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*DIASPORA, IDENTITY, AND
LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES*

Edited by

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Department of Linguistics
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PREFACE

The contributions in *Diaspora, Identity, and Language Communities* bring together studies on the most dynamic cross-cultural and cross-national phenomenon of contemporary societies in an integrated format. The papers represent several disciplinary perspectives: cultural, linguistic, attitudinal, and ideological.

In historical terms, the contexts of diasporas have a long history, which is insightfully summarized in the final chapter by Ladislav Zgusta. What is refreshingly new in this collection is that numerous theoretical and methodological paradigms are used to provide insights for our understanding of this age-old global phenomenon. The primary focus of the volume, however, is to reflect on identities and the implications of concerns about identity on our conceptualizations of diasporic language communities.

The volume documents the continuing impact of diaspora on communities globally. The effects of diaspora are seen in communicative acts, literary creativity, language change, and indeed in the sociocultural and religious interactions of communities touched by this phenomenon. The dynamics of this change are that of fusion and conjoining of languages, cultures, and identities.

These visibly altered contexts of language communities naturally present challenges to our traditional theoretical and methodological conceptualizations of language function, language form, and language acculturation. It is evident from several of these studies that some of the basic terminological concepts traditionally used about language communities — “mother tongue,” “native speaker,” and “speech community,” to name just three — are questionable. These challenges to analysis and interpretation are encountered by almost all disciplines in the social sciences to various degrees.

The four parts of *Diaspora, Identity, and Language Communities* provide interdisciplinary case-studies of, for example, Africa, Colombia, India, Malaysia, Morocco, Singapore, and the United States. The four thematically organized parts are:

- PART I: Culture, Canon, and Creativity
- PART II: Contextualizing Diasporas
- PART III: Constructing Discourse in Diaspora
- PART IV: Afterword

This volume, like any other such multidisciplinary undertaking, has a history. At the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, the original initiative to celebrate the year 1998 as the Year of Diaspora Communities came from the Office of International Affairs with support from the Ford Foundation, New York. The symposium that ultimately resulted in *Diaspora, Identity, and Language Communities* was just one activity of the year-long focus on this cross-disciplinary

topic. Almost all the papers in this volume were presented in that three-day symposium (20-22 November 1998).

In inviting the participants to the symposium, the major considerations were the expertise of each scholar in a language and region, knowledge of the language group or ethnic group in a diasporic context, and the depth of her/his theoretical conceptualization of issues specifically related to a language in diaspora, including the interdisciplinary implications. I believe that to a large extent that goal of the symposium was realized.

The organizing committee was keen that the designated goal for the symposium be articulated in the presentations, in the discussions that took place during the symposium, and at several social events that were part of the symposium. The fruits of those dialogues were included in the final versions of the papers.

Braj B. Kachru
Cecil L. Nelson

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We wish to express our gratitude to the Center for Advanced Study and to the Office of International Affairs of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign for cosponsoring the two initiatives on Language, Identity, and Diaspora Communities. The first initiative was an interdisciplinary semester-long advanced graduate seminar, and the second an international colloquium that resulted in the present volume.

We are grateful to the Center staff, Jackie R. Jenkins, Nancy Sarabi, Duane Swenson, and Liesel Wildhagen, who as an invaluable team oversaw various aspects of the seminar and the colloquium. It was Liesel Wildhagen who took charge of the initiatives from their inception until their conclusion with dedication, commitment, and a great sense of responsibility. Masumi Iriye, the present Associate Director of the Center, provided enthusiastic support in the preparation of this volume.

This publication would not have taken its present form without the support and encouragement of Elmer Antonsen, Managing Editor of *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences*. We are grateful to him for that, and for his immense patience.

PART I:

**CULTURE, CANON, AND
CREATIVITY**

1

THE PREDICAMENT OF CULTURES: WILSON HARRIS, POSTCOLONIAL LITERATURE, AND THE CURRICULUM IN TROUBLED TIMES

Cameron McCarthy

In this essay, the author calls attention to the radical reconfiguration and rearticulation of identity and belonging taking place in modern life as a consequence of the rapid movement of people and cultural and economic capital across national borders. Indeed, culture is now a primary object of antagonist feeling and ethnicization. He argues that this provides both a challenge and opportunity to educators as they now are forced to confront the multiplicity and plurality of languages and cultural form that are now defining the modern classroom. Drawing on the work of the Guyanese philosophical novelist, Wilson Harris, the author suggests that postcolonial literature, like that of Harris, provides a model for the thoughtful encounter between human groups and an avenue for communicative action that might help to confront the growing pattern of cultural balkanization that now dominates social and educational life in many different settings.

Introduction

Proof like Doubt must seek the hidden wound in orders of complacency that mask opportunist codes of hollow survival (Wilson Harris 1985:7).

As we enter the new millennium, the extraordinary diasporic movement of people, ideas, and images across national boundaries has begun to pose major challenges to educational and curricular organization in the school systems of industrial countries of the West. These challenges are particularly fore-grounded in areas of educational and social life that have become flash points of tension as the radical presence of diversity now threatens old ways of curriculum organization associated with Eurocentrism and monoculturalism. Some of these key flash points of tensions are in the areas of language, identity, and community — sensitive markers of group affiliation that often get articulated to discourses of cultural balkani-

zation and racial and ethnic antagonism. The great challenge that faces curriculum educators in these times is to find a non-alienating way of re-narrating and reformulating the meaning of the material realities and challenges associated with diversity. Educators must formulate a new curriculum methodology in a manner that the broad and varied populations that now attend our universities and schools can feel engaged and connected beyond the particularism of personal history and origins. I will argue in what follows — by drawing on a central exemplar — that postcolonial literature provides models of thoughtfulness and reflexivity that can greatly assist educators as they attempt to negotiate the competing interests, needs, and desires generated by the diverse populations now attending our educational institutions.

This chapter looks at postcolonial literature as a space for the exploration of this radical diversity, not simply as a problem, but as an opportunity for a conversation about establishing a normative basis for communicative action in the curriculum. I write as a critical educator invested in a project of communicative action or dialogue that might get us beyond the implacable categories of Eurocentrism and the reductive forms of multiculturalism that have become such integral parts of the crisis language of curriculum reform in the area of race relations. In invoking postcolonial literature, I am pointing toward a re-deployment of the vocabulary of difference that might help practitioners to humanize an increasingly commodified, instrumental, and deeply invaded curriculum field. I use as an exemplar of this new materialist humanism (what one postcolonial author calls 'the visualization of community' Gilkes 1975) the work of the Guyanese philosophical novelist, Wilson Harris. I look at his novel, *The Palace of the Peacock* 1960.

Harris' urge to write began when, as a young man, he worked for the Guyanese government as a land surveyor charting the interior of Guyana. Harris reports an avid interest in the philosophical writings of Hegel and Heidegger, whom he first read as a teenager. *The Palace of the Peacock* is a picaresque or quest novel, much like Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*, in which the main characters are pitted against nature in the journey of their lives. But in Harris' novel, nature is problematized. It is the fecund source of metaphors and allegories about the contested lives of human beings, their oppression of each other, and the open possibilities that reside within collective action and communal spirit and determination.

The motif of possibility

Our literatures did not passively accept the changing fortunes of their transplanted languages ... Soon they ceased to be mere transatlantic reflections. At times they have been the negation of the literatures of Europe; more often they have been a reply (Paz 1990:5).

Some years ago, I attempted to outline the possibility of validating or proving the truths that may occupy certain twentieth century works of fiction that diverge, in peculiar degrees, from canons of realism. I sought such proof or validation by bringing the fictions I had in mind

into parallel with profound myth that lies apparently eclipsed in largely forgotten so-called savage cultures (Harris 1985:7).

I have come to the feeling that there are certain words, phrases, terms that I do not like, even when I am using them in my own writing: words and terms such as 'origins', 'center', 'the best', 'the brightest', 'hierarchy', 'pure', 'Western', 'civilization', even — 'culture' (although I am sure to use the last one several times before this essay is finished). These words relay and circulate a certain kind of hypocrisy of completeness and self-sufficiency in curriculum theory and design and in the practical matters of everyday human life. Educational theorists and policy makers invested in these words — these lines of demarcation — now stand clumsily in the doorways of cultural commutation that link human groups to vast underground networks of feeling, sensibility, and promise. Words such as 'origins', 'Western' and 'center' have led us to blocked visions, suspended horizons, and ineluctable retreats. They serve to repress interlocked histories and trestles of association. They paste over the fault lines that, have for some time now, ruptured the undersides of imposed identities deep beneath the glistening surfaces of 'Europe', 'Africa', 'Asia', the 'Caribbean', the 'Orient', and the 'Occident'.

So here we are, at the end of the twentieth century, fighting old, stale atavistic internecine wars in the heart of the curriculum field and in the trenches of educational institutions. It's an old saw among academics that the battles in academic life are as vicious as they are because the stakes are so small. Maybe proponents of such a point of view are right. And, it is partly our deep investment in words like 'center' and 'Western' that has gotten us in our present curriculum trouble — our present impasse between the Wild West and the rest of the world. In this new world order, each person grazes on his own grass, so to speak, and in a tortured sense, turns the key on his own door. These lines of psychic tension and demarcation are powerfully registered in current debates over multiculturalism and curriculum reform. The debaters radically oppose the literature and cultural production associated with the canon to the new literatures of postcolonial writers and indigenous minority novelists and poets. It is assumed by some of the more conservative thinkers, such as William Bennett 1984 and Dinesh D'Souza 1991, that East is East and West is West and never should or must canonical and non-canonical literatures meet in the school curriculum. Some more reformist theorists, such as Molefi Asante 1993, assume that, since the dominant curriculum thrives on the marginalization of the cultures of minorities, that minority identities can only be fully redeemed by replacing the Western and Eurocentric bias of the curriculum with non-Western minority literatures.

Of course, when talking about this economy of oppositions, one cannot forget the rather unfortunate pronouncements of Fredric Jameson 1986 in an article he published in *Social Text* some years ago entitled 'Third World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism'. In this article, Jameson asserted that third world literary texts were 'necessarily allegorical', and should be read as 'national alle-

gories'. According to him, third world fiction lacks one critical historical variable that helps to establish the modern Western realist novel, namely:

a radical split between private and the public, between the poetic and the political, between what we have come to think of as a the public world of classes, of the economic, and of secular political power: in other words, Freud versus Marx (Jameson 1986:69).

Without this split, third world fiction can all be reduced to a single narrative paradigm: 'the story of the private individual destiny is always an allegory of the embattled situation of the public third-world culture and society' (p. 65). Here, Jameson has placed third world fiction into a very limited box. This is not to say that Jameson's intuitions about third world fiction are entirely off the mark — Harris's work is after all deeply allegorical; but Jameson's problems begin when he takes a partial insight and recklessly presses it out into a totalizing usurping epiphany — filling up the periphery and the globe.

I must admit that I have reached a kind of exhaustion with a certain usage of the language of difference — a quiet weariness with the language of negation and fatalistic oppositions. This essay represents a new effort to articulate a motif of possibility — a vision of curriculum that is socially extended, but at the same time deeply invested in the fictive worlds created in postcolonial writing. In these imperfect worlds of imagination, literature leads the way and sociology clumsily follows — happily, without the burden of 'controls'. It is an attempt to, in Harris's words 'visualize a community' — a community of lost or broken souls — the community of Donna Haraway's cyborgs, of Gloria Anzaldúa's border people, of Gabriel Marquez's El Macondo, or the folk of Harris's Mariella, dwelling in the interior of Guyana — the mythical rain forests in which the *Cauda Pavonis* or *The Palace of the Peacock* 1960 might be glimpsed.¹

I believe that the challenge of multiculturalism is the critical challenge of curriculum in postmodern times — it is the challenge of living with each other in a world of difference. I believe that postcolonial literature — even more so than postcolonial literary theory and criticism — has sought to foreground this challenge of living in a world of difference in late-century society, and as such presents us with fictive maps in which power and communication are conceived as operating horizontally, not vertically, not top down as in encoding-decoding, but rhizomatically in the sense that often cabalistic passageways link the mighty and the meek on shared and complex terrains. And some times close up the meek prevail. For example, Harris' *The Palace of the Peacock*, tired of abuse, Mariella — Arawak woman and colony — shoots Donne, the colonial oppressor. Her action is that of a shaman of the folk. The landscape of power is altered in the twinkling of an eye. Donne, the reader, later discovers, is that part of the folk reproductive of the old colonial will to power — the colonizer in the colonized — that Mariella as Shaman and representative of the folk will redefine. It is within the context of these asymmetrical relations of colonizer and colonized that this literature takes

on special significance, but the matter is never straightforward, as we will see in the example of Harris's novel.

Historical filiation of the postcolonial novel

Of course, the implications of this literature for curriculum cannot be grasped without some attempt to follow its materialist filiations, distributed as they are in the histories of classical and modern colonialism, but even more recently, since the sixties, in the footprints scattered across the late-twentieth century megalopolises — London, Toronto, New York, Paris, Mexico City. These footprints register the presence of the daughters of the dust, the migratory waves of humanity now conquering the West. The state of exile is also the state of rupture of old paradigms, of lost selves, and new affiliations, the locus of emergent self-discovery. In its most compelling forms, postcolonial literature struggles to embrace the old and the new, multiple worlds, divided loyalties, and passionate desires of the Other. As the Sri Lankan writer, Michael Ondaatje, puts it in *The English Patient*, this literature celebrates those 'nationless ... deformed by nation states [who] ... wished to remove the clothing of their countries' (Ondaatje 1992:138-39). These literary works document the other side of the postmodern — multicultural worlds from which there are no longer exits for retreat. Postcolonial writers are fabricating the new subjects of history and are seeking to install these new subjects within the folds of contemporary imagination. These new subjects are patched together and fitted out with leaky souls. They are flawed or broken human creatures — born in the crucible of cultural modernization, not at all, as some writers such as Roger Kimbal 1990 or Dinesh D'Souza 1991 might argue, stilted prototypes of sociological tracts singing hollow histories of oppression and damnation. And they are not for that matter, as Afrocentric writers such as Mike Awkward 1989 might suggest, existing in some prelapsarian past standing up before Adam and Eve.

Emergent postcolonial literatures register a new structure of feeling, of overlapping and cascading epochs of time, of drifting space, of free associations, of the ample desires and insatiable appetites of the center and the periphery rolled into one. As such, they offer a new late-twentieth century paradigm of curriculum, a poetics of a curriculum without borders. What we are witnessing at one level is the very transformation of the canons of English, French, and Spanish literatures as Pico Iyer 1993 maintains in a recent *Time* magazine article:

Where not long ago a student of the modern English novel would probably have been weaned on Graham Greene, Evelyn Waugh and Aldous Huxley, now he will more likely be taught Rushdie and Okri and Mo — which is fitting in an England where many students' first language is Cantonese or Urdu ... Thus the shelves of English bookstores are becoming as noisy and polyglot and many hued as the English streets. And the English language is being revolutionized from within. Abiku stalks us on the page, and triad gangs and 'filmi' stars. Hot spices are entering English, and tropical birds and sorcerers;

readers who are increasingly familiar with sushi and samosas are now learning to live with molue buses and manuku hedges (Iyer 1993:70).

Transforming the canon, Wilson Harris and the new community

And I saw that Donne was ageing in the most remarkable misty way (Harris 1960:49).

What might a community of lost or broken souls tell us about curriculum in late-century America? This is the question that Wilson Harris 1989 poses in his essay, 'Literacy and the Imagination', where he suggests that solutions to the problem of literacy in the Americas must begin with the recognition of the inadequacy of programs of imposition such as agricultural extension programs and urban literacy projects that distrust the cultural resources that reside within the masses themselves. In other words, he argues that educators tend to have what he calls 'illiterate imaginations'. Harris's observations on literacy point us in the direction of the resources of the folk — of the popular — the kind of cultural resources of interpretation and action that Paulo Freire 1970 discovers in his literacy work with the Brazilian peasants in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. And, in another way, this is what Gloria Ladson-Billings and Annette Henry 1990 have been calling for in their notion of a 'curriculum of relevance'.

Harris has provided an en fleshment of an answer to the problem of 'illiterate imaginations' in books like *The Palace of the Peacock* 1960, *Whole Armour* 1962, *Companions of the Day and Night* 1975, *Da Silva da Silva's Cultivated Wilderness* 1977, and *Genesis of the Clowns* 1977. I want here to focus on *The Palace of the Peacock* as a meditation on a broken community and its set of propositions about a possible reintegration of this community of lost souls. I want to suggest that the way Harris negotiates canonical notions of literary genre, form, characterization, narrative and social vision has a lot to teach us about the practice of curriculum in the world of difference that has overtaken our social institutions, if not our social consciences. I should say that I turn here to Wilson Harris's *Palace of the Peacock* 1960, but I could have turned to Gabriel Garcia Marquez's *One Hundred Years of Solitude* 1970, or Jamaica Kincaid's *Lucy* 1990, or Salman Rushdie's *Midnight Children* 1981, Ben Okri's *The Famished Road* 1992, Caryl Phillips's *Cambridge* 1992, Michael Ondaatje's *The English Patient* 1992, or Toni Morrison's *Beloved* 1987 or *Jazz* 1992, or, finally, Nawal El Saadawi's *God Dies by the Nile* 1985. All of these novels follow, broadly, a path of deflation of classical realism of the nineteenth-century novel and an implosion of an overmastering or ruling narrating subject. Instead, they put in place the angular points of view of a polyglot cast of new characters, protean personalities and kaleidoscopic visions, open-ended possibilities, and journeys from confinement to transformation. The vast majority of these authors, as Pico Iyer (1993:70) notes:

are writers not of Anglo-Saxon ancestry, born more or less after the war and choosing to write in English [or Spanish or French]. All are situated at the crossroads from which they can reflect, and reflect on

new forms of Mississippi Massala of our increasingly small, increasingly mongrel, increasingly mobile global village. Indians writing of a London that is more like Bombay than Bombay, Japanese novelists who cannot read Japanese, Chinese women evoking a China they have seen only in their mothers' stories — all amphibians who do not have an old and a new home so much as two half-homes simultaneously.

Where is Wilson Harris to be placed among this motley crew of writers? In some ways, he is a precursor. Like the writers mentioned above, he was 'born after the war'. But the war that is a point of reference for him is the war that fed the often biting satirical poetry of the British war poets, Wilfred Owen, Siegfried Sassoon, and Robert Graves. It is of course World War I. Harris was born in Guyana in 1921. He is, as Robert Fraser 1988 tells it, a child of mixed Amerindian, Indian, African, and European blood. He began his professional life as a scientist, a land surveyor, working on the mapping of the often tricky interior of Guyana. 'Guiana' (Guyana) is an Amerindian word meaning 'land of many waters'. Waterfalls abound and many, like the majestic roaring Kaiteur Falls, charge the interior with a sense of terror and sublimity. The awesome nature of this terrain served as an initial inspiration for Harris. Wandering about in the interior of Guyana, Harris spent enormous amounts of time reading Heidegger and Hegel and meditating on time and the psychic dimensions of human life, and the way in which the unpredictable and surprising topography of the Guyanese interior, landscape seem almost to insinuate itself into the human personality. The rich unpredictability of the Guyana interior in part, precipitated his early writings as an imagistic poet of the interior (Fraser 1988). But most of Harris' work, such as *The Palace of the Peacock*, would be written and published in London.

The manipulation of imagery, of metaphor, and symbol constitutes the central activity in *The Palace of the Peacock*. The novel serves a larger purpose of putting to melody a rendezvous with history — a re-encounter between the colonizer and the colonized in different times and different places, in multiple personas, in real time, in dream and myth, in life and death. Together, the colonizer and the colonized must share a mutual responsibility for the future which, in *The Palace of The Peacock*, can only be glimpsed or constructed after an excruciating revisiting of the past. In the novel, Harris attempts to place twentieth century humanity in conversation with those who have been designated as the people of 'savage cultures'. But it is these same savage cultures of the interior of Guyana that support the weight of civilized existence in the coastal suburbs. To tell the story of this kind, in which multiple cultural systems of interpretations dialogue with each other, Harris must rent the fabric of the classical realist novel. Instead of the fiction of omniscience, with its privileged narrator sitting on top of a hierarchy of discourses (see, for example, C.L.R. James' *Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways* 1978, in which James talks about the bureaucratic deployment of characterization in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*), Harris produces a form of fiction that, in his own words, 'seeks to consume its own biases through the many resurrec-

tions of paradoxical imagination and to generate foundations of care within the vessel of place' (1985:9). *The Palace of the Peacock* is about the possibility of validating subaltern myths as opposed to colonial accounts of history. In some ways, Harris is saying the folk may yet have the last laugh. For instance, the Caribs of Grenada, it is told, in one seventeenth century confrontation with the French, leapt off a mountain to their deaths rather than surrender to the colonizers. The Caribs record this event in myth and folk-tales in which their ancestors who plunged to their deaths in the seventeenth century ascend to heaven in a flock of stars. On earth, the hill from which they jumped is call *la Morne des Sauteurs* or 'Leaper's Hill'. And at night, presumably, the stars continue to shine down in comment. The stars are, in the Carib mythology and astrology, the reconstitutions of their ancestors' broken souls (EPICA Task Force 1982:9).

The extractable story of Harris' novel takes the form of a journey of reclamation, of rediscovery of the colony of Mariella. Mariella is the metaphor for alienated or hidden self — the living resources of the oral traditions of the folk — culture based on use value, outside the exchange relations of co-modification. But on board the canoe or pontoon that sails up the Cuyuni river in the interior of Guyana are the polyglot broken souls of a subordinating history. Colonizer and colonized must journey, must reach deep into their own souls for new systems of communication that might settle old conflicts. Of course, the quest narrative goes back to the beginning's of the novel: Homer's *Odyssey*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, the great stories of adventure of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, *The Miller*, *The Clerk*, *The Nunnes Priest*, and the rest, the extended narrative improvisations and oral documentaries of the African griots — Amiri Baraka's original 'Blues People'. With the arrival of the modern novel, we have the founding myths of the mariners, renegades, and castaways, as C.L.R. James 1978 notes: Daniel Defoe's *Crusoe* in *Robinson Crusoe*, Herman Melville's Ahab in *Moby Dick*, and the tormented protagonists of Joseph Conrad's travel fiction, Marlow of *Heart of Darkness* and Nostromo of *Nostromo*.

But the crew that sets sail on the pontoon in *The Palace of the Peacock* — in a sense represents condensations and fragmentations of these prototypes. The new imaginary spaces which the characters in this novel inhabit are considerably deflated and impacted — bodies press sensuously against each other. Harris' characters embody the dialectical tensions of self and other, past and present. There is Donne, the tormented captain and leader, named after the master of the literary technique of conceit — the metaphysical poet, John Donne. In *The Palace of the Peacock*, Donne is colonizer and agent of dominating instrumental reason, but it is his materialism that blocks his wholeness of being. His abuse of Mariella — Arawak, Shaman-woman, and colony — leads to one of his many deaths in the novel, when Mariella takes revenge. Donne is also the colonizer mentality in the colonized who issues decrees: 'Donne I suddenly felt in the quickest flash was in me' (p. 33).

Vigilance is the ship's pilot, an Amerindian seer, on whom Donne and the crew must rely for his supersensitive vision to help them navigate and escape the perils lying in the bedrock of the river. There is Cameron the Afro-Scot of 'slow feet and fast hands' (pp. 25-6) in pursuit of deep materialist fantasies — the por-knocker panning the river bed for ancestral gold and other precious metals. There is the musical Carroll, an Afro-Carib youth, and player of the Carib bone flute. In his hands, the oar becomes a fully tuned violin. There is Schomburgh, the German-Indian, fisherman and wise uncle to all. There are the Portuguese da Silva twins, at war with themselves and the world, constantly, self contradictory. There is Wishrop, Amerindian (Chinese?), and Jennings the mechanic, Anglo-Saxon, married to the folk. And finally, there is Mariella, Shaman-woman ancient and yet youthful, as permanent as the stars. She appears at unexpected moments, everywhere, constantly altering the environment and chemistry of associations in the pontoon. Ultimately, Harris tells us this is one spiritual incestuous family that dreamed up their different origins:

Cameron's great-grandfather had been a dour Scot, and his great-grandmother an African slave mistress. Cameron was related to Schomburgh (whom he addressed as Uncle with the other members of the crew) and it was well-known that Schomburgh's great-grandfather had come from Germany, and his great-grand mother was an Arawak American Indian. The whole crew was a spiritual family living and dying together in the common grave out of which they had sprung from again from the same soul and womb as it were. They were all knotted and bound together in the enormous bruised head of Cameron's ancestry and nature as in the white unshaved head of Schomburgh's age and presence (Harris 1960:39).

Unlike the nineteenth-century realist novel of individual psychological interiority, the specific emotions and dispositions of each character are distributed among the other characters in the novel. Donne's superciliousness can be found expressed in the da Silva twins. He is like the river boy, Carroll, filled with fear and wonder in the face of the majestic waterfall the crew must cross as they take their perilous journey up the river. His craven materialism is reproduced in the obsessed and self-commercial Cameron. These characters on board the shallow pontoon on the journey of their lives are peculiarly flat or hollow entities — broken individuals who need each other to be fully complete. There is no depth or latency to them. They flash on the surface of the novel. They are in some ways 'parabolic' characters, to use the language of the West African critic, Emmanuel Obiechina 1978. They introduce a symbolic motif that implicates themselves and the world. Their sharp edges fade and their personalities bleed into each other as the novel progresses. Harris is doing his best to suggest that they are in fact one subject of history, one community. We often find it impossible to tell these characters apart. At some point, their individual characteristics are diffused throughout the crew. One gets the picture of a painter furiously experimenting with an expanding rainbow of colors in an infinite palette. One is reminded here of Peter Greenaway strobic

alternations of light and color in his film, *Prospero's Books* 1991. Unlike Captain Ahab's Pequod, there is no deck in Harris' novel. These characters are anti-heroes fomented in the belly of the beast — clutching each other in fear and uncertainty as they struggle up river in their shallow dugout or pontoon. Nobody is traveling first class here. Their seven-day journey is demarcated by seven deaths, seven dissolutions of the sovereign subject. This journey, is, in part, Harris' great effort to recreate the Carib resurrection myth. In Carib mythological structures, human actors have no trouble traveling from life to death and back again, completing a mythical cycle of transformation. Of course, this corridor from life to death is also opened up in Toni Morrison's *Beloved* 1987 and *Jazz* 1992, in the film-making of Julie Dash in *Daughters of the Dust* 1992, in Jorge Amado's *Dona Flor and her two Husbands* 1969 and in the dramatic fables of Derek Walcott such as those in the collection of his plays, *Dream on Monkey Mountain and Other Stories* 1972.

Harris 1970 also points us to the Renaissance fusion of art and science in the practice of alchemy. The seven-day journey in *The Palace of the Peacock* may thus be compared to the seven stages of the alchemical process during which the *massa confusa* (the *nigredo* or chaos) is immersed (*ablutio*, a stage similar to Christian baptism or 'death by water') and exposed to a series of chemical and physical changes — through to a stage of purification (*albedo*), to the final *aurum non vulgi* or *Cauda Pavonis* (the peacock colors), which represents a unity in diversity (This is what the Guyanese critic Michael Gilkes 1975 calls 'the wedding of opposites').

In *The Palace of the Peacock*, the crew exists in the original state of *nigredo* (chaos); their journey through the rapids (*ablutio*), leads to a creative life-in-death transformation, for which Carroll's role as Shaman is crucial: 'Who and what was Carroll? ... the living and dead folk, the embodiment of hate and love, the ambiguity of everyone and everything?' (p. 69). All these references to mediated change point to a process of inner transformation. Here, again, we see Harris's use of parallel or overlapping time. Carib Resurrection mythology and Egyptian-derived renaissance alchemy come together to tell a story of the strange and the familiar in the 'infinite rehearsal' of the folk and colonizer in the rivers and forests of the interior of Guyana. The journey up the river and towards the rendezvous with Mariella leads to a series of transformations of the crew in the old pontoon. Each member of the crew is now partially freed from the self-governing, materialistic, and particularistic fantasies that dominated his relationships with his crew-mates. This sense of growth in knowledge and understanding is the effect of shared responsibility, mutual liability, and the washing away of implacable masks of sedimented identity and reason. The alchemical vision enlarges to contain the whole range of objects and persons in the novel. The action unfolds within a decentered and decentering sense of place and context. And the novel builds laterally but always furiously toward a final proliferation of images — fragments cobbled together in the *Cauda Pavonis*. This hollow but latent epiphany which Donne and his crew experience at the top of the rapids as they face their symbolic deaths is a reworking of Odysseus's enchantment, resistance, and

partial surrender to the voice of the Sirens — his primitive self and other. Harris breaks through the conventional one-dimensional attitudes and responses to color, light, darkness, touch, smell, sound, and taste that inform our common sense encounters with each other and the world.

In his essay 'On Culture and Creative Drama', Richard Courtney 1988 talks about a resurrection myth associated with the Amerindian peoples. This myth is the creative foundation for the exploration of human predicaments of the type experienced by the characters in Harris' novel:

Each of these Indian peoples have a major myth which tells how a young hero [heroine] leaves the actual world (dies) and seeks his spirit from whom he obtains 'power', returning with it to his village (resurrection) so that he can use this power on the people's behalf (Courtney 1988:6).

In *The Palace of the Peacock* this subaltern or revolutionary power derives from an unflinching self-critique and openness to contradiction, discontinuity and difference. What Donne and his crew see and experience at the top of the rapids is the tenuous links that connect them to each other and to hidden moral resources within themselves:

The crew was transformed by the awesome spectacle of a voiceless soundless motion, the purest appearance of vision in the chaos of emotional sense. Earthquake and volcanic water appeared to seize them and stop their ears dashing scales only from their eyes. They saw the naked unequivocal flowing peril and beauty and soul of the pursuer and the pursued all together, and they knew they would perish if they dreamed to turn back (Harris 1960:62).

Conclusion

The great task of teachers and educators as we enter the twenty-first century is to address the radical reconfigurations and rearticulations now taking place in educational and social life brought on by the proliferation of diversity. As Harris suggests, we must find the 'subtle links' of affiliation across the self and other, across our insistent particularity and the imperatives of interdependence and multiplicity that define the modern world.

In the curriculum field in education there has been a dangerous tendency to simplify these matters. For example, current curriculum debates over multicultural education and the Western canon too easily oppose the literature, traditions, and culture associated with the canon to the new literatures of minority and indigenous groups, Western civilization to non-Western cultural practices, and so forth. It is assumed that since the dominant curriculum thrives on the marginalization of the culture of minorities that minority identities can only be fully redeemed by replacing the Western and Eurocentric bias of the curriculum with non-Western minority literature and cultural knowledge. The work of postcolonial writers such as

Wilson Harris directly challenges the easy opposition of the canon to non-Western and third world literature and the curricular project of content addition and replacement that now guides some multicultural frameworks. My point of departure in this essay, follows a theoretical and methodological line of thinking that draws on the historical and genealogical work of Michael Berube 1992, Gerald Graff 1987, and John Guillory 1990 who all in various ways argue for a non-canonical reading of the canon. In a strategy complementary to theirs, I have sought to uncover the deep philosophical preoccupations that animate third world writers like Harris in their encounter with master narratives of the West. There is in fact in the postcolonial literature a vast project of rewriting that is well on the way — a project that I wish to suggest that teachers and students in American schools cannot any longer remain blissfully ignorant of. Such a project of rewriting guides us toward reading literature both intertextually and contextually — reading literature ‘contrapuntally’ as Edward Said 1993 suggests. That is to say, we might now read Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* by the light of Chinua Achebe’s *Things Fall Apart*; Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* through the eyes of J.M. Coetzee’s *Foe* or Derek Walcott’s *Pantomime*; William Shakespeare’s *Tempest* under the microscope of George Lamming’s *The Pleasures of Exile*; Virginia Woolf’s *A Room of One’s Own* in concert with Jamaica Kincaid’s *Annie John*; and Fyodor Dostoyevsky’s *Notes from the Underground* within the knowing gaze of Ralph Ellison’s *Invisible Man*.

What I am pointing toward is the need for educators to begin to let the sensibility of a complex, interdependent world into the lives of students. To challenge the tragic images of mainstream television and textbooks and to expand our own sensibilities in America by embracing the world. Postcolonial literature, it seems to me, works through a different set of propositions about human actors than the ones that seem to have taken hold in education lately: the origins claims, the centric claims, the West versus the rest, and so forth. These are all tired binarisms that have led to the regimentation of identities — each man turning the key on his own door. The great challenge of our time is to think beyond the paradox of identity and the other. This is a challenge to rejuvenate linkages of being and association among all peoples in these new times. It is also a challenge to follow the lost steps set in the cross-currents of history by those dwelling in the light of the *Cauda Pavonis* or the palace of the peacock — the final rendezvous with difference beyond the psychic interior of our human forests.

I believe books like Harris’ *The Palace of the Peacock* open up this new terrain in which we find ourselves confronting the other in us. What postcolonial literature such as *The Palace of the Peacock* point us toward is the need to rethink our approaches to issues of culture and identity in the curriculum field. Such a new approach to curricular knowledge must begin with rejecting the simplistic economy of the canon versus the Third World opposition which now dominates the debate over the issues of diversity and education reform. A new critical approach to curriculum must involve rethinking the linkages of knowledge, culture, and association among all people. It means thinking relationally and

contextually. It means bringing back into the educational discourse all the tensions and contradictions that we tend to suspend and suppress as we process experience and history into curricular knowledge. It means abandoning the auratic status of concepts such as 'culture' and 'identity' for a recognition of the vital cultural porosity that exists between and among human groups in the modern world. It means foregrounding the intellectual autonomy of students and teachers by incorporating an open mindedness and a sense of inquiry that comes from letting traditions debate with each other. In this way, we leave ourselves as open to suggestion and transformative change as the characters in Harris' *Palace* ...

NOTE

¹ It might be helpful for the reader to take a look at some of the following articles and books in which these concepts of subaltern communities are discussed. Donna Haraway 1990 discusses the concept of 'cyborg' (or the subaltern, feminist actor who attempts to build communities of resistance across 'contradictory worlds' of interests, needs, and desires). Gloria Anzaldua 1987 talks about the people who exist between the colonizer and the colonized — people, who inhabit the 'third space' or, in her language, 'inhabit both realities' of a colonizing United States and a colonized Mexico (1987:37). Gabriel Garcia Marquez's 1970 people of 'El Macondo' have to negotiate the ruptures generated in the transition from their peasant world to a highly industrialized and modernized context. And, finally, Wilson Harris's 'Mariella' is both a site of colonial domination and the site of the new identities of the emergent peoples of Guyana and the Caribbean. Mariella is the colonial/postcolonial outpost that is at the center of the narrative of *The Palace of the Peacock* 1976.

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2

IN SUCH BEGINNINGS ARE MY ENDS: DIASPORA AND LITERARY CREATIVITY

Edwin Thumboo

This chapter is an attempt to conceptualize literary creativity within a historical context. The introduction summarizes major diasporic experiences — for example, new visions, bicultural/bilingual experiences and their impact on class structure, sociocultural restructuring, and contributions to art, city planning, and architecture. These experiences are related to the spread of the English people and English as a language. The second part of the paper discusses the impact of diaspora on creativity in various types of social, cultural, and linguistic contexts. The chapter emphasizes a need for flexibility in theory and methodology of diaspora studies. In that sense, the chapter is interdisciplinary, with multi-cultural perspectives.

Introduction

When adopted widely by surrounding disciplines, labels have a way of permutating beyond the territory they were originally intended to cover. Politics and hybridity are examples. And diaspora, which according to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (vol. 6) is:

the voluntary dispersion of the Jewish people as distinct from forced dispersion ... As such, it confines itself to Jewish settlements outside Erez Israel during the periods of Jewish independence or compact settlements in their own land.

The *Judaica* goes on to say that

As early as the Hellenistic period the Sibyl could sing of the Jewish nation 'Every land is full of you, and every sea,' and in reference to the first century B.C.E., the Greek geographer Strabo declared that it was difficult to find a place in the entire world to which the Jewish nation had not penetrated.

The spread of Jews from about the exilic age differs sharply from the phenomenon covered by the current use of diaspora. Judaism was faith and way of life, as

it is with strict people of the book. The Temple in Jerusalem remained the center of a turning world. So strong was the idea of Jewishness, that they retained their religious and, therefore, essential cultural identity despite ethnic mutation.

An example of an early diaspora, but one closer to the modern experience, would be instructive: Persian-Greek contact circa 330 BC. Xenophon (430-355 BC), the Greek historian, essayist, and early pupil of Socrates, and who led the 10,000 mercenaries to safety after the battle of Cunaxa in 401 BC described in his book *Anabasis*, balanced his view of Persian weakness with an emerging ideal that included Greek elements. Here are quotes from Robin Lane Fox:

By the 330s, this theme had gained a new depth in western Asia. Local rulers liked to patronize Greek technical skill. Like their own king, they kept Greek doctors. They had Greek prophets and soothsayers, poets, artists, soldiers, and physical trainers. They had some notorious Greek mistresses. In Caria, especially, Greek language and an outline of Greek political forms had been spread by recent urbanization. Elsewhere, Greek culture was relished for being fun ... Bilingual Persians in the west were surely not uncommon. Bilingual Greeks were far rarer. (129-30)

As Fox says, the textual evidence for this situation is comparatively slight, but only when compared with the art, especially the bas-reliefs. They tell almost as much as the pharonic tombs have. So powerful, so continuous was the influence, that more than two thousand years later, the lama in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*, was deeply, specially moved by the Buddha captured in the moment of apotheosis by Greek-influenced sculpture executed some five to six hundred years after Alexander. Kipling provides a careful build-up for this, the first cross-cultural contact in the novel. In so doing, he reminds us that the figures were done 'by forgotten workmen whose hands were feeling, and not unskillfully, for the mysteriously transmitted Grecian touch.' (Said 1987)

The Lord! The Lord! It is Sakya Muni himself.' The lama half sobbed; and under his breath began the wonderful Buddhist invocation:

To Him the Way, the Law, apart,
Whom Maya held beneath her heart.
Ananda's Lord, the Bodhisat.

What probably struck the lama, as it has generations past and generations to come, is proportion and realism, brought into a single moment of style and execution, one so potent that art ceases to compete with life by becoming part of it.

The dominant figure for my purposes at this point is Alexander. Unlike other Greeks including his teacher Aristotle who, incidentally, was born Macedonian, he did not think Persians barbarians. What he did, and what he got others to do, reveals the outline of his vision. Briefly, he sought to bring two cultures, Greek and Persian, together, through inter-marriage, the study of Greek, equal opportu-

nities to the extent politically and militarily expedient, amalgamation of customs, re-organization of the royal court and army, and much else. It meant basic re-orientations in key sites of power, some of which, such as the increasing admission of Persians to positions of authority, upset a section of his Macedonian and Greek followers.

Like Achilles, Alexander had married a captive lady. But the marriage belonged with a wider theme in his politics. Sogdian nobles who had survived the reprisals were asked to leave their children in camp. At the same time orders went out for thirty thousand boys to be recruited from Iranian villages and brought up in a Greek style ... Alexander is already said to have arranged Greek lessons for the Persian queen mother and her family. He had long enjoyed the company of Barsine and Bagoas, and other bi-lingual Persians. In 328 BC, he was already looking to the next generation. (299)

This brief reference to history serves a number of purposes. History repeats itself where and when circumstances repeat themselves. So too the lessons drawn.

- *new vision — two cultures
- *long-term planning
- *top-down change
- *bi-cultural, bi-lingual program
- *revised socio-politico structure
- *class structure — creation of Greco-Persian upper-class
- *art, city planning, architecture

Here is the first planned hyphenated culture and society, a point to which I will return. These Alexanderian initiatives — the list is by no means complete — would have benefited from the tasks of educational linguistics that Braj Kachru proposed in 'The Speaking Tree: A Medium of Plural Canons', a fascinating, instructive paper he gave at the 1994 George Washington University Round Table. In his words, 'these include

- *cross-cultural discourse
- *the bilingual's creativity
- *language contact and convergence
- *language acquisition
- *intelligibility
- *lexicography
- *language, ideology, and power

There was no Kachru in his time to be guru, but Alexander may well have heard of Panini, who wrote his grammar in about the 5th century BC, and at a place close to where he had fought a battle and camped. His early death in 323 BC robbed his vision of any serious chance for success. Had it been held on course, the hyphenated society Alexander envisaged, Persian-Greek/Macedonian, Greek/Mace don-

ian-Persian, would have lost its hyphen in time with integration which does away with separations and seams. The *Peranakans* of Malaysia — Chinese who settled in the 17th century and adopted various Malay customs, and spoke a Malay-Hokkien patois while remaining essentially Chinese — are a classic example of such integration.

Given the situation and the needed response, these are the main elements involved in the dynamics, the calculus of diasporic consequences. But with a difference, namely between the spread of (i) the English as people and (ii) English as language. In the case of the first, there was identity-retention. A homogeneous group moved, lock, stock, and barrel. That diaspora was driven by voluntary exile on religious grounds, by white settlements which later turned into migration, and the founding of colonies that grew out of a desire for more trade and political and economic competition in Europe. In the first, people took their culture and operational institutions — of which language is chief — into their new environments, in America, Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. England was still the center of their world, providing intellectual, political, cultural, and other sustenance. While less tight in guarding the borders of their identity, it was comparable to the Jewish experience. But in time and for a variety of reasons, links with England, which became Great Britain in the interim with the empowerment that came from her many colonies, loosened.

What concerns us now is the diasporic spread of languages, mine with English to the non-Anglo-Saxon parts of the world. That spread deepened its roots after colonies became independent and retained English because it was already there, firmly in place, and performed a number of functions, as a bridge between different language groups, a neutral and therefore 'safe' national language, education, administration, and as an instrument for rapid modernization. Its retention at times proved controversial, as it went against nationalist sentiment, which is generally most aggressive in the period immediately after independence. Yet English remained, actively cultivated as the instrument of modernization, and the keeping up with global developments. But whatever the specific politics, its continued use was a challenge. The response depended on a number of factors, some of which will be considered shortly. They are not there in the Anglo-Saxon diaspora which, given its identity-retention, felt no tension between language and user. There was no need for a hyphen: the people were English, the language was English. There is a need for a hyphen in the case of (ii), where there is cross-cultural contact.

Theory and practice

It is prudent in these theory-driven days to start with a modest statement of purpose. Theory presupposes practice; otherwise, it ought to be hypothesis, or at least inclining to one. Practice presupposes an object upon which to operate, to establish itself, to earn credentials. The object could be particles in physics or the diffusion of cultures: it does not matter. What does matter is whether, given the

object, the practice proves appropriate. It is a question of credibility, of whether the practice is able to explain the facts. These are large, far-reaching issues, made manageable by the reductive power of generalizations, a move that risks hoisting by our own petard. Generalizations are occasionally necessary, employable, provided their limitations are kept in view, even as we take what insight, what sap, they offer to nourish idea, line of inquiry.

Generally speaking, theory in the sciences (SCS) tends to look at the present and the future. Theory in the humanities and the social sciences (HSS) tends to look at the present and the past. They both deal with facts, though differently. In SCS, facts equal knowledge; in HSS facts have to be INTERPRETED into knowledge. In SCS, theories, if proven, become a law, which often hold for a considerable time, providing common understanding, until another theory, usually the replacement for the earlier theory in the field, gets proven. Not so in HSS, where fundamental concepts, paradigms and discourse change, shift and multiply almost unceasingly. And that should be the case. They are based on the INTERPRETATION of the facts as they arise in a particular time and place, say in India at the time of partition, or Kenya between 1950 and 1975, which included the Mau Mau movement, the 'neo-colonialism' and consequent failure of the government, all of which provided Ngugi wa Thion'go with themes for his fiction and insights for his critical essays. Or the degree to which Lloyd Fernando and K. S. Maniam share a pre-occupation with certain themes in *Green Is The Colour* and *In A Far Country* respectively, yet construct their significances so differently.

The facts of — and consequently, knowledge in — SCS are universal. They are universal mainly because the facts regarding objects arrange themselves. Breaking the molecule into atoms, electrons, and protons, into ever smaller particles, some with a life of one millionth of a second, implies a descending order that is an arrangement. You could reverse that order. But the sequence of which is next to which is pretty much fixed. The same cannot be said of the HSS. In some, religion is paramount, a matter for the state; in others it is not, leaving it a matter for the individual. Genes causing this or that disease do so consistently from Kokoda to Kalamazoo. But the social consequences of the same disease — mental disorders, for example — is often perceived differently. Consequently, in SCS, the substantial discourse is substantially denotative. The objects studied do not become metaphors. Hence the notion of scientific writing. A tree is a tree is a tree: it has certain basic characteristics, such as roots, a trunk, branches and leaves. In contrast, it is only within HSS that the tree turns image, enters metaphor, and becomes symbol. It provides opportunities for analogies: family tree, the tree of life. There is interpretation, a making of meaning. Kachru's 'Speaking Tree' paper provides a good example. It opens with references to that Tree, and goes on to say that

The trunk of the English language — the Inner Circle — evokes mixed responses, as did that of the Speaking Tree, but the branches are bearing delectable fruit. The linguistic speaking tree is blooming,

for we believe it answers all questions. The questions relate to accessibility to knowledge, the questions of pragmatic functions, and those of creative functions. In short, we have a unique oracle with many faces (Kachru 1994:1).

The key word here is 'many'. For English goes to sleep and wakes up with a greater variety of peoples, climates, and histories than does any other language. Far more than all past and recent imperial languages such as Greek and Latin, Spanish and Portuguese, French, Italian, and German, put together. Here is the prime challenge of — and in — diasporic studies. What makes it international is its use by many nations for whom it is an official, main, or only language, and therefore a national language, with all that the label implies. As Kachru (1997:11) puts it:

the linguistic center of the language has already moved ... from its former major linguistic epicenter, from its traditional center of creativity, of innovations ... of authority of codification.

And now we — all of us — can use this key for crossing cultural and linguistic borders, but only if we make a distinction between English as a medium and English as a repertoire of pluralism, a repertoire of ideologies, of ways of life and living in distinctly different cultural contexts, and of thought patterns and creativities — and, indeed, of innovations which articulate various types of cross-overs: the African, the Asian, the South and North American, and the East European.

Kachru is referring to the role and the spread of English across his well known 'Three Concentric Circles of English'. The first diaspora was when English — or what became English — moved with the expansion of the English into Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. This was followed by the Anglo-Saxon diasporas that took English to America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. These constitute the norm dictating, code asserting, and canon defining INNER CIRCLE. Kachru lists examples of countries/nations in the OUTER CIRCLE and the EXPANDING CIRCLE. It is in the OUTER CIRCLE that the issues of diaspora are defined, that confrontation and adaptation between old and new users take place. The old users tend to think — and feel — that they are the permanent custodians of the language and everything linked to it. It is embedded in their culture and environment, both of which are in turn embedded in it. Languages have both diachronic and synchronic annotations. The first give it a history; the second, a contemporary flavor and relevance. English is inscribed by and with the DIACHRONIC ANNOTATIONS of her people's history, politics, sense of identity, the gifts of their temperament, genius, style, tone, tact, and the myriad elements of being and existence. It is this that gives language resonance, vitality, and connotation. There is room for origins and antecedents, for being aware of the distance evolution — linguistic, literary, scientific, and cultural, etc., — that has been traveled. So T. S. Eliot is able to relate 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' and F. R. Leavis to proclaim 'The Great Tradition'.

There is the assumption that where the language goes, its critical tradition and practice follow. To a large extent these are the cumulative responses to the literature, from the late 16th century on. The sense of the contemporary can bring together interesting bed-fellows. Eliot felt closer to John Donne than to the Victorians as a whole. Even if there is an ideological itch that needs satisfying, the changes are likely to be radical rather than revolutionary. There is something monolithic, a comforting centrality holding individual and society together. Non-conformity is a variation, not a departure, or a betrayal. There is, instead, a certain protectiveness, a considerable measure of internally generated self-approval, one especially dismissive of externally generated alternatives. For they do not accord with DIACHRONIC ANNOTATIONS.

The countries/nations in the OUTER CIRCLE have their own distinctive diachronic annotations. They are there in their languages: Sanskrit, Sinhala, Gikuyu, Bahasa Melayu, Tamil, Chinese (including the other languages, the so-called 'dialects'), Yoruba, Ilocano, Urdu, and Ewe, for example. It is enshrined in their word-games, capacity for pun, irony, and literary allusion; the traffic between metaphor and metaphor; court language. There is that creative sophistication demanded, for example, by the *kurruntokai*, whose very conventions either shackle or free, depending on whether the pressures of restrictiveness lead to inventiveness or tame conformity. Language has learnt to be lofty, far-reaching; sudden as thought; quick as feeling.

To be nativized, indigenized: that should be the fate of English in this Outer Circle, if it is to be a language in its new home in the various — and varied — parts of the world. What happens is that it first acquires synchronic annotations, through the pressures of daily use, in formal and informal occasions. It has to make its way among the other languages, each of which has been there, in occupation, for a considerable time. Their DIACHRONIC ANNOTATIONS, reflecting the history of the country/nation, have to be transferred to English if it is to have the same or comparable creative potential, if it is to function with the same creative power. This is a challenge that every writer using English in the Outer Circle has to face. The challenges vary from place to place, depending on the culture and the intellectual, linguistic and other environments, the earlier national history, the present economic strength, and the linguistic and other policies in force for national development. Below are some of the main situations, with broad indications of where there are examples.

- i) Oral societies — Africa south of the Sahara; Pacific islands
- ii) Islands —
 - a) the West Indies
 - b) Malta/Sri Lanka
 - c) Pacific — e.g., West Samoa
 - d) Singapore — artificial creation — 'three + one' major traditions: Malay-Islamic,

Indian, Chinese+ Western

(Eurasian)

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|--|
| iii) | Bilingual Sites | Camaroons; Sri Lanka |
| iv) | Multilingual Sites | a) Malaysia — indigenous population with Chinese and Indian immigrants; Singapore |
| | | b) indigenous population + large/significant Anglo-Saxon/other white population — South Africa |
| | | c) large/dominant Anglo-Saxon/other white population with significant/increasingly significant indigenous population |
| | | — America |
| | | — Australia |
| | | — New Zealand |
| | | — Canada |
| | | — South Africa |
| v) | Sub-Groups | indigenous population are affected by arrivants. |
| | | — Australia |
| | | — New Zealand |
| iv) | India — | old civilization — has seen it all; has powerful religious/philosophical traditions, classical literatures, starting with Sanskrit |
| v) | Immigrants | — Asian → American |
| | | — Euro-Asian → Australia |
| | | — Asian → Canada |
| | | — Asian → Britain |

Just to make life more interesting, what of (a) Indians and Chinese writing in all these sites? And (b) W. B. Yeats, Raja Rao, Octavia Paz and Carlos Fuentes, who are deeply immersed in their cultures, yet universalists? And (c) V. Nabakov and Muhammad Haji Salleh, who are bilingual?

Although far from complete, this listing should convince us of the necessity of adopting an approach flexible enough to recognize and give weight to variations in the literatures in English from these countries/nations. To see their national and other differences is to understand their very different needs and, therefore, their very different responses. For Derek Walcott (1972:17) and others in a similar situation:

What would deliver him from servitude was the forging of a language that went beyond mimicry, a dialect which had the force of revelation as it invented names for things, one which finally settled on its own mode of inflection, and which began to create an oral culture of

chants, jokes, folk-songs and fables; this, not merely the debt of history was his proper claim to the New World.

There was no other point of reference than the life around them. English as language was a means which, together with black skin and blue eyes, would remain anomalies until they had to name, and so create. There was no other language, one whose DIACHRONIC ANNOTATIONS could be tapped, adapted and grafted. And the synchronic annotations have to be discovered and assembled. His English had to be forged, not fine-tuned in the way that Raja Rao did it in *The Serpent and the Rope* and *Kanthapura*. In his foreword to the latter, Rao says that:

The telling has not been easy. One has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own. One has to convey the various shades and omissions of a certain thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language. I use the word 'alien', yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up — like Sanskrit or Persian was before — but not of our emotional make-up ... After language the next problem is that of style. The tempo of Indian life must be infused into our English expression, even as the tempo of American or Irish life has gone into the making of theirs. (*Kanthapura*, Orient Paperbacks, New Delhi, 1994)

The third, and last, example is from Nigeria. Oral traditions have their diachronic annotations, but differ from literate traditions in that the annotations are not traceable through the centuries. They are embedded in the synchronic, in the ever-moving contemporary energies of the tradition. Gabriel Okara is among the writers who have discussed the indigenisation of English, its re-orientation to suit the content and dynamics of a particular society and culture.

Why should I not use the poetic and beautiful, 'May we live to see ourselves tomorrow' or, 'May it dawn', instead of 'Goodnight'? If I were writing a dialogue between two friends, one about to leave after visiting the other at night, I would do it this way:
 'Are you getting up now?' said Otutu as he saw his friend heaving himself up with his two hands gripping the arms of the chair he was sitting on.
 'Yes I am about walking now. The night has gone far', Beni his friend said, for he was a very fat man.
 'May we live to see ourselves tomorrow', Otutu said after seeing his friend to the door.
 'May we live to see ourselves tomorrow', his friend also said and walked panting into the night.

What emerges from the examples I have given is that a writer can use the idioms of his own language in a way that is understandable in English. If he used their English equivalents, he would not be expressing African ideas and thoughts, but English ones.

'May it dawn for you'. Or 'May day break for you': Idiom and metaphor have their fact, in this case the point at which night yields to day. That is fact. It belongs to SCS. The meaning it is assigned by linguistic culture belongs to HSS.

Within HSS are occupations, pre-occupations, rather, which are deeply, obsessively connotative, to connote, which one dictionary, dryly defines as 'to signify secondarily'. That is the basis of difference. That is the basis of literary creativity. That is the basis of the 'Other', whose identity is often, and crucially, defined by the 'secondary'. It is the basis of what Okara rightly sees as primary. Speak that I may see thee. Large or small, gesture, idea and object in the HSS are defined, composed and maintained by the various institutions — and the values they represent — which characterize a society, a nation, giving it its identity. These are the particular versions of religion, ethics, folklore, myths, legends, history, philosophy, language, literature, the performing and visual arts, the principles and practice of politics, economics, manufacture, education, management within the social contract that prevails, and the very social contract itself. These are found in all societies. As nouns, their values are universal. All societies believe in faith and charity. They are universal. But nouns do not shape life and contacts. Only verbs do. Abstractions versus actuality. It is in the doing that values are revealed, made manifest, promoted, transmitted. They may overlap. But it is in the verbs of each society that their content and traditions are shaped uniquely to fit that society. As Okara says, 'For, from a word, a group of words, a sentence and even a name in any African language, one can glean the social norms, attitudes and values of a people' (Okara, in Killam 1973:137).

This leads to the hyphen of cross-cultural contact. SCS is intrinsically value-free. It is neither good nor bad, but only usage makes it so. HSS, on the other hand, is value-loaded. SCS is **HARD KNOWLEDGE**. Its processes can be repeated. Its content has general acceptance. When that is replaced by new discoveries, the replacement receives the same general acceptance. Moreover, the language used to describe this content is stable, universally understood, and understood in the same way.

In contrast, HSS, whose facts need to be **INTERPRETED** before turning knowledge, is **SOFT KNOWLEDGE**. Nations want as much as they can get of SCS from any source; at the same time, they want to preserve their own HSS — content, institutions, ways and means, relying on their internal dynamics to shift and censor foreign influences, especially those thought radically undermining.

In such circumstances, the interpreter, who has an agenda shaped by his or her history as a member of a particular profession, society, and nation, all of which have vested, permanent interests, is of particular importance. Hence, the Mau Mau national movement or rebellion; the Indian Mutiny or national movement; these core, permanent interests must vary, and vary enormously at times, given the political, economic, technological, social, and other realities distinguishing nations. A few familiar labels do the work of reminding: First, Second, and Third Worlds; developed, developing, and under-developed nations; North/South. What is sauce

for the goose is NOT sauce for the gander. This must be stressed. For, as we have noted — all too briefly — there is a history behind the fact of nations using the same international language.

That history, if it is to be seen steadily and whole — if its impact on life, and therefore experience, on the material that shapes us, our outlook, etc., must be understood in specific terms of the country/nation AND the individual. As an historical phenomenon, diaspora deals with large movements, with generalizations — which I have myself resorted to — while the literature, in the final analysis, is the product of individuals. What can directly help advance the subject are studies of major and significant writers, and themes. The need for an essential flexibility, suggests that the spirit and methods of comparative literature should prove most rewarding, especially if it taps the insights of linguistic studies of the kind pioneered by Professor Kachru. It will help us discover hyphens, and help chart the content of each half, and how they relate, and the possible direction they are taking. Complexities and differences should be seen and understood for what they are, and not leveled by generalizations or the limits imposed by inadequate or inappropriate concepts and terminology. After all, we will be dealing with literatures using varieties of one language, each inhabiting and thriving in its own culture and environment, all adding to the challenge and richness of the coming millennium.

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3

NOT WAVING BUT DROWNING: CREATIVITY AND IDENTITY IN DIASPORA WRITING

Shirley Lim

The essay argues against triumphal readings of 'diaspora' creative writing established upon theories that understand diasporic identities as dispersed cultural unitariness. Instead, through a reading of John Okada's novel *No-No Boy*, the essay examines a different, more troubled representation of the relationship between an 'original' or diasporic Japanese identity and a present national 'American' identity. Ideals of essentialized cultural beings connected to territorial place come to crisis when time and space shifts dislocate subjects. Asian American literary works offer opportunities for studying such subjects in crisis.

Nobody heard him, the dead man,
But still he lay moaning:
I was much further out than you thought
And not waving but drowning.

Poor chap, he always loved larking
And now he's dead.
It must have been too cold for him his heart gave way,
They said.

Oh, no no no it was too cold always
(Still the dead one lay moaning)
I was much too far out all my life
And not waving but drowning (Smith 1988:67).

Introduction

Casting about for a title for a paper on diaspora and creative writing, I could think only of Stevie Smith's famous poem, *Not waving but drowning*. 'Oh no', my husband groaned when I admitted this to him, 'there are dozens of papers already out with this title'. In short, I was forewarned, I had stumbled upon a critical cli-

ché. Perhaps that is the lesson to be drawn from my insistence on the title as the unavoidable trope for a mediation on diasporic creative writing: What can be said about such creative writing that is not already a cliché?

In the last fifteen years or so, a number of theoretical and critical works have appeared on what is becoming generally categorized as 'diaspora' writing. While it is well-known that the term 'diaspora' was first used for the dispersion of the Jews from Israel, and has primary reference to the maintenance of Jewish religious and cultural identity across temporal and territorial distances (see Chapter 2), the term has taken on a larger generic function, to signify any community of people coming originally from one political territory and settling down in another. Diasporic literature, or writing produced by Iranians living in London, Palestinians resident in Chicago, or Chinese exiled in New York, for example, has significant varying meanings from related terms such as immigrant, émigré, refugee, settler, or expatriate writing, although these terms are often used interchangeably, and may also be confused or fused with the senses of transnational, cross-cultural, postnational, cosmopolitan, metropolitan, and travel, encounter, or contact literature. James Clifford offers an exhaustive discussion of these various meanings:

An unruly crowd of descriptive/interpretive terms now jostle and converse in an effort to characterize the contact zones of nations, cultures, and regions: terms such as *border*, *travel*, *creolization*, *transculturation*, *hybridity*, and *diaspora* (as well as the looser *diasporic*) (Clifford 1994:303).

For Clifford, citing Khachig Tololian:

the term that once described Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain ... [which] is the domain of shared and discrepant meanings, adjacent maps and histories, that we need to sort out and specify as we work our way into a comparative, intercultural studies (Clifford 1994:303).

According to Clifford, diaspora is distinguished from, if not in opposition to, 'the old localizing strategies — by bounded *community*, by organic *culture*, by *region*, by *center* and *periphery*' (Clifford 1994:303). Like Roger Rouse 1995, he sees 'transnational migrant circuits' as exemplifying 'the kinds of complex cultural formations that current anthropology and intercultural studies describe and theorize' (Clifford 1994:303); and diasporic literature as constituting and evidentiary of 'diaspora discourses' that 'represent experiences of displacement, of constructing homes away from homes' (Clifford 1994:302).

