sustainable humanitarian aid. The potentially negative effect of the Office of English Language Programs and the British Council was described recently at the Fifth English in South East Asia Conference:

Local teachers of English serve in their role as colonial administrators entrusted with the enforcement of the linguistic Standard, while students carry the burdens of colonized subjects and suffer in silence (Fox, 2001).

LoCastro (1999) notes that further evidence of the expansion of English is seen in the rise in MA programs in TESOL. While most of these are part-time distance programs run by UK and Australian universities, she writes, many complete MA programs are run directly by US universities or through surrogate universities in countries such as Thailand, Japan, China or Mexico. If students cannot go to American universities, the universities will go to them. If this is not possible, then there may be a friendly RELO just around the corner.

In another case, Templer (2001) calls for TESOL teachers in the Arab world to join and dismantle the suspected practice of discrimination against Anglo-American teachers of Jewish descent. The fiat that TESOL teachers receive to embark on such a quest is derived from the fact that:

...TESOL is in a phase of truly phenomenal expansion on the Arabian Gulf. In the spirit of the aims of TESOLers for Social Responsibility...Arabia would seem to offer a prime potential site for encounter between Arab students and colleagues and Jewish TESOLers—as we link language learning and the values of teaching for tolerance, social awareness and solidarity.

While he admits that some would consider “such advocacy [as] a form of imperialist interference in the internal affairs of independent states,” Templer nevertheless concludes that the quest would help bring about a more enlightened academic system in Saudi Arabia.

Healthy Competition Stimulates Progress

This belief stems from a combination of American economic liberalism (inspired by Adam Smith), the Protestant work ethic and the experience of the early American pioneers who needed initiative and resourcefulness in order to survive (Mauk and Oakland, 2002). As America developed into an industrialized nation, the principle of free market competition was seen as the best way to insure that superior goods and services made their way to consumers. Excesses in this belief during the late 19th and early 20th century led to more governmental regulation of industries and public services (including education). It is questionable whether a free market truly exists today. However, the principle of healthy competition is still fervently believed by many Americans as fundamental for the survival of US society. “Our goal,” states US Deputy Assistant Attorney General William Kolasky at a meeting of NAFTA partners in Mexico City, “should be to secure a robust culture of competition throughout North America” (Kolatsky, 2002, p. 2).

For elite schools and educational programs, competition is an unpleasant fact in the United States and abroad. An obvious example is in proficiency tests such as the IELTS and TOEFL examinations, in which students must reach a certain standard in order to further access higher education in center countries, or as in the case of the TOEIC test, to secure a more prestigious job.

Another example of competition in TESOL is found in the plethora of language games activities. Lengeling and Malarcher (1997) state that language games can stimulate “healthy competition” among learners (p. 42). In the introduction of their book on language games, Wright, Betteridge and Buckby (1992) affirm that while “many teachers believe that competition should be avoided [,] it is possible to play the majority of games in this book with a spirit of challenge to achieve, rather than to ‘do someone else down’” (p. 6). A deeper level of how competition is linked to the progress of teaching English can be seen in the task groups working behind the scenes in language teacher associations. Richards (2003) observes that corporate sector influence on TESOL is far-reaching; especially where one finds an emphasis upon standards, development, quality assurance, performance appraisal, or ideal practices (p. 6). In a (2000) report by Barbara Schwarte, past president of TESOL, “...new competition and opportunities are being created” because of globalization and technological development, so the creation of professional standards should be targeted by TESOL as a key “niche market”. McKeon (cited in Schwarte, 2000) feels that such a move would make TESOL teachers more marketable as well as unify educators into a cohesive group and help determine the “best practices” for language teachers within the association. In addition to standards, Schwarte (2000) advises the outsourcing of TESOL teachers’ expertise in order to reduce costs, undercut their competitors, and convince potential consumers (private citizens and legislators) that progress is taking place in the field.

QUESTIONING CULTURAL BELIEFS

The American cultural beliefs described in this paper are implicitly synergistic in nature: the more they are acted upon, the more that each postulate energizes and sometimes justifies the other (Figure 1).

Of course, the big picture is far more complex and chaotic than this. While Figure 1 suggests a process similar to that of an atom, with different concepts swirling around a TESOL nucleus, a closer analogy might be that of cultural beliefs acting like marbles in a box, each one bouncing off others at random, thereby creating almost infinite probabilities. Whatever analogy is used, however, linking American or Anglo-American cultural beliefs to the dynamics of TESOL is admittedly tenuous. Returning for a moment to the metaphor of shadows flitting back and forth across our mental screens, cultural beliefs are open to many interpretations. Indeed, it is the fluid nature of culture that makes any discussion on the subject "...a constant site of struggle for recognition and legitimation" (Kramsch, 2001. p. 10). This paper's struggle for legitimization may strike some as being occasionally true for American TESOL, true at other times only for American TESOL teachers of a certain ideological persuasion, and perhaps equally true for many Anglophone teachers in specific situations. Some might add that what has been portrayed as "American" could also be found in the cultures of other countries.

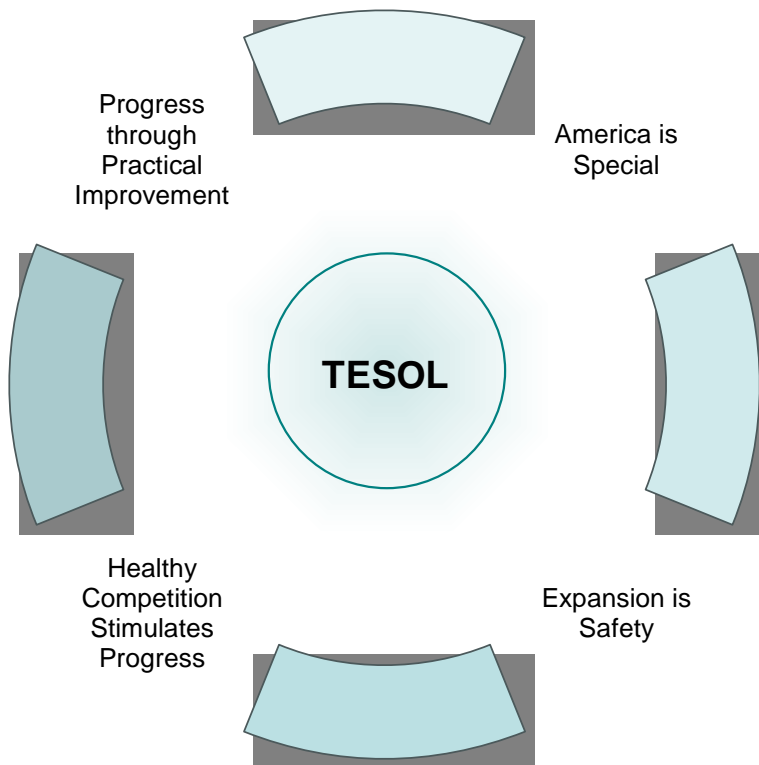


Figure 1. Interrelationship of TESOL with American Cultural Beliefs.

These charges are compelling, yet it might be helpful to recognize that this paper does not suggest that America reigns supreme over TESOL; rather, American cultural beliefs exert *significant influence*. David Crystal, in his seminal work entitled *English as a Global Language* (2000), argues:

Given that the USA has come to be the dominant element in so many of the domains identified...the future status of English must be bound up to some extent with future of that country. So much of the power which has fueled the growth of the English language in the twentieth century has stemmed from America (p. 117).

Crystal (2000) explains that America contains four times more monolingual native English speakers than any other country in the world. Combined with economic clout and world prestige, America's linguistic prominence extends to international scientific and technological developments, the creation of the Internet, (of which over 80% is in English), a majority of the world's reading material being printed in English and an increase in Americanisms in languages throughout the world. Higa observes (cited in Kachru, 1994, p. 139) that when two cultures meet, and "if one is more dominant or advanced than the other, the directionality of culture learning and subsequent word-borrowing is not mutual, but from the dominant to the subordinant." America's growing economic and military dominance has secured it greater influence (though not full control) over the issues discussed so far in this paper. Moreover, despite the growing wave of anti-American sentiment in the world following its recent invasion of Iraq, US interests still have international ramifications and a bearing on many of the issues affecting TESOL. Let us now move to a survey of the interaction that TESOL has with money, politics and religion.

TESOL and Economics

TESOL is big business. McAllen's economic study of TESOL (cited in Phillipson, 1992, p. 4) describes it as a "world commodity" worth billions of dollars. A major service industry, imports and exports related to TESOL contribute significantly to local and international economic development (Dyke, 2003). As a robust growth industry, people living in Kachru's "outer circle" countries (e.g. Singapore, Nigeria and India), are beginning to see their ability to speak English as a way to cash in on lucrative economic opportunities. Observe Kachru's recent (2001) remarks:

The region has realised that now is the time to seek rewards by the "commodification" of the language. What matters is that South Asia's creative writers in English, English Language Teachers, IT specialists, and medical and other technical professionals are rejoicing over their use of this linguistic commodity in the global context.

Thousands of private language institutes worldwide recruit native English Language teachers, promising good salaries and an exotic overseas adventure. Such positions do exist, and the remuneration for native-speaker teachers of English can be better or at least equal to entry-level salaries in the respective expanding circle countries, but McCallen notes that as lucrative a business that TESOL may be, the majority of teachers are not well paid, and many

work in unglamorous, unstable teaching environments. TESOL for these teachers is more a job than a profession.

Every day, hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of students flock to schools or attend classes at universities with the hope of getting well-paid jobs. It is not coincidental that Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (cited in Kim, 2003) use the term *investment* rather than *motivation* to describe the complex reasons why many learners study English. The associations of English with prosperity are widespread. Writing about the situation in the Philippines, Jeffrey (2002) warns:

...those that adopt English and use it alongside their own culture, and combine it with, for example, communications technology, can possibly escape from the poverty-trap and catch up with developed countries rapidly (p. 67).

Setting aside the unfortunate implication that those who do not adopt English run the risk of becoming backwards and underdeveloped, attitudes such as these are common among those who support the hegemony of English. Edge (2003) responds:

This, fundamentally, is what hegemony means: a relationship based not upon explicit coercion, but on established power and the consent of the majority to go along with the arrangements that flow from that power because of the rewards that we receive.

Phillipson (cited in Fox, 2001) contends that the notion of English study bringing economic success is a myth that has been maintained by the elite of the outer and expanding circle countries. In actuality, English becomes for many “a barrier to restrict entry into the cathedrals of the powerful” (Fox, 2001). Hazita Azman (cited in Fox, 2001) found this to be true for the Malaysian teaching context, where the government has attempted to link English language education to IT skills as a means to further scientific and economic development. Azman reported that the initiative is failing because rural Malay students typically see “very little need for English in the social world”, and fewer than 5% had access to a computer or possessed even basic computer literacy skills (cited in Fox, 2001). In relation to the urban-rural divide in Malaysia, Gerry Abbott (1992) reports:

...a racial elite in Malaysia has established residential schools for selected Malays who are prepared for Cambridge English examinations and further education through the medium of English in other countries, while the normal schools must prepare students for exams not acceptable to universities in those countries. One irony about cultural imperialism, then, is that people inflict it upon others of the same nationality (p. 175).

However, where some see the potential for economic repression in TESOL, others see opportunity. Tully (1997, p. 163) calls for Indians to promote the spread of English throughout the rural areas in order to divest the elite of their hold on the language. Bisong (1995) finds Phillipson’s argument too simplistic, and feels that the spread of English in Nigeria has been a positive development. He contends that “reasons for learning English now are more pragmatic in nature” than during the days of British colonial rule; “Nigerians are sophisticated enough to know what is in their interest, and that interest includes the ability to operate with two or more linguistic codes in a multilingual situation” (p. 131). As this debate continues, let us now consider the domain of cultural politics as it relates to TESOL.

TESOL and Cultural Politics

Is it possible to sidestep the entire discussion up to this point by simply “teaching English”? There are those who feel that a neutral approach to teaching English is possible. Stating that there is “no cultural value tied to the learning of English,” Wardaugh (1987) claims that English is “. . . tied to no particular social, political, economic or religious system, or to a specific racial or cultural group” (p. 15). Similar views are expressed by Seaton (1997), who opines that English has become a neutral means for global communication in “transnational companies, internet communication, scientific research, youth culture, international goods and services and news and entertainment media” (p. 381). These also represent examples of discourse communities that are growing worldwide, which rely on English as a *lingua franca* in order to maintain communication with each other.

At the other end of the spectrum is Dua (1994), who rejects a neutral portrayal of English. He writes that it “must be realized that language is basically involved with class, power and knowledge” (p. 133). Pretending that English is apolitical, according to Phillipson (1992), is, among other things, “an uncritical endorsement of capitalism...transnationalization, [and] the Americanization and homogenization of world culture” (p. 274). The current spread of English, he maintains, is oppressive because it imposes Western “mental structures” on the minds of the learners (Phillipson, 1992, p. 166). This is seen most visibly in the vast amounts of TESOL materials exported from center countries to the outer circle, which often require learners to conform to Anglo-American styles of communication. With regard to this issue, McKay (2002, pp. 120–121) criticizes the international spread of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT), claiming that the western underpinnings of the approach, which focus on democracy, individuality, creativity and social expression, often marginalize local language teachers, and fail to meet the needs of students, who often prefer a teacher-centered pedagogic approach.

Rajagopalan (1999), on the other hand, rejects the whole concept of linguistic imperialism, calling it “grossly and sensationally blown out of proportion” (p. 201). Without discounting the problems of minority languages being endangered by the spread of English, he states rather matter-of-factly that language in this multilingual world have less to do with cooperation and more to do with competition:

It is in the very nature of human languages, all of them, to be riven by power inequalities. This means that EFL teachers have no special reason to feel guilty about being complicit in a gigantic neo-colonialist enterprise in the guise of emancipatory pedagogy” (p. 205).

The hyperbole used to describe the hegemonic spread of English, Rajagopalan explains, is built upon the assumption that the English language invades “(a) . . . a monolingual setting, [where] communication is always perfect, and (b) communicative harmony is invariably threatened every time there is the intrusion of an alien tongue” (p. 202). English, at least for Rajagopalan, is just another language. In the current climate of increased international exchange, he feels that the threat of one more language is negligible.

Such an opinion makes sense to one growing up in multilingual cultures like India, Singapore or Nigeria. But Rajagopalan has inadvertently touched upon an important point: some of the strongest opponents of the spread of English originate from countries with well-established monolingual settings that emphasize correct forms communication, and avoid

communicative disharmony. A number of countries along the Asian Pacific rim might fit this category. Rajagopalan's implication is that the objections against English come from older nationalistic hegemonies that wish to preserve their hold on "zealously guarded cultural boundaries" (1999, p. 204). While decrying the loss of a linguistic ideal for their countries, Rajagopalan explains that these linguists have failed to accept the political reality of internationalization, which even now is in the process of replacing nationalism much in the way that nation states replaced earlier political models during the 15th and 16th centuries. One of the unavoidable results of globalization has been the compromise of linguistic and cultural borders by the onslaught of English via satellite, entertainment media, the Internet and the ever-increasing migration of English language teachers.

Pennycook (1999) finds all three of the viewpoints presented in this section to be too simplistic. He emphasizes that TESOL should be understood "not merely as a language of imperialism, but also a language of opposition" (p. 262). Crookes has certainly found this to be the case. In his survey of English language education in Japan, Pakistan, North Korea and Saddam Hussein-era Iraq, pedagogic materials have been appropriated to teach a political and social agenda that often stands in stark opposition to the aims of the Anglo-American hegemony. Another example of this can be seen in the People's Republic of China, where Shi and Fujii (2003) found that English language textbooks would not be published unless they explicitly teach Communist ideology and promote nationalist Chinese sentiment. With the potential of English becoming a tool for conflict rather than a medium for communication, Pennycook (1999) calls for the creation of "third places" or "third cultures" where there is "both a political understanding of the global role of English and a means to understand contextually how English is used, taken up [and] changed".

Third Places

Currently the bulk of the literature on cultural politics and TESOL suggests that English language education is a politically charged practice. However, the restive discourse in TESOL's academic community is also leading to the formation of various "third places." One of these third places is in the ongoing native/non-native educator dialogue. Another is the study of English as an International Language.

Until the late 1980s, the issue of discrimination between native English speaking teachers (NESTS) and non-native English teachers (non-NESTs) was generally ignored. Most seem to have blindly accepted the myth that native English speakers were best suited as language teachers, and that while the non-native teachers of English had their place, it was only in a support role to the "real" task of Communicative Language Teaching. Such views are now condemned as a form of linguistic apartheid. The number of bilingual English speakers is constantly growing, and there are now better trained, fluent non-native teachers of English in the expanding circle than in any other moment in world history. Medgyes (1996) explains that it is very difficult to define who is and who is not a "native speaker" in today's international society. He concludes that both NESTs and non-NESTs are needed, because they ideally bring different experiences and different types of expertise to the classroom (pp. 41-42). Tajino and Tajino (2000) show that this ideal can be realized, once a community spirit is developed within the class and between teachers (pp. 9-10). Instead of a dichotomy between native and non-native speakers, Rampton (1996) proposes the concept of *expert speakers*.

Focusing on expertise rather than upon one's inherited language seems to be a helpful paradigm shift. While hiring practices in many institutions lag far behind this view, and discrimination often persists against experts or NESTs who do not "look" or "sound" like Anglo-Americans, (Thomas, 1999, p. 6), it is believed that with time, more and more schools will employ language teachers who represent the linguistic reality of today's world.

As a third place, the study of English as an International Language (EIL) is still hotbed of debate and controversy within the field of TESOL. Sifakis (2004) explains this is because EIL as an area of study touches upon numerous domains, such as national identity, linguistic human rights, ethnolinguistics and educational sociology. This also contributes to the difficulty that scholars have had in defining the scope and nature of EIL. Yoneoka (2003) explains:

EIL, like any standard, is an idealization of a language that is not actually spoken by any single person. But unlike other standards, is not claimed, created, controlled or dominated by any particular person or group. Thus no one has either the authority to prescribe what it should be, or the omnipotence to describe what it might be under every possible circumstance.

Nevertheless, there are some general principles emerging that most scholars agree will complement the teaching of English as an International Language. One of these is that EIL should be taught within the context of the local educational culture, and that EIL should avoid Western teaching materials and approaches. People are encouraged to think globally but teach locally. McKay (2003) insists that by contextualizing English to the local needs and interests of the learners, they can truly claim ownership of the language as their own tool of expression (p. 140).

Another feature is that EIL is often understood as belonging equally to all speakers of English. The "native speaker" standard is rejected. Such an idea is receiving greater attention throughout the Asia Pacific region. In a recent interview (Giving English Firmer Focus, 1999, p. 2), Takao Suzuki, an internationally respected Professor Emeritus from Japan's Keio University, sums up the feelings of many Japanese when he remarked:

"We shouldn't have to apologize for using 'Japanese English.' The notion that English belongs to the Americans or the Britons is narrow-minded. English is now the language of the world."

Kubota (cited in Kasai, 2003) echoes these views, stating that "English no longer belongs only to 'native speakers' of the Inner Circle; it is used by other people in bilingual/multilingual situations with various forms of pronunciation, vocabulary, syntax and discourse" (p. 20). Similar views can be found in the statements of writers throughout the outer and expanding circle countries.

EIL is also viewed as being actualized when expert speakers of different countries use their form of English not only for transactional communication, but also for creating friendly relationships with each other, something known as *comity* (Aston, cited in McKay, 2002, p. 75). The pragmatic rules of communication used by speakers of inner circle countries are no longer the standard. English speakers of the outer and expanding circle are encouraged to communicate in a way that feels natural to them. Aikawa (2003), for example, found in his study that by encouraging an Asian style of communication in English, Japanese and

Taiwanese speakers of English experienced greater comfort and a more satisfying level of communication.