For this topic, I could engage, cultural studies-wise, with issues of a Malaysian-Singapore diaspora as constituted through creative work, seen in Chinese Malaysian writers who left for Australia in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, such as the playwright Lee Joo For, the poet Ee Tiang Hong, and the novelist Beth Yap.

Or I could consider the Chinese Malaysian/Singapore women poets, Wong May, Hillary Tham, and me, who came to the United States in the 1960s and

1970s. Examining the work of Malaysian-Singapore-born creative writers who left for two different versions of the West, Australia, and the United States, I could arrive at a number of interpretations concerning the experience of nativization or deracination, of departure, relocation, or removal, and of arrival, contact, memory, nostalgia, identity devolution or involution, of identificatory or alienating formations, dis-identification or dis-alienating disavowals, and so forth.

My paper picks up, instead, one thread in the many braided conceptualizations of the term; that is, the theoretical identification of individuals and groups with fixed, totalizing, original identities. As Clifford notes in an ironically oxymoronic subtitle, *Diaspora's Borders*, 'Diasporas are caught up with and defined against 1) the norms of nation-states and 2) indigenous, and especially autochthonous claims by "tribal" peoples' (Clifford 1994:303). These diasporic identities have also taken on quite dizzying collective shadings. Hence, not simply a Nigerian diaspora but an African diaspora; not an Irish diaspora, but a European diaspora; not a Chinese-Malaysian, but an Asian diaspora. The many and profound differences and complexities among individuals or micro-groups traversing political boundaries in response to very different causes — calamities, social-economic forces, plain idiosyncratic dissatisfactions in some particular location, and desires for change — are elided in the category of diaspora; a categorization whose reference to single collective identities may in fact have been the totality refused by the diasporic individual in the first place. I argue that while clear, fixed, bounded identities may help in the mapping of large social movements, poets and fictionists contend against these abstract social theories in the very particularity, concretion, and specificity of their themes, styles, and addresses. Creativity and diasporic identity, as twentieth-century Western concepts, are in epistemological tension with each other, the first viewed as fundamentally related to a subject's agency, activated against restrictive and prescriptive forces of totalitarianism that assume fixity, essence, primacy, original order, and purity; and the other, a collective social construction received and augmented by critics and readers, shaping through the force of reception, and itself shaped by individual authors.

Constructing identities

These antinomies, whose identities I am constructing in antipathetic relation to each other, shape a disabling theoretical model. In my recent readings across the United States, I have been approached by first-generation immigrants from Asian nations who have read my memoir, *Among the White Moon Faces* (Lim 1996), as a model of a shared narrative of creative writing imperiled in a diasporic space. Some pressed on me their self-published chapbooks or their poems. The few who have had poems published in U.S. magazines tell me of the gap between their identities and that of mainstream America; rather, the gap within their identities produced by the absence of an audience for their work in mainstream America.

These writers have not yet gained an audience in the U.S., and even those who do publish, caught in the split between Asia and America, leave hardly a

trace on the critical horizon. In the late twentieth century, such diasporic writers appear to exemplify the burden of double-consciousness, which W. E. B. Du Bois in *The Souls of Black Folk* had theorized as the condition of the American Negro:

born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world. — a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only let him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others . . . One ever feels his twoness, — an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder (Du Bois 1957:45).

In contrast to Du Bois's argument on the disabling nature of such double-consciousness, some critics of Asian-American writing call attention to the increasing double notice received by Asian-American writers. Read as both ethnic American and diasporic Asian writers, such double-conscious reception arguably operates less to disadvantage their reception than to ensure a double, if not a multiple reception. A major part of this literature is being written by green-card holders (permanent residents), new immigrants, or children of first-generation Americans; and increasingly, studies of their works focus on the manifold relations of the identities of the authors to the texts' variously different audiences. The Philippines-born novelists Bienvenido Santos, N. V. M. Gonzalez, and Jessica Hagedorn, the Burmese-born novelist Wendy Law-Yone, the Indonesian-born poet Li-Young Lee, Malaysian-born authors like me, the Korean-born poets such as Theresa Cha and Myung Mi Kim, the South Asian-born writers Bharati Mukherjee, Bapsi Sidwa, Vikram Seth, and so forth, are received as Asian-American and also as diasporic writers who must be read in a non-US-nation-bound context.

Reviewers and critics are increasingly announcing the emergent presence of Asian-American literature in the U.S. Harold Bloom sees the turn in U.S. culture toward an Asian-American literary ascendancy:

the life of the mind and spirit in the United States will be dominated by Asian-Americans in the opening decades of the twenty first century. The intellectuals — the women and men of literature and the other arts, of science and scholarship, and of the learned professions — are emerging from the various Asian-American peoples (Bloom 1997:xv).

Time and *Newsweek*, *The Los Angeles Times* and *The New York Times* have proclaimed the success of Asian-American literature in mainstream American publishing. Janice C. Simpson, writing in *Time*, attributed the 'enthusiasm among publishers for Asian-American writing ... to the growth of the country's Asian population, which nearly doubled, from 3.5 million to 6.9 million, over the past decade' (Simpson 1991:66). Like the observer in Smith's poem, Harold Bloom, on the American shore, views the diasporic Asian-American writer in the act of writ-

ing as waving; a gesture interpreted not simply as one of survival but of triumphant individual mastery of the oceanic space of the American literary nation.

I offer a different interpretation of that act of writing/waving, in reading that act as a typology of aesthetics. If aesthetics is defined as what moves us, the reader/viewer, then we might be able to imagine a viewer like Bloom, whose gaze on the diasporic writer is a form of objectification; the waving is enjoyed or consumed through the 'scopic' desire of the casual passer-by who wishes to have his notion of happy security confirmed. The ignorant watcher from the safety of the shore speculates on, or interprets, the swimmer's gesture as that of waving, sharing a moment of enjoyment of communication, from the ocean to the shore, from the swimmer out at sea to the shore-grounded viewer, reading the swimmer/writer as agent, and his act of swimming/writing as a sign of active progressiveness; a communication of his playful mastery of the ocean. But this is the view from the outside. Stevie Smith's poem (Smith 1988:57) reinstates the knowing ironic point of view of the swimmer. The pathos of the reversal — not swimming but drowning — is framed by the temporal and spatial distance between viewer and swimmer; reader and writer. The swimmer speaks now from a different present — the present of his death. The communication was not one of existence but of dying. The swimmer is viewing the shore-grounded spectator as much as he is being viewed. From his perilous position of drowning he interjects his denial of the reader's misreading. The passer-by and the swimmer view each other across the distance between safety and danger, stable ground and unstable water. The poem offers no holistic vision; both views are partial and fragmented; the communication and the interpretation do not cohere or signify. The final condition is that of the necropolis, the condition of death, and the poet/speaker/swimmer speaks as a dead man, from the domain of what is already dead.

Diasporic creativity

My meditations on diasporic creativity take up this challenge of speaking from the necropolis of diasporic identity, in the place of a speaker from the dead whose creativity expresses the conditions of danger, detachment from a secure shore, fear of loss, and dying, which I argue are the major subjects of the diasporic imagination, in contrast to the subjects of the immigrant imagination that encompass new life, settlement, strenuous adaptation, and attachment to a new land. I wish to defamiliarize the idealized condition of separation from an original natal *familias, communitas*, and territory, to examine the constructions of nostalgia skeptically; to force, as it were, a literal accounting of the relation between creativity and diaspora. For Michel Foucault, history is meaningless 'if one means by that writing a history of the past in terms of the present' (Foucault 1979:31). I assume that Foucault is critiquing a presentist approach to history; urging that history is to be abrogated when the past is to be understood only in present terms. Instead, Foucault argues for an interest in history 'if one means writing the history of the present' (Foucault 1979:31); that is, history is significant when it leads to an understanding of why, how, and where we are in the present; what it signi-

fies to be caught in present institutions, present ideas, and present conundrums. Taking Foucault's distinction of two types of history, one to be explained by present ideology and the other to explain present ideology, I argue that the creative writer who persists in writing, for example, from within an Asian diaspora lacks the tools and resources that are available only from a history of the present, that is, a history of America. Writing with another identity, from another past than the American past in which she is contingently juxtaposed, she cannot appeal to the history of that contingent American present, unless she gives up her diasporic history. The two histories — Asian history and present American history — are radically and politically differentiated, if not epistemologically incommensurable.

Further, I argue, the flexible and comprehensive categories popularized today, categories such as transnational, multicultural, and binational, undermine the fixity of diasporic identity, for they instate notions of dynamic process, change, movement, multiplicity, and so forth that are missing in the freezing of identity as dispersed unitariness. I may go so far as to interrogate the very definition of 'diaspora', if within this category we are going to include immigrants, nationals, and citizens whose very political subjectivities have been formed within a non-diasporic territory, and I wish to trouble the apparent ease with which the modifier 'diasporic' is now attached to broad swathes of creative writing by turning first to Japanese-American literature and thence, very briefly, to my own work.

In John Okada's 1957 novel *No-No Boy*, the author-narrator opens the work with a preface that marks the troubled sign of the diasporic. The dropping of 'Japanese bombs' (Okada 1957:vii) on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, what President Franklin Delano Roosevelt called 'a day of infamy', also ruptured the uninterrogated boundary between diasporic Japanese and non-diasporic Japanese-American. As the preface describes it:

The indignation, the hatred, the patriotism of the American people shifted into full-throated condemnation of the Japanese who blotted their land. The Japanese who were born Americans and remained Japanese because biology does not know the meaning of patriotism no longer worried about whether they were Japanese-Americans or American-Japanese. They were Japanese, just as were their Japanese mothers and Japanese fathers and Japanese brothers and sisters. The radio had said as much (Okada 1957:x-xi).

In the space of a few paragraphs, Okada maps out the trajectory of a diasporic Japanese community in the United States in 1941, a trajectory made tragic by the increasing obliteration of emergent identities that fall outside the polarities of American and Japanese nations. The first subset of the Japanese-American community to be removed is composed of 'real Japanese-Japanese', that is, Japanese nationals temporarily abroad on errands of diplomacy, business, and academia:

First, the real Japanese-Japanese were rounded up. These real Japanese-Japanese were Japanese nationals who had the misfortune to be

diplomats and business-men and visiting professors. They were put on a boat and sent back to Japan.

The second, less clearly marked, are 'the alien Japanese', the non-citizens who, despite decades in the U.S., are 'found to be too actively Japanese':

Then the alien Japanese, the ones who had been in America for two, three, or even four decades, were screened, and those found to be too actively Japanese were transported to the hinterlands and put in a camp (Okada 1957:xi).

Finally, 112,000 Japanese-Americans, about two-thirds of whom are American citizens by right of their birth in the country, are sent to remote internment camps in the West and Mid-West:

By now, the snowball was big enough to wipe out the rising sun. The big rising sun would take a little more time, but the little rising sun which was the Japanese in countless Japanese communities in the coastal states of Washington, Oregon, and California presented no problem (Okada 1957:xi).

The snowball serves as an effective metaphor for American war hysteria and hostility; white, cold, and 'big enough' to destroy the diasporic Japanese community, 'the little rising sun', on the West Coast.

Okada does not tell the reader — although, publishing the novel in 1957, he must have assumed that at least his Japanese-American readers knew — that the right of naturalization and a small immigration quota were granted to Japanese immigrants only in 1952 (under one clause of the McCarran-Walter Act); and that California's alien land laws were repealed only in 1956. The identity of 'the alien Japanese', the preface suggests, is open to subjective interpretation. Who screens this identity; and who has the power to decide if a subject is 'too actively Japanese'? What surveillance and policing mechanisms operate to arrive at such crucial distinctions and discriminations?

The passage explicates the relentless course of such mechanisms:

The security screen was sifted once more and, this time, the lesser lights were similarly plucked and deposited. ... The whisking and transporting of Japanese and the construction of camps with barbed wire and ominous towers supporting fully armed soldiers in places like Idaho and Wyoming and Arizona, places which even Hollywood scorned for background, had become skills which demanded the utmost of America's great organizing ability (Okada 1957:x).

The Japanese-American subject enters this discourse unambiguously only in his capacity as 'an American soldier' (Okada 1957:x), but it is an identity that is integrally confused with a different natal identity: 'the Japanese-American' has 'folks [who] were still Japanese-Japanese, or else they would not be in a camp with barbed wire and watchtowers with soldiers holding rifles' (Okada 1957:x).

Okada's preface is historically ironic, for the Japanese-Japanese identity of Issei parents of Nisei or American-born Japanese-Americans was constructed through the white-only naturalization laws of the U.S. That is, their alienness was a construction of a racist state-apparatus whose maintenance of identity boundaries served the political and economic purposes of a ruling group. Moreover, the passage is heavily sarcastic, for the phrase 'or else they would not be in a camp' repeats the canard of alien identity for the more than 112,000 who were interned in the camps. The internment of U.S. citizens, although sparked by war and race hysteria, could only have been carried out through exploiting the conceptual confusion inherent in the construction of a diasporic identity.

No-No Boy focuses on American injustice in its incarceration of Japanese-Americans from 1942 to 1945; but more, it focuses on the internal struggles within this community between a diasporic Japanese and a Japanese-American identity. True, the struggles arose out of, and were exacerbated by, white American racism and by the racist pressures for Americans of Japanese descent to demonstrate their assimilation into U.S. citizenship; but the novel constructs the conflict, the bitterness, violence, and divisiveness brought about in the community by the struggle between the two different identities as partly self-generated and self-dividing.

Arriving home to his Japanese-American community in Seattle after serving a prison sentence for refusing the draft during the war, Ichiro Yamada is traumatized by feelings of guilt and unworthiness. He has accepted the verdict that his refusal to be drafted is a sign of his lack of patriotism — that is, lack of love for America, and hence of 'Americanness'. He worries obsessively over his failure to prove himself an American:

Why is it that I am unable to convince myself that I am no different from any other American? Why is it that, in my freedom, I feel more imprisoned in the wrongness of myself and the thing I did than when I was in prison? Am I really never to know again what it is to be American? ... There is no retribution for one who is guilty of treason, and that is what I am guilty of (Okada 1957:82).

The post-internment Japanese-American enclave is imagined solely through this conflictual paradigm; characters are screened as either 'too actively Japanese' or coming to another identity in which 'Japanese-ness' is assimilated or lost to an American identity-formation.

The novel defamiliarizes the diasporic Japanese figure through the eyes of a viewer who is both an insider and outsider in this community. Moreover, it sites the crisis in Japanese-American identity-formation on a gendered masculine subjectivity. To become American is also successfully to achieve manhood through coeval bonds with other men. Ichiro, as protagonist, third-person point-of-view, and narrator, is the consciousness through which the reader screens the other characters for signs of identity as American or Japanese. Himself divided between American and Japanese, Ichiro constructs himself and is constructed by others as

a traitorous, un-American coward. He despises his initial act of refusal of American-identity-formation, the draft into the U.S. military, and he sets up Kenji, the Japanese-American veteran, wounded in the war, whose gangrenous leg condemns him to a lingering death in peacetime, as the counter-hero to his own narrative of failure to qualify as an American. Kenji's voluntary act of military service confirms and categorizes his otherwise unstable confused identity as American and as male:

It was because he was Japanese that the son had come to his Japanese father and simply state that he had decided to volunteer for the army instead of being able to wait until such time as the army called him. It was because he was Japanese and, at the same time, had to prove to the world that he was not Japanese that the turmoil was in his soul and urged him to enlist. There was confusion, but underneath it, a conviction that he loved America and would fight and die for it because he did not wish to live anyplace else (Okada 1957:121).

The diasporic Japanese identity has to be disavowed in order for the avowal of an American soldier-citizen to emerge. That moment of crisis in U.S. history engages the issue of national subject-formation in a crass dualism that today — in a moment of peacetime between Japan and the U.S. — would be viewed as theoretically inadequate.

Okada, through the hyper-sensitized consciousness of a subject who plays and replays the dilemma of diasporic Japanese versus U.S. national identity formation, displays little sympathy for the diasporic imagination. Ichiro instead searches for his place in America in the everyday practices of American life:

In time, he thought, in time there will again be a place for me. I will buy a home and love my family and I will walk down the street holding my son's hand and people will stop and talk with us about the weather and the ball games and the elections (Okada 1957:52).

Home, family, son, weather, ball games, elections. These are the icons of American space — beginning with family but culminating in communal, social and institutional practices, with the right to vote in elections as the chief identity marker of the American national.

This novel has usually been read as an indictment of American racism toward those of non-European origins, and some passages strongly suggest that it is the context of white racism that sets the frame for Ichiro's agonistic return to his community. In pondering the symbol of the slide rule, a signifier for the leveling power of technological learning in the U.S., Ichiro recalls his younger days as an engineering student. But he also recognizes that the power symbolized by 'the slide rule ... which hung from his belt like the sword of learning' (Okada 1957:53) was inadequate in the face of American anti-Japanese war hysteria, for 'being American is a terribly incomplete thing if one's face is not white and one's parents are Japanese of the country Japan which attacked America. It is like be-

ing pulled asunder by a whirling tornado and one does not think of a slide rule although that may be the thing which will save one' (Okada 1957:54).

The slide rule, imaged as the phallic 'white sword', is later re-figured as the emblematic white father in the character of Mr. Carrick, who offers Ichiro a position in his company despite Ichiro's status as an ex-prisoner jailed for refusing the draft. In contrast to this promise of redemption through the forgiving white American father, Ichiro's mother is associated with the destructive energy of the tornado and viewed as the maternal force that pulls his fragile American identity asunder. Okada imagines Ma as a conventional type of diasporic character: 'a Japanese who breathed the air of America and yet had never lifted a foot from the land that was Japan' (Okada 1957:11). From the moment of Ichiro's reunion with Ma, the fiction makes it clear that Ma is what Ichiro's trouble is: 'the way he felt, stripped of dignity, respect, purpose, honor, all the things which added up to schooling and marriage and family and work and happiness. [His fate] was to please her' (Okada 1957:12). Ichiro views his mother as 'the rock ... determined, fanatical ... until there is nothing left to call one's self', and he lays the responsibility for his refusal to serve on her: 'It was she who opened my mouth and made my lips move to sound the words which got me two years in prison' (Okada 1957:12).

According to the anthropologist Sylvia Yanagisako, traditional Issei society attempted to replicate the separate spheres of gender roles that had been held up as the model for social organization in Meiji Japan (Yanagisako 1985:29). In the division of the domestic from the public or political life, the name for the wife is *uchi no koto*, that is, 'inside of things'. Ichiro, as the first son, is also the *chonon*, the one who bears the responsibility for filial duty to his parents. The novel, however, consistently represents the mother as transgressing all the social roles of the patriarchal-ruled woman. An angular and breastless female (see Okada 1957:10, 20), she works in the store, walks for miles to shop for cheaper bread, and dominates her husband and sons. In contrast, Pa is round, soft, giggly, and passive; he stays indoors and cooks for Ichiro (Okada 1957:6-7, 115-6).

More significant than this gender role reversal, in Ma's diasporic vision, the place of origin, Japan, is the central teleological referent. Although the U.S. has won the Pacific War, she continues to believe that Ichiro's future lies in a victorious Japan, and urges him to go back to school because then 'your opportunities in Japan will be unlimited' (Okada 1957:13). Ma's conviction that '[t]he boat is coming and we must be ready' (Okada 1957:13) is the faith of the diasporic subject whose gaze toward the return is forward backward. In Ma's case, this diasporic gaze is phantasmagoric, delusional, psychogenic, and characteristic of the imagination associated with the diasporic subject: 'The day of glory is at hand ... What we have done, we have done only as Japanese ... Hold your heads high and make ready for the journey, for the ships are coming' (Okada 1957:14).

Ma is crazy precisely because her imagination is diasporic, despite the material history in which she is embedded. The history of her present is the history of

U.S. resettlement, of American victoriousness, and Japanese marginality, but the diasporic imagination lives in the history of another past, of Japanese settlement, ascendancy, and centrality. For Ichiro, his childhood lay in diaspora formation: 'it was all right then to be Japanese ... even if we lived in America' (Okada 1957:15). His legal status as an American-born citizen, however, does not confer on him the metaphysical condition of American-ness: 'it is not enough to be only half an American and know that it is an empty half' (Okada 1957:16). In his divided struggle between a Japanese identity, which his mother has shaped for him from birth, and a social identity as American, which is achieved through living and acculturation in America, Ichiro's dilemma illustrates the impossibility of second-generation diasporic imagination. In the novel's narrative of American identity formation, American-ness is a sacred quality to be achieved teleologically, through a sacrification of America as the idealized subject. In Kenji's father, Mr. Kanno, the novel imagines the successful transformation of the diasporic subject into the American national:

He had long forgotten when it was that he had discarded the notion of a return to Japan but remembered only that it is was [sic] the time when this country which he had no intention of loving had suddenly begun to become a part of him because it was a part of his children and he saw and felt in their speech and joys and sorrows and hopes that he was a part of them. And in the dying of the foolish dreams which he had brought to America, the richness of the life that was possible in this foreign country destroyed the longing for a past that really must not have been as precious as he imagined or else he would surely not have left it (Okada 1957:123).

The error in the inclusion of both present and past tense in the passage ('it is was the time') underlines the tentative and contingent nature of this project of subject-transformation. Unlike Ma's intransigent and essentialist-nationalist subjectivity, Kenji's father displays the flexible and de-essentialized structure of American citizenship in a more pluralistic ideology of the nation. Kenji's heroic military service is endowed by the sacrifice of an original Japanese identity, while Ichiro's refusal of the draft has branded him as 'no-no boy', a failed male and citizen, released from prison and shunned both by white America and by other Japanese-American men who had claimed their American identity through military service.

Approach to diasporic identities

Floya Anthias 1998 argues that the approach to diasporic identity overlaps with that of ethnic identity in that both depend on a notion of deterritorialized ethnicity with the primordial bonds of homeland as a central referent. As an emergent 'American' subject, Ichiro finds Ma's insistence on his diasporic Japanese identity a hateful obscenity and lunacy. But Ma sees Ichiro's rejection as endangering the authenticity of the diasporic Japanese self which she is struggling to preserve. Their two struggles are not along the same plane. One can see in Ma a nar-

cissistic quest to affirm the superiority of an original national self. Ma exhibits the narcissism of a 'homelander' nationalist. Her reified Japanese nationalism engulfs her husband and sons, who are viewed as extensions of her national self. Their refusal in this construction finally brings her to the inevitable acknowledgment of the delusionary in her diasporic identity, and hence to her psychological breakdown resulting in her suicide when she drowns herself in the bathroom.

Ichiro's struggle is two-fold. Asian-American critics usually construe the narrative as voicing an oppositional struggle against racism in America, whether enacted by whites, blacks, Chinese or Japanese-Americans. But on the narrative level it foregrounds chiefly a narcissistic struggle for the survival of an American self against the claims of a diasporic superior Japanese identity and culture, figured in Ma's character. If we read the position of a diasporic Japanese subject in the U.S. in the 1920s, 30s, and 40s as doubly problematic, as in-between Japanese and U.S. imperialisms, both Ma's and Ichiro's psychological dilemmas can be said 'to articulate the problems of narcissistic value-production within — rather than in negligence of — the larger context of cultural imperialism', as Rey Chow 1993 notes of diasporic Chinese intellectuals in the West. To Ma, Ichiro's status as her son confers on him a central Japaneseness. When she brings him to visit the Kumasaka family, it is in order to contrast the Kumasaka's loss of their son Bobbie, an American soldier killed by German fire, with Ichiro, the Japanese son, released from an American prison. Ma says to Mrs. Kumasaka, 'If he [Ichiro] had given his life for Japan, I could not be prouder' (Okada 1957:27), setting into contrast her diasporic Japanese nationalism against the Kumasakas' acculturated immigrant Americanness. As if bonded by Bobbie's sacrifice to America, Mr. Kumasaka tells Ichiro that he and his wife, 'finally decided that America is not so bad. We like it here' (Okada 1957:27).

Ichiro initially sees his mother's resistance to American acculturation as a stubborn strength, but his father understands it as a 'sickness' (Okada 1957:37). Diasporic identity, essentialized and paralyzed in an Imaginary located in a past that forms an absent present, is an abstraction that is removed further and further from the material world of the real. The focus on an authentic origin threatens the subject at the place of arrival; and the mystique of pure origin evacuates the mysterious destined present, robbing the subject of agency and self. It is Ichiro the son who passes this judgment on Ma:

Dead ... all dead. For me, you have been dead a long time, as long as I can remember. You ... tried to make us conform to a mold which never existed for us, because we never knew of it, were never alive for us in the way that other sons and daughters know and feel and see their parents. But you have made so many mistakes. It was a mistake to have ever left Japan. It was a mistake to leave Japan and to come to America and to have two sons and it was a mistake to think that you could keep us completely Japanese in a country such as America (Okada 1957: 186).

The repeated words and syntax, 'mistake ... it was a mistake', hammers the lesson home. Ichiro instructs the mother's spirit, 'Go back quickly. Go to the Japan that you so long remembered and loved' (Okada 1957:186). But for the American-born son, reconciliation between a diasporic origin and an American place is impossible: 'Had you lived another ten years or even twenty ... my hatred for you would have grown' (Okada 1957:187). For the Yamada father and son, the diasporic maternal figure, whose message is not of waving but drowning, is a hateful spirit, to be exorcised.

Released from the marriage, the father is able to emerge into a communal space: 'drunk with the renewal of countless friendships ... Women were constantly hovering over the stove, cooking meals for the bereaved' (Okada 1957:192). For Pa, the fantasy of Japan as homeland dissipates, and he can begin to 'live in the real world ... live naturally' (Okada 1957:212). But the death of the diasporic mother does not result in any satisfactory narrative resolution for the son. When he goes with Emi to dance at a roadhouse the night after the funeral, and when he looks for work at the 'Christian Rehabilitation Center' the next day, Ichiro is attempting to recover a normative notion of a real and natural world. Freddie, however, serves here as Ichiro's double, as a figure of male trouble. The Nisei males' history of internment and military service, the concluding chapter suggests, makes Americans out of diasporic Japanese, but it makes these identities through hatred, self-hatred, pain, and violence. Like Ichiro at the beginning of the novel before Kenji has helped him come to terms with his confused American identity, Freddie is viewed as hating 'the complex jungle of unreasoning that had twisted a life-giving yes into an empty no, blindly [seeking] relief in total, hateful rejection of self and family and society' (Okada 1957:241-2). The 'yes' to the draft is the affirmative to a virile masculinity; the 'no' places both masculinity and American identity in crisis. The fight between Bull and Freddie and Freddie's violent death are the cathartic agents to Ichiro's development. His tenderness is reserved not for Ma or Emi but for Bull, the Nisei veteran; the male diasporic subject resolves his crisis of American manhood through homosocial bonding rather than through maternal birthing:

Ichiro put a hand on Bull's shoulder, sharing the empty sorrow in the hulking body, feeling the terrible loneliness ... He gave the shoulder a tender squeeze, patted the head once tenderly (Okada 1957:250).

Four decades later, Rey Chow 1993, in *Writing Diaspora*, offers a different interpretation of the diasporic Chinese intellectual. Loosening the reified space of diasporic origin and teasing apart the elements that had structured diasporic identity in a polarized duality of origin/destination, Chow argues

'being Chinese' as a cultural identity ... can no longer be confined to national boundaries alone ... the Chinese population in Diaspora whose claims to cultural identity are rooted in 'being Chinese' are the ones who must consolidate the groundwork for future change. Future change as such is, of course, imaginary. Its possibility is that of provid-

ing an alternative to what is currently being severely dismantled and demolished (Chow 1993:92).

Chow cautions that 'the clinging to an unquestioned ideal of being "Chinese", together with its hierarchized ways of thinking about the rest of the world, ought to be the first to be removed' (Chow 1993:93). That is, there is no place for a formation like Ma's national-Japanese-in-diaspora in postmodern diaspora identity. Rather, Chow places her hope precisely in the recognition that:

The imposed exile from China, to which many now cannot return, effects a discontinuity, a rupture, which may in due course give rise to the emergence of a critical mass. This critical mass will address 'China' without the privilege of the land. The denial of the illusion of one's existence on 'Chinese soil' may in due course force Chinese intellectuals to use the rhetoric of patriotism and nationalism differently ... For Chinese intellectuals to deal with contemporary Chinese history as the specific constitution of a people's democratic struggle, it will become increasingly necessary to move outside 'Chinese' territory, geographical and cultural ... It is at the same time a self-conscious moving into the global space in which discursive plurality inevitably modifies and defines cultural identity rather than the other way around (Chow 1993:95).

In place of Ma, crazed by the disconnection in her illusion of Japanese identity on American territory, Chow constructs an identity of self-reflexive unsentimental post-Tiananmen-Square Chinese diaspora intellectuals whose occupation of 'global space' turns them into 'a privileged class vis-à-vis the women in China' (Chow 1993:109).

The postmodern intellectual class of late twentieth-century Asian diaspora is, of course, radically different from the early twentieth-century Asian diaspora working class, and the creative imaginations expressed in their figures are inevitably set apart. However, if we agree with Chow that the 'diasporic postcolonial space' that we academics speak from today is 'neither the space of the native intellectual protesting against the intrusive presence of foreign imperialists in the indigenous territory nor the space of the postcolonial critic working against the lasting effects of cultural domination in the home country' (Chow 1993:171), then what would we foreground as the theoretical unity for such a diasporic identity? I contend that the diasporic identity that we postcolonial critics and writers play with resembles more and more the dead space of illusionary identity that Okada had imagined in the denatured, degendered figure of the mad mother whose diasporic vision finally drowns her.

Conclusion

Yes, there are practices for the creative writer in diaspora. My presentation so far has sought to suggest that some kinds of creativity in diaspora share the desperate or isolated or already historically irrelevant qualities of subjects entering their

deaths. What may emerge from the death of the diasporic subject is the question that now seizes my imagination. Two poems, both grounded in forms of dying, in my recently published collection of poems, *What the Fortune Teller Didn't Say*, (Lim 1998) gesture toward the shapes of backward/diaspora-generation/Asian and forward/second-generation/American identity-formations that I have been mapping in this essay. The first, which opens the collection, looks back toward the mother as the sign of Asian origin; the second, in the last section of the collection, looks to the son as the sign of American destination.

1. *What the fortune teller didn't say* (Lim 1998:3-4)

When the old man and his crow
 picked the long folded parchment
 to tell my fortune at five,
 they never told about leaving,
 the burning tarmac and giant wheels.
 Or arriving — why immigrants
 fear the malice of citizens
 and dull shutterings of those
 who hate you whatever you do.

My mother did not grip my hand
 more possessively.

Did I cry and was it corn
 ice-cream she fed me because
 the bird foretold a husband?
 Wedded to unhappiness,
 she knew I would make it,
 meaning money, a Mercedes,
 and men. She saw them shining
 in the tropical mildew
 that greened the corner alley
 where the blind man and his
 molting crow squatted
 promising my five-year-old hand
 this future. Of large faith
 she thrust a practical note
 into the bamboo container,
 a shiny brown cylinder
 I wanted for myself, for
 a cage for field crickets.

With this fortune my mother bought,
 only the husband is present,
 white as a peeled root, furry
 with good intentions, his big nose
 smelling a scam. Sometimes,
 living with him, like that
 black silent crow I shake
 the cylinder of memory

and tell my fortune all over again.
 My mother returns, bearing
 the bamboo that we will fill
 with green singing crickets.

2. *Learning to love America* (Lim 1998:74)

because it has no pure products
 because the Pacific Ocean sweeps along the coastline
 because the water of the ocean is cold
 and because land is better than ocean.
 because I say we rather than they
 because I live in California
 I have eaten fresh artichokes
 and jacarandas bloom in April and May
 because my senses have caught up with my body
 my breath with the air it swallows
 my hunger with my mouth
 because I walk barefoot in my house
 because I have nursed my son at my breast
 because he is a strong American boy
 because I have seen his eyes redden when he is asked who he is
 because he answers I don't know
 because to have a son is to have a country
 because my son will bury me here
 because countries are in our blood and we bleed them
 because it is late and too late to change my mind
 because it is time.

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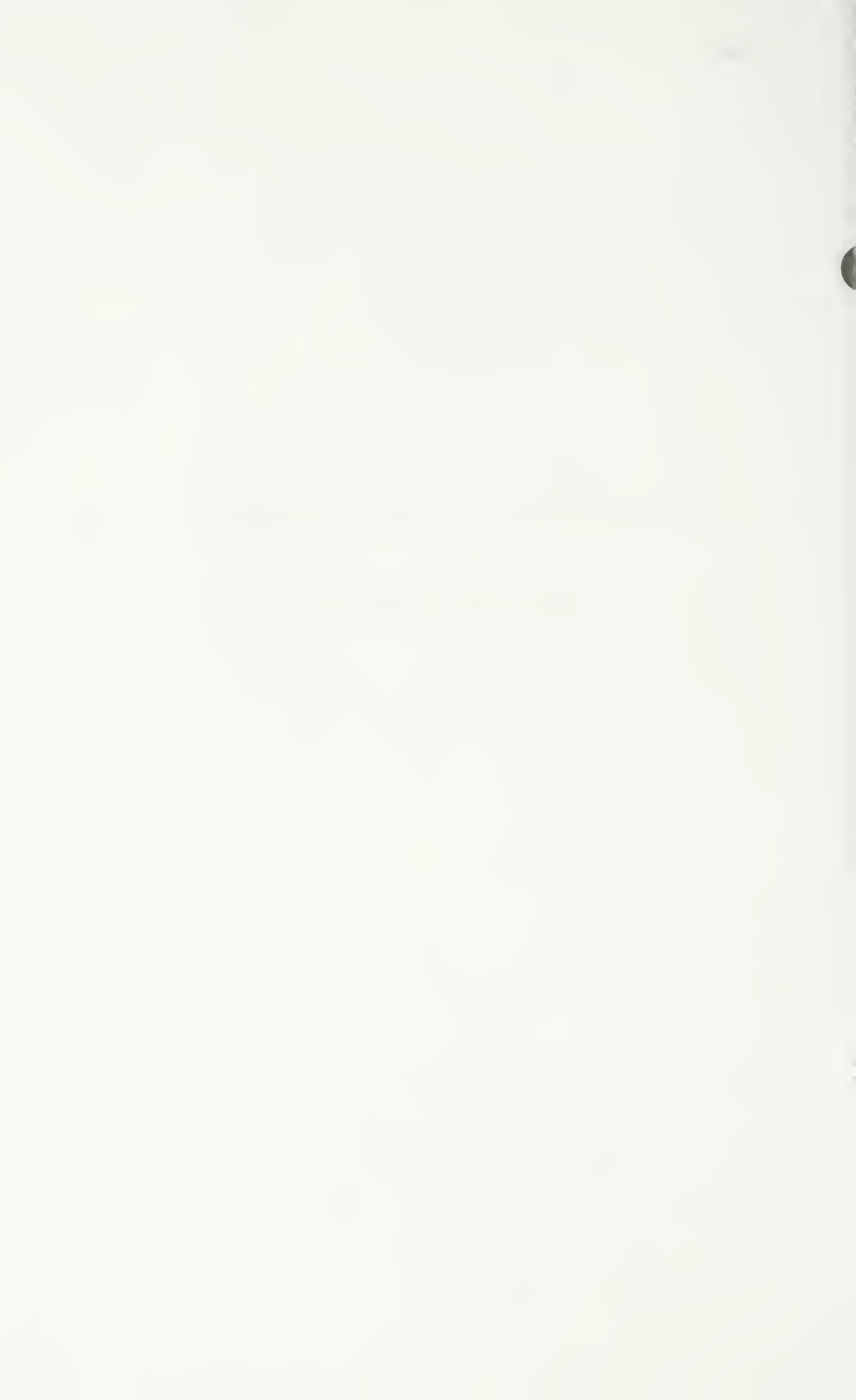
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PART II:

**CONTEXTUALIZING
DIASPORAS**



ENGLISH IN THE BLACK DIASPORA: DEVELOPMENT AND IDENTITY

Salikoko S. Mufwene

Is there an Ebonics language variety that can be recognized anywhere in the Anglophone Black diaspora? To what extent are the English varieties that developed out of the contacts of the English and African populations in Africa and in the New World related? How are they related? What is the role of substrate influence in shaping the structural peculiarities of English in the Black diaspora? Why are its different new varieties not structurally identical? How does the role of substrate influence in language compare with that of substrate influence in music? What light does the comparison shed on the evolution of English in Africa and the New World?

I argue in this chapter that cross-territorial variation in the peculiarities of both English and music in the Black diaspora underscores the determinative role of local ecology in shaping new systems. In the case of language, that ecology includes the particular form of the lexifier that the Africans were exposed to and targeted, and the particular colonial set-ups that brought English and the African languages into contact. The ecologies were not identical from one setting to another, hence the cross-territorial variation among the new varieties that developed. The new varieties are unified more by the kinds of English that lexified them, by the similarities of the colonial experiences that produced them, and by the racial identity of their speakers than by structural features peculiar to them all.

Introduction

Among the best-known consequences of contact between the English and the Africans in both Africa and the New World is the development of new English

varieties whose structural and pragmatic systems are assumed to have been influenced by African languages. The new varieties fall into four categories:

- 1) PIDGINS, typically associated with West Africa, the best known of which are Nigerian Pidgin English, Cameroon Pidgin English, and Kru Pidgin English (in Liberia);
- 2) CREOLES, typically associated with the Caribbean (e.g., Jamaican and Guyanese Creoles), but also identified in North America (Gullah) and in Africa (Krio);
- 3) AFRICAN-AMERICAN VERNACULAR ENGLISH (AAVE) and its offshoots in Nova Scotia, in Samaná, and in Liberia (Liberian Settler English); and
- 4) INDIGENIZED (NATIVIZED) ENGLISHES, associated with those who have been schooled in English in all former British colonies in Africa (e.g., Nigerian or West African English, Kenyan or East African English, South African Black English).

I justify lumping all these categories together as Englishes in Mufwene 1997a by arguing that pidgins and creoles have been disfranchised from the lot of English dialects for reasons that are not consistent with the established practice in genetic linguistics, namely to posit genetic ties based primarily on the sources of lexical materials. The vocabularies of these new language varieties happen to originate overwhelmingly in English, especially in the case of creoles, for socio-historical reasons highlighted below. The criteria behind the four categorial distinctions are elusive (Mufwene 1994, 1997a). Nonetheless, they reflect standard practice in the scholarly literature, most of which has been written exclusively on one category or another — except for pidgins and creoles, which are typically discussed together.

There has also been a trend to treat all these new varieties as a continuum of Black speech of some sort, as they are all by-products of the contact of English with sub-Saharan African languages. For instance, Williams 1975 and Smith 1998 treat them as continuations of African communicative traditions. I focus below on this view, in an attempt to articulate more adequately the nature of diversity among them. They are unified more by their common lexifier, by the similarities of their colonial experiences, and by the racial identity of their speakers than by structural features peculiar to them.

A diverse diaspora

If we assume for the sake of this discussion that administrative colonization of Africa did not start till after the Berlin Treaty in 1885, it is accurate to speculate that the pidgin varieties developed in pre-colonial days — being based on sporadic trade or business contacts which the English had with the Black populations — on the West African coast, and that they are, therefore, the oldest English varieties in Africa. Creoles are more typical of the New World, associated with those settings that Chaudenson 1979 identifies as 'exogenous,' i. e., those in which both

the ruling and the subordinate populations were foreign to the colony. Both creoles and pidgins also share the peculiarity of not being associated with the school system. Both were lexified by nonstandard English varieties spoken by sailors, traders, and especially indentured servants (native and nonnative speakers) — the Europeans that the African traders or slaves interacted with, sporadically in the case of pidgins, but fairly regularly in the case of creoles, particularly during the founding periods of the New World colonies (see Mufwene 1996).

AAVE has a similar genetic explanation, except that it has its roots on the tobacco plantations of the Chesapeake Bay (USA) and the cotton plantations of the American Southeast, where people of African descent were seldom the majority and where racial segregation was institutionalized much later than in Africa, in the late 19th century, after about two centuries of regular and intimate, though discriminatory, contacts with English speakers of European descent (Mufwene 1999). Extensive similarities between AAVE and White Southern English (see, e.g., Bailey & Cukor-Avila 2001) are evidence of this peculiar history, which has encouraged a greater categorical distinction between it and Gullah (a by-product of population and language contact in rice fields) than may be justified on structural (phonological, morphosyntactic, semantic), and pragmatic grounds (Mufwene 2001). Otherwise, AAVE shares with creoles the peculiarity of having developed in exogenous settings from the contacts of nonstandard English vernaculars with African languages.

However, creoles have typically developed in settings in which descendants of Africans have been the majority, which has encouraged creolists to include Gullah in the creole category, although it is in some structural respects closer to AAVE and other North American varieties of English than Jamaican and Guyanese Creoles are (Alleyne 1980). To be sure, there are varieties such as Saramaccan and Sranan which have developed in settings where regular contact with the English lexifier was severed early — within 15 years of the foundation of the Surinam colony, in this case — and which are hardly intelligible to speakers of not only non-creole Englishes but also of other creole Englishes. They are said to be 'radical' creoles, either because they have putatively been the most influenced by the African substrate languages formerly spoken by those who developed them (Alleyne 1980), or because they supposedly developed by processes that are the most drastically different from those assumed in historical linguistics: creations by children (Bickerton 1984). For more extensive discussions of related issues, see Mufwene (1996, 1997a, 1998).

Because of the settings of their developments, indigenized Englishes share with their pidgin counterparts the peculiarity of being endogenous, having developed in the home countries of their speakers. However, they are by-products of Africans' exposure to scholastic English, both as a subject and as a medium of instruction. Functioning also as markers of social class identity, they are consequences of the appropriation of scholastic English by the educated as a *lingua franca*, less for communication with the former British colonists and other expatri-

ates than for communication among themselves. Such ethnographic conditions led these new varieties to become autonomous, developing their own local norms and normalizing as (somewhat) independent from the British metropolitan norms. Consistent with some accounts in, for instance, Pride 1982 and Kachru 1992, they reflect both substrate influence and adaptations of the former colonial language to local cultural realities and communication needs, as may also be observed in music.

Black music diaspora: Why diversity matters

Parallels to the differing by-products of language contact outlined above can be observed in some other outcomes of Euro-African culture contacts. For instance, the mixing of European technology with African rhythms has definitely not yielded the same outcomes everywhere. High Life is a West African phenomenon, Reggae is a Jamaican invention, and Calypso developed in Trinidad first. Although these distinctions are geographically-based, the names serve primarily to differentiate distinctive music styles. As much as they may be said to be related by some African element, they vary from each other. A musician must recognize, for instance, that each style operates on a different beat, just as a dancer knows that different steps and body moves are required for each one. One might even suspect influence from the universe of Franco-African culture in the case of Trinidad, where input from Latin cultures in its history justifies the significance of the Carnival tradition, which has been adopted only as imitation on other Anglophone Caribbean islands. Support for this guess can be adduced from the total absence of the Carnival tradition in Anglophone North America, as opposed to Louisiana.

In more or less the same vein, the Blues and Spirituals in North America have their roots on the plantations. Jazz emerged in cities like New Orleans (being more or less the counterpart of Classical Music), and varieties of Rhythm and Blues are inner-city phenomena. In a way, one may say that High Life is Anglophone West-African, associated linguistically with West African pidgins; Reggae and Calypso are Anglophone Caribbean, associated with Caribbean English creoles; and the Blues, Jazz, the Spirituals, and Soul Music are all North American phenomena, associated with AAVE and Gullah. And despite the recognition of Rhythm and Blues influence in both Jamaican Reggae and Louisiana Zydeco, one may also say that the latter carries influence from Francophone colonial folk music.

All in all, one may say that cultural phenomena in the Black diaspora have resulted through interesting selection processes from encounters between diverse cultures. Different selections in different cultural ecologies have yielded different musics, undoubtedly with African elements in them, but they leave us with the following questions: What is the African element? Is it the same one from one cultural setting to another or from one music style to another? If it is the same, does it have a uniform manifestation? Or could it be that different African elements have been retained in these different music styles, subject to the settings of their development?

Take, for instance, the Spirituals, which are associated with church services. They are predominantly vocal, and one may say that their basic musical accompaniments are clapping and the rhythmic and synchronized ground tapping with the singers' feet. These African elements, which exert special rhythmic constraints on the new music style, are undeniable; but equally incontrovertible are the constraints imposed by the church tradition in terms of what lyrics may be sung in their contexts. On the other hand, the Blues, which are more secular, are more permissive in their lyrics. The harmonica, a non-African instrument which plays a central role in this style, certainly imposes its own constraints on the kinds of melodies that can be produced. In yet a different way, Jazz is predominantly instrumental, based on European string and brass instruments. The African contribution to it was very much constrained by the kinds of music that these particular instruments allow. One may safely conclude that these cultural phenomena of the Black diaspora were all invented in specific ecologies, addressing specific needs, and that all these ecological conditions shaped their respective morphologies.

On the unity of English(es) in the Black diaspora

It should be intellectually rewarding to investigate whether selection constraints similar to the domain of music applied to language development in the Black diaspora. The question for this chapter is whether definitions such as the following, proposed for *Ebonics* by Williams (1975:vi), are valid:

the linguistic and paralinguistic features which on a concentric continuum represents the communicative competence of the West African, Caribbean, and the United States slave descendant of African origin. It includes the various idioms, patois, argots, idiolects [sic], and social dialects of black people especially those who have been forced to adapt to colonial circumstances. *Ebonics* derives its form from ebony (black) and phonics (sound, the study of sound) and refers to the study of the language of black people in all its cultural uniqueness.

Williams proposes a notion of 'Ebonics' that is more inclusive than its present association with African-American English, lumping together all English varieties of the Black diaspora. He does not suggest that all of them are mutually intelligible — and indeed they need not be, but he claims that they all share 'linguistic and paralinguistic features.'

As in the case of music styles, one may probably invoke a number of features that can be attributed to African influence, though most of this influence may amount to the role played by African languages in favoring one of the variants available already in colonial or metropolitan varieties of English themselves (for discussion, see Mufwene 1993). There are certainly a number of phonological features that can be invoked to argue that English varieties of the Black diaspora are different from other English varieties. For instance, they are generally non-rhotic, in most of them the phonemes /a/ and /æ/, /t/ and /θ/, and /d/ and /ð/ have merged, respectively, into /a/, /t/, and /d/. The vast majority of them do not have a

schwa. In all these respects, AAVE is exceptional and Gullah comes close to it, as it has a schwa and does not have a pronounced merger of /a/ and /æ/. As a matter of fact, despite the tradition that lumps Gullah structurally with Caribbean creoles, pronunciations such as /ayl/ for *oil*, /plie / for *play*, /gwot/ for *goat*, /towɛ/ for *tower*, and /abawt/ for *about* are not as common in Gullah as in Caribbean creole Englishes. Even representations of words like *very* as /βeri/ are more stereotypical than the facts can support as valid analyses (see Mufwene 1986).

Prosodically, English varieties of the Black diaspora are quite different from each other. Overall, one can say that a Black Caribbean speaker of English sounds more like a White Caribbean than like an African American in any register — with the exception of basilectal Gullah speakers, who are often misidentified by other African Americans as Bahamians. Speakers of African varieties of English also sound different from those of diaspora varieties, and their prosodic features often make them unintelligible to AAVE speakers.

Questions of mutual intelligibility aside, one must wonder what the meaning of *Ebonics* as defined by Williams 1975 is. There are undoubtedly some morpho-syntactic similarities among Englishes of the Black diaspora — for instance, the fact that *dem* is used as a nominal plural marker in pidgins, creoles, and AAVE, as in *dem boys*. But one must also note that this is not a feature of the indigenized Black varieties. Also, in Jamaican Creole, the combination for plural only is *di* + Noun + *dem*, whereas *dem* + Noun has the meaning 'those' + Noun. On the other hand, in AAVE the combination *dem* + Noun has the same meaning as in white nonstandard vernaculars in North America. Yet, AAVE is closer to creoles and pidgins in its associative plural, as in *John an' dem* 'John and his associates'.

We may also consider a verbal feature such as preverbal *bin/been* in AAVE, creoles, and pidgins. In the respects that are relevant to this essay, morphosyntactic use of *been/bin/ben* without an auxiliary *have* is not typical of indigenized Englishes. Also, while it is used as an ANTERIOR marker in creoles and pidgins, as in *mi bin kom* 'I came' or 'I had come', it is rarely used with this grammatical meaning in AAVE. In this vernacular, it functions as regular PERFECT marker, as in *I bin home all morning*. This usage is as in other nonstandard English vernaculars. In AAVE, *bin* is also used as a REMOTE PHASE marker to denote a state of affairs that, subjectively, started a long time ago, as *I bin six/known you* 'I have been six [for quite a while now]' and 'I have known you [for a long time]'. Winford 1993 argues that such uses are attested in mesolectal Caribbean English, but not in their basilects.

Something similar may be observed about the consuetudinal aspect marker *be*, which AAVE and Gullah share with Irish English, as in *Malcolm be sick/jivin' whenever I see him*, with *be sick/jivin'* denoting REPEATED UNBOUNDED STATES rather than simple repetitions of states or events. This marker, which occurs perhaps also in Bajan (the English variety of Barbados) is different from the simple HABITUAL marker [dɔz] in Gullah ([doz] in Guyanese Creole), as in *how you duhz cook fish?* 'how do you cook fish?'. These features are not universally shared by

English varieties in the Black diaspora. In particular, the African varieties do not have them, nor does Jamaican Creole.

I could go on illustrating such cross-variety variation with more grammatical features and local lexical semantic peculiarities to show that the alleged similarities among Englishes of the Black diaspora are partially real, but partly disputable. They are disputable because it is probably difficult to find peculiarities which they share universally which are not phonological and non-prosodic, more specifically segmental. At the grammatical level, the similarities may obtain more within specific subcategories of language varieties. For instance, creoles may share more features among themselves than they do with indigenized Englishes, and varieties lexified by nonstandard vernaculars probably share more features among themselves than they do as (sub)groups with varieties lexified by scholastic varieties. Thus, pidgins and creoles share quite a few grammatical features, such as the omission of the copula in some grammatical environments, usage of *de* as a locative verb, of *done* as in *im don gon* 'he has left (already)' as PERFECT marker, and of *bin* as an ANTERIOR marker.

However, Englishes of the Black diaspora also differ among themselves, in the same ways that music styles such as Reggae and North American soul music differ despite the common influence of Rhythm and Blues on them. Thus, Jamaican Creole distinguishes between the locative verb *de* and the equative copula *a*, while Gullah, Guyanese Creole, and West African pidgins use only one phonetic variant of *de* ([de], [di], or [də]) in both functions. And we can also note that those varieties that developed in settings where descendants of Africans were minorities and could interact fairly regularly with descendants of Europeans, such as in the hinterlands of the North American Southeast, the Black and White varieties are quite similar, just like there are indeed similarities between the Spirituals of African Americans and those of European Americans.

The kinship of Englishes in the Black diaspora: Some conclusions

The kinship of Englishes of the Black diaspora, in the Wittgensteinian family-resemblance model, is undoubtedly as real as the kinship of all English varieties, with the understanding that varieties that developed under the agency of speakers of African languages are bound to have some features that distinguish them as a group from other English varieties. The problem is whether there is any robust subset of structural features attributable to (convergent) African linguistic influence that can justify thus singling them out as a category of Englishes, or whether we should be content with identifying them ideologically, most obviously by the color of their speakers or by the kinds of colonial experiences that produced them. Can we single out such varieties by the culture of their speakers? Is there such a thing as a culture of the Black diaspora, as opposed to the colonial experience of people in the Black diaspora? Is there a sense in which one can argue that the Nigerian Pidgin vernacular used by Chinua Achebe 1967 in *A Man of the People* is the same language as used by Toni Morrison 1987 in *Beloved*? The di-

versity of linguistic materials is such that scholars who subscribe to Williams' 1975 definition of *Ebonics* may want to articulate more explicitly what is meant by 'the language of black people in all its cultural uniqueness'.

All in all, this discussion does not prove that African languages did not play a role in shaping the English varieties of the Black diaspora. As a matter of fact, I have not dealt with questions of origins, which are a more complex topic, and their discussion would have to periodize contacts and tease apart mechanics of the restructuring process in varying ecological settings. Nor does this discussion dispute the fact that the relevant English varieties seem to be related structurally in the family-resemblance model. In this respect, this essay suggests that the varieties that developed under similar sociohistorical conditions are more like each other than they are like any other variety. There is probably a sense in which Nigerian Pidgin English is very much like Jamaican Creole, at least in its morphosyntax, although it also shares features with its endogenous kin, Nigerian English.

This essay also highlights similarities between the developments of contact-based music styles and the developments of contact-based English varieties in the Black diaspora. In the same way that differences among High Life (in West Africa), Zulu Jive (in South Africa), Reggae (in the Caribbean), and Soul Music (in North America) may be correlated with the specific settings of their developments, so may differences among West African pidgins, Caribbean creoles, and AAVE be correlated with the differing sociohistorical ecologies of their evolutions (see Mufwene 1999). In the same way that differences between Jazz and the Blues were determined in part by at least the kinds of European instruments that were adopted, so too were differences between indigenized Englishes and English pidgins determined in part by the kinds of Englishes that the Africans were exposed to (Mufwene 1997a). After all, in their adaptive efforts, the Africans meant to speak English (of whatever kind they came in contact with), and it is through their communicative acts that the new varieties developed, consistent with the usual patterns of language diversification in genetic linguistics.

In all such cases, too, the timing and nature of the contacts between populations of European and African descent were critical factors, as much as the extent to which the ensuing linguistic system has autonomized from the alternative models in the dominant or ruling community. For instance, having been declared separate languages for over a century now, pidgins have enjoyed a lot of normative autonomy from their lexifiers, most of all from standard English. Likewise, having been isolated from native English-speaking populations from the time of their inception as new vernaculars (most likely in the early 18th century), the creoles of Suriname have also enjoyed greater autonomy and have diverged the most drastically from their lexifiers. On the other hand, AAVE is perhaps the latest to have achieved linguistic autonomy among New World Englishes, coming into its own just since the institutionalization of race segregation in the North American Southeast in the late 19th century. Indigenized Englishes have yet to win full autonomy, given the ongoing debate over whether scholastic English should

follow local or external norms (i. e., British or American English) through the mediation of nonnative speakers, as observed by Kachru 1996. That is, scholars and others take different sides on the question of whether indigenized Englishes of Africa, as of Asia, are deviations from the so-called 'native Englishes' or 'more legitimate' varieties in their own right, with their own norms that can and should be taught in schools.

The latter considerations aside, it is true that there is a Black diaspora which came about from the dispersal of sub-Saharan African populations in the New World and islands of the Indian Ocean. A subset of this diaspora can be defined by the use of English as either a vernacular or a lingua franca. As anywhere else where English has likewise been adopted, it has undergone adaptive evolutions, the outcomes of which have been claimed to be new languages in the cases of pidgin and creole varieties. Although African substrate influence can be claimed to be a common cachet of the Anglophone Black diaspora, we have no evidence that such influence has been the same everywhere, nor that there is one Black language that may be called *Ebonics* for the whole dispersal area. What we need are more elaborate studies of these diaspora English varieties as autonomous systems. Subsequent research will reveal in what specific ways they are related to, and different from, each other. Much more sophisticated studies, based on how substrate influences operate, will inform us about what proportion of these common and unshared peculiarities are due to African languages.

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5

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY AMONG MEXICANS IN THE UNITED STATES: THE SECRET OF RESILIENCY AND SUCCESSFUL ADAPTATION¹

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This chapter discusses the issues related to language and identity for Latinos in the complex political, economic, and social contexts of the United States. The situation becomes more complex given frequent fragmented bicultural family experiences. In the study these issues are discussed specifically with reference to language and immigrants, race and ethnicity, within the historical and social-economic contexts of Mexican immigration. The central concern of this chapter is the concept of *terquedad* ('resiliency') of Mexican families and communities: its intimate involvement in the collective to maintain language and serve the community.

Introduction

The expression 'diaspora,' in Latino terms, means a bicultural and binational existence with a complex, fragmented home economy, which is the result of unpredictable employment. It often implies the capacity of Latinos to adopt new identities on the two sides of the Mexico-U.S. border, and to develop new conceptions of ethnic loyalty, patriotism, and family networks. The significance of the new immigration patterns in the U.S., in particular the predominance of young Latino, especially Mexican, immigrants, has had enormous demographic, social, and cultural consequences for this country. This chapter explores the role of language in the survival of Mexican immigrants and in the formation of their new identities.

The relationship between language and identity for Latinos in the U.S. is complex and is situated within a politically and economically unstable binational existence whose complexities are further compounded by a fragmented bicultural family experience under conditions dictated by poverty. The internalization of the 'American dream' is not a fantasy created thousands of miles away (as it is in the case, say, of Chinese immigrants), but one that is configured from day-to-day encounters of Mexicans with migrant workers returning to their Mexican home

villages. There is romanticization of possible success, fictions of the imagination in the form of mountains of gold in the streets of America (Trueba & Zou 1994; Trueba 1999). There is the palpable reality of Uncle José visiting Tangancícuaro, Michoacan (central Mexico) with his brand-new Ford truck, his expensive boots and hat, and a wallet full of dollars. Yet this attractive image is often tempered by Uncle José's narrative of degrading incidents while crossing the border, and of working in the fields of Modesto, Santa Maria, or Texas. Uncle José is also less anxious to share his tales of the abuses by the *patrón* who would pay him less than the minimum wage, the exposure to pesticides, the subhuman living conditions in the shantytown, the long nights of homesick nostalgia, and the anxiety associated with not being able to communicate in English. But Latinos are extremely resilient and tough, even in the most desperate situations. They understand that building a future for their children goes beyond simply going north looking for work, and that the commitment to their children's future welfare demands profound change and unexpected sacrifice. As Paulo Freire (1993:9) has eloquently stated, 'Não há mudança sem sonho como não há sonho sem esperança [There is no change without a dream, as there is no dream without hope].'

What keeps Latinos hopeful is their daily struggle for equity, a deep understanding of the nature of oppression, and their fight to regain control of their lives. Latino immigrants soon discover their race and their ethnicity and become experts in survival by adapting to new life styles, as in acquiring second and third languages (many Mexican Indians speak as their first language Nahuatl, Otomí, or any of the Mayan languages, and learn Spanish as their second language). America's obsession with race and ethnicity is a function of anxiety about the increasing waves of 'color' immigrants, especially Asians and Latinos. Thus, race and ethnicity continue to be at the center of public discourse and of passionate political debates in the Americas, including Latin America. The more elusive sociocultural definitions of race take on new dimensions in the daily lives of members of pluralistic societies that have become *de jure* integrated, but *de facto* economically and socially segregated and stratified.

McLaren (1995:117) speaks about the American 'predatory culture' that configures modern life on the exploitation of less technologically developed countries and individuals:

In our hyper-fragmented and predatory postmodern culture, democracy is secured through the power to control consciousness and semiotize and discipline bodies by mapping and manipulating sounds, images, and information and forcing identity to take refuge in the forms of subjectivity increasingly experienced as isolated and separate from larger social contexts.

Modern anthropology essentially discards 'race' as an operational concept because there is an infinite number of combinations and permutations of human characteristics beyond eye and skin color, bone structure, weight and stature, dis-

tribution of fat, and overall appearance. Anthropologists today regret the 'crimes of anthropology' and the role of European anthropologists in the Nazi regime, in which they became 'race experts' and decided the lives of thousands of villagers in Poland and in other ways contributed to the crimes of the Third Reich. Files in Berlin, Koblenz, and Krakow show clearly how Nazi anthropologists were instruments of a racist regime (Schafft 1999:56). The miscegenation between Europeans and Meso-American Indians, and between European North Americans and mestizos from Mexico is of such proportions that we all need to consider this issue beyond the chemical and physiological structure of internal organs, blood types, and genes, to understand the non-biological foundations of race. Latinos are products of physical and human environments played out in the binational arenas of the Southwest, in the dynamics of rapidly increasing waves of immigration from Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries. Socially defined concepts of race are vital in human relations because they determine norms of appropriate interaction, judgments about intelligence, and expectations about behavior. The social concept of race remains elusive until it is fleshed out in specific interactional (often conflictive) contexts: black versus white, brown versus white, black versus yellow, and others. This elusiveness is compounded by the fact that we tend to abuse the concept of race by bringing ethnicity into the picture, even to the point of using both terms interchangeably. The word *ethnicity* comes from *ethnos* (Greek 'people'), and it has been the center of anthropological studies for over a century. Ethnographers have dedicated millions of hours collecting descriptions of ethnic groups around the world: their language, culture, environment, occupations, marriage patterns, family life, kinship system, property, law, and so on.

Language and immigrants

The importance of language facility for immigrants into new ethnic matrices cannot be overemphasized. Their very ability to retain a measure of self-identity and personal integrity, to communicate and pass on to the next generation their values and lifestyle, depends on their ability to retain the home language. Therefore, in the study of Latinos in diaspora, we need to focus on factors that make language maintenance possible at least for the collectivity, the community that is trying to survive in the U.S. Studies of ethnic groups in the U.S. and other Western societies focus on socially and culturally stratified immigrant groups who are recognized as collectively retaining unique characteristics different from those of mainstream people (see Trueba, Jacobs, & Kirton 1990; Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba 1991; Trueba, Rodríguez, Zou, & Cintrón 1993; Trueba, Cheng, & Ima 1993; Trueba & Zou 1994; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Trueba 1999 and Trueba [Forthcoming]). Their language, culture, religion, art, values, lifestyle, family organization, children's socialization, and world view are seen by the members of the group as uniquely linked to their home country and ancestors. At times, physical appearance separates them from the rest of society and from other subgroups in the larger society. Consequently, ethnicity refers to that complex set of characteristics

of groups who share historical or mythical common ancestors and maintain their own identity in contrast or opposition to mainstream society. An immigrant of color in the United States, i.e., a nonwhite person who might be a second- or third-generation immigrant — even one who has a perfect command of the English language — is often asked, 'Where are you from?'

Race and ethnicity determine a person's relative status and chances for success. Race and ethnicity can predict residential information, and residence can predict educational achievement, income, school-dropout and suspension rate, size of family, mortality trends, likelihood of incarceration, tendencies to violence, use of welfare, and so on and on. As Ladson-Billings & Tate (1995:48-9) have emphasized, social class and gender considerations alone 'are not powerful enough to explain all the differences? (or variance) in school experience and performance'; consequently, we must conclude that 'race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States.' The penalties of exclusion and prejudice explain the rapid assimilation of Latinos who can pass for mainstream citizens, the changes in names and dressing patterns, loss of the home language, and overall efforts to hide ethnic and linguistic identities in certain contexts. Ainsle points out the profound mourning that increases in immigrants' hearts the more they try to assimilate, and, using Freud's words, characterizes this acute state of mourning as a way of 'perpetuating that love which we do not want to relinquish,' knowing that 'we shall remain inconsolable and will never find a substitute' (Ainsle 1998:285).

Schools in the American society of the 20th century are viewed as responsible for assimilating ethnics and making them full Americans. The fear (somewhat latent) is that the new immigration waves of Latinos and Asians are not 'assimilable'. This fear goes in cycles and determines the waves of tolerance and intolerance for ethnic diversity, language diversity, and cultural diversity (especially religious and socio-economic) manifested now in our streets and institutions. The fact that elementary and secondary-school performance is affected by linguistic, racial, and ethnic diversity intensifies the xenophobic tendencies in school and society. Additionally, racial and ethnic prejudice is not confined to public schools. It is also present in higher education, and clearly present in hiring, promotion, and retention policies and practices.

Race and ethnicity

The use of the terms 'race' and 'clannish race' is indicative of the historical confusion between race and ethnicity. White European immigrants were not physically different from other Americans. There is also nothing new in the recent efforts to 'close our borders' and do away with illegal immigration. The impact of xenophobia is subtle and does not have the dramatic effect of the high-tech flamboyant cavalry of INS officers riding along the border between Tijuana and San Diego. Latinos continue to face difficult years, as other immigrants suffered from the turn of the century until the mid-1920s, when they were accused of moral

turpitude and were socially ostracized only because they used their home language to communicate with one another and with some students. And the use of the home language continues to make an enormous difference in the adaptation of immigrant populations to the host country. Although immigration trends have changed drastically since the 1920s with the dramatic increase in Hispanic and Asian populations, the working conditions and exploitation of many immigrants remain the same. Many immigrant and migrant workers (for example, farm workers in California) are willing to sacrifice their lives working in the fields at low wages and in unhealthy conditions because they need work and want to open up educational opportunities for their children. Education is the only hope they have of getting their families out of poverty. In this context, racial and ethnic intolerance in higher education profoundly affects the access to and quality of education for racial and ethnic minority students.

Critical theory experts have continued to denounce the ethnocentrism of schools and their reluctance to meet the needs of linguistically different children. Their assumption is that prejudice begins in the school-setting with the way children are socialized into academic achievement (See Freire 1973, 1993, 1995; Freire & Macedo 1987; Apple 1989 & 1993; Aronowitz & Giroux 1991; Gadotti 1996; Giroux & McLaren 1994; McLaren 1997; Ladson-Billings & Tate 1995; and Leistyna, Woodrum, & Sherblom 1996).

Historical and socio-economic contexts of Mexican immigration

The struggle of Mexicans, in what is United States territory today, did not stop with the tens of thousands who came to do unskilled labor in the late 1800s. Certainly, some Mexicans were living in the Southwest prior to the annexation of Mexican territory by the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty of 1848, but many more have come since. Mexicans have been coming to find employment in increasing numbers from the beginning of this century. In 1900 the U.S. Census estimated that there were 103,393 Mexican immigrants. By 1910, there were 221,915; by 1920, 486,418; and by December 31, 1926 the official count was of 890,746 (Gamio 1930:2). The exploitation of so-called inferior people and the accepted practice of depriving them of certain rights was common during the last century and the first decades of this one. The residential segregation of Mexicans, firmly established on the West Coast at the turn of the century, became the foundation for the widespread segregation of the 1920s and 30s; Mexicans were not allowed in public facilities such as schools, restaurants, swimming pools, and theaters (Menchaca & Valencia 1990:230).

Recently, scholars have emphasized the significance of Mexican immigration in the overall immigration patterns of modern America. The rising numbers of legal and unauthorized immigrants, refugees, and asylees represent a pattern that is changing the face and texture of American democracy and ethnic/racial composition in the U.S. The Mexican-origin population has grown at a steady and fast pace since 1980. Part of this growth is understandable because of the numbers of

children in Mexican families. Without immigration, however, in 1990 the Mexican-origin population (the total Mexican-origin is the sum of the Mexican-born population and U.S. natives of Mexican parentage) would have been about 14 percent of its current size. Its increase is primarily the result of immigration (González Baker, Bean, Escobar Latapí & Weintraub 1998:81-6).

Primarily for economic reasons, there is a steady stream of immigrants from Mexico that, along with other Latino immigrants, has become the single largest continental proportion (nearly 38 percent) of legal immigrants, and over 80 percent of undocumented immigrants. In addition to the role of Mexico in modern migration movements into the United States, Mexico's economic and political importance was demonstrated by the U.S. government's role in pursuing the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the diligent response to Mexico's 1994 economic crisis. This flow of Mexican immigrants will continue at a rapid pace. Foreign-born persons of Mexican origin in 1980 constituted 15 percent of all legal immigrants; in 1990, 20.7 percent; in 1994-1995, 28.4 percent.

Of all Latino immigrants, 78 percent came between 1970 and 1989 (6.5 million or one-third of all immigrants), and 50 percent came in the 1980s; only 27 percent of the Latinos have become citizens of the United States, which is understandable, given their recent arrival, their types of work, their rural backgrounds, and the limited assistance available. Sixty percent of Mexican immigrants live in California. As has been recognized, a person's educational level seems to predict economic level and employment. The highest rates of poverty are found among the populations with the least education — Mexicans, Salvadorians, Guatemalans, and Dominicans. New immigrant children face many difficult problems in their adaptation (Bureau of the Census 1996). In 1990, after 140 years of predominantly white enrollment, 50 percent of the California public school students belonged to ethnic and racial subgroups. There is already no longer a numerical majority of whites. By the year 2030, white students will constitute only about 30 percent of the total enrollment, while Latino students will represent the largest group (44 percent of the total enrollment; Valencia 1991:17). Other demographic projections suggest that the white school-age population will decrease for the country at large, while the Latino school-age population will continue to increase. Tables 1 and 2 and Figures 1 and 2 in the Appendix summarize data of segregation and enrollment growth.

Latino parents' naïve notions about the politics of employment, organization, and politics in schools, their perception of societal demands for cultural homogenization, and the acceptance of an inferior status are not shared by their children, who feel an ethical responsibility to react and fight back. Much of what happens in gang struggles and street violence is related to marginalization (Vigil 1989, 1997). Many Mexican families reflect in their new lives a change not only from one country to another, but from a rural to an urban setting. Of course, the added dimension in this country is, that in order to acquire the necessary socio-political knowledge of appropriate conduct in urban settings, immigrants must

first acquire the communicative skills to function in a second language. Unfortunately, Mexican immigrants are forced to take jobs that are physically exhausting and leave them little time to acquire communicative skills in English. Consequently, their children (as soon as they learn some English) must play adult roles in making momentous decisions for their parents. Mexican immigrant children are socialized in a new linguistic and cultural environment without help in the development of their second-language skills and cognitive abilities required for high school achievement

Table 1: Growth of Latino enrollments 1970-1994

	1970	1994	CHANGE 1970-94	
	ENROLLMENT	ENROLLMENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
CALIFORNIA	706,900	1,953,343	1,246,443	176.3
TEXAS	565,900	1,304,269	738,369	130.5
NEW YORK	316,600	440,043	123,443	39.0
FLORIDA	65,700	301,206	235,506	358.5
ILLINOIS	78,100	218,568	140,468	179.9
ARIZONA	85,500	203,087	117,597	137.5
NEW MEXICO	109,300	148,772	39,472	36.1
NEW JERSEY	59,100	148,345	89,245	151.0

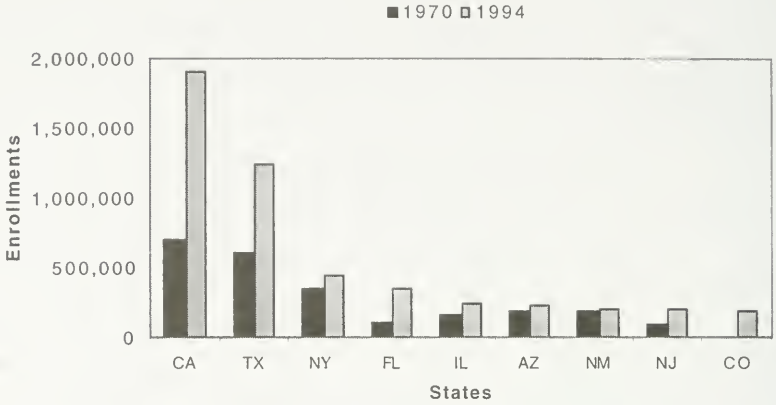
Source: Orfield, Bachmeier, James, & Eitle 1997.

Table 2: State rankings in segregation of Latino students by three measures, 1994-95 school years

% IN MAJORITY WHITE SCHOOLS		% IN 90-100% MINORITY SCHOOLS		% WHITES IN SCHOOL OF TYPICAL LATINO	
NEW YORK	13.8	NEW YORK	57.3	NEW YORK	19.2
CALIFORNIA	17.3	NEW JERSEY	43.4	CALIFORNIA	24.8
TEXAS	19.6	TEXAS	43.0	TEXAS	25.0
NEW MEXICO	21.6	CALIFORNIA	38.7	NEW JERSEY	29.3
RHODE ISLAND	24.8	ILLINOIS	34.9	ILLINOIS	30.9
ILLINOIS	26.5	CONNECTICUT	32.4	NEW MEXICO	31.0
NEW JERSEY	27.3	FLORIDA	27.6	FLORIDA	34.5
CONNECTICUT	31.9	PENNSYLVANIA	25.8	CONNECTICUT	35.0
FLORIDA	33.2	NEW MEXICO	20.0	RHODE ISLAND	38.0
ARIZONA	34.0	ARIZONA	18.9	ARIZONA	38.2

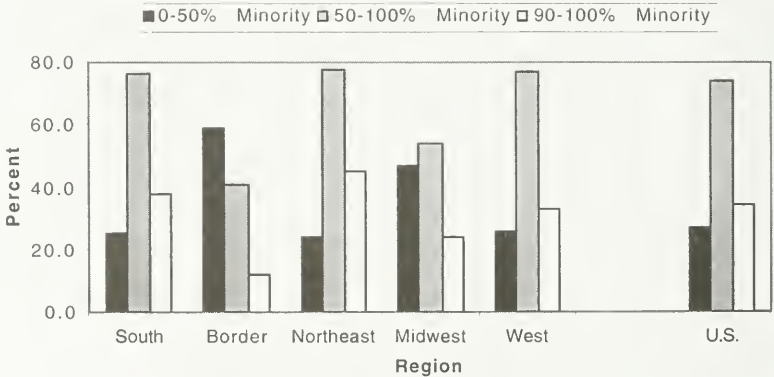
Source: Orfield, Bachmeier, James, & Eitle 1997.

Figure 1: Growth of Latino enrollments, 1970-94. States with more than 100,000 Latino students



Source: Gary Orfield, M. Bachmeier, D. James, & T. Eitle: Deepening segregation in American public schools, *Equity and Excellence in Education* 30:2 (September 1997).

Figure 2: Latino segregation by region, 1994-95. Percent of Latino students in region in schools



Source: Gary Orfield, M. Bachmeier, D. James, & T. Eitle: Deepening segregation in American public schools, *Equity and Excellence in Education* 30:2 (September 1997).

A number of scholars argue that the education of Latinos is worse now than in the previous decade (Portes 1996; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco 1995a and 1995b; M. Suárez-Orozco 1998a, 1998b; Valencia 1990, 1997). Recent studies, however, document the academic success of Latino students in high school and

their continued efforts to succeed in their adult lives, and argue that the family and home environment provides them with strong support (Diaz Salcedo 1996). These narratives of academic achievement in the midst of social and economic inequity represent a surprising degree of success where failure was expected. It seems that the retention of the home language and the acquisition of the second language, if accompanied by high literacy levels in both English and Spanish, constitute a powerful factor affecting the successful adaptation of Mexican immigrants and their understanding of the complex U.S. social, economic, and political systems. Their very ability to handle text related to those systems necessary for the well-being of the family (contracts, government documents, bank documents, hospital documents, immigration papers, and so on) is contingent upon their bilingualism and biliteracy. On the other hand, the rapid marginalization of some Mexican families is accelerated by their problems in understanding American institutions (indeed, any complex systems in both countries), accompanied by the lack of literacy and language proficiency in either Spanish or English. This marginalization often starts long before they arrive in this country. Their naïve notions about the politics of employment, the organization of schools, the demands of society, and the U.S. legal and economic system often result in tragic consequences (unwarranted incarceration, loss of income, ignorance of civil rights, and various sorts of abuses). The lack of linguistic and literacy skills may reflect an abrupt transition from rural to urban settings, from simple village life to life in large metropolises. This transition is accompanied by cultural shock and deterioration in mental health. In order for immigrants to acquire the necessary sociopolitical knowledge to exhibit appropriate behavior in urban settings, they must first acquire the communicative skills to do so in a second language.

There is an intimate relationship between the successful adaptation of Mexican immigrant families to U.S. society and the academic success of their children. For example, recent studies in central California (Trueba 1999, and Trueba [Forthcoming]) show that the most serious problem faced by the children of immigrants on the West coast is the alienating experience of schooling, the rapid marginalization of these children, and their confusion regarding personal identity, cultural values, social acceptance, ability to achieve, and self-worth. However, if children manage to retain a strong self-identity and remain part of their sociocultural community, they can perform well in school.

Sometimes a Mexican family takes drastic measures to salvage the moral character and overall well-being of a young family member by taking him or her back to Mexico for a period of time to complete his or her education, to re-acquire Spanish, to work under supervision, and even to marry a 'good' local person. Sometimes the entire family returns to Mexico for as much as two or three years in order to re-educate teenagers in family values. This repatriation is often associated with the dilemma faced in assessing their financial and moral risks if they continue to live and work in the United States. There are numbers of repatriated former U.S. farm workers in central Mexico (in Colima, Michoacán, Jalisco, and other states). In contrast to them, many alienated Mexican immigrant children in major

metropolises (in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Houston, and other U.S. cities), cannot manage to retain their home language and culture, or their familiar cultural institutions and networks. Some seem to survive the trauma of American schooling and to achieve well. This, of course, is the result of a carefully executed plan of education engineered primarily by the mothers, who monitor schooling, and create vast support networks on both sides of the border.

The secret of resiliency: Immigrant women in California

The *terquedad* — resiliency — of Mexican families and communities is a central consideration of this paper. The socio-cultural and psychological basis of *terquedad*, and its intimate involvement in the collective is profoundly linked to its members' commitment to maintaining their language and a sense of 'community'. Without this *terquedad*, their children would never understand the importance of their ethnic identity and their historical relationship with their ancestors. Mexican workers are proud of retaining their language and culture. The women's role in this retention requires endurance and determination, as shown not only in their daily agricultural labor but also in their capacity to organize themselves into a political force in order to negotiate with schools to work for their children's education. They seem to learn quickly how American society functions. They also know how to motivate their children to achieve academically. Their daily oppressive work in the fields and packing houses stands in clear contrast to their own sense of self-worth and their enormous prestige in their home villages in Mexico. While they must work hard under precarious conditions that affect their health significantly (they suffer from arthritis, bronchitis, allergies, malnutrition, and high blood pressure), this oppression does not seem to break their spirits or to jeopardize their determination to succeed. Neither economic problems (often associated with the lack of steady employment) nor the frequent verbal abuse and prejudice of bosses and neighbors deter them. And when their husbands lose hope and start drinking or otherwise misbehaving, the women take over the control of their finances and the entire management of family affairs. Mexican migrant women know they are tough and determined, and they are proud of their survival in the worst of circumstances. These physically and spiritually strong women speak with their own voices and feel important, individually and collectively.

Conclusion

As a dear friend and famous scholar, Dr. Jorge González, from Colima, Mexico, commented once: 'The center of gravity of Comala — a small town in rural Colima — is in Pomona, California.' Why was Professor González able to make this statement? Because all the funds for the village activities, the politics and the economic life of Comala depend on their children in exile who send money home from the U.S. Indeed, the annual amount sent to Mexico from Mexican workers in the U.S. is estimated at over \$5 billion. The mid-nineteenth century reflected in the repugnant statement of T. J. Farhan, a traveler to the west coast in 1855, still hurts us (Cited in Menchaca & Valencia 1990:229):

Californians [i.e., Mexicans] are an imbecile, pusillanimous, race of men, and unfit to control the destinies of that beautiful country ... The Old Saxon blood must stride the continent, must command all its northern shores ... and in their own unaided might, erect the alter of civil and religious freedom on the plains of the Californias..

Crimes against people have multiplied not only abroad but in the U.S. Jasper, Texas, saw a man dragged to death behind a truck, only because he was black. The killers, three white boys, belonged to white supremacist organizations committed to the destruction of people of color. The subtle racism in corporations, businesses, and even in academia keeps up myths about race and ethnicity that are fed by the anxiety of an aging white population concerned with controlling wealth, military power, and technical superiority over the rest of the world.

The role of women and people of color in the military under the leadership of 'liberal' white bosses is changing in front of our eyes. The presence of Blacks and Latinos in academia, in the medical professions, and in businesses is now a reality, but a reality still shocking many mainstream Americans from European ancestry. The reality of a democracy in transition, a somewhat misrepresented model of democracy for the world, will in the next few decades become transformed to accommodate a new social, ethnic, and economic reality in this country. The reality will be of a population that is multi-ethnic, multicultural, and perfectly competent to handle the institutions of this country, and to pursue the goals of technical, economic, and military superiority of the United States, with conditions: respect for people's differences, improving the ability to work across color, linguistic, and cultural lines, and doing away with prejudice of all sorts. Will America be able to succeed? The answer to this difficult question will manifest itself in increasing numbers of interracial and interethnic marriages, in the discovery of comfortable working relationships between mainstream people and 'ethnics', and in the ability of our intellectual leaders (university professors, teacher educators, and school teachers) to prepare our children of tomorrow to live and work in peace with anyone with whom they come in contact.

One of the implied conditions for the success of our democratic experiment in America is the ability of ethnic groups, especially the Latinos, who are growing the fastest and increasing most rapidly, to adapt to American society, to discover new identities which permit them to overcome prejudice and to achieve in school. I contend in a recent book (Trueba 1999) that Mexican immigrants and other Latinos develop new identities (beyond their ethnic identity) to cope with the challenges of living in American society, and that they create these identities as both genuine Latinos (Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, etc.) and genuine Americans — i.e., competent participants in American political and economic institutions, precisely because they are resilient and determined, capable of handling rough experiences, hunger, abuse, prejudice, and poverty. They find their strength in the creation of new communities that replicate their original communities in rural vil-

lages, their original kin systems, and the family ties they had in their countries of origin.

Resiliency and multiple identities are parts of a dynamic psychological living environment that demands a very flexible personality, a strong character, and superb physical and psychological well-being. The secret of resiliency is illustrated in the life of an immigrant woman, Lupita, who has recently decided to take American citizenship, knowing that she will be allowed to retain her Mexican rights and Mexican identity. She has also organized her family and friends, who, like her, have worked in this country for many years, to study for the citizenship examination. Why is she engaged in this way? To protect the community's children, the next generation, and to give them a chance to become educated and respected in this country. As Lupita told her children in front of me: 'Me ven así, llena de lodo y cansada? Me ven enferma y fregada? Bueno, pues estudien y estudien duro para que Uds. no sufran como yo; pero no se dejen. Con su aprovechamiento enséñenles a los *Bolillos* que Uds. sí pueden, y sí saben [You see me like this, muddy and tired? You see me sick and messed up? Well, now you study and study hard so you don't suffer as I have; but don't let them (the whites) beat you. With your school achievement, show the *Bolillos* (whites) that you can [learn] and that you know.'

This is the expression of *terquedad* that resounds throughout U.S. Latino communities; it is an expression that we will be hearing more and more in the future.

NOTE

¹ Portions of this chapter appeared in *Latinos Unidos: From Cultural Diversity to the Politics of Solidarity* by H. T. Trueba (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999).

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6

LANGUAGE CONFLICT AND IDENTITY: ARABIC IN THE AMERICAN DIASPORA

Aleya Rouchdy

This empirical study focuses on Arab-American communities in and around Dearborn, Michigan. These include Palestinian, Egyptian, Iraqi, and Yemeni groups. A major question is whether Arabic in its American diaspora follows the linguistic path of other diasporic contexts of the language, such as Moroccan Arabic in Holland or Algerian Arabic in France. The paper discusses the major features of change under borrowing and interference, attrition, and post-1960s attitudes toward ethnicity. Arab-American students (total seventy-nine) gave the following as their reasons for studying standard Arabic: ethnic identity (38%), religious affiliation (34%), fulfillment of academic language requirements (33%), importance of Arabic from a global perspective (24%), and influence of parental advice (5%). The conclusion sums up the major changes in diasporic Arabic in these Arab-American groups.

Introduction

As an Arab-American and a linguist, I have been interested in the spoken language used by Arab-Americans in Detroit for some time. Detroit is a unique laboratory for the study of Arabic as an ethnic minority language because the Detroit metropolitan area has the largest concentration of Arabs outside the Arab world. Their number has been estimated at between 260,000 to 350,000 in the southeastern part of Michigan, which consists of Wayne, Macomb, and Oakland counties.

The sociolinguistic approach of this paper examines the ways in which language contact and conflict situations explain changes that have occurred in the Arabic spoken by first-, second-, and third-generation Arab-Americans.

Arab immigration to the U.S., and to Michigan specifically, began in the 19th century. The majority of immigrants came from what was then called Greater Syria. They were mostly unskilled males and, for the most part, Christians. The second wave of immigration occurred after World War II. Among these new im-

migrants were Muslims from Lebanon, Palestine, and Yemen, as well as Christian Iraqis, mostly Chaldeans (Abraham & Abraham 1981:18).

In the 1950s and 60s, a third wave of Arab immigration landed in the U.S.; many of these new residents were students and professionals. They were Egyptians, Iraqis, Lebanese, Palestinians, and Syrians (El Kholly 1969). A fourth wave of immigrants consisting mostly of Lebanese and Palestinians occurred in the 1970s and 80s, owing to the war in Lebanon, and the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Finally, in the 1990s, a fifth wave came to the U.S., consisting of Palestinians, Lebanese, Egyptians, and Iraqi Muslims. According to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), from 1988 to 1990, approximately 60,000 Arabs took up residence in the Detroit area alone.

At first, the early-comers took up residence in the Dearborn area, which is located southwest of Detroit. Like any group of immigrants who first come to the U.S., Arab-Americans upon their arrival congregated in a neighborhood where they could mix with other Arab-Americans. They lived in this first community among people who try to maintain psychological, social, cultural, and linguistic support with their original homeland.

Some of Arab immigrants have remained within these early-established communities. Others, when they became economically better off, established themselves in different parts of the Detroit metro area. But, whenever possible, Arabs still congregate and establish specific speech communities whose members share common linguistic, social, and cultural features. For example, there is a Palestinian community in Livonia, on the west side of Detroit; an Egyptian group in Troy, on the east side of Detroit; and a large Iraqi community on Seven Mile Road, east of Detroit. A second Iraqi community was established in West Bloomfield, which is one of the most affluent suburbs in the Detroit metro area; and there are two Yemini communities, one in Hamtramack, north-east of Detroit, and a larger one in the Dearborn area. There are also Arab-American professionals that are scattered in the various suburbs around Detroit.

The Arab-Americans who have lived for years in the Dearborn area have recently been coming into contact with a steady flow of new Arab immigrants from the Arab world. After the Gulf war in 1990-91, many Iraqi Shi'a (40,000) were given refuge in the U.S., most of them coming to Michigan. This group consists largely of people who opposed the Iraqi regime and defected, first going to Saudi Arabia. But since the Saudis refused to give them permanent residence, they were allowed into the U.S. Another 15,000 to 20,000 Iraqis working for the CIA were also given refuge in the U.S. The majority of this group has settled in the Dearborn area. Actually, these refugees were first settled by the U.S. government in different parts of the country; but many decided to move to Michigan because of the large number of Arab-Americans already established in the area. This recently-arrived group consists of Shi'a as well as Sunni Kurds all of whom speak Arabic. Their children, who spoke only Arabic on arrival in the U.S., are presently attending American public schools. Taking into account these new arrivals and

the older members of the Arab community, 70% of the students in the Dearborn school system are of Arab-American background. Thus, all members of the well-established Arab-American community in Michigan, young and old, are coming into daily contact with the newly arrived Arabic-speaking immigrants.

It is commonplace to refer to 'Arab-Americans' as an entity. It should be noted, however, that the Arab-American community is a microcosm of the Arab world with all its varieties and divisions: politically, economically, religiously, and, of course, linguistically.

Thus, in the Detroit metro area there is an interesting double language-contact situation. In the first contact situation, different Arabic dialects come into contact, and in the second situation, different languages come into contact: Arabic, a minority language, is in contact with the dominant language, English.

The question is, then: What will the future of Arabic as an ethnic language in the Detroit metro area be? Or: How generally-representative is language contact within the Arab-American community in Michigan? Furthermore, one may ask whether Arabic in its American diaspora follows the linguistic path other languages in contact, such as Moroccan Arabic in Holland, or Algerian Arabic in France, have taken. With regard to any such questions the diglossic nature of Arabic is a factor that must be taken into consideration.

Data and focus

Most of the data presented in this paper was obtained from specific neighborhoods in Detroit, from my interviews during my visits to schools, during family gatherings such as weddings and other celebrations, and from a set of tape-recorded interviews conducted by my colleague May Seikaly for her research on an oral history of Palestinian Americans. Seikaly's interviews were not intended to examine the language situation of the speakers; however, they have been an interesting source of information for my research. These taped interviews consist of natural conversations between Seikaly and the mostly elderly participants. In these interviews, I was able to observe phenomena of code-switching and borrowing under very natural conditions. In Labov's terms, it was an observation of the vernacular: 'the style that is most regular in its structure and its relation to the evolution of language ... in which minimum attention is paid to monitoring speech' (Labov 1972a:112; 1972b:208).

I have categorized the speakers on the basis of their competence and performance in whatever language they speak. At one extreme, there are those who speak only Arabic. They live in neighborhoods inhabited mostly by newly-arrived Arab immigrants, so they rarely need English. People in this category have developed a pidginized variety of English, which they use in their limited dealings with monolingual English speakers. They are, for example, storekeepers, garage mechanics, or small grocers, and they use this pidginized variety mostly for business transactions. However, this form of pidginized speech is not acquired by the speakers' children, who learn Standard English at school for more informal inter-

actions with peers. Hence, this pidginized form evolved only for temporary use and has not creolized.

At the other extreme are those Arab-Americans who use only English. These monolingual English speakers have a very limited Arabic vocabulary, which consists mainly of lexical items related to food, or curse words. For example, one of the women Seikaly interviewed spoke English fluently and no Arabic whatsoever; however, she used a specific insult she remembered her father having used, to refer to a woman of ill repute (*sharmuta* — 'slut').

Between the two extremes, there are those speakers who use English for as many functions as they do Arabic. These communicatively bilingual speakers are categorized here according to their degree of bilingualism, based on the author's judgment of their competence and performance in Arabic and English. They are well-educated newcomers, or Arab-Americans married to Americans, or first-generation immigrants who have kept in touch with their parents' original homeland.

As mentioned previously, Detroit's Arab-Americans have immigrated from different parts of the Arab world; hence, they spoke different dialects of Arabic. They constitute a diverse linguistic community that incorporates many different speech subcommunities. Gumperz (cited in Hudson 1985:26) defined speech community as being 'any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction by means of a shared body of verbal signs and set off from similar aggregates by significant differences in language use.'

As a sociolinguist I am interested in examining the 'body of verbal signs' within the different speech communities to determine the choice of languages made by the speakers. In doing so, I will be looking into both the 'social restraints' as well as the 'grammatical restraints' (Gumpers 1964:138) that result from the language or dialect-contact situations.

Whenever languages are in contact three linguistic phenomena occur: code-switching, borrowing, and interference.

Code-switching occurs in the speech of competent bilingual speakers when both speaker and listener know the two languages involved well enough to differentiate items from either language at any moment during their speech. The speakers, when code-switching, alternate their use of the two languages within a single sentence or more. Linguistically speaking, as Michael Clyne stated, 'it {CS} often occurs within structural constraints which may be language specific or even universal.' (cited in Coulmas 1997:313) Sociolinguistically, Carol Myers-Scotten defined code-switching as '... an in-group mode of communication, rather than one used with strangers.' (cited in Coulmas 1997:232) In other words, code-switching occurs when the speakers share the same channels of communication and feel at ease with the two languages. The definition of code-switching I find clear and indicative is that of Einar Haugen (1973:521) who defined code-switching as 'the alternate use of two languages including everything from the

introduction of a single, unassimilated word up to a complete sentence or more in the context of another language'.

Borrowing, on the other hand, involves the transfer of lexical items from one language to another, not the alternating use of two languages. The borrowed items are either unchanged, or inflected like words of the same grammatical category in the borrowing language. The speaker is not necessarily a competent bilingual. He or she borrows from the socially dominant language and not from the language he or she knows best.

Interference occurs when grammatical rules of the dominant language affect grammatical rules of the subordinate language or borrowing language. Scotten explains convergence as a 'rearrangement of how grammatical frames are projected in one language under the influence of another language.' (cited in Coulmas 1997:229) Borrowing and interference are closely related. When borrowing occurs without interference, it is usually considered a code-switch.

Borrowing and interference

There are different points of view on borrowing and interference in the literature. Weinreich 1963 stresses the fact that differences in linguistic structures play a major role in the quantitative and qualitative aspects of borrowing and interference. Bickerton 1981 states that 'languages ... are systems, systems have structures, and things incompatible with those structures cannot be borrowed' (1963:50). Meyers Scotton & Okeju emphasize the importance of the 'sociocultural context' in borrowing. They maintain that the sociocultural context, not the structure involved, seems to be more important. In their study of Ateso (spoken in Uganda and Kenya), they wrote that 'the languages from which Ateso has borrowed so heavily all have very alien structures' (1973:889). This same idea is expounded by Thomason and Kaufman who observed that 'it is the social context, not the structure of the languages involved, that determines the direction and the degree of interference' (1988:19).

I am of the opinion that both the linguistic systems of the languages involved and the social context determine the amount and the types of borrowing and interference that occur when languages are in contact. For example, if we consider the structure of Arabic, a Semitic or Afroasiatic language, and that of English, an Indo-European language, such incompatible systems will not allow any borrowing, according to Bickerton. This statement can be refuted based on the research conducted on Arabic-English contact situations. Borrowing occurs easily on all linguistic levels in spite of the incompatibility between the structures of Arabic and English.

In examining the process of borrowing in the speech of Arab-Americans, I tried to answer the following questions: what can be borrowed, why is it borrowed, and how does interference, at the different linguistic levels, occur?

It was apparent in my data that the process of borrowing occurs in both directions, from English to Arabic and from Arabic to English. The process follows the pattern that has been observed in other borrowing situations. For instance, the largest number of borrowings, from English into Arabic, occurred in the category of nouns (Rouchdy 1992:39). They are nouns borrowed for items that are new to the speakers, or nouns that already exist in Arabic, but for which the existing word does not convey the same idea as the English noun: e.g., (1) *is-sitizen*, 'the citizen'; *il livin ruum*, 'the living room'. Other borrowed nouns are considered unnecessary borrowing such as: (2) *ikkaar*, 'the car'; *iddoor*, 'the door'; *ikkoot*, 'the coat'; *ishshooz*, 'the shoes'; where the definite article *al/il* is usually attached to the borrowed noun and the process of assimilation is applied. Thus, the Arabic phonological rules are applied to the borrowed English lexical items.

There are differences in the patterns of borrowing between the educated and semi-educated or less-educated speakers. For instance, a semi-educated person would say:

- (3) *tabax 'ala-l-stuuv* 'he cooked on the stove'
 (4) *tarakitha bi-k-kaar* 'she left her in the car'

An educated speaker would be more likely to convey the same meaning by saying:

- (5) *tabax on the stove* 'he cooked on the stove'
 (6) *tarakitha in the car* 'she left it in the car'

In (3) and (4), the prepositional phrase consists of an Arabic preposition and English derived noun. This is an example of borrowing. In (5) and (6), an English preposition is used with the English noun. It is a code-switch.

An additional difference between the linguistic performance of educated and semi-educated bilinguals, is the pronunciation of borrowed English lexical items. The semi-educated person pronounces English lexical items as closely as possible to the English phonotactic system. For example: 'dirty' is given as (7) *dary*, 'water' as *warer*. Intellectuals tend to borrow foreign words through their eyes, while others borrow through their ears' (Higa 1979:284).

Scotton & Okeju have observed that 'borrowed verbs are relatively few; in general they stand for new concepts' (1973:887). In my data, this did not prove to be the case; and verbs constituted the second largest category of borrowing. For example;

- (8) *fakkasna assayara*
 Fixed-we-the-car
 'We fixed the car'
 (9) *kalniit il-beet*
 cleaned-I-the-house
 'I cleaned the house'

- (10) *kolmi bukre*
 'call me tomorrow'

These concepts are not new to the speakers. These items are an 'unnecessary' borrowing resulting from the strong contact between Arabic and English, among these speakers.

Nicholas Sobin, in his study 'Texas Spanish and lexical borrowing', described borrowed lexical items in terms of 'semantic/syntactic features,' meaning 'features of lexical items which play a role in syntactic (transformational) behavior of sentences containing these items' (1982:167). He found a restriction in the English verbs borrowed into Texas Spanish. Such verbs can be 'freely replaced by a form of *do so*... and only Vs replaceable by ... *do so* in English have been borrowed' (1982:168-9).

In the case of U.S. Arabic, speakers borrow both types of verbs, the *do so* and the non-*do so* verbs. However, there are restrictions that shape the borrowing process with each type; some of these restrictions are syntactically determined, others semantically determined. For instance, the *do so* verbs in the following example take an object that can be replaced by a pronoun; that pronoun is never borrowed. The Arabic object pronoun is always suffixed to the borrowed English verbs:

- (11) *kaheet id-daar*
 Cleaned-I-the-house
 'I cleaned the house'

- (12) *baraknaa-ha*
 Parked-we-it
 'We parked it'

It would be ungrammatical to say:

- (13) *barakna-it*
 'We parked it'

Here the English verbs are adapted to the phonological patterns of Arabic grammar, but most importantly, the morphological patterns of Arabic grammar are also adapted.

The non-*do so* verbs follow a different pattern.
 For example:

- (14) I see inti sayra *muthaqafa*
 'I see you became educated'

- (15) I swear inti *majnuuna*
 'I swear you [are] crazy'

- (16) I know inti *ju9ana*
 I know you [are] hungry

The verbs, *see*, *swear*, and *know* are not adapted to the Arabic morphological pattern. The restriction results from the syntactic characteristics of the verbs; the non-*do so* verbs in the above examples have complement-clause boundaries rather than the strict noun-phrase boundaries of the *do so* verb sentences. In the case of non-*do so* verbs, the speakers transferred the English verb and pronoun into the Arabic structure without modification; these are instances of code-switching.

In addition to this syntactic restriction on the process of verb borrowing, there is a semantic restriction. The non-*do so* verbs used in the speech of Arab-Americans expressed a state of mind; this was not characteristic of *do so* verbs (typical examples are *see*, *believe*, *swear*, *understand*, etc.). Furthermore, these verbs in context are not easy to translate into Arabic. A literal translation does not convey the exact meaning. For example,

- (17) I swear *inti majnuuna*
'I swear you [are] crazy'

The phrase *I swear* would be translated literally into Arabic as *Hhlif*. However, the statement (17) **aHlif inti majnuuna* is unacceptable. The correct translation would be

- (18) *wallahi inti majnuuna!*
'By God, you [are] crazy!'

Where the underlying structure is:

- 'I swear by God that you are crazy!'

Thus, when borrowing, the bilingual speaker automatically conducts a linguistic analysis: verbs with a literal equivalent in Arabic are easily borrowed. For example:

- (9) *kalneet id-daar*
Cleaned-I-the-house
'I cleaned the house'

The verb *to clean* has the Arabic equivalent *nathaff* with similar semantic features. The sentence *kalneet id-daar*, 'I cleaned the house,' is semantically acceptable in the speech of Arab-Americans. This is a simple verb with no restrictions on its selection. But verbs with complex restrictions are code-switched. Cases where Arab-American speakers use unacceptable structures such as (17) *ahlif inti majnuuna!*, to translate the English, 'I swear you [are] crazy,' reflect in Nancy Dorian's words, 'asymmetry' (1981:155). Asymmetry occurs when the linguistic skills of a speaker are unbalanced; such a speaker is a noncompetent bilingual, or 'semi-speaker,' whose linguistic production is similar to other reductive language systems, such as the language of children or pidgin language.

Adjectives are usually not easily borrowed but are code-switched. Nicholas Sobin found only one adjective borrowed from English into Texas Spanish (*to-fudo* for 'tough'). According to Sobin, the Texas Spanish speaker did not con-

sider it an adjective and added the 'adjectivalizing suffix *-udo* (1982:169). In another study on Australian English and German, Clyne noted that 'transferred adjectives are almost invariably left uninflected' (1967:35-6).

My interpretation of the Arabic spoken by Arab-Americans supports those mentioned in the above studies (Rouchdy 1992). Arab-American speakers use borrowed English adjectives without inflecting them, unlike Arabic adjectives, which must agree with the noun they modify in gender, number, and definiteness. For example, 'you (fem) [are] lucky' would be given as:

(19) *inti laki*

(20) *inta leezi* for 'you (ms) [are] lazy'

It would be ungrammatical to use Arabic morphology and say:

(21) **inti lakiyy-a*

(22) **hiyya beautiful-a*, 'she (is) beautiful'

Why are adjectives switched rather than borrowed? Do adjectives and verbs share similar semantic features in this regard? This point has been discussed by Lakoff 1966 and Sobin 1982.

Adjectives such as *beautiful*, *cheap*, *lazy*, and so on, denote a state of mind, they are restricted like non-*do so* verbs and cannot be borrowed: they are switched. During my observation, one of the speakers made the following statement:

(23) *nayselluh*

Nice-you (mas)-to-him

'Say something nice to him'

In this case he makes a verb out of the adjective *nice*. The hypothetical sentence 'John nayselu and Bill did so, too' would be accepted by the speaker involved. Thus, the verb created from the adjective *nice* is a *do so* verb, which can be borrowed and adapted to the Arabic grammatical pattern. Additional research on the borrowing of adjectives in other situations of language contact will contribute greatly to the analysis of restrictions on borrowing.

Attrition of ethnic languages

Most studies of minority languages or ethnic languages are consistent in their conclusions that the use of ethnic language gradually decreases with successive generations due to a process of assimilation. There are certain events, however, that might lead to an ethnic revival. In an article entitled 'The third generation in America', Marcus L. Hansen (1952:496) points out that ethnic identity takes place in the course of three generations, and that there is a return to ethnicity in the third generation. Nahirny & Fishman on the other hand, maintain that 'the ethnic heritage, including the ethnic mother tongue, usually ceases to play any viable role in the life of the third generation.' (Nahirny & Fishman 1965:311). In

general, both views are correct. In order for the third-generation Americans to return to their ancestral ethnicity, there are certain social events that must take place. Subsequently, this rise in ethnicity might lead to the learning of the ethnic language.

Fishman (1985:114) wrote about the attrition of ethnic languages such as French, German, Italian, Polish, Spanish, and Yiddish in the United States based on 1960 and 1970 census data, and stated that most who claim non-English mother-tongues no longer use them. Except for Spanish, the attrition rate of the other languages is 36%, while for Spanish it is 19%. This is, of course, due to the large number of those who claim Spanish as mother-tongue, and due also to the continuous waves of new immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries.

Arabic speakers in the Detroit metro area share with Spanish speakers these two factors: first, the continuous arrival of new immigrants in their neighborhoods. Second, a large number of Arab-American speakers maintain that Arabic is their mother-tongue.

How and why do Arab-Americans become so inclined toward their heritage language, especially since this has not always been the case? Early in this century, the idea of maintaining minority languages or enhancing 'cultural pluralism' was not favored by politicians, academicians, or the public in general. Gleason (1984:222) stated that the fear that immigration in the U.S. could affect 'national culture' led to the 'espousal of the idea of assimilation and amalgamation. Assimilation was then used interchangeably with Americanization.'

The earliest group of Arab-Americans who immigrated after World War II tried to disassociate themselves from their ethnic heritage, especially its language, because of the way they were viewed by others. Actually, as a reaction to the prevailing anti-ethnic feeling and the pressure for conformity and assimilation, some Arab-Americans went as far as to Anglicize their names to escape discrimination at work, or when applying for a job such as: Mohamad became Mike, Saleh became Sally, Bushra became Bouchard, and Asham became Ashman

A quotation from Gregory Orfalea's 1988 book, *Before the Flames: A Quest for the History of Arab-Americans*, reflects the attitude of Arab-Americans towards their ancestral language or heritage language in the early part of this century.

It was for this generation, ... the most Americanized of all, that Arabic was a tongue whispered in warmth or shouted when a glass was broken at the dinner table. It was not the language that made friends or secured work, and it certainly was not useful in assembling a field rifle in the army (Orfalea 1988:107).

This quotation vividly reflects Arab-American attitudes, at that time, towards the use of Arabic. Where was Arabic used? It was used secretly within one's home. It was used to express one's emotion, 'a warm whisper of love', or 'a shout' to reprimand a loved one. But it was not considered an appropriate language to be

used outside the sanctity of one's home. It was not the 'language that made friends,' and if used it would isolate and alienate its speakers who will never be accepted in American society at large, not make friends, nor become good patriots, since 'it certainly was not useful in assembling a field rifle in the army.'

Later, however, there were some social factors that had an impact on the use of Arabic in the American diaspora, and altered the feeling of paranoia that prevailed among Arab-Americans. These factors affected the maintenance of the language, and led to its transmission to subsequent generations.

Post-1960s attitude toward ethnicity

Since the mid-1960s, there has been a shift towards an acceptance of ethnicity, although somewhat hypocritical. This shift is due to three major social changes, both in the U.S. and the Arab worlds. These social changes have had an impact on the use of minority languages in general and led to the revival, or rebirth, of an ethnic pride and identity.

First, the civil rights movement in the U.S. during the latter part of the 1950s and in the 60s encouraged the assertion of racial and ethnic identity and the rejection of the traditional concept of the melting pot. This led to the promulgation of legislation prohibiting discrimination based on race, ethnicity, religion, and gender.

Second, the convoluted political realities widespread in the Arab world continue to provide strong reasons for immigration from Arabic-speaking countries. Hence, the number of fluent speakers, many of whom are well educated, is increasing in the U.S. and there is a larger social context within which it is appropriate to speak Arabic.

Third, the revival of a Muslim identity in the Arab world and among Arab-American Muslims, has created a need for the language with which they can fulfill their religious duties and a pride in their identity as Muslims. In other words, this revival of Muslim identity created a special function for Arabic — a religious function, because only Arabic can be used to fulfill the obligation of the most important pillar of Islam, the prayer.

This revival of a Muslim identity is apparent on Fridays in Dearborn, where mosques are full at the time of the noon prayer, and where many women walk to the mosques wearing their Islamic attire. In fact, the wearing of Islamic attire by Muslim women in the Dearborn area has been on the increase. It is noticeable in the streets and in some schools.

In an article entitled 'Divided loyalties: Language and ethnic identity in the Arab world', Holt stated that 'Given that language is probably the most powerful symbol of ethnicity, it therefore forms a basis of identity for millions who are politically separated' (cited in Suleiman 1994:11-24). In other words, language dis-

tinguishes one person from another, and one group from another group. This is quite true, but Holt's remark was in connection with ethnic languages in the Arab world where minority languages are indigenous to the area — languages such as Kurdish, Berber, or Nubian. These are indigenous minority languages that are in contact with a dominant language, Arabic. In these situations of language contact, the ethnic-minority language might erode, and such an erosion might lead to language death.

Arabic, on the other hand, as an ethnic language in the diaspora, faces a totally different fate. It might be affected linguistically by English to the point where it ceases to be used among some Arab-Americans, but it will never die. Hence, the difference between these two cases of language contact and conflict is that in the first case the ethnic language might be totally eroded, but in the second case the language is only attrited and can be retrieved and learned at any time.

In reference to ethnic languages in 'Ethnic Unit Classification', Narroll (1964:283-312) stated that there is a 'mouth to mouth' and 'mind to mind' transmission between different generations of both ethnic groups and speech communities. This statement expresses well the situation of Arabic in the diaspora. 'Mouth to mouth' refers to the transmission of the dialect spoken at home, while 'mind to mind' refers to the transmission of ideas. The idea of the Arabic language is what we refer to as the standard of classical Arabic language. It is this aspect of Arabic that acts as a unifying force among all speakers of the language. It is a common denominator that is bringing Arab speakers together, whether in the Arab world or among ethnic groups in the diaspora. It is an expression of identity. One might use here the defunct term of 'Pan-Arab' identity.

Thus, the classical/standard form of Arabic creates a sense of ethnic identity among Arab-Americans who belong to different speech communities. Suzanne Romaine, when referring to the sociolinguistic variation in speech communities, said the 'individuals [in a community as a whole] may share the same *Sprachbund* without necessarily sharing the same *Sprechbund*' (1982:24). Classical Arabic is the *Sprachbund* that acts as a symbol that differentiates or identifies not only those who use it, but also those who understand it, as being different from others, the non-Arabic speakers. It is a language from which members of the different speech communities draw support and upon which they build their Arab-American ethos in the diaspora. Hence, it creates a bond of solidarity and an ethnic identity that raises a feeling of 'us versus them'.

There is another factor that comes into the picture in which the 'us versus them' feeling is also expressed, and that is the diversity of dialects. Using Romaine's terminology, Arab-Americans do not share the same *Sprechbund*, since they came from different parts of the Arab world. They have different dialects, which they use in their daily contact with each other. This situation also erects a barrier between 'us' and 'them', them being those from other dialect areas. Hence, this multiple dichotomy between Arabs and non-Arabs, and between Arab

speakers of different Arab dialects, shapes the expression of the Arab-American identity. It is a dichotomy that has both a negative and a positive linguistic impact. It is negative in the sense that the language can go through a process of attrition, and a positive impact in the sense that a new linguistic form can develop that is understood by members of the different Arabic speech-communities.

In *The Arabic Language in America* (Rouchdy 1992), there are reports of three studies in which the fate of Arabic in the diaspora is viewed differently. First, Badr Dweik in his study of 'Lebanese Christians in Buffalo: Language maintenance and language shift' concludes by saying that 'Arabic was abandoned because it had no religious or nationalistic value to these Lebanese.' (Dweik 1992:117)

On the other hand, Linda Walbridge, in her study 'Arabic in the Dearborn Mosque', discusses the relationship between Islam and the retention of Arabic in Dearborn. As she points out, the long-term future of Arabic depends on its survival as a medium of religious ritual (Walbridge 1992). Third, Sawaie in his article entitled 'Arabic in the Melting Pot: Will it survive?', states that the large number of Arab immigrants who came to the U.S. from 1900 to 1910 were determined to protect the mother tongue' (Sawaie 1992:94). Arabic seems to be the social glue that bonded the community together at that time, reinforced by its use in some churches, mosques, and community newspapers. However, with the change in the political climate and the incessant attacks on Arabs in the West, the second generation of Arab-Americans gave up their loyalty to their heritage-language, standard or dialect. Sawaie predicts that the language of the Arabic-speaking immigrants who have recently arrived in the U.S. will erode. I disagree with Sawaie's prediction and with Dweik's assessment, especially in a city such as Detroit for the following reasons.

Recently, in Detroit, there has been a revival in the use of Arabic among Arab-Americans. This revival is reflected in the increasing number of Arabic TV programs, Arabic newspapers, and cable networks that transmit directly from the Arab world. Furthermore, national religious academies have been established and private schools in which Arabic and Islamic studies are taught have been opened. Arabic as a foreign language is taught in some public schools. Moreover, there is a definite increase in enrollment in Arabic classes in the different universities in Michigan. This has also been pointed out in New York (*New York Times Sunday*, November 8) where there are 13 Arabic schools with an enrollment of 2,400, and in New Jersey there are at least 10 private Islamic schools.

I recently conducted a survey of 79 Arab-American students studying standard Arabic as a foreign language at Wayne State University: 77 out of the 79 stated that Arabic is very important to them. The subjects gave the following categories of reasons for their interest:

38% Ethnic identity

34% Religious affiliation

33% Fulfilling a language requirement

24% The importance of Arabic from a global perspective

5% The influence of parental advice

The students who responded to the questionnaire belonged to different speech-communities: they have different dialect backgrounds. They are studying standard Arabic as a foreign language. Thus, it is standard Arabic that bonds these students together. Furthermore, it is standard Arabic that also bonds non-student Arab-Americans in the different speech-communities to form one large linguistic community referred to by everyone as the Arab-American community in Detroit.

The diglossic nature of the Arabic language itself creates a strong relationship between the learning of standard Arabic as a foreign language, and the maintenance of the different dialects. This association is what differentiates Arabic from other ethnic nondiglossic languages in the diaspora. The question to ask here would be: Does the learning of standard/classical Arabic as a foreign language help maintain the spoken language that is used at home among Arab-Americans?

Indeed, the formal learning of standard Arabic might revive the student's ethnic identity and spiritual motivation, which could lead to a retrieval of the spoken language. However, the learning of standard Arabic will not prevent the changes that occur whenever the different dialects or languages come into contact.

As a result of this language-contact situation, an ethnic language develops, a language that is used among speakers in the diaspora. It does not correspond to any specific dialect variety, nor does it correspond to standard Arabic. It is a situation of language-shift that creates an ethnic language, or a lingua franca, understood only by members within this specific linguistic community and that has a specific functional use.

This lingua franca is not understood by Arab immigrants outside the U.S., as in France, or Holland, or Germany. Comparative research of the use of Arabic in different parts of the diaspora will be of great value to the field of sociolinguistics. For instance, how does Arabic, a language in contact in the U.S., differ linguistically and sociolinguistically from Arabic in different non-Muslim Western countries, on the one hand, and in Muslim non-Western countries, on the other hand?

Conclusion

To sum up these thoughts about Arabic as an ethnic language in the diaspora and its future, I would like to stress two points. First, there will always be skill-attribution in the Arabic spoken in the diaspora because of constant contact with a dominant language. However, when skill-attribution occurs, it is only in the immigrants' linguistic repertoire, and such attrition can easily be reversed for the language to be learned. Usually, it is the standard Arabic language that is formally learned. Such

learning of the standard, in many cases, leads to the acquisition of a specific dialect.

Second, the changes that occur in the ethnic language, because of contact with the dominant language, should not be considered as an erosion of the speaker's competence in Arabic, but rather as an accomplishment of performance resulting in an ethnic language, or a lingua franca, that acts as a bond among Arab-Americans and that might also help toward the learning or maintenance of one's ancestral language.

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LANGUAGE IDENTITIES IN MOROCCO: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Elabbas Benmamoun

In Morocco, four languages occupy the linguistic space: Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Berber, and French. The complex interplay among these languages is driven by religion, ethnicity, and issues of identity, education, and development. This chapter provides the historical background of the current linguistic situation and how it evolved over the last fourteen centuries and discusses the factors that are relevant to the current debate about language policy in Morocco.

Introduction

Issues of language and identity usually arise when more than one language competes for space, be it cultural, political, educational, or economic. In such situations, adoption of a particular language as official or standard to the exclusion of any other gives political legitimacy and prestige to one variety and leads to feelings of exclusion, marginalization, and alienation of speakers of the excluded language who claim it as part of their identity.

In the Arab world (i.e., countries that are members of the Arab League), the recent demonstrations in Algeria by Berber speakers against the policy of Arabization are but one manifestation of this interplay of language and identity. What is significant, but was not discussed by observers of the situation, is that the presence of French in Algeria or Morocco may not necessarily arouse the same emotions in the same people who are protesting Arabization. To an outsider, this may seem puzzling, but once we understand the linguistic history and reality of the Maghreb (the area that traditionally includes Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia) we can start to appreciate the dynamics of the linguistic situation as it relates to questions of identity. Some languages may not be in competition because of the roles they serve.

Critical issues pertaining to the linguistic situations in countries where Arabic is the official language have not received adequate attention outside those

countries. Most people are familiar with the phenomenon of diglossia in the Arab world, where two varieties of the same broad language family exist side-by-side with separate roles and degrees of prestige (Ferguson 1959 and subsequent work). However, in these countries, particularly in the Maghreb but also in Iraq and the Sudan, this phenomenon is but one part of a complex linguistic problem that involves religion, issues of education, development, and ethnicity.

In this chapter, I would like to provide a historical background to the language situation in the Arab world and to its social and political dimensions. This background will be useful in understanding the specific issue of Arabic in the diaspora. This historical survey will hopefully help shed some light on the relation between Arabic and identity in the countries from which the diaspora communities of the Maghreb in Europe originate. To understand the questions that relate to Arabic within these diaspora communities, it is useful to understand the complexities of the language situation in the country or area of reference, something that is usually missing in the debates about Arabic in diaspora.

Area of focus: The Maghreb

I will focus on the Maghreb with special attention to Morocco. The issues and interpretations raised here will not automatically extend to the Middle East and the Gulf (see Suleiman 1994), because of their different ethnic and linguistic make-up and colonial history. I have chosen to separate the two areas because their linguistic situations are different, despite the fact that all the countries use Standard or Classical Arabic as the official language. The two areas are different in their historical experiences, which have led to different linguistic realities. For example, the Maghreb was a French colony, which radically altered the linguistic balance in the three countries, namely Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. Secondly, the countries of the Maghreb, particularly Algeria and Morocco, have sizable populations that use Berber as a mother tongue, often in addition to the local colloquial Arabic dialects. In both areas, Islam is the majority religion which, in turn, gives Classical Arabic a prominent position, as we shall see below. However, religion is not the factor that relates these two areas, but rather language and its cultural heritage.

If one wants to define who 'an Arab is', a possible definition would be one who claims Arabic as his or her mother tongue and claims to share a cultural heritage with the inhabitants of other Arab countries. In other words, somebody from Morocco would claim as part of his or her heritage and culture the sociologist Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) from Tunisia, the Andalusian Ibn Rushd/Averoes (1126-98), the Persian born philosopher and physician Ibn Sina/Avicenna (980-1037), and the contemporary Egyptian Nobel laureate Najib Mahfuz, to name but a few. The same heritage could be claimed by anyone from Oman, Yemen, or Saudi Arabia. There is no question that there has always been a common bond (though not necessarily political in nature) among the inhabitants of the Arab countries. For example, in the 14th century one could travel from Fes in Morocco to Baghdad

via Qairawane in Tunisia, Cairo in Egypt, and Damascus in Syria and still feel that he or she shared his or her identity with the inhabitants of those countries (Hourani 1991).

From this brief introduction, one can start to see the complexity of the situation. For example, while the Berbers complain about the dominance of Arabic, they are all Muslims; therefore, their religion gives a special place to Arabic. Arab nationalists or Arabists, on the other hand, see a purely linguistic and cultural dimension to Arabic that unifies Muslims and Christians. In this view, the Islamic heritage is considered only part of the larger Arab heritage that Muslims share with Christians.

The current linguistic situation in Morocco

There are four main languages that occupy the linguistic space in Morocco. Some are in direct contention for the same space, others occupy a different space or are trying to make their own space. The four languages are Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, Berber, and French.

(1) Classical Arabic is a written language used mainly in formal education, media, administration, and religion. It is the official language, dominant in written literary forms, though there are also newspapers, media broadcast, and literary words in Moroccan Arabic. Classical Arabic cannot be claimed to be anyone's native language on par with, say, Moroccan Arabic. It is learnt only through formal instruction.

(2) Moroccan Arabic is the native language for the majority of the population. It is the language of popular culture but, as just indicated, there are also works of literature and the arts (TV and cinema) and newspapers produced in this medium. Like other colloquial dialects of Arabic, Moroccan Arabic shares many properties with Classical Arabic that point to a common background; but there are also significant differences between the languages at the lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic levels.

(3) Berber is the language of the original people of Morocco. It is the native language of about 40% of the population (estimates vary). It is not recognized as an official language, but it is nonetheless a language of a vibrant culture.

(4) French is not an official language, but it is dominant in higher education, particularly in the sciences, in some sectors of the media, and in some industries, such as banking. There are also cultural activities in French (usually referred to as Francophone literature).

Historical background of the current situation

The Arab conquest and the process of Arabization

Berber, the original language of Morocco, is a member of the Afroasiatic branch that includes also the Semitic and Cushitic languages. At the dawn of the Arab conquest in the second half of the 7th century, its space stretched from Morocco to Egypt, including Mali and Niger.

The Arabs brought with them Islam and Arabic. The conversion of the Berbers was so swift, in some areas at least, that a military force made up mostly of Berber soldiers under the leadership of a Berber commander was assembled to invade Spain and establish a Muslim state that produced some of the great works of literature, sciences, and philosophy by Arab, Berber, and Jewish scholars, all written in Arabic. The first dynasties that ruled Morocco were Berber dynasties, the Almoravids (1056-1147), the Almohads (1130-1269), and the Marinides (1196-1464). Subsequent dynasties were considered Arab, or at least this is how they defined themselves.

The Arabs brought with them two varieties of Arabic. The first was Classical Arabic, the language of Islam. Indeed, Islam gives a privileged position to Arabic. It is the language of the Qu'ran and prayers are conducted only in Arabic. Thus, it is not surprising that those who want to maintain the position of Arabic in spheres other than religion rely on verses of the Qu'ran and sayings attributed to the Prophet that explicitly proclaim the unique position of Classical Arabic.

The second variety brought to Morocco by the Arabs was colloquial Arabic. The fact that diglossia (in the sense of Ferguson 1959 and subsequent work) always characterized the societies where Arabic was spoken has been documented in one form or another for the early centuries of Islam. The most complete evidence comes from Spanish Arabic (Coriente 1977) and the colloquial dialects of Arabic spoken in the Maghreb in the Middle Ages. Those dialects, which bear a close resemblance to the modern dialects in the Maghreb, were clearly different from Classical Arabic on all linguistic levels: lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic.