It can be seen that the supporters of EIL are involved in a serious political undertaking. EIL is construed as an attempt to denationalize English and divest the American hegemony from its claim on the English language (Kachru, 1992, pp. 1–17). The EIL Movement, led often by fluent non-native speakers of English from outer and expanding circle countries, recognize that access to the higher levels of power within the American hegemony is limited. Therefore, many seem to be attempting to create an alternative linguistic powerbase that is free from American influence. EIL is also an expression of a basic need that English speakers have everywhere: The heartfelt desire to be free from what is seen as the oppressive and unattainable standard of the Anglo-American “native speaker”, and to begin to speak English in a manner which complements their cultural preferences.

These efforts to encourage the acceptance of a denationalized English are admirable, and it is felt that the EIL movement should be supported by all language teachers. However, sometimes there is a clash between what our emotions tell us as language teachers, and what must be acknowledged logically. A number of difficulties are perceived to exist within current models of EIL. These are the difficulties within the terminology of “international”, pedagogic ambiguity, and the problems of standards.

The Problem with International Languages

In Western history, Hellenization, and then Romanization were terms used by the Greeks and Romans to describe (what they would interpret as) an increased level of civilization. A common language (Greek, then Latin) was central to the goal of dominating vast numbers of people from different cultures and language groups. Because the English language is currently a fundamental aspect of internationalization, and given America’s present power in the world, there is a question of whether internationalization is really in actuality an American vision of Westernization.

Although proponents of EIL state that English must be distanced from the American Empire for it to become truly international, it is impractical to simply ignore the fact that an American-led hegemony benefits greatly from an enthusiastic promotion of EIL. More speakers of English would create a larger market for American products, services and entertainment. Pennycook (1995, p. 54) is concerned that “International” English might speed up an oppressive and relentless flow of people, goods and western ideas, which would eventually result in the creation of larger versions of the current national socioeconomic rifts, and further the marginalization of minority cultures, languages, religions and ethnic groups.

Pedagogic Ambiguity

In his survey of the literature that reappraised the appropriacy of CLT, Hadley (1998, p. 62) summarized the criticisms of CLT as being difficult to define, encouraging unbridled eclecticism, and leading to interlingual fossilization. It is interesting to note that while proponents of EIL claim that Western pedagogic methods such as CLT or Task-Based

Learning (TBL) are incompatible with educational cultures across the world, in actuality, EIL suffers from the same weaknesses found in Communicative Language Teaching.

Because of its very scope, the nature of EIL has been very difficult to define. Numerous definitions and formulations for EIL exist. Coupled with the idea of “thinking globally and teaching locally,” these notions lend to the condition where English language education becomes so contextualized to each local situation that the international element may be lost. So long as it is free from perceived Anglo-American influence, pedagogic practices may be deemed “international.” However, it may be difficult for classroom practitioners to think globally while teaching locally. The local context, as it has always been for language teachers, is immediate and concrete. Global issues and international understanding are more distant and less easy to concretize in the classroom. While the goal of oral communication is for fostering comity between learners of different language groups instead of native speakers, for monolingual classes such as Japan, it differs little whether students practice while envisaging a communicative episode with an archetypal native speaker or a second language speaker of English abroad—neither are in the classroom at the time they are learning. Encouraging learners to speak so as to get their idea across to others is seen as one realization of International English. However, “communication for the purposes of comity” seems to implicitly emulate the concept of “basic communicative competence” which was advocated in CLT. McKay (2002, p. 121) suggests a return to traditional, teacher-centered grammar-based language teaching methods would lessen the negative effects of CLT or TBL, empower teachers, and provide students with classes that fit the expectations of local educational cultures, which often focus on reading and writing skills.

However, traditional grammar-based teaching is as political an exercise as the potentially democratic teaching methods found in CLT or TBL. The teaching of grammar can be a very authoritarian model. The teacher is the sole expert who controls the flow of information to the learners. The teacher chooses grammatical examples of the language, which modern linguistics has shown to be, at best, only true for some of the time. Grammar tests often demonstrate less about how much the students have acquired English than about the extent to which they have conformed to the teacher.

Fossilization is another problem, because it may lead to the further disempowerment of some learners. Many of the proponents of EIL very skillfully use Anglo-American models of English communication, with a significant number achieving a near-native speaker standard in the language. However, by not holding their learners up to a similar level, they implicitly encourage learners to acquire a level of English that, while good enough for basic communication, may be below the level of what some could have been able to achieve. Language learners in the expanding circle are caught between two untenable positions: In the Anglo-American hegemony, learners are encouraged to strive to become like Americans or the elite speakers of their own society, but with little economic or social rewards for their efforts. However, if the learners follow the suggestions of some of today’s EIL proponents, they will literally be “kept in their place” by being taught a form of English which is clearly less proficient than the elite members of their society. In this state of fossilization, learners are returned to state of dependence and conformity. The flow of information from the American Hegemony would still be controlled by the elite, with only the acceptable information to be filtered down to the rest of society. In the meantime, those who seek comity on their own run the risk of increased misunderstanding, thus creating the need for experts to come in to assist in the process of clear communication.

The Problem of Standards

It seems clear that EIL pedagogy would benefit from a generally accepted global standard. This, however, is the most serious problem that EIL currently faces. If English has become the property of the world, and educated Anglo-American English is to be rejected as the global standard, what is to prevent the English language from developing into mutually unintelligible dialects? Some, such as Larry Smith (2003), feel that worries about a common communicative standard in EIL are unwarranted, because over the past 200 years, native English speakers from different regions of the world have often found the other unintelligible. English as an International Language will always be used on different levels by people of varying ability, from basilects (people who speak a highly localized version of English that is pidginized with another regional language), to mesolects (people who have studied English more or less formally, but who have limited proficiency in using the language), to acrolects (expert speakers of English often of near-native language ability). Smith (2003) states that EIL will be spoken in various forms, as it always has been. Some versions of English will be spoken in order to be understood by a wide group of listeners, and some local versions will be intended to limit understanding to a select group of insiders. Honna (2003) adds that no language touches others without being affected in some way. In a natural process known as diffusion, English will change and grow as it spreads across the world and is used by more and more people from different language groups. Widdowson (2003, p. 55) sees the types of Englishes used by basilects and mesolects as “virtual languages”: different species of English that are incompatible with other species of English in other parts of the world. He believes with McKay (2002, p. 76) that a global standard for English will be created naturally by those participating in the International Community. However, most of those who participate in the international community are often acrolects or high-level mesolects who represent the elite classes of their societies. Either many have had the opportunity to master English by studying in top national universities under the tutelage of well-trained teachers from center countries or, as is often the case, they have studied abroad in one of the center countries. The standard that these speakers often follow resembles that of high prestige Anglo-American varieties. It is the same standard which is broadcast daily via satellite to every corner of the world, published in a majority of the world’s books, and heard in movies and on CDs. This reality has been noted by the masses living in the outer and expanding circle countries. Honna (2003) admits that, despite the message of linguistic liberation implicit in the present understandings of EIL, most parents and students still aim for the Anglo-American standard, because for them, it represents a linguistic “American Dream,” that is, success and increased opportunities via mastery of the English language. This also suggests why some students and parents question whether one can or should divorce Anglo-American standards from the English language. Metaphorically speaking, to some, EIL may seem like taking the flavor out of a meal while attempting to preserve its nutritional value, or perhaps of injecting an imported fruit with the flavor of a local vegetable. It may take some time for more students and teachers to adjust their linguistic palate in order to “swallow” the proposition of a native-speaker free standard for EIL.

Neither the supporters of the American Hegemony nor many of the proponents of EIL presently seem to offer much hope for language learners. English as an International Language does exist, but no one has yet been able to either control it or define what it is in the process of becoming. Using American models as a counterbalance only serves to bind EIL as

a “non-American” form of English. World Englishes, such as those found in Singapore, India or Nigeria evolved only after the collapse of the British Empire, when these former colonies made their own decisions about the uses of English. Perhaps EIL might become a more vibrant reality in the minds of students, parents and many school administrators, once American power begins to wane in the world. Continued debate and discussion on the topic of EIL are necessary to form better a better understanding of what it entails.

Nevertheless, while the present state of EIL is still nebulous, language teachers should still anticipate an evolution in the way that English will be taught in the 21st century. In this vein, Sifakis (2004) and McKay (2003, p. 140) are among those who are beginning to suggest ways and means to approach the subject. EIL as a pedagogic discipline is coming. Hill (2003) proclaims that when it does arrive, changes in attitudes towards accuracy over fluency, an increase in the creation of materials contextualized for the local culture, greater adaptation to the local culture, respect of non-NESTs, and an increased awareness of the political nature of English will be minimum requirements for language teachers of the future.

It is seen that even within the third places of TESOL, whether it relates to attitudes related to native speakers or English as an International Language, issues are inextricably linked with notions of power, especially of who has it and who wants it. We will now shift our attention from temporal power to that of spiritual power.

TESOL and Religion

Recently in the periodical *Christianity Today*, an article by Agnieszka Tennant (2002) called on Christian teachers of English to improve their skills and credentials as language teachers in order to win the trust and respect of students. By doing so, they could pave the way for greater opportunities to share their faith in Christ. This paper caused a stir among some in TESOL, and it has stimulated growing interest about what Pennycook and Coutand-Marín (2003) call the Teaching of English as a Missionary Language (TEML). Pennycook and Coutand-Marín note how shifts in American politics have also had religious implications in the world and the field of TESOL:

The recent shift in global relations, with the rampant ascendancy of an aggressively conservative, capitalist and Christian United States (supported particularly by Anglophone allies against Islamic states), alongside the ever-increasing global clamour for English and its changing role in the world, has led to a set of new and troubling relations between English language teaching and Christian missionary activity.

They offer in their paper a helpful framework for understanding the current battle lines that are being drawn for the growing debate. There are at least five positions in this issue: Christian evangelical, Christian service, liberal agnostic, secular humanist and the critical pedagogic position (Pennycook and Coutand-Marín, 2003).

The Christian evangelical position aggressively utilizes the resources and opportunities available to TESOL teachers in order to enter schools or countries that normally forbid Christian missionary activity. For example, Yeoman (2002) writes of a stealth crusade that is designed to undermine Islam by sending Christian missionaries to infiltrate Muslim communities. In the organization website for Christian Outreach International (cited in

Pennycook and Coutand-Marin, 2003), ELT is described as “a gold mine rich with mission opportunity.” Pennycook and Coutand-Martin also mention several online testimonies of missionary English teachers who report of sharing the Christian Gospel message under the noses of officials in communist countries, because the officials often lacked sufficient proficiency in English to understand what the missionaries were teaching in their classes.

Practices such as these are both bewildering and repellant to Edge (2003a), who believes that advocates of this approach “have a moral duty to make that instrumental goal...absolutely explicit at all stages of their work.”

Teachers following the Christian Service approach are open about their faith and mission. By aiming for excellence in their craft and profession, and helping to empower the poor and downtrodden by giving them more opportunities through English, these Christian English Teachers (CETs) hope to do good to others, build trust and rapport, and hope for the opportunity to share the message of the Gospel. “English teaching can be more than a secular job that serves as a means to other ends—English teaching itself becomes a form of Christian mission” (Snow, 2001, p. 176). Pennycook and Coutand-Marin (2003) question the sincerity of this approach: “At its core, furthermore, there is something disingenuous about the Christian Service argument, for while it highlights social salvation through ELT, the underlying hope is still that spiritual salvation can be achieved through Christianity.”

Liberal agnostics feel that any belief system is relative and unquantifiable. One person’s sin may become another’s virtue. One may have the best of intentions, but the imposition of one’s specific beliefs could bring about the opposite intended effect. It is best to focus upon widely held ethical assumptions (equality, freedom, etc.), even though these too may be problematic, depending upon the situation. Religion, therefore, has no place in the language classroom. This view seems to have been espoused by Widdowson (2001) during his address at the Tokyo AILA Conference:

...belief is, of course, fraught with problematic implications...We come inevitably to intractable moral issues. How can you tell benevolent intervention from malevolent interference; and even if your intervention is well-intentioned, how do you know what negative consequences might follow? (p. 14).

Secular humanists believe that teachers should not introduce religious issues on their own volition, but only if more information on the subject is requested by the students. This is essentially the position that Edge (2003b) takes. He is not against the sharing of religious beliefs per se. What he seems to be concerned with is the potential of Christian teachers to abuse their authority and manipulate students into a dialog of which they previously had little interest. Earl Stevick (1996), a devout Christian and respected linguist, agrees with Edge that deceit and manipulation should have no part in the mission of a Christian English Teacher, but he takes exception to Edge’s view that religion and TESOL should be separate. Stevick (who is American) feels that the TESOL classroom should be likened to a free market where all ideas can be presented to learners. Since many language teachers already introduce topics such as environmentalism, human rights, or gender studies with impunity, why should Christians be required to keep silent about their faith? There is “nothing sinister,” Stevick states, about presenting Christianity to students in a way that is “attractive and available” (1996, p. 6). Pennycook and Coutand-Marin remain unconvinced, questioning whether the unequal power positions between students and teachers will truly allow for a free market of

ideas to be shared. They take the critical pedagogic approach. Building upon Corson (cited in Pennycook and Coutand-Marin, 2003), the critical pedagogic approach focuses on humanist ethics of mutual respect, equal treatment and seeking the benefit of learners over the needs of the teacher. However, there seems to be an assumption that students will have a compatible system of ethics, be able to receive the same level of treatment, and that all can benefit from the teachers' lessons. While the theological base is very different, in many ways, the visible practices of the critical pedagogic approach appear similar to the Christian Service model. Both strive for excellence, transparency and the benefit of learners. The critical pedagogic approach is no more "disingenuous" than the Christian service position: At its core it still hopes that enlightenment can be found through a liberal academic dialectic. The risks of inequities of power are not mitigated merely by taking a non-theistic critical pedagogic approach. Depending upon the quality of the teacher, either the Christian service position or the critical pedagogic approach is capable of encouraging freedom and analytical thought in a spirit of mutual trust and respect.

While this section has focused mainly on Christian themes within TESOL, similar debate is going on in other religious communities. For example, in many Muslim communities, because English is associated with Western, Christian and anti-Islamic principles (Ozog, cited in Pennycook, 1994), there are calls among some Muslim English Language Teachers to "make English language teaching truly Islamic" (Shafi, cited in Pennycook, 1994). Kachru (2003) surprised his audience recently when he cited the Malaysian Minister of Education as stating that the goal behind Malaysia's current English education drive was to spread the message of Islam throughout the world. These remarkable developments suggest that we may be seeing a religious manifestation of the growing regional struggle between America and Muslim nations, a contest that Castles (1999) stated had been predicted to intensify even before the end of the Cold War.

To conclude this section, Edge (2003b) is correct in noting, "the mixture of the imperial and the religious is fearsome". Discussions of religion and TESOL again touch upon issues of power, freedom, and cultural sovereignty. The debate on this subject is expected to last for some time, but the resultant discourse should help many to form their own informed opinions as to where they will stand on this issue.

CONCERNS FOR THE LANGUAGE CLASSROOM

Let us now return to the question posed at the beginning of this paper: By teaching TESOL, are we contributing to the improvement of our respective nations and communities, or are we unwittingly cooperating in neocolonial reconstruction? The answer, of course, is that it depends upon the teacher and the students.

Issues for Teachers

Whether language teachers serve the interests of the Anglo-American hegemony or focus on the local needs of their learners hinges on the pedagogic beliefs and practices implicit in their lessons. It is felt that language teachers should regularly reflect on *what* they are actually

teaching in their classes, *how* they teach the language, and *why* they are teaching English in the first place. Careful attention needs to be paid to the textbooks chosen, and what type of English (American, British, nativized varieties, or a combination of the three) is being quietly upheld as the ideal for students to model.

Language teachers would benefit from clearly identifying what they believe about the spread of English, and design their lessons accordingly. Regardless of whether they believe in teaching EIL, support an Anglo-American model or are committed to teaching English as an Islamic language, they should prepare their lessons in such a way that these goals are met. Language teachers should be true to themselves, their identities and their life goals.

However, such purpose-driven language teachers should be careful to work in a manner that is respectful to the differing views of others. While language teachers should also be explicit about their religious orientation and political ideology, they should also dedicate serious seasons of reflection as to how those beliefs may influence their pedagogic practices.

Issues for Students

At a minimum, it is felt that learners should be exposed to a variety of views, types of teachers (bilingual experts from the expanding circle countries as well as well-trained teachers from the inner and outer circle), and materials that take local as well as Anglophone interests in mind. In light of the developments taking place in the world and the field of TESOL, where appropriate, students should also be given more information about the matters discussed in this paper. For example, language lessons centering on English and actual economic opportunities in their country, possible Anglo-American beliefs in teaching materials, or the political implications of English as an International Language, could help stimulate critical thought about some of the larger issues involved with English language study. Students should be better informed so they can choose for themselves if they want to support or subvert the hegemonic implications of conforming to Anglo-American norms. They should also be made aware of the potential punishments and rewards that may result from their decisions. As it appears that EIL is often used by distinct discourse communities interacting on a domain of common interest, students might benefit from a needs analysis which would identify the type of international discourse community they would be most interested in, followed by the development of teaching materials which would assist them with participating in their chosen discourse community.

CONCLUSION

It is recognized that this paper may raise more questions than it attempts to answer. For example, is imperialism avoidable? Are nation states, with their respective sociolinguistic classes of elite and oppressed, simply smaller versions of what is happening on an international scale? If the continued spread of English is to be construed as an unwelcome development, what can be done to replace it without major disruption on a global scale? Given that the dynamic of empire building is as ancient as the history of civilization, and if America is deemed an unjust, unwelcome cultural and linguistic influence in the world, could

the United Nations replace the US? If not the UN, is it truly possible to go back to the political, economic and linguistic situation of the 1890s, when nation states had greater autonomy in their internal and external affairs?

These and more questions await our critical examination. This paper has only sought to begin the process by reflecting on the possible influence of American cultural beliefs, how they may affect the current state of TESOL, and how TESOL might be interacting with the powerful domains of economics, cultural politics and religion.

Instead of myopically teaching English, with a view only on what to teach for the next class, all language teachers are encouraged to consider the ramifications of their English language lessons for their community, their nation and their world. In doing so, it is hoped that more language teachers will form their own views about the issues discussed in this paper, and in doing so, be able to make informed pedagogic decisions for their classes.

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Chapter 3

ENGLISH AND CULTURAL ALIENATION IN GHANA: ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

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INTRODUCTION

Ghana has a long and controversial history with the English language which presently is the country's sole official language. Since the colonial era the English language has assumed a polemical and unequal relationship with the indigenous languages with regard to their use as media of instruction. Several scholars (Ansre, 1969, 1970, 1978, 1979; Kotey, 1975; Gbedemah, 1971; Amonoo, 1963, 1989; Dowuona, 1963; Boadi, 1976; Apronti, 1974; Chinebuah, 1976) have provided insight into the multicultural and complex linguistic situation of Ghana's 20 million inhabitants.

Two schools of thought exist in Ghana about the use of English as the dominant language of instruction to trigger political participation and economic development. The first supports the status quo since it regards English an efficient channel of rapid national development and unity (Amonoo, 1963; Dowuona, 1963; Frempong, 1986). The second advocates the promotion of Ghanaian languages as relevant media of instruction in primary and junior secondary schools. Its proponents maintain that the paramount role English plays as a medium of instruction in Ghanaian could alienate many Ghanaian students from their cultural heritage. Gbedemah (1971) describes this cultural erosion as "extreme cases of denationalization rendering individuals incapable of functioning effectively within their culture (p. 16). English's role in this sociocultural problem is viewed by some scholars as linguistic imperialism that "has a subtle way of warping the minds, attitudes and aspirations of even the most noble in society and preventing him from appreciating and realising the full potentialities of the indigenous languages" (Ansre, 1969, p. 13).