Arabization of the Maghreb intensified with mass immigration from the east, particularly of Banu Hilal and Banu Maaqil in the 12th century (Hourani 1991). Though these waves of immigration were not in massive numbers, particularly in Morocco, they did play a role in Arabizing the coastal areas. A more important factor in the Arabization process, however, was the influx of Arab speakers from southern Spain (Andalusia) after the end of the Arab-Muslim rule in Spain towards the end of the 15th century, and the persecution of the Arabic-speaking Muslim population, which intensified during the Spanish Inquisition (Boukous 1995). We know that most of the major cities in Morocco, such as Fes, Meknes, Tetuan, Rabat, and Marrakech, had sizable Arab populations, but most of the countryside, particularly in the mountainous areas and the South, remained predominantly Berber up to the French colonial period early in this century.

Another factor for the relatively speedy Arabization of the Maghreb is the fact that Berber did not have a standard writing system and had not established itself as the language of scholarship (particularly religious scholarship) or administration. Similar to the situation in the educational institutions in the East, in the main learning centers in the Maghreb, particularly the Al-qarawiyyin mosque in Morocco and the Al-Zaytuna mosque in Tunisia, Classical Arabic was the only language of teaching and scholarship.

The presence of French in Morocco

When the French officially occupied Morocco in 1912, the linguistic map comprised the three languages mentioned above: Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, and Berber.

Before the French occupation, the educational system for the Muslim community consisted of traditional Islamic education, essentially Qur'anic (religious) schools. In the old university of Qarawiyyin in Fes the education system was inadequate; mostly it involved old methods of education, under which students spent years, if not decades, memorizing works of grammar and *fiqh* (jurisprudence). The sciences were virtually neglected. A letter from King Mohammed ben Abdellah (1757-1790), quoted in Al-Jabiri 1985, illustrates the situation clearly. It decreed that:

Anyone who wants to engage in logic, the sciences of philosophy, and the books of Sufism should do that at home with his friends who do not know what they are talking about. Anybody who engages in those studies in the mosques will be punished and will have only himself to blame [translation EB].

I provide this quote to show vividly how easy it was for French as a language to establish itself firmly as a serious contender for linguistic space. The ground was ripe for the French to introduce a completely alien system of education that did not need to build on the traditional Arabic educational system. The graduates of the French system naturally ended up reproducing it.

The system of education under French colonial rule consisted of five main components (Jabiri 1985).

- (1) A European system for the French and other Europeans.
- (2) A Jewish system for the Jewish community
- (3) A Muslim system, but predominantly French in scope.
- (4) A limited traditional Islamic system.
- (5) Free schools system. (Set up by private organizations, these schools were nationalistic in focus).

The main objective of the French schools was to produce professionals with limited education who could not challenge the French occupation. The declared aim

was to keep the majority of Moroccans within a narrow and limited horizon so as not to endanger the colonial system.

On the other hand, the schools for the Moroccan elite were intended to give children of high Moroccan government officials and wealthy families a French education so that they would not feel obliged to go to the Middle East where they would be exposed to pan-Arabic and pan-Islamic ideas.

With respect to the Berbers, the French had an entirely different agenda, which backfired. The plan was to set up Berber schools where the children could be shielded from Arabic and Islamic culture because the French administration's interests '[oblige them] to help the Berber evolve outside the framework of Islam,' in the words of Lyautey (arguably the most influential French administrator in Morocco). As Roger Gaudefroy-Demombynes, a high-ranking officer of the colonial administration explicitly said:

... [it is] dangerous to allow the formation of a united phalanx of Moroccans having one language. We must utilize to our advantage the old dictum 'divide and rule.' The presence of a Berber race is a useful instrument for counterbalancing the Arab race.

The linguistic dimension of this educational policy was to avoid giving any prominent position to Arabic within the Berber community, since Arabic was the language of Islam, the faith of both Arabs and Berbers, and also the linguistic anchor that linked the Maghreb to the East. As the French official Marty put it:

[The Franco-Berber school is] French in its instruction and life, Berber in its pupils and environment...Therefore, there is no foreign intermediary. All Arabic instruction, all institutions by the *fqih* [Koranic school teacher], every Islamic manifestation will be resolutely avoided.

Piquet 1918 further argues that the creation of Franco-Berber schools

... is an excellent, but unfortunately late idea in our possessions in the Maghreb ... [A] significant part of the population in Morocco does not speak Arabic or speaks the two languages and we have no interest in spreading Arabic, the language of pan-Islamism [translation EB].

This policy culminated in the infamous Berber Decree (Dahir of 1914, enacted in 1930) whose direct aim was to set up different judicial systems for Arabs and Berbers, but which was seen by the nationalists as part of the attempt to divide the country by separating Arabs and Berbers. The enactment of the Berber Decree led to protests by both Berbers and Arabs. The Berbers revolted partly because the decree was taken as an attempt to weaken Islam among the Berber community and to divide the country. For the Arabs, it was seen as an attempt to deny the Muslim and Arab identity of Morocco.

These reactions clearly show the different legitimizing factors for Classical Arabic. For the Berbers, Classical Arabic is crucial to their identity as Muslims. So, to be denied this language is to be denied their religious identity. For the Arabs,

Classical Arabic is the anchor to the East and to deny it is to deny unity with other Arab countries. Some of the influential leaders of the nationalist movement, such as Allal Al-Fassi, leader of the Independence Party, had a traditional Islamic education in Morocco and the Middle East and envisaged post-independence Morocco as an Arab country, with Arabic replacing French as the main language of education and of all cultural, political, and economic spheres.

This brief survey of the educational system and its linguistic dimensions in the colonial period shows the extent to which the French colonial administration attempted to use language as a wedge between the two main groups of the Moroccan population. Though the policy to divide the two groups ultimately failed, the interplay between the languages in Morocco became more complicated with the entrenchment of French in the country through the occupation of the educational and economic spaces.

The postcolonial period

After the end of the colonial period 1956, Morocco inherited systems of education and administration in which French was dominant. Though Classical Arabic was recognized in the constitution of independent Morocco as the only official language, in the education system, apart from Classical Arabic in religion courses, all the subjects in the school curriculum were taught in French. In fact, a significant number of the teaching corps was composed of French or Moroccan graduates of the French colonial education system who could not, or felt they could not, teach in Arabic.

The situation of having an educational system dominated by a colonial language was obviously not acceptable to the leaders of the independence movement, who since 1956 have become either members of the government or the opposition. Since the early years of independence, calls were made to Arabicize the education and administration systems. The continuing presence of French was seen as a symbol that the country had not fully attained its independence.

The graduates of the traditional and non-official schools of the colonial period (called free schools) who had often finished their graduate educations in the Middle East, mainly in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, had a view of Morocco after independence as an Arab country whose ties should be with the Arab East. The following letter from the newspaper, *Al-Alam* (the mouthpiece of the Isqal moderate/conservative party) addressed to the prime minister in 1973, clearly sums up the argument for Arabization:

We would like to draw your attention to the fact that this foreign language [French] is still dominant in the administration, such as agriculture, taxation, education, postal and communication service, law enforcement, local councils, and commerce. Though a few citizens know this language, the overwhelming majority of the citizens do not know it. Therefore, their interests are ignored because of the administration's insistence on using a foreign language. Using a foreign language to

deal with the interests of the Moroccan Muslim citizens is considered an infringement on Islam, the Qu'ran, and the national language decreed by the constitution. [Translation EB]

This argument, based on religion, has been revived recently by religious conservatives. This current of thought has always existed in Morocco, but now is more influential as a political force. Given its ideology, it lays claims to Classical Arabic, but for different reasons than those of Arab Nationalism.

The argument for Arabization was also embraced by Arab nationalists, but for different reasons. Here, the main argument is not based on the religious identity of the country, but rather on the idea that Morocco is an Arab country that should also aspire to Arab unity; a goal that is not attainable as long as Arabic is in a turf-battle with French. In this respect, the presence of French was, and is still, seen as an obstacle to the effort to firmly bind Morocco to the other Arab countries.

The ideas of Arab nationalism were dominant in the Middle East, particularly in the third quarter of this century. I should point out that the idea of an Arab nation as a political entity is relatively modern (the concept of a common bond between Arabs has always existed; what is new is the notion that the countries with Arabic as official language share a common bond and presumably a single cultural entity that can justify forming a single political entity). This idea had its beginnings in the Middle East as a reaction to the excesses of the Ottoman Empire that ruled the Arab provinces (Duri 1987). For example, common complaints, which echo those against the French colonial administration in Morocco, included (i) education in Turkish, (ii) administration in Turkish, including court proceedings, (iii) officials who are not Arabs and speak limited Arabic, if any. The push for Arabism took different forms, such as the publication of Arabic masterpieces from the golden age of Arabic civilization and the formation of societies to advance the interests of the Arab subjects of the Ottoman Empire. It has since taken different tones and arguments as the events evolved starting with breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the British and French colonialism in the area, to the events of the second half of this century, the Suez crisis, the Arabic-Israeli conflict, and the Algerian war of independence, to mention the three main factors that played a role in this debate. According to Arabic nationalist-inspired discourse, 'comprehensive Arabization is a necessary condition to confirm our identity' (Al-Jabiri 1985:147). The process of Arabization must 'aim not just to get rid of French but also, and importantly, ... the local Berber and Arabic dialects, and the ban on using any language or dialect in the school, the radio, and television other than Classical Arabic'. According to this view, Classical Arabic is central to the national and pan-Arab identity. The other languages are seen as obstacles to attaining that goal.

The graduates of the French system, many of whom finished their educations in France, were not as ready to embrace Arabisation. They wanted an independent Morocco, but they were not eager to dismantle the system of education

left by the French. Therefore, they did not object to the continuing presence of French as the language of education and administration. In addition to the advantages it gave them, they saw it as one way to stay connected to the West. They were not hostile to Arabic, but they saw no conflict between Arabic and French co-existing with separate functions. As far as Berber was concerned, they were not eager to give it the prominent role desired by its advocates.

As far as the Berber leaders were concerned, they wanted a recognition of the place of Berber in the Moroccan identity beyond the folkloric representation of Berber culture for tourism and entertainment. They advocated a more prominent role for Berber and felt threatened by Arab nationalism, especially by the central role it gave to Arabic at the expense of other languages (Akhyat 1994). They felt that Berber would be diluted in the stronger and larger Arab world. This does not imply that they opposed Arabic in its religious role. Arabic, however, can be part of the religious identity while allowing other languages to fulfill other functions. They often drew parallels with the situation in Pakistan and Iran where the national languages are Urdu and Persian, respectively, while Arabic is the language of religion. They also advocated French remaining an important language, because they hoped that it keeps the Maghreb from being exclusively anchored to the East, which threatens Berber. The following quote from a Berber member of parliament illustrates how the argument is usually framed (translated from the French original in Grandguillaume 1983:87):

We are for Arabization and defend Arabic as the language of Islam and national unity. But we want the creation of an institute for Berber to preserve this language from extinction ... We also think that [Arabic/French] bilingualism is necessary ... because if we adopt monolingualism [Arabic only], we will loose our vertical cultural relations [with Europe and Africa, EB]

The arguments have been stated more directly and forcefully in recent years with the easing of restrictions on the media and political and cultural organizations in Morocco. For example, Akhyat (1994:23) argues that giving Berber its rightful place beside Arabic can only enrich the Moroccan culture. Then he argues that 'Arabization is based solely on ideological considerations' which do not rely on any careful study of the linguistic reality in the country. According to Akhyat, this explains why the process has been fraught with difficulties since its inception.

This criticism of the Arabization policy opens the advocates of Berber to charges of outside manipulation, but this is of course not justified. The French did try to use Berber as a wedge in the Maghreb to keep their grip on the area during the colonial period, as we saw above. Moreover, the French media exaggerate when they equate Arabization with intellectual terrorism (Le Monde 1991). However, this does not impact the situation locally. The Berber advocates' perceived silence on the question of French and occasionally outright defense of the pres-

ence of French is out of concern for their language and identity from the impact of total Arabization and particularly its political pan-Arabic overtones.

To summarize, there are various factors that are central to the interplay between the main languages that occupy the linguistic space in Morocco. One current would like to see Classical Arabic as the only dominant language. The adherents of this view oppose the continuing presence of French, particularly in the educational system. The religious conservatives see that as a claim that Arabic is not adequate for the task, which in turn they take as an implicit attack on religion (a familiar charge dating back to the Ottoman rule in the Levant — namely that to weaken Arabic is to weaken Islam). The Arab nationalists see it as an obstacle to Arab unity, given that Arabic is the most important single criterion for Arab identity. Another current advocates a more prominent position for Berber, given its status as the original language of the country. Moroccan identity, the argument goes, is Berber, Arab, and sub-Saharan African. Yet another current sees French, and maybe other foreign languages, playing a role, particularly in the educational system. One of the arguments is that the educational resources do not exist to support adequate scientific research in Arabic. According to this view, the question of language policy should be framed in pragmatic developmental terms. The presence of French is seen as crucial to remaining open to the world, the West in particular. The drive for Arabization is seen, then, as either premature or not well-enough planned, as evidenced by the problems that have plagued this process.

Overview of the current linguistic situation

Currently, the whole of the elementary and secondary system is Arabized. However, university education, particularly in the sciences, is still in French and will most likely remain so for the foreseeable future. This split has led to some problems, with some students having an inadequate background in French when they reach the university. An adverse effect of this situation is that more students are enrolling in Arabized nonscience subjects, a situation that defeats one of the goals of the education system to produce more science graduates.

Another result of this situation is that there is strong competition for enrollment in private French schools. This widens an already existing gulf between the few who can afford a French education and the vast majority of the population, who use the public education system (World Bank 1995). This criticism of Arabization does not imply opposition to it; it is only a criticism of a process that seems to be driven exclusively by political and ideological considerations.

At the same time, there is more space given to Berber in Morocco. There are now television news programs, papers, and magazines (the weekly *Tidmi*, the monthlies: *Tifawt*, *Tifinagh*, *Tamut*, and the quarterlies: *Amoud* and *Tasafaout*) in Berber. More and more government officials and intellectuals openly declare Berber to be part of the Moroccan identity. However, this acknowledgment has yet to translate into concrete efforts, such as teaching Berber in schools or even recognizing Berber as an official language beside Arabic.

In Europe, and in France in particular, there is an active Berber movement. One of its declared aims is to stave off the extinction of Berber in the home country by teaching it in schools and by developing a writing system or reviving the *Tifinagh* script. The question of Berber back home, as in Morocco, is often articulated as a question of human rights. This is particularly the position of the Amazigh World Congress (AWC): 'The Amazigh World Congress is determined to continue its peaceful struggle for the restoration of ... identity, linguistic, and cultural rights [of the Berbers]'. AWC has set among its objectives, 'the defense and promotion of the cultural identity of the Amazigh [Berber] nation'. What is new here is the idea is that the Berbers of the Maghreb, as a whole, form a nation; a single entity. This position is different from that in the previous debate, when each Berber group took up its cause within its own country. The reason is that geographically, the Berbers within the Maghreb do not form a homogeneous entity, but it is in the diaspora, in Europe in this case, that one can sometimes transcend geographical barriers, a common phenomenon within diaspora communities.

As far as French is concerned it is still an important language for economic reasons, though it is increasingly giving ground to English in higher education (Boukous 1995). In fact, there are some who propose replacing French with English, since English is the dominant international language and does not have the same colonial overtones as far as Morocco is concerned.

Conclusion

I have tried to provide an overview of the current linguistic situation in Morocco and its history. The interaction between the languages in question — namely Berber, Classical Arabic, Moroccan Arabic, and French is determined by ethnicity, religion, social class, and educational background. This is the crucial reason why any attempt to have one language take over the space previously occupied by another language can be difficult. The question, then, is how this situation plays out within the Moroccan and Maghrebi communities in the west. For example, we can expect that Classical Arabic will be maintained in some fashion (as a liturgical language) regardless of ethnic background, or identity, because of its central religious role. The situation with respect to the spoken languages — namely Berber and Colloquial Arabic, should be different, with ethnic identity playing a major role in efforts to maintain these languages. These are important questions that must await further study. I hope that this exposition can at least help sharpen them and put them in the proper context.

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LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY IN THE ASSYRIAN DIASPORA

Erica McClure

The modern Assyrians are a Christian population from the Middle East who trace their ancestry to the ancient Assyrian empire and who speak a Neo-Aramaic language. This chapter examines the link between language and identity in the Assyrian diaspora. It discusses the way in which Assyrian nationalists have constructed etymologies to support the claim that their ethnic group has always self-identified as Assyrian. It also documents their attempts to use modern Assyrian cognates with Akkadian, the language of the Assyrian empire, to support their thesis that the modern Assyrians are the descendants of the ancient Assyrians. In addition, this chapter examines how a developing literary language and oral koine have had an important part in the development and maintenance of Assyrian national consciousness and how a political goal, the unification of different Middle Eastern Christian communities as one national group, has led Assyrian nationalists to treat as one language dialects that linguists consider to belong to separate languages. Finally, this chapter discusses the role that codeswitching plays in affirming Assyrian ethnic group membership and establishing boundaries between Assyrians and members of other ethnic groups.

Has a nationality anything dearer than the speech of its fathers? In its speech resides its whole thought domain, its tradition, history, religion, and basis of life, all its heart and soul. To deprive a people of its speech is to deprive it of its one eternal good ... With language is created the heart of a people (Herder 1783, cited by Fishman 1972:1).

Introduction

As the quotation above from the German philosopher and theologian Johann Gottfried von Herder indicates, scholars have long recognized that there is an intimate relationship between the language a people speaks and that people's social identity. Today, that relationship is the focus of interest to social scientists

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from a wide range of disciplines who are investigating issues of nationalism and ethnicity. Lambert 1979 and Giles 1979, among others, have noted that even a small amount of oral language produced by a speaker may be sufficient to elicit a full set of ethnic attributes in the mind of a hearer. Fishman (1989:47), a scholar particularly renowned for his work on language and ethnicity, notes that although the link between language and ethnicity 'is not an inevitable one, it is clearly a highly likely one, both as a result of the general symbolic function of language as well as because of its specific implication in the paternity, patrimony, and phenomenology dimensions of ethnicity experiences'. Enninger (1991:24) claims that the specific design features of human language make linguistic performance the prime medium for the projection of ethnicity. The role of language in marking ethnicity and in-group versus out-group relationships has also been extensively treated by those scholars investigating the phenomena of codeswitching (cf. Gumperz 1982; Heller 1988; and Myers-Scotton 1993). The case for the centrality of language in the construction of social identity is well summarized in the following quote from Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985:248):

In language, however, we are offered by the society we enter and we offer to others, a very overt symbolization of ourselves and our universe, not only in the various grammars and lexicons and prosodies we can create for various domains of that universe, but also through the social marking which each occasion of use carries. Language is not only the focal centre of our acts of identity; it also consists of metaphors, and our focusing of it is around such metaphors or symbols. The notion that words refer to or denote 'things' in 'the real world' is very widely upheld, but quite misplaced; they are used with reference to concepts in the mind of the user; these symbols are the means by which we define ourselves and others.

While it is clear that language generally has an important role in the construction of social identity, it may come to have a particularly important role in diaspora communities whose members may feel threatened by a loss of or uncertainty about ethnic identity. Such problems are particularly intense within the Assyrian community for two reasons. First, the Assyrians do not have their own nation state or even any type of autonomy within an existing nation state. Furthermore, it is possible that today there are more Assyrians living in diaspora than in their traditional homeland because of the oppression that they face there. Second, ethnic identity has been a shifting social construct for Assyrians. Indeed, there is no general consensus in the present-day Assyrian community, either with respect to the existing peoples who should be included within the ethnic group, or with respect to the historical origins of these peoples; and, to some extent, that uncertainty is mirrored in the scholarly community.

The uncertainty about the roots of the ethnic group, Assyrian, Aramean, other, or a combination thereof, has given rise to very acrimonious debates over the very names to be used in designating it,¹ and the language its members speak.

Its people have called themselves and been called by others Assyrians, Suryaye, Suraye, Suroye, Curyaye, Syriani, Aramaeans, Chaldeans, Assyro-Chaldeans, among other labels. The language they speak is commonly known in the community as Surit, but is referred to by Assyrian nationalists as *leshana aturaya*, the 'Assyrian language'. The term 'Assyrian' will be used here to refer to the ethnic group, since that is the term currently given greatest acceptance;² and, following Tsereteli 1978 and Odisho 1988, the language spoken by the ethnic group will also be called 'Assyrian'. However, it should be pointed out that the name 'Assyrian', when applied to the Neo-Aramaic languages and dialects spoken by members of this group, is somewhat misleading, since they belong to the West Semitic branch of the Semitic language family, while the term Assyrian has traditionally been applied by linguists to the dialect or language (Semiticists differ with respect to the status they accord it) spoken in the Assyrian Empire, which together with Babylonian is known as Akkadian. Akkadian formed the East Semitic branch of the Semitic family and is extinct.

The Assyrians of today are a Middle Eastern people whose traditional homeland included Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. Two dimensions are typically used in determining Assyrian ethnic group membership — religion and mother tongue. To be considered a member of the ethnic group, a person must, first, be a Christian, and second, a native speaker of a Neo-Aramaic language or dialect. In the Middle East, where the Christian Assyrians are a very small minority in a mostly Moslem world, it is their Christianity that is perhaps their most salient characteristic. In diaspora in a mostly Christian world, it is their mother tongue that most clearly distinguishes them. However, neither mother tongue nor religion, nor even the union of the two, offers a totally unambiguous criterion for group membership.

First, Middle Eastern Christian Neo-Aramaic speakers do not all belong to the same religious denomination. Although today some belong to Protestant denominations and a few belong to the Syrian Catholic church, historically they have belonged primarily to three churches. These are the Nestorean Church or Church of the East, the first organized Christian church in the world; the Chaldean Church, a uniate Catholic Church which broke off from the Church of the East; and the Jacobite Church, also called the Syrian Orthodox Church, which is separate from the group of Eastern Orthodox Churches, which includes the Bulgarian, Greek, Romanian, and Russian Orthodox Churches.

For some Assyrians, only those people who are members of the Church of the East are truly Assyrians, while, for others, any Christian Neo-Aramaic speaker is an Assyrian. Members of the Church of the East generally tend to have embraced the Assyrian ethnic identity, while many members of the Chaldean Church simply consider themselves Chaldean, and many members of the Syrian Orthodox Church consider themselves to be Aramaeans. Furthermore, while some members of one religious denomination consider members of the other two to belong to the same ethnic group if they are Neo-Aramaic speakers — even though they may

have disagreements with those people as to the appropriate ethnic-group label — other people do not accept even Christian Neo-Aramaic speakers as members of the same ethnic group if they do not belong to the same religious denomination.

There are two additional complications to this picture. While all Chaldeans from Iran are Neo-Aramaic speakers, not all Chaldeans from Iraq speak a Neo-Aramaic dialect: Some speak only Arabic. Arabic-speaking Chaldeans are considered to be Christian Arabs by some Assyrians, while others, at least at some level and for some purposes, include Arabic-speaking Chaldeans as members of the Assyrian ethnic group. Indeed, in political discussions, some Assyrians claim as fellow ethnic-group members all Christians whose churches use, or HAVE IN THE PAST USED, Syriac as their liturgical language, thereby including even the Maronites of Lebanon.³

Not only religious affiliation but also linguistic background can be a source of complications in the definition of who is, in fact, an Assyrian. The Modern Aramaic dialects are divided by Hoberman 1989 into Western Aramaic, represented by Ma'lula, Bakh'a, and Jubb 'Adin, and Eastern Aramaic, divided into Turoyo, Mlahso, Northeastern Aramaic, and Modern Mandaic. Some scholars have classified Turoyo as a central group intermediate between Western Aramaic and Northeastern Aramaic. While some people consider both Christian Turoyo speakers and Christian speakers of Northeastern Aramaic dialects to be members of the same Assyrian ethnic group, others do not. Furthermore, while speakers of the Northeastern Aramaic dialects may be members of any of the three churches — the Church of the East, the Syrian Orthodox Church, or the Chaldean Church, in the past all Toroyo speakers belonged to the Syrian Orthodox Church. As mentioned above, some members of the Syrian Orthodox Church, and particularly some Toroyo-speaking members, consider themselves to be descendants of the Aramaeans rather than of the Assyrians, and these people are in great part the Toroyo-speaking members of the Syrian Orthodox Church.

Finally, mother tongue is an imperfect criterion for Assyrian ethnic-group membership because there are Jewish groups which speak Northeastern Neo-Aramaic dialects which are almost indistinguishable from some of the dialects spoken by the Assyrians.

There are different ways in which members of the Assyrian community have used language in the social construction of their ethnic identity, first turning to an examination of what might be termed 'folk linguistics' or 'ethnoreconstruction'. Under this heading fall both community members' discussions of the origins of the different names for the community, and also their attempts to use cognates in ancient Assyrian, the Akkadian dialect spoken in the Assyrian Empire, and in the Modern Northeastern Aramaic, spoken by the Assyrians of today, to validate their assertion that the modern Assyrians are the direct descendants of the ancient Assyrians.

Let us first consider the issue of the appropriate name for the ethnic group. A website for the Syrian Orthodox Church provides an account of the derivation

of the Church name written by the patriarch H. H. Mar Ignatius Yacoub III which states:

This name was derived from Cyrus the king of Persia (559-529) who conquered Babylon (539 B.C.) and liberated the Jews by permitting them to return to Judea ... The name 'Syrian' is equivalent to the term 'Christian' which was applied to the disciples in Antioch for the first time, because those converted Jews believed that Cyrus, their liberator from captivity in 538 B.C., resembled Christ, the liberator of captive mankind, ... This name was used in Syria to distinguish between the Christian Arameans and the Arameans who were not yet converted ... Likewise, the Aramaic language was called Syriac. Until the present days the Christians who speak Syriac are called, in this sense, 'Suroye' or 'Suraye' or 'Curyaye'.

(<http://www.staff.murdoch.edu.au/~t-issa/syr/details/name.html>)

Modern Assyrian nationalists argue that the name 'Assyrian' has been used by their people throughout their history. They base their claim on the fact that throughout many centuries Northeastern Aramaic speakers have used the term 'Suryaye' (Syrians) in self-designation, together with the fact that in the modern dialects this term has a variant form 'Suraye.' They then argue that the term 'Suraye' is derived from the term 'Asuraye.' This position⁴ may be seen in the quote below from a website established by Peter BetBasoo which includes his response to a previously posted argument, indicated by arrowheads, deriving the term 'Suryaye' from King Cyrus:

> I think the idea that the title of our PEOPLE, 'Syrian', was derived
>from the word 'Assyrian' is, in a way, very simplistic. For this reason it
>may appeal to many people, but it is simply wrong. Because how do
>you account for the timing??? Why after thousands of years of such a
>rich history between the Aramaeans and Assyrians, the name 'Syrian'
>suddenly appears to describe our people AFTER the coming of Christ?
>The derivation of the word Syrian from the name of the Persian King
>Cyrus is the most likely scenario.

What is the problem of timing? It is completely reasonable to expect a word to EVOLVE in pronunciation. The original word for 'fort-night' (which means 'two weeks' in English) was 'fourteen nights'. Over time this compound word contracted to 'fortnight'. As any speaker of Assyrian knows the letter A (allap) is very flexible and can appear and disappear. It is not at all unreasonable, and it is the most logical explanation BECAUSE it is the simplest explanation, that *As-suraya* → *suraya*, a simple dropping of the initial allap. Assyrians will say *Akhona* or *khona*, and both are perfectly intelligible.

Your argument that 'Cyrus' is the most logical etymology has several fatal flaws:

- 1) The ORIGINAL name is *Chosreos* (*korish* in Assyrian). How does *Chosreos* transform to *suraya*?
- 2) Most importantly, there is written evidence of the word *suraya* being used long before Cyrus came on the scene.

(<http://www.netadventure.com/~soc/SORFFForum/messages/230.html>)

Just as Assyrian nationalists frequently engage in folk linguistics or ethnoreconstruction to provide justification for their claim that their ethnic group has historically identified itself as Assyrian, so too they often attempt to employ historical linguistic arguments to substantiate their claim to direct descent from the ancient Assyrians. Thus, they assert that modern Assyrian, a Northeastern Neo-Aramaic language, has more cognates with ancient Assyrian or Akkadian than do other modern Semitic languages. An example of such argumentation may be found in the following quotation from a note posted by Peter BetBasoo on the Internet newsgroup *soc.culture.assyrian* on September 12, 1996 by *nineveh@wwa.com*:

The following is a concordance I compiled based on the glossary contained in the book titled *State Archives of Assyria, Volume III: Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* by Alasdair Livingstone, Helsinki University Press.

The Glossary contained approximately 1000 words. I went through this glossary and listed every word that is common to Modern Assyrian (neo-Syriac) and Ancient Assyrian (Akkadian). I did not include words that are also common to other Semitic languages, such as 'camel' (*Gamal*) and 'dog' (*Kalb*), because my intention was to show that Modern Assyrians are indeed descended from the Ancient Assyrians, and that this is reflected in their dialect of neo-Syriac.

Assyrians spoke Akkadian before switching to Aramaic. The switch to Aramaic was completed by 750 B.C., and the Assyrian empire fell in 612 B.C. (pooh!); This means that for 150 years, the Assyrians administered their vast empire in Aramaic, which, of course, is the parent language of Syriac and neo-Syriac. But the Assyrians did not disappear after the fall of their empire; they just continued to live on their land (to this day), and were the first to convert to Christianity in 33 A.D.

Of the approximately 1,000 words that I examined, I found 104 words that are common only to modern Assyrian and Ancient Assyrian. This is 10%. Also, the list does not show the nuances of pronunciation. The way Assyrians say these words, and the other words that are common to other Semitic languages, is much closer to the Akkadian.

Furthermore, these words are found ONLY in modern Assyrian and Ancient Assyrian. For example, in Akkadian, 'weapon' is *Kakku*; in

Edessan Syriac it is *Zaineh*, but in Modern Assyrian it is *Chekka*; this shows that even though the written Assyrian is based on the Edessan Syriac, the SPOKEN Assyrian is probably much older. There are many other such examples.

It is worthy to note [sic] that, even based on a cursory examination of a small sample (1,000 words), there is a significant body of Akkadian words in modern Assyrian. A thorough examination, on a more scientific basis, of the Assyrian Dictionary (published by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago), would, I believe, reveal the relationship even more so.

(nineveh@wwa.com 'Re: Akkadian Words in Modern Assyrian.' 12 Sept. 1996. [soc.culture.assyrian](mailto:nineveh@wwa.com) 12 Sept. 1996)

A list of words follows the quotation given above. Suffice it to say that the list of 104 words is replete with those that have cognates in other Semitic languages, and the modern Assyrian word *Chaka* (*Chekka* is a tribal Jilwaya pronunciation) is, according to Maclean 1901, a borrowing from Kurdish. Furthermore, even if modern Assyrian were to have Akkadian words that no other Semitic language had, that would hardly prove that the modern Assyrians were the descendants of the ancient Assyrians, given that the Assyrian Empire officially used both Akkadian and Aramaic for several centuries, making borrowing between the two languages very likely.

Attempts by Assyrian nationalists to use lexical items to validate community claims to descent from the ancient Assyrians are only one way in which language has been important in the creation of Assyrian ethnic identity. The creation of a standardized written variety of Assyrian Neo-Aramaic, as well as of an oral Assyrian Neo-Aramaic koine,⁵ has been another important aspect of identity-formation in the modern Assyrian community. Maclean (1895:xiii-xv) divides the dialects of Assyrian Neo-Aramaic into four major groups: (1) the greater Umi dialects, including those of Solduz, Sipurghan, Gavilan, et al., (2) the Northern dialects, including those of Salamas, Qudshanis, Gawar, Jilu, et al., (3) the Ashiret dialects, including those of Upper and Lower Tiani, Tkhuma, Tal, Baz, Mar Bishu, Shamizdin, et al., and (4) the Southern dialects, including those of Alqosh, Telkief, Telesqof, Bohtan, Zakho, et al. These dialects are not all mutually intelligible, and speakers of the different dialects have traditionally identified with fellow members of an *'ashirat* (a tribe, virtually autonomous under the Islamic state), *millet* (a community, recognized by the Islamic state, which was organized in a Church and controlled in its internal matters by its own religious authorities), or geographical entity (plains, then rivers, then villages), that is, with speakers of the same dialect, rather than with any potential superordinate ethnic group (Heinrichs 1993). However, as Odisho 1988 and Muree-van den Berg 1995 have noted, a process of standardization of a written variety of Assyrian Neo-Aramaic based on the dialects of Urmi was begun in the 1840's by American Protestant missionaries working with Assyrian priests.⁶ Attendance at Assyrian schools in which literacy

in the written variety was taught, along with access to a growing literature, secular as well as ecclesiastical, led to identification with a larger community, the *umta*, 'nation' or 'people'.

Today, Assyrian social and political associations throughout the diaspora promote literacy in Assyrian as a symbol of ethnic identity and a tool in community maintenance. The Assyrian Church of the East is active worldwide in promoting both literacy in Assyrian and Assyrian nationalism; in Detroit, the Chaldean community has established bilingual private schools in order to foster both literacy in the native language and a sense of ethnic identity in its children. In Iran and North Iraq, as part of their attempt to preserve their heritage, the Assyrian communities are maintaining their own schools, which use Assyrian as the medium of instruction. The importance which the Assyrian community places on literacy in Assyrian as part of ethnic-identity maintenance is also shown by the fact that Assyrians in diaspora have written and disseminated computer software packages and established numerous sites on the Internet to teach literacy skills to those Assyrians who, while fluent in Assyrian, are not literate in it.⁷

The importance of the written language in the creation and definition of Assyrian nationalism is also demonstrated by the controversies surrounding the compilation of dictionaries. For example, in 1996, the Assyrian Academic Society became involved in a project to compile a bilingual English and Modern Assyrian dictionary. Major disagreements arose among Assyrian participants in the project with respect to which dialect's pronunciations should be reflected in the transcriptions provided in dictionary entries, whether to include words from all dialects even if they were borrowings from other Middle Eastern languages,⁸ and whether to include forms from Classical Syriac⁹ not used in vernacular Assyrian Neo-Aramaic as replacements for borrowings into the vernacular from other Semitic languages. Another contentious debate arose over the desire of some Assyrians to include in the same dictionary both Assyrian Neo-Aramaic and Toroyo which are not mutually intelligible and are considered to be separate languages by Semiticists.¹⁰ However, many Assyrian nationalists consider Toroyo speakers to be Assyrians and, therefore, wish to claim that Toroyo and Assyrian Neo-Aramaic are the same language.

The standardization process, which gave birth to a written standard language, also became the first step in the evolution of an oral Assyrian koine (Odisho 1988:20). This process, which was begun in Urmia in Iran and continued in Habbaniya and Baghdad in Iraq, still continues today in the Assyrian diaspora. Assyrian communities in countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia support radio and television programs broadcast in Assyrian. These broadcasts, for the most part, are not conducted in the various dialects but rather in a koine, so that they will be intelligible to a wider audience. Thus, they serve to link Assyrians throughout the diaspora and in the homeland as well. Furthermore, radio programs that provide standards for the oral language, for example *Mlr u La Mlr*, 'Say and Don't Say,' broadcast in Chicago, aid in the process of koine-

formation. The process is also furthered by columns dedicated to enriching people's vocabularies found in newspapers and magazines, and in Internet publications such as the weekly Assyrian newsmagazine, *Zenda*.

The importance of the role that the Assyrian language plays as a marker of ethnic identity and as a boundary-maintenance device, separating members of the Assyrian ethnic group from others, may also be seen in the codeswitching between English and Assyrian found in American Assyrian communities. Even those Assyrian bilinguals who are strongly dominant in English will frequently use Assyrian words and phrases in conversations with other Assyrians to mark their shared ethnic group membership and such codeswitching increases in situations where Assyrian nationalism is at issue.

Assyrian-English codeswitching also occurs in the written channel. One important context in which it is found is the Internet. As Albert Gabriel notes in an article in the *Cultural Survival Quarterly* (Gabrial 1998),

Today, Assyrians are one of the most widely scattered indigenous peoples. Most Assyrian families in the U.S. generally have relatives in Australia, Sweden, Lebanon, Iraq, or Canada. For such a small nation scattered throughout the world, the Internet is a dream come true.

Although the Assyrians do not have a nation-state, Gabriel states that by 1995 it was possible to build a home for the Assyrians in cyberspace and to establish a global community. Today, Nineveh On-Line, the global community that Gabriel created, receives over 100,000 visitors per month. There are dozens of Assyrian web pages, electronic magazines, chat rooms, and newsgroups.

The Assyrian language is one of the aspects of the Assyrian culture that is emphasized on the Internet, despite the fact that it has no standard transliteration and that technical problems make it very difficult to write extended messages on the Internet in the Assyrian alphabets, such messages having to be handled like graphics rather than by using ASCII. In addition to the sites that teach literacy in the Assyrian alphabets, there are others that provide vocabulary lessons and give English translations of the lyrics of songs written in Assyrian in order to provide more material for learning the language.

Furthermore, one can see the way individuals affirm their Assyrian identity by using Assyrian in chat rooms and in postings to newsgroups. In addition to the occasional words and phrases used in the bodies of messages, greetings and closings are very frequently written in Assyrian. For example, in one posting from the newsgroup [soc.culture.Assyrian](#), both a greeting and a closing are given in Assyrian. The greeting is *Shlana Elokxon Bnei Unti*, 'Peace to you children of the nation,' and the closing is *Hal d-Tapqakh Go Atour*, 'Until we meet in Assyria.' Another common greeting is simply *Shlamalokhun*, 'Peace to you', and two common closings are *B-shena*, 'In peace' and *Push b-shena*, 'Remain in peace.' In one posting, the phrase *la bshaina*, 'not in peace' and the phrase *It*

shlama, 'there is no peace' occurred in an argument over ethnic identity. Both the writer of the message at issue and the author of the message to which he is responding agree that they are members of the same ethnic group, and that fact is tacitly acknowledged by the use of the Assyrian phrases in the text. What is at issue is the correct name for the ethnic group — Assyrian or Aramean.

Another written medium in which Assyrian-English codeswitching also occurs frequently is advertisements. Typically, the information reproduced in the two languages is not the same. In one example, the only Assyrian that appears is *Qala d-Aturaye*, 'Voice of Assyrians'. In another, an ad for a butcher shop, the Assyrian text informs the reader that there are special prices for Assyrian households for meat for religious holidays, information which is not presented in the other two languages, Arabic and English, in which the advertisement is printed. Thus, we can see that the use of Assyrian in advertisements is motivated by several different factors — identifying the advertiser as a member of the Assyrian community, affirming pride in one's language and culture, demonstrating ethnic solidarity, and restricting the provision of certain information to members of one ethnic community. Wedding invitations and announcements for community lectures, dances, and other cultural activities are other contexts in which Assyrian is used. As in the case of advertisements, more information is typically provided in English than in Assyrian in such written materials.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined the relationship between language and identity in the Assyrian diaspora. We have discussed the way in which Assyrian nationalists have constructed etymologies to support their assertions that their ethnic group has always self-identified as Assyrian. We have also noted their attempts to use modern Assyrian cognates with Akkadian to support their thesis that the modern Assyrians are the descendants of the ancient Assyrians. We have shown how political concerns have created a desire to treat as one language dialects which linguists consider to belong to separate languages. We have also discussed the importance of the standardization of a written language in the process of formation of Assyrian national consciousness and the continuing importance of literacy in ethnic identity maintenance. The importance of the formation of an oral koine in promoting ethnic group unity in diaspora has also been noted. Finally, we have discussed the way in which codeswitching is used to affirm membership in the Assyrian community and to establish boundaries between Assyrians and members of other ethnic groups. Clearly, for Assyrians in diaspora, the Assyrian language is a very important marker of Assyrian identity, since Christianity, which set them apart in the Middle East, does not serve that function in the West. The importance Assyrians give to their language is eloquently expressed in the excerpt from the poem 'Mother Tongue' by the well-known Assyrian writer Geewargis D-BetBinyamin given below.

Mother Tongue

Work for the nation without stopping:	like a son in the family
Not like a foreign employee:	hired for a daily wage.
If you wander through the whole world:	take your language with you
And take it as a part of the household:	for your Assyrian son.
If you lose your language:	with it you lose your name
And if your name is forgotten:	your seed will be wiped out.
As long as there is language in the mouth:	in the world you have a name
And you will continue to be called alive	like your Assyrian father.
As long as there is life in the body:	of a sick person without hope
Yet there is hope that the doctor:	skillful, will cure the pa- tient.
Just in that way too the language:	that exists in the speaking mouth
If carried to the last day:	will live like a declaration.
One day there is no remedy:	again it will come to light
The Assyrian language:	the vernacular and also the literary
These for you an example:	true like the law.
That they be before your eyes a light:	burning by day and by night.
From today swear oaths:	that if you set out for other countries
That a foreign language you will not:	use like a family one.

(English translation by E. McClure)

NOTES

¹ Indicative of the dissension within the community over this topic are two long threads on the Internet newsgroup soc.culture.assyrian. In the first, Gabriel Rabo, a member of the Syrian Orthodox Church, who considers himself to be an Aramean, engaged in a dispute with members of both the Church of the East and the Syrian Orthodox Church who consider themselves to be Assyrians. Replying to a message from Sabro Gabriel that contained the statements, 'I am a Syrian Orthodox Christian; my identity is of course Assyrian,' Mr. Rabo stated, 'That's right, your confession is Syrian Orthodox, but your identity is wrong ... The true site of our history teach [sic] us: we are Aramaean, and we speak Aramaic not Assyrian'(Gabriel Rabo. grabo@gwdg.de 'Re' Syrian Orthodox Christians are Aramaean' 11 July 1996. soc.culture.assyrian (11 July 1996)).

In the second thread, Matay Arsan, who identifies himself as a Syrian Orthodox Assyrian, states, 'I think we are the descendants of the Sumerians-Akkadians-Babylonians-Chaldeans-Arameans, and Assyrians' (Matay Arsan. 'JB.d.raadt'@student.scw.vu.nl 'Re: Difference in culture?' 28 Jan. 1999. [soc.culture.assyrian](#) (29 Jan. 1999)). Esho Tower, in commenting on Matay Arsan's note, says, 'Don't forget to include the Israelites' [etower@cgcocable.net 'Re: Difference in culture?' 12 Feb. 1999. [soc.culture.assyrian](#) (13 Feb. 1999)]. Raman Michael, responding to Esho Tower's comment, denies that the Israelites have a place among the ancestors of the modern Assyrians: 'The fact that the majority of the 10 tribes were in Babylonia and not in Assyria proper does not support the theory that we are somehow descendants of these tribes' (erbil@wwa.com 'Re: Difference in culture?' 12 Feb. 1999. [soc.culture.assyrian](#) (13 Feb. 1999)).

² Although there is controversy with respect to the use of the term 'Assyrian' to denote the Christian population in question, Heinrichs 1993 endorses its use. In the introduction to his paper, he states, 'The perspective of the following paper is historical-onomastical. Its aim is to focus on the various acceptations of the name "Assyrian" during the course of history as well as on the various other names applied to the people presently carrying that name, the vantage point in all this being the present-day situation. From a review of these data, it will become apparent that, given the historical circumstances in which the Assyrians found themselves in the first two decades of this century, it was almost inevitable for them to readopt or reapply the term "Assyrian" as a national name for themselves; at the very least, it made good sense for them to do so' (1993:99).

³ Heinrichs 1993 notes, 'From the point of view of language and church tradition it would make sense for the Nestorians (plus offshoots) and the Chaldeans to join ranks as one Assyrian nation. But then there is the even larger range of application of the name "Assyrian" which would include the Western Syrians — and thus ideally, all groups whose church language is Syriac. This idea is espoused by most Assyrian nationalists' (1993:111).

⁴ The derivation of the term 'Suraye' is an issue that surfaces frequently within the ethnic community, and it is one that arouses strong emotions. The Assyrian nationalist position on the derivation may also be found in a journal article by William Warda 1994 and in numerous discussions on the Internet. In a thread on the newsgroup [soc.culture.assyrian](#), which ran from January 22, 1999 until February 12, 1999, Matay Arsan mentioned two additional derivations that have been offered, namely that the term is derived from 'Sur' (Tyros), a city in Lebanon, and that it is derived from 'Cyrus of Aginur', a king of a tribe in the region of Syria ('JB.d.raadt'@student.scw.vu.nl 'Re: Difference in culture' 28 Jan. 1999. [soc.culture.assyrian](#) (29 Jan. 1999)).

⁵ It might, perhaps, be more accurate to refer to the creation of oral Assyrian Neo-Aramaic koines, since the koine created in Urmia is not identical with that created in Iraq, nor is either identical with the koines being created in the diaspora.

⁶ This process has yet to reach completion. Since the Assyrians do not have a nation-state, there is no national organization with the authority to establish standards for the language. Orthographic conventions differ across writers, as do morphology, syntax, and vocabulary.

⁷ More than half of the Assyrians for whom Assyrian is a first language are not literate in Assyrian because there have been many periods during which the governments of the Middle-Eastern countries in which they have resided have either discouraged or forbidden schooling through the medium of Assyrian.

⁸ While some participants wanted to exclude Turkish, Kurdish, Arabic, and Persian loanwords from the dictionary, no objection was expressed towards the inclusion of Greek and Latin loanwords or of those from modern European languages.

⁹ Classical Syriac and Assyrian Neo-Aramaic stand in a diglossic relationship to one another, Classical Syriac being used as the language of the church, and Assyrian Neo-Aramaic being used for all other purposes. The two are very closely related; the majority of their lexical items are shared. Whether Assyrian Neo-Aramaic is a direct lineal descendant of Classical Syriac is an issue that has not yet been resolved by Semiticists.

¹⁰ See above for a discussion of their classification.

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DIASPORIC CONSCIOUSNESS IN CONTEMPORARY COLOMBIA

Michael Palencia-Roth

In Western civilization and history it is the Genesis story of the Bible, with its myth of the exile of the primal parents from that initial unitary world, that has established in our minds the diasporic consciousness as part of the human condition. Exile thus becomes linked to a narrative which relates the loss of home to the loss of innocence. This essay explores the diasporic consciousness in several current Colombian writers, a consciousness shaped by that country's history over the past five decades.

'Diaspora' is defined as a compelled exile, removal, dispersal, or displacement, together with the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of a return to and a recuperation of the physical spaces of one's cultural and personal identity. The diasporic experience does not require physical exile from a country, but the key point is the issue of a compelled displacement.

The history of Colombia's violence over the past five decades is reviewed in order to establish that the *desplazamiento* or the physical displacement of people from their native towns and farms is a fact of Colombian reality. Colombian writers have responded to their current situation either by disengagement of one kind or another, or by engagement. Five writers are commented upon as paradigmatic: Gabriel García Márquez, Alvaro Mutis, Philip Potdevin, Gustavo Alvarez Gardeazábal, and Fernando Cruz Kronfly. In each instance we see a diasporic consciousness at work.

Introduction

Seldom do we hear it acknowledged that in Western civilization and history it is the Genesis story of the Bible, with its myth of the exile of the primal parents from that initial unitary world, that has established in our minds the diasporic consciousness as part of the human condition. Exile thus becomes linked to a narrative that relates the loss of home to the loss of innocence, as if to say that all

who have been forced into exile were being punished for particular transgressions, that they deserved to be 'victims'. As powerful as the Genesis story is, it is neither unique nor unusual. Most cultures that I know of have myths describing a fall from grace and a consequent exile from home. Perhaps that explains why diasporic consciousness is so deeply a part of our emotional constitution and moral outlook, facilitating our empathy with experiences of people the world over. We sense both the universality and the intensely personalized particularity of diasporas as a phenomenon. Some of that particularity will be explored in these pages on diasporic consciousness in several current Colombian writers, a consciousness shaped by that country's civil disturbances, national crises, and forced migrations over the past five decades.

I will not dwell on the phenomenon with which the term 'diaspora' is most commonly associated, the Jewish Diaspora, which began after the destruction of the Second Temple in the first century of the Common Era and continued, some would maintain, until the establishment of the State of Israel after the Second World War. Nor shall I explore a number of other experiences which have been labeled 'diasporas': those of the Armenians in various countries, of the Turks in Germany, of the Cubans in the United States, of the Pakistanis in Britain, of the Africans in the Caribbean as well as in North, Central and South America. These transnational migrations may or may not be 'diasporic' in the sense in which I am using the term.

For instance, because the Turkish experience in Germany is not the result of a compelled displacement, I would not call that experience a diaspora *per se*, though I would say that it has diasporic elements. Germany, no matter how long the Turks may have lived there, does not, say many Turks, feel like 'home'. Because the Mexican experience in the United States is similar to that of the Turks in Germany, I would not call it a diaspora either, though some of its diasporic elements include the feeling of alienation in American life and a cultural identification with Mexican rather than with American values. So, too, with a number of other communities throughout the world. I leave those experiences and issues to one side as 'nondiasporic'. The distinction should be preserved between those experiences which result from forced exile and those which result from emigration for different reasons and which end in complete assimilation. With such assimilation, diasporic consciousness, whatever the initial reason for the abandonment of 'home', in effect ceases to exist.

A 'diaspora', in my view, has the following characteristics: it is a compelled exile, removal, dispersal, or displacement, together with the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of a return to, and a recuperation of, the physical spaces of one's cultural and personal identity. Whether the return is difficult or impossible, the separation from 'home' causes enormous pain. The diasporic experience does not, I believe, require exile from a country. Indeed one can experience a diaspora within the borders of one country, even within the borders of one's own country. The key point is the issue of a compelled displacement.

The term 'diaspora' has been much in the air in the last decade. Certainly the fact that a journal bearing that name has been in existence since 1991 is significant. Also significant is the fact that the journal is of high quality, that it attracts contributors from the best universities, and that it regularly publishes articles which are transnational in origin and interdisciplinary in approach. Yet it is precisely that journal's sophistication that leads me to the following observation. By and large, the diasporic experience is a classless phenomenon, affecting people from every stratum of society and from the entire spectrum of professional life. However, *most* of the writing about diasporic experiences is the product of an elite that has been fortunate enough to survive and even thrive in exile.

Those of us born and raised in foreign countries who now live in the United States should remain aware of the delicacy of our position whenever we speak about the phenomenon of diaspora. Though we may have experienced some of the pain of exilic life, we should not assume that we speak from the same ground of experience as those who have lost so much more and who have so many fewer resources — linguistic, educational, financial, professional — to fall back on. To assume so is to run the risk of alienating those in the audience or among our readership who may have had deeper and more extensive diasporic experiences than we have. I vividly remember the reactions of several Indian students to the public lecture of a prominent Indian intellectual on the topic of post-coloniality and Indian identity. These students were incensed that the speaker should have chosen to identify himself to the American audience as a prime example of the effects of post-coloniality on the people of India as a whole. What angered these students was that this most privileged of Indian intellectuals should have equated his or her problems of self-identity with those of so many people so much less fortunate back in India.

Autobiographical positioning

The subject at hand requires a brief autobiographical positioning. I was born in Colombia and lived there without interruption until after I turned sixteen. Since then, I have not lived in the country continuously for longer than four months at any one time. True, Colombia and Cali, my hometown, remain 'home' for me in ways that the United States and Champaign-Urbana, where I have lived for twenty-one years, can never be. True, I identify emotionally with Colombia and with being Colombian. However, since my family was not *compelled* to leave, my own situation and consciousness cannot be labelled 'diasporic'; I consider myself more of an émigré than an exile. Thus, although my empathy with my countrymen is profound, I cannot claim to have experienced the diasporic events of our common history to the same degree that Colombians in Colombia have. I do this even though my family, like all Colombian families, has had its share of difficulties and tragedies that are directly related to the situation in the country. For instance, in June of 1996 my cousin, Miguel Palencia, was murdered, thus becoming just another statistic in the civil unrest that has plagued Colombia since the late 1940s. Since then, my cousin's family has rarely returned to the family

farm, which is in an area intermittently controlled by guerrillas. Despite events like these that have affected both my family and many of my friends in Colombia, I am fully aware that my life in America is so much more tranquil than it would have been had I remained in Colombia. It is the kind of tranquillity that tenure in a major American university is designed to foster. Even the occasional viciousness of American academic politics pales in comparison to what academics in other parts of the world often go through.

If Colombia were Ireland or Israel or Yugoslavia, we would hear about it on the news every night; its problems would have been placed before the court of world opinion by the United Nations and other entities; it would have been invited to participate in highly publicized multilateral talks in Camp David or the Wye Plantation; it would have hosted visits from the president and vice-president of the United States, or from the Secretary General of the United Nations. But, whatever the reason, Colombia does not figure much in the national consciousness of America. It is a mostly invisible country whose problems are generally either ignored by the international media or minimized and relegated to the back pages of newspapers, bulleted as one of a group of international items worthy of mention but not of analysis. More attention has been paid to Colombia by Spain, France, and Germany than by the United States, and this despite the millions of American dollars in foreign aid to the country and despite the presence there of American 'advisors' to help the country in its war on drugs.

It is the war on drugs that has drawn most of America's attention, a war reminiscent of Hercules's confrontation with the multi-headed hydra. So many and so varied are the fronts, so elusive the enemy, and so shifting the ideological or political positions taken by the various factions that it is difficult to know what or whom to attack, and how. The complexity of the situation is partly the result of civil wars and other problems that have gone on for so long that some Colombians refer to them as 'our tradition'. Colombia's civil wars have been intermittently occurring for almost two hundred years, spawning a culture of violence and forcible displacements by now so woven into the fabric of our national consciousness that one writer, Juan Carlos Moyano, speaking at the National Book Fair in Bogotá in the spring of 1998, advocated spelling 'violence' with a 'b' (as *biolence*) because it seems to be part of biology, part of the genetic make-up of Colombians. Though such rhetorical exaggeration may be unfortunate, begging as it does the question of responsibility, it nonetheless also reveals the despair that has come to permeate Colombian life in almost every sphere of activity.

The current civil wars in Colombia are rooted in an event from fifty years ago known as 'el bogotazo' in which, in response to the assassination of a charismatic political leader named Jorge Eliézer Gaitán, the people of Bogotá arose in spontaneous violent protest, burning and destroying several city blocks in the center of the capital. The unrest spread quickly to other parts of the country, initiating a period in Colombian history — which we are still living through — known as *la violencia* or the violence. This period has been marked by assassina-

tions, by massacres in remote villages, by armed insurrections, by the creation of independent armies, by the explosive growth of narco-terrorism, by the forced migration of countless people from their villages to large urban centers like Bogotá, Medellín, and Cali. As a boy, I remember families coming into Cali with all their possessions loaded onto a horse-drawn cart or a peddler's two-wheeled cart. And these were the lucky ones, for they had survived the massacres and the beatings.

These childhood memories are supported by reports and data from more objective sources. The newspaper of Cali, *El País*, reported in April 1998 that for a considerable time before that particular news release, an average of ten displaced families *per day* had been arriving in Cali. Driven from their homes, they had entered the city without money or prospects. In 1997, the Catholic Church of Colombia issued a report which documented that between 1987 and 1997 more than 1,000,000 Colombians had been forcibly expelled from their towns and villages and forced to seek the relative safety of the larger cities. The 'Colombia INFOinBRIEF', a publication of the U.S./Colombia Coordinating Office of Washington, D.C., stated in its internet edition of February 23, 1999, that in 1998 alone approximately 308,000 people were internally displaced. All this, it must be noted, in a time of widely praised governmental stability and free elections in what has been declared to be one of the most enduring 'democracies' of Latin America. Such forcible migrations testify to one of the internal and tragic diasporas of Colombia, in this case affecting mostly the rural and defenseless poor. This phenomenon is so much a part of Colombian life that it is known simply as *el desplazamiento*, or the displacement, the word being sufficient on its own to raise in every Colombian's mind images which American audiences would reserve for a fragmented, war-torn Yugoslavia.

Present circumstances not only mitigate against easy solutions to Colombia's tragic situation, they also virtually ensure the continuation of its internal diasporas. There are now, in effect, four separate armies in the country, each with its own agenda and command structure. There is of course the military arm of the government, with its army, navy, and air force, supported by police units. On the left or Marxist side of the political spectrum are the armies belonging to several guerrilla movements, the most prominent of them being the FARC (Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia, the Armed Revolutionary Forces of Colombia) and the ELN (Ejército de Liberación Nacional, the National Liberation Army). These movements have drawn their inspiration at times from Castro's revolution and from Liberation Theology. Prominent among its leaders — both living and dead — are former priests. Over the past decade or two, the ideological theory driving these leftist forces has lost its definition as the targets of their revolutionary activity have become more diverse and even fragmented. At one time the guerrilla movements had a clear and single enemy: the national government. Now that is no longer the case, for two other armies have arisen. One comes from the right or conservative side of the political spectrum and serves some of the *latifundista* families of Colombia, those families that for generations

have used their enormous *landed* wealth to wield considerable political power and influence in the country. This oligarchic class established private armies because it could no longer count on the state for protection and safety. These private armies are known as *los paramilitares*, nicknamed *los paras*, and they do combat with the other three armies of Colombia. The issue usually is the control of land in remote areas of Colombia, usually land rich in natural resources like oil. The *paramilitares* have no ideology; their only duty is to protect and enhance what the rich already possess. The fourth army — less an army, really, than armed groups resembling battalions or squadrons — is the army that most Americans might have heard about. This army belongs to the *nouveaux riches* of Colombia, the drug lords and their extended family of partners and international networks. This army is driven neither by ideological considerations nor by the concerns of the country's super-rich. The situation has been complicated even more in recent years by the turn in all four armies to drugs, primarily cocaine, in order to finance their activities and the acquisition of sophisticated weaponry. This turn has created a culture of literally cut-throat capitalism in all four groups, even among the leftist guerrillas. Moreover, it has become virtually impossible to sort out the exact relationship among the armies, for they are shifting, with *paramilitares*, for instance, sometimes acting at the behest of drug lords or high-ranking government military officers.

Colombians have learned not to trust the media, either theirs or that of any other country. If, for instance, the media reports a massacre occurring in a distant village, one must frequently wait days in order to learn whether the massacre had been perpetrated by guerrillas, by *paramilitares*, by drug lords, by the Colombian army, or by some combination of those forces. And even then there will be room for doubt. Given the endemic nature of the violence in Colombia, it should not be surprising to learn that for the past several decades between 20,000 and 30,000 people *per year* have been killed as a result of the activities of these four armies or because of what is euphemistically known as *la delincuencia común*, ordinary delinquency, as if the violence visited upon Colombians day in and day out were the result of mere truancy or of ordinary social unrest.

The historical context and the disengagement response

I am not alone in maintaining that Colombia is in a state of war, a situation made all the more tragic and difficult to deal with by its being undeclared. Almost 50% of the country is under the direct control of drug lords and the guerrillas, collectively known in the journalistic shorthand of the national press as 'las fuerzas subversivas' (the subversive forces). This brutal fact of Colombian reality has implications for the country's cultural life, as many of its writers, artists, and other intellectuals have lost the physical spaces — and the access to those spaces — which have enabled them to feel Colombian. The fact that these losses have come as a result of violence has made them all the more painful and difficult to accept.

There is scarcely a writer in Colombia who has not been affected by the current situation and who has not responded in some way to it. A comprehensive analysis from this perspective of Colombia's literature during the last fifty years would run to several hundred pages. Consequently, here I will suggest only the outlines of an analysis by commenting on the following writers: Gabriel García Márquez, Alvaro Mutis, Philip Potdevin, Gustavo Alvarez Gardeazábal, and Fernando Cruz Kronfly. These five writers represent the four major literary responses to the country's crises of the past five or six decades. Three of these authors may be said to have responded by disengagement of one kind or another; two of them by engagement. In each instance we see a diasporic sensibility at work.

The first of the disengagement responses is conventionally exilic or diasporic. Some writers feel compelled, or have actually been compelled, to live and work outside of Colombia. It does not strike me as insignificant that Colombia's two greatest living narrative artists, Gabriel García Márquez and Alvaro Mutis, have lived in Mexico City for the past thirty or so years. Both of them began living outside of Colombia for political reasons. As the years went by, it became increasingly difficult for them to reintegrate themselves in a permanent way into Colombian life on Colombian soil, though both have tried on occasion. Most recently, García Márquez has bought *Cambio*, a Colombian magazine of general news and cultural commentary, and is using his position as owner and editor to influence his Colombians' political and cultural views. Yet he has maintained his residence in Mexico City and has not permanently moved back to Colombia. Both García Márquez and Mutis do return to the country frequently and are generally treated with admiration and respect by all but those Colombians who consider living abroad to be an act of treason.