The impact of the dominant use of English as a means of instruction in Ghanaian schools and its effects on the socioeconomic mobility and political participation of Ghanaians are issues that scholars have not fully explored. The use of English as a dominant medium of

instruction in Ghanaian schools and the greater emphasis that the Ghanaian educational system places on Anglo–Saxon culture have the potential to create some socioeconomic problems for Ghanaian students. For example, the Ghana Ministry of Education denies Ghanaian students who fail English in secondary school access to university education because it equates Ghanaian students' intelligence with their mastery of the English language. This policy of exclusion increases the risk of inflicting psychological damage on such students. Kotey (1975) maintains that "in most cases, the educational advancement of students was sealed off if they could not pass the English examinations" (p. 20).

One could argue for an alternative approach that is not considered by many scholars which is a blend of the two extreme schools of thought above. This view entails the use of the Ghanaian languages as media of instruction at certain levels of schooling and for certain categories of learners, and English at other levels. Ghanaian languages are the appropriate media of instruction in primary and junior secondary schools while English is relevant for students at senior secondary and tertiary levels of learning who have national and international aspirations (Ansre, 1969, p. 16).

The idea of English and Ghanaian indigenous languages complementing each other as media of instruction sounds like a viable compromise in a multilingual society like Ghana. However, this idea does raise an important question about how the dominant use of English as a medium of instruction impacts the economic and political lives of products of Ghanaian schools.

PURPOSE OF STUDY, RESEARCH QUESTION, THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE AND DESIGN

The primary research question for this study is "What economic and political problems do Ghanaians of the Diaspora relate to the dominant use of English language and culture in the Ghanaian educational system?" The secondary question is "How can the Ghanaian Educational system blend the strengths of English and its indigenous languages to achieve sustained economic and political development?"

The substantive theoretical framework of this study is multicultural education or multiculturalism. Bennet (1995) defines this view of education as "an approach to teaching that is based upon democratic values and beliefs and seeks to foster cultural pluralism within culturally diverse societies and an interdependent world" (p. 11). These goals can be achieved through learning to understand, tolerate, and value human and cultural differences. These goals necessitate transforming the power and domination of English language and culture in Ghana. Theories of multiculturalism could help Ghanaian students to reassess their various ethnic cultures and languages and to reverse their tendency to use proficiency in English and high education to dominate Ghanaians who are not proficient in English. Teaching Ghanaian students the realities of Anglo–Saxon and, for that matter Western culture, could make these students realize that Anglo–Saxon culture has its strengths and weaknesses. This multicultural education could demystify the false notion that many Ghanaian students have of Anglo–Saxon culture as a perfect culture that should be emulated at all cost.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section I will discuss and analyze two main rationalizations that Ghanaian policy makers use to retain English as the dominant medium of instruction in Ghanaian schools: namely, national unity and national development.

National Unity

The retention of English as dominant medium of instruction in Ghana has not fostered national unity. Colonial Britain carved Ghana into an artificial multilingual state and ruled it through the local chiefs under a political system known as “indirect rule” which enhanced ethnic loyalty. Ansre (1970) points out that each ethnic group in Ghana, as a consequence, tends to maintain strong ethnic affiliation and patriotism (p. 2). The Ghanaian government views this particularistic tendency as an impediment to the creation of a true bond of national solidarity. Ghanaian language policy makers thus regard mother tongue medium instruction as a strong barrier to national cohesion and understanding. This preoccupation with national integration enhances the dominance of English medium instruction. However, being an alien entity, English cannot foster the creation of a unique Ghanaian identity. Furthermore, a study reveals that only about 5–20 percent of Ghanaians are proficient in English (Amanoo, 19??, p. 28). Ghanaian languages are more realistic channels of fostering national integration.

Other scholars argue that due Ghana’s multilingual status, no indigenous language can effectively replace English a national language. Such a replacement might be interpreted by the other ethnic groups as a neglect of their language and would jeopardize Ghana’s fragile national unity. Dowuona (1969) and Amonoo (1963) assert that English is a neutral language that unifies all Ghanaian ethnic groups. This assumption is partially true. Another scholar maintains that “effective national leadership in Africa demands a command in a transtribal language” (Mazrui, 1967, p. 59). African politicians use only English for political tasks because English is a lingua franca for the diverse ethnicities. However, the use of Western colonial languages in sub-Saharan African countries does not unite the citizens in any African country socio-economically because of “their accessibility to a small minority” Bamgbose, 1976, p. 16). In this sense rather than unifying, English and other colonial languages create divisions between the elites and the general masses in Africa. The former, proficient in English, enjoy most of the social and economic privileges while the latter with limited or no proficiency in English are the have-nots. In this sense English divides the few elites from the general masses and the sociocultural distance between the two groups could become more abysmal if Ghanaian elites attempt to imitate Western cultural habits.

English has not served the goal of achieving national unity and creating national consciousness in Ghana. Although language may be a factor that could enhance national unity and state loyalty, there is also a sociopolitical factor. A country achieves unity and national loyalty when the ruling class addresses the interests of all the ethnic groups and resolves their demands through negotiation, arbitration, and compromise (Mansour, 1993). Ghanaian politicians must learn to serve the interests of all sectors of society to create a more harmonious relationship between all ethnic groups.

In multilingual African countries such as Ghana, national integration is measured by ability to communicate in several indigenous languages rather than one official language. Some Western nations such as the United States regard monolingualism as an asset and multilingualism as a liability; it is fortunate that the European Union now recognizes the importance of cultural pluralism (Berns, 1995, p. 1). Thus Ghanaian multilingualism is a rich cultural asset that must be preserved and nurtured. It does not necessarily hinder national unity. Bamgbose (1991) explains that it is not language per se that divides or unites people of a nation, but rather the attitudes of the speakers and the sentiments and symbolism that speakers of the target culture attach to their language.

The pluralistic educational language policy entails the use of all the major Ghanaian languages as complementary media of instruction of presenior secondary schooling in the districts where they are spoken.

National Development

Prah (1993) defines development in an eclectic way as the improvement of the overall quality and content of the human condition (p.18). Ghana needs the renaissance of its cultural heritage to develop socioeconomically and politically because development comprises an important factor that is cultural. Indigenous languages are useful in this task. When Ghana attained its political freedom, many Ghanaian elites expected that rapid national development would best be achieved if English was retained as the dominant medium of instruction. They had this fallacious expectation because they equated English and western languages with science and technology or industrialization. An African sociolinguist rationalizes that science and technology are not an appendage of Western European languages. He argues, further, that it is the human mind that makes scientific and technological discoveries (Mateene, 1980). Ghana does not need only English to attain technological development. For example, Japan used its own language to become one of the world's most developed countries of this decade. South Korea and Taiwan also are developing rapidly although they use their indigenous languages as media of instruction. Similarly, technological skills could be acquired in Ghanaian languages. The fact that many Ghanaian "blue collar" professionals such as tailors, plumbers, electricians, masons, mechanics, hairdressers, and electronic service workers learn effectively in Ghanaian languages demonstrates that Ghanaian languages can be used for instruction and development.

The use of English as the predominant medium of instruction, especially in presenior secondary education in Ghana, restricts the popularization of literacy in Ghana and consequently prevents Ghana from channeling the genius of all its citizens toward national development (Prah, 1993, p. 9). Like other Anglophone African countries, only a few Ghanaians are proficient in English (Bamgbose, 1991). The majority of Ghanaians live in rural communities where only indigenous Ghanaian languages are needed for national development (Ansre, 1979). The promotion of the use of Ghanaian languages as complementary media of instruction will serve as a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge to the masses in order to achieve sustained development at the grassroot level (Prah, 1993, p. 20). Ghanaians in this way can use their indigenous languages to tap their innate genius and creativity. Mother tongue instruction can be an efficient tool to improve the standard of living of illiterate Ghanaians in several ways. Related to health issues, the mother tongue could

serve to disseminate information about good health practices and can reduce diseases and infant mortality rate.

The political aspect of development involves using the indigenous Ghanaian languages to empower the masses in politics. As English is the language of political administration and government, all politicians are expected to be proficient in English. This policy prevents many potential leaders who are not proficient in English from serving in politics. Moreover, many rural people who do not speak English view the Ghanaian government that functions officially in English as an alien entity. They are, therefore, likely to be less patriotic Ghanaians. The promotion of Ghanaian languages as languages of government could enhance patriotism. The masses would know their political rights, and politicians would not be as likely to take the masses for granted, as they do now. The use of Ghanaian languages as official languages in the legal system will assist citizens of Ghana to know the laws, to be defended properly, and to get fair justice (see Mateene, 1980, for more on the role of African languages in the legal system).

From the colonial epoch until it was reformed in the 1980s, the Ghanaian educational system emphasized liberal arts and neglected vocational, technological, agricultural, and industrial education. Some scholars allege that Ghanaian elites, especially engineers who are entrusted with the task of developing Ghana, favor clerical work and skills to manual work and techniques elaborate this a little more (Prah, 1993, p. 50). I do not agree with this allegation. First, there are not enough industries to employ all Ghanaian university engineering graduates because Ghana has few industries. Consequently it is not uncommon for such students to seek "white collar" jobs instead of working on machines. Second, in the case agricultural engineering, its graduates cannot have access easily to capital to establish their own farms. The traditional land tenure system also hinders large scale farming because the land generally belongs to a clan or an extended family. Moreover, Ghanaians also usually assume that people who are illiterate in English are expected to live in rural areas, cultivate the land and do menial jobs. Mother tongue is the language that is associated with rural life or traditional Ghanaian life. English, on the contrary, is the language of the formal educated Ghanaian. Ghanaian parents thus expect their children who received formal education to use their knowledge of English to escape farming and the harshness of rural life. This mentality causes migration of Ghanaian students from the rural areas to the urban centers. This problem is a colonial legacy and is found in all Sub-Saharan African countries (Urch, 1992). Some scholars, however, do not support the view. They reason that African schools make students aware of the opportunities that exist in urban areas and give students certificates to obtain jobs in towns and cities. Others explain that although artisans and farmers can become rich, bureaucratic jobs which are acquired through schooling fetch higher income and are more secured (Bray, Clarke, and Stephens, 1986). These authors conclude that formal education per se does not make its products reject manual labor. The real factor is the reward that is given to a particular training in the economy. Such scholars link this problem to the colonial legacy. They argue that the colonial administrators, missionaries, and businessmen did not reward artisans and craftsmen as they did clerks (Skinner and Mikell, 1986).

Ghanaian agronomists and agricultural engineers who prefer to work in offices instead of working on farms do so mainly because of economic considerations. This economic preference impacts food production in Ghana. Most Ghanaian farmers received no formal education and use outdated and inefficient farming methods which make it difficult for Ghana to produce enough food to feed its growing population. Urch (1992) points out that nations

need talented people to remain in the rural areas because agriculture is the basic form of economic development.

In Ghana, mother tongue is the appropriate medium to produce mass talented agriculturalists and artisans. This medium is a tenable instrument to produce a self-reliant economy based on agriculture and raw materials. In the field of agriculture, Ghanaian languages could be used to instruct Ghanaian farmers about better farming practices. The teaching of modern farming techniques will promote higher production of crops, poultry, and domesticated animals.

The Ghanaian educational system also needs English to produce students who can compete in a technologically advancing world (Urch, 1992). The complementary use of both English and mother tongue as languages of instruction may help Ghana achieve both technological progress and foster self-reliance at the same time. Because Ghana has neglected the use of mother tongue as a viable instrument of agricultural and light scale industrial production, this nation has not achieved its goal of becoming industrialized. Agriculture and light industries could generate the capital and skills needed for industrialization.

THE RESEARCH SETTING

Solicitation of Participants and Selection of Site

I selected my participants from two sources. The first was the Ghanaian home page called "Okyeame." This home page provided the e-mail addresses of many Ghanaians who resided and studied mainly in Western countries. The second source consisted of 10 Ghanaian friends and colleagues who studied in the United States at Purdue University.

I was interested mainly in Ghanaians residing in English speaking and Western European countries as the participants of this study. My goal was to select purposefully information-rich cases that would help answer my research questions (Patton, 1990, p. 169). The geographical sites were the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, South Africa, Norway and Finland. I chose the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada because the three countries are English speaking countries where many Ghanaians pursue tertiary education or reside. I selected South Africa because it is also considered an English speaking country. Furthermore, it is a country where many native South Africans regard English as an emancipatory language. I chose Norway because I have a Ghanaian friend who studied in this country. I selected one female participant from Finland because I could not find enough female participants from only English speaking countries.

Description of the Participants, Background and Profile

A questionnaire was sent to 124 potential subjects, to which 64 responses were received. The respondents included 50 men and 24 women who ranged in age from 18 to 55 years. Sixty respondents resided in North America, USA and Canada, seven were residents of the United Kingdom, four lived in South Africa, one lived in Finland while the last one was a student in Norway. All the major ethnic groups in Ghana were represented by the sample. I

chose only Ghanaians who resided outside Ghana as participants of the study for one basic reason. Before I came to the United States, I used to value Anglo-Saxon culture more than my own because the Ghanaian educational system miseducated me about both my native and Anglo-Saxon cultures. First hand experience with American life gave me a dual perspective from which to critically assess both my native and Anglo-American cultures. I wonder whether other Ghanaians, who live in either native English speaking countries or in the West, may also have developed this critical vision to reassess their encounter with the English language and culture while they were schooled in Ghana.

The participants were either college students or graduates who lived mainly in English speaking countries or in Western countries. They had at least their secondary school education in Ghana. I chose a majority of the respondents from the United States because there are more Ghanaian residents and college students in this country than in the other countries. Furthermore, American literary culture, in particular, movies, mass media, entertainment and recently the internet, has great impact on Ghanaian students and college graduates.

Instruments and Pretest

I designed a two-part questionnaire. In the first part, respondents wrote about certain sociocultural problems that they encountered related to the use of English as the dominant language of instruction in Ghanaian schools. In the second section, participants provided certain demographic information (name, age, sex, place of birth, region or district in Ghana, the name and location of all the schools they attended and/or attending, religion, marital status, first Ghanaian language and second spoken and written).

I pretested the instrument through a pilot study. I mailed to the apartments of 10 Ghanaian students at Purdue University in April 1997. When I went to collect their responses to the questionnaire items, I used informal interviews (Patton, 1990) to make sure my participants clarified the opinions they expressed in the written questionnaire. The response rate was 100%. This pretest enabled me to refine the overall survey instrument.

In the final form of the instrument, I included a cover letter that explained the purpose and significance of my study. I e-mailed most of the questionnaires to the participants described in the previous section via the internet.

Data Collection and Analysis

After receiving the replies to the questionnaires, a table of frequency counts of types of responses was created. Those responses were then analyzed to discover emergent patterns and categories. In turn, these responses were interpreted based on emergent economic and political themes.

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Economic Issues

Of the 64 responses, fifty-five percent (N=35) maintained that proficiency in English was no longer the major instrument of socio-economic mobility for Ghanaians. Some Ghanaians who have had little or no education have used their entrepreneurial skills to become rich. During the colonial epoch and the 1960s and early 1970s, higher education and competence in English were the keys to economic and social mobility in Ghanaian society. The government was the major employer. University graduates who were generally competent in English had access to the best jobs such as chief executive officers, managing directors and diplomats.

In the 1970s and 1980s, however, Ghana experienced political instability and economic depression. The job market became saturated and consequently the government could no longer employ all people who had higher education and were fluent in English. Many people with minimal education became wealthy through retailing and other private economic activities. Even people who are hardly literate in English, such as some cocoa farmers, are rich.

These wealthy Ghanaian retailers and entrepreneurs who are not proficient in English engage in business transactions with the masses mainly in rural areas where competence in the indigenous Ghanaian languages is required to become successful retailers. Retailers who speak several Ghanaian languages in this arena can attract more customers.

In the urban areas, however, as English is the official language of commerce, rich Ghanaians who are not competent in English have to employ Ghanaians who are fluent in English to work for them. For example, the former need somebody who is competent in English to assist them to secure a bank loan or to deal with international trade partners. One respondent believes thus that one's socioeconomic mobility depends on the area in which that person operates.

For those seeking academic careers or work in government departments, the proficiency in English is a plus. But in commercial professions, enterprising people succeed by their skills. Many of the rich contractors and industrialists normally are poor in English. English would be helpful to them, but if they can't speak it, they normally have employees who can. Identify respondent by some code

Thus although Ghanaian elites are sometimes seen to use competence in English as a weapon to trample upon Ghanaians who are illiterate in English, the latter use their entrepreneurial skills and intelligence to beat the system. Proficiency in English does not guarantee economic and social mobility of all Ghanaians.

Although formal education can teach students to become proficient in English, this education does not teach them how to use formal education to amass wealth. One respondent explained:

Money talks as they say. Of course the literates will always put down the illiterates, but all in all as it's always said, it's not what you know but how you use your skills to get what you want. Not all literates are good in the big wide world. Survival is the key and people respect those who can make a good living for themselves using their brain. (Source)

English is Major Instrument of Socioeconomic Mobility

Thirty-six percent of the participants believed that proficiency in English is a still major instrument of socioeconomic mobility for Ghanaians. They argued that Ghanaian administrative, political, legal, and commercial structures require proficiency in English. Moreover, English is the international language that Ghanaians use to communicate with the outside world. Proficiency in English in this sense is a major instrument of socioeconomic mobility for Ghanaians at the national and international levels. Respondent Opoku argues that Ghana “cannot be self-sufficient economically if it does not interact meaningfully with people from other countries because English is an international, scientific and economic language”. Hence no Ghanaian language can effectively replace English as international lingua franca of science, technology, and commerce.

English Proficiency to Attain Higher Socioeconomic Class

Some respondents considered formal education the great equalizer in Ghanaian society. Many Ghanaian students from poor families have used their proficiency in English to attain higher education and to become elites. Proficiency in English gives these students the power to exercise authority because it is the means to advance one’s social class.

English Proficiency and Multinational Jobs

Ghana’s economic depression and political instability of the 1970s and 1980s forced many intellectual elites to seek their fortune outside Ghana in the developed core English speaking countries. An advanced degree and proficiency in English has enabled many Ghanaian intellectuals to obtain prestigious jobs in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, and other English speaking countries. English is surely a major means seek to search for greener pastures in the international arena.

Political Issues

Sixty-six percent of the respondents (N=42) maintained that they would vote for only Ghanaians who are proficient in English for political offices because the Ghanaian political structure, inherited from British colonial rule, was modeled on the Western political system. English is the official language of government and for legal matters from the Supreme Court and even in the Circuit Courts (Amonoo, 1989, pp. 27-28). These respondents argue further, that the business of government in Ghana is so complex that people who are not literate in English cannot cope with the issues of good government.

Other respondents argued that someone who is not competent in English cannot debate or contribute to the discussions of parliament. Further, such a person could not convey the needs of his or her constituency to the government. During the first republic, President Kwame Nkrumah gave political appointments to people who were not proficient in English. Survey

respondent Chakitey clarified very well the inefficiency of such people who were popularly called “the Veranda Boys.” They were square pegs in round roles. Voting for such a person would “mean voting for a rubber stamp.” According to Chakitey:

English is the language used in all official circles in Ghana as well as in the Ghanaian parliament. It would therefore be most unwise to vote for people who are not well versed in this language to occupy political positions. There were instances in the past when the largely illiterate electorate in certain constituencies voted for people of their ilk who only went to parliament to behave as clowns and jokers. These people never contributed meaningfully to any deliberations. They were there as gaping sycophants who only “concurred” to proposals by their leader no matter how silly the proposal might have been. It was not their fault. They did not understand what went on. Even if Ghana adopts one of the Ghanaian languages as *lingua franca* it would be advisable to vote for only people who are literate in that language.

The excerpt above substantiates the argument that the language of political business must be understood by aspiring politicians. It is illogical to vote for someone who cannot perform the political job effectively because they are linguistically handicapped.

REQUIREMENT FOR CANDIDACY FOR POLITICAL OFFICES

In every parliamentary regime that ruled Ghana from 1957 to 1979, one of the conditions for candidacy to a parliamentary seat was the ability to speak English (Amanoo, 1989, p. 28). The role of English as the major language of political business has not changed. People who cannot speak English are prohibited from contesting elections reserved for higher political offices. Such people normally do not have any formal education. These people are less knowledgeable about national and political issues because such issues are reported in detail in English in the Ghanaian media.

The Ghanaian constitution, thus, prohibits people who are not proficient in English from contesting in major political offices like the president and members of parliament. These kinds of politicians do not deal solely with national issues but also engage in matters of global ramifications such as international trade, operation of the United Nations, deforestation of tropical forests, depletion of the ozone layer and threats to global peace. For example, the president of Ghana represents the country at international summits that have great implications for national economic development. As English is the international *lingua franca* of this century, a politician who aspires toward higher political office must be proficient in English. Survey respondent Nii admitted that he would vote for only Ghanaians who are proficient in English as political leaders of Ghana.

One needs to be proficient in English in order to lead the nation. A political position means you will be dealing or communicating with people from other countries so therefore the need to be proficient in English. Also in some cases you would be representing the country if you should travel to other countries for a political assignment or trip. We need a good representative.

A politician whose works entails dealing with people from other countries must be fluent in English to communicate the ideas and wishes of Ghana very well. Someone in Ghana who

has no formal education and who aspires to be president, for example, would not understand the above international issues even if he or she had interpreters.

National Cohesion and Unity in a Multilingual Nation

Some respondents viewed English as a politically neutral language that unites the diverse ethnic groups of the country. Current politics in Ghana embraces all of the several ethnic groups in Ghana. Survey respondent Antwi believed that politicians who are proficient in English manage to collaborate with their counterparts from other ethnicities.

Present day politics transcends beyond ethnic lines, proficiency in English offers any politician the tool to collaborate with his counterparts elsewhere who may not necessarily be from his ethnic group. Those who are not proficient in English are limited to their ethnic groups which is not good enough in our quest for democracy (Antwi).

Thus proficiency in English serves politically to cement bounds between politicians from diverse ethnic groups who share the same political ideologies.

Leadership Qualities are More Important

Twenty-eight percent (N=18) said they did not consider proficiency in English as a criterion to vote someone into political office in Ghana. They argued among other things that they found no proven correlation between proficiency in English and good political leadership. They viewed a good politician as someone who can identify him or herself with the citizenry and can understand the needs of the people. Respondent Sewa believed that although speaking perfect English does help in international relations but she did not think that proficiency in English “is the criterion for effective leadership.”

An effective political leader to survey respondent Nana must “have clear political objectives and be capable of performing the job in question.”

Some respondents believed that wisdom forms the basis of good governance. The ability to speak good English, which is associated with people with higher education, has no bearing on one’s intellect and common sense. Respondent Dwamena viewed formal education in Ghana elitist, which, among other things, makes the intellectual elites feel they are superior to Ghanaians who are not competent in English. The latter assume that Ghanaians with higher education, particularly those who have doctorate degrees, make effective politicians. They have this assumption because they think anything Western is good. The Ghanaian who has higher education is presumed to be closer to Western culture than those with little education. Respondent Kudzovi also said he has a problem with these presumptuous elites who are alienated from their culture. He would not vote for Ghanaians who are proficient in English into high political offices. He gave the following reasons.

A lot of local language speakers make more sense to me than those who speak English. The latter group of people have an air of pomposity that is often irritating. While they believe that anything is good when done in English, they are unable to appreciate local things. Well, I look for intelligence not fluency. (Kudzovi)

Major political animosities in Ghana existed between the military and the intellectual elites from the 1970s to 1980s. The military, which generally had less formal education, considered itself the defender of the masses, consequently it carried successful coup d'états against three civilian governments in 1966, 1971 and 1981. Although Ghanaian university students usually supported every new military regime, fracas later on developed between the two bodies after the military had been in power for some time.

Some Ghanaian university graduates had problems with Ghanaian military leaders like the late General Achampong, who ruled Ghana from 1980–1989, because he had no university education and he was not proficient in English. All the civilian presidents and prime ministers that had ruled Ghana before the current government had doctorate degrees. Respondent Mate Korle observed that “we have a political culture that is neocolonialist and we had problems with all our military leaders because of Dr. Syndrome.”

These respondents preferred a politician who is open-minded, understands the needs of the country and has what it takes to improve the economy.

Other leadership qualities that respondents viewed more important than proficiency in English were honesty, integrity, dedication and the individual grasp of the political issues that affect Ghana.

Proficiency in Both English and Ghanaian Languages

Six percent (N=4) maintained that their decision to vote for any politician standing election depended on the type of political office being contested. Recent innovation in political activity in the country has given some opportunity to people who are not literate in English to wield some political power, especially at the local levels. The four respondents pointed out that for higher political office as the presidency and vice-presidency and members of parliament they would vote for someone who was proficient in English. Such politicians would need to represent Ghana internationally and should be familiar with the official language of political business. For the position of Assembly man or woman who are politicians who work at the district or local levels, the criterion is proficiency in a Ghanaian language.

Proficiency in English has been reserved for higher political offices. However, the use of English as an official language has now spread to roles that previously assumed use of the indigenous Ghanaian languages. For example, respondent Chakitey alleges that the Ghana government now requires paramount kings and chiefs of each ethnic group to have a formal education. Such kings and chiefs are expected to be more enlightened. This policy creates problems because if the rightful heirs to the throne are not literate in English, someone could usurp the throne.

CONCLUSION

The Ghanaian educational system must incorporate the teaching of the native languages and culture in presenior secondary education to anchor its students firmly in their native culture before they get exposed to Western culture. This process will enable Ghanaian

students adapt formal education to become productive citizens. Both English and the indigenous Ghanaian languages play complementary roles as instruments of economic mobility and politics. These roles are determined at two main levels: nation or international and local. With regard to socioeconomic mobility, a university degree and proficiency in English are key instruments to securing prestigious and secured jobs at the first level. Less prestigious jobs like craftsmanship, entrepreneurship and petty trading that operate generally at the local level require competence in native Ghanaian languages. With regard to politics higher national political positions like presidency and parliamentary posts demand proficiency in English through a university degree. Political posts like local assembly people and district chief executives require communication skills in indigenous Ghanaian languages.

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Chapter 4

SPEECH ACTS SEQUENCES IN DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT

This paper extends the theory of speech acts proposed by Searle by showing how the illocutionary force of each speech act in a sequence of speech acts affects the perlocutionary force of the combined discourse. Nigerian public service advertisements are analyzed to explore the ways in which this sequencing alters the force of the message.

The aim of this paper is to extend the theory of speech acts as proposed by J.R. Searle to the treatment of sequences of utterances within a discourse in order to strengthen the point that speech acts contract relationships with one another in a sequence. The texts under consideration are public service advertisements concerned with Nigeria's drive for a new socio-economic and political order.

As will be shown shortly, speech acts do not usually occur in isolation in real life; "rather, they come in sequences and are performed by speakers who are engaged in rule-governed activities, such as debating, making conversation, proposing bills in parliament, testifying at trials, teaching in classrooms, preaching and praying in churches, and writing novels. Furthermore, speech acts in sequences are normally related to one another, while sharing a different status in the flow of the speaker's action" (Ferrara, 1980, p. 234). Such relationships that could be contracted between speech acts in sequence can be explicated using the following public service advertisement:

- (1) A good and responsible government
does not come by chance.
Vote sensibly to ensure this.

This public service advertisement contains two speech acts corresponding to the two message units outlined above. The illocutionary point in the first speech act is to inform the people that a good and responsible government does not come by chance: they need to work hard to bring it about. Its direction of fit is words to world: the citizenry determines the kind of government it gets by how it responds to processes that bring about the government. The expressed psychological state is *belief* (that p): the speaker believes the expressed proposition and also wants the hearer to believe it too. The relevant speech act, therefore, fulfils the conditions that identify assertive. It is, thus, an assertive speech act.

The illocutionary point in the second speech act (i.e., ‘Vote sensibly to ensure this’) is to exhort the people to vote wisely as a guarantee for securing a good government. The direction to fit of the speech act is world-to-words, that is, it is only through judicious voting that we can get a good and responsible government. The expressed psychological state of the speech act is desire for prudent voting. In this regard, we are clearly faced with directive speech act.

With the identification of the types of speech acts that characterize the public service advertisement under consideration (text 1), we can then discuss how the speech acts relate to one another. The assertive and directive speech acts evident in this public service advertisement do not occur at the same level, rather they are ordered hierarchically, along a dominance-subordination line based on the intuitive notion of main point. The main goal of the public service advertisement in question is to ensure that Nigerians vote for the right candidates while the subgoal is to provide good justification for the advice outlined in the advertisement—this is done via an expression indicating commitment ‘to something being the case’ (i.e., ‘A good and responsible government does not come by chance.’) The claim that a good and responsible government does not come by chance, therefore, is the basis for the advice that follows. The main point of the sequence is contained in the directive such that the assertive is merely a supportive device providing motivation for the main act. As the main act, the directive dominates the illocutionary goal. The assertive, though a subordinate act, contributes to the achievement of the main goal by providing a sufficiently compelling reason for, or one that is at least capable of inducing compliance with the directive. The realization of the main goal is, of course, the perlocutionary intention.

The relationship between the speech acts in text 1 is one of justification. The desired effect of justification is that of providing the motivation/reason for giving the directive in order to enhance compliance. This is to say that the subordinate acts must be relevant to the main act and the reasons provided must be plausible enough to achieve the designs of the main act.

Another example of public service advertisements in our data containing speech acts sequences that have a relation of justification is given below:

(2) Hard times are here but not forever.

Everyone has got a dream.

You’ve got yours and I’ve got mine.

What it takes is guts and sacrifice

to pull this country through, or your

dreams will fade away. Yea, what it

takes is guts and sacrifice to pull this

country through. Hard times are like

bad dreams, but they don’t last forever.

Don't despair.

This public service advertisement contains eleven speech acts in all. The illocutionary point in the first speech act (i.e., 'Hard times are here') is to assert, as it were, the present reality of life in Nigeria, as a way of expressing knowledge of what the people are experiencing. Its direction of fit is words-to-world: the words tell us what obtains—it is the case that Nigerians are going through hard times. The expressed psychological state of speech act is *belief* (that p): the speaker believes the expressed proposition and also wants the hearer to believe it too. In this connection, we are presented with an assertive speech act.

The second speech act is conjoined with the first speech act by a contrasting conjunction *but*. The illocutionary point in the second speech act (i.e., 'but not forever') is to reassure Nigerians and rekindle their faith in the future by reminding them that the hard times arising from the Structural Adjustment Programme will not last forever. Its direction of fit is words-to-world: The words tell us that the hard times are transitory. The expressed psychological state of the speech act is *belief* (that p): the speaker believes the expressed proposition and also wants the hearer to believe it too. In this regard, we are faced with an assertive speech act.

The illocutionary points in the third, fourth, and fifth speech acts remind the people that they have dreams which they would most certainly wish to see actualized. Their direction of fit is words-to-world: the words tell us what prevails—It is the case that everyone has got a dream. Their expressed psychological state is *belief* (that p). These speech acts, therefore, fulfill conditions that identify assertives.

The illocutionary points in the sixth, seventh, and eight speech acts explain that the possibility of realizing such dreams will depend largely on today's sacrifice. Their direction of fit is words-to-world: the words tell us what obtains—generally, we make some sacrifices in order to realize our dreams. The expressed psychological state of speech acts is *belief* (that p): the speaker believes the expressed proposition and also wants the hearer to believe it as well. We are, therefore, presented with assertive speech acts.

The illocutionary points in the ninth and tenth speech acts re-echo the illocutionary points in the first and second speech acts as a way of emphasizing them: they give the people the hope that the hard times will cease sometime in the future, thus, encouraging the people to cope as best as they can with the hardship they are experiencing. The direction of fit of the speech act is also words-to-world: Just as the first speech act, the words tell us that hard times will pass away. The expressed psychological state of the speech act is also *belief* (that p). This speech act also fulfils the conditions that identify assertives.

The illocutionary point in the eleventh speech act exhorts the people not to despair. Its direction of fit is world-to-words: The speaker tries to get the hearers not to lose hope since the hard times will not last forever. The expressed psychological state of the speech act is *wish*: The speaker wishes the hearers to be hopeful. This speech act, therefore, fulfils conditions that identify directives. It is thus a directive speech act.

Essentially, the above assertives together form the basis for the directive (i.e., 'Don't despair.'). The main point of the sequence is contained in the directive. It is the dominant illocutionary goal while the assertives are the subordinate goals providing motivation for the directive. The assertives combine to encourage the people not to despair.

The above analysis, however, raises an important issue: The issue of interpreting relationships between multiple instances of speech acts sequences contained in one text where

such speech acts clusters have the same goal as evident in text 2 above. The question is whether in assigning relationship types to such speech act sequences, we should regard speech acts that share the same goal as single speech acts and, thus, treat them as independent entities or whether we should, as we have done above, simply regard them as speech act clusters which have the same goal and can therefore be treated as one group.

The present analysis shows that whenever assertives and directives occur within the same public service advertisement, the assertives regularly contract a relationship of justification with the directives.

Two other types of relationships are found in the speech acts sequences identified in some of the public service advertisements in our data. These are a relation of amplification and a relation of contrastive apposition. Consider in this connection the following public service advertisements:

- (3) Be committed to the return of democracy.
Don't hinder the implementation of
the transition programme.

Text 3 contains two speech acts. The message of this public service advertisement is that some group of Nigerians obviously wants to undermine or even distract attention from the implementation of the transition to civil rule programme and that that is it not in anyone's long term interest. Thus, the illocutionary point in the first speech act is to enjoin Nigerians to support and be committed to the return of democratic government. Its direction of fit is world-to-words: The speaker tries to get Nigerians to conform to his words. The expressed psychological state is *desire*: The speaker desires that Nigerians become committed to the return to democracy. In this regard, we are presented with a directive speech act.

The illocutionary point in the second speech act exhorts Nigerians not to hinder the implementation of the transition programme. Its direction of fit is also world-to-words: The speaker tries to get Nigerians to conform to his words. The expressed psychological state is *desire*: The speaker desires that Nigerians do not hinder the implementation of the transition programme. We are, therefore, faced with another directive speech act.

Ultimately, both the first and second directive speech acts aim at achieving commitment to a specified programme: political transition programme. However, the first directive carries the main point of the advertisement: It enjoins Nigerians to support and be committed to the return to democratic government. The second directive, on the other hand, outlines just how to demonstrate the required commitments, that is, by not doing anything to obstruct the smooth implementation of the political transition programme. In other words, the second directive specifies what would boil down to heeding the counsel of the first directive. Thus, the second directive contracts a relationship of amplification with the first directive.

- (4) Be a good Nigerian.
Buy home-made goods.

Text 4 comprises two speech acts. The illocutionary point in the first speech act is to exhort Nigerians to be good citizens. Its direction of fit is world-to-words: The speaker tries to get Nigerians to conform to his words. The expressed psychological state is *desire*: desire

for Nigerians to be good citizens. Thus, this speech act fulfils the conditions that identify directive speech acts. It is, therefore, a directive speech act.

The illocutionary point in the second speech act is to exhort Nigerians to buy goods produced in Nigeria. Its direction of fit is also world-to-words: The speaker tries to get Nigerians to conform to his words. The expressed psychological state is *desire*: desire for Nigerians to buy home-made goods. We are, therefore, clearly faced with a directive speech act.

Fundamentally, the first and second directives together insist that good citizens usually buy locally produced goods. First, we are told in the first directive to be good citizens. By telling Nigerians to buy home-made goods in the immediately following sequence represented by the second directive, it is assumed that the target audience will make the logical inference that buying locally made goods is one way, at least, of demonstrating that one is a good citizen. Thus, the second directive contracts a relation of amplification with the first directive in the sense that it outlines what would amount to heeding the counsel of the first directive. The first directive carries the main point of the advertisement, which the second directive amplifies.

It is interesting to note that there is no mixing of speech acts when they are in a relationship of amplification. This is clearly in direct contrast with the situation in sequences mediated by a relation of justification where speech acts of different kinds tend to co-occur. In other words, when a public service advertisement is made up of sequences of speech acts in a relationship that can be termed amplification, the speech acts must be of an identical kind. Put differently, we would say only identical sequences of speech acts can occur in a relation of amplification such that either the public service advertisement contains only directive speech acts (as in texts 3 and 4) or only assertive speech acts.

As mentioned earlier, some of the public service advertisements contain speech act sequences mediated by a relation of contrastive apposition. Consider, in this connection, the following public service advertisement:

- (5) Say no to bribery and corruption.
- Say no to drug-abuse and trafficking.
- Say no to idleness.
- But, yes to uprightness.
- Yes to diligence.
- And, yes to nationalism and patriotism.

The above public service advertisement contains six speech acts in all. The illocutionary points in the first three speech acts draw attention to behaviour patterns that must be jettisoned: bribery and corruption, drug-abuse and trafficking, and idleness. Their direction of fit is world-to-words: the speaker tries to get the hearers to give up negative behaviour patterns. The expressed psychological state of the speech acts is *desire*: that Nigerians eschew vices. These speech acts, therefore, fulfill conditions that identify directives. Thus, the first three speech acts are directive speech acts.

The illocutionary points in the last three speech acts, on the contrary, highlight more wholesome, edifying and generally more rewarding attributes worth cultivating, namely, uprightness, diligence, nationalism, and patriotism. Their direction of fit is world-to-words: the speaker tries to get the hearers to uphold positive behaviour patterns. Their expressed

psychological state is *desire*: that Nigerians take steps in the right direction. These speech acts, therefore, fulfill conditions that identify directive speech acts. Thus, the last three speech acts are also directives.

The first three directives, as it were, condemn the indiscipline inherent in prevalent behaviour patterns and attitudes while the last three directives draw attention to the path likely to lead to the well-being of everyone. In essence, the last three directives provide some contrasting positive behaviour patterns as alternatives for those condemned by the first three directives. In this regard, the last three directives together constitute the main point of the advertisement since they provide positive choices for the people. Thus, the first three directives contract a relationship of contrastive apposition with the last three directives.

The above Text 5 is another instance where we have speech acts clusters which have the same goal; the first three speech acts have the same goal while the last three speech acts also have the same goal.

- (6) Don't merely preach what is good for the society.
Show it by example.

Text 6 consists of two speech acts. The illocutionary point in the first speech act (i.e., 'Don't merely preach what is good for the society.') exhorts the leaders themselves and the society at large that they should not only point out what should obtain in the society. Its direction of fit is world-to-words: The speaker tries to get the hearers to conform to his words. The expressed psychological state of the speech act is *desire*: The speaker desires that the hearers should not be mere preachers of good standard for the society. The speech act, therefore, fulfils conditions that identify directives.

The illocutionary point in the second speech act (i.e., 'Show it by example.') exhorts the people to practice what they preach. Its direction of fit is world-to-words: The speaker tries to get the hearers to conform to his words. Its expressed psychological state is *desire*: The speaker desires that the hearers should lead by example. In this regard, we are faced with a directive speech act.

Essentially, the second directive provides a contrasting positive behaviour pattern by specifying the right thing to do, that is, those who talk about what is right and what should be done in the society should also put their own exhortations into practice. In other words, the citizenry is being exhorted to be consistent by only asking one of the other only that which each can ask of himself. Thus, the second directive contracts a relationship of contrastive apposition with the first directive. Moreover, the second directive contains the main point of the advertisement.

- (7) When we depend on government to employ everybody, then we are not being realistic. But, when we engage in self-employment, then we are being realistic.

And, that is the sense in SAP.