In the fiction of García Márquez and of Mutis, as well as of others who live abroad, Colombia usually becomes a land clarified and exalted in an imagination emancipated by distance, freed from the cumbersome trivialities of daily living and at least geographically separated from the incessant violence which hangs, like the sword of Damocles, over the head of every Colombian in the country. This is not to say that writers like García Márquez and Mutis are escapist, but it is to suggest that they reach for a level of style and content beyond the vicissitudes of any particular present moment. Their exile has allowed them in effect to re-fashion Colombian reality on their own terms. Thus, I also do not consider it insignificant that for both writers the sources of their creativity may be found in their rural and village childhoods, worlds purified for them by time and distance.

Macondo, the archetypal Latin American village which is the setting of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* and which is based on García Márquez's hometown of Aracataca, is made typical precisely by a description of its features which emphasizes its universality rather than its particularity. The second sentence of the novel reads: 'At that time Macondo was a village of twenty adobe houses, built on the banks of a river of clear water that ran along a bed of polished stones,

which were white and enormous, like prehistoric eggs'. And Maqroll, the peripatetic hero of Mutis's narratives, wanders through much of Europe and Latin America, yet in Colombia spends much of his time roaming the countryside where Mutis himself grew up. The descriptions of specific villages, roads, and rivers have been painted with brush strokes broad enough to make them simply typical Colombian landscapes. For instance, the action of the novel *Un bel morir* begins in an unnamed settlement at the edge of an unnamed river and then unfolds in a landscape of coffee plantations and sugar cane.

Those Germans who remained in Germany during the Hitler years, but who, nonetheless, considered themselves to be 'good Germans' likened their situation to that of an 'inner emigration'. Rather than take the path of physical exile, as Thomas Mann and Stefan Zweig did, they chose to remain in the country and within the Nazi orbit of influence. Theirs was a kind of compelled psychological exile in which they felt they could only write about events and subjects far from the problems of daily life in the Germany of the 1930s and 40s. Many of the scholars among them turned to periods remote from contemporary Germany, such as classical Greece, imperial Rome, medieval Europe, Golden-Age Spain, and the Baroque. In the very different context of Colombia, this is the second kind of disengagement which I have identified. This inner emigration or psychological exile creates a consciousness which is internally diasporic in significant ways.

Philip Potdevin is such an internally diasporic writer. A Colombian in his early forties who has published two highly praised novels, a number of critical essays, and several books of short stories and poems, he is, in his professional life, concretely engaged in making a living as a lawyer, a sometime professor of literature in a major university in Bogotá, and an employee of a multi-national firm. He also writes some social commentary in newspapers. In his creative work, however, he is so escapist, detached, and disengaged that the relationship between the person and his literary work is at times difficult to fathom.

His first novel, entitled *Metatrón*, tells of the discovery, in a forgotten chapel in a forgotten village high in the Andes, of a series of paintings of mysterious archangels and the effects that this discovery probably has on two couples who travel to the village to study the paintings. The novel's allusions are to alchemy, cabala, the history of painting and of religions, theology, and, of course, angelology. The book's subject matter and its resolutely esoteric tone and style make it among the more unusual novels published in Colombia in the mid 1990s.

No less remote from contemporary life and issues is his second novel, *Mar de la tranquilidad*. That novel, published in late 1997, concerns a bullfighter who becomes the student of a Zen Master and who, through bullfighting, *zazen*, and the tea ceremony, experiences a kind of *satori*. It is as though Ernest Hemingway and Juan Belmonte were to meet D. T. Suzuki. No detail of the novel situates it in any definite Colombian or Latin American city. That vagueness does not seem to be the result of an intention to create an archetypal Latin American city which

every citizen of the continent would recognize as his own, as is the case with García Márquez's Macondo. Potdevin's vagueness seems rather to be part of a strategy of detachment that is as deliberate as it is pervasive in his work thus far.

Potdevin's short stories are, most of them, similarly detached from a specific time and place. In his poetry, he writes mostly haikus and poems on classical themes and figures like Circe. In correspondence with me, Potdevin has acknowledged the detachment which permeates his work, but he does not really explain it. My own view is that the tragic dissonances and insecurities of current Colombian life have driven him into a kind of psychological exile in his creative work, while remaining physically in Colombia.

The engagement response

There appear to be two kinds of writers who continue to live in Colombia but deliberately refuse the position and condition of psychological exile. The first type is engaged and confrontational; the second, engaged, yet nostalgic for a country that no longer exists.

The first kind may be represented by Gustavo Alvarez Gardezabal, one of the most prominent writers of the generation after García Márquez. Alvarez Gardezabal grew up during *la violencia*. He recalls that, as a boy in his native town of Tuluá, he would open the door of his house in the mornings to see who had been assassinated the night before and whose body was lying in the street. I have heard him speak with eloquence about the trauma of such daily violence on the psyche of a growing boy. And yet he chose to face the issues of violence directly. A student in the Universidad del Valle in the late sixties, he wrote a thesis in 1970 on novels of *la violencia* in Colombia. That work of research and criticism set him on his path as a writer, for his literary work is similarly concerned with *la violencia* and the dissonant realities of contemporary Colombian life. Though scarred by his experiences, he does not seek refuge in a distant past or in a place remote from contemporary Colombia. In sum, he is not nostalgic and not a psychological exile. Unlike Philip Potdevin, he does not lead a life conflicted by the contrary impulses of engagement and disengagement.

This is not to say that Alvarez Gardezabal's life is free of conflict. In fact, he seems always to court controversy and difficulty. It is partly this devotion to the committed life and its attendant struggles that, I believe, led him into regional politics and to the governorship of the state (Departamento del Valle del Cauca) in which he was born. As one might expect, his governing style was as confrontational and as direct as his writing style. In confronting political corruption, for instance, he named names and was specific in his accusations. Such forthrightness did win him a following among the people, but it has also created powerful political enemies. Those enemies were behind an accusation that during his campaign for the governorship, he accepted financial contributions from people later associated with the drug mafia of Valle del Cauca. Jailed in May of 1999 and held without bail until the prosecutors had assembled their case and argued it be-

fore the national Court of Justice, he was found guilty in the spring of 2001, sentenced to six and a half years of prison, including time already served, and fined an enormous sum. Also, he has been barred from seeking public office. It is now very much an open question whether or not he will ever return as a voice to be reckoned with at the national level.

The second kind of writer who refuses psychological exile, who remains engaged but who is, nonetheless, nostalgic about the past, may best be represented by Fernando Cruz Kronfly. His attitude and his responses to the current situation are probably the most typical of Colombians in the late 20th century. Although he lives in the country and would not consider living elsewhere, he views himself as uprooted and forcibly displaced from those spaces that shaped and nurtured his sense of identity. The family farm associated with his most intimate childhood memories is no longer available to him, and it has not been since the day eight or nine years ago when his son, then a teenager, was kidnapped from it and ransomed. The farm sits abandoned except for a caretaker, too dangerous to visit even now, and yet too precious in memory to be sold. The city of Cali in which Cruz Kronfly grew up has been so altered and blighted by industrialization, overbuilding, and pollution, and rendered so unsafe by the drug culture that he no longer feels at home in it. Cruz Kronfly's experiences with kidnapping and his feelings about Colombia's dangerous countryside and altered cityscapes, I should add, are shared by countless other Colombians.

In essays, Cruz Kronfly has described his own works as registering the effects of post-modernity: they capture, he says, the horror of contemporary life, the numbing indifference that protects the psyche from that horror, the uprootedness caused by the loss of those physical spaces that defined a person, and the brittleness in human relationships. Anyone reading the preceding sentence would say that what Cruz Kronfly describes is not particularly unique, or even limited to Colombia. That is true. A major city like Cali in Colombia is in a sense only an exaggerated example of the post-industrial, post-modern third-world city.

Cruz Kronfly has described his creative work accurately, for it is peopled by characters who, bitter and lonely, desperate and alienated, have lost their way. And yet these same characters, perhaps precisely because they are so lost, search for a positive meaning to their existence. They usually try to find in the present an older and more intimate way of being in the world. It is a search almost always doomed to failure, and thus moments of happiness are few in Cruz Kronfly's works. When they do come, they are accompanied by feelings of guilt, as if happiness in such a world were the undeserved consequence of a cosmological mistake. For Cruz Kronfly, happiness is generally to be found only in a certain kind of past time and place. Thus, even as he registers the dissonances of the post-modern third-world city, he tries to recreate or otherwise memorialize the vanished spaces of childhood, those quiet homes and patios, those villages and rural spaces which until recently substantially determined what it meant to be a Colombian. He is, in a word, nostalgic.

Nostalgic. The word comes from the Greek *nostos*, which signifies a 'return', usually a return home. Thus the English word 'nostalgia' carries with it the longing for home. Is it not significant that two of the stories most important for establishing the cultural identity of the West, each story told toward the beginning of our historical memory, are concerned with home, exile, and the longing to return? The first of these stories, that of the expulsion from the Garden of Eden with which I introduced this essay, promises to replace the exile with a return, that return given figural expression in the promise of the Messiah for Jews and in the Kingdom of Heaven for Christians. That the return is to be accomplished at the end of History, writ large, is indication enough of its impossibility in any ordinary life.

The second of these stories is perhaps more hopeful, perhaps because more modest and more secular. Homer's *Odyssey* is also based on the loss of home, a time of forced wandering, and a longing to return. Critics have identified this set of themes in the *Odyssey* as the *nostos* perspective in the epic. And, precisely because Odysseus's wanderings are *compelled* by the gods, they are diasporic.

John Gardner has written that there are only two basic plots in literature: that of the man who goes on a journey, and that of the stranger who comes to town. The early verses of *Genesis* set up both situations: Adam and Eve are forced to leave home; and Cain is the stranger who comes to town. In Greek literature, the *Odyssey* is based on the first plot; *Oedipus Rex*, on the second. Yet both plots are in my view part of a larger and even more universal story of the hero cycle: the 'master plot' of his expulsion, his diasporic existence, and his return, a return which then is often explicitly defined as either successful or failed. No wonder, then, that we see the echoes of this master plot in so many literary works of western civilization, both in the works of the western canon like the *Aeneid*, the *Divine Comedy*, and *Ulysses*, and in the cultural expressions of countries like Colombia which have made instability almost its national tradition.

5. Conclusion

Each of the Colombian writers that I have described as diasporic has felt himself to have been separated irrevocably from his past. Each has seen that past destroyed either by the forces of modernization or by the violence that has defined Colombian life for most of the decades of this century. Most of these writers tend to look back to a Colombia which may never have been actually innocent, but which they have defined as more innocent than the country at present. Rightly or wrongly, these writers have imagined Colombia's cultural innocence to have been real at some level. Their views are not unique. The past, precisely because it is irrecoverable, often becomes a world of 'once upon a time'. Becoming so, it is transformed into the site of nostalgia, identified with a home long since destroyed, a garden long since abandoned, an innocence long since lost. Most of these writers thus embody, though in differing degrees of intentionality and awareness, the Greek principle of *nostos*. In exile, whether actual or psychologi-

cal, external or internal, they long for a cultural wholeness which may be as impossible to achieve as it is necessary to believe in. Jorge Luis Borges once said that to be Colombian requires an act of faith. I believe it.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Gustavo Alvarez Gardeazábal was born in 1945 in Tuluá and grew up there, educated by Franciscans and Salesians. He abandoned the study of chemical engineering in Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana in Medellín, devoting himself then to literature at the Universidad del Valle. In 1970, he wrote a Masters Thesis on 'Las novelas de la violencia en Colombia' (*Colombia's Novels of the Period of Violence*), directed by Walter Langford of Notre Dame. His first major novel, *Cóndores no entierran todos los días*, which won the Manacor Prize in 1971, appeared in Barcelona, Spain, after first being published in Colombia. Other prizes in Spain and elsewhere followed, as did major fellowships like the Guggenheim. His other major works of fiction are: *Dadeiba* (1973), *El bazar de los idiotas* (1974), *El titiritero* (1977), *Pepe Botellas* (1984), *El divino* (1986), *Los sordos ya no hablan* (1991). In 1980, after a decade of teaching in several universities, he resigned from his professorship at the Universidad del Valle to dedicate himself to writing and to politics. He was twice elected mayor of his native Tuluá (1988 and 1992) and was elected governor of the State of Valle in 1998.

Fernando Cruz Kronfly was born in 1943 in Buga, Colombia, but grew up in Cali. He received a law degree from the Universidad de Gran Colombia, in Bogotá, and has practiced law for most of his life. He also taught for a number of years at the Universidad del Valle, retiring from that university in 1998, and throughout his career has written for most of the major newspapers and journals of Colombia. His first short stories won literary prizes in Colombia and in Mexico. His first novel, *Cámara ardiente* (aka *Falleba*) won the Bilbao Prize in Spain in 1981. Novels published since then include *La obra del sueño* (1984), *La ceniza del libertador* (1987), *La ceremonia de la soledad* (1992), *El embarcadero de los incurables* (1998), *La caravana de Gardel* (1998). His most important collections of essays are: *La sombrilla planetaria* (1994) and *Amapolas al vapor* (1996)

Gabriel García Márquez was born in Aracataca, Colombia, in 1927 and lived there with his grandparents until 1936, when he rejoined his parents in Sucre, a town on the banks of the Magdalena River. He was sent to a private boarding school in Zipaquirá (on the outskirts of Bogotá) in 1940. After high school he enrolled as a student of law at the Universidad Nacional, and it was during that first year in 1947 that he wrote and published his first short story, 'La tercera resignación'. He was in Bogotá on April 9, 1948, the day of the *Bogotazo*. The riots and the ensuing disturbances shut down the university and García Márquez returned to his Caribbean roots in Cartagena, La Guajira, Aracataca and Barranquilla. It was in these towns that he turned to writing both journalism and fiction. He became nationally known first as a journalist and then as a short-story writer

and novelist. He burst on the international scene with the astonishing success of *One Hundred Years of Solitude* in 1967. Other major novels and stories followed. He was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1982. His main works, besides *One Hundred of Solitude*, are: *El otoño del patriarca* (*The Autumn of the Patriarch*, 1975), *Crónica de una muerte anunciada* (*Chronicle of a Death Foretold*, 1981), *El amor en los tiempos del cólera* (*Love in the Time of Cholera*, 1985), *El general en su laberinto* (*The General in his Labyrinth*, 1989), *Del amor y otros demonios* (*Of Love and Other Demons*, 1994), *Noticia de un secuestro* (*News of a Kidnapping*, 1996). He divides his time between Mexico City and Colombia (Bogotá and Cartagena).

Alvaro Mutis was born in 1923 in Bogotá but spent much of his childhood in Belgium. Returning to Colombia in adolescence, he enrolled in classes on poetry taught by the country's major poet, Eduardo Carranza. He was a student in Bogotá, as was Gabriel García Márquez, at the time of the *Bogotazo*, and he lost his first book in the conflagration which consumed much of the center of the city. He left Colombia in 1956 and has lived ever since in Mexico City. He began his career as a poet and gradually turned to fiction. He has published more than seven works dedicated to the invented persona and alter ego, 'Maqroll el Gaviero', a character whom he never physically describes and whose national origin he leaves uncertain. These works include poetry and fiction. Poetry: *Summa de Maqroll el Gaviero*, a collection of all his poetry books about Maqroll, published in 1973. Fiction: *La nieve del Almirante* (1986), *Ilona llega con la lluvia* (1987), *Un bel morir* (1988), *La última escala del Tramp Steamer* (1989). His novels about Maqroll el Gaviero have been collected under the general title of *Empresas y tribulaciones de Maqroll el Gaviero* (1993).

Philip Potdevin was born in 1958 in Cali, Colombia. Raised in that city, he received a law degree from the University of San Buenaventura and began a career in journalism, writing first for *El País* and *El Mundo*. Moving to Cartagena in 1989, he burst on the national scene in 1992, winning in that single year all three major short story national competitions in the country. He received a grant from Colcultura (similar to the National Endowment for the Humanities) to work on the manuscript which became his first and highly praised novel, *Metatrón*, published in 1995. His second novel, *Mar de la tranquilidad*, was published at the end of 1997. His other books include poetry (*Cantos de Saxo*, 1994; *Mesteres de Circe*, 1996; *Cánticos de Éxtasis*, 1997; *25 haikus*, 1997) and collections of short stories (*Magister Ludi*, 1994; *Estragos de la lujuria*, 1996). He is the Director of a literary research center called the Centro de Estudios Alejo Carpentier in the Universidad Nacional, and he works in Bogotá as an executive for Dow Chemical.

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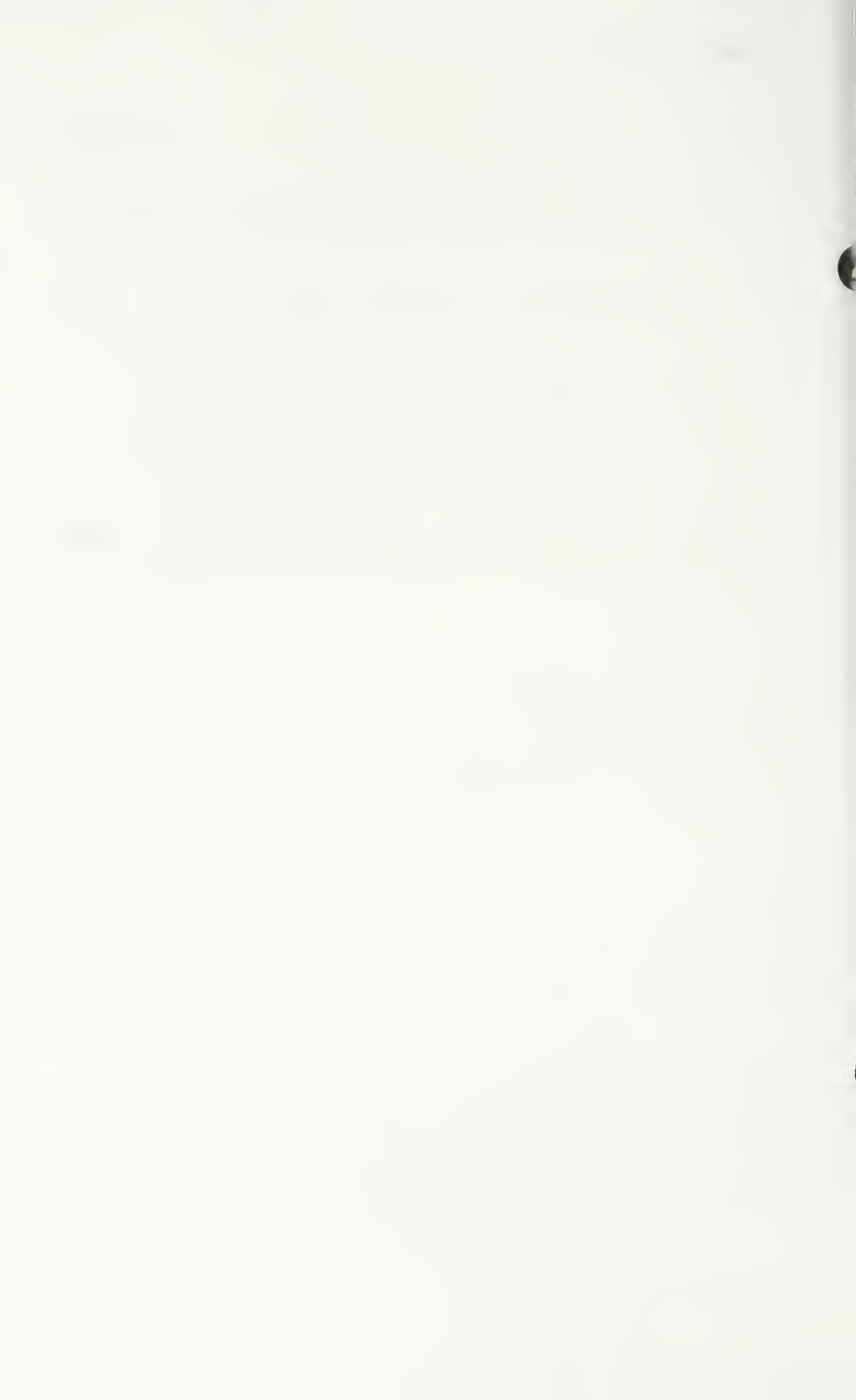
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tained within its semantic domain: 'nation', 'nationalism', 'diaspora', 'exile', 'transnationalism', 'postcoloniality', 'ethnicity'. Some of the articles most directly relevant to the issues I am addressing in this essay are, in chronological order of their publication in *Diaspora*: Malki 1994, Ebron & Lowenhaupt Tsing 1995, de los Angeles Torres 1995, Tölöyan 1996, Chapin 1996, Fabricant 1998, Schnapper 1999, Safran 1999.

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U.S. AMERICANS IN MEXICO: CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES IN MONTERREY¹

Robert Baumgardner

This paper is a description of the present-day U.S. American expatriate community in the northern Mexican city of Monterrey. It first traces the history of the U.S. American presence in Monterrey, which reached its peak during the presidency of Porfirio Díaz in the late nineteenth century. Special attention is given to two U.S. Americans — Joseph A. Robertson and Juan F. Brittingham — who played an important role in the development of the city. The paper then describes the lives of seven U.S. Americans who presently live in the city and who are representative of the diversity in the resident U.S. American community. Finally, the processes of acculturation of U.S. Americans in Monterrey are discussed from the perspectives of language and identity: the experiences of these U.S. emigrants in Mexico are found to be similar to those of other communities living in diaspora.

Introduction

According to the United States Department of State, there are more U.S. citizens in Mexico than in any other country in the world other than the United States and Canada.² Mexico's large U.S. community is very diverse, encompassing all major groups described in sociological immigrant literature — the tourist, the expatriate, the sojourner, and the settler (Cohen 1977). From retirees, students, teachers, businesspersons, missionaries, diplomats, and other professionals to writers and artists, drifters and hippies, and citizens of U.S. origin married to Mexicans, the U.S. population in Mexico is perhaps more highly visible than that of any other foreign community. A sizable 'American colony', made up of both permanent as well as temporary-resident U.S. Americans, can be found in Mexico's three largest cities — Mexico City, Guadalajara, Monterrey — and smaller cities like Acapulco, Cuernavaca and Puebla, among numerous others, also have resident U.S. Americans. U.S. retirees in Mexico — so-called seasonal 'snowbirds' or

'winterbirds' — now constitute the largest concentration of U.S. retirees outside the United States (see, e.g., Otero 1997). And, while the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1993 served to further boost U.S. presence in Mexico (as well as Mexican presence in the U.S.), this presence is by no means a recent phenomenon. From the time Mexico gained its independence from Spain in 1821, a multitude of U.S. Americans have visited, engaged in both business and war, lived in and settled in Mexico.

In the present chapter I will focus on the U.S. American presence in the northern Mexican city of Monterrey, provincial capital of the state of Nuevo León. Situated some 150 miles south of Laredo, Texas, Monterrey is a unique cultural, social, economic and political blend in the Mexican mosaic. It is a city which has looked for direction at least as much north to its nearest neighbor, the United States, as it has south to the seat of federal government in Mexico City. I will show how this position vis-à-vis the United States is reflected in the perceived identity of the U.S. American community in Monterrey. My work is based on participant observation in the community³ as well as on twenty interviews with U.S. Americans resident in Monterrey conducted during August 1998 and follow-up interviews and telephone conversations in January 1999. My presentation will begin with a brief history of the city of Monterrey during important periods in Mexican history and the part U.S. Americans have played in that history. I will concentrate in that discussion on the roles of two prominent U.S. American entrepreneurs who helped in the shaping of Monterrey — Joseph A. Robertson and Juan F. Brittingham. I will then present seven profiles of U.S. Americans who I feel are representative of the city's present-day U.S. community. The presentation concludes with a discussion of the process of acculturation with respect to Spanish-language acquisition and questions of identity of U.S. Americans in Monterrey, which are found to parallel those of other communities in diaspora.

Background

The city of Monterrey, which celebrated its 400th anniversary in 1996, was founded in 1596 by Diego de Montemayor on commission of the Spanish crown; it had earlier served as a Spanish colonial outpost under different names. Today, the city and its residents enjoy a distinct reputation throughout Mexico: 'there is no doubt of the mystique of Monterrey in the Mexican context: it is hard work and industriousness, seasoned with stinginess' (Balán, Browning and Jelin 1973:37-38). Varying beliefs underlie this mystique. Balán, Browning and Jelin (1973:38), for example, note that 'the early inhabitants of Monterrey became so industrious precisely because of the difficult conditions (arid land and warlike Indians) they encountered, unlike the settlers of richer lands in central Mexico...' Other commentators point to the background of the early settlers of Mexico; Condon (1997:4), for example, has noted that 'The Spanish who came to Mexico were from all parts of Spain and all classes, backgrounds, regions, and religions. Sephardic Jews from southern Spain, fleeing the forced conversions and impending Inquisition, were a substantial part of the early Spanish presence in Mexico'.

One of Monterrey's earlier founders and subsequent governor of the state of Nuevo León, Luis Carvajal y de la Cueva, died in a Mexico City prison during the Holy Inquisition, accused by his own relatives of being a crypto-Jew. Notes Borton de Treviño (1953:189): '...long before modern industrial Monterrey had begun to rise out of sound Jewish knowledge of markets, banking, trade, and credits, many a novel — romantic, bloody, cruel, and strange — had been lived out by the New Christians and their sons and daughters' (see Hoyo 1979 for the intrigue surrounding the life of Carvajal). Whatever the roots of its success, modern-day Monterrey is indisputably the leading industrial city in northeastern Mexico.

This was not always the case. Monterrey's development during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was very slow, because of frequent wars with Indians and the city's location far from the capital of New Spain in central Mexico. It was an important stop for travelers to the interior of the country, but the city itself did not attract settlers; in 1753, some 150 years after its founding, the population was a mere 3,334 inhabitants. The second half of the eighteenth century, however, saw a confluence of events which contributed greatly to the growth of the city. These factors, according to Vizcaya Canales (1971), included, among others, the subjugation of the Indian population, the colonization of the neighboring state of Tamaulipas and resulting commercial activity for the city, and the location of the *Obispado*, or bishopric, to Monterrey. By 1803, the city's population had doubled to 6,412. It continued to grow in the next half century; by 1824 there were 12,282 inhabitants and almost 27,000 by 1853 (Vizcaya Canales 1971).

During the Mexican-American War (1846-1848), Zachary Taylor's forces attacked Monterrey in September 1846 and were held off briefly by Mexican troops at the *Obispado* before the Mexican troops fled and the town was occupied. The Battle of Monterrey was the first in a series of battles in which the San Patricio Battalion took part (Smith 1963, Baker 1978, and Hogan 1997). The San Patricios were U.S. deserters, predominantly Irish-American, who joined Mexico's 'Foreign Legion' and fought the United States under the banner of St. Patrick, led by Lieutenant John Riley. After their defeat in Monterrey, the Patricios moved on with Mexican troops to other major battles in the war. The Patricio Battalion was dissolved a year after the final defeat of Mexican troops in Mexico City in August 1848, but a number of surviving Patricios settled in Mexico. Wynn (1984:29) reports that 'Today, quite a number of Rileys appear in the telephone directories of Puebla, Guadalajara, and Mexico City.'

Lesser known in Mexican history is the second San Patricio Battalion, formed some years later in Monterrey (Cavazos Garza 1996a). In July 1853, the United States sent troops to the cities of Brownsville and Laredo to reinforce the border during the Gadsden Purchase. About forty soldiers, predominantly Catholic and Irish-American, deserted and fled to Mexico; they were placed in a newly-formed San Patricio Battalion, named after their heroic compatriots who fought for Mexico in the Mexican-American War. The battalion was eventually dis-

solved during the turmoil of the Revolution of Ayutla in 1855, but the names of soldiers who belonged to the Monterrey San Patricio Battalion — Cooper, Lamm, Mayer, Morgan, Murphy, Sheridan and Smith — can be found in the 1998 Monterrey telephone directory.

During the period of French intervention in Mexico (1864-1867), Emperor Maximilian actively encouraged the establishment of U.S. colonies as a means of populating and developing the country. A number of those colonies were populated by U.S. Confederates who were not willing to lay down their arms and surrender after defeat in the U.S. Civil War (1861-1865): 'That some of the Confederate leaders began their consideration of the possibilities of migration before the cessation of hostilities is indicated by the fact that as early as February, 1865, General Edmund Kirby Smith, commander of the Confederate Trans-Mississippi Department, expressed his hope that 'in case of unexampled catastrophe to our arms and the final overthrow of the government ' his services might be acceptable to Maximilian' (Rister 1945:35). While most U.S. colonies were set up in central Mexico (Carlota was the most famous), the emperor 'also opened areas northward and westward to them and assigned to each of the areas American colonization agents. Judge Oran M. Roberts and William P. Hardeman of Texas were stationed in Guadalajara, William M. Anderson and John G. Lux went to Monterrey...' (Rolle 1965:108). The ultimate failure of the colonies was more or less assured with the fall of the French regime, and while most Confederates left Mexico, some U.S. Americans, especially those who lived in major cities at the time, remained, and their descendants are still there today (see, e.g., Daniels 1947:338 and Anhalt 1998:180).

It was not until the regime of Porfirio Díaz (1884-1911) that U.S. Americans settled in large numbers in the northern regions of Mexico. 'American industrial and agricultural enterprises were spread peacefully over the whole north' of Mexico wrote Anita Brenner in 1943 in her classic book on the Mexican Revolution, *The Wind That Swept Mexico* (Brenner and Leighton 1971:16). The Díaz government established over 60 colonies throughout the northern region, 18 colonized with Mexicans, 5 with Mexican repatriates, 6 with Italians, one each with American Indians, naturalized Guatemalans, French, Belgians, Spanish, Japanese, Russian Jews, Puerto Ricans, and Boers. The Germans and Cubans had two colonies each; but the dominant group of immigrants was made up of U.S. Americans, who had twenty colonies. Most of the colonies were founded to work in agriculture, but there were industrial colonies and brewery colonies, as well as colonies which manufactured explosives (González Navarro 1960).

Díaz's regime (known as the *porfiriato*) is synonymous to some historians with the modernization of Mexico as well as with the presence of large numbers of U.S. Americans in the country, a phenomenon Schell (1992:516) has called a 'trade diaspora'. 'The architects of the [*porfiriato*] development policy ... believed that Mexico could achieve parity with its 'sister republic' by having a 'peaceful invasion' of American capital and colonists which would build Mex-

ico's economy, provide access to technology and markets and, ultimately, strengthen national sovereignty' (Schell 1992:8). The construction of the railway and mining contributed greatly to the economy of northern Mexico (see, e.g., Pletcher 1958). It was during the *porfiriato* that the city of Monterrey also underwent major industrial development:

The process began in Monterrey ... where, in addition to the huge Guggenheim interests, other American, French, German, and British investors backed industrial enterprises. Attracted by excellent transportation facilities and by the tax exemptions for industries, foreign and domestic capital was directed into Mexico's first important steel firm. ... Within a few years the company was producing pig iron, steel rails, beams, and bars, and by 1911 it was making over sixty thousand tons of steel annually. Monterrey was soon dubbed the Pittsburgh of Mexico. Other industrial concerns based in Monterrey constructed new cement, textile, cigarette, cigar, soap, brick, and furniture factories, as well as flour mills and a large bottled-water plant' (Meyer and Sherman 1995:449-450).

Unlike in Mexico City where investors actually lived in the large American colony present there during the *porfiriato* (Schell 1992), in Monterrey the majority of U.S. financiers were absentee investors. 'There were few outsiders with whom *regiomontano* [resident of Monterrey] elite families had to contend for social recognition' (Saragoza 1988:73-74). One exception, however, was Col. Joseph A. Robertson, the first Director General of Railways in Monterrey, a U.S. American who, according to Vizcaya Canales (1971:10) and Niemeyer (1966:56-57), contributed greatly to the economic development of Nuevo León and Monterrey. Martin (1907:82) calls Robertson the 'Father of Monterey.' The Colonel owned and had interests in agriculture and fruit nurseries (he introduced citrus fruit to the region), real estate, ranching, mines, foundries, brick manufacturing, loan companies, colonization, and printing and publishing (Hanrahan 1985). In 1893 he started *The Monterrey News*, the first modern newspaper in Monterrey. It was published in English because of the substantial number of English-speaking residents of Monterrey and environs — in 1895 some 900 U.S. Americans. In 1902 *The Monterrey News* started a Spanish edition, and the next year ceased publication of the English edition (Vizcaya Canales 1971:120). Saragoza notes that, while Robertson was admired for his keen entrepreneurship by both foreigners and Mexicans alike, 'still, Robertson's foresight, as important as it may have been to the city's development, was matched by the acumen among native capitalists' (Saragoza 1988:42).

Another U.S. American who played a prominent role in the development of the city of Monterrey during the *porfiriato* was Juan F. Brittingham (Brittingham 1980 and Barragán and Cerutti 1993). John Francis Clemens Brittingham was born in 1859 in St. Louis, Missouri. His family was English and Catholic in origin. Brittingham attended the Christian Brothers College in St. Louis, a Catholic insti-

tution in which many young Mexicans of the time also studied. It was at Christian Brothers that he befriended Juan Terrazas, son of General Luis Terrazas, one of the richest men in northern Mexico. At the age of 24, at the invitation of Juan Terrazas, Brittingham went to Chihuahua, and with the financial support of the Terrazas began his very prosperous life in Mexico. The younger Terrazas and Brittingham first started a small candle and soap plant. Brittingham soon branched out into mining, banking and breweries; he was also on the board of directors of numerous Monterrey firms (Haber 1989). In 1886 he married Damiana González, daughter of a prominent businessman and politician, and changed his name to Juan F. Brittingham. In the same year Brittingham brought his mother, sister and brother to Mexico. His sister Julia quickly integrated into Mexican society by her marriage to the son of an important landowner. Brittingham's brother, who arrived in Mexico with a U.S. American wife, did not acculturate so well and was not accepted in Mexican society as was his sister.

Juan Brittingham had four sons by his first wife, who died in the fourth childbirth; he had three children by a second Mexican wife and none by a third. During the 1911 Revolution and ensuing civil wars, the Brittingham children were sent to the United States, where Brittingham also lived on occasion during that tumultuous period. Brittingham, however, did not abandon Mexico, as did many U.S. Americans as a result of the Revolution. In fact, like a number of Mexican entrepreneurs, he profited from it, even entering on one occasion into a deal with Pancho Villa (Haber 1989:133). During the twenties and thirties Brittingham spent time in northern Mexico, Mexico City and Los Angeles. Brittingham's four eldest sons by his first wife established businesses and remained in Mexico; his three children by his second wife became permanent residents of the United States.

Joseph A. Robertson and Juan F. Brittingham are typical of a select group of U.S. Americans who migrated to and invested in Mexico both financially and personally during the *porfiriato*. Robertson's and Brittingham's activities were restricted primarily to northern Mexico; other U.S. Americans such as Thomas H. Braniff played similar roles in other parts of the country. These U.S. American families became an integral and respected part of the society in which they lived and worked, and many of their descendants remained in Mexico and became Mexican. Neither Brittingham nor Robertson ever became Mexican citizens, but in all other aspects they were truly bilingual and bicultural — their second-generation children, third-generation grandchildren, fourth-generation great-grandchildren, and fifth- and sixth-generation great-great-grandchildren and great-great-great-grandchildren who remained in Mexico even more so. (Both families also have descendants in the United States). Brittinghams as well as Robertsons appear in biographies of Monterrey's important personalities (see, e.g., Basave, Blanco, Saldaña and Covarrubias 1945, Basave and Gómez 1956, Vega García 1967, Vega García 1977 and Cavazos Garza 1996b). The 1998 Monterrey telephone book lists Brittinghams and Brittingham-Sadas; the names of the descendants of other U.S. Americans important in the making of Monterrey — Dil-

lon, Price, Robertson, Watson, Weber, Woods — are also still found there. And the 1998 Monterrey city map (*Guia Roji*) shows five streets named after J.A. Robertson and three after Juan F. Brittingham.

Monterrey today

According to the United States Department of State, there are 50,660 U.S. Americans today in the city of Monterrey,⁴ Mexico's third largest city with a population of over one million according to the 1990 census. It is estimated that more than four million people live in the metropolitan area of Monterrey.⁵ The popular *Insight Guide* for tourists describes this northern Mexican metropolis in the following way:

Dynamic Monterrey is the center of private enterprise and lives sometimes an uneasy relationship with the paternalistic federal government of Mexico City. The men who run Monterrey's industry tend to have closer cultural ties with the United States than with the rest of Mexico. They admire U.S. know-how, marketing procedures, and business methods. This does not mean they are not patriotic Mexicans and proud of their achievements, but it does mean that they often speak of government interference. In fact, they sound like U.S. businessmen. Many Monterrey well-to-do send their children to the U.S. for schooling... [and] Monterrey youth even play American-style football (Müller and García-Oropeza 1989:185).

Saragoza (1988:145) describes the lure of U.S. American culture for the Monterrey elite during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: 'American popular culture penetrated the social life of the elite. Moreover, the American presence in Monterrey was given greater visibility and legitimacy through the apparent admiration of members of the elite for their counterparts across the border'. Many of the elite had studied in the United States and sent both their sons and daughters to do so as well. Regarding the Monterrey elite's attitude towards post-1911 nationalist rhetoric, Saragoza further notes (1988:145) that 'in a fundamental way, the upper class of Monterrey was at odds with the nationalist currents of postrevolutionary Mexico...'. T. Philip Terry, in the 1931 edition of his popular guide to Mexico, described Monterrey as 'a handsome, progressive, growing, bi-lingual city. It is a homey, hospitable place, noted for its friendly people, its good local government, and its civic pride. Its proximity to the Texas border, to which it is linked by a busy railway and a good auto road ..., has unconsciously influenced its people, who are often referred to as *my americanizado* [very Americanized] (Terry 1931:7).

Terry's description of Monterrey as a 'bilingual city' is certainly an exaggeration; the Americanization of Monterrey, however, is indeed very much in evidence, especially in the suburb of San Pedro Garza García, where most U.S. Americans as well as much of the Monterrey elite now live. The U.S. community is centered around a number of key organizations. The principal social group of the

American colony is the American Society of Monterrey (ASOMO), which was founded in 1950. ASOMO sponsors various year-round activities for the community, including the annual Fourth of July Picnic; it publishes a monthly newsletter, *ASOMO News*, with important dates and facts about the U.S. community of Monterrey, as well as the yearly Venerable Vendors List, which offers the U.S. American community suggestions for doctors, hospitals, veterinarians, hairstylists, etc. The more recent *International Community News*, a small commercial newspaper, also offers news of the U.S. and international community as well as cultural and business articles of interest to residents of Monterrey. A smaller independently-published monthly bulletin, *Talk of the Town* (now defunct) offers tips on entertainment, culture and leisure to the Monterrey English-speaking international community.

A newer yet equally important organization for the community is the Newcomers Club, 'an organization designed to provide a feeling of welcome to English-speaking women of Monterrey' (*Newcomers News* May 1998:1). The club organizes trips and tours, shopping and lunch outings, dining out, children's play groups, and bridge. Its newsletter, *Newcomers News*, appears monthly. Although the organization is aimed primarily at helping recently-arrived English-speaking women in Monterrey adjust to the daily life of the city (while their husbands are working), it also sponsors social events for entire families as well. Newcomers also maintains a small library and organizes book reviews. The Benjamin Franklin Library, formerly run by the United States Information Service in Monterrey, is now an independent public library located in the *Instituto Mexicano Norteamericano de Relaciones Culturales*, and serves the reading needs of the general public, including the U.S. American community. Other clubs of importance in the community include the International Quilters of Monterrey, the Monterrey Garden Club, the American Society of Monterrey, the Women's Club, the Bridge Club, the Boy Scouts, and the American Legion; many of these clubs also accept members other than U.S. Americans and are bilingual. The religious life of the colony is served by three English-speaking churches: the interdenominational Union Church of Monterrey, the Holy Family Episcopal Church, and the Immaculate Mary Catholic Church. All three have weekly prayer and Bible study groups as well as a Women's Guilds, and jointly sponsor Ecumenical events throughout the year.

Many children of U.S. Americans attend schools run by the American School Foundation of Monterrey, which includes both an elementary/middle school and a new high school. High-school students can opt for either an American-style curriculum or the more demanding Mexican *bachillerato*. A plethora of other so-called bilingual schools and colleges are also open throughout the city. The U.S. business community in Monterrey is served by the northeast chapters of the American Chamber/Mexico and the U.S.-Mexico Chamber of Commerce and their publications *Business Mexico* and *Mexican Trade and Industry*, respectively. For both residents and tourists, two free Spanish-English bilingual publications, *What's on Monterrey* (Monterrey Convention and Visitors Bureau) and *Monterrey Quick Guide* (Tourist Bureau of Nuevo León), are also available.

U.S. American profiles

The following profiles of the lives of U.S. Americans in Monterrey are representative of the diversity of the contemporary U.S. community in diaspora. I have included in the discussion only those U.S. Americans whom I consider 'stable' residents, i.e., those who have been in the city at least five years.

Mrs. J

Mrs. J, as I will call her, is the subject of my first profile. She and her husband, Methodist and Lutheran, respectively, came to Mexico in the early thirties during the Presidency of Pascual Ortiz Rubio, a period in Mexican history during which Revolutionary ideologies experienced a marked shift to the right (Meyer and Sherman 1995:592-93). Mr. J, a chemical engineer, was employed by Monterrey Power and Light Company. While they had various opportunities to return to the United States, both Mr. and Mrs. J felt more at home in Mexico and remained in the country as permanent residents; they moved in the same social circles as second- and third-generation Brittinghams and Robertsons. Mr. J eventually retired in Monterrey and is now deceased; his wife has lived in Monterrey for 68 years and has no intention of returning to the U.S. Mrs. J is still a U.S. citizen, but considers herself more Mexican than U.S. American. When she does return to the States to visit her children, she says she feels different from as well as distant from U.S. Americans, who she says are not as warm as Mexicans.

Mrs. J speaks fluent though accented Spanish, watches television both in Spanish and in English, reads *El Norte* (Monterrey's premier Spanish-language newspaper) daily, but also enjoys reading *Reader's Digest* in English. She attends the Union Church and is a lifetime member of ASOMO, a charter member of the Monterrey Garden Club, a founding member of the Women's Club of Monterrey, and a member of the Foreign Club and the Cosmopolitan Club. These clubs, says Mrs. J, initially had only U.S. American members, but now accept non-U.S. American members; about half the members are upper-class Mexican women.

She also belongs to *Dar y Recibir*, a philanthropic Mexican organization which her daughter helped found. Mrs. J has four children, who attended Mexican schools and are fluent speakers of Spanish, which they speak among themselves. Three of the children are U.S. citizens and now live in the United States; one daughter married a Mexican and became a Mexican citizen. All of her four children are Spanish-dominant according to Mrs. J, although both she and her husband spoke to them in English when they were young. The children spoke Spanish with their *nana* (caretaker), servants, and playmates, and eventually began speaking to their parents in Spanish as well; Mr. And Mrs. J, however, continued using English, a phenomenon Romaine (1995) calls 'immigrant bilingualism'. When Mrs. J suggested to her husband, a German-American, that he teach the children German, his response was: 'Why, they will only answer me in Spanish.' Mrs. J's three children who now live in the United States still speak Spanish

to each other and to their mother when they telephone and visit home; Mrs. J speaks to them both in Spanish and/or English. Mrs. J's grandchildren and great grandchildren who live in Monterrey speak to her primarily in Spanish; she tries to speak to them in English to help them learn the language, but often finds it easier to use Spanish with them. They speak only Spanish with their parents. These third- and fourth-generation J grandchildren are, according to Mrs. J, one hundred percent Mexican. Her grandchildren and great-grandchildren in the United States do not speak Spanish, and when they come to Monterrey, their Mexican cousins speak to them in English, which they are learning in school.

Mrs. J has had a bird's eye view of the changes Monterrey has undergone over the past half-century. She says that the city was always more Americanized than other cities in Mexico because of its proximity to and open admiration for the United States, but that she has noticed a substantial increase in the amount of Americanization in the past few years since NAFTA went into effect. It is most noticeable in the number of signs and advertisements in English, the fast-food restaurant invasion, and the large number of U.S. companies which now have branches in the city. Monterrey, she says, is now more than ever losing its Mexican identity. Ironically, Mrs. J and other long-time residents of Monterrey say that a U.S. American taking on a Mexican identity in present-day Monterrey does not have to change as much as in the past since *regiomantanos* themselves have become more Americanized.

Mr. B

Mr. B's father came to Monterrey during the presidency of Manuel Avila Camacho (1940-1946), a period which many historians call the official end of the Revolution. After the six previous years of the left-leaning policies of the Lázaro Cárdenas presidency, Avila Camacho began a period of renewed industrialization against the backdrop of World War II. 'In 1944 the [Mexican] Congress passed legislation allowing foreign participation in industrialization with the proviso that Mexican capital own the controlling stock in any mixed corporation' (Meyer and Sherman 1995:635). Mr. B's father arrived in Monterrey in 1945 to set up a steel pipe company with Mexican partners; the younger B, with a degree in Business Administration and Engineering, came in 1957 at the age of thirty-three to work for his father. He and his American wife have lived in Mexico since that time.

In speaking about U.S. Americans in Mexico, Mr. B makes what he considers a crucial distinction. There are those who, like himself, his father or J. A. Robertson and Juan Brittingham, came to Mexico to invest both financially as well as personally in the country. Often, much of what they made was simply put back into the economy to improve their businesses; their fates and their futures were in Mexico. They married and/or raised children in Mexico. In many cases their offspring became Mexican.

Another type of U.S. expatriate comes to Mexico just to make a quick buck, so to speak, and then return to the United States. Historically, all classes of U.S.

Americans have worked in Mexico — during the *porfiriato* there were U.S. American porters on Mexican trains — but nowadays only highly-trained and/or educated U.S. Americans are brought into the country for a limited period of time. Their job is to train Mexican counterparts, and, once this task is completed, they return home. With the advent of the NAFTA as well as the present-day emphasis on economic globalization, such U.S. Americans are working in the country in greater numbers. However, these expatriates, like those of lower socio-economic classes before them, for the most part have no personal stake in Mexico.

Mr. B has six siblings, all of whom grew up in Mexico; three married Mexicans and settled in Monterrey and three who moved back to the United States. He says that his youngest brother and sister came to Mexico at the age of thirteen and fourteen, respectively; they speak accentless Mexican Spanish. His brother, who arrived in Mexico ten years before him, at the age of 24, speaks Spanish with only a slight English accent; and Mr. B and the other siblings who came when older speak with heavier English accents, although they are proficient in Spanish. The two brothers and sister who married Mexicans speak Spanish to both their spouses and to their children. Their children are Spanish-dominant speakers and consider themselves more Mexican than U.S. American, although they have a good knowledge of English because of family background and bilingual schooling. The children of the two sisters and brother living in the United States do not know Spanish; their parents know Spanish but speak only English at home.

Mr. B and his wife, both proficient in Spanish, still speak English to each other at home. They watch television in both Spanish and English and read *El Norte* daily. They make trips to the United States two or three times a year, and their children and relatives resident in the U.S. travel to Mexico to visit them. They are both still U.S. citizens and have permanent resident status in Mexico. The B's have six children, three who live in Mexico and three who live in the United States. All six children spoke English to their parents when growing up, but Spanish with their *nana*, servants and playmates. Mr. B reports that they, like the Js, went through a period during which he and his wife would speak to their children in English, but the children would respond in Spanish. The three children married to Mexicans now speak both English and Spanish (often both) to their parents, Spanish among themselves, and Spanish to their children. The grandchildren, who are bilingual and bicultural, are Spanish-dominant and consider themselves Mexican; however, they speak to their grandparents in English, and Mr. B encourages them to do so. One of the daughters, who lives in the United States, has decided to speak Spanish to her daughter, who speaks Spanish to her cousins when she visits Mexico. His other two children in the U.S. are not teaching their children Spanish.

Mrs. P

Mrs. P is a U.S. American woman married to a Mexican. Mrs. P has been in Mexico for thirty-two years, has maintained her U.S. citizenship and in spite of her

many years outside the United States still considers herself a U.S. American. Mrs. P met her husband in the United States, but had studied Spanish at the university before coming to Monterrey. She is now fluent in Spanish, although she says she still speaks with an English accent. The Mrs. P leads what she considers a Mexican life. She belongs to no U.S. American social organizations, only a Mexican sports club; reads primarily in Spanish and is studying psychology and counseling at the Spanish-medium University of Monterrey; and now speaks primarily Spanish with her three children, two boys in their early and mid twenties and a girl in her late twenties. She spoke and read to them in English as children and encouraged them to speak English, but they spoke Spanish with their father and household servants and soon began speaking to her in Spanish also. Mrs. P notes, however, that her daughter, the first child, now speaks much better English than her two older boys because Mrs. P had more opportunity to speak to her in English during the time that she was the only child. When the two boys were born, Mrs. P had less time to devote to each child; furthermore her daughter spoke to her younger brothers in Spanish. All three children are bilingual, but Spanish-dominant, speak Spanish to each other, have no U.S. American friends, and were raised as Catholics by their non-Catholic mother who considered this religious affiliation essential for the children's welfare in predominantly Catholic Mexico. The children consider themselves Mexican, but are quick to point out that while their Mexican friends think of them as Mexican, they also consider them different from typical Monterrey teenagers. 'Liberal' is a word often used to describe them by their Mexican friends, for while Mrs. P raised her children speaking Spanish in a Mexican family, she still imparted to them U.S. social values. Her daughter says that neither her brothers nor her mother is as protective of her as Mexican brothers and mothers are of their sisters and daughters. For example, she is not yet married and her mother is not making an issue of this; she also had an apartment by herself for a few years — not something socially accepted for young women in Monterrey. The friends of the teenaged boy say they like to spend time at Mrs. P's house — to eat, talk and relax without hovering, protective parents.

Mrs. R

Mrs. R, like Mrs. P, is a U. S. American woman married to a Mexican; she too has maintained her U.S. citizenship during her fifty years in Mexico. Mrs. R met her husband in Mexico and spoke no Spanish on arrival. Like Mrs. P, she now considers herself fluent in English-accented Spanish. Mrs. R has grown children both in Mexico and in the United States. Growing up in Monterrey, her children spoke and still speak English with their mother, Spanish with their father and Spanish among themselves. The two who live in Monterrey opted for Mexican citizenship. Those who live in the United States are U.S. citizens and think of themselves as U.S. Americans, but still consider Mexico home and have not given up their Mexican citizenship. All the children are fully bilingual. The third-generation grandchildren, one of Mrs. R's sons notes, are less proficient in English because their parents speak to them in Spanish. Both Mrs. R's children and grandchildren,

like Mrs. P's children, have dual Mexican and U.S. identities, and even though one is often dominant, the other identity always remains. This too is how they are perceived by other Mexicans and U.S. Americans — cultural in-betweens.

Mr. and Mrs. A

Mr. A, a businessman, first became involved in business in Matamoros, Mexico as partial owner of a *maquiladora*, a plant in Mexico in which U.S.-made products are assembled. Mr. A found he enjoyed working with Mexicans, sold his business in the United States, and opened a new business in Monterrey with a Mexican partner, where he and his wife have been living for five years. Their children are grown and live in the United States. Both Mr. and Mrs. A knew some Spanish when they arrived in Monterrey, Mr. A because of his *maquiladora* and because both he and Mrs. A took courses before coming to Monterrey. Since their arrival in Monterrey, Mr. A's proficiency in the language has improved greatly, since his business brings him into contact with Mexicans. He also attends a Spanish-speaking Rotary Club in Monterrey, where he has made numerous contacts in the Monterrey business community. Mrs. A is not as proficient in Spanish as her husband because of her more limited contact with Mexicans, although she and Mr. A see his Mexican business partner and other business contacts socially. Most of her contacts are U.S. Americans; she is very active in women's organizations in the Monterrey American colony. Both she and Mr. A belong to ASOMO and attend the English-speaking Episcopalian Holy Family Church. They both love living in Mexico and travel extensively throughout the country. Mr. and Mrs. A feel they have a stake in Mexico; their future and Mexico's future are intertwined because Mr. A put his life's saving into his new company. They are thinking about retiring in Mexico, perhaps in San Miguel de Allende. Mr. and Mrs. A both consider themselves American, but know that they have become acculturated, especially Mr. A, who, according to his wife, has become more Mexican in his business practices.⁶

Mrs. F

Mrs. F has been in Mexico for six years. Her husband was originally sent to Monterrey by his U.S. company for a period of four years. After that, they decided to stay on for a few more years because of the weather, his good salary and company perks, and because Mrs. F had made a home away from home for the family. The Fs are stalwarts of the more recent U.S. American community in Monterrey — those who come to Mexico to work for a period and then return home. Their knowledge of Spanish is very limited; Mrs. F has only U.S. American friends and her husband, who is in management in his company, comes into contact mainly with English-speaking Mexicans. His Spanish, however, is better than hers because of his life outside the home. It is possible in Monterrey, they say, to get by with limited Spanish. Their two children attend a recently established private school. They attended the American Foundation School for a number of years, but felt out of place there. Of the some 2,000 students who attend the school,

there are only about 75 to 100 U.S. American students in any given year; the majority of students are from upper-class Mexican families who want their children to receive a bilingual education. The F children did not feel comfortable being part of a minority in school and found it difficult to make friends with the Mexican students. The F children were seven years old when they first arrived in Mexico and their Spanish proficiency is now quite high. They studied Spanish as a subject in school for six years and speak Spanish with servants and shopkeepers.

Mrs. F is an artist and keeps very busy painting as well as publishing one of the monthly newsletters for U.S. Americans, which she does from her home PC. At one point in their stay, Mrs. F's mother came to live with them, but decided to return to the States because she could not find enough friends of her own age. Mrs. F lamented that most of her friends who were in Monterrey when she first came had already left, and that occasionally she and her husband even went to Newcomers meetings just to meet new arrivals. They were careful, however, not to make friends who had arrived too recently because they did not want to have to relive with them the culture shock she says many newcomer families go through in Mexico. Mrs. F says many U.S. American families who come to Monterrey have a very difficult time living in Mexico and intend to stay only for the length of their contracts. They learn little or no Spanish, send their children either to the American Foundation School or to school in the United States, make frequent trips to the United States, and restrict their activities primarily to the Monterrey American community.

Discussion

The U.S. Americans in Monterrey whom I have discussed in the present chapter run the gamut from the more ethnocentric — the F family, for example — to the totally acculturated — Juan R. Brittingham and Mr. B. U.S. Americans living in Mexico are what sociologists have described as a 'natural' expatriate community. They are 'ecological aggregates of individuals who came to live in a locality of the host society on their own or under a variety of organizational auspices, for different purposes and at different times' (Cohen 1977:25). 'Planted' expatriate communities, on the other hand, are, according to Cohen (1977:25), 'established under the auspices of one major organization, a company or the military'. They are under the control of the sponsoring organization and are often located in a separate company compound or town (e.g., the U.S. American oil towns in Saudi Arabia). Planted expatriate communities result in maximal social distance between expatriates and host community, and while other factors such as economic dominance and cultural distance between expatriate and host communities also play a role in acculturation, expatriates living in a planted community often do not have the opportunity to interact with natives and acculturate in any real sense; this is the type of U.S. American community described by Schumann (1978). It is not surprising that in a planted community U.S. Americans remain relatively ethnocentric — monolingual and monocultural.

In natural expatriate communities, on the other hand, all degrees of acculturation are present, as we have seen in the Mexican data. At one extreme, there are those U.S. Americans who create so-called cultural enclaves or environmental bubbles (Cohen 1977:16) within the host community in order to maintain their language and identity. At the other extreme are those who become successfully integrated into the host community. In a now classic study of U.S. Americans living in the early sixties in a natural expatriate community in Spain, Nash (1970) too found U.S. Americans who represented all degrees of the acculturation/adaptation process in a culture which the author considered 'to be comparatively incompatible for Americans' (Nash 1970:xi). In a more recent study of U.S. Americans in Spain, Turell (1998:197) found that, in comparison to the British community, 'U.S. American migrated families tend to promote multilingual settings and reinforce their children's use of the many languages available in the host community.' Recent studies of U.S. Americans in northern and western Europe as well as in Brazil have further shown that second- and third-generation U.S. American children become dominant bilinguals in the language of the country of residence if indeed they remain in or grow up in that country (see papers in Varro and Boyd 1998, eds., and Dawsey and Dawsey 1995, eds.).

Similar trends of language maintenance and shift can be seen in the Monterrey data as well as in earlier studies of the U.S. American colony in Mexico City. Schell (1992) notes, for example, that in general more U.S. Americans spoke Spanish at the beginning of the *porfiriato* when the community was more integrated with Mexican society; once the 'trade diaspora' began formation and more U.S. Americans migrated to the capital, the colony became more a cultural cocoon in which many could survive with English alone. In her 1942 study of the Mexico City colony, Ethelyn Davis interviewed one woman who apologized for 'her inability to speak Spanish after 34 years of residence in the country, explaining that in those days there was little opportunity or occasion for an American woman to use Spanish' (Davis 1942:262-263); but at the same time, Davis reported an increased use of Spanish among non-mixed marriage colony residents. And in an empirical study of the acquisition of Spanish and Mexican culture by U.S. teenage children of non-mixed marriage colony residents in 1977, Weller (1978) found those adolescents who had lived in Mexico at least five years to be 'English-dominant biculturals', i.e., in spite of their dominant English-speaking environment at home and at school, the majority of the teenagers studied spoke Spanish and were familiar with Mexican culture. Weller surmises that her results probably would have been more dramatic had her subjects been either second-generation offspring or the offspring of mixed marriages.

This is precisely what we find in the Monterrey data. At the one extreme, the F children, from an English-speaking, U.S.-American oriented, first-generation, non-mixed marriage, are English-dominant bilinguals. At the other end of the spectrum, Mr. B and Mrs. J's children, born in Mexico, came from homes where both parents spoke English, and Mrs. P and R's children, also born in Mexico,

both grew up in homes where only the mother spoke English to the children. The offspring of these families (the second generation in the case of Mrs. R) are all Spanish-dominant bilinguals. The third-generation children are Spanish-dominant or English-dominant depending upon their country of birth and/or residence. A number of recent studies of U.S. American families living in Denmark (Boyd 1998), Finland (Latomaa 1998 and Boyd 1998), France (Antal 1998, Fries 1998 and Varro 1998) Norway (Lanza 1998), and Sweden (Boyd 1998) as well as studies of the descendants of U.S. Confederate soldiers who fled to Brazil (Dwasey and Dawsey, eds. 1995, especially chapters 9 and 10) have shown, in fact, that bilingualism often does not survive to the third generation of such families, i.e., the children of the U.S. Americans are bilingual, but the grandchildren usually either monolingual or strongly dominant bilinguals in the language of the country of residence. This is the case among the grandchildren of Mrs. J, Mr. B and Mrs. R who live in Mexico; they are strongly Spanish-dominant bilinguals. Even those among their children who grew up in Mexico and now live in the United States remain Spanish-dominant; they still speak Spanish to their siblings and frequently to their parents.

It is doubtful, however, that third- or fourth-generation children of U.S. Americans in Monterrey would under most circumstances ever become monolingual speakers of Spanish. We have seen from both the historical as well as from the recent Monterrey profiles that U.S. Americans who remain in Mexico as a general rule tend to make sure their children receive a bilingual education — that is, maintain their knowledge of English. This desire to pass on the language to third- and fourth-generation offspring is probably both a matter of identity as well as a matter of survival. A knowledge of English is indispensable for success in many professions in Mexico, and Monterrey is a city in which admiration for U.S. culture, including American English, is clearly in evidence among the *regiomontano* elite. This trend is further fortified by the position of the language as the global *lingua franca* (Hidalgo, Cifuentes and Flores 1996). As Hawayek de Escurdia et al. (1992:112-113) have noted: 'In [Mexico] where the knowledge of English is considered necessary for progress in practically every activity, it would not be expected that the English-speaking community felt it necessary to justify language maintenance.'