Text 7 comprises three speech acts. The illocutionary point in the first speech act specifies what can pass for not being realistic. Its direction of fit is words-to-world: The words express the reality of the employment situation in Nigeria today—the government cannot employ everyone. The expressed psychological state of the speech act is *belief* (that

p): The speaker believes the expressed proposition and also wants the hearers to believe it too. This speech act, therefore, satisfies the conditions that identify assertives.

The illocutionary point in the second speech act specifies what being realistic would boil down to. Its direction of fit is words-to-world: The words express what is the case—it is the case that engaging in self-employment amounts to being realistic in the present circumstances in Nigerian's job market. The expressed psychological state of the speech act is *belief* (that p): The speaker believes the expressed proposition and also wants the hearers to believe it as well. We are, therefore, presented with an assertive speech act.

The illocutionary point in the third speech act tells us that SAP (i.e., Structural Adjustment Programme) is designed to get more Nigerians to opt for being realistic. The *that* contained in this speech act has the compound word 'self-employment' contained in the second speech act as antecedent. Thus, this third speech act implies that Nigerians should consider the possibility of minimizing their dependence on government by embracing self-employment since it is self-evident that government cannot employ everybody. Its direction of fit is words-to-world: The words express what is the case—it is the case that SAP is intended to encourage self-reliance. The expressed psychological state of the speech act is *belief* (that p): The speaker believes the expressed proposition and also wants the hearers to believe it too. Thus, this speech act fulfils the conditions that identify assertives.

The above text 7, as it were, contains three assertive speech acts. The proposition expressed by the second assertive above contracts a relation of contrastive apposition with the first assertive. The second assertive also provides the reference point for the third assertive. The third assertive, in addition, combines with the second assertive to contract a relation of contrastive apposition with the first assertive. However, the third assertive with reference to the point of the second assertive, contains the main point of the public service advertisement, that is, to provide one of the reasons for the adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programme which is getting people to act realistically.

Just as with the relation of amplification, there is no mixing of speech acts when they are in a relation of contrastive apposition, rather, only typologically identical sequences of speech acts occur such that either the public service advertisement contains only directive speech acts (as in texts 5 and 6) or only assertive speech acts (as in text 7). However, the interaction of speech acts evident in the public service advertisements distinguishes the relation of amplification from the relation of contrastive apposition. In other words, with speech acts mediated by a relation of amplification, the one amplifies the other. This means that the second speech act outlines what kind of behaviour can pass for heeding the counsel described by the first one. On the other hand, with speech acts mediated by a relation of contrastive apposition, we find a list of imperatives involving negation and referring to what can easily be described as unwholesome choices placed side by side, as it were, with imperatives without negation referring to more wholesome choices that people can make instead. The idea seems to be one of outlining contrasting choices via parallel structures such that the point of the message lies somewhere in the contrast made between the different choices.

It is interesting to note that some texts in our data contain more than one type of relationship between the speech acts. However, each type of relationship in such multiple cases still follows the same rule that pertains to its type. In this connection, let us consider the following public service advertisement:

(8) Nigeria is one. Forget tribalism and be tolerant.
Let us all join hands to lead Nigeria to greatness
in the third republic.

This public service advertisement contains four message units which constitute four speech acts. The illocutionary point in the first speech act (i.e., 'Nigeria is one'.) is to assert that though there are diverse ethnic groups in Nigeria, these different groups make up one country: Nigeria. The direction of fit of this speech act is words-to-world: The words express the status quo. The expressed psychological state is *belief* (that p): The speaker believes the expressed proposition and also wants the hearer to believe it as well. We are, therefore, faced with an assertive speech act.

The illocutionary point in the second speech act (i.e., 'Forget tribalism') exhorts Nigerians to jettison tribalism. Its direction of fit is world-to-words: The speaker tries to get the hearers to give up negative behaviour pattern. The expressed psychological state of the speech act is *desire*: that Nigerians eschew tribalism. This speech act, therefore, fulfils conditions that identify directives. Thus, it is a directive speech act.

The illocutionary point in the third speech act (i.e., 'be tolerant'), on the contrary, specifies the positive thing to do: Nigerians are asked to tolerate one another. Its direction of fit is world-to-words: The speaker tries to get the hearers to uphold positive behaviour pattern. Its expressed psychological state is *desire*: that Nigerians should take the right step. We have, therefore, a directive speech act.

The illocutionary point in the fourth speech act (i.e., 'Let us all join hands to lead Nigeria to greatness in the third republic.') exhorts Nigerians to cooperate with one another in order to make Nigeria a great nation. Its direction of fit is world-to-words. Its expressed psychological state is *desire*: The speaker desires that the hearers cooperate with one another. In this regard, it is a directive speech act.

Essentially, the first speech act contracts a relationship of justification with both the second and the third speech acts because it (i.e., the first speech act) provides the basis for the directives (i.e., the second and the third speech acts). The second speech act, on its part, contracts a relationship of contrastive apposition with the third speech act which constitutes the main point of advertisement since it provides the positive choice for the people. The fourth speech act contracts a relationship of amplification with the third speech act in the sense that it outlines what would amount to heeding the counsel of the third speech act.

Thus, text 8 above contains the three types of relationships discussed in this work, namely, the relationships of justification, amplification, and contrastive apposition. This configuration could be said to be a case of complex speech act sequencing.

One point that has to be emphasized is that a few of the public service advertisements in our data are made up of single speech acts occurring in isolation, as it were. One public service advertisement is provided below as illustration of this restricted set:

(9) As you step out today, put your nation first.

This public service advertisement contains only one speech act. The illocutionary point in the speech act exhorts Nigerians to be patriotic. Its direction of fit is world-to-words: The speaker tries to get the hearers to conform to his words. The expressed psychological state of the speech act is *desire*: The speaker desires that Nigerians should love their country. This

speech act, therefore, fulfils conditions that identify directives. It is, thus, a directive speech act.

Such simple speech acts occurring in isolation tend not to involve as much specificity as their structurally more complex counterparts. In that sense they can be said to be essentially vague and generalised as to particular behaviour almost as if they make the assumption that Nigerians all know what would be best for their country across the board and are simply being exhorted to act in line with that knowledge. This much is clear anyway when text 9, for example, is placed side by side with any of texts 1 through 8, and others, which are more explicit from the point of view of desired changes.

(10) Macro-Speech Act In Discourse:

The global speech act performed by the utterance of a whole discourse, and executed by a sequence or possibly different speech acts. (Van Dijk, 1977, p. 232)

The concept of the macro-speech act is concerned with the overall structure of communicative interaction. Speech act sequences, on the other hand, centre around the linear structure of speech acts (i.e., their macro-pragmatics).

In macro or global terms, when the sequences of speech acts in each of the public service advertisements in our corpus are taken together they can be constructed as *directive* speech acts. The reason for this is that the relevant public service advertisements all underlyingly have a directive illocutionary force. The directive function, therefore, appears to represent quite clearly the major thrust or focus of the entire array of public service advertisements. That this is the case can be further highlighted by careful examination of the illustrative public service advertisement presented below:

(11) Your voting card guarantees you the right to vote.
Ensure that your name is in the voter's register.

This public service advertisement contains two speech acts. The illocutionary point in the first speech act commits the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition: It is true that one can vote *only* if one has a voting card. Its direction of fit is words-to-world: The words express what obtains. The expressed psychological state of the speech act is *belief* (that p): The speaker believes the expressed proposition and also wants the hearers to believe it too. We have, therefore, an assertive speech act.

The illocutionary point in the second speech act exhorts Nigerians to participate in the voter's registration exercise. Its direction of fit is world-to-words: The speaker tries to get the hearers to conform to his words. The expressed psychological state of the speech act is *desire*: that Nigerians participate in the voter's registration exercise. This speech act, therefore, fulfils conditions that identify directives. It is, thus, a directive speech act.

The assertive speech act in the above text 10 defines the essence as well as the grounding or premise from which the directive flows. Acceptance of the one must, therefore, imply acceptance of the other. In macro terms, the directive is really and truly the speech act while the assertive functions essentially as an execution strategy or an expedient component of the directive. The assertive has a truth-value which can only enhance the effect of the asserted proposition and consequently provide whatever motivation and/or justification is required by

the directive. It is in that sense that the proposition expressed by the directive is in fact the focus of the entire advertisement.

Thus, a macro explanation of the role of the directive speech act in the public service advertisements does seem to bring the coherence of each of the public service advertisements into relief by underscoring what can reasonably be said to hold together the individual speech acts within the discourse.

The directive speech act generally points the way to the attainment of established policy objectives. It can, thus, be argued that the basic speech act of the public service advertisements is determined at the macro level.

CONCLUSION

We have tried to show in this paper the sense in which speech acts occurring in a sequence within a discourse contract some kind of relationship with one another. We have in the process identified various types of relationships contracted by speech acts in a sequence such as relationships of justification, amplification, and contrastive apposition. In the same vein, we have also shown that the directive speech act is the macro speech act underlying public service advertisements.

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Chapter 5

LEXICAL EXPANSION AND ELABORATION IN AKAN: AFISEM AND THE MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to highlight the mass media and looks at the sociolinguistics, communication, and modernisation of the Akan language in the media. It discusses the expansion of the lexicon of the Akan language to cater to new terms in politics, economics, environment, education, science and technology. I discuss methods used in finding the terms and the modern concepts and methods used in translating aspects of the Ghanaian media into Akan. The study is based on a programme at “Radio Universe”, a local FM station at the University of Ghana, Legon. The paper also discusses the impact of the Afisem programme and the problems involved.

INTRODUCTION

Schroder (1998) states that “mass communication can be briefly characterised as an institutionalised process encompassing the production, dissemination, reception, and interpretation of public sociocultural discourse” (p. 548). Mass communication is supposed to help vitalise the conscience of the masses on things that affect their ways of life.

Schroder (1998) also states that “the major media institutions address their audiences as both citizens and consumers, establishing a cultural and political forum constituted by a continuum of informative and entertaining genres” (p. 548). Mass media thus form one of the major avenues for political and social participation. The media have become an integral part of people’s lives and many Ghanaians now feel hollow when they go to remote areas where they do not have access to FM, TV, and newspapers. The media have become so powerful that the public has become mere puppets of media control (see Thornborrow, 1999, p. 51). On any particular day or week in Ghanaian life, the media can sway people’s attention to what

they (the media) consider newsworthy. This is especially true with political news involving the two major parties, i.e., the NPP and NDC.

The major roles of the media, especially the electronic media, are to (1) *inform and interpret*, (2) *entertain*, (3) and *educate* the people. In some cases the difference between information and entertainment is blurred, hence the new term “infotainment” for programmes that entertain as well as inform the public. The media has been labelled a “powerful fourth wing” of the state. In particular, media communication is one of the avenues for developing a language. New trends in language can be disseminated through print and electronic media. This paper considers the role of the electronic media as a public forum for language, social, economic, and political debates. The paper looks at the direction development of communicative discourse in a radio talk-show.

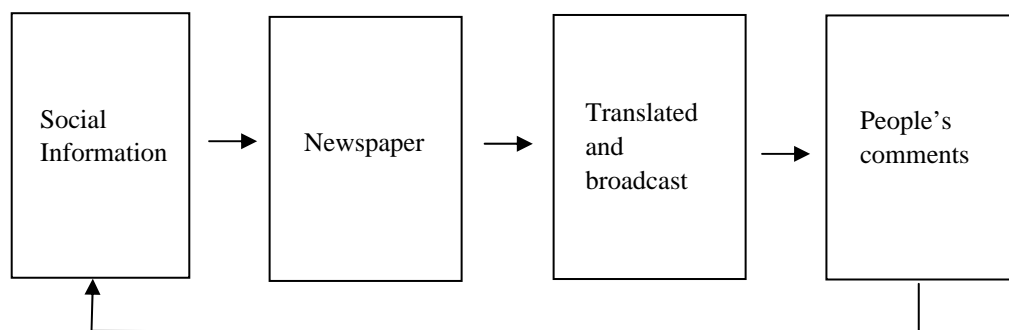


Figure 1. Multi-directional media flow

In most current talk-shows, a programme is composed of a presentation by the host(s) and call-ins by listeners. In the programme that we are using as a reference point, communication is multi-directional rather than unidirectional (see figure 1). The content of the show’s message is chosen from a newspaper (print media), which, in turn, obtains its information from other resources. The information is then translated from English into Akan and presented by the host of the talk programme to the audience listening to the programme. These listeners then give their comments, make contributions, and pose questions. In this way this particular genre of electronic media is more accessible and directly interactive than is the print media

However, unlike direct face-to-face communication, in interactive media, the media representative (host) has more power and control over the discourse and the audience. This is why a host can hang up on a speaker effectively preventing him/her from contributing when it is determined that his/her contribution is undesirable. (see Leitner, 1998, p. 188).

POLICY AND METHODOLOGY OF THE AFISEM PROGRAMME

The Afisem radio programme, which is the object of discussion of this paper, is a newspaper review call-in program conducted in Akan. The Akan words *Afisem* literally mean “home matters”. The programme deals with editorials in local Ghanaian English-language newspapers. Only editorials that have direct bearing on home news are discussed. The maiden

broadcast of Afisem was on the 10th of April 1997. Afisem is a weekly show broadcast live between 4–5 pm on Thursdays and rebroadcast on Saturdays from 8:30–10 am. On Saturdays there is a panel discussion before phone-ins.

The main objective of the Afisem programme is to help illiterates and others who do not read newspapers keep abreast of current events in the country. A secondary objective is to furnish those people who cannot afford to buy newspapers an opportunity to be informed about the most important and sensational events in the country, especially in an era of democratisation and press freedom such as Ghana is experiencing. Therefore, the programme is a mechanism for the dissemination of information, and it also affords the masses the opportunity to participate in modern politics.

Within this programme, the host attempts to be neutral and to avoid the appearance of partisanship. In order to be fair, newspapers are chosen very carefully. Since it is not possible to deal with all the Ghanaian newspapers, a policy on the selection of the newspapers has been developed. In this era of press freedom in Ghana, the papers that are chosen are selected from the following categories: (1) *state owned newspapers*, (2) *newspapers considered to be organs of the ruling party*, (3) *newspapers considered to be organs of the opposition*, and (4) *private newspapers*.

Below are the Ghanaian newspapers used in the Afisem program:

- State-Owned: Daily Graphic, Ghanaian Times, Spectator, Mirror
- New Democratic Congress (NDC) Supporting Papers: Palaver, The Democrat
- New Patriotic Party (NPP) Supporting Paper: Statesman
- Neutral: Chronicle, Public Agenda, The Crusading Guide, The Guide, Free Press Dispatch, Pioneer, Independent, The Voice, Insight, Accra Mail, The Herald, Concord, Heritage, The Ghanaian Post, The Lens, The Vanguard

We can see from this list that neutral papers comprise the greatest percentage of all newspapers used on the show, and this suggests a good democratic dispensation. However, despite the attempts of the moderator to appear neutral and to foreground neutral publications, participants are free to discuss issues from all sides, including both the opposition and the government.

Another policy guideline of the programme is to refrain from broadcasting libellous news. The basic principle is to go in for opinion rather than facts. The programme therefore deals with the editorial columns of the papers, rather than front page headlines. If the editorials are not of interest for a particular week, the programme may switch to writings that relate to opinion or letters to the editor that are also matters of opinion. The point is that issues that deal with facts may later be found to be untrue. Other practical policies on the Afisem programme are based on pragmatics, indirection and politeness. These will be treated in later sections.

As far as the translations of the selected news are concerned, the programme embarks on free and metaphorical translation in which sentences are spiced with Akan proverbs, idioms, euphemisms and other figures of speech. Since air time is a concern and newspapers' reports and news stories may be repetitive, some of the news is paraphrased or summarised.

SELECTION OF NEWS ITEMS

Indirectness and ambiguities in media discourse call for a careful look at what texts actually say and what they do not say. Bell (1998, p. 9) asserts that the critical microstructure of a news article helps us to uncover gaps or unclarities, to see what the text does not say. Bell refers to this approach as “the ideological detective work” of critical discourse approaches. It helps us to identify the points where there is vagueness, ambiguity and some degree of fabrication, distortion and lies. Such a position will also help the analyst to consider the ideology of the political activist, the newspaper, the radio and TV proprietor, the presenter, or the host of the programme.

In Ghanaian political reportage, a critical view is needed to determine whether the media accounts provide reliable data about what politicians say. The authenticity may also depend on the setting of the utterances, whether the politician was speaking in an area that is the stronghold of his/her party and around what period of the election period. Utterances made very close to an electioneering period are bound to be exaggerated so as to lambaste the opponent to win the favour of the audience. Again, the ideology and standpoint of the paper may affect the reportage and the reliability of the news in newspaper concerned. If the paper is an NDC paper like the *Palaver*, it will definitely exaggerate the issues against the NPP as we find in its column by Cassius Clay. The same phenomenon operates if the issues are reported by the *Statesman*, a pro-NPP paper.

LEXICAL EXPANSION

The creation of terms for special fields or disciplines links various concepts within that discipline and outlines, itemises and labels them accordingly. A technical term must not only be suitable to express certain notions, but also be open and familiar enough to be understood by the addressees. The radio programme tries, as much as possible, to make technical terms less technical to make them easier for people to understand.

The general phenomenon is that new words are often looked on with scorn because of their novelty. Some speakers of the language might consider them to be improperly formed; others consider them to be unnecessary, especially those outside the discipline to which they refer. Even within the same discipline, opinions may be divided on the acceptability of new terms. Fortunately, neologism and terminology development are normal parts of language change; with frequent use and the passage of time these novelties become acceptable items in everyday use with very few objections. The media helps in language development. This is exactly what goes on with the lexical expansion in the Afisem program. Thornborrow (1999) characterizes such a phenomenon as follows:

Another way by which the media can have powerful role in establishing commonsense discourse is in the coinage and use of terms and concepts. The media are sometimes responsible for labelling certain events or social phenomena, and this label enters the language as a new term (p. 58).

Since Afisem was started in 1997, listeners have now become familiar with most of the terms that have been coined on the show and when they phone they use the appropriate terms.

For example, people are now familiar especially with the terms referring to the ministries. The term *prepre ne foefoe* which was coined in 1998 to refer to the power outage is now familiar and used by all callers.

LANGUAGE MODERNISATION

Modernisation refers to the process of the lexical expansion which permits a language to become an appropriate medium to fulfil new communicative functions for new linguistic and societal needs. Modernisation also expects the language users to develop and cultivate new styles, genres and registers for new topics and forms of discourse in the community. Masamba (1987a) defines language modernisation therefore as follows:

Language modernisation is the development of a language in a way that will enable it to express both new and technological concepts. The most crucial aspect of language modernisation is the development of scientific and/or technical neologisms. With new scientific and technological innovations and inventions, new concepts are bound to emerge; hence the need for terminology (p. 184).

According to Ferguson (1968) modernisation is the process of a language becoming the equal of other developed languages as a medium of communication. When modernisation is defined in these terms, it presupposes that we are making a distinction between ‘developed languages’ on one side and ‘undeveloped languages’ on the other and that to modernise is to develop the undeveloped on communication with the developed ones (see Fasold, 1984, p. 248; Garvin, 1973, p. 27).

Modernisation in language is analogous with societal modernisation with its expansion of knowledge, productivity of goods, specialisation and expansion in science, technology, and industrialisation. Thus expansion in the society and new knowledge demands linguistic elaboration in order to provide new terms for new fields and for the extended existing fields. Based on this, language modernisation is sometimes referred to as *language elaboration*.

Modernisation is also important for modern technological informational system and techniques. It should provide modern modes of discourse and communicative interaction. These include news broadcasting, sports broadcasting, computer broadcasting, talk-in shows on the radio, etc.

The programme on Afisem is an avenue for the modernisation of the Akan language to meet the needs of modern social, political and economic life of the Akan speaking people of Ghana.

In Ghana, there are now a lot of talk-in shows in Akan on current political, environmental, educational, economic and scientific topics, and the hosts of such programmes try to capture most of the terminology of these topics in Akan. In doing this, various methods of terminological elaboration are employed. The expansion involves *coinage*, *borrowing* and other *word formation* processes.

WORD FORMATION

This section looks at the various methods used in getting the new Akan terms for the new concepts found in the newspapers. The most popular method in the creation of terms is word formation. The number of lexical items in a language is finite. In view of this some items may have to play double or multiple roles. Part of the Afisem programme involves finding new terms to represent certain modern concepts

For Akan, a common process for expanding the lexicon is to create names for new concepts through the process of *nominalisation*, whereby lexical items from other word classes are morphologically and syntactically used as nouns.

Another frequent word formation process in Akan is neologism. There are many neologisms in Afisem. They are derived from (1) *Inflection* (2) *Derivation*, (3) *Borrowing and loaning words from other languages*, (4) *Compounding*.

BORROWING, LOANING AND TRANSLITERATION OF FOREIGN TERMS

Borrowing is the process of taking a word from a source language and depositing it into a receptor language. Frequently, such a word comes along with the concept imported from the speakers of the language of origin. There are certain political and technological concepts that have become established in the Akan.

The following are transliterated forms of English words:

<i>Polisi</i>	'Police'	<i>Asemmile</i>	'Assembly'
<i>Kɔto</i>	'Court'	<i>Kɔmihyen</i>	'Commission'
<i>oposihyen</i>	'opposition'	<i>Kɔmisa</i>	'Commissioner'
<i>kɔmputa</i>	'computer'		

The names of all the newspapers are also transliterated as follows:

<i>Grafek</i>	Graphic
<i>Taemes</i>	Times
<i>Palava</i>	Palaver
<i>Krɔniker</i>	Chronicle
<i>Pɔbleke Agyenda</i>	Public Agenda
<i>Steetsman</i>	Statesman
<i>Gaide</i>	Guide
<i>Vɔese</i>	Voice
<i>Indipendente</i>	Independent

ADOPTION OF AN ORIGINAL TERM WITH ITS ORIGINAL MEANING

Some terms that have corresponding conceptual reference among the Akans have been adopted fully. For example, agriculture is referred to as *kuaye*, which literally means ‘farming.’ In modern terms, farming would include both food and crop farming and animal husbandry.

REDEFINING WORDS AND EXISTING TERMS

Another means of terminological elaboration is the *use of original word or term with a new meaning*. This would normally involve a restriction or expansion of the range of denotation of a word or term, or an existing term from another field may be and applied to a new phenomenon or other disciplines, with or without modifications or change in their concepts.

For example, the term *akwankyere*, comprised of the verb *kyere* ‘show/direct’ and the noun *kwan* ‘road’, is now redefined into *kwankyerefo* ‘director of a road’, referring to the ‘director’ of any institution or organisation.

The term *agyinatuo* which refers to going into counsel during the deliberation of a case at the traditional arbitration is used in the modern political system to mean ‘committee’, ‘commission’ or a ‘council’. In *agyinatuo*, the members of an arbitrating party or the jury are said to consult a legendary *aberewa* ‘old lady’. In the Fante dialect of Akan, however, they consult a legendary father called *Egya Egyin*. We now use the term *oman Agyinatufu* to refer to the Council of State; a body that is instituted by the Ghanaian Constitution to advise the president on national and international affairs. Afisem terms can thus be tapped from all aspects of the Akan sociocultural and political life which include the physical, biological, sociological, and anthropological fields, etc.

COINAGE AND FUNCTIONAL EQUIVALENCE USING NATIVE DESCRIPTIVE EXPRESSIONS

The most popular word formation method used in *Afisem* is coinage. This method exploits the inherent morphological system and the derivational processes of the Akan language. This method is highly economical, precise and also appropriate when the derivational devices are well used. The derivation may also involve the *coinage of abstract labels*. In the *Afisem* programme, new Akan terms may be derived by nominalisation through affixation to the root. We have the frame:

(Prefix)	Root	(Suffix)	(1)
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The nominal prefixes are *o/o*, *e/e*, *a/e* and *m/n*. The suffixes are *-i/e*, *-ni/fofo*. The choice of a variant in each pair is based on certain phonological characteristics of lip rounding,

tongue height and vowel harmony. For example, the term *ɔsoafoɔ* has been coined for a ‘minister’ in the government. It is made up of:

[ɔ	soa	foɔ]	→ [ɔsoafoɔ] NP
[Prfx	V. to carry	agentive sfx]	→ [Carrier] Minister

(2)

The *ɔ*- is the nominalising prefix and the *-foɔ* is the agentive suffix. The root verb is *soa* ‘to carry’. The resultant nominal *ɔsoafoɔ* ‘the carrier’ semantically refers to the one who carries a political load. This role is bi-directional; he is either carrying it from the government to the public or from the public (grievances) to the government. The *ɔsoafoɔ* ‘carrier, ‘the minister’ therefore mediates between the public and the government. The ministry is also referred to as *asoɛɛɛ* and it is made up of the following;

[a	soɛ	ɛɛ]	→ [asoɛɛɛ] NP
[Prfx	V to unload	suffix]	→ [ministry]

(3)

In fact, all the ministries are referred to as *asoɛɛɛ* ‘place for unloading’ and the ministers are referred to as *asoɔfoɔ* ‘carriers’. These terms are now familiar with the Afisem listening population. All other radio stations that broadcast in Akan use this term.

There is also a coined term *pee kenkran* for ‘cash and carry system’ in health. *Pee-kenkran* is an ideophonic term, the *pee* is the sound that comes when you strike any working tool like a cutlass, a shovel, etc. *Kenkran* is the sound that is heard when a coin falls down. *Pee kenkran* thus means the collection of money just after a service.

COMPOUNDING

Compounding is another important word formation process used in Afisem. Compounding is a word formation process that involves the joining of two or more individual (simple) words into a single complex form to refer to a single concept. Most compounds have a head word and the meaning of the head of the compound seems to be central to the meaning of the whole compound. The head is normally the right-most word. The first constituent may be considered a noun in apposition acting as the premodifier to the most right headword. Examples of compound words in Afisem include the following:

[mmara	hyɛ	badwa]	[mmarahyɛbadwa] NP
[law	fix	assembly]	[law fixing assembly = parliament]
[noun	verb	noun]	[Nominal]

(4)

[mmara	hyɛ	badwa	ni]	[mmarahyɛbadwani] NP
[law	fix	assembly	er]	[law fixing assembly person=
				parliamentarian]
[noun	verb	noun	agentive suffix]	[Nominal]

(5)

[<i>oman</i> <i>panin</i>]	→ [<i>omanpanin</i>] NP	
[state elder]	→ [State elder=Head of State/President of a nation]	
[Noun Noun]	→ [Nominal]	(6)

The right-most term in (4), *mmarahyEbadwani*, refers to the parliamentarian. S/he is conceptualised as the person who goes to the assembly to fix laws. The term *omanpanin* in (6) means the eldest (the number one) person in the state, that is, the president.

LINGUISTIC IMPACT

One of the major functions of Afisem is Akan language modernisation and development. Listeners learn a lot of things on language from Afisem. They are introduced to new vocabulary that relates to modern concepts in politics, medicine, health, education, administration, education, economics, science, etc. Apart from this, they get new terms, idiomatic expressions, proverbs, archaisms, appellations and other grammatical and semantic aspects of the Akan language. Indeed, a caller once rang and said that he had been making notes whenever we were on air and that Afisem provided him the opportunity to learn a great deal about the Akan language.

Through Afisem the Akan language is modernised and elaborated to cater to most aspects of human life. Some of the terms that have been coined have been accepted for general use. Among these terms are *prepre ɛ ne foefoe* ‘power outage’ and *perepere feepee ne akontabupa* to refer to ‘integrity’, ‘transparency’, and ‘accountability’ respectively. The programme has also been using the term *ankoreankore kyepen*, which can be glossed as *ankoreankore* ‘individual’, *kyepen* ‘share’, to refer to ‘human rights’. When the former Asantehene Otumfo Opoku Ware II died, the programme presented a dirge and *appellation* (a ceremonial listing of the chief’s praise names), and many listeners suggested that it should be put on cassette so that they could buy copies. It was so rich and full of historical allusions and metaphorical expressions that they enjoyed and learnt a lot from it.

STYLISTICS AND PRAGMATICS OF AFISEM

This section discusses the stylistics and pragmatics of Afisem. The areas covered are *persuasion, face, politeness, language avoidance* and *language evasion*.

Afisem employs a lot of stylistic devices to embellish the language and help the listeners enjoy it. We employ devices like *assonance, alliteration, ideophones, idioms, proverbs, metaphors, simile, paradox, irony, oxymoron, pun, hyperbole, humour, sarcasm, etc.* These are meant to make the programme interesting and to sustain the attention of the people.

LANGUAGE AVOIDANCE AND EVASION

Most of the excerpts from the opposition and neutral papers criticise the ruling government. The events are directly published as to make the public know some of the malicious events within the government. Care must be taken in handling such issues.

Verbal indirection is often used on the programme. Verbal indirection is a strategy used in communication to abstain from being direct so as to have the opportunity to communicate sensitive and controversial issues and also to talk about verbal taboos (see Obeng, 1994, p. 42). Interactants abstain from directness in order to avoid crisis, conflicts and being offensive. The use of verbal indirection is consistent with face and politeness. Some of the strategies in indirection are *evasion*, *circumlocution*, *innuendo* and *metaphor*. In cases where verbal taboos and invectives are used in the newspapers, they are couched politely with disclaimers like *sebe sebe* ‘with all apologies’ (see Agyekum, 1996, pp. 139-145).

In translating such political events, the programme uses euphemisms, indirection and other face-saving strategies to get the information across. For example, on the front page edition of the Daily Guide (No. 936, Wednesday, July 16 2003), there was the caption “‘Crazy Horse’ Strikes Again. I will get my own Injection”. The caption was referring to the ex-president J.J. Rawlings, who is sometimes referred to as a “crazy horse” or a somewhat wild animal. Looking at the ongoing tension between the two major parties and the fact that the caption was very inflammatory, the programme skipped the expression “Crazy Horse” and went ahead to translate the rest.

Some translations adopt the strategy of evasion to save face. Evasion involves circumvention or avoiding answering directly or avoiding facing up to real difficult or tricky communicative or discourse issues. There comes a time where it is necessary to leave out certain controversial passages that can arouse sensation. Sometimes people call to find out whether the host has not seen some newspapers and some topics. What happens is that, the programme tries as much as possible to evade ethnocentric and religious biased topics, because the objective of the programme is not to arouse tempers so as to cause chaos in the society. Evasion also comes in during the phone in sections. In most cases where listeners want to find out the host’s personal opinion about certain pertinent and controversial issues, the host refuses to give direct answers and rather encourages them to go ahead and declare their stand. Below is such an example.

Caller: *Ohene Agyekum, wonnye nni se omanpanin Rawlings ne ne mpanimfoɔ yi redi oman yi awu?*

“Don’t you think that President Rawlings and his officials are putting the nation into doom.”

Host: *Wo deɛ ka w’adwene.*

“You just express your view.”

(7)

The above was very tricky, because the proposition which was put in the form of a question was actually the opinion of the caller. If the host had refused to side with him he might have considered the host as refusing to face facts and not being objective. On the other hand, it would have been professionally incompetent to just side with him and say that the

government was putting the nation into doom since I had no concrete examples to support the accusation. The best option was to evade the question.

CONCLUSION

This paper has thrown light on aspects of language modernisation in Akan. It focused on the media with particular reference to radio broadcasting. We looked at the methods by which new terms are provided for modern concepts in politics, economics, administration, agriculture, health, education and science and technology in the Akan language. They included derivation, borrowing and loaning, redefining existing terms, coining, and compounding.

The paper has proposed that almost all aspects of modern society and its components can be expressed in the Akan language. It has also posited that the best way to disseminate information to the masses to bring them abreast of modern scientific and technological advancement is to do it in their mother tongue. The programme is one of the trump cards in the development of mother tongue education in Akan.

The findings from audience reaction and participation underscore the fact that any newly planted technological and scientific knowledge must be integrated into the conceptual, thinking and rationalising process of the people via the language they understand best and that is the mother tongue. Any knowledge is always defined in terms of language, since language is a medium of communication. Africa can succeed more successfully in acquiring innovative ideas if the ideas are communicated and couched in indigenous African languages which the masses in the rural areas can understand and employ effectively (see Prah, 1993, p. 9).

The paper has disputed the view that African languages cannot effectively cope with modernisation, science and technology which is unfortunately supported by African elites themselves. The paper highlighted on the social, political, educational, and the linguistic impact of the Afisem programme in Akan.

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APPENDIX 1: EXAMPLES OF SOME MODERN CONCEPTS TRANSLATED INTO AKAN

Ad-hoc Measures = *Gyasogyaso Nhyehyēē*

Allowance = *Sika Ntetehe*

Attorney General = *Aban Lōya Panin*

Auditor General = *ōman Sika Nhehwēmu Adwuma*

British Audit Service = *Engyiresi Adwuma a ēhwehwē ōmanfo Nkota mu.*

Budget = *Aban Afe Sikasēm Ntotoee*

Chief Justice = *Otemmuafo Panin*

Civil Engineering Association. = *Asetena mu Ngyiniafo Kuo.*

Commissioner for Human Rights and Administrative Justice: = *Komisa a phwe Ankrorankore yiedie, Kyepɛn ne Atɛntenenee so*

Concerned Citizens Association of Ghana = *Ghana Adɔyɛkuo a ɔmanfoɔ Yiedie yɛ wɔn Kodann*

Constitution = *ɔmanmmara*

Diversification = *Nnwuma mu Nsadanedane*

Environment = *ɔbɔadeɛ Bɔberɛ*

Executive = *Aban Mpanimfoɔ*

Family Planning Program = *Awododo ho Banɔ Nhyehyɛɛ*

Human Development = *Nnipa Yiedie/Mpontu*

Human Rights lawyer = *Ankrorankore Yiedie Lɔya*

Judicial Service = *Mmarasɛm adwuma /Atɛntenenee Adwuma*

Judiciary = *Aban Nkorabata a Wɔkuta mmara*

Justice = *Atɛntenenee*

Legislature = *Mmarahyɛbadwafo*

Library = *Nwomakorabea*

Ministry of Communication: = *Asoɛɛ a ɛhwɛ Amannebɔ ne Nkutahodie so*

Ministry of Justice = *Asoɛɛ a ɛhwɛ Nokoredie ne Atɛntenenee so*

Ministry of Trade and Work = *Nnwuma ne Adwadie Asoɛɛ*

National Population Impact Project = *Nnipadodo ho Nsunsuanso Adwuma.*

Planned Parenthood Association of Ghana = *Ghana Awofo Nteteɛpa Kuo*

Policy = *Amammuo Nhyehyɛɛ*

Probity and Accountability = *Pɛrɛpɛrɛ ne Feefee*

Reporter = *Kɔhwɛbɛkani*

Republic Day = *ɔman Adehye da*

Serious Fraud Office = *Dwirim Akɛsɛɛ ɔfese*

Shadow Cabinet = *Wɔnni aban mu Asoafo*

United Nations Population Fund = *Amansan Nkabom Nnipa Dodo Foto*

World Market = *Amansan Adwadie/Adwabirem Adwamanso*

APPENDIX 2. A LETTER FROM A LISTENER

Kobina Isakah¹

Water Agent

G. Brofoyedur

H/No 021. C/R Ghana

23rd May 2000

Nana Ohene Agyekum

I am very glad to write this letter to you. How are you? I hope you are fine as I am. Please sir, the purpose of this letter is that I am one of the AfisEm programme listeners and I like the programme very much. One day I hear uncle KB telling you to send the programme

to the other Radio stations but you answered him that you have gone to Kumasi and Cape Coast but it couldn't be.

Please my suggestion is that, we have one FM station in Winneba called Radio Peace. Mr. Agyekum, please try to contact them to discuss about the issue. The station go very far places like Cape, Assin Fosu, Ag. Swedru, Akim Oda and Asamankese, etc. And their Tel. no is code 043-22478. Nana we cannot receive Radio Universe clear in our area and I only get Universe when I connect a wire from my TV antennas top to the radio. So please try and do your possible best so that those of us in that area will hear what is going on in the country. Please if you receive the letter, let me hear in Afisem programme.

Yours faithfully
Kobina Isakah

APPENDIX 3. TRANSLATIONS OF THE TITLES OF MINISTRIES

This section gives the translations of the ministries of state in Akan as used in the Afisem programme. In Afisem, most new concepts and terms are derived from existing ones in the Akan traditional system of government, politics, administration, economics, and technology. A ministry is referred to as *asoɛɛɛ* 'place for unloading' and the minister is *ɔsoafo* 'the carrier' (see Appendix 1). The ministry is where all problems and issues connected with the sector are carried and dumped at, and the minister is the one who carries all these.

- (1) Ministry for Education: *Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ Nwomasua so*.
- (2) Ministry of Health: *Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ apɔmuden so* or *Apɔmuden Asoɛɛɛ*
- (3) Ministry of Agriculture: *Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ Kuayɛ so*.
- (4) Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning: *Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ ɔman sikasɛm so*.
- (5) Ministry of Foreign Affairs: *Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ Amannɔne nsem so*
- (6) Ministry of Roads and Transport: *Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ Akwan ne Akwantuo so*
- (7) Ministry of Information: *Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ Dawubɔ ne Kaseɛbɔ so*
- (8) Ministry of Interior: *Amannwoe Asoɛɛɛ*
- (9) Ministry of Defence: *ɔmanbanbɔ Asoɛɛɛ*
- (10) Regional Minister: *Mantam Soafo*

The expression *a ɛhwɛ..... so* in each of the above ministries means 'the one in charge of'.

Let us analyze some of these ministerial terms.

(1) Ministry of Education: *Asoɛɛɛ A ɛHwɛ Nwomasua So*

We can also have *ɔsoafo a ɛhwɛ nwomasua so* 'Minister of Education' or *Nwomasua Soafo* 'Education Minister.' The word *nwomasua* is made up of the nominal *nwoma* 'book' and the verb *sua* 'to learn'. *Nwomasua*, therefore, refers to 'book learning' and implies 'western education.'

(2) Ministry of Health: AsoɛEɛ A ɛHwɛ ApɔMuden So or ApɔMuden AsoɛEɛ

The word *apɔmuden* is made up of *apɔ* ‘knots/joints of the body’, *mu* ‘inside’ and *den* ‘hard’ it implies strength of the person. The joints are metonymically representing the body. The ministry is charged to see to it that people have good health.

(3) Ministry Of Agriculture: AsoɛEɛ A ɛHwɛ KuayɛSo.

Ministry in charge of farming. The whole agricultural sector is represented by farming, hence all aspects of agriculture i.e. fishing, animal husbandry, food and cash crops are submerged under farming.

(4) Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning: Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ ɔman sikasɛm Ntotoeɛ so.

Among the Akan economic issues are basically related to monetary issues. *Sika* ‘money’, *asɛm* ‘issues/matters’. The term for the Finance Minister is *Aban Fotosanfoɔ* which is an old term for the person who was traditionally in charge of the king's treasury. In modern politics, the government represents the king and the finance minister is the overseer of the state's treasure who gives accounts periodically.

(5) Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ Amannɔne nsem so

The word *amannɔne* refers to countries outside one's own country and refers to foreign countries. The minister is therefore in charge of foreign issues and is thus the Foreign Minister.

(6) Ministry of Roads and Transport Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ Akwan ne Akwantuo so

The word *akwantuo* is made up of *tu* ‘move’ and *kwan* ‘road’ and both refer to travelling. In the modern context it refers to transportation. The ministry is therefore in charge of how people move from one place to another.