U.S. Americans have a reputation for being notoriously monolingual both at home and abroad (see, for example, Fishman 1966:30). 'It is widely believed', writes Boyd (1998:32), 'that [expatriate U.S. Americans] don't feel the need to learn the majority language where they live, because they can manage quite well with English, which is [often] spoken as a foreign language by a large portion of the population.' This notion may understandably apply to U.S. American families living in planted expatriate communities or even to some 'transient' U.S. Americans in natural communities. We have seen from the above data, however, that first-generation U.S. Americans in Monterrey do indeed learn some Spanish, especially the family member (usually the husband) who works outside the home. Second- and third-generation U.S. American children, furthermore, have the same

range of experiences as regards language maintenance and shift as do the children of immigrants in the United States or immigrants' children in any country. In Mexico, they become Spanish-dominant bilinguals by the second generation and in most cases even more Spanish dominant by the third. Hence, it appears that English is not always a dominant language, and U.S. Americans are not always 'elite bilinguals' who learn languages at their convenience. As Varro and Boyd (1998:1) have also found in their studies of U.S. Americans in northern and central Europe: 'Despite stereotypes to the contrary, many Americans do learn the languages of the country they reside in.' Those U.S. Americans who settle in Mexico as either mixed or non-mixed first-generation families often become by the second generation bilingual Mexicans with strong ties to the United States — truly 'cross-border' families.

Similar issues arise regarding questions of identity among U.S. Americans in Monterrey. First-generation short-term residents acculturate the least, as the case of Mrs. F shows (although she was by no means an extreme case); on the other hand, permanent residents, such as Mrs. J, Mr B, Mrs.P and R, Mr. and Mrs.A, J.A. Robertson and Juan F. Brittingham, while they do not give up their U.S. citizenship, feel in many respects more Mexican than U.S. American. Second-generation children of permanent residents born and raised in Mexico are bicultural, usually with the Mexican part of their identity dominant if they remain in the country. 'The sons of engineer and capitalist, Thomas Braniff, the most influential member of the American colony [in Mexico City during the *porfiriato*], chose Mexican citizenship' (Schell 1992:48)

The Monterrey data indicates similar trends. Second-generation children of long-term residents and mixed marriages who remain in Mexico identify themselves as Mexicans, not U.S. Americans; some of the children of Robertson, Brittingham, Mrs. J, Mr. B and Mrs. R also became Mexican citizens. Davis, in her 1942 study of the American colony in Mexico City, noted that 'Children who have grown up in Mexico say that while they are in Mexico they are loyal to the United States, while in the United States they are loyal to Mexico' (Davis 1942:145). Some children, in fact, would not admit to their Mexican playmates that they were part American. Smith (1991) has also noted that the children of U.S. repatriates upon return from abroad often express a feeling of alienation in their own country. They see themselves as different from their U.S. peers even after short stays in American colonies outside the United States, and they are perceived as 'not American' by their peers. When the granddaughter of one informant (Mrs.R) moved to the United States with her family, she was initially accepted by neither the Anglos nor the Hispanics; the Anglos thought she was Hispanic and the Hispanics thought she was Anglo.

Finally, we have seen that long-term permanent U.S. American residents of Monterrey as well as those U.S. Americans who marry Mexicans often retain their U.S. citizenship. It is a part of their identity as U.S. Americans that they would never consider forfeiting. Their children, however, have been able choose either

U.S. or Mexican citizenship. The child in such a marriage was registered at birth as a Mexican citizen and a U.S. citizen, and upon reaching the age of 18, had to choose one of the two. Many, in fact, did not do this, since by doing so they would have to give up one of their nationalities. It often happened that they simply ignored the requirements and unofficially retained the rights of both nationalities. There is, however, a recent development which may have an effect on this situation. In March of 1998 a new Mexican dual-nationality law went into effect (Lewis 1998 and Corchado and Trejo 1998). The retroactive Nationality Act now permits dual nationality, but not dual citizenship (a dual national cannot vote or hold high office in Mexico), to any child with Mexican nationality. In the past, those persons who declared at age eighteen had to choose 'one or the other' (or conceal 'one or the other') and hence choose between one country or the other — and, as a result, perhaps between one identity or the other; the effect of the Nationality Act may be more bicultural offspring in mixed marriages since now in Mexico one can officially be both a Mexican national as well as a U.S. citizen.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown the wide range of experiences of the U.S. American diaspora community in Monterrey, Mexico from both a historical as well as a contemporary perspective. The processes of acculturation as regards language and identity in this community are in many respects similar to those of all communities in diaspora who experience competing linguistic and value systems and who in the process bring together traits of both cultures (see, e.g., the papers in Varro and Boyd 1998 and Dawsey and Dawsey 1995). In fact, the U.S. emigrant experience in Mexico, while in a number of significant ways different, also parallels in some regards that of Mexican diasporas in the United States — Spanish monolingualism or dominant Spanish bilingualism among US Americans in Mexico, or English monolingualism or dominant English bilingualism among Mexicans in the United States (see, e.g., Valdés 1988) — are common, and the idea of the cultural amalgam present in the term 'Mexican-American' in the United States is well matched by that of 'American-Mexican' in Mexico. This experience, I believe, is reflected in the following short passage from Elizabeth Borton de Treviño's autobiography about her life as a U.S. American married to a Mexican, which I feel nicely captures the essence of my presentation:

Just how does a place, at first new and strange, come to take on a beloved familiarity? Living in another country, with people of another upbringing, under new sets of traditions, speaking another language, at what moment does one suddenly feel that he has fallen into place and is no longer alien? It happens imperceptibly. There comes a time when unconsciously one slips into thinking in the language so painfully learned from books, when the pattern of one's thoughts grows naturally from the first strange but dutiful [sic] accepted premise, into a new design. There is a moment when suddenly all that was outlandish, quaint, and exotic, is restored to strangeness

only by the amazed comments of visitors from afar (Borton de Tre-
viño 1953:9).

NOTES

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² Private American citizens residing abroad. April 1998. Bureau of Consular Affairs, U. S. Department of State:
<http://www.travel.state.gov/amcit_numbers.html> (12 October 1998).

³ I worked in Monterrey as Adjunct Professor in the Department of Languages of the University of Monterrey during the 1994-5 academic year, and since that time have made three to four trips annually to Monterrey to do fieldwork for projects on English borrowings in Mexican Spanish (see, e.g., Baumgardner 1997).

⁴ Steven Lewis of Edimax estimates that only about 10% of this number are U.S. Americans born and raised in the United States. A large number of Mexicans, especially middle- and upper-class Mexicans from northern Mexico, go to the United States so that their children will be born there — any child born in the United States is *sui solis* a U.S. citizen. Hence, approximately 45,000 included in this number are 'technical' U.S. residents. Of the some 5,000 remaining U.S. Americans in Monterrey, Lewis estimates that about 2% (1,000) are permanent residents and 8% (4,000) temporary residents.

⁵ The Metropolitan area includes Monterrey, Apodaca, General Escobedo, Guadalupe, Santa Catarina, and San Pedro Garza García.

⁶ See Kenna and Lacy (1994) for a discussion of Mexican business culture.

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JAPANESE BRAZILIANS: THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES IN BRAZIL¹

Nobuko Adachi

This chapter examines Japanese language maintenance and change among contemporary Japanese-Brazilians. Japanese first came to Brazil in the early 1900s, and currently over one and a half million people of Japanese ancestry live in the country. Early Japanese settlers were required by the Brazilian government to immigrate as family units and worked on coffee plantations under conditions little different from that of the former African slaves. Gradually, as they acquired some money, Japanese-Brazilians left these plantations and moved to isolated farm areas, living among themselves. To this day, many have maintained the Japanese language and have fostered a strong awareness of their ethnic heritage.

Today, however, many Japanese-Brazilians have moved to the cities, as rural Japanese farmers send the smartest children off to the universities to get an education. Instead of returning to the farms, these young people have become professionals, entering the middle classes and associating with non-Japanese. These educated Japanese-Brazilians now even feel some shame about their farming-family background. The Japanese-Brazilians who stayed in farming areas, however, have kept their Japanese customs and still highly respect their parents' traditional ways. In this paper, I will argue that these two types of Japanese-Brazilians have developed distinct styles of the Japanese language, each reflecting different social milieus, economic conditions, and cultural values.

Introduction

No visitor is ever able to walk through the São Juanquine district of the Brazilian city of São Paulo without hearing the flowing rhythms of the melodious Portuguese language; the visitor is almost even reminded of the gentle strains of *bossa nova* music.² However, if our casual stroller lingers for a moment they might notice that these sounds are not Portuguese at all, but are actually Japanese, though perhaps not the typical major accents such as those found in Kantô (eastern Japan)

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or Kansai (western Japan). For São Juanquine is one of the main 'Japantowns' in South America.³ This is quite unlike the typical North American city, where few Japantowns exist, and those that do are tourist attractions, as the Little Tokyos of San Francisco or Los Angeles (Adachi 2000a). In São Juanquine, people of Japanese descent live and work, and the area still has a feeling of being the home of immigrants. People awake at dawn and open their shops; the smells of some of the best Japanese and Brazilian dishes emanate from open windows at mealtimes.

Nor are these feelings restricted only to urban areas: When one takes the bus to the countryside, in several hours they will find not only small smatterings of old Japanese settlements, but also whole Japanese communities as well. In fact our traveler might even feel as if they were visiting a Japanese farm village of the early 20th century.⁴

However, the kinds of Japanese spoken in these two areas — city and country — are not the same. The Japanese of urban Japanese-Brazilians is heavily influenced by Portuguese as compared to the Japanese spoken by rural Japanese-Brazilians. Because of this heavy Portuguese influence, the Japanese of urban Japanese-Brazilians is often thought to be dying due to the assimilation, both gradual and rapid, resulting from living among Portuguese speakers (Handa 1980; Nomoto 1969). What I call 'Urban Japanese' is not the result of the process of language death, even though it is significantly different from 'Rural Japanese'. I suggest that these differences are shaped by the different socio-economic values of these two groups.

In this chapter, I will examine the cultural and historical elements that shaped these linguistic differences and the economic and social values that caused them. I will first look at the ethnohistory of early Japanese immigration to Brazil. I will then look at the phonology, morphology, and semantics of the Japanese language used by urban and rural Japanese-Brazilians. I claim that the Japanese language is being used quite actively in both locales, and the reason for this is that the language is so closely tied to Japanese-Brazilian identity, sense of self, and notions of class. Indeed, I would say that language is the key symbol and trope in all these cases.

The socio-historical development of the Japanese communities in Brazil

The peak period of Japanese-Brazilian immigration was in the 1930s when the Japanese government and privately-funded emigrant associations built four villages in the forests of São Paulo and Paraná states.⁵ The Japanese government wished to reduce its population and wanted to establish Japanese colonies overseas to show its political and economic power to the Western nations (Nihon Immin Hachijū-nen-shi 1991). Just a few generations earlier, Japan had finally opened the country after some two hundred and sixty years of self-imposed isolation. Japan felt it had to protect itself from the Western nations expanding their colonies in Asia, particularly India, China, and Indonesia.

In spite of the Japanese government's intent, however, these new villages did not attract the numbers from Japan that it had hoped for. Instead, a majority of immigrants were already in Brazil and were working on coffee plantations. Brazil was the last country in the New World to abolish slavery (finally in 1888). Coffee planters, then, were seeking cheap labor to replace the lost earnings due to the emancipation of slaves. In order to make up for this shortage of plantation labor, they invited immigrants from overseas.

The history of the Japanese in Brazil, then, begins in 1908 when thousands came to Brazil to avoid the economic hardships that Japan's rapid modernization was causing. This was only twenty years after the abolition of slavery. The majority of planters who hired them were not ready or able to change their attitudes toward farmhands. Having little respect, poor treatment, and heavy physical labor, many Japanese immigrants wished to leave plantation life.⁶

Although the coffee market failed around 1900, the Brazilian economy was still heavily dependent on coffee products; 69% of the national income in 1900 came from coffee. It was not easy for the new immigrants, then, to find new types of work (Nihon Immin Hachijū-nen-shi 1991). Living on the plantations among former slaves as co-workers and neighbors, the Japanese immigrants were afraid their children would acquire unpleasant habits and behaviors. As a result, the primary goal of the early Japanese immigrants was simply to get off the plantation as soon as possible, rather than just making money to return to Japan.

The Japanese government was not unsympathetic. Among the Japanese villages in Brazil, the Japanese government and the various emigrant associations organized the 'Brazil-Takushoku-Kumiai (Brazilian Colonial Association)' or BRATAC for short.⁷ BRATAC set up almost everything the immigrants needed in the new social, political, and economic environments. For instance, BRATAC established banks, rice-cleaning mills, coffee-selection mills, hospitals, a pharmacy, and a school for the villagers. At school, children received much the same education they would have gotten back in Japan. There was one area where their curriculum was different, however: In Brazil, a special agricultural doctrine was emphasized, and this was to have important repercussions for the subsequent history of Japanese-Brazilians.

This philosophy was known as the GAT (Gozar A Terra, or 'Love the Soil') movement among BRATAC villagers. This philosophy stressed engaging in farming activities to cultivate a virtuous spirit. Since this was loosely based on Japanese ancient myths, as well as on intellectual and agricultural philosophy then current back in Japan, it did not take long for the GAT movement to coalesce.⁸ As a result, the majority of Japanese immigrants lived in farming areas with other Japanese immigrants (and some non-Japanese Brazilians who came to the villages to look for an income). Non-Japanese Brazilians worked in Japanese-owned fields, but their residences were provided apart from those of the Japanese immigrants. In short, very few Japanese-Brazilians went to cities before World War II.

Compared to the experiences of Japanese North-Americans during the Second World War, Japanese-Brazilians did not greatly suffer due to their Japanese ethnic background. And yet, their home country was an enemy nation. Oddly, the war contributed to the creation of another type of Japanese-Brazilian. Recognizing that being a minority group in Brazilian society during the war was a major disadvantage, some Japanese-Brazilians started establishing themselves in mainstream Brazilian society. If it was financially possible, they sent the smartest sons in their families on to higher education — but not the eldest sons, who were to inherit their parents' farmland.⁹ These students majored in accounting, law, medicine, engineering, and other professions directly connected to white-collar occupations (Maeyama 1981; 1996).

Associating with middle and upper class non-Japanese Brazilians at universities, those Japanese-Brazilians came to believe that any kind of physical labor, including farming activities, belonged to the lower class. This notion is still prevalent in Brazilian society even today. Following this ideology, educated Japanese-Brazilians started to feel ashamed about their parents and siblings who farmed, even though their educational costs were paid for by agriculture (Maeyama 1981). After graduating from the universities, these Japanese-Brazilians often stayed in the city, where they could find jobs suiting their new education and lifestyle.

Some of these children of farmers married local Japanese-Brazilian women of their farm villages; others, however, married non-Japanese Brazilian women in the city (Nihon Imin Hachijû-nen-shi 1991). Many of these non-Japanese Brazilian women had respect for Japanese culture and tried to learn the Japanese language (at least some vocabulary) or cuisine. The result of this is that in Brazil — unlike North America — Japanese food and ingredients have become blended into the local Brazilian cuisines.¹⁰ Thus, even those who married non-Japanese Brazilians did not necessarily become estranged from their ethnicity. But these psychological conflicts, different backgrounds, and familial guilt certainly affected the complex identities of urban Japanese-Brazilians even to this day.

Japanese-Brazilians who have stayed on the farms continue to believe in the traditional agricultural ideologies and still live in the Japanese areas. They maintain a social boundary between Japanese-Brazilians and non-Japanese Brazilians. The majority of the non-Japanese Brazilians with whom they associate are their employees, their daylabor farmhands. It is still not so common for them to marry non-Japanese Brazilians. This is especially true of female Japanese-Brazilians. As I found during my fieldwork,¹¹ rural Japanese-Brazilian women believe non-Japanese Brazilians are not able to provide a stable married life for them, financially or emotionally. Although urban and rural Japanese-Brazilians share the same parents and/or grandparents — some of whom arrived early in the 20th century and settled down in the rugged forests in southern Brazil — these two groups have had different experiences with non-Japanese Brazilians, and have developed different ideas about them.

Linguistic features of rural and urban Japanese-Brazilians

According to the 1987 survey of the Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros, almost 81 percent of rural Japanese-Brazilians claimed that they not only speak, but write and read Japanese. On the other hand, urban Japanese-Brazilians often tell us that they speak Japanese hardly at all. According to Handa (1980) — who immigrated to Brazil with his parents at the age of eleven — because their Japanese language has been criticized as being broken, urban Japanese-Brazilians tend to say (or even believe) that they do not speak Japanese. I analyze spoken and written Japanese of both rural and urban Japanese-Brazilians.

Rural Japanese-Brazilians

Consider the following sentences spoken by rural Japanese-Brazilians. (Each sentence is marked with S or W to distinguish spoken from written speech). Portuguese loanwords are underlined in the sentences.

(S-1) 来週 みんな と サンパウロ に 行くんだろ。
Raisû min'na to san paulo ni ikun-daro?
 next week others with São Paulo to go-aren't you

'(You are) going to São Paulo with the others next week, aren't you?'

— This speaker was born in Brazil in 1954. Her mother is a third-generation, and father a first-generation Japanese-Brazilian (recorded 1993).

(S-2) やっぱり 自分ら は ブラジル人 だって言う...
yappari jibunra wa burajiru-jin datteiu..
 after all themselves SCM* Brazilians that

ブラジル人 の中に 溶け込もうって いう ことじゃない か と。
burajiru-jin nonakani tokeko-moutte iu kotojanai ka to.
 Brazilians among try to-assimilate it looks like IRM** that

*SCM = subjective case marker

** IRM = interrogative marker

'After all (they recognize) that they are Brazilians ... (I think that they) tried to assimilate among (non-Japanese) Brazilians.'

— This speaker emigrated to Brazil with his parents in 1927, right after he had been born in Japan (recorded 1995).

(W-1) りんたろう君 へ
Rintarô-kun e
 Rintarô-Mr to

ペスカ* の だいすきな りんたろう
Pesuka no daisuki-na Rintarô*
 fishing of love Rintarô

サンタクロース の おじさん は つりざお と いとと
santakurôsu no ojisan wa tsurizao to ito to
 Santa Claus of a man SCM fishing rod and line and

おき** と おもり を そして はり を プレゼント
*oki** to omori o soshite hari o purezent*
 float and weight OCM*** and hook OCM present

します。

shimasu.

do

*Pesuka < *pesca* = 魚釣り: *sakana-tsuri* = 'fishing'.

**おき *oki* could be 浮き *uki* = 'float'. At this moment I am not sure if it is only this writer who uses *oki* instead of *uki*, or if all Japanese Brazilian use *oki* instead of *uki*. However, most likely it is his personal misunderstanding.

***OCM = objective case marker

'Dear Rintarô-kun,

Santa Claus is giving a fishing rod, line, float, weight, and hook to you, Rintarô, who loves fishing.'

— This writer is third generation. He was born in 1960 in a small farm village opened by Japanese-Brazilians early in the 20th century. He was 32 years old when he wrote this letter to his son.

(W-2) 日よう になると、 あさ から 一日中、
nichiyô ni naruto, asa kara ichinichijû,
 Sunday on become morning from all day long

マンゲロン* の セルカ** に のぼって おおきな ぶた を
mangeron no seruka** ni nobotte, ôkina buta o*
 fence of railing on claim big pigs OCM

シコッテ*** で、 おいまわします。
*shikotte*** de, oimawashimasu.*
 a whip with chase around

'When Sunday comes, from morning all day long, I climb over the fence and herd the big pigs with a whip (into the small corral).'

*mangeron < *mangueorão* = さく: *saku* = 'fence'

**seruka < *cêrca* = 垣: *kaki* = 'railing'

***shikotte < *chikote* = 鞭: *muchi* = 'whip'

— Quoted in Nomoto (1969); the writer is a seven-year-old boy.

The structures of all of the above sentences are quite 'Japanese' as opposed to 'Portuguese'. For instance, word order is based on typical Japanese SOV. For example, in (W-1) we find

<i>Santakurôsu no Ojisan</i>	+ <i>tsurizao to ... hari o</i>	+ <i>purezento-shimasu</i>
(Santa Clause)	(fishing rod and...hook)	(give/present)
SUBJECT	OBJECT	VERB

The use of particles such as the subjective case marker, は "wa," objective case marker, を "o," and the interrogative marker, か "ka" is typically standard Japanese. As for phonology, (S-1) has been influenced by the *Kansai* dialect in Japan and (S-2) is based on standard Japanese. It needs to be noted that the parents of the speaker of (S-1) and the majority of founders of his village were from areas where the *Kansai* (western) dialect is spoken.¹²

Standard Japanese forms

The Japanese spoken by the villagers, then, have some influence from *Kansai* dialect morphology and phonology. Japanese language teachers who are sent to Japanese-Brazilian villages by Japanese institutes, such as the Japan Foundation, however, teach standard 'Tokyo' Japanese. Thus, some people switch their speech to the standard form when they speak to outsiders, especially to people from Japan. This is probably the reason the standard form is used in (S-2), even though that speaker of came from a *Kansai*-speaking area.

The village where the writer of (W-1) lives is one of the BRATAC villages mentioned earlier in the first section. In this village, Japanese-Brazilians still hold power demographically, economically, and politically. Although the villagers sometimes add Portuguese to their Japanese, it is as a supplement. All announcements for villagers, for instance, are still written in Japanese (almost as if events of the village were intended only for Japanese-Brazilians).

There are some differences in the number of Portuguese loanwords found in both spoken and written forms, as seen in (S-1), (S-2), (W-1), and (W-2). Most of these are nativized or 'Japanized,' both phonologically and morphologically. In these examples, there are a few signs of word-borrowing from Portuguese into Japanese. There seem to be at least three kinds. First, Japanese-Brazilians characteristically borrow Portuguese vocabulary for objects for which Japanese does not have words; this was especially true at the time when their ancestors immigrated to Brazil. For instance, the Japanese-Brazilians use the Portuguese word *kamiyon* (< *caminhão*) for truck.

Secondly, although Japanese words might exist, Portuguese words are borrowed because they were not commonly used by the early Japanese immigrants. For instance, because the majority of Japanese immigrants were rice farmers and were not familiar with words for cattle farming, in (W-2) we see the Portuguese words, *mangeron*, *seruka*, and *shikotte* used instead of Japanese, *saku*, *kaki*, and, *muchi* (for 'fence', 'railing', and 'whip', respectively). The above two types of word borrowing, of course, are commonly seen in many languages.

***todomundo < *todo mundo* = 'everybody'

****bon < bom = 'good'

*****OCM = objective case marker

'If (you) go to the countryside (you) will hear the typical 'colonial' language of the Japanese. If (you) stay in a place like Liberudade, (you only find that) everybody speaks good Japanese.'

Only three Portuguese words are used in the above sentences, *colônia* 'colony',¹⁴ *bon* 'good, well', and *todo mundo* 'everybody'. However, this sentence is much harder to understand for Japanese speakers who are not familiar with Portuguese than sentences articulated by rural Japanese-Brazilians. This is typical of such speech, even if the sentences of rural Japanese-Brazilians contain more Portuguese loanwords.

There are at least two reasons for the communicative barrier found for other Japanese speakers in the speech used by urban Japanese-Brazilians. First, one difficulty comes from the grammatical roles of loanwords. Traditionally foreign words are borrowed into Japanese as nouns, regardless of their grammatical status in the original language. These nouns usually add the *-suru* ('to do') auxiliary-verb suffix to make verbs, or a *-na*-type suffix to make adjectives. For instance, consider these two examples:

チャイニーズレストランが オープンする。

Chainīzu-resutoran ga ôpin-suru.

Chinese restaurant SCM opening-do

< A Chinese restaurant is going to open.>

ヘルシーな 食べ物

herushi-na tabemono

heath-na food

<healthy food>

It is, however, seen that English loanwords in Japan can sometimes use real adjectival markers (such as *-i*), especially among young Japanese in Japan. For instance,

(S-4) それって ナウい じゃん。

Sorette nau-i jan.

That's now Sentence-Final particle

'That's now (= That's cool.).'

Since a native Japanese adjective ends with '-i', '-i' gets attached to the English word *now* to create a new adjective. This way of making a new adjective violates traditional Japanese grammar, which borrows foreign vocabulary only as nouns, or adds '-na' to create borrowed adjectives. Though this new adjective, *nau-i* has been used by young people for a couple of decades, it has not attracted many us-

ers. According to Stanlaw 2000, the meanings of such loanwords do not need to be fully understood linguistically. Instead, like a visual art work, such loanwords can convey new sentiments or feelings, and might even carry different linguistic meanings or sentiments each time they are used. Their use, however, creates a social boundary between message senders and receivers, who are not able to appreciate the 'art' of the new usages of such words. In other words, these loanwords used for adjectives and adverbs are not used as expected.

Portuguese adjectives and adverbs used in the Japanese of urban Japanese-Brazilians, however, are not used to create new sentiments, but to convey fixed linguistic meanings. Sometimes those meanings carry the most critical information of the sentence. Consider the following examples, which are commonly used by urban Japanese-Brazilians.

(S-5) バスタンチ* 下さい。

Basutanchi* kudasai.
a lot please give

* bastanchi > bastante = enough, plenty

<Please give me a lot.>

(S-6) マイス** 下さい。

Maisu** kudasai.
more please give

** maisu > mais = more

<Please give me more.>

(S-7) クルチーバ の 町 と ロンドリーナの 町は
Kuruchiba no machi to Rondorina no machi wa
Curityba of town and Rondorina of town SCM

ボニータス*** ねえ。

bonitasu*** *nee*
pretty sentence-final particle

***bonitasu < *bonitas* = 'pretty'

'Curityba and Rondorina are pretty towns.'
(the example sentences above are from Mase 1986)

The important information of the above sentences is in the loan adjectives and adverbs, *bastanchi*, *maisu*, and *bonitasu* 'many', 'more', and 'pretty', respectively. Urban Japanese-Brazilians use these words in Japanese structures based on their knowledge of Portuguese grammar. In (S-7), the speaker said *bonitasu* (which derives from *bonitas*, a plural and feminine form of *bonito* 'pretty'). This adjective modifies two nouns, *Kuruchiba no machi* and *Rondorina no machi*. Japanese *machi* 'city' is *cidade* in Portuguese, a feminine noun; thus, the adjective *bonito*, which modifies *cidade*, becomes the plural feminine form *bonitasu* (< *bonitas*). The first generation of Japanese-Brazilians use only *bonito* for any modified noun (Mase 1986). In order to understand the Japanese language of urban

Japanese-Brazilians, one needs to have a good command of Portuguese as well as a knowledge of Japanese.

Since urban Japanese-Brazilian speakers of Japanese are bilingual in both Japanese and Portuguese, one may claim that the new usage of Portuguese loanwords in Japanese discourse could be just code-mixing instead of a new way of using loanwords. However, in (S-5) it is clear that this is not the case. For instance, the Portuguese word is a loanword, and this is not code-mixing. The meaning of *bastanchi* to Japanese-Brazilians in their Japanese discourse is only 'a lot', which is different from the Portuguese meaning of *bastante*, which is either 'enough' or 'plenty'. That is, when they speak in Japanese, urban Japanese-Brazilians use *bastanchi* as 'a lot', and when they speak in Portuguese they use *bastante* in the Portuguese meaning. There is no confusion among Japanese-Brazilian speakers and listeners of Portuguese. The meaning of *bastanchi* has become more restricted than in the original language, Portuguese. It is well known that semantic restriction is one of the most distinctive traits of word borrowing (McMahon 1994).

The intonation of the Japanese sentences spoken by urban Japanese-Brazilians has also changed from that of the Japanese spoken in Japan. Consider the following spectrograms. The first spectrogram (Figure 1) is the sound-wave pattern of example (S-3) spoken by a second generation urban Japanese-Brazilian. The second spectrogram (Figure 2) was spoken by a native Japanese speaker who acquired Japanese in Japan. The sentence text was the same in both cases (given in S-3).

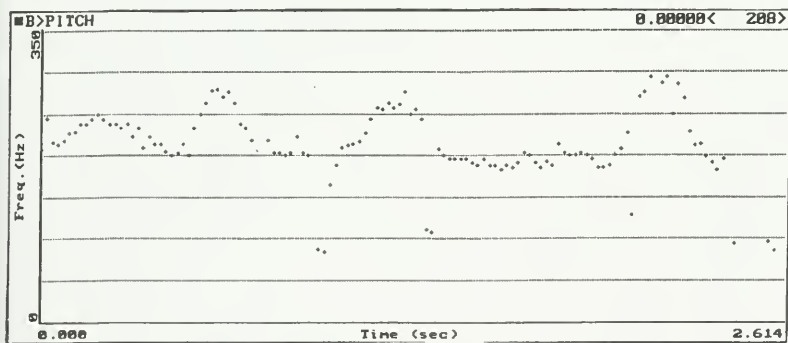


Figure 1: Sound-wave pattern produced by an urban Japanese-Brazilian

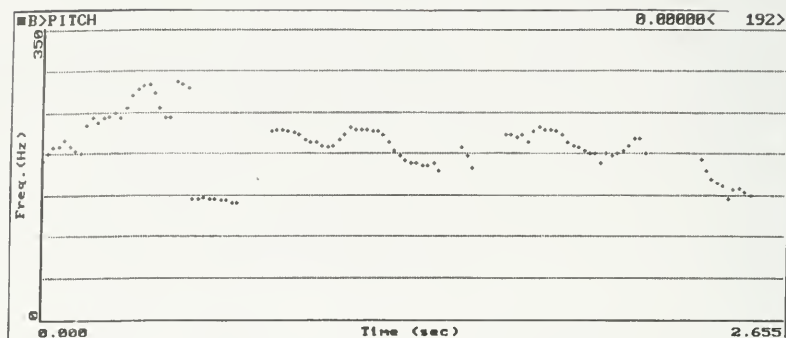


Figure 2: Sound-wave pattern produced by a native Japanese speaker

Portuguese words tend to have accents on the penultimate syllable. In the first spectrogram, the wave of the urban Japanese-Brazilian matches a Portuguese accent pattern, even though she is speaking Japanese words. For instance, the first wave comes from the accent on the penultimate vowel /i/ of the final word *ii* in the first phrase, *inaka ni ittara ii*. In contrast, the spectrogram of the Japanese speaker from Japan is almost flat. This is the typical Japanese accent pattern in Japan (Shibatani 1990:158-84).

Because the intonation of their Japanese has taken on a Portuguese pattern, and because some of their usages of Portuguese loanwords are unique, the Japanese of urban Japanese-Brazilians is often hard for Japanese from Japan to understand. This is why it is criticized by some Japanese linguists (such as Mase 1986, Nagao 1975, or Nomoto 1969) who feel their acquisition of Japanese is incomplete. This incomplete-acquisition theory is, however, very questionable. First, all the linguistic structures of the Japanese spoken by urban Japanese-Brazilians are based on that of standard Japanese. For instance, the word order and use of case markers in (S-3) is standard:

Nihongo o shaberuru kara
 Japanese OCM speak because
 '... because (they) speak Japanese.'

This sentence has an object and objective case marker, and the verb is conjugated as in normal Japanese. In (S-5) and (S-6), adverb + copula forms are again not a surprise, as in

Basutanchi + Kudasai
 (Adv) (Copula).

A second, more general point is: If urban Japanese-Brazilians lack sufficient knowledge of Japanese linguistic structure, how can we explain the abundance of

books and newspapers written by them in Japanese? The following sentences are random examples from a São Paulo newspaper:

(W-3) 春の陽を浴びてカンポで
haru no hi o abite kanpo de*
 spring of sunshine OCM bask field in

「日本のたいこ」をけいこするバレエ団。
 “*Nihon no Taiko*” *o kēkosuru barê dan.*
 「Japanese Drum」 OCM practice bale troupe

*kanpo < *campo* = ‘field’

‘The ballet troupe, which is practicing “Japanese Taiko Drums”, is basking in the spring sun in the (farm) field.’

Since the target audience is not the Japanese in Japan, the writer uses a Portuguese loanword, *kanpo*, which is not used among Japanese unless they have a knowledge of Portuguese. But otherwise the sentence is transparent.

Furthermore, there are many cookbooks written in Japanese by Japanese-Brazilians. Are Japanese from Japan or first-generation immigrants reading these cookbooks written by second and third generation Japanese-Brazilians to learn about traditional Japanese dishes? Probably not. Those books are for Japanese-Brazilian descendants, especially for urban Japanese-Brazilians. Unlike rural Japanese-Brazilians who grew up with traditional Japanese dishes, it is always difficult to maintain a traditional cuisine in an urban setting. Thus, those urban Japanese-Brazilians who want to cook Japanese dishes need to have these cookbooks. Furthermore, even academic publications from the Centro de Nipo-Brasileiros (the Center for Japanese-Brazilians) are written in Japanese by Japanese-Brazilians. These publications are usually read in São Paulo, but not in Japan; they are intended, then, for a South-American audience.

There are newspapers published in Japanese in North America as well. However, these newspapers, when they *are* written in Japanese — and this is not always the case — are usually written by Japanese from Japan. Even if some Japanese-North Americans write articles in Japanese, no publisher would print them without having them edited by a Japanese from Japan.¹⁵ Since the target readers are Japanese and the first-generation immigrants, papers have to be written in the standard Japanese of Japan.

In contrast, readers of Japanese newspapers and books published in São Paulo are for Japanese-Brazilians, so it seems that it would be better to write things in their own style of Japanese; but again, most of the time these papers are written in standard Japanese newspaper registers. Finally, there are many Japanese comic books from Japan that are read by Japanese-Brazilians. There even is a Japanese comic-book library in the city of São Paulo. Many Japanese-Brazilians seem to have no trouble at all handling these materials. If the Japanese language of urban Japanese-Brazilians is an incomplete version of standard Japanese, then why

do they still speak, read, and write in any form of Japanese at all? Despite the fact that their city lifestyle provides only Portuguese linguistic situations, they still use Japanese among themselves, even when speakers are fluent in Portuguese. According to Brown & Levinson 1978 and Heller 1982, speakers can implicitly claim in-group membership through the common ground of language usage. The social, ethnic, and class identity of urban Japanese-Brazilians is very complex. Because urban Japanese-Brazilians do not want to be looked down upon as people from the working classes, they do not speak like rural Japanese-Brazilians. And yet, urban Japanese-Brazilians do not have strong negative feelings regarding their ethnic background, unlike Japanese-North Americans who suffered internment during World War II.

However, since they still do face something of a boundary established by upper class Brazilians, elite Japanese-Brazilians might have a tendency to unite. It has been very commonly believed that there is no skin-color-based racial discrimination in Brazil (e.g., Harris 1964; Saito 1976), however, recently various scholars, such as Guimarães 1996, Skidmore 1992, and Twine 1998, claim that there is indeed real racial discrimination in Brazilian society. The racial discrimination towards Japanese-Brazilians is not exceptional (Lesser 1999). Regardless of their economic success, Japanese-Brazilians are not able to join the new upper classes as full fledged members, as are other ethnic immigrants (like Italians and Germans).¹⁶ The socio-economic complexities of the urban Japanese-Brazilian situation finds that they face a social boundary with non-Japanese Brazilians as well as with rural Japanese-Brazilians. Yet their group membership is symbolized by, and defined in, their use of the Japanese language. They speak the Japanese language, which other Brazilians do not understand; but at the same time their Japanese also requires a good command of Portuguese, which their first Japanese farming ancestors might not have controlled.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have examined two kinds of Japanese spoken in Brazil. I have looked historically and linguistically at the very complex socio-ethnic identities of two Japanese-Brazilian groups. After World War II, Japanese-Brazilians split into two groups — the rural farming group and the urban white-collar group. These two communities created different cultural values, and experienced different social conflicts with non-Japanese Brazilians. As a result, the two populations face — and have established — different kinds of social boundaries. They have developed different registers of the Japanese language. Their two versions of Japanese are not the result of incomplete language acquisition, but are symbols of their various social identities — as Brazilians, as Japanese, and as members of specific subcultures.

NOTES

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² *Bossa nova*, or 'new way' or 'new fashion', is one of Brazil's celebrated musical exports. Probably the most famous song in this popular style of samba-jazz is the well-known 'Girl From Ipanema' by Antonio Carlos Jobim.

³ According to a 1987 survey by the Center for the Study of Japanese Brazilians (Centro de Estudos Nipo-Brasileiros), there are almost three hundred thousand Brazilians of Japanese descent living in the urban areas of São Paulo State (Mae-yama 1996:158). The area of São Juanquine itself may have up to forty thousand, though these figures are a little speculative as lately many Japanese-Brazilians have been returning to Japan as *dekasegi* 'temporary foreign' workers due to the long economic depression in Brazil and high wages in Japan.

⁴ Today some 1.3 million Japanese-Brazilians make their home in Brazil, and a majority of them not only understand, but also speak, Japanese, especially in the rural areas (Adachi 1997, 1999b).

⁵ This chapter will focus on Japanese-Brazilians in southern Brazil. The situation in northern Brazil was somewhat different, with a different history of Japanese immigration, which I will address at a later time.

⁶ For historical details, see Adachi 1999b or *Nihon Hachijû-nen-shi* 1991.

⁷ The acronym BRATAC comes from the initials of the Japanese name, *Brazil-Takushoku-Kumiai*.

⁸ See Adachi 1997 or 2000b for details on this philosophy, called *Nôhon-Shugi*.

⁹ It is important to remember that people did not consider it important for women to receive a higher education in many nations in those days.

¹⁰ To be sure, Japanese food can be found in Canada and the United States. In North America, however, Japanese food is not rooted, but is becoming popular as an exotic cuisine. Although I will not go into details, this difference is very interesting when we look at the social status of immigrants in these different societies.

¹¹ Conducted at various times in 1989, 1992, 1993, and 1995.

¹² The Kansai dialect is spoken in the western side of Japan, including such areas as Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara; it has many regional variants (cf. Miller 1967; Shibatani 1990).

¹³When the new Westerners arrived in Japan after some two hundred and sixty years of self-imposed isolation, many linguistic changes took place. See Adachi 1988 for details.

¹⁴The Japanese language spoken in Brazil is sometimes called *coronia-go* 'colonial language' and Japanese villages in Brazil are sometimes called *coronia* = *colônia* 'colony' by Japanese-Brazilians. However, the meaning of *coronia* is just 'Japanese-Brazilian' (Satio 1974:205).

¹⁵As a former staff member of such a paper, I can attest to this.

¹⁶I argue this in more detail in Adachi 1999a.

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PART III:

**CONSTRUCTING DISCOURSE
IN DIASPORA**



THE LONGEST WAY HOME: LANGUAGE AND PHILOSOPHY IN DIASPORA

Pradeep A. Dhillon

In this essay I take up the problem of doing non-Western, particularly Indian, philosophy in English if we take seriously the notion that language and thought are linked. In other words, I consider the problem presented for international philosophical discourse by the claim that language constrains our metaphysics. The strong version of this thesis would suggest that it is impossible to do Indian philosophy within an international context, since the metaphysics of such discourse would inevitably be cast in English. I wish to argue a weaker version of this thesis. English is undoubtedly the language of international philosophical discourse, however, this does not imply a single metaphysics driven by grammar.

If the learning of English facilitates philosophical and cognitive estrangements, it also serves a therapeutic purpose. Language, by its very nature, even when learned under conditions of imperialism, can assist in overcoming alienation. There are several strategies which could be taken up to achieve such an overcoming. One could, for example, adopt a Calibanesque strategy and use language to build a critique of epistemological and cognitive displacements. We could embark on a Foucauldian archaology of epistemes and make the project recuperative of the threads of non-Western thought within Western philosophy. Or we could pay attention to language use in relation to diasporic philosophical discourse. No doubt the question of intellectual freedom in an international context is a good one for philosophy, but surely it is a reasonable one to ask of language itself. Such a reflexive examination would be a task for philosophy proper. In approaching philosophical discourse in diaspora in this manner, I join efforts with those who have gone before and those still traveling on this long way home. Home at the end of such a philosophical journey would not necessarily be a decolonized intellectual space; a return to an anthropological 'India' or 'China'. Home is the domain of philosophy brought closer to its own ideals of universalism.

Introduction

There is no other way open to us in the East but to go along with Europeanization and to go through it. Only through this voyage into the foreign and the strange can we win back our own selfhood; here as elsewhere, the way to what is closest to us is the longest way back.

This is the response offered by the Indian philosopher J. L. Mehta 1990 to Edmund Husserl's notion of the inevitability of the 'Europeanization of the earth'. Linking linguistic and philosophical estrangement to global capitalism in India, Mehta notes:

The coming of modernity to India signified not merely the impingement of an alien world of knowledge, ideas, and ideals upon the Indian consciousness, but of a world which was itself rapidly reaching out toward a newly conceived future, as well as spreading out its tentacles to encompass the whole world. Under the colonial origins of his modernization, the Indian encountered 'philosophy' and 'religion' and began forthwith the long journey of reinterpreting his tradition in terms of these Western categories. Most importantly, he began to think about it in the English language not just to expound it to English scholars, but as the principal medium of his own self-understanding.

As Socrates did in the *Apology*, I enter the forum of philosophical discourse as an exile twice over: exiled once from philosophy in the moment of modernity marked by Mehta, and twice in taking up the question of philosophy in diaspora. Struggling to express myself in this forum, I speak as a foreigner. That is, I speak in a language which is my own and yet not mine. In this chapter I seek to examine the significance of linguistic and geographic displacements for philosophical discourse.

Specifically, I take up the problem of doing non-Western, particularly Indian, philosophy in English if we take seriously the notion that language and thought are linked. In other words, I consider the problem presented for international philosophical discourse by the claim that language constrains our metaphysics. The strong version of this thesis would suggest that it is impossible to do Indian philosophy within an international context, since such discourse would inevitably be cast in the metaphysics of English. I wish to argue a weaker version of this thesis. While English is undoubtedly the language of international philosophical discourse, this does not imply a single metaphysics driven by grammar.

If the learning of English, as Mehta 1990 suggests, facilitates philosophical and cognitive estrangements, it can also be therapeutic. Language, by its very nature, even when learned under conditions of imperialism, can assist in overcoming alienation. There are several strategies which could be taken up to achieve such an overcoming. One could, for example, adopt a Calibanesque strategy and use language to build a critique of epistemological and cognitive displacements. We could embark on a Foucauldian archaeology of epistemes and make the project of

philosophy recuperative of the threads of non-Western thought within Western philosophy. Or we could pay attention to language use in relation to diasporic philosophical discourse. No doubt the question of intellectual freedom in an international context is a good one for philosophy, but surely it is a reasonable one to ask of language itself. Such a reflexive examination would be a task for philosophy proper. In approaching philosophical discourse in diaspora in this manner, I join efforts with those who have gone before and those still traveling on this long way home. Home at the end of such a philosophical journey would not necessarily be a decolonized intellectual space; a return to an anthropological 'India' or 'China'. Home is the domain of philosophy brought closer to its own ideals of universalism.

The problem of a violated and violating universalism set for philosophy by history and geography is taken up by contemporary philosophy under the rubric of postmodernism. This theoretical development remains arrested not only because of its primarily normative reception, but also because it remains entangled by the very terms it wishes to discount. If the postmodern charge against universalism, which lies at the very heart of the philosophical endeavor, is to be addressed, philosophy proper and postmodern theory must do a little more than either stand steadfast or place themselves under erasure. Attention to particularity and concerns for establishing a universal discourse must engage each other.

I turn to this problem with a focus on Indian philosophy, not through an unawareness of other traditions in exile or nostalgia. Rather, I turn my attention to Indian philosophy because I feel most comfortable speaking to a tradition I am reasonably familiar with. But also, importantly, because the cases of Indian and Chinese philosophical discourse, while complex to treat in this manner, are still the easier cases. These discourses have found a position, however uncomfortable, within philosophical discourse as it has come to be defined under conditions of modernity. A significant portion of the ways in which people make sense of and act responsibly within their worlds is engaged with so minimally, such as the major and minor traditions of the South American and African continents, within academic philosophical discourse that it makes sense to echo Eric Wolf and speak of the nonsense of people without a philosophy.

The separation of Indian thought into the domains of 'philosophy' and 'religion', based on a modern, secular, Western metaphysics by both Indian and European philosophers alike, marks one diasporic moment in the historical narrative of the relation between Indian and European philosophy. The subordination and incorporation of Indian philosophical discourse under conditions of colonialism marks a second. Gilles Deleuze & Felix Guattari 1994 note that, under conditions of global capitalism, philosophy is Greek, but all philosophers are strangers. The significance of strangeness, of displacements in thinking, marks a third dimension in thinking about philosophical discourse in diaspora.

What do these alien philosophers, these intellectual strangers, hope to find in the Greek milieu? They come in search of the pleasures afforded by sociability

through the formation of intellectual associations, the pleasures of unsociability through the enactment of rivalries, and a taste for opinion inconceivable in an empire, a taste for the exchange of views, for conversation. These strangers are said to be critical of the traditions they are fleeing from, and because of their strangeness, they are able to be critical of the traditions they flee to. Regardless of how such criticality is enacted, this position presupposes a distinction between philosophy and religion. Philosophy, in this view, would follow a method of open inquiry and epistemological skepticism while religion requires faith. Second, this claim limits philosophy to serving a primarily critical rather than a descriptive or political function. These are functions that have been taken up by Western philosophers like Wittgenstein and Marx. In other words, Deleuze & Guattari's 1994 claim rests on a view of philosophy which is parochial and narrow even within the Western tradition.

Various possibilities are offered for philosophy in diaspora by postcolonial theory. Given the ubiquitous, and arguably democratizing, presence of English in the contemporary world of letters, and the relationship between the Western and non-Western worlds which forged this presence, a note of despair enters this attempt at addressing the question regarding the relationship between language and metaphysics. Given history, then, it seems impossible to realize Indian philosophy on its own terms. Dipesh Chakravarty 1999 writes,

Since Europe cannot after all be provincialized within the institutional site of the University whose knowledge protocols will always take us back to the terrain where all contours follow that of my hyperreal Europe — the project of provincializing Europe must realize within itself its own impossibility. It therefore looks to a history that embodies this politics of despair.

Without giving in to this despair, yet facing the difficulties posed for Indian philosophy by global capitalism, what can we consider possible within postcolonial theory?

This theory seeks to intervene in dominant intellectual production with the full realization that it runs both with and against Western academic discourse. It resigns itself to a struggle which is to be fought in small increments. The model of freedom here is not that of a simplistic mode of resistance. Rather, through its struggle, it hopes to effect a mutation in dominant discourse. While its methods are derived from postmodern and poststructural theory, its hopes remain faithful to the ideals of progress, equality, and freedom; to the ideals of the Enlightenment which it also seeks to question. Postcolonial discourse has made great strides. Intellectuals of Indian origin such as Gayatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, and Arjun Appadurai command a presence within the most prestigious institutions of higher education in the West. It can be argued, however, that much of postcolonial discourse arises from the existential condition of non-Western academics within Western academic institutions. Therefore, while postcolonial theory seeks to speak for other worlds, it remains, in the main, unreflective of the possibility of re-

producing the very categories it seeks to resist since the language of the producers of its discourse, as well as that of its audience, is Western. As I shall strive to show, this condition is not inherently problematic. I seek to steer a course between an unreflective attitude towards this relation between language and theory as also a too despairing understanding of such a linkage. Postcolonial theory, for all its gains, is not equal to the philosophical task before us.

Another move that might be useful is to undertake a genealogy of modern philosophy in order to unmask the construction of philosophy as a closed and bounded system, innocent of contamination by the particularities of language. In the absence of such an historical approach, Western philosophy can write a long history of its development, tracing its lineage back to the Greeks, without recourse to any reference to the members of unruly classes, or women, or the citizens of the many nations it has encountered. Such a mode of inquiry could take two forms working either independently or with each other. First, one could use the methods of historical linguistics to develop etymologies of concepts. Thus the philosopher would seek to link concepts in modern philosophy to those that precede it with the aim of gaining enough distance temporally and spatially in order to be able to say something significant about the linkages between earlier, perhaps non-Western, conceptual forms and contemporary philosophy. This in turn would enable such a scholar to say something significant about the relationship between language and metaphysics. While such an analysis might prove very useful it rests on two assumptions both of which are open to question. These are: first, this mode of inquiry assumes a shared protosystem, for example a Proto-Indo-European system. Second, it presumes historical continuity.

A different genealogical strategy, one not based on these assumptions, would be to undertake a Foucauldian archaeology of epistemes — units of knowledge. Such an approach presupposes that all forms of intellectual production are based on the inescapable link between knowledge and power. Roughly, philosophical archaeology would involve the taking up of a conceptual system and unpacking it moment by careful moment, with all the historico-linguistic tools at hand, to reveal the teeming contestation of traditions, voices, and ideas. It is out of this contestation, such an argument would seek to show, concepts made victorious by the dynamics of power, arise seemingly serene, pure, unitary, and static. That is, politics, not nature, offers us a universal metaphysics. Though this approach is powerful, the problem is that it serves primarily as a corrective to the concerns of Western philosophy. Despite the importance of this task, it provides us with no way establishing a dynamic, vigorous, and independent way of doing philosophy within an international context. Not only does Indian philosophy stay linked to Western thought, it must always follow. It must pick its way through the debris of the edifices being deconstructed.

The issue of language and philosophical discourse in diaspora, the contours of which I have struggled to define so far, I take to be the central problem facing philosophy today. This is so not for intellectual reasons alone. If we seek to live in

a non-violent world, then our affiliations and conflicts are to be expressed and negotiated through language; through legal and political discourse. If such discourse is to be democratic at an international level then we must show that using a shared language does not imply shared values or beliefs. In other words, language need not constrain metaphysics. If we are unable to demonstrate this, then we are to live in a hegemonic world where democratic international cooperation is not possible.

I will now sharpen my delineation of this problem and strive to go some way towards offering a solution. In the course of elaborating these remarks I will use Wittgenstein's ideas on grammar and naturalism for philosophy in an international context. I will do this by paying attention to the specific arguments made by Jerrold Katz against both the internal naturalism of Chomsky and the full blown naturalism of an Husserlian phenomenology. In sum, I will question the moves in philosophy that seek to develop a strong intentional theory of semantics in an attempt to give us a metaphysics of meaning even as the world is becoming more overtly interdependent, but also more insistently democratic. Such a move may be useful if we take globalization to mean standardization. These are not useful, however, when thinking about meaning from a cosmopolitan, democratic point of view.

In a recent issue of the *Journal of Philosophy*, Jerrold Katz raises what he considers the central problem in twentieth century philosophy. The problem, he says, was raised by Wittgenstein very near the end of the *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*:

It is clear that the logical product of two elementary propositions can neither be a tautology nor a contradiction. The statement that a point in the visual field has two different colors at the same time is a contradiction.

These two statements, Katz 1998 argues, each plausible by itself, are none too plausible when taken together. To help make Wittgenstein's point, Katz offers the following example:

- 1) The spot is red and blue.

There is a problem here with the setting of the problem in this way. The terms of reference namely red and blue have opposing positions on the color wheel. A naturalized example would have made the problem harder to set in such clean terms and therefore harder to treat. Thus what if the example, Wittgenstein might say, Katz had picked had been 'The spot is blue and green'. In that case, Katz would not have been able to develop as clean an argument against naturalism as the one he offers.

Nevertheless, Katz 1998 asserts that this statement claiming that the spot is blue and green is the 'logical product of two elementary statements and hence according to the first statement in Wittgenstein's formulation of the problem it cannot be a contradiction. However, it asserts that a 'point in the visual field has

two different colors at the same time,' and hence according to the second statement it is a contradiction. For Katz, the COLOR INCOMPATIBILITY problem 'is a general problem about the vocabulary of the language and about all the semantic properties and relations of the language. 'The problem surfaces,' he says, 'whenever we try to explain the logical powers of extra logical words with a symbolism on which the logical form of elementary propositions affords no basis for their explanation. Not only did Wittgenstein raise this problem but he imposed a methodological and epistemological constraint on its solution.

It must be possible for the contradiction to show itself entirely in the symbolism. If I say of a patch that it is both red and green, it is certainly at most only one of these two, and the contradiction must be contained in the sense of the two propositions. A contradiction, therefore, must be displayed entirely in its symbolism. Furthermore, knowledge of such a contradiction requires apriori semantic knowledge of its constituent statements. Even though color vocabulary is only a special case of this problem it offers us what Katz considers the hardest case for the more general problem of meaning which totally transformed the discipline of philosophy in the twentieth century. Roughly, the general problem of meaning color incompatibility serves to exemplify is the tension between intuition and logic we often find in the ascription of meaning.

Following this, Katz 1998 makes a distinction between solutions and dissolutions in addressing philosophical problems. Solutions arise from questioning assumptions but accepting presuppositions. Dissolutions occur when presuppositions themselves are placed in jeopardy. Both Wittgenstein, through the *Philosophical Investigations*, and W. O. Quine's arguments are dissolutions. Nevertheless, he points out, Quine's orientation is scientific while Wittgenstein's is therapeutic. Katz sees his own attempt as a solution through what he calls 'decompositional semantics'. It is based on retaining a metaphysics of meaning by separating logic from meaning, and syntax from semantics.

I now take up Quine and Katz's inability to speak to what I think might become the philosophical issue of the twenty-first century. Let us first briefly take up Quine's theory of the indeterminacy of translation. This thesis rests on the idea that the richness of the contexts in which language is used makes it extremely difficult to link language-fixed referents. Translation between linguistic systems, then, is indeterminate and therefore, for worldly reasons open to the possibility of hegemony. An additional problem, and one that Quine does not address, is that this hegemony of translation may not be conscious. That even under the most charitable of intentions, we necessarily map our own metaphysics onto the alien, usually non-Western, philosophical discourse. Here are two sobering examples. First, consider how commonplace it is to conflate Buddhism and Christianity. This occurs despite Buddhism's strenuous efforts to resist God as a transcendental concept. Or let us take the acceptance of the classification of some languages of the world as part of the Indo-European family of languages and culture as first suggested by Sir William Jones. Sir Jones suggested this system of classification

of languages based on the regularities he perceived between Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. But, keeping Wittgenstein's remarks on the interdeterminacy of explanation in commenting on Frazer's *The Golden Bough* in mind, and Quine's own thesis of the indeterminacy of translation, it might be possible to classify these languages in ways which would easily resist the label 'Indo-European'. This brings us to a graver inadequacy in Quine's theory of translation. His theory assumes closed, internally undifferentiated, linguistic systems. While this may remain a reasonable and productive assumption to make in the formal treatment of language, the field of sociolinguistics confronts the assumption with such empirical force that it is difficult to maintain even for those purposes. In other words, Quine develops his thesis as a monolingual-monodialectal speaker writing of other speakers of pure language.

The cautionary reminders about interpretation and explanation assembled by Wittgenstein and taken to an extreme by Quine certainly alert us to the significance of difference in thinking about meaning. However, when we think about the parallels between Panini's grammar and that of Chomsky, Nagarjuna's contributions to Mahayana Buddhism and the role of language in Wittgenstein's thinking about the gap between the ordinary and the real, we come to appreciate the motivation for finding a universal metaphysics of meaning. Such regularities draw our attention to the sharedness of human experience. Nevertheless, the philosophical position we are striving to lay out is a non-hegemonic treatment of language. Such a treatment would seek to negotiate between incommensurability on the one hand and the universalization of local concepts on the other.

In his discussion of the metaphysics of meaning, Katz wants to reject Chomskyan naturalism without letting go of Chomskyan formalism. If expressed in sufficiently general and formal terms, such an approach should fit the linguistic facts of all languages. Specifically, Katz wishes to develop a non-naturalistic intentional semantics based on a Chomskyan definition of grammar: an optimal generative grammar for a language L which generates all and only well formed sentences in L. There are three problems with Katz's position. First, while he is aware of the problems presented by Quine's monolingualism for his thesis of the indeterminacy of translation, Katz's own attempts at representing bilingualism are idealized representations based on a monolingual view of language. In other words, his philosophy of language suffers because it too remains uninformed by sociolinguistic research which describes the complexity of linguistic phenomenon. Katz seeks to block such difficulties by what he calls 'evidential controls' when faced with discrepancies in meaning. That is, he relies on extensionality to ascribe meaning to ambiguous statements. Finally, despite his valiant attempts to delink syntax from semantics, Katz's theory of decompositional semantics relies on the well-formedness of expressions. Such a reliance on well-formedness is normative and suggests a presupposed undifferentiated linguistic system. Such a hearkening to extensionality weakens, perhaps even undermines, Katz's attempts at providing us with an intentional theory of semantics.

Such a consistent return to extensionality in the ascription of meaning is significant not only for philosophy of language in general, but more specifically, for our purposes, for doing philosophy in an international context. Let us take the specific case of English. As the linguist Braj Kachru 2001 points out, English is indeed the global language. However, to equate this globalization of English with the emergence of a single, hegemonic, linguistic system is to misunderstand the creativity involved in the processes of the acquisition and use of English by populations other than in those places traditionally considered English-speaking. How does one explain this rather mistaken view of language in use?

Primarily such an error stems, as has been pointed out, from taking language to be a monolithic system. Even the most cursory examination of English used in places like England, Canada, the United States, and Australia, reveals enough differentiation to warrant the use of terms like 'Australian English,' 'British English,' and 'American English'. Now consider the widespread use of English in Malaysia, India, Ghana, Kenya, Bhutan, the Fiji Islands and so on. To speak of English as a global language is to speak only in the most economical and, if taken to be descriptive of actual linguistic conditions, deeply erroneous ways. In the attempt to recognize English as global language while acknowledging the unique ways in which it is realized within particular contexts, Kachru suggests that it is linguistically accurate to speak of 'World Englishes'.

It is certainly the case that the spread of English is tied to colonial processes which dislocated, marginalized, or even erased local linguistic and philosophical systems. Nevertheless, the language was taken up in different parts of the world in ways which, to follow Wittgenstein, were tied to local 'forms of life'. It is the specificity of the ways in which grammar, tied to the life-world, is realized which makes it possible for us to speak of Jamaican, Kenyan, and Indian English. These linguistic realizations, on the argument of the sociolinguist, are not impoverished forms of the norms for English set by British aristocracy, which is only one form of life among many. Rather, they are complex linguistic systems in themselves. In other words, the norms of standard English are not linguistically inherent, but appear so within specific historical contexts.

In addition, the spread of English is often seen as being hegemonic because the theories which drive explanation link language to power in an overly deterministic manner. The common users of English are represented as oppressed and alienated from language for historical reasons. Such explanations run the risk of reproducing the power relations they seek to undermine, for they deny creativity to the users of language in which these theorists of domination and subordination wish to argue. Moreover, such a view presupposes a romantic linkage between an essential 'self' and 'expression'. Regardless of the philosophical position we take on this presupposition, it is hard to maintain when considering language use in a world-historical context.

Let us take up the idea of World Englishes, language tied to local forms of life, in greater detail. Consider the following example from Indian English. The ut-

terance 'I am going to go' can be said to follow the same rules of syntax as 'I am going to read,' 'I am going to eat,' 'I am going to run,' and so on. Within the Indian context the utterance 'I am going to go,' presents no semantic confusion. A British or American speaker might need recourse to some Katzian 'evidential circumstance' in order to make sense of the utterance. By referring to the context, the utterance could meaningfully interpreted as 'Do not hassle me, I am leaving,' 'I most definitely, most certainly mean to go,' and so on. Even so, the expression is an emphatic in these cases as it is not within the context of Indian English. That is, in order to make the sentence not only syntactically permissible but also meaningful we have to rely on extensionality. This example provides us with a good opportunity to criticize Katz's valiant attempt at developing an intentional semantics even as it points us to the significance of context in the ascription of meaning. In other words, this example demonstrates that meaning is made in English in a manner which preserves the idea of a globally spread speech community while pointing to the local forms of life to which language use is tied.

Kachru's 2001 argument for World Englishes suggests the creative ways in which people learn and use languages, even under conditions of imperialism. Such creativity should be far more in evidence after colonialism. Kachru's discussion of language offers another strategy for undertaking international philosophy: for doing philosophy after colonialism. It makes possible, and legitimates, philosophy in Indian English: the language directly tied to the forms of life out of which the concepts it seeks to articulate emerge. However, since philosophy is undertaken in English, these linguistic systems might be different, but are mutually intelligible. In other words, Kachru's arguments within linguistics make possible the global articulation of local philosophical concepts. His view of the global use of English naturalizes the metaphysics of meaning. The possibilities and limitations presented by the spread of English for Indian philosophy form the bitter-sweet legacy of colonialism.

Let us take the case of the modernization of Chinese. In response to communicative and educational technologies like typewriters, the printing press, and the new electronic media, the Chinese writing system has slowly started to change away from a strictly ideographic system to one that is more alphabetic. The protocols and regimes of these emerging technologies of communication might require a shift to sentential syntax, since the architecture of many of these systems rest on sentential logic. Such emerging shifts in grammar occur as a result of changing forms of life which require a shared metaphysics in order to share meaning. Such sharedness, however, does not necessarily imply cultural atrophy, or even death. To insist on such attenuation is not only to refuse the creativity of the users of language, but also the possibility of occupying many metaphysical positions using one linguistic system. As pointed out so well by Neil Tennant 1997, it is not enough to criticize Whorfian surprise at the Hopi exhibition of an Einsteinian metaphysics. It is just as important to note that English speakers are not doomed to inhabit a non-Einsteinian world; that it is just as easy to say space-

time as it is to say space and time. In other words, grammar may not be metaphysical destiny.

Kachru's linguistic analyses of English taken up from a Wittgensteinian perspective offers hopeful and constructive strategies for doing international philosophy after colonialism. In all the alternate strategies taken up in this essay, Indian thought remains inextricably linked to Western philosophy for reasons of grammar, history, and geography. Most of these strategies are unequal to the task of giving us a way to think of doing philosophy in a democratic international context. They remain inadequate primarily because they rely on a monolithic view of language. Thinking about language and metaphysics in an international context returns us to Wittgensteinian naturalism. In other words, if naturalism made for the critical, deconstructive, moments in Wittgenstein's philosophy, it also opens the door for a therapeutic metaphysics firmly tied to a language and a grammar.

If Wittgenstein posed the central questions of philosophy in the twentieth century, as Katz tells us, then he may well be the philosopher we have to turn to in solving the riddles faced by philosophy in an international, diasporic, context. But, this should not surprise us at all. After all, it does not take great imagination to see that Wittgenstein was a multicultural, diasporic, international philosopher. Wittgenstein was a man who witnessed great suffering around issues of identification and exclusion and who thought philosophy was charged with the task of healing. Seeing him thus enables us to catch a glimpse into the earnestness with which he argued for thinking about the role of grammar in philosophy, the significance of history, and his insistent resistance to a metaphysics, and hence a politics, too quickly seized upon. The question we are left with is this: Why did we not naturalize our greatest philosopher of naturalism? Could it be that he is so hard to read because his philosophical investigations resist a metaphysics tied to an unreflective monolingual form of life?

Under conditions of more overt forms of globalization, it could well be that Indian philosophy, as form of non-Western thought, is made an artifact to be displayed in the museum of philosophy. The quest then is no longer to seek a way home to Indian thought. Rather, the idea is to labor intellectually in a manner which not only resists the 'museumification' of Indian and other philosophical traditions, but to return philosophy to its tasks proper. Philosophy can no longer be tied to a singular form of life, but must itself become diasporic and enable us all to feel at home in the world.

NOTE

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RECONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES AND GENDER IN DISCOURSE: ENGLISH TRANSPLANTED*

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The diaspora of English has altered the linguistic behavior of its users and their attitudes toward the language, constructing 'new' social, personal, and literary identities. As Braj Kachru's schematization of the globalization of English illustrates, the term 'diaspora' applies not only to a mass migration of people but to the spread of languages as well. This chapter is directed at the relationship between gender and the spread of English, with special reference to bilingual women from the multilingual settings of South Asia. It views the linguistic choices South Asian women make and the impact of these choices on their individual lives as well as on their social, personal, and literary communities. Examining the three cultural communities of practice: women as writers, innovators, and transmitters of cultural, gender, and linguistic identities, this paper addresses issues challenging the limits of Western static, monolithic models and the monolingual norms. Just as the creation of new non-Western cultural and regional identities has emerged due to the diaspora of English, so has a range of social identities of English developed and a range of attitudes toward the English variety defined by gender and other subcultural identities.

Introduction

Diasporic communities are usually identified as those groups of people who have dispersed from one place, i.e., their ancestral homeland, to many other places. Often identified with the Jewish experience and more recently with the ethnic experiences of African and Chinese transnationals, diaspora refers to a movement of people who continue to maintain dual national consciousness. As a result of diasporic movements, most communities maintain strong links to their home environments as evidenced by their strong religious, linguistic, and cultural bonds in their new environs. Often, however, few groups become displaced both physically and psychologically, breaking all ties with their homeland scattering members all over the world, to make newly-chosen cultural connections and embark on new cultural journeys. The South Asian diaspora with specific reference to Asian Indians

will simply be identified as the spread of people from South Asia to other parts of the world who share a homeland, its history, and ancestry.¹

The first diaspora of the Asian Indian movement dates back to the nineteenth century when from 1820-1910 the rural laboring and farm class hired as indentured workers filled labor gaps around the world in regions such as the Caribbean, Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Islands. After a discontinuous stream of and a decline of Asian Indian immigrants, a second wave occurred when urban, professionally-qualified Asian Indians increasingly immigrated for economic reasons to North America and later to Western Europe, Australia and the Middle East. The growing presence of Asian Indian immigrants was attracted to the Western 'pull' rather than the Indian 'push', draining South Asia of its resourceful young professionals, English-educated and trained in their technical, medical, and scientific fields (Bhardwaj & Rao 1990).

The term 'diaspora' applies not only to a mass migration of people, but to the spread of languages as well, as Braj Kachru's dynamic schematization of the globalization of English illustrates. This paper, then, is directed at the relationship between the spread of English and gender, with reference to bilingual women who represent the multilingual settings of South Asia. Just as the creation of new non-Western cultural and regional identities has emerged due to the scattering of English-speaking diasporics, so has a range of social identities of English developed and a range of attitudes toward the English variety defined by gender and other subcultural identities.

More importantly, this chapter deals with language choice, the choice of the English language by women who have elected to speak, write, or promote it for specific purposes, and the impact this choice has made on their individual lives and on their social and personal communities. I view the relationship between gender and the English language in diaspora within and across South Asian multilingual contexts in three cultural communities of practice²; WOMEN'S WRITING COMMUNITIES, where English has become the new language of gender identity in the circle of South Asian bilingual women writers of South Asia; WOMEN'S LOCAL COMMUNITIES, where the choice or promotion of English is linked to women's identities in their South Asian communities and to their attitudes toward English and toward their local and regional languages; and WOMEN'S COMMUNITIES IN TRANSITION, where South Asian immigrant women are pushing English into another phase at the expense of their nondominant home language. Within these three cultural contexts, then, bilingual women's creativity is one of the 'various strands of pluralism' in the diaspora of English — each strand stitched together to form a patchwork of English bilingual writers, innovators, and transmitters of cultural and linguistic identities both within and across Western and non-Western multilingual, multicultural contexts.

South Asian English women writer's community

One consequence of the long-term contact of English with other languages in multilingual and multicultural contexts is the growing body of creative indigenous writing in English and the development of contact literatures in English — literatures written by the users of English as a second language to convey a national identity and a linguistic distinctiveness. Focusing on the historical and cultural contexts, observations and conclusions in most of the literature on World Englishes admit to the impact that the process of colonialism has had on the histories of colonized countries and on its participants belonging to English users of the expanding and outer circles. Inheriting the literary and colonial history, the English language has produced a 'new' woman as user, writer, and speaker of English, who social historians, literary cultural critics, feminist theorists, and new historicists maintain acquired not only the language of the English reality but the ethos of the male reality. What effect, then, did the Englishizing process have not only on the contact literatures but on its colonial cultures, in particular, South Asian Indian women writing in English?

Women's entry into the public literary sphere in India began in the mid-nineteenth century with two women writers born into well-educated, progressive, and elite families who chose English as their language of expression: fiction writer and poet, Toru Dutt (1856-1877) and poet and political activist, Sarojini Naidu (1879-1949). Toru Dutt's torment of writing in English is described as a sense of unreality: 'The woman writer found herself fearfully, perilously working her way towards a reality that had no readily conceivable form' (Alexander 1989:12). Sarojini Naidu, on the other hand, refused to speak English until she was nine. Her parents forced her to learn the English language or she was punished. But by the age of eleven she began writing poetry in the language she resisted, English (Tharu & Lalita 1991).

It isn't until many years later that distinguished postcolonial Indian novelist Kamala Markandaya comes on the English-writing scene in 1954, then other notable novelists such as Ruth Praver Jhabwala, Nayantara Sahgal, and Anita Desai, that women writers begin to establish a respectable reputation alongside the male writers of English. Since these early times, an on-going debate rages, questioning the authenticity of bilingual English writers writing in a nonnative language for creative purposes: Why do these writers choose to write in the language of the colonial power and not their 'true' language, i.e., regional, local, or caste variety? Consequently, the quest for identity echoes the voices of other bilingual writers across the world who have expressed a collective concern about their schizolingual spirit and mixed feelings toward their second language.³

Many international women writers of the extended circle share the common concern that writing in English is a two-edged sword; Ghanaian English writer Ama Ata Aidoo comments, 'Whilst one is aware of the language issue as a big issue, it is better for a writer to write in English, than not to write at all' (James 1990:9). Contemporary English-writer from Nigeria Zaynab Alkali finds herself in

a similar predicament when she says, 'I find writing in English agonizing, to say the least ... Naturally, I would feel more comfortable writing in my own language (Hausa) but the audience, as you know, would be limited' (James 1990:31). And Indian author Gita Mehta 1997, remarks that regional-language writers are being forced to write in the second language, English, in order to make a living. With despair she remarks: 'Are we more valid because the world has become more interested in us because we write in English?'

Four processes of writing in English

Particular to these women writers is an assortment of feelings toward their second language, English. For many bilingual women writers of South Asia, English is regarded as one of the many South Asian languages, a cultural mirror, the universal tongue, but for other writers, the English language is an expression of anguish associated with alienation, rootlessness, and the post-colonial consciousness. For other women, English is the language of freedom, discovery, and rebirth; and for others, it represents linguistic defiance, a means to set up an alternative cultural model to define the female identity for which there is no existing model. Braj Kachru 1996a names this dual personality as the agony and ecstasy generated by the power of English.

Labels used to symbolize the power of English

Positive	Negative
National identity	Anti-nationalism
Literary renaissance	Anti-native culture
Cultural mirror (for native cultures)	Materialism
Liberalism	Vehicle for Westernization
Universalism	Ethnocentrism
Secularism	Permissiveness
Technology	Divisiveness
Science	Alienation
Mobility	Colonialism
Access code	

The writings in English by South Asian women fall into four categories:

- (a) UNIVERSALIZATION: the women writers accept English as one of their many Indian languages, creatively altering it to suit their native cultural and social needs;
- (b) INTELLECTUAL/LINGUISTIC MUTEDNESS: the use of English deprives women writers of articulating their native gender identities because women's reality, which cannot be expressed in its own terms, differs from the dominant mode of expression, which has been generated by the dominant communicative systems;

- (c) CREATIVE EMPOWERMENT: the use of English empowers women writers by freeing them from the burdens associated with their native linguistic varieties, programming meanings to not-yet-coded concepts, which their first language does not allow them to express; and
- (d) LINGUISTIC DEFIANCE: the women writers reject English in its present form. English is a linguistic and cultural construct only to be seized, dismantled, and reformed by women writers to encode their own new sounds, meanings, and structures.

Universalization: English, what is the fuss?

Universalization captures the complete identity of the South Asian writer with the English language as with any native Indian language. She doesn't choose her language, the language chooses her.⁴ South Indian poet Kamala Das, most noted for the naturalness of her Indian English, belongs to the category of poets who wonders what all the fuss is about.

I write poetry in English because I have found writing in English a little less difficult than writing in Malayalam. 'Why in English' is a silly question. It is like asking us why we do not write in Swahili or Serbo-Croat. English being the most familiar, we use it. That is all ... (Lal 1969:102-3).

Das (1973:45) further defends her use of the Indian variety of English with all its 'distortions' and 'queernesses' in the poem 'An Introduction'.⁵

I am Indian, very brown, born in
 Malabar, I speak three languages, write in
 Two, dream in one. Don't write in English, they said,
 English is not your mother-tongue. Why not leave
 Me alone, critics, friends, visiting cousins,
 Every one of you? *Why not let me speak in*
Any language I like? The language I speak
 Becomes mine, its distortions, its queernesses
 All mine, mine alone. It is half English, half
 Indian, funny perhaps, but it is honest,
 It is as human as I am human. don't
 You see? It voices my joys, my longings, my
 Hopes, and it is useful to me as cawing
 Is to crows or roaring to the lions, it
 Is human speech, the speech of the mind that is
 Here and not there, a mind that sees and hears and
 Is aware.

Contemporary Bengali-Keralan novelist Arundhati Roy 1997a, b compares these cynics to 'disapproving parents' to whom she replies rather guiltily:

language is the skin on my thought; the way I write is a reflex ... I don't choose to write in English because I have a choice, it is my first language, I do speak both Malayalam and Hindi, and I can't write in them as fluently. It is a choice that was made before I was of the age I could choose. I am a product of the colonial past and I cannot deny that. Colonialism didn't end in 1947, but continues. Colonialism tampered with our deepest cultural identity. [We] writers of English, stand in a third world colonized country but are privileged and part of elite.

Veteran Indian novelist Anita Desai (1990:3), having learned English as her first language in a mission school, sums up her view of writing in English:

... a writer in India must choose which is to be [her] particular instrument, tool or game ... But these choices are made so early in life they can hardly be called choices. They are made instinctively rather than intellectually and it is circumstance that dictates the choice.

Later in life Desai becomes aware that when other writers thought hard and long about using a 'foreign language' to express Indian thought, modes of expression, and experiences, she realizes she had 'unconsciously ... been evading (the language problems), by sticking her head, ostrich-fashion, into the sands ...' (1990:4). Not until she pushes herself into a trilingual writing situation (Hindi-English-German) does she feel a 'great feeling of release, almost abandon, at last able to employ the language of [her] infancy and childhood' (1990:9).

Intellectual mutedness: English, the others' tongue

The writer's identity with English is one of distance and exclusion. Traditional literary history has treated women as peripheral, advocated values of privilege established under the canon of Western culture and male thought, and resisted any shifts in the standard literary tradition. In practice, women have not been accorded equal opportunity to participate in the prestigious linguistic registers of religious ceremonies, political rhetoric, and poetry; their role as traditional oral transmitter in local communities has lost importance; and in general, as writers, they have been overlooked, undervalued, and denied recognition into the mainstream literary field. As a result, an historical silencing of women occurred at the highest levels of literary and oral expressions throughout time. The silencing and exclusionary nature of canonical language denied women not only of a body of knowledge but of a whole way of thinking — the way of thinking which holds power and prestige. At the same time, however, a linguistic schizophrenia splits women's personalities in two: validation through the use of English vs. aversion to English.⁶

Supporting the view that women who write only in English are 'imprisoned within the cognitive and cultural limits that language sets up', Meenakshi Mukherjee 1994 argues that

All through the nineteenth century English as a language of privilege in India set up a hierarchy of merit and gradually acquired an aura that was liberating and limiting at the same time, conferring prestige as well as exclusiveness on the Indian user ... this was basically a male preserve, and women belonged to an area of life that this language consciously or unconsciously excluded from its domain (1994:12).⁷

Like many English-bilingual women writers, Indian writer Ketaki Kushari Dyson (1994:184), too, recognizes the cross pressures of inequality that exists between writing in two languages. She explains her language choice between Bengali and English as determined by the audience emphasizing her loyalty to and pride in Bengali, a national symbol of intellectual and cultural reawakening in (19th century) India, a language which 'preserves [her] freedom, dignity and integrity' and the magnetism of English which is controlled by gatekeepers and carries 'the legacy of the Empire which translates into ethnocentrism, paternalism, and invisibility.'

Creative expression: English, the language of freedom

For some women writers, English becomes the language of freedom and independence, even of rebirth. Sharing a dual cultural background, South Asian and Western, they create new selves by assuming new identities, feeling that it is not English but their native languages that are bound with the trappings of tradition and constraining images of female roles and conventions. Therefore, for many of these writers, English becomes the authentic language — the undistorted, true reflection of their culture — inviting them to examine and explore their inner selves and providing a medium to reconstruct their past. This means of expression in English opens up a new awareness in bilingual women writers.

Bharati Mukherjee, a Bengali-American immigrant author, who chose to settle and teach in the United States, identifies herself as an 'American from South Asia' (Shankar 1998). Claiming North American English as her 'step-mother-tongue' and the United States as home, she views herself as 'an American author in the tradition of other American authors whose ancestors arrived at Ellis Island' (Carb 1988:650; B. Mukherjee 1992). 'Emotionally and psychologically transformed' (Baker 1994:10), Mukherjee explains:

I totally consider myself an American writer writing about ... a new kind of pioneer here in America ... Most Indian writers prior to this, have still thought of themselves as Indian, and their literary inspiration has come from India. India has been the source, and home. My roots are here and my emotions are here in North American (Meer qtd in Shankar 1998:59).

Bruce King (1992:153) observes that writing in a personal voice is particularly empowering for Indian women writers, for a private voice allows them to 'free themselves from the linguistic standards of their colonizers and create a style that

accurately represents what the writer feels ... instead of it being filtered through speech meant to reflect the assumptions and nuances of another society.'

Linguistic defiance: Breaking the English language

Indian poet Meena Alexander admits in her autobiography *Fault Lines* 'the forked power' of English. 'English alienated me from what I was born to; it was also the language of intimacy and bore the charged power of writing' (1993:116). Realizing that colonialism is intrinsic to the burden of English in India, she feels robbed of literacy in her own mother tongue (Malayalam). The burden of British English exposes the relationship between linguistic decolonization and her sense of femaleness. English becomes a part of her reaching out for this new world. She goes so far as to propose that such a predicament 'incites the female imagination into realms of almost inconceivable freedom' (1981:16), and

yet even as these liberating thoughts came to me in English, I was well aware that the language itself had to be pierced and punctured lest the thickness of the white skin cover over my atmosphere, my very self. The language I used had to be supple enough to reveal the intricate mesh of otherness in which I lived and moved (1993:118).

With English in mind, Meena Alexander hopes, 'I might some day unlock the feelings that welled up within me' (1993:116). And the only means by which she as a woman writer can unlock those feelings is to break the English language.

To make poems in India with English is to be condemned to the use of a language that in its very being cringes from actuality. [English] will always remain a colonizing power till those whom it oppresses steal it for themselves, rupture its syntax till it is capable of naming the very structure of oppression (1981:23).

Bapsi Sidhwa (1996:232-3), a Pakistani writer, fluent in Gujarati, Urdu, Panjabi, and English, distinguishes her writing in English as a Pakistani from the 'new breed' of writers of South Asian origin. She claims that they use the English indistinguishable from that of the native populations of England and the United States, having lived in first-language circle countries and having absorbed the traditions of the language and the thought-patterns of its users. Thrilled to have 'landed' with English, with pride she proclaims:

We the excolonized have subjugated the language, beaten it on its head and made it ours! Let the English chafe and fret and fume. The fact remains that in adapting English to our use, in hammering it sometimes on its head, and in sometimes twisting its tail, we have given it a new shape, substance, and dimension.

As a result, then, of the spread of English and of the scattering of its users across the globe, the creation of new non-Western cultural identities has emerged and multiple social identities of English have developed. English has altered the lin-

guistic behavior of women writers and their attitudes toward it. 'New' social and personal identities have evolved.

South Asian women in their local communities: Guardians or mavericks?

The spread of English is attributed not only to the diasporic movement of people to regions outside their homeland, but to community members' identity with and attitude toward English within local contexts. Women in urban as well as rural pockets of South Asia are very conscious of their language choice, actively encouraging a 'change from above' by promoting the use of a non-Indian language, in this case of the highly valued, prestigious variety, English, over the local, regional, and caste varieties. English holds a positive function in the linguistic lives of these women. Language choice, then, has to do with who these women are, how they see themselves in the community, and how they want others to perceive them, observations that most studies fail to recognize as significant and important for further study.

The role of women in the process of linguistic change has been a focus of discussion in sociolinguistic study since Peter Trudgill's and William Labov's quantitative work in the 1970s. Since then, variationist studies have presented female speakers as ambivalent in nature: conservative but innovative, prestige-conscious but group (solidarity)-oriented, agents of language change but guardians of tradition, and linguistically corrupting but grammatically refined. A number of simple explanations have been proposed for women's paradoxical linguistic behavior and hypersensitivity to language usage and language choice: social and linguistic insecurities due to women's vulnerable position in society, societal expectations to protect face and be polite, the degree of integration into their communities, and ascribed social values of femininity and femaleness.

Framing language and gender identity, as traditional models have done in the past, views the social dimensions of gender and its relationship to language too narrowly. Although there are cases where the sex of the speaker is the most influential factor accounting for particular speech patterns, in most speech communities one's sex interacts with other variables, such as social status, caste, and ethnicity. Examining gender as the 'complex of social, cultural, and psychological phenomenon attached to sex' (McConnell-Ginet 1988:96) appears to be the most convincing approach to account for language differences.

To help explain the ambivalent linguistic nature of female speakers, only recently has serious attention been paid to bilingual women and their linguistic behavior within their social communities and to their role in maintaining certain standard linguistic forms and in determining the survival of certain local varieties or the shifting to nonlocal varieties. Providing evidence that bilingual women in South Asia play a primary role in initiating and furthering language change, Farhat Khan's 1991 linguistic study in northern India finds that the speech patterns of the female speakers in the traditional Muslim culture of Aligarh (U.P.) show a higher proportion of usage of nonprestigious forms than male speakers,

rather than the expected reverse as is found in Western language studies. Social, religious, and cultural barriers limit these women's opportunities in public life and activities, prohibit social mobility, and offer less contact with the outside world; Indian women's position in Muslim society is reflected in women's linguistic behavior. Non-Western studies seem to reflect that in parts of the world where women do not play an active role in public and social life, they are less likely to conform to the linguistic norms of the dominant (male) culture, whereas women of higher socioeconomic status and with greater educational opportunities show a higher proportion of usage of prestigious forms than males within this privileged class.

Interacting with the many factors cited for language maintenance, shift, and death: numerical strength, social class, religious and educational background, patterns of language use, etc., is the factor of gender (Romaine 1995). As shown in anthropological studies, women across cultures are the primary educators for language development in children, are the principal promoters of literacy, and are the facilitators of second language acquisition. Women traditionally act as primary caretakers and transmitters of language norms serving as the model for children's speech. As in many parts of the world, in South Asia, bilingual women are identified as the 'guardians' of the mother tongue or the protectors of the minority language.

In an Indian village of Karnataka (Ullrich 1992), women are responsible for maintaining the vernacular caste dialect, Havyaka, by speaking it themselves and by transmitting it to their children. Although these women may be linguistically limited and may not use the prestigious varieties, they do realize the positive value, professional importance, and social significance of being multilingual in English, Hindi, or Kannada; for economic advancement and higher education is dependent on mobility to urban areas where multilingualism is essential if not required. Having the knowledge of multiple languages, one of which is English, gives these women a sense of power, not necessarily public power, but the power to have access to both private and public domains in their communities to provide, for example, greater opportunities for their daughters in the marriage market. Although these women may never leave their village, be able to understand English, or feel secure in their training in English, their strong positive feelings toward the language gives them access to its power. By promoting English awareness in the community, their self-image and social standing in the community improves; making a conscious effort to co-opt the prestige associated with their English-speaking children or grandchildren confers social status on themselves (Ullrich 1992:125). So in the tradition of William Labov and Peter Trudgill, these women are gaining social status through linguistic means.

One could argue that these women's continued use and transmission of the vernacular demonstrates loyalty to the group and a return to cultural nationalism and regionalism, but when the local variety does not have the power for access to employment opportunities, good marriage matches, or urban mobility, they may

decide to transmit the language that will benefit their children, in this case English. Therefore, although women are identified as guardians of the local language, they can also be identified as initiators of language change. Their identification with a language and positive attitudes towards it help to preserve its maintenance.

In contrast to the Karnataka village, Catholic Goan women have stood at the forefront in the marginalizing and displacement of the mother tongue Konkani and in promoting the dominant Western languages of Portuguese and English (Mascarenhas-Keyes 1994). Due to the historical legacy of Portuguese colonialism and to the modern-day emphasis on women's social roles as teacher, writer, and progressive mother, women have acted more favorably toward the prestigious Western languages and varieties. Strategically positioning themselves as agents of change, these bilingual women have enthusiastically furthered the language variety that they see is in the best interests of their community. As mothers and, too, as advocates for education, they sanction the promotion of the Western varieties, but at the expense and possible loss of the minority regional varieties. These women monitor the pulse of the society, shaping the modern face of Goa through their language choice of furthering the spread of English.

And there is no doubt that female speakers of India make different language choices. R. S. Pathak's 1985 Hindi-English code-switching study in North India shows that educated women use Hindi-English mixed code more often than Hindi in certain domains: family, friends, education, and employment; women use more English and Hindi-English mixed code than men in certain domains: family, friendship, education, and employment; yet, in the domain of neighborhood, women use less English or Hindi-English mixed code than men. Unfortunately, Pathak offers no explanation for this variation; if we consider findings from other studies, however, the use of the mother tongue by these women serves as a marker of solidarity which strengthens her social networking within the community, whereas the use of English presents the image of modernity, mobility, and education.

To confirm this observation, Badri Raina (1991:266) notes that in contemporary Indian society, among the English-educated urban middle classes, many more women than men conduct their spoken interactions in English. She speculates that women's 'perception of the vernacular carries a cultural load which inhibits the desired status of a gender-free and autonomous self-hood.' When women want distance, self-esteem, aggrandizement, and command, they choose English, but when they desire mutually affective closeness, they use the vernacular. The English language is certainly becoming a significant factor in the development of a sense of self and identity in the Indian woman (Y. Kachru 1996).

Many studies show that bilingual women play a primary role in initiating and furthering linguistic change in their native, local communities. Language choice is linked to their place in society, their social networking, their self image, and their attitudes toward the language. These women, then, within their commu-

nities of practice, act and view themselves as both guardians of their mother tongues and as innovators of language change; they certainly are not passive bystanders of culture allowing outside societal influences and knowledge to manipulate them, nor do they behave like other community members. The strength of the status of English in South Asia is based, in part, on the choices women make to meet the needs of their speech communities and to achieve the desired results of a better future for their family and social group. With English fast becoming the language of necessity in South Asia, women as primary language caretakers are advancing the progress of English, which in turn helps it to gain acceptance and merit alongside the regional, caste, and vernacular dialects, both in private and in public environments.

South Asian women in transition: Crossing borders

The second diaspora of English is identified as the spread of English to non-Western linguistic and cultural contexts. A third phase of English, however, can be identified, whereby the language continues to cross borders and oceans to make its return to native shores. This stage of the spread of English is due to the second wave of South Asian immigrants (post 1965) crossing geographic, linguistic, and cultural boundaries. Since the 1980s, South Asians have increased their presence, becoming one of the fastest-growing North American and European immigrant communities today.

The typical profile of the second movement of South Asian immigrants to North America is characterized as urban, college-educated, middle-class professionals, with high English proficiency, who immigrate with their families for economic and educational reasons, and later for residence (Bhardwaj & Rao 1990; Bahri & Vasudeva 1996). By far, more males immigrate from India to the United States than females (61 percent to 39 percent) (Statistical Record of Asian Americans 1993), the predominant pattern of life choice for female immigrants being marriage and subsequent residence in the new culture. In fact, from 1972-76, South Asian females outnumbered males for just this reason (Bhardwaj & Rao 1990). While these women, too, make the transition from their homeland and arrive to these new situations highly educated, specially skilled, and fluent in the dominant language, English, they find themselves sheltered and isolated, having fewer opportunities than men to become fully integrated into the new culture.

Often grouped together with other minority non-White groups of the majority country to which they are assigned, South Asian women are contrasted to the White and European-American majority. Although work done on immigrants and refugees to the United States shows that women of color do not identify themselves as a homogeneous group, as a result of the artificial grouping, these South Asian immigrants often find themselves invisible and their native-language varieties holding minority status in the dominant culture.⁸

The idea that not only the experiences of South Asian men and women are different, but that they hold different views toward the new culture and toward

the second language suggests that multilingual situations often place special burdens on minority women. South Asian immigrant women often become the primary transmitters of native cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic identities in the new environment, fighting an uphill battle where the additional language is the language of a dominant group associated with power, prestige, and economic benefits overpowering the non-dominant home language, which holds no societal support. Many immigrant women comment that when they first come to a new land they 'revel in their status as an English-using person', but over time speaking the English language incessantly becomes tiresome. One female immigrant remarks, 'My refusal to operate full-time in English was an unwillingness to incur ... a construction of my SELF which I felt to be now unacceptably alienating' (Raina 1991:268).

Like so many South Asian bilingual women writers, Bengali poet Shobha Ghose (1977:37-40) describes her marginalized linguistic existence in her poem 'Of Poets and Poetry'; she speaks as a lost soul among millions because she cannot speak the 'tongue' of the foreign land.

I have tried in time past
to make myself understood
slurred speech, feeble
attempting communication
lonesome in a foreign land
amid total strangers:
I picked up sounds, notes
and lost them.
My ears untuned to strange speech,
I looked with sad eyes, dejected,
incapacitated by a crippled tongue:
innocuous groping
cataract curtained eyes
seeking light, speech
for my feelings ...

Contemporary South Asian-American Sujata Bhatt (1993:359-64) in 'Search for my tongue' tells of a speaker whose mother tongue, Gujarati, is slipping away. The language, which for her now holds minority status in a foreign environment, must compete with the dominant language, English. In a setting where bilingual behavior is held circumspect, she must suffer with a foreign tongue in her mouth.

Days my tongue slips away
I can't hold on to my tongue
it's slippery like the lizard's tail
I try to grasp
but the lizard darts away —
mari jeebh sarki jai chay [my tongue keeps on moving]
I can't speak — I speak nothing.

Nothing.

Kai nahi-hoo nathi boli shakti [nothing is; nothing can be said]

I search for my tongue ...

You ask me what I mean

by saying I have lost my tongue.

I ask you, what would you do

if you had two tongues in your mouth,
and lost the first one, the mother tongue,

and could not really know the other,
the foreign tongue.

You could not use them both together
even if you thought that way.

And if you lived in a place where you had to
speak a foreign tongue —

your mother tongue would rot,
rot and die in your mouth

until you had to spit it out.

I thought I spit it out

but overnight while I dream ...

In spite of being 'otherized', research suggests that these immigrant women tend to adapt better and at faster rates to their new cultural environments than do men (Bystydzienski & Resnik 1994) and to remain acutely aware of their national and cultural origins, their mother tongue, and their legal status (Gabaccia 1991). Not fully accepted by the dominant group, South Asian women continually relate to their homeland one way or another; in fact, they strengthen their allegiance to the national, linguistic, and ethnic identities of their native cultures, as well as to their religious practices, the strongest identifying factor among Asian Indians. To cope with the often economically exploitative, politically exclusive, and culturally alienating new society, females often become, in fact, more culturally rigid and socially restrictive than their male counterparts. Their family continues to play the most important role in shaping attitudes and beliefs and providing norms of behavior. For an Indian woman's sense of self and identity is largely determined by patterns of socialization in infancy, especially the close affective relationship with her mother and others in the extended family (Y. Kachru 1996). Asian-Indian writer Feroza Jussawalla (1988:583) writes that Asian-American women 'are like 'chiffon saris' — a sort of cross-breed attempting to adjust to the pressures of a new world, while actually being from another older one.'

According to the Statistical Record of Asian Americans 1993, although Asian Indians are the largest Asian-American group to have high English language proficiency (primarily in the workplace), in over 82 percent of their homes a non-English language is spoken. So, in spite of women's linguistic alienation and marginalization, part of the South Asian immigrant experience is to find ways to reinforce native-community values in the new cultural environment and con-

tinue the use of home Indian languages and traditional practices in their mother tongue.

For fear of losing indigenous customs, British Gujarati immigrant women continue the use of the non-dominant language, Gujarati, in wedding songs (Edwards & Katbanna 1988). They insist that English cannot fulfill the traditional Indian social rituals and linguistic traditions of solidarity, of insult, and of conciliation. Asserting their native identity and the Asian world-view, these women continue the guardianship role of transmitter of social and cultural messages in their native language. For these participants the message can be naturally and authentically expressed only in the native language not in a foreign tongue, whether the wedding takes place in native or nonnative settings. Language choice preserves the maintenance of gender roles according to private and public contexts.

It appears that women's self and identity is extended to the context of South Asian homes in the United States as well, where women are regarded as the guardians of the minority language and by implication of ethnic identity. Kathryn Remlinger 1994 finds that English-bilingual women uphold the values, attitudes, and traditions of the South Asian culture: they tend to speak their regional varieties, practice and maintain the religious traditions of their family, and teach their children the mother tongue, whereas the male family members are left responsible for the domain outside the household, the public sphere. If the children are not able to speak their mother tongues, then these women feel that they have been a failure in instilling their children with insight into their cultural heritage. A division of linguistic responsibility is evident in the nonnative cultural settings: the daughters, sisters, and mothers are expected to know, use, and promote the mother tongue with each other, the sons, brothers, and fathers are expected to know and use English. Adult women use their first language with their mothers, but English with their fathers.

These observations run parallel to the 1994 survey responses I collected in India from young, unmarried college students. When male and female students were asked to identify the language they preferred in the contexts of home, social life, and public situations, they answered that in the domain of home, both sons and daughters primarily used the mother tongue to their mother and English to their father. They identified their mothers as the traditional and strict maintainers of cultural identity. In public situations, however, it is becoming more common among the educated English-speaking Indian class for the children to use English to either parent.

The roles that women assume in their speech communities have an influence on their linguistic behavior and language choice, in particular on their preferences toward the use and promotion of their native languages as well as toward English, depending on the public or private situation. When South Asian women make the move to a new cultural environment where their mother tongue plays a secondary role, they continue their primary roles as educators of language development, facilitators of second language learning, and transmitters of cultural heri-

tage. This phenomenon of 'keeper' of language and culture is carried across the globe from South Asian speech communities to South Asian households in English-speaking settings.

Conclusions

It seems clear then that the diaspora of English has altered the linguistic behavior of its users and their attitudes toward English and toward the local varieties. Gender identities are cultural constructs within social groups. One's total gender identity is a blend of multiple social and personal identities that changes from one interaction to another, changes over time, changes within lifetimes. These multiple social identities of English certainly left their mark on demythologizing the notion of one English language, one English literature, and one English speaker and advocating a more inclusive model of many Englishes and multicanons of English literatures. For the new English, users in the many communities of practice in which women participate have different associations and attitudes toward their languages. English-bilingual women represent one aspect of this model of multi-cultural pluralism.

NOTES

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¹ For the most part, Asian Americans have been categorized under a single broad category inclusive of the Asian immigrants from East Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia. It is only recently that two separate groups have been represented: those members who originate from East/Southeast Asia, which includes China, Taiwan, the Koreas, Japan, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and the Philippines; and South Asia, which includes India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Maldives (Shankar & Srikanth 1998). Although Asian Indians are a subset of South Asians, the two terms are often used interchangeably.

² I use Penelope Eckert & Sally McConnell-Ginet's 1992 definition of COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE loosely. Rather than constructing a speaker's identity within the traditional notion of John Gumperz's 1982 speech community, their definition emphasizes the role of practice, social engagement, and members' activities: 'an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavor'. For this paper, then, COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE is defined as a community of speakers who differentiate themselves from other communities by their membership in the community and the activities that they collectively engage in.

³ A multitude of contemporary bilingual and bicultural writers have expressed their concerns of displacement, dislocation, and belonging in autobiographical narratives and memoirs. For interesting discussions on the reconstruction of self in

the bilingual writer, see Eva Hoffman's 1989 *Lost in Translation* and Richard Rodriguez's 1982 *Hunger for Memory*, along with collected scholarly works edited by Alfred Arteaga 1994, Angelika Bammer 1994, and Marc Robinson 1994.

⁴ I thank Professor Salikoko Mufwene for making this observation.

⁵ Some feminist critics argue that Kamala Das' question about language is a wider, more significant one of the universal exclusion of 'women's use of high language, public political and literary of patriarchal societies' (Cora Kaplan qtd in Sumita Roy 1994:21). Such an interpretation reclassifies Das under the writing community of the intellectually/linguistically muted group.

⁶ Chinese-Malaysian writer Shirley Geok-Lin Lim 1990 presents a fascinating discussion on Asian women's linguistic marginalization and the 'squeezing out' of Asian women writers from the literary world, the publishing field, national recognition, etc.

⁷ Another example of institutionalized exclusion of women is noted by Meenakshi Mukherjee 1994: the learning of English in the early nineteenth century was virtually taboo for middle-class Bengali women; in fact, a pervasive belief was held that women who learned English became widows.

⁸ The first generation of Asian Indian immigrants to the United States is less ready to accept the label of South Asian. The first generation strives either to remain invisible in the Anglo-American context or to integrate into the cultural and social mainstream of the American way of life; the second generation, in contrast, identifies itself with, and forms alliances with, other Asian minorities to attain greater representation, visibility, and recognition (Bahri & Vasudeva 1966). Problematic to the issue of defining the South Asian diasporic community is the issue of diversity within the South Asian communities. Other than tracing their roots to South Asia, Asian Indians share no other single identifying characteristic. Distinct to this community are the multiple identities associated with caste, language, region, religion, ethnicity, migrancy, etc. Therefore, smaller Asian Indian microcommunities based on region, religion, and language exist, factors which have an impact on language choice and language attitude.

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THE PARADOX OF CREATIVITY IN DIASPORA: THE YIDDISH LANGUAGE AND JEWISH IDENTITY

Robert D. King

The topic of this chapter is the Yiddish language as an instrument of the survival of Jewishness in diaspora. Yiddish is only one of many Jewish languages that supplanted the ancestral languages, Hebrew and Aramaic, of the Jews. Almost everywhere Jews lived after their dispersion from the homeland, they created a Jewish variant of the local language. My paper discusses the Yiddish language and its emergence as a creative force in the Jewish Diaspora and as an icon of Jewish identity. Of all the languages of the Jewish Diaspora only Yiddish produced a significant literature that inspired in its users a unique creativity and sense of belonging. Language is always an icon of ethnic identity, but few languages have ever reified the spirit of its people as Yiddish did. Denied a country of their own, with religion a declining force for ethnic cohesion, the Jews of central and eastern Europe found their identity in their language — Yiddish.

Introduction

While my general interest here is the Jewish Diaspora and the language assimilation of Jews in exile from their homeland, my particular concern is with the Yiddish language — the major linguistic creation of the Diaspora. But Yiddish is not an island language, so it is necessary to locate Yiddish in the larger context of the linguistic adaptation of a people who were, until the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, forever forced to live in the lands of other people. No matter where they settled, no matter how well integrated they were into the life of the countries where they lived, no matter how much confidence they may have built up that their neighbors would leave them alone, the Jews were always apart, always different, frequently hated and forever under suspicion: they were the Other. And out of the bitter tension between Guest and Other grew not only a language — Yiddish — and a culture — *Yidishkayt* — bound to this language, but, in the nineteenth century, an efflorescence of literary creativity in the Yiddish language that is unique in the annals of despised languages.

Yiddish was only one of the languages of the Jewish Diaspora and probably not the language the average person would associate with 'Jewishness' (*Yidishkayt*). That language likely would be Hebrew. Yiddish has had a complicated and at times a troubled relationship with Hebrew, but Yiddish is not Hebrew nor is it mutually intelligible with Hebrew: they are as different from each other as English is from French. Nor is Yiddish what the Hebrew language changed into when carried into the Jewish Diaspora. The Hebrew language is, however, the place where the story begins — the story of the Jewish Diaspora, the story both of Jewishness in general and the Yiddish language in particular.

Hebrew was the ancestral language of the Jews, the language of the Bible (in Christian terms the language of the 'Old Testament' as opposed to the Greek of the 'New Testament'). As a spoken language, however, Hebrew had become almost completely extinct by two thousand years ago. Jews living in the Holy Land spoke either Aramaic or Greek (Jesus, living at the beginning of the Common Era, spoke Aramaic). Though Hebrew was by the Common Era no longer a 'living language', a language acquired in the ordinary way of give-and-take among parents and siblings and playmates, at no time in Jewish history did it disappear as a liturgical language and as the principal language of disputation among rabbis. People whose cradle language had been anything in the world but Hebrew composed substantial works in the language, often elegantly and with originality. Every Jewish boy had to learn Hebrew in the Hebrew alphabet — well or badly, as is true today — in order to become *bar mitzvah*, signifying that he had reached his thirteenth birthday and had, therefore, attained the age of religious duty and responsibility.

The reason why Jewish languages like Yiddish and Ladino are written in Hebrew characters goes back to the widespread literacy of Jews — of Jewish males at least — during the 'Dark Ages'. Observant Jewish males had to be *bar mitzvah*, though not females, who did not have a coming-of-age ceremony. 'Literacy' is of course not nearly the same thing as 'fluency': to be literate simply meant that religiously-observant Jewish males could read Hebrew.

All that aside, Hebrew had become by the onset of the Common Era a 'dead' language in the ordinary sense in which people speak of 'dead languages'. It was, nevertheless, a 'holy language': it had iconic value, a symbolic historical value, in Jewish life. Something of the nature of the symbiosis between Hebrew and Yiddish is suggested by the fact that, in Yiddish, Hebrew is normally referred to as *loshn-koydesh* 'holy language' or 'language of holy men', whereas Yiddish is *mame-loshn* 'mother tongue'. ('Mother tongue' is not quite the right translation of *mame-loshn*, for *mame* in Yiddish suggests as much 'momma' as 'mother', implying an entirely different and far more intimate association between a language and its people in emotional affect than what is conveyed by the conventional label 'mother tongue'.)

The Holy Land had passed from Jewish to Greek control and then into Roman rule during the centuries predating the Common Era. After the Roman gen-

eral Titus successfully assaulted Jerusalem and burned the Second Temple to the ground in 70 C.E., the shadows on Jewish life in its ancestral home began to lengthen. Time was up, and it would be only a short while until the Jews were driven into exile from the Holy Land. ('Exile', Hebrew *Galuth*, Yiddish *Goles*, is an enduring Jewish literary trope.) The Jewish Diaspora had begun. (On Jewish history in general see Ben-Sasson 1976, Dubnow 1967-73, and Roth 1966.)

Some of those forced into exile settled in other countries in the Middle East; some emigrated to countries that could be reached by easy sailing over the Mediterranean; some held on in Palestine. Some doubtless converted to Islam a few centuries later when Islam in its militancy of a hard birth swept through the Middle East. Many of the Jewish exiles went to Italy with the Roman legions, as soldiers — the Jews were highly valued as warriors, events like those at Masada providing the explanation if any were needed — and as what today we would call 'support personnel'. Armies need middlemen to procure horses, grain, food, portable lodging, and repairs. Jewish traders were good at this kind of thing since apart from anything else they were likely to have enough book-Hebrew to negotiate with other Jewish merchants along the path of conquest as the Roman Empire expanded north, west, and east out of Italy.

Language choices in Jewish diaspora

As Jews dispersed from their ancestral homeland in Palestine into Europe and the lands bordering the Mediterranean, it came naturally to them that they would begin to speak the language of the country in which they had settled. Linguistic choices in diaspora — and everywhere else — are almost overwhelmingly driven by economic advantage. Thus, Jews in Spain spoke medieval Spanish — perhaps a Judaicized variant of Spanish in some cases, but Spanish nevertheless. Jews in France spoke Old French or, again, very likely an identifiably Jewish dialect of Old French. Jews living along the Rhine and Danube Rivers in Germany spoke Middle High German of one sort or another — the German of 1050 to 1350 C.E. — probably always with a Jewish flavor and accent. In fact, in almost every land where they settled, a Jewish version of the local vernacular developed: Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Persian, Judeo-Slavic. And other possibilities existed: the great Jewish philosopher and rabbi Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), born in Spain but resident in Egypt, composed his works in Arabic but printed them in the Hebrew alphabet.

When the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, they settled for the most part around the Mediterranean — in northern Africa, Italy, Greece, Turkey — but the language they took with them was Spanish. In time their Spanish changed — though not by much — and matured into the language now usually called Ladino: Spanish with admixtures from Hebrew and the languages of the lands to which the Spanish emigrants had fled. Many of these Jews gave up their ancestral Spanish altogether and acquired the language of the country to which the

winds had blown them. This branch of the Jewish people is called the *Sephardim* from the medieval Hebrew word for 'Spain'.

A different set of language choices obtained among the Jews who had settled during the Diaspora in western Europe north of the Pyrenees, primarily in Germany and eastern France. The centers of settlement lay mainly along the Rhine and Danube Rivers in then nascent towns such as Cologne, Mainz, Trier, and Regensburg. These Jews are called the *Ashkenazim*, after the medieval Hebrew word for 'Germany'. Until the eleventh century C.E. Jews had lived in most of western Europe in relative peace and security, legally but often no doubt only notionally under the protection of the Holy Roman Emperor. This changed terribly for the worse with the onset of the Crusades in 1096. What began as a war against the 'Saracens' — 'Arabs', 'Turks', 'Moors' — to reclaim the sacred geography of Christianity rapidly became a war against 'infidels' of every kind, and so Jews were expropriated and massacred and expelled until finally there was nothing left but wholesale emigration away from the troubles — or conversion, though there was remarkably little of this outside of Spain.

There was no sanctuary in the west of Europe. In practical terms, the need for refuge meant fleeing to Poland and other countries of central and eastern Europe, where there was at the time little anti-Jewish sentiment and where kings craved the instant creation of a lively middle class to energize their hopelessly feudal economies. The language the fleeing Jews carried with them was medieval German which, on the soil of eastern Europe and in isolation from the German language in Germany, developed into the language called Yiddish.

The Yiddish language

The period in question, then, is roughly between 1100 and 1600 C.E.: the birth centuries of the Yiddish language. Yiddish is written in the Hebrew alphabet, like Ladino and virtually all Jewish languages (Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Persian, Judeo-French), but is some 80% German in vocabulary, 15% Hebrew, and 5% Slavic. The exact percentages depend on style and the writer's pretensions and intensity of involvement in traditional Jewish life (Mark 1954), very much as the amount of Sanskrit that modern Indian writers inject into their vernacular is a matter of style and affect (King 1997:12). The marginal vocabulary of Yiddish depends on where the Yiddish language is spoken — American Yiddish borrows from American English, French Yiddish borrows from French. During the glory years of eastern European Yiddish language creation, Polish Yiddish borrowed much from Polish in phonology, morphology, and the lexicon. However, the basic grammatical structure of Yiddish has remained thoroughly German.

Hebrew, the ancestral Jewish language, lay dormant — never completely dead, not completely alive, either — its use confined to the rabbinate and the synagogue. The language had a long slumber. In the late nineteenth century, however, there began a revival of the Hebrew language both in eastern Europe and in Palestine, as it was called then. The force behind the revival was more

secular than religious: its purpose was to proclaim one's 'Jewishness' against a hostile European world that sanctioned every form of anti-Semitic excess, from the Dreyfus affair in France to 'blood libels' and pogroms in Russia to the mindless dissemination and widespread acceptance, even among people who knew they were a forgery, of the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Language as icon

To speak Hebrew became, therefore, an iconic act. Language as icon, as a symbol of identity and unity against an outside world, is perhaps the most basic social function of language. As the great British linguist, J. R. Firth (1957:185), wrote:

The bonds of family, neighborhood, class, occupation, country, and religion are knit by speech and language. We take eagerly to the magic of language because only by apprenticeship to it can we be admitted to association, fellowship, and community in our social organization which ministers to our needs and gives us what we want or what we deserve.

Thus, to speak Hebrew in the everyday situation — to speak it as a secular act, to speak it in the orchard and the smithy, not only in the synagogue — was an act of defiance: it was to assert that one belonged to the worldwide community of Jews and was a proud member of that small but growing band of Zionist pioneers who had returned to the ancestral home. By the 1920s a majority of the Jews living in Palestine spoke Hebrew, though this represented only a tiny minority of the world's Jewish population. But, even as late as 1881, it is highly improbable that Hebrew could have been the sole language of anyone anywhere in the world. (On the rebirth of the Hebrew language, see Bar-Adon 1975, Blanc 1968, Chomsky 1957, and Fellman 1974. On specifically the literary reinvigoration of Hebrew in the modern period, see Patterson 1961, 1989).

World War II and the Holocaust brutally reduced the world's Jewish population from some 11,000,000 to around 5,000,000. Jews gained the right to emigrate to Palestine, and they did so in large numbers. When, in 1948, the new country of Israel wrested its independence from the British, the question was: what should the language of the new country be? If such things could be settled by population statistics, Yiddish would have been the leading candidate since most of the eastern European Jews who had survived the Holocaust and managed somehow to get to Palestine were speakers of Yiddish. Yiddish, however, suffered under various disabilities, one of which was that it was stigmatized as the 'language of the ghetto': it was thought of as a victim's language. One could not imagine Ladino as the language of free post-1945 Israel — nor German, obviously. (Though, to mention German as a possible language of Israel now appears cruel, which is not what I mean at all. There was a time, well before Hitler's rise to power and the Holocaust, when German was so widely regarded as 'the language of science' that its use for teaching science and engineering was advocated, even in then Palestine.) English would have been a possibility since Israel (as Palestine)

had been an English protectorate, and educated Israelis knew English well. Other things being equal, probably English would have been chosen over Hebrew or Yiddish.

Other things are never equal, however, when it comes to language and its iconicity; practical considerations pale into insignificance alongside the power of the icon: Hebrew it would have to be, the national language of the newly reborn Israel. Nothing else, no other language could possibly do for a new Israel — not English, not Yiddish, not Ladino. Hebrew, as ‘dead’ a language as it had been over most of its Common Era history, linked the Jewish past and the Israeli future as no other language could. Hebrew was a sublime symbol of hope, of aspiration — not only of Jewishness but of a muscular strain of Jewishness that would never permit another Holocaust to massacre its people: *Never Again!* became the rallying cry of modern Jewish pride and militancy. The Hebrew language is its symbol, its icon.

The moral of the story of the revival of Hebrew is that, sometimes, rarely, always under very special circumstances, though usually not even then, the iconicity of language can contribute to the making of a miracle. In the normal scheme of things, the attempted revival of Hebrew in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century would have failed — such is the fate of almost every language revival that has ever been attempted in the history of linguistics. Languages once dead normally stay dead; unlike Lazarus, they do not rise again. Diaspora is not a favorable environment for the preservation of a language, let alone its revival. The fact that Hebrew was the language of the Bible — which gave Hebrew a mighty iconic salience — was probably a necessary condition for the initial success in reviving the language, but that fact taken by itself would have been far from a sufficient condition for the eventual wholesale rebirth and subsequent stabilization of the Hebrew language in Israel. Life in diaspora — in every diaspora — is always heavy with icons of memory.

There were people who did not believe Hebrew would long remain the language of reborn Israel. The novelist and essayist Arthur Koestler was one of them. Koestler (1949:311-5) felt that there were too many problems with the script, which he thought should be romanized, and the archaic nature of the language, which, he felt, could not be brought up to the requirements of the twentieth century. But Koestler underestimated the power of the Hebrew language to modernize and adapt. Always somewhat ‘tone deaf’ in matters Jewish — he was himself Jewish, though raised in a thoroughly assimilated Hungarian family — Koestler completely overlooked the unique salience of the Hebrew language as an icon of Jewish identity. He did not understand that part of the power of the Hebrew language as icon derives from its script: the script of the Bible, holy.

Linguistic question mark

In the context of diaspora, there is almost always a linguistic question mark hovering over the future prospects of the language: will our language survive in di-

aspora? The answer, sadly, is in most cases: No. The rebirth and restoration of the Hebrew language in Israel is an event unique in the annals of language history. The Irish attempted the same heroic act in regard to the Irish language. (The term 'Irish' is the preferred designation for this language in Ireland today, rather than 'Gaelic'.) A short digression would be useful here, for preservation of language (and more generally cultural identity) is a major question in diaspora studies. The Hebrew and Irish cases limn the spectrum of possibilities.

Although by the late nineteenth century the Irish language already seemed destined for extinction, having been replaced by English over several centuries of English hegemony, it secured standing as a badge of community by becoming transformed into an icon of Irish identification, hinting at a lost Celtic past — wild, stormy, magical — which, if restored, might make anything possible, even freedom from British rule. The decline of the Irish language was regretted, and efforts were made to resurrect spoken Irish and increase the numbers of its speakers. Clubs were formed, prizes for the best poems and essays offered, but nothing arrested the decline.

The Gaelic League was founded in 1893. One of its goals was to 'de-Anglicize' Ireland; another was 'to foster Irish as the national language of Ireland and to spread its use as a spoken language'. The restoration of the Irish language as *the* national language of Ireland became a major item in the Irish nationalistic agenda. The fusion of nationalism and language is, of course, by now a commonplace. (See King 1997:23-28 for a brief introduction to the topic with a number of bibliographical references for further study. On specifically the attempt to restore the Irish language see Breathnach 1956, 1964, Macnamara 1971, O Cuív 1969, and Thompson 1968.)

The Gaelic League would probably have been one more well-intentioned effort to come to naught had it not been for the growth of revolutionary sentiment in favor of Home Rule, which culminated in the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, after much suffering and bloodshed, including a civil war. The leaders of the Home Rule movement were almost all prominent members of the Gaelic League.

When the Irish Revolution ended with independence from Britain in 1922, the whole situation changed almost overnight. Those who thought that Irish would rise like a phoenix from the ashes of British occupation because a new Irish government was in command were soon to be sadly disappointed. A daunting array of problems faced the Irish government new to power; there were unanticipated challenges, new accommodations to be made, new alliances to be formed, reasons to reorder priorities, new hardships to replace the familiar ones. Understandably, perhaps, though on the face of it paradoxical, the creation of the Irish Free State brought with it a neglect of the Irish language revival. What was there that did not have priority over language as Ireland grappled with independence? The energy generated by the linguistic movement to resurrect the Irish language was absorbed in the success of the political movement, and even though

the protection and expansion of the Irish language ranked high on the official agenda of the free Irish government and still does, the life had gone out of the Irish language movement in the cold dawn of 1922. Since independence, the Irish government has undertaken heroic measures to restore the language, but its decline continues, though, through a combination of official measures and for a variety of complicated reasons, something like stasis has been reached.

A parenthetic comment is in order here. Contrary to what I have generally and most sadly believed and written about (cf. King 1997:34-35), I think now that the Irish language will never die out though it is not likely to become in any practical sense 'the national language of Ireland' again. I base this conclusion on the observations from a research trip there in November, 1998. The difference between the situation of Irish in Ireland and minority languages elsewhere fighting for their continued existence lies in the resolve of the Irish government. The government will spend any amount of money to support any initiative that might just possibly increase the number of Irish speakers by even one, and they will do that forever. Lucky indeed the endangered language that has a government behind it. Even luckier — and rarer — is the language whose homeland government is in a position and of a disposition to nurture it in diaspora.

But, to return to the Jewish Diaspora, one must observe what happened and what did not happen in that Diaspora. What did *not* happen was that the ancestral language of the Jews, Hebrew (or its sister Semitic language, Aramaic, which replaced it and became a regional-religious lingua franca), survived into exile as the spoken language of the Jews. It survived only in the way I have described. Hebrew survived in something like the way Sanskrit has survived in Hinduism or Latin in Roman Catholicism. Jews gave up whatever language they carried with them into Diaspora and acquired the language of the country in which they settled. In some cases, and perhaps in most, they created Jewish versions of those languages (Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Persian, Judeo-French, Judeo-Slavic, and so on), but what they did *not* do was to preserve the languages they brought with them into exile.

The exiled languages

Certainly these ancient languages endured here and there for a time, for a generation or two or even longer, depending on who was speaking them, and the familial commitment of those who were speaking them. This is the way of diaspora. But it is also the way of diaspora that exiled languages expire without constant reinforcement from the homeland; and sometimes they expire even then, especially in a melting-pot country like America. A two-way traffic in culture and language is required for the survival of a language, and that the Jews did not ever have.

What *did* happen, however, was that Jewishness survived. The Jewish religion survived wherever Jews survived: in Europe, in the Middle East, in North and South American, in India (among, for example, the 'Black Jews' of Cochin).

and even in China. And this fact is in itself perhaps the most remarkable in all of Jewish history: survival. One might well say that the most creative act in the whole of the Jewish Diaspora was this: that Jewishness survived. As Irving Howe (1969:93) has written:

The will to survive — whether in some distant villages of Iraq or in the major centers of Western civilization — remains a factor of profound moral weight. It cannot simply be explained by any of the usual socioeconomic categories. Jews have wanted — apparently as a value-in-itself — to remain Jews, and at least until recently that has been the dominating fact in their history.

There is so much about all of this — about preservation of national feeling, of religion, of language and culture in diasporic situations — which we do not understand. The Jews lost their Palestinian homeland to alien rule two thousand years ago. They were dispersed all over the face of the earth, persecuted, massacred, and subjected to intolerable pressures to assimilate. Yet they never lost their ethnic and religious identity, their feeling of Otherness. For two thousand years, even in the darkest times, even in the ghettos of eastern Europe during the Holocaust with slaughter of their brethren audible in the streets, devout Jews, and many not so devout, have finished the Passover meal with the cry 'Next Year in Jerusalem!'

The Celts, on the other hand, once lived throughout most of western Europe and well into central and eastern Europe. The Celts of the British Isles had their island isolation, the natural defense of the Channel against invaders and the cultural and religious fevers of the Continent, every possible excuse for remaining apart and different. Yet they lost their national feeling except for pockets of Celtic-ness in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. On the Continent, only the Bretons remain as a reduced remnant of a once mighty pan-European Celtic presence — and the Bretons are Celts returned from the British Isles.

The Jews lost their land but somehow managed to hang on to their sense of nationality in the Diaspora for two millennia. The Celts remained in their land, in their islands, yet lost their sense of nationality under foreign conquerors in less than a millennium. Why did things turn out so differently? Why were these 'ethnic identities' — Jewish and Celtic — so opposite in their doggedness? Tentative and suggestive answers to these questions are easily formulated; rarely can we find compelling answers to our questions. Modesty becomes those of us who pretend to understand the exigent bonds between language, identity, nationalism, and preservation of culture in diaspora.

Creativity in Yiddish

Let us consider now the Yiddish language and its emergence as a creative force in the Jewish Diaspora and as a unique and paradoxical icon of Jewish identity. Of all the languages of the Jewish Diaspora — Ladino, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Persian, Judeo-Slavic — only Yiddish produced a significant literature that in-

spired in its users a unique creativity. And here we must consider how Yiddish arose.

The traditional view of how the Yiddish language came into being can be found in Weinreich (1954, 1980). The question of the origins of the Yiddish language has been a very lively area of research in the past two decades, and varying degrees of revisionism can be found in Faber & King 1984, Jacobs 1975, Katz 1985, 1987, King 1987, 1990, 1992, and Wexler 1993. Eggers 1998 gives a balanced analysis of opposing views. Finally, *the Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenzic Jewry* (Herzog, Weinreich, Baviskar 1992) is a monument of uniquely impressive intellectual distinction. Students of other diasporas will do well to study the *LCAAJ* to see just how much can be accomplished in recording the culture and language of a vanished people: in this case, the Jews of eastern Europe.

The Yiddish language was formed between 1100 and 1600 C.E., the result of Judeo-German transported to the Slavic east and allowed to develop there in relative isolation from the German dialects of Germany proper. Some of the earliest Yiddish literature consisted of fantastic tales written especially for women — something they could read to fight off boredom during services in the synagogue as the men discharged the major responsibilities of worship.

In common with many of the vernacular languages of Europe, it was not until relatively late — the nineteenth century — that Yiddish started gaining ground in its arduous progress toward respectability as a language. People unfamiliar with their histories often take it for granted that languages of western Europe such as German and Italian have always been esteemed and taken seriously. It is not true, of course. French was not always loved. German in 1700 was not regarded as a socially acceptable language; it was not 'clubbable'. German scholars wrote in Latin, while French was favored for other purposes.