(7) Ministry of Information: Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ Dawubɔ so

Dawuro ‘gongon’ is the traditional musical instrument beaten before an announcement or instruction from the chief or from an individual is carried to the people. In the modern context, the media houses have taken over this role, hence the ministry of information is named ‘the one in charge of gongon beating.’ This implies the dissemination of information.

(8) Ministry of Interior: *Amannwoe Aso ɛɛɛ*

The word interior is translated as *emu* ‘inside’. But the ministry is not in charge of inside. Here the function of the ministry is used to coin the term. The Ministry of Interior is in charge of the security and protection of the citizens inside the country, hence the term *Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ Amannwoe so*. The nominal *amannwoe* is a compound made up of the nominal *ɔman* ‘state’ and the verb *dwo* ‘to cool down’. The compound, therefore, means the state of becoming cool and it refers to peace in the nation. This ministry is to protect the individuals in the society from intimidation, mutilation and encroachment and to forestall peace in the society

(9) Ministry of Defence: *ɔmanbanbɔ Asoɛɛɛ*

The Ministry of Defence is differentiated from Interior in terms of their scopes of operation. Whereas the interior ministry protects the citizens within the country, the ministry of defence defends and protects the country from external invasion and wars. Defence is *Asoɛɛɛ a ɛhwɛ ɔman banbɔ* and it is derived from the VP below:

<i>[bɔ</i>	<i>ɔman</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>ban]</i>	<i>[ɔmanbanbɔ]</i>
[erect	country	exterior	fence]	[Defence]
[verb	noun	body part	N]	[Nominal]

Literally, this means the ministry that builds a fence around the country. This clearly depicts that the institution of immigration and army officers at the country’s borders are all aimed at protecting the country from outside encroachment. It is this ministry that handles the country’s army and the other forces. An appendix which shows some of the modern concepts and their Akan gloss is given (see Appendix 1)

Chapter 6

MUSLIM WOMEN IN A MULTILINGUAL CONTEXT: ORALITY AND LITERACY IN POSTCOLONIAL NIGER

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the impact of multiple historical, educational, religious, and political trends on the interplay between language usage, orality, and literacies as related to Muslim women in postcolonial Niger. The main theoretical thrust of the paper is to demonstrate that contrary to the commonly held view about multilingualism as a barrier to trans-ethnic national communication in Africa, the cultural, educational and linguistic realities of Muslim women in Niger lead to the observation that multilingualism and code-switching can serve as a collective lingua franca in a way that aids inter-group intelligibility. The first part of the paper presents a theoretical overview of the history of women's education/literacy and its interplay with gender in (post)colonial Niger Republic. The second part provides an ethnographic account of the impact of the multiple and overlapping traditions of multilingualism and literacies as they shape differently the life of one Nigerien woman. From these linguistic and literacy experiences, we begin to see how the concept of multilingual lingua franca operates in real life.

A HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL OVERVIEW OF WOMEN, ORALITY AND LITERACY

The field of education and its interplay with gender is one cultural arena in the Niger Republic where the convergence between Africa's indigenous traditions, Islamic heritage and western legacies, is best at play. But while I use terms like "tradition," "indigenous" and "western" in exploring this historical experience, I wholly share the views of the late Nigerien educational psychologist Idrissa Diawara to the effect that:

...even as we refer to the remote eras, the question of an autonomous social development must be looked at with great reserve. For the phenomena of contacts, exchanges, and borrowings are such that it would be vain to try to establish a distinct picture of cultural elements that were 'originally' created in the milieu from those evolving from the phenomenon of diffusion (Diawara 1988, p. 10)

The discourse on education in Africa cannot be divorced from the development of literacies and their connection with orality. As a result, throughout this paper, education and literacy/orality are considered as integral components with overlapping meanings. Several studies of literacy across cultures have demonstrated the oral/literate continuum in discourse as well as in other modes of imparting knowledge (Mack, 2004; Street, 1984, 1995, and 2000; Heath, 1983). As Royster (2000) rightly points out in her study of literacy streams and social life changes among African American women:

Knowledge is grounded in experiences; conventions and traditions can be treated with great skepticism; notions of truth and insight are rooted in the particularities of time and place and thereby subject to revision. With such protean genre, inevitably, there is possibility—even probability—of fluidity and flexibility in the meaning-making process. In other words, there is an opportunity for oral and literate practices to merge variously. (p. 31)

Mack further shows that even those Muslim women who acquire knowledge through the written word often tend to favor oral means of imparting and (re)constructing knowledge (Mack, 2004).

In looking at education and literacy, then, it is crucial not to continue marginalizing those women in Nigerien societies who have contributed and continue to contribute to knowledge production from within the spaces of orality. This is particularly significant in a society like Niger where orality characterizes the life of the majority of the population regardless of gender. Alidou's *Engaging Modernity: Muslim Women and the Politics of Agency in Postcolonial Niger* (2005), Mack's *Muslim Women Sing: Hausa Popular Song* (2005) which focuses on the verbal artistry of Northern Nigerian women, Hale's *Griots and Griottes* (1998), Sidikou's *Recreating Words, Reshaping Worlds: The Verbal Art of Women from Niger, Mali and Senegal* (2001), for example, are excellent illustrations of the wealth of orality of the women of the Sahel, in general, and of Niger, in particular, in the realm of song and poetry. Elsewhere, along with many other literary critics, I have also demonstrated how African women's oral genres, for example, have been appropriated by male writers and scribes in the production of literature in local languages or European languages (Alidou, 2002; Stephens, 1981).

The postcolonial promotion of girls' formal education in the Niger Republic has fostered the development in the 1990s of a nascent Nigerien women's literary culture in the French language. This trend is illustrated by the acclaimed short story of Helene Kaziende entitled "*Le Déserteur*" ("The Deserter", 1992). Much more recently we have begun to witness the publication of women's novellas in national languages, as exemplified by Fatimane Moussa-Aghali's award-winning autobiographical novella written in the Hausa language, and entitled *Yarintata* (*My Childhood*, 2000). The publication of literature distinctively Nigerien in national languages and French was the initiative of a bilingual (mother-tongue-French) educational program by the Ministry of Education through the sponsorship of the German

development foundation, Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). This is a significant development in the Niger Republic given the country's past reliance on written literature produced in Nigeria for texts in the Hausa and Fulfulde languages and from other Francophone countries or France for texts in French. This is a new and exciting area of research that is yet to be investigated.

Larrier's (2000) study *Francophone Women Writers of Africa and the Caribbean* offers an even broader and more complex theoretical understanding of Black women's orality in Francophone Africa, which includes Niger, and the Caribbean, creating the possibility of the transmission of knowledge by women in a wide range of "oralized" domains that include literature, painting, pottery, textile design and fashion (pp. 14–44). It is equally important to examine how the cultural ethos and didactic values of Nigerien societies as embedded in women's oral narratives impact on gender ideologies and the consequences of these ideologies on women's identities and access to literacies/education.

The evaluation of the politics of women's literacy practices is more than urgent now that the overall educational system is in a state of chaos throughout Africa, in general, and in Niger more acutely. Looking at how women are or are not being accommodated within the new educational reforms is pertinent to this study, especially in a context where the patriarchal state and international educational planning agencies often sideline developmental issues pertaining to women for other "priorities. What is even more problematic about the marginalization of women's needs in literacy/education (as well as in public health and agriculture) is how historical arguments, often couched in patriarchal interpretations of religion (Islam), are deployed by local as well as international policy-makers and implementers to justify their lack of commitment to women's literacy/education. The call by the renowned Moroccan feminist sociologist, Fatima Mernissi, to women scholars in the Muslim world to rethink how masculinist hegemony appropriates Islamic history as a tool to justify an anti-women agenda, especially in education, is also relevant for the Nigerien context. In this regards, she rightly observes:

Historical argument seems to be crucial to questions concerning the rights of women in Muslim theocracies. This is because all kinds of state policies to do with women, be they in the economic sphere (the right to work outside the home), or in the legal sphere (issues concerning personal status or family law), are justified and legitimized by reference to the tradition of the Prophet, that is, to historical tradition. Progressive persons of both sexes in the Muslim world know that the only weapon they can use to fight for human rights in general, and women's rights in particular, in those countries where religion is not separate from the state is to base claims on religious history. (Mernissi, 1996, p. 92)

The recent history of gender inequalities in literacy/education programs in Niger can be traced to the colonial period. Smock (1981) makes the following observation in her introduction to women's education in the former British colonies:

The development of western education within the framework of a Victorian mentality and a dependent economy, consistently led to the exclusion of women from the educational system...The European conception of females as helpless homebound creatures, inclined administrators to favor the admission of boys to the limited number of places available. (p. 254)

Similar observations have been made about the plight of women's education in the Muslim francophone countries like Morocco (Sadiqqi, 2003, p. 190), Algeria (Lazreg, 1994, pp. 63-64) and the Niger Republic (Djibo, 2001, p. 79-80). Lazreg (1994) observes that Frenchmen, even in their own society, did not recognize the principle of equality between men and women, which made them totally unwilling to consider women as either legitimate interlocutors (even if inferior) or worthy instruments in the construction of the new colonial order (p. 63). Consequently, the female colonized African subjects were considered little in the colonial project of the so-called "French civilization mission," a project in which education in the French language was assumed to uplift them from their "state of savagery."

Given the two facets of the nature of French domination—hegemony rooted in the emasculation of other men and hegemonic patriarchy over the female colonized subjects—when the first private French Catholic missionary school opened its doors in 1949 in Niamey, it only admitted male students, despite, ironically, having a French Catholic nun as its headmistress. Gender ideology within the French colonial framework in Niger shows how the colonial women were (made) agents in this conquest and also how their agenthood did not involve a sensitivity to colonized native women, for only in 1961 did the private Catholic mission school begin to open its doors to female students in a sex-segregated set up. This gap of twelve years (between the introduction of schooling for boys, on the one hand, and for girls, on the other) is very significant in what came to account for the gender gap in educational opportunities and outcomes between male and female in the national colonial as well as postcolonial dispensations.

The denial of colonial education to women affected their chances to participate as direct agents in the western style capitalist economies (Amadiume, 1998). However, this outcome was to be expected given that western capitalism is framed within a patriarchal ideology that did not incorporate women as "wageable" productive labor outside the household. Thus, European colonialism not only further marginalized women from the public sphere of labor economies, but also added a new hierarchy on literacy practices in the society. In the case of Niger, the new literacy inherited from French colonization, which imposed the use of Latin script and the French language as the sole medium of instruction, severely under-valued the pre-existing forms of literacy practices in the Arabic language and *Ajami* script (i.e. indigenized version of the Arabic script) and placed them at the bottom of the literacy pyramid. As Egbo (2000) points out more generally, with African women

...excluded from educational opportunities, wage labor, politics and government, colonialism increased and consolidated (at great cost) the gender-base of social chasm that may have existed, leaving women unprepared for the emerging world order which their societies were fast becoming an integral part of. At least such was the case up until the late 50s. (p. 3)

The factors that hindered women from having access to educational opportunities during the pre-colonial and colonial eras extended into the postcolonial dispensation. These have combined with new types of constraints, notwithstanding the well-meaning rhetoric of nationalist leaders, and other international educational funding agencies about African women's empowerment through the decrease of the gender gap in literacy and education. The fact is, the underlying intent and goal of the various educational projects and reforms undertaken throughout Niger's recent history are rooted in hegemonic patriarchal local and

international frameworks and tend to incorporate women only for instrumental purposes, not for women's own advancement.

Furthermore, numerous studies in educational philosophy have demonstrated that literacy/education is not a neutral enterprise. In any culture, literacy/education is conceived within an ideological framework that serves to attain defined aims (Heath, 1983; Eickelman, 1985, pp. 57–71; Scribner and Cole, 1988; Street, 1984, 1995; Gee, 1995). To this extent, the multiple forms of educational, literacy and orality practices in Niger are embedded in the ideologies of power that define the values they assign to the practices as well as to the individuals who develop the imparted skills.

Moreover, this interplay between orality/literacy/education and power must address the place of women in this dialectic, especially in the case of predominantly Muslim societies where “the women's question”—not “the men's question”—is almost taken as correlating with the identity of the entire nation, as Mernissi (1996) has pointed out. This consideration is critical to understanding women's cultural location in the nation. In this regard, Meunier's (1997) observation concerning the significance of culture and its weight on educational reforms is very important:

Culture [my emphasis] as a collective identity is historically produced. It undergoes continuous change in time and space depending on the interests and functions it fulfills in the moment. This is often manifested through political conflicts in society. Thus, culture is a ‘reservoir’ of practices and representations which are exploited by social agents in their aim to (re)negotiate their identity. Thus, society is constantly refashioning itself in order to survive. (p. 14)

In line with Meunier's powerful remarks, I will show in the remainder of this paper how Niger's indigenous traditions, Islamic heritage and the Western legacy have contributed to shaping women's orality/literacy and educational experiences in the country. Furthermore, I will show that Nigerien women also use their understanding of the multiple levels of patriarchal hegemony over national policies and resources to (re)create orality/literacy and educational possibilities for themselves in a way that often subverts the order of things as envisioned by the status quo.

GENDER, ISLAM AND LITERACY IN THE COLONIAL AND POSTCOLONIAL DISPENSATIONS

Before the inception of Islam in the *Sahelien* cultural landscape currently known as the Niger Republic in the so-called “Francophone” West Africa, orality played a central role in the lives of people and characterized the majority of the cultures that define the peoples who inhabit the area. The only exceptions were the Tuaregs and Schwa Arabs who, additionally, had literate traditions. These are *Tifinagh* in the Tamajaq language for the Tuaregs and Arabic script for the Schwa Arabs. While among the Tuaregs both men and women can read and write Tifinagh, Tuareg women are more closely associated with the literate use of Tifinagh literacy for the production of classical poetry in the Tamajaq language (De Foucauld, 1920; Nicolaisen and Nicolaisen, 1998; Klute, 2002, p.c.) and other social purposes such as letter writing.

The legacy of Islam in the Sahel introduced the tradition of literacy in either Arabic language and script or in the indigenized version of the Arabic script called *Ajami*. In recent times, these forms of literacy, but especially the Arabic one, and the practice of female seclusion commonly referred to in Hausa society as *Kuble* (*Kulle*) practiced among the aristocracy, the rich and the middle class of Hausa, Fulani and other Muslim ethnic groups, have become an expression of material well-being as well as cultural Islamic modernity.

Though both legacies have been used by men to keep Muslim women in “their place”—a condition that was latter reinforced by the patriarchal policies of French colonial rule—the women themselves have not always been passive recipients of all the ideological values attached to this dual heritage. At specific historical junctures, some of the women made use of new openings of the political and cultural space, as in the democratization era of the 1990s, to transform the received traditions of literacy and *Kuble* and inscribe women’s religious voices in the public arena, in their multifarious expressions—ranging from strong allegiance and conservatism to more liberal interpretations of the meaning of Islam in their lives.

In the 1990s Nigerien women of the urban settings who had limited access to French literacy began to invade the religious space of Islam by participating in an unprecedented manner in and sponsoring themselves to neighborhood *Madarasa* run bilingually in Arabic and regional lingua franca—Hausa and Zarma. In other cases, Arabic and French languages are used in the middle class French-educated women’s *Madarasa* run on weekends to accommodate their work schedule. These new women’s *Madarasas* function differently from the French–Arabic *Madarasa* school system, commonly known as the Franco-Arab *Mdsersa* and intended for the education of children in a curricular program prescribed by the Ministry of Education (Meunier, 1997).

At the local mosques, multilingualism involving one’s mother-tongue and one or two regional lingua franca—Hausa and Zarma in Niamey and Dosso—with Arabic as the sacred language of religious rituals conveyed to non-Arabic speaking devotees through translation in the regional lingua-franca is common place and necessary, especially for Muslim women who for the most part have limited knowledge of Arabic and Islamic texts.

Furthermore, in urban households in Niamey where I conducted my research, multilingualism and code-switching in the local lingua franca define people, especially women’s interactions, depending on the class and educational background of the residents. This is the case even at workplaces (post offices, hospitals and other government offices) given that less than 12% of the Nigerien population is competent and literate in French.

Given the above picture, multilingualism and code-switching between linguistic media are trans-ethno-regional and trans-class assets rather than an impediment to communication, especially for Muslim women in Niger. In other words, multilingualism and code-switching represent a natural lingua franca for Muslim women who are still disadvantaged in French mainstream educational and workplace settings.

MUSLIM MULTILINGUALISM, CODE-SWITCHING AND HYBRID LITERACIES: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Although I conducted more than 200 interviews with women attending the new *Madarasa* and other Muslim women during my fieldwork in Niamey, given the space limitation, I

provide below a discourse analysis of my conversation with only one of the participants whose account of her educational trajectory leading to her linguistic choices shows a great deal of similarity with a number of other interviewees. This is Habsu Garba, a leading female performing artist in Niger. At the same time, the analysis demonstrates how Habsu Garba uses her agency to craft, in spite of her limited confidence in French language and literacy, a life of achievement by creatively exploiting her multilingualism in both Hausa and Zarma, the two *lingua franca* in Niamey, in her performances.

Habsu's introductory remarks at the beginning of our first interview offer a vignette for starting the deconstruction of the subtexts underlying her cultural location. She begins by drawing my attention to the fact that the language of our dialogue should not be taken for granted, and how crucial it is for the two of us to agree from the very beginning on *our language* or *languages* of discussion. This clearly signifies the critical place and role language(s) play in defining how meaning is negotiated and processed in field research by both the researcher and the subject(s) of research. That is why the following opening of our interview acquires great importance.

(1) Habsu Interview

HG: Let me begin with my birthday...by the way you know our French is not that strong... [laughs] ...so can we do it in Hausa or Zarma because I express myself better in those...[laughs]

OA: Of course, we can use any of the languages that come naturally to us during the interview.... [laughs] We always do this going back and forth with languages here [laughs] ...It is the natural thing here.... This is natural and it is fine for the interview. Please use whatever comes naturally to you and I will do the same as we are doing now my dear...

On the surface of her statement, Habsu Garba is making a linguistic preference based on a self-perceived limitation in her French language proficiency. Above and beyond this dimension of linguistic competence, there are several layers of interconnected implications. First, the negotiation on the language of interview between Habsu, the subject of my research, and I, the researcher, also a woman from Niger, challenges up front the notion of “native essentialism” that too readily assumes our “commonality,” including linguistic location in the “common” cultural space. For Habsu the act of linguistic negotiation here regarding the choice of language(s) of our interaction highlights the relevance of her subjectivity as subject of research in the construction of meaning about her life history.

Although educated in the French language, the official language of the country, Habsu Garba elected not to use it as the medium for discussing her life history. Given her knowledge of my educational and linguistic background as someone who grew up in the same cities as she did, Habsu was seeking to preempt possible French linguistic hegemony that I may inadvertently have imposed on the process. Instead she proposed Hausa and Zarma, our two mutual mother-tongues, which also happen to be the two dominant national *lingua francas* in Niamey.

Methodologically, therefore, the issue has arisen of the power of the research subject not only to determine her own location in the interview process, but also the location—here a linguistic one—of the researcher. Habsu Garba clearly signifies that meaning about her life

will be framed not only outside monolingualism in French or in one local language, but rather through “polyglossia” (fluency in multiple languages), in this case, in Hausa and Zarma languages. I use polyglossia rather than bilingualism because, even though Habsu specified Hausa and Zarma only, French did come up here and there in some passages in the course of our numerous interviews. We were thus forced to occupy a negotiated and negotiating space between three languages.

At the heart of the matter then, Habsu Garba’s attempt to shift the linguistic terrain of conversation illustrates an aspect of how the dynamic of power relations between the researcher and the researched is mediated sensitively in order to create adequate conditions for the voice of the “subaltern” to be expressed more freely (Foucault, 1980; Spivak, 1988). And some of the methodological questions posed by the issue of languages (especially if polyglossia is involved) used by research subject(s) include the following: a) What are the limits of mediating subjects’ articulation of their subjectivities through translation, especially when this involves translators/interpreters working for a researcher who alter meaning, sometimes inadvertently, and other times consciously, for whatever reasons, especially when the topic of the research is considered sensitive, like the “woman question” in non-western societies? b) Are the meanings emerging out of polyglossia (multiple languages or multiple voices) sufficiently synthesized in whatever theoretical framework in producing the final text of the research?

Equally significant is the role of language in the (re)production, exercise, and maintenance of power in Francophone Africa, in general, and more particularly in the Niger Republic across and within gender. Following, Foucault (1980), Kress (1997) and Gee (1995), I would argue that Habsu Garba’s underlying concern about our choice of language of interview is the subjectivity of women about the discursive social meanings associated with language policies and practices in Niger Republic. That interplay between power and the discursive social practices in language is the focus of Gee’s notion of “Discourse” with capital “D”. Discourse, in Gee’s formulation, relates to patterns of using [and choosing] language(s) in social interactions and in contexts of power (Foucault, 1980) to (re)construct, recognize, negotiate and contest meaning. While language practices conveyed in local national languages, such as Hausa and Zarma, carry less power in “formal” settings—such as in an interview situation—they reflect high, if not the highest value conveyed in French, the official language of the country. This is a Discourse that Habsu Garba inadvertently interrogates.

Moreover, Habsu’s linguistic choice problematizes the issue of French language policy in education in the so-called “Francophone” African countries, in general, and in relation to women in the dialectics of power and education more particularly. First, *our* in Habsu’s phrase “our French” carries with it a paradoxical collective relational intimacy to the French language (and maybe to French culture and people) by virtue of the Francophone identity label as applied to Nigeriens in general. In spite of this presumed Frenchness of the nation, Habsu regards herself as ill-prepared to function adequately in the society with that language. Here lie important questions about the entire French language edifice in the educational system of the country.

Entire volumes of scholarship in psycholinguistics have been produced on the problematics of the teaching of French in Francophone Africa. The work of Professor Sido Issa (1982) provides a critical appraisal of the didactic weaknesses of the French curriculum in Niger. *Problématique de l’Enseignement du Français en Afrique* was the title of a required

course for the students majoring in linguistics and/or French at the then University de Niamey. The rationale for this general requirement was to produce a team of linguists and French pedagogues who could develop national language pedagogical materials that would serve as a bridge to the learning of the French language in the curriculum and as future teachers of French as a foreign language rather than as a mother-tongue as it used to be taught in the past.

Habsu's usage of the possessive adjective *our* in the phrase "Our French" also raises the issue of a shared collective consciousness that vertically defined the educated *élite* in "Francophone" Africa. Thus, the ambiguous semantics of "our French" could underlie class ideology (Fairclough, 1989; Warren, 1988) which sets a hierarchical class divide between the small category of Nigeriens who had access to formal modern schooling inherited from the French colonial legacy and the largest group of Nigeriens who have benefited neither from the formal education nor literacy in the French language (Djité, 1991, 1990, 1987; Moumouni 1964/8; Hamani, 2000).

Furthermore, there is also the problem of distance between the majority of those educated (men and women) who are defined by an early drop out from the formal educational track (to which group Habsu Garba, the subject of the research, belongs) and the tiniest minority of those who have managed to make it beyond the usual "expected" drop out point, especially for women (among whom I, the researcher, working now in a major US university, belong). According to Abdou Hamani (2000), in a cycle of six years of primary school, the drop out rate of students from the mainstream educational system dangerously amounts to 51.82% (p. 140). Moreover, within this figure that cuts across gender exists another internal split between an extremely tiny ratio of privileged French educated Nigerien women and an overwhelming category of primary (and secondary) school female dropouts. This latter group of women is often referred to as *panthers blessées* ('wounded panthers or wildcats') by chauvinist males.

The sarcastic tone of Habsu Garba's phrase "our French" is a bitter reminder of how the French language is still a *foreign language* which was used during the colonial time to divide and conquer various indigenous groups. The French language in Francophone Africa, in general and in Niger, in particular, represents the reminiscent traces of that spirit of divisiveness installed by the former colonial master, France. And as a language used for exclusion and divide, the French language *could not be*, for many colonized subjects who have not developed a complex for their mother tongue(s), the language shaping intimate exploration of questions linked to one's identity.

I personally read Habsu Garba's request as, first, a reminder of the complicity of both French colonial patriarchs and the local patriarchs in denying Nigerien women access to both French language and formal education as well as the extension and reproduction of the same colonial policies in the postcolonial dispensation. Secondly, it expressed a need for both of us to come to a resisting linguistic solidarity as women emerging from that common legacy. From the way my first interview began with Habsu Garba, I was quite pleasantly met with the situation of exploring the potential that the research subject's subjectivity also often influences the entire "gaze of the fieldwork"—if the researcher is sufficiently disposed to observe and be inclusive of this dialectic. Habsu Garba's act set the tone that she too must find the space in this process of engagement to add a dimension to the exploration of life histories of Nigerien women, perhaps to give the researcher a taste of her "own medicine" so to speak while reminding me that I too am Nigerien: What about the researcher's, who is also a Nigerien woman, own educational trajectory in postcolonial Niger as well as in the USA

where English, the dominant global language is the main lingua franca and language of international socio-economic mobility?

Habsu Garba's intervention raises, once again the place of language in the construction of knowledge in the process of studying "African realities". The produced knowledge about/on Africa is often a product of a mediated translation in the official metropole languages—English for "Anglophone" Africa, French for "Francophone" Africa, Portuguese for "Lusophone" Africa—a point that Habsu Garba tried to avoid during my fieldwork. As Ngugi (1998) observed during a lecture at Cambridge University:

Take the status of scholarship on Africa. Quite frankly there is nothing so contradictory in African scholarship today in Africa and in the wider world than the position of expert on African realities who do not have to demonstrate even the slightest acquaintance with an African language. Have you heard, for instance, of a Professor of French at a French university or any other place who did not know a word of French? (p. 93)

More recently (2001), Achille Mbembe makes a similar observation about "Africanist" social scientists who, because of their concern more with social engineering than with comprehending the "political" and its bearing on the aesthetics of African socio-economic lives, care less about fieldwork and even less about the relevance of mastering African languages in studying and researching Africa and producing knowledge on it:

It should be noted, as far as fieldwork is concerned, that there is less and less. Knowledge of local [African] languages, vital to any theoretical and philosophical understanding, is deemed unnecessary. To judge from recent academic output, sub-Saharan Africa, wrapped in a cloak of impenetrability, has become the black hole of reason, the pit where its powerlessness rest unveiled... (pp. 7-9)

Both Ngugi and Mbembe are affirming the centrality of language in ways of seeing and (re)presenting the experience that is being studied.

My life as a Nigerien woman researcher working as an immigrant scholar in the United States of America is to a great extent, determined by my "making it through the French (Francophone) educational system" and my current negotiation of my way as a "Muslim Francophone" within an "Anglophone" American academy. Between Habsu Garba and I there is a gap that is illustrative of the various levels of *unequal* commonalities among women in Niger. This divide, precipitated partly by the inadequacy of the adopted French educational system, certainly necessitates a mediation/negotiation of power relations between Habsu Garba, the subject of my research whose subjectivity I am exploring in my capacity as a researcher who is a native-other or an insider-outsider. My experiences at "home", therefore, present some of the complexities tied to the interplay between identity (privileged native-other), fieldwork and feminist theorizing and praxis that Jayati Lal (1999) incisively discussed in an article entitled "Situating Locations: The Politics of Self, Identity and "Other" in Living and Writing the Texts."

To sum up, then, the many implications that arise from Habsu Garba's phrase "our French" suggest a set of class power relations among Nigeriens, in general, and more sharply among women. It is, perhaps, this dialectics of power relations between two women sharing a common citizenship, but socially situated in different locations in the same national map, that Habsu Garba was very conscious about and quick to address up front. Habsu Garba's

intervention in this terrain of often unspoken class power relations entailed in the selection of language of interaction, and my understanding and accommodation of her request created, perhaps, some space for both of us to negotiate the terms of transcending, at least for a short while, our point of difference in order to enter into a dialogue, rather than a one way inquiry, into the “subaltern” life journey (Spivak, 1988; Mohanty, 1991; Smith, 1997).

HABSU GARBA AND EDUCATIONAL *BRASSAGE*

Until today the French language is still acquired primarily through the school system throughout Francophone Africa. The higher the level of education, the greater one's proficiency is likely to be. Habsu Garba's declared discomfort with the language, therefore, naturally led me to inquire about her educational background. Our dialogue continued to unfold.

(2) Habsu Interview

OA: Did you attend school at all?

HG: Yes, I did attend *école* [that is, the mainstream school run in French] up to CM1 [fifth grade]....

OA: What type of school did you attend?

HG: From CI to CM1 [first grade to fifth grade], I attended the regular *école*. After that I attended the *Arabic* school for three years. After the three years, my parents wanted to *force me to get married*. I refused and I told them that I would rather return to a private school run in French, *École L'Air*. I was enrolled there for the CM2 [sixth grade]. After the CM2, I passed the typing examination at *École Mission Catholique*. I attended that school for two years and obtained my typing certificate. After that training, I worked for ten years at BIAO Bank. At some point, BIAO began to ask its employees to seek for voluntary early retirement. I left BIAO in 1989 without agreeing to the terms of our termination of service. But I was already involved in my other activities by then...

What emerges from the above answer from Habsu Garba is a taxonomy of the various educational tracks that exist in urban landscapes in the Niger Republic, as previously discussed in the first part of this paper. There is her experience in a) *école*, the French inherited school system; (b) the *Madarassa*, a product of Arab-Islamic influence in Niger, and finally c) vocational training for women—offering secretarial skills—introduced by the French Catholic missionaries. This overlapping of educational systems reflects, once more, the concept of *Brassage* (blending) in the realm of education, combining the secular and the religious. Within the religious, furthermore, we see the workings of a syncretism at the cultural level, if not, at the confessional level. In other words, the interaction between Islamic—*Madarassa*—and French-Christian values shape the cultural identity of Nigeriens through the multi-varied structures of the educational system of the country. And, mediating between these new religious and secular forces, is the continuing influence of indigenous traditions borne out of processes of socialization outside the formal structures of the classrooms.

Here again, Habsu Garba's ties to *Madarassa* expose a dimension of her life that brings back the question of language vis-à-vis education in Niger. For the very notion of *Madarassa*

in Niger entails the centering of the Arabic language, rather than French, as medium of instruction. In this system, the French language is taught more as a subject, although by the fourth grade it begins to acquire an equal status with Arabic in some schools. Because of the strong “francophilia” (‘French complex’), however, the Arabic language continued to be regarded as inferior in educational status as compared to French; and Nigeriens trained in the bilingual modern of Arabic–French bilingual French track remained relatively disadvantaged with regard to employment and advanced educational opportunities. Before the new wave of Islamic revivalism known as *Izala*, which revalorises Nigerien Islamic identity partly through exposure to knowledge of Arabic language and the Qur’an (Grégoire, 1992, Brenner, 1993; Meunier, 1997; Masquelier, 2001), therefore, many Nigeriens used to shy away from admitting that they had attended *Madarassa* for fear of being reduced to *marabouts* (mystic teachers) by fellow Nigeriens educated solely in the French mainstream.

HABSU GARBA: BETWEEN MODERN EDUCATION AND INDIGENOUS TRADITION

Regardless of this situation of diglossia between Arabic and the French language—i.e. the functional distributional between the two languages in which, one, French, is regarded more highly in status than the other, Arabic—what is important for our understanding of Habsu Garba’s life history, is that the *Madarassa* was the school she ran to as a child trying to escape the elitist French mainstream school that was not meeting her aspirations to sing. As she put it:

(3) Habsu Interview

HG: The mainstream school in French was boring to me and I was very interested in singing. Singing as I used to hear it when passing by the *Madarassa* on my way to or back from *école* was more attractive to me. So, I convinced myself to switch to *Madarassa* without telling my parents. I went where pupils sing! That to me must be my kind of school. So, I dropped out of *école* at CM1 [fifth grade] and joined *Madarassa* for three years.

When my parents realized what I did, they decided to marry me off. I protested and let them know that I would prefer to return to *école*. That is when my father decided to send me to the private school I mentioned earlier. I kept begging my father until he agreed to send me back to school. At that time the school fees were 1500CFA [about \$3.00, USA] per month. I was not successful the first year I took the primary school certificate exam in 1977. Thus, the same year I took the typing examination at the Catholic mission school and passed.

OA: Earlier you mentioned that you spent 3 years in *Arabic* school. Is it the *Qur’anic* school or the bilingual French–Arabic *Madarassa*?

HG: It was the bilingual Islamic school French-Arabic school, where the students learn Arabic. Of course, I realized it was not about learning how to sing once I enrolled [laughs] I did not learn how to sing there as I thought I would. [laughs] But I stayed hooked to singing and there was some singing which was the recitation of the *Qur’an*. I used to listen to that a lot and it made me run away from the mainstream school. The French-Arabic school used to run until 1pm, so I stayed behind to listen to

their singing while my young friends joined their parents. [laughs] That was childhood. I told my friend I could not stay in a school (the mainstream school run in French only) where I receive corporal punishment every day. I am switching to a more exciting school! So, I dropped out without my parents' knowledge and joined the bilingual Islamic French–Arabic *Madarassa*. My parents found that much later, almost toward the end of the year. They went to look for my report card because I was not bringing any from my school and they found out that I had opted for a different educational track on my own. I told them I wasn't going to be married off to a wealthy trader.

Habsu Garba's unilateral decision to enroll in *Madarassa* as a child without provoking the concern of her *école's* teacher nor her parents' awareness reflects the symptomatic unconnectedness between *école* and the lives of most Nigeriens including the teachers of that system. In 1968, four years after the Niger Republic became independent and around the time of Habsu Garba's struggles in primary school, Abdou Moumouni (1964/1968) diagnosed the inherent structural problems of "Francophone" education as follows:

...everyone agrees sincerely or hypocritically in recognizing that rapid training of cadres on all levels and in every specialty, accelerated extension of schooling for children and literacy campaigns among the adult population, are all vital imperatives inseparable from any real progress in our countries. The inadequacy of the educational system inherited from the colonial era, in its conception, orientation, structure and content is at time vaguely realized, at times explicitly recognized and expressed.... (p. 12)

École might be, from the point of view of Habsu's parents, a temporary engagement while awaiting the "right" husband for their daughter. After all, it is very common that traditional patriarchal parents construct a view of womanhood for their daughters whose identities are framed through everlasting state of minorhood, wifehood and mothering. While it is true that many women in Niger appear to live in conformity with patriarchal rules of behavior and sex roles defined by their traditional cultures, there are some like Habsu Garba, Malama Aishatu and many others (Alidou, 2005), whose life histories clearly suggest heterogeneity—resisting, living through ambiguity and outright contestating or split affinities—of responses to the status quo.

From the above quoted passage, we see that Habsu resisted being one of those woman drop-outs from formal school as a result of early marriage, as discussed in many studies focusing on women's education in Niger. Indeed, Habsu had bargained her way out of being prematurely married to a wealthy man. Such a marriage was her parents' way to assure her a life of security as a female who voluntarily dropped out of the new security path arising from the colonial and postcolonial dispensation, the path of "limited" formal education in French language that did not meet her artistic aspirations. In short, Habsu Garba's remarks quoted above demonstrate her rejection of the ascribed patriarchal, colonial framing of her womanhood.

Perhaps, being born in the wake of Niger's independence from French colonization, the seeds of freedom and the desire to craft a "new" notion of independence even at the individual level permeated children's lives, even among the ranks of women to which Habsu Garba belonged. For, at an early stage of her life, Habsu showed a determination to have an active role in shaping the course of her life and acted accordingly, contrary to cultural expectations. These significant characteristics of a Muslim female child are often overlooked in many academic writings framed in western epistemology about women in Muslim

societies. Instead, many of these studies have sought to confirm their theories of the homogeneity of “submissiveness” of (African) Muslim women and their presumed surrender to (local and international) patriarchal order. Consequently, the eyes of the scholars have tended to see mainly those cases that confirm their a priori assumptions. Thus, lack of confidence in the French language and limited access to formal education did not prevent Habsu Garba to optimally exploit her multilingualism in Hausa and Zarma and level of literacy in both French and Arabic in her artistic performance. An excerpt of a political song below which she composed, choreographed and performed with her artistic group called *groupe shock* is a prime illustration of her consciousness of the importance of code-switching between the two lingua franca—Hausa and Zarma—in order to win a larger electoral constituency for the party she is advocating for.

(4) Habsu’s Political Song

Ranar Hwarin ciki Ranar ZaBe

(Rejoice on Election Day)

(Title in Hausa) (in Hausa language)

‘yen Niger
Ranar hwarin ciki ce yau
Sai murna
Za mu zab’e yau
Na shugaba

People of Niger
Today is a day of rejoicing
We feel joy
We will be voting
For the president

(switching to Zarma language)

Niger labiizay
Kuluja da farhan hana ne ka
Labiizay ir ma koy safe
Ir gin bora

People of Niger
The day of happiness and rejoicing is here

(switching back to Hausa language)

‘yen k’asar Niger
Sahiyar ga za ta yin kyawo
Da maraice
A ke ganin niyya
Mun tabbata k’asar Niger
Wadata za ta sabkowa
Ni’ima ta lullub’e Niger
Mu ci gaba

People of Niger Republic
This morning will be a pretty one
In the afternoon
We will see what is commitment
We are certain in Niger Republic
(that) it will be filled with bounty
Bounty will cover Niger
So that we move ahead (we progress)

(switching to Zarma language)

Zari hannawo
Zai dai cini ga na go
Nijero sikka kullu si no
Sugin da gwamni na zure
kal zadayaŋ

This pretty day
It is up to the night
There is no doubt Niger
(is) visited by goodness and plenty
What remains is moving ahead

(switching back to Hausa language)

Citizens of Niger

'yen Kasar Niger	MNSD, the new power (leadership),
MNSD sabuwar Nassara	she is calling
Ta yi kira	(so) that we give her our trust from everywhere
Mu ba ta yarda mu da ko'in a	People of Niger
'yen k'asar Niger	The end of a journey (lit. walk)
Bakin tahiya	Is for you to get to the place (lit. room)
Ka zo cikin d'aki	Our design (planning)
Shirin namu	has indeed materialized
Ga shi ya zamna	It is a ready horse with its ornaments
Doki ne ram da kayanshi	Whom should we give the lead
Wane ne za a ba ragama	for him to compete against
Ya tai da shi	

CONCLUSION

This paper has demonstrated how colonial and postcolonial educational and language policies have impacted the lives of Muslim women in Niger Republic, often in ways that disadvantage them immensely to their male counterpart. Elevating French to the status of the most powerful currency of communication in the market of socio-political and economic survival, these policies made French access to a privileged male minority, in the process generating hegemonic discourses that seek to legitimize the continuation of gendered inequalities in education generally and in the acquisition of crucial literacy and linguistic skills. But, far from allowing this situation to entrap and paralyze them, Muslim women with little access to French continue to respond in creative ways by setting up alternative educational venues through which the monolingual Francocentric orientation of elitism is challenged by a polylingual/multilingual mode of intertextuality, especially in the oral domain. The women have been successful in valorizing local languages anew, mobilizing them in trans-ethnic communication through an elaborate system of code-switching. In addition to their use of Latin alphabet, depending on regions, the women are also given renewed emphasis on local literacy tradition including *Tifinagh*, *Ajami* and through their mosque-based educational initiatives in Qur'anic Arabic and local languages.

All these developments in education, language and literacy are products of the pro-democratization momentum that began in the early 1990s. But as much as the democratic struggle has given local languages and literacies a new lease of life so to speak, these local media in turn may contribute to the consolidation of a more enduring democratic tradition in the country.

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