In 1685 Berlin was a town of 15,000 inhabitants whose swinish proclivities and lack of polish were a mortification for their ruler, Friedrich Wilhelm, the Grand Elector. In that year the Edict of Nantes, which had pledged religious toleration to the Protestants in France, was revoked. Some 25,000 Protestant Huguenots emigrated to Brandenburg on the invitation of Friedrich Wilhelm. Five thousand of these refugees settled in Berlin, increasing its population by a third. The Berlin upper classes inevitably were pulled toward the Huguenots, with their superior French ways, their *culture* and their *couture*, their *éclat*. Huguenots became the cultural doers and leaders in Brandenburg. They were held to be models of deportment and good breeding. They established themselves as teachers in the best Brandenburg schools. One of their pupils was the son of Friedrich Wilhelm, later to become known as Frederick the Great, greatest of German francophiles. Voltaire was his teacher, and Frederick all his life spoke French in preference to German.

Voltaire regarded German as fit only for talking to soldiers or to horses. He wrote, in 1750 (Welles 1985:268):

Je me trouve ici en France. On ne parle que notre langue. L'allemand est pour les soldats et pour les chevaux; il n'est nécessaire que pour la route.

I might as well be in France. Only our language is spoken. German is for soldiers and horses; you do not need it, save when traveling.

By the end of the century, by 1800, however, German had become a language that had to be taken seriously: a supple, subtle, stylish instrument of literary creativity with great writers like Goethe and Schiller as its representatives. The story of how this happened — how in one century German went from being a language thought fit only for soldiers and horses to a language that could take its place alongside French and English — is elegantly told in Blackall (1978).

Yiddish was not essentially different; only its literary ripening came later, and much more falteringly and never with the self-assurance of German or Dutch or the Scandinavian languages. An essential aspect of diaspora is that people live in a land which is not their own, in which they are a minority. Germans had a place they could call home, even if there was, politically and legally, no 'Germany' until 1871; even if the notion of 'Germany' was only an amalgam of kingdoms and principalities with little in common save something like a common language. As Jacob Grimm said in 1846: 'a nation is the totality of people who speak the same language.' How much easier it is to accept the Grimm axiom when the totality of people speaking the same language coexist on the same piece of geography, as did the Germans and Italians (whose unification likewise came late). What was one to make of the 'Jewish nation' of eastern Europe — a totality of people speaking the same language, Yiddish, but scattered among a dozen countries? The true answer to that question is that they were indeed a nation, the Jewish nation, and that they were bound by language, religion, and culture to themselves — but other people, non-Jews, often did not see it that way. Jews were always the Other, at most tolerated Guests — a people without a country.

Absent a homeland, a people almost inevitably has to struggle with insecurity, with alienation, even with self-hatred. The Yiddish language reflects the Jewish struggle with self-hatred. Sander Gilman (1986:1) puts the case in this way:

Of all the strange phenomena produced by society, certainly one of the most puzzling is self-hatred. Indeed, when the history of Western attitudes toward those perceived as different, whether black or Jew or homosexual, is studied, the very idea of black, Jewish, or homosexual self-hatred seems a mordant oxymoron. Why hate yourself when there are so many willing to do it for you! But the ubiquitousness of self-hatred cannot be denied. And it has shaped the self-awareness of those treated as different perhaps more than they themselves have been aware.

Yiddish as a self-hating language

Yiddish was a self-hating language, a despised language. Despised not by everyone, of course, and despised not especially by anti-Semites, who despised the people who spoke it rather than the language itself, and who probably were not interested one way or the other in language, but by many Jews for whom Yiddish was their native language. It was looked down on by German-speaking Jews as 'bad' German, 'corrupt' German: this was the legacy of Moses Mendelssohn, leader of German Jewry during the Enlightenment, who had demanded of his coreligionists that they forswear Yiddish in favor of 'real' German, i.e. German without a Yiddish accent or flavor. Yiddish was looked down on by the lovers of Hebrew as an unworthy instrument — a language of women, children, and tradesmen, not intellectuals — a tainted, unworthy implement of expression.

Advocates of adaptation and assimilation demanded that Jews give up Yiddish and speak the language of whatever country they lived in: Polish, Russian, Romanian. It was said that Yiddish 'had no grammar'. One of its most squeamish opponents, an otherwise distinguished German-Jewish historian of the nineteenth century, Heinrich Graetz, called it a 'semi-animal language', a 'repulsive stammer'. For a time, in the late nineteenth and well into the early twentieth century, the accepted term for the Yiddish language, even among intellectuals writing creatively and well in it, was *Zhargon* 'jargon'.

One wonders how a language could survive so much self-dislike, so much self-contempt, so much paradox, so many obstacles, but survive them Yiddish did (though the inferiority complex has always remained, even until today). However, by the middle of the nineteenth century writers had begun to take their talents into new literary territory for this scorned language. Most of them experimented in their early days with writing in other languages — Polish, Russian, Hebrew — but to write in Polish or Russian was for a Jew to make a statement redolent of assimilation to the world of the non-Jew, the *goy*, the Gentile; and to write in Hebrew was to write for a tiny elite. Writers may want many things, but above all they want people to read what they write, and they want people to buy their books and editors to publish their stories and poems. They want to make a living from their writing, and that means writing in a language that people can read and understand. For these eastern European Jews, who were testing their literary limits in the late nineteenth century, that desire for acceptability soon came to mean writing in Yiddish, the despised language, the *Zhargon*. 'Jargon' it may have been to some, but it was a language that people spoke and read, and they bought books and magazines and newspapers in this maturing language.

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century there were masters of Yiddish prose, especially short fiction: Mendele Moykher-Sforim, Sholom Aleichem, and Y. L. Peretz. Of these, probably Sholom Aleichem is best known outside of Jewish letters: *Fiddler on the Roof* was put together from his stories. These writers set the stage for an extraordinary flourishing of Yiddish literature. Y. L. Peretz (1852-

1915) exemplified the complicated intricacy of creativity enmeshed in conflicting traditions (Liptzin 1947:12):

Peretz experienced all the ferment and restlessness that swept Jewish life from the mid-nineteenth century until the First World War. He was reared in the orthodox religious tradition that had persisted with but slight changes since the Middle Ages. Early in life, however, he ate of the sweet and somewhat poisonous fruit of the Enlightenment or *Has-kala*. Nor did the heady wine of Jewish Romanticism or Hassidism pass him by without leaving profound imprints upon his personality. He participated in the rejuvenation of Hebrew and led the movement for the elevation and purification of the Yiddish tongue. He was part of the cultural revival in the lands of the Diaspora, but there also penetrated to him the call of the Lovers of Zion.

By the 1920s Yiddish literature, as Sander Gilman (1986:279) puts it, 'entered the age of modernism with a flourish, producing modernist poets and novelists of world rank'. This literature was self-inspired, but its creativity was fired by developments in other languages such as German, Russian, and English. After the massive emigration of Jews from eastern Europe to the Lower East Side and points west — a Diaspora, as it were, within a Diaspora — some of Yiddish poets did their best writing in America (Hrushovski 1954:265):

Concerning the manner in which the influence of foreign literatures was experienced, we should add that the stimulus which upset the old melodic equilibrium did indeed come from German expressionism and Russian modernism (in addition to the changes in Jewish life). But true free rhythms were created in Yiddish in a significant degree primarily in America. The influence of the American moderns is strongly in evidence, both in content and in means of expression, and even more perhaps in the manner of poem construction in free rhythms. It was only in America that the Yiddish poem freed itself of counted measures and equal stanzas.

The American experience — the Diaspora within a Diaspora — encouraged literary risk-taking in the Yiddish brought by writers to America. Though much of their subject matter remained embedded in eastern Europe, in the villages and towns of Poland, Lithuania, Romania, and Russia, Yiddish writers came quickly to see things through the wider window of opportunity that America offered (Howe 1976:417):

The beginnings of Yiddish literature in America are prosaic in circumstance, utilitarian in purpose, often crude in tone. The poetry and prose that Yiddish writers started publishing in the 1880s appeared mostly in newspapers devoted to ideological persuasion; it had to compete with a mushrooming of cheap popular romances, *shundromanen*, bought for a few pennies by the immigrant masses; and it was cut off from both world literature and the blossoming of

Yiddish prose fiction that had begun in eastern Europe. At a time when Yiddish poets in America were still entangled with the rudiments of craft, Mendele, Sholom Aleichem, and Peretz, the classical trio of Yiddish literature, were producing major works in Poland and Russia. Yiddish writing in America, at this point, had a relation to Yiddish writing in eastern Europe somewhat like that which a century earlier American writing had to English.

The Yiddish language brought forth creativity in all genres: in poetry, in the theater, in the short story, in the novel, in literary criticism. (Liptzin 1963, 1972 and Roback 1940 are comprehensive surveys of Yiddish literature. Roskies 1984 and Wisse 1991 probe into the deeper recesses of creativity in Yiddish literature.) Sholem Asch and I. J. Singer, the prematurely deceased brother of the better-known Nobel laureate Isaac Bashevis Singer, were writers whose Yiddish novels became bestsellers and critical successes in English translations in the 1940s (Howe 1976:448-451). Eventually, of course, Yiddish in the New World began to decline as the immigrant generation aged and their children became fluent in English. The Holocaust (1939-45) ended traditional Jewish life in the Old Country — *Yidishkayt*.

How Yiddish made the progress from a language thought contemptible even by people who spoke it to a language which earned for one of its greatest masters, Isaac Bashevis Singer, the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1978, is a topic for another day. A major culture-linguistic milestone was the First Yiddish Language Conference, held in 1908 in Czernowitz (Yiddish spelling: Tshernovits), then a modest trans-Carpathian outpost of the Austrian Empire, now a drab post-Soviet city located in Ukraine not far from Chernobyl (Fishman 1991; Goldsmith 1976, 1997; King 1998).

Language conferences cannot make of a language something it is not. The practical consequences of the Czernowitz Conference have been much debated among linguists and others, but it was at the very least a symbolic watershed event in the long march of the Yiddish language toward equality, dignity, and respect. It sorted out, to the extent then possible, the roles that Yiddish, Hebrew, and non-Jewish vernaculars were to play. After Czernowitz, nothing would ever be quite the same for Yiddish, for Yiddish-speaking scholars and intellectuals, and for Yiddish literature. The Yiddish language had arrived. The language was on the move from L(ow) to H(igh), as sociolinguists put it, and if Hebrew or Russian or German thought they had a monopoly on H functions in Jewish life, they would now just have to move over and make way for this pushy upstart that had grown up in the small towns (*shtetlekh*) of eastern Europe in a complex environment at once warm and nurturing on the inside, yet inhospitable and always threatened from the outside.

Conclusion

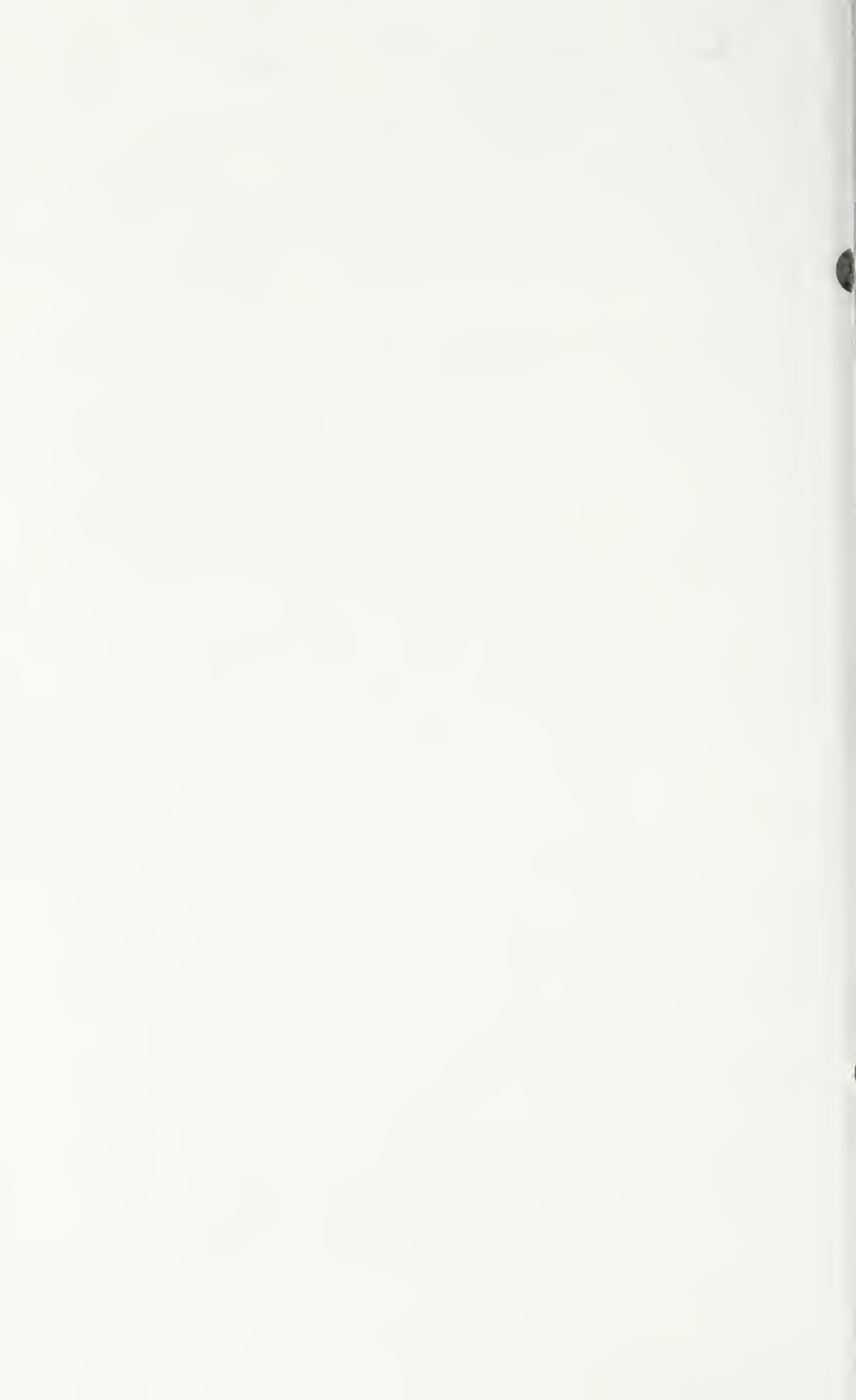
Language is always an icon of national and ethnic identity, but few languages have ever reified the spirit of its people as Yiddish did. Denied a country of their own, with religion, which had bound them together through two thousand years of 'Next Year in Jerusalem!', no longer the shared monolith it had been for so long, the Jews of central and eastern Europe found their identity in their language. It became, to use a phrase of W. H. Auden's, 'a way of happening, a mouth'. That this once despised language came so far is the consummate act of Jewish irony, of paradox — the ultimate act of creativity in the Jewish Diaspora. It was, after all, the instrument of Jewish survival.

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Constructing Religious Discourse in Diaspora: American Hinduism

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This chapter discusses the following topics related to the construction of the identity of the Hindu community in the U.S.: (a) the rationale for choosing religion as the marker of identity, (b) the role and the patterns of language(es) used in the religious discourse, (c) the change in the (Hindu) religious discourse in the U.S., and (c) the issue of 'authority' which licenses the change in the religious practices (including language-use) in the diasporic community. The major thesis of the chapter is that the construction of the diasporic religious identity is primarily a process of contextualization (Pandharipande 1997) of the religious system in the new socio-cultural context. This process involves adaptation/change in Hinduism in order to meet the needs of the new context. Moreover, the paper claims that 'authority' which authenticates the remaking of the discourse is not a frozen concept; it is continuously and contextually constructed.

Introduction

Research in the past two decades (Appadurai 1996, Clifford 1992, 1997, Needham 1975, Safran 1991, and Hall 1996, among others) has described diaspora from various perspectives. As a process, it is characterized as 'globalization', 'traveling', or 'displacement' of cultures. As a resultant state of 'displaced' cultures, it is labeled 'hybrid cultures', 'mixed cultures', or 'dwelling-in-displacement', while as a differentiating marker of a community, diaspora is often described as hyphenated identity: 'U.S.-Indian', 'Canadian-Indian', etc. (for further discussion of various interpretations of diaspora, see Clifford 1997). Although they differ with respect to the details of their displacement from the homeland and their new sociocultural contexts, all diasporas share two features in common, i.e., 'dwelling-in-displacement' (Clifford 1997:288), and construction of a new distinctive identity. Clifford (1997:287) refers to the latter as, 'forms of community consciousness and solidarity that maintain identifications outside the national time and space in order to live inside with a difference'.

Thus, the construction of a diasporic identity displays continuation of roots (or selective features of the native culture) as well as accommodation of selected features of the new sociocultural context. Diaspora is a meeting point of the processes of globalization (exemplified in the travel to and accommodation of the new host culture) and localization (manifested in an identity different from the host culture but similar to the native culture).

It is becoming increasingly evident from the current research (Appadurai 1996, Chow 1993, Rex 1997, and Hall 1996, among others) that diasporas differ from one another in their past histories, present situations, and future aspirations/goals. As a result of these differences, diasporas show significant variations in their motivations for, and the processes of reconstruction of, their identities in new sociocultural contexts. Thus, the medieval Jewish Mediterranean (as well as Greek and Armenian) diaspora, the modern 'black Atlantic diaspora' (Gilroy 1993), and the post-modern diasporas after the decolonization of Asian, African, and South American countries significantly differ from one another. Safran's (1991:83-84) six features of diaspora (history of displacement, memories/vision of homeland, alienation in the host country, aspiration for eventual return to the homeland, continued relationship with the homeland, and a collective identity defined by this relationship) do not adequately characterize every case of diaspora across time and space.

A study of a diasporic identity has a dual significance: theoretical/universal and empirical/culture-specific. As a universal quest, it provides insights into universal issues such as (a) the motivations and processes of the re-making of the identity of a displaced culture in a new context; (b) the determinants of the selection of identity markers; (c) the phenomenon of crossing borders, with regard to whether it is unidirectional, i.e., whether both the guest as well as the host culture cross the borders of nationality, religion, and social structure; (d) whether the reconstruction of the identity is interactional so that both cultures 're-construct' their identities by integrating the 'other'; and, finally, (e) how the discourse is constructed between tradition and transformation on both sides of the borders.

The empirical/culture-specific dimension of the study of diaspora aims at (a) identifying the rationale for selecting certain markers of diasporic identity in a specific sociocultural context, (b) examining the difference between the diasporic identity markers and their respective native counterparts, and (c) evaluating the processes of authenticating the new diasporic identity in the new sociocultural context.

In the context of the above background, this chapter examines the diasporic identity of the Hindu immigrant community in the U.S. In particular, the following questions are addressed: (a) Why does the Hindu community choose religion as the dominant marker of its Indian identity (the question of selection of the identity marker)? (b) Is the pattern of religious discourse homogeneous (the question of variation in discourse patterns)? (c) What is the role of language in the construction of these discourse patterns? (d) How are the patterns authenticated (the

question of authenticity and authority)? (e) How is religious discourse in the U. S. different from its counterpart in India (the question of interpretation, representation, and translation)? (f) Are the patterns of discourse the same across generations (the question of transmission of identity)?

The major thesis presented here is that, in order to understand diasporic discourse, it is necessary to have a thorough knowledge of the 'authority' which authenticates the re-making of the discourse in a new sociocultural context. Moreover, it is pointed out that 'authority' is not a frozen concept; it is continuously and contextually constructed. It will be demonstrated that the devices used to authenticate Hindu religious discourse in the U.S. show the adaptation of the discourse to the new host culture.

A majority of the current studies on the Indian/Hindu diaspora in the U.S. (e.g., Fenton 1988, Rangasamy 1998, Saran & Eames 1988, Williams 1996, among others) primarily describe its historical, social, and religious, and cultural dimensions. However, these studies do not adequately address the questions mentioned above, and the general question of the role of the language has not received much attention from scholars.

It is this motivation to understand the Hindu religious discourse in the U.S. which has driven me to address this topic. I feel privileged because I have had a small part in the process of the construction of religious discourse. Three years ago, a Catholic priest in Champaign and I together constructed a text for a wedding ritual containing a mixture of Sanskrit (the traditional language of Hinduism) and English. The groom was Catholic and the bride was Hindu. Both wanted their respective faiths to be represented in their wedding ritual. The priest and I performed the ritual together. While the couple and the congregation believed in the efficacy of the ritual, it left me with several questions: Was the mixed text authentic? Was it right? Should we not have mixed these two languages and traditions? Why did the couple want to have a mixture of both traditions? These questions need to be answered in order to understand the structure and function of the diasporic discourse. It is in this context that I locate the present discussion.

The following example of a popular devotional song (*bhajan*) at the Venkateshwara Hindu temple in Penn Hills, Pennsylvania, succinctly summarizes the process, form, and function of diasporic Hindu discourse in the U. S. and marks the consecration of diasporic (Hindu-American) identity in the U.S.¹

amerikā-vāsa-jaya-govinda
penhil-nīlaya-rādhe govinda
śrīguru-jayguru-viṭhala-govinda

'Victory to Govinda, who has now made Penn Hills in the U. S. his home. He is (our) Guru, he is Viṭṭhal, he is Govinda'.

This is an example of the discourse of the Hindu diaspora in the U. S., its displacement or travel away from the homeland, its remaking in the U. S., the choice

of religious rituals as its identity marker, and, most importantly, the use of Sanskrit (mixed with English words) as its expression.

In the following discussion, Sections 2 and 3 provide a brief profile of the Hindu community in the U.S. and the rationale for selecting religious discourse (rituals in particular) as an identity marker. Section 4 discusses the role of language in the religious rituals and the patterns of language used in these rituals, and explains the function and the process of authentication of diversity of these patterns. Section 5 focuses on the question of interpretation of the religious language in the new host culture. Section 6 concludes the discussion and raises some questions related to the diaspora in general and the Hindu diaspora in particular.

A profile of the Hindu community in the U.S.

At present, there are about 1.5 million Indian immigrants in the U. S. A majority of them arrived in the U. S. during the late sixties or early seventies. 85 percent of them are Hindus (for further discussion on the history of immigration of Indians, see Saran 1988 and Rangasamy 1998). Although their major concentrations are in and around large cities such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, Hindus live in various parts of the U. S. They belong to various castes and sects of Hinduism and have diverse regional and linguistic backgrounds (for further discussion on the Hindu immigrants, see Fenton 1988, 1996). They have come from different parts of the world (e.g., the U.K., Uganda, Kenya, India, and South Africa). What they commonly share is religion (Hinduism), which they choose as the major marker of their diasporic identity, and Hindu rituals, which have become the expression of that religious identity.

Fenton's 1988 survey shows that 20 percent of his informants said that they became more religious and ritualistic after they came to the U. S. In order to understand the structure of the religious-discourse diaspora, it is important to understand the goal of religious discourse, and the context within which this discourse is constructed. When communities and cultures emigrate, there is physical as well as psychological displacement from the native context.

However, we need to remember that not all traveling communities re-form, re-make, or re-construct their identities in exactly the same way. Their roots and routes of travel differ and so do their goals in retaining or reconstructing their identities in the host, or new cultures. Some strive to reconstruct or maintain their identities, while others choose to negate it. What they share in common is that their inherited identity is always the reference point to which they return or from which they depart. As the author Jamaica Kincaid (cited in Katrak 1997:202) remarks, referring to her Antiguan identity, 'I do not know how to be there, but I don't know how to be here without being there'. In contrast to this, Bharati Mukherjee (cited in Katrak 1997:211), a well-known South Asian immigrant and author, claims that one has to murder one's earlier self or cultural identity for the remaking of the new self. According to her, 'There are no harmless, compassion-

ate ways to remake oneself. We must murder who we were so we can rebirth ourselves in the image of dreams'.

Indian immigrants at large fall between the two extreme positions sketched out above. They choose to retain their identity by adapting it to the new context. It is crucial to understand the goal behind this re-construction or maintenance of their identity in order to understand their choice(s) of identity-marker(s) and the patterns of variation in their diasporic discourse.

The purpose of reconstructing identity in diaspora: Identity marker

Fenton 1988, Pettys 1994, Rangasamy 1998, and Saran 1988, as well as my own survey of Hindu communities in Illinois and Indiana, have shown that for a majority of first generation Hindus the purpose of reconstructing identity in diaspora is two-fold: (a) to repair their fractured or disturbed grammar of culture or self, and (b) to transfer the grammar of culture to the next generation. Although this disturbance and remaking of the grammar of culture occurs in the native context as well, the causes of the disturbances, the methods to repair it, and the situations to which it must adapt are different in diaspora. The cultural self (or grammar of culture) can be seen as a construct of three interdependent components: (a) Cognition of the world or the worldview (philosophical component), (b) Expression of this world view through social patterns of behavior (e.g., language, art, language etiquette, etc. (social component)); and (c) Goals, aspirations and desires (ideational component). The grammar of culture is disturbed when these three components are not aligned.

In the first-generation diasporic community, the obvious missing component is the native social context (native religious, political, social, linguistic, and educational institutions of India) which generally sustains and propagates the philosophical content and helps build the ideational self. Thus, the diasporic Hindu community chooses the identity marker(s) which (in addition to preserving the authentic philosophical content) provide them the social context (group solidarity) within which they can sustain, reinforce, and perpetuate their world-view; and this must be transferable to the next generation. One of my interviewees said, 'We want our children to inculcate our religious/social values so they can avoid the pitfalls in the American culture such as breakdown of families, drugs, violence, and excessive materialism'. 'After all' she said, 'they [children] have the advantage of the heritage of a religiously-grounded ancient culture which should help them combat the challenges of the new times'. Although a majority of the Hindus want to maintain their religious identity, they do not want it to hinder their progress in their professional and social lives, which they share with the other Americans. Thus, the marker they choose must construct the 'local' distinctive identity with an added important condition: it must not obstruct, but rather perpetuate globalization — or in other words, efficient function — in the new, host culture (American culture in this case).

It is not surprising that religion has been chosen as the marker of cultural identity by the Hindus. Religion provides what Geertz 1973 calls the authentic '*model for*' and '*model of*' the grammar of culture, i.e., the world view, moral/ethical values, patterns of behavior, and, more importantly, the rationale for their existence and interdependence. Culture is 'an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbol, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life' (Geertz 1973:89). Religion provides authenticity and authority to the cultural identity; it gives autonomy to the community, since there is no interference from the host community in this domain. It is perceived as a timeless framework which has been transferred from one generation to the next and it is believed to be universal, and therefore adaptable, to new social and cultural contexts.

Historically, India's cultural identity is shaped by religion. Whenever India's cultural identity has been threatened in the past (during the Mughal and the British rules within India), Indians have always chosen to hold strongly to their religious identities. Furthermore, religion — Hinduism in this context — is distinctive enough (at least from the perspective of the host community) to give the Hindu community an identity separate from those of the the rest of the Americans. On the other hand, it is flexible enough to allow Hindus to participate in the activities related to other religions (e.g., Christmas festivals and Thanksgiving). Religious identity is commonly shared by the diverse groups of Hindus who have arrived in the U. S. from various parts of the world and who have had diverse histories (Hindus from Uganda, Kenya, the U.K., the Caribbean); therefore, it serves as an integrating force among Hindus of diverse linguistic and national backgrounds.

Additionally, the host culture allows the practice of group/personal religion in the U.S. The choice of language as a marker is not feasible because it does not serve as a unifying factor among them (because of the linguistic diversity among Hindus). Moreover, maintenance of a language other than English is exceedingly difficult among immigrants in the U.S., because it is not effective in the public domain (school, professions, etc.).

Finally, the Hindu identity does not create any impediment to the effective function of Hindus in the host/American culture, since Hinduism has not had any confrontation with the mainstream religions in the U. S. (i.e., Christianity and Judaism). Within the religion, the Hindu community chooses religious rituals (as opposed to a scriptural or philosophical base) as the major marker of its identity for the following reasons: (a) rituals are authentic markers which have been used for thousands of years, and, therefore, they mark the continuity and credibility of Hindu identity; (b) they function powerfully to unite a community whose members do not necessarily have common linguistic and geographic roots; (c) there is an explicit experiential dimension in the practice of religious rituals (as opposed to philosophy, which lacks such a dimension); (d) rituals present a concrete struc-

ture of Hinduism which can be transferred to the next generation, (e) rituals have a concomitant social dimension as well which allows community participation and reinforcement of community values and world view, and (f) rituals form the only organized dimension of Hinduism which can create a religious ambience inspite of non-Indian sociocultural context. Rituals provide a social platform for the Hindu community from which to consolidate, express, and transfer its cultural heritage to the next generation. Thus, the religious rituals have become a major context for reconstructing the diasporic cultural identity of Hindus in the U.S.

Language in religious discourse

Language plays an important role in constructing ritualistic religious discourse. Hindu rituals are performed in a group, family, or individually at public (temples) or private places (at home). It is the language used in every ritual, which along with ritual actions reflects and constructs the religious, cultural, and social experience of the community. Traditionally, the power or efficacy of the ritual is partly attributed to the language of the scriptures, mystics, priests, and of the religious music. It is through the form and the content of the language that the religious discourse is constructed and this in turn constructs the cultural identity. However, there are many languages (Sanskrit, Modern Indo-Aryan and Dravidian and English) which have been used historically in the religious discourse of Hinduism. One must ask what determines the choice of one language over others in diasporic religious or ritual discourse. The patterns of use of these languages vary from one context to another (as public vs. private) and from temple to temple, from one sect of Hinduism to another, from priest to priest, and from saint to saint. In the following discussion, I will examine some of the dominant patterns of language used in religious discourse, and then attempt to discover the rationale for this variation and the rationale for the integration of the 'other' in both Hindu and Armenian communities in the U.S.

Hindu rituals, similar to rituals in other religions, encompass a wide range e.g., rituals related to life cycles such as birth (*janma*), naming of baby (*nāmakaraṇa*), initiation into education (*upanayana*), marriage (*vivāha*), funerals (*antyeṣṭi*); family rituals, such as the house-warming ceremony (*gṛhapraveśa*); daily or occasional worship of the family deity; celebration of special birthdays of the deities (e.g., *mahālakṣmīpūjā*) 'worship of the family goddess Mahālakṣmī', *janmāṣṭamī* 'birthday of the god Kṛṣṇa', *rāmanavmī* 'birthday of god Rāma'); or worship dedicated to deities, such as *gaṇeśa pūjā* 'worship of the god Gaṇeśa', several festivals such as *dīwālī* 'the festival of lights', *holī* 'spring festival' in north India, and *pongāl* 'the day of the equinox' celebrated in south India. Additionally, some rituals performed in a group, such as the consecration of temples, chanting of religious scriptures, attending services presided over by priests, mystics, and saints from India who periodically visit the U.S. and participating in worship (including devotional songs), pilgrimages to sacred places in India and in the U.S. Rituals such as meditation, daily prayers, and reading of scriptures are performed individually.

Although the distribution of places for rituals is generally maintained, it is not absolute. Hindus may choose to perform rituals at home or in temples, with the family or with the community, depending upon the tradition within the family, caste, or their region.

In the following discussion, the major patterns of language used in religious rituals will be presented, and then the determinants of the choice will be discussed. The difference between these patterns and their counterparts in India will be pointed out, and finally, the question of authentication of the new patterns in the new context will be examined.

PATTERN 1. Sanskrit, which is considered to be the most sacred language of the ancient Hindu scriptures such as the Vedas, Upaniṣads, and the Purāṇas is used in the entire ritual. This is generally done when the ritual is performed by a traditional Hindu priest who has been trained in Indian religious tradition. The audience in this case constitutes the first or the second generation Hindus who may or may not fully understand Sanskrit. Typical examples of this pattern are wedding rituals, fire sacrifices (*homa*), as well as other rituals performed at home or at the temples. Most of the pan-Hindu rituals related to the life cycle are performed by priests and are in Sanskrit.

PATTERN 2. The second pattern includes both Sanskrit and a modern Indian language such as Hindi, Marathi, Tamil, etc. In this case, Sanskrit is used for the actual ritual and the modern Indian language is used to explain the ritual to participants who do not understand Sanskrit. For example, in a ritual performed for the well being of the members of the family, the priest recites the mantras, the sacred formulas from the religious scriptures, in Sanskrit and then explains them in the language of the family (e.g., in a modern Indian language such as Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, etc.). In a sacrificial ritual performed at St. Louis in August 1998, the priest performed the ritual in Sanskrit using Telegu (a modern Dravidian language) intermittently to explain the ritual. In another context, the priest may use Sanskrit for the ritual, while the participants use modern Indian languages for chanting or singing the prayers which follow the main ritual.

PATTERN 3: In the third pattern, Sanskrit and Modern Indian languages are alternatively used by the mystic or the saint in devotional music. For example, Amritanandamayi, a contemporary woman saint of India who visited Chicago in July, 1998, sang devotional songs dedicated to various deities such as Rāmā, Kṛṣṇa, Siva, Kālī, etc. in Sanskrit, Malayalam, and Hindi alternatively.

I was in the congregation of about 1800 people (80 percent American, and 20 percent Indian or of Indian origin). This phenomenon of mixing languages is fairly common among the congregations of various mystics who visit the U.S. from India.

PATTERN 4. In the fourth pattern, Sanskrit and English are used alternatively. the ritual is performed in Sanskrit, and it is explained in English for the congregation as well as for the participants. For example, in a wedding ritual, the priest re-

cites the scriptural injunctions in Sanskrit and then explains these to the participants (the bride, the groom, their parents, etc.) and the congregation, which includes American as well as Indian people. In this case, the priest generally does not translate the actual original Sanskrit text, rather, he provides overall meaning/function of the ritual and the Sanskrit text.

The following example is an illustration of this pattern:

In the beginning of a wedding ritual, the priest offers worship to the fire god, requesting him to carry the prayers of the participants in the ritual to the gods in the heaven (since *Agni* 'fire' is believed to be the priest (*purohita*) who acts on behalf of the performers of the ritual).

The priest recites the following verse in Vedic Sanskrit:

*agnimīḷe purohitam yajnasysya deva riviḷam hotāram
ratnadhātamaḷ.*

(Ṛgveda 1.1)

Literal translation: 'Agni we adore, the foremost placed, the deity of our (sacrificial) ritual, the priest, the invoker, the highest source of the treasure'.

The priest generally briefly explains, 'Now we worship the fire god and ask for his blessings in the beginning of the ritual'.

Another typical context where this usage is observed involves a recitation of a religious text/scripture followed by a discussion on the theme of that text. While the text is recited in its original language (Sanskrit), the discussion is carried out in English.

PATTERN 5. In the fifth pattern, the entire religious discourse is in a modern Indian language. A typical example of this is the reading of the religious texts/scriptures in modern Indian languages (the reading language). Some typical examples are the recitation (*pāṭha*) of the 15th century religious text *Rāmācarit-mānas* (in Awadhi), *Jnāneshwarī* (in Marathi), etc. Reading of a few chapters from the scriptures is a common ritual followed in Hindu families as well as in religious congregations. In this context, the members of the group are generally first- or second-generation Indians.

PATTERN 6. In the sixth pattern, the entire discourse is in English (with a few Sanskrit phrases). In the Vedanta Center in Chicago, which is a monastery of the Ramakrishna order, the morning prayer is entirely in English. An example is given below:

'Song of the Sanyāsī'
Strike off thy fetters!
Bonds that bind you down,
of shining gold or darker baser ore;
Love, hate, good, bad — and the dual
throng.
Know, slave is slave, caressed or whipped,
not free;

For fetters, though of gold, are not less to bind;
Then off with them Sanyāsī bold!
say, 'om *tat sat! Om!*'

Note that except for the last line (which is in Sanskrit), the entire prayer is in English. This is not an English translation; rather, the original composition is in English. The last line in Sanskrit (*om tat sat! om!*) means, 'that (the divine) is (indeed) the truth/eternal reality'. Also, in the Hindu tradition in India it is customary to end a prayer or a religious discourse with this line.

Another example where English is used for the entire discourse is in the reading or recitation of traditional Hindu scriptures such as the *Bhagavadgītā* in English translation at the temples of the International Society of Krishna Consciousness in Chicago, Pennsylvania, and Hawaii. While reading of the scriptures in Sanskrit is also accepted, devotees who are not trained in Sanskrit are free to read the scriptures in translation. The above pattern is prevalent among American devotees.

PATTERN 7. This pattern involves a mixture of excerpts from the Sanskrit and English texts accepted as scriptures of Hinduism or Christianity, respectively. This particular pattern is a very recent phenomenon and has not been discussed yet in any studies. This pattern is mainly emerging within the context of wedding rituals, when the bride and the groom belong to two different faiths (e.g., Hinduism and Christianity) and want to preserve their own traditions while accommodating the religious traditions of the other person. As mentioned earlier, I have been an active participant in constructing a wedding ritual of this type where the bride was Hindu and the groom was Christian (Catholic). An ordained Catholic priest from a local church and I constructed a ritual, which included excerpts from the Vedas and the Bible. An example of the mixture of the two scriptures is given below:

EXCERPT FROM THE SANSKRIT (VEDIC TEXT):

*yatprajnānamuta ceto dhṛtiśca yajjyotirantaramṛtaṃ prajāsu
yasmāna ṛte kiṃcana karma kriyate tanme manaḥśīvasaṃ-
kalpamastu.*

(Yajurveda 34.3)

'May my mind abide in the auspicious one, the supreme knower and the intelligent one, the eternal light which shines like the very essence of all beings, and without whose power no action is ever accomplished. Let my mind firmly abide in the auspicious one.'

ENGLISH BIBLICAL TEXT:

'Love is patient, love is kind, and envies no one. Love is never boastful nor conceited, nor rude.' (Corinthians 13:1-3)

A close examination of the above 7 patterns shows that the choice of one over the other is determined by various socio-religious factors such as faith in the

religious authenticity of the pattern and/or its pragmatic function(s) within the ritual (e.g., consolidation of linguistically, and regionally/geographically diverse Hindu groups, integration of the Hindu and non-Hindu/American participants, or of the first- and second-generation Hindus). Functional distribution of the languages may be presented as follows:

(a) Sanskrit: traditionally accepted as the most sacred language of the Hindu scriptures (the Vedas, and the Upaniṣads) and believed to be the divine language (*devavāṇī*). Therefore, Sanskrit provides authenticity to the ritual. In the diasporic context, it functions to integrate a Hindu community which has diverse linguistic and geographic roots (see Pattern 1).

(b) Regional (modern Indian) languages can also function as languages of Hinduism. However, they express regional Hindu identity (as opposed to the 'pan-Hindu' identity of the ritual). Thus, their exclusive use in rituals generally functions to express or reinforce the regional character of the ritual, and they are used when the congregation consists of the Hindus from a particular region such as Bengal, Maharashtra, Tamilnadu, etc. (See Pattern 5). In another context, in addition to Sanskrit, a modern Indian language may be used to explain a ritual to the audience in their regional language (Pattern 2)

(c) When modern Indian languages are alternatively used with Sanskrit (Pattern 3) by the mystic/saint, they provide integration of regional and transregional/pan-Hindu identity of the religious system.

(d) English does not have the status of a religious language in traditional Indian Hinduism. However, in the diaspora, it has acquired a twofold function: it can act as the language of communication between the priest and the English-speaking audience. (Pattern 4, the ritual is performed in Sanskrit and it is explained in English.) Additionally, it is viewed as the language of religion for Hindus of certain religious orders whose primary language is English (Pattern 6).

(e) The mixture of Sanskrit and English scriptures (Pattern 7) functions as a process of globalization and integration of both the guest (Hindu) and the host (American) cultures.

The above patterns of language-use in the Hindu rituals in the U.S. raise two major questions: Do these patterns differ from the patterns of language used in the Hindu rituals in India? What is the authority which authenticates these patterns in the US.? The answer to the first question is that the use of many different languages in religious rituals is part of the Hindu tradition. Although Sanskrit is viewed as the most ancient language of the Vedas, the oldest Hindu scriptures, modern Indian languages (both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian) are also accepted as legitimate languages of Hinduism. Scriptures have been composed in all of the modern Indian languages that are widely understood (as compared to Sanskrit,

whose intelligibility is very low among common people). Additionally, as mentioned above, the scriptures in modern Indian languages reflect regional cultural beliefs and religious themes. Therefore, while Sanskrit is used in major pan-Hindu rituals (for example, weddings, funerals, etc.), the modern Indian languages are used in the region-specific rituals (e.g., the worship of the goddess Ekavirā in Maharashtra, or of Kālī in Bengal, etc.). Also, the distribution of the languages across rituals is dictated by the ritual themes (regional vs. pan-Indian). (For further discussion on the thematic diglossia, see Pandharipande 1992).

It is important to note that although the use of different languages in religious discourse is not uncommon in India, when more than one language is used, it is generally used alternatively. Languages are not mixed in the same ritual text. Code-mixing is rare. Moreover, the use of English is prohibited in religious discourse in India, since it is viewed as the language of the *mlecchas*, the 'spiritually polluted'. Traditionally, it is viewed as the language of the British, the political rulers, who were excluded from the religious domain of Hindu life. English wields power in the secular realm, but it is powerless in the religious realm (for further discussion on the relative power of Indian languages in the religious domain, see Pandharipande 1986).

Another major difference between the patterns of language-use in India and the U.S. is that explanation is not a part of Hindu rituals in India. When I asked one of the priests in India last year (1998) why he did not explain the ritual since a majority of the people in the audience in the Gaṇeśa temple (*siddhivināyaka*) in Mumbai did not understand Sanskrit, his answer was that the 'ritual action' (*karma*) and language (*mantra*) have an efficacy of their own; they are timeless and unchanging, and therefore sacred and powerful. Explanation belongs to the secular realm; it changes with time, while *mantra* does not. According to him, the people in the congregation knew what the ritual was about, and therefore, there was no need for any explanation. When I asked him whether he would consider the inclusion of explanation to be legitimate (although he himself did not do it), he condemned the priests who included explanation in the ritual, since according to him, such action negates the boundary between the secular and the sacred. For him the authority and authenticity of the religious rituals comes from the timelessness of the scriptures and the scriptural language.

In contrast, the priest in the U.S. did not agree with this. His argument for mixing Sanskrit with English for explanation was that 'the ritual is being performed in a different space (*deśa*), time (*Kāla*) and situation (*sthiti*). Just as our god appears in different incarnations, (fish, tortoise, Rama, Krishna, etc.) so does our language (changes its forms) to suit the context. There is nothing wrong with it!'

What is important about the two opinions is that they both authenticate their views by rooting them in the Hindu tradition. This explains why what is authentic is determined by what is viewed as the authority. This may explain the inclusion of explanation in the diasporic discourse. However, the question still

remains as to why it is acceptable to the community. What is the authority in religious speech-communities which licenses the patterns discussed above?

All discourse patterns are conventionalized by some authority. However, when they have been fully conventionalized and have acquired the status of 'grammaticalness', the authority is never questioned or examined (i.e., we never ask why 'Be quiet' is a command and 'Can you pass the salt' is a request. However, when new discourse patterns are introduced, their conventionalization takes place through authority. Therefore, in order to understand the change (synchronic or diachronic) and the conventionalization of new patterns, it is necessary to examine the authority which licenses these changes. For example, English-Hindi mixed code is licensed in India by the 'social élite' (For further discussion, see Kachru 1983). Knowledge of the authority will be important for predicting the occurrence/nonoccurrence of certain patterns of language use.

Close observation shows that there are two major sources of authority which authenticate these discourse patterns in India and in the U.S. One is the scriptural (and relatively fixed) and the other is that of the mystics and saints, which is dynamic and interactional since they vary in time and space. Let us examine the patterns of language from these two perspectives.

First, let us examine the scriptures. Across religious traditions, the language of religious scriptures is ipso facto accepted as the authentic language of religious discourse. Thus, Arabic, Chinese, Hebrew, Sanskrit are authenticated by the authority of the scriptures (recall Pattern 1). Sanskrit is the language of the Vedas (the ancient Hindu scriptures). However, in Hinduism, scriptures have also been composed in medieval, as well as modern Indian languages (e.g., Awadhi, Tamil, Telegu, Marathi). Therefore, Pattern 5 is also authenticated. It should be noted here that in this context Sanskrit is mixed with these medieval/modern Indian languages, but the point is that they are not Sanskrit.

The second and perhaps the most powerful authority is that of the mystics, saints, or visionaries (*r̥ṣi*) in whom the community has faith or whom the community views as the 'enlightened ones'. Hinduism was not founded by any one single person, but was perpetually authenticated by various mystics and saints at various times during its history. In fact, the scriptures, including the Vedas, receive their authenticity because of the people's faith that these were revelations of the truths narrated by the *r̥ṣi*s, or saints, who had experienced them. It is traditionally believed in India that the mystics indeed are *Avatars*, or divine incarnations, who contextualize the truths for the people at a given point in time and space, and, therefore, it is further believed that the language of the mystics is divine and is the most appropriate for that particular group at that time and place. Thus it is the interaction of people's faith in the mystic and the mystic's use of the language (or a combination of languages) that grants authenticity to a language in a religious discourse.

The belief that the mystic uses a particular language in order to make the timeless divine truths relevant in a particular context is particularly significant in

that it explains Patterns 3 and 6. Let us look at Pattern 6 first. Prabhupāda, the founder of the International Society of Krishna Consciousness (1964), a major Hindu movement which allowed conversion of non-Hindu to Hinduism, used English as the language of Hinduism for Americans. A monk at the Hare Krishna temple in Hawaii said to me, 'Our guru Prabhupāda said to us "you must pray in the language which is close to your heart, if it is not English, so be it!"' Similarly, several mystics and saints from India who periodically visit America authenticate the use of English as the language of their religious discourse when they integrate the linguistically-diverse Hindu community with Americans. As mentioned above, I attended one such congregation recently in July (1998) in Chicago where Amritanandamayi (a woman saint of contemporary India) sang devotional songs from different Indian languages, using Malayalam for her own speech and having her devotee provide a simultaneous English translation (Pattern 3). Since the saint in whom the community has faith allows the use of different languages, their occurrence in discourse is immediately authenticated.

It may seem on the surface that the language known to the people becomes the language of the discourse. However, this is not necessarily the case. It is the faith of the devotees in the authority that authenticates the use of a language. The following examples illustrate this. A large number of young second-generation young Hindus insist on the use of Sanskrit (which they do not understand at all), as opposed to English, for Hindu rituals because they perceive Sanskrit as the language of their tradition and not English, which they equate with American non-Hindu culture. In contrast to this, the monks in the Vedanta Center know Sanskrit and yet use English for their morning prayer because their *guru* Vivekananda (who established the monasteries of the Ramakrishna order) used it.

Finally, (the most debated) Pattern 7 where Christian and Hindu scriptures are mixed, is gradually being accepted in the Hindu community. Should we say that the vision of authority is changing? Note that the example given for this pattern contains the most authentic Hindu scripture (the Vedas) and also integrates the most authentic religious scriptures of the Bible, making the ritual acceptable to both Hindus and Christians. I think this ritual reveals the most salient feature of the postmodern globalization or a new definition of fusion of the guest or diasporic culture with the host culture where each culture assimilates with the 'other' without giving up the difference.

In the discussion so far we have seen that the pattern of discourse is authenticated by authority which is determined by the faith of the community. Therefore, although the use of English in religious discourse or mixing Sanskrit with English (mixing the Biblical text with the Vedic text) might seem to be an aberration in the contemporary Hindu tradition in India, it in fact conforms to the age-old Hindu tradition of contextualizing religious discourse in the language of the people.

Constructing the meaning of the message in religious discourse

Now I move to the second part of this discussion, which is the construction of the meaning of religious discourse in the U. S., or in other words, the interpretation of Hindu religious beliefs as well as of Hindu religious practices. Similar to the patterns of language-use, the interpretation of the Hindu religious beliefs and practices undergoes change in the diasporic context. It is important to examine the difference between the meaning/interpretation of the religious beliefs in the U.S. and their counterparts in contemporary India, and, furthermore, to understand the rationale for the change or the difference. I propose in the following discussion that new interpretation of beliefs is the method or a device used by authority (mystics, saints, as well as scholars) to authenticate religious beliefs in the context of the U. S., especially for the young, second-generation Hindus and non-Hindu Americans. It should be noted that although not all mystics, priests, and scholars subscribe to this view, it is on the rise. This process of new interpretation is important for understanding how the 'other' is integrated into the structure of both guest and host cultures. This change can be seen as part of the overall process of contextualization of the religious system (Hinduism) in the new context where both the guest and host cultures converge.

Although the process of reinterpretation of Hindu beliefs is widespread, in this discussion, I will concentrate on only one aspect of it, i.e., the interpretation of the images and statues of Hindu deities, along with some of the worship practices. It is a well-known fact that Hindus worship images and statues of their deities. In the U. S., the statues of millions of Hindu deities, their vehicles (mouse, eagle, serpent), and ritual practices such as breaking a coconut before offering it to the deity in a worship ritual, are interpreted symbolically. For example, Narayanan (1987:166), while describing the interpretation of the Hindu beliefs in the US., refers to a temple publication named 'Saptagiri Vani' which illustrates the interpretation of the religious rituals and beliefs. 'When one burns camphor, the priest burns all your past notions, beliefs, conclusions etc. — the act of burning the camphor stands for *Guru Upadesha*; breaking the coconut symbolizes breaking of the ego or *ahamkara* and so on'. She further points out that the symbolic interpretation of the beliefs extends to the vehicles of gods such as the eagle (*garuḍa*) which according to the symbolic interpretation, 'stands for soaring ambition and desires, the elephant (*gaja*) a symbol of ego, the serpent (*śeṣa*) a symbol of anger. Their treatment as vehicles of gods is equated with 'disciplining one's undesirable qualities and is symbolized in a subtle manner by taming and conquering an animal' (Narayanan 1987:167). 'Similarly, in a sermon, a Hindu woman-priest in Chinmayananda Mission (1992:165) says, 'The ritual of worshipping God represented by an idol or symbol is replete with significance. The elaborate rituals of Tiru Ārāḍhanā are prescribed for propitiating the lord symbolized in an idol. Narayanan (1987:166) provides a rationale for why such interpretation is presented in the U.S. by quoting from Saptagiri Vani. 'If one has to appreciate the real essence of Hinduism, one must learn to appreciate the science of symbolism. In absence of such an understanding, Hinduism will appear funny,

unintelligent, and absurd. In the process of knowing this science of symbolism, one discovers the deeper meaning of the real Hindu tradition which apparently appears to be superficial'. According to Narayanan, this interpretation is motivated by the need felt by the Hindus in the U.S. to explain their religious beliefs on the basis of the logic of symbolism which will be acceptable to the people in the U.S. Narayanan claims that such interpretation deviates from the contemporary Srivaiṣṇava tradition in South India where the deities, their vehicles, and practices are viewed exactly as they are (deities and practices). Narayanan (1987:166) claims, 'These sentiments are at variance with traditional Srivaiṣṇava *acaryas* who held that the deity in the temples totally, completely God; the arca (literally, 'that which is worshipped') has a nonmaterial form composed of nonearthy substance called *suddha sattva*, and the incarnation in the temple is as real as the incarnation of Rāmā or Kṛṣṇa'. According to Narayanan, this symbolic interpretation is a way in which the Hindus attempt to authenticate their tradition in the alien context of the U. S. She continues, 'It is my impression that many Hindus in this country accept the symbolic meaning as their heritage and their generic neo-Vedantic package seems to be entirely acceptable to them. They are almost relieved that their rituals have a symbolic meaning'.

The above discussion shows that the interpretation of the Srivaiṣṇava tradition in India has changed in the U.S. The questions which we need to address is what is deviant in this context? Is the symbolic meaning/interpretation of the orthodox Srivaiṣṇava tradition deviant or is the process of adapting the interpretation of the beliefs to the new context deviant? Although the answers are complex, it is extremely important for understanding the maintenance and shift of the tradition in the construction of the meaning of religion in diasporic discourse. It is clear that the symbolic interpretation of the Srivaiṣṇava beliefs about the statues of the deities deviates from the orthodox sectarian Srivaiṣṇava tradition. However, the adaptation of rituals to new social contexts and their reinterpretation suitable to the context are very much part of the Hindu tradition. K. K. A. Venkatachari (1987:178) correctly points out that 'Such adaptation preserves the vitality of ritual in new social settings and functions to preserve the tradition at the time it is being transformed'. Venkatachari quotes an interesting example from the same Srivaiṣṇava tradition which reinterpreted a Vedic belief and changed the ritual accordingly. He points out that, according to Vedic tradition, a corpse is polluted and polluting. Therefore, during the ritual of cremation, the sons wear the sacred thread (*yajnopvīta*) on the right shoulder, which is opposite to the normal practice of wearing it on the left shoulder. However, the Srivaiṣṇava tradition does not treat the body as polluted or polluting after death because it has provided a vehicle for the soul to attain the supreme abode (*paramapada*). Therefore, the Srivaiṣṇava tradition allows sons to wear the thread on the left shoulder during the cremation. The hymns of the Alvars (non-Vedic Dravidian saints) are chanted during this ritual. This mixture of Vedic and non-Vedic practices in the ritual is accepted by the Brahmins and they are part of the Tamil doctrines.

I agree with Vekatachari that adaptation of rituals to new social contexts is not new to Hinduism. Starting from the Brāhmaṇa literature (6th century B.C.E.) to the 10th century commentary (*Mitākṣarā*), Hindu rituals have been adapted to the needs (socio-religious and political) of the people. In 12th century, Maharashtra, Jnāneśwar, a mystic saint, revolutionized the Hindu tradition by authenticating Marathi, the local regional language, as the legitimate language of Hinduism on a par with Sanskrit; the local deity Viṭthal as a legitimate Hindu deity equal to the traditional Hindu deities such as Viṣṇu and Śiva; and pilgrimage to the abode of Viṭthal (Pandharpur) as a legitimate ritual similar to the traditional Vedic rituals involving elaborate fire sacrifices. On the one hand, Jnāneśwar legitimized the regional language, deity, and rituals, and contextualized Hinduism suited to the time and needs of the people for whom the traditional language of religion (Sanskrit), and rituals had become inaccessible. Additionally, the Bhagawadgītā in the 3rd century C.E. adapted Hinduism to the need of the time to integrate diverse castes, paths to the goal, and ontologically different forms of existence by reinterpreting Hindu belief in the oneness and divinity of all (for further discussion, see Pandharipande 1998). In the 20th century, Gandhi reinterpreted some of the basic Hindu concepts such as *tapas* 'performance of severe mental and physical exercises', and *ahiṃsā* 'nonviolence' to adapt Hinduism to the politically and socially relevant (for further discussion on Gandhi's interpretation of Hinduism, see Bondurant 1958). What these reinterpretations have in common is their deviation from contemporary orthodox interpretations of the Hindu beliefs; they extended the domain of Hindu beliefs by making them relevant in the context, and they were based on some fundamental principles/beliefs in Hinduism.

In the diasporic context, (similar to the native context) the tradition changes; however, the difference is, the change is more abrupt in time and space in a diasporic context, and therefore it is more noticeable. The interesting question is not whether or not the tradition changes, but what is the function of the change in the new context or what needs does it meet — and how is this change authenticated and how is it rooted in the system of Hinduism? Let us look at the symbolic interpretation in the context of these questions.

One of the major reasons for Hindus in the U.S. to construct and maintain religious identity is to transfer it to the next generation and help them construct their own Hindu identity. Second-generation Hindu youth has lost contact with the traditional Indian sociocultural context where the authority of the transmitted religious world or ritual actions is questioned neither by the Hindus nor non-Hindus. However, in the context of the U.S., where the second-generation is growing up, the meaning of the Hindu tradition needs to be first understood and then explained to non-Hindu.

The symbolic interpretation is convincing for the young second-generation Hindus because it explains the diversity of deities (i.e., the one divine can be experienced through diverse symbols) within and outside of Hinduism and thereby places all religions (Hinduism, Christianity, Judaism, etc.) at the same level.

Moreover, the symbolic interpretation fits into the modern method of logic or rational explanation for religious meaning (i.e., why break a coconut? Because it is metaphorically or symbolically a breaking of the ego). Thus, in this case, it is the method of symbolic reinterpretation which is used by the authority, (i.e., the saints, mystics, and scholars) to authenticate the religious meaning. We may ask, 'Is it secularization of the religious meaning?' This is a difficult question to answer in the context of Hinduism, because as discussed earlier, the Hindu beliefs have been periodically re-interpreted in varied social contexts and authenticated within the history of the Hindu tradition. The most fascinating fact to note in this context is that Hinduism was not always a religion of images or statues of deities. Rather, until about the 5th century B.C.E, it was a religion of abstract divinity. (For further discussion on the philosophy of the *Upaniṣads*, see Hiriyanna 1973.) The concept of the abstract divine was concretized in the form of actual stone and clay images to make religious concepts intelligible and the divinity accessible to common people for whom it was difficult to conceptualize the nameless and shapeless divinity. However, it was not assumed that the divine was limited to any one image; rather, there was always an effort to legitimize many forms of the divine. The doctrines of treating different deities as (a) incarnations (*Avatāra*) (b) various powers (*śakti*), and (c) functions of the same divine, provide evidence for the continued effort within Hinduism to explain the diversity of deities without giving up their essential unity. Therefore, the symbolic interpretation can be seen as a strategy for accommodation of the 'other' within and outside of Hinduism.

Conclusion

The above discussion focused on the following dimensions of the religious discourse of the Hindu diaspora in the US.: (a) the rationale for choosing religious rituals as the marker of the diasporic Hindu identity; (b) the patterns of language used in rituals and their functions; (c) the authority that authenticates those patterns, (d) the construction of the meaning of religious beliefs in rituals and the question of its legitimacy and authenticity. It was pointed out that the patterns of language-use and the meaning of the religious beliefs undergo change in the diasporic context, and that change is motivated by the need to adapt the Hindu system to the new/host American context without giving up the essential continuity of the system.

The discussion shows that religious discourse in the Hindu diaspora in the U.S. is neither homogeneous nor is it unidirectional. The patterns of languages used in the Hindu rituals are diverse, and the choice of one as opposed to others is determined both by the function of languages in the Indian/Hindu tradition as well as by their role in the new host/American culture. The process of transformation can be seen as the process of globalization (i.e., it incorporates features of the host culture (the use of English in the Hindu rituals)) as well as localization (it reconstructs the non-American Hindu identity). It is also observed that 'Hindu identity' itself is not a monolithic concept. It depends on the perception of what constitutes Hindu identity by the individuals and groups. The diverse patterns of

language used in rituals reflect this diversity of perceptions of Hindu identity (pan-Indian vs. regional). Additionally, the construction of the discourse is also influenced by the immigrants' aspirations for themselves in the new context, (i.e., their ideational self). In other words, the patterns of language-use as well as the reinterpretation of religious beliefs show beyond doubt that the religious discourse in diaspora is constructed between the perception of the inherited Hindu identity and its desirable projection in the host culture. Unlike Safran's definition of diaspora, a majority of Hindu immigrants in the U.S. neither aspire to return to India, nor do they want to assimilate completely with the host American culture. They want to construct a Hindu-American identity rooted in both Hindu and American cultures, but not identical to either. This goal necessitates accommodation of selective features of both cultures, e.g., mixing of English with Indian languages, symbolic interpretation of Hindu deities, etc. Safran's definition of diaspora does not take into account the convergence of the guest and the host culture in the new diasporic identity. In general, the process of constructing diasporic identity involves translation of original identity in a new social setting. The translator has to blend two cultural codes, which gives rise to a mixed cultural code of diasporic identity.

NOTES

¹ This devotional song is recorded on an audio cassette which was released in 1986 from the Sri Venkateswara temple in Penn Hills, Pennsylvania.

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A QUEST FOR LANGUAGE: JACK KEROUAC AS A MINOR AUTHOR

Marc Deneire

This chapter presents Jack Kerouac, the hero of the beat generation, as a minor, diasporic writer. The first part of the paper describes the author's failed attempt to compensate for the lost French-Canadian community of his youth in Lowell, Massachusetts, through a search for a new 'religious' experience. Kerouac hoped to reach this transcendent state through his association with minorities, outcasts, and 'ethnics', all of whom reminded him of his migrant ancestors. The second part of the paper focuses on Kerouac as a diasporic author, on the way he undermined traditional English prose to both espouse and distort his various experiences, and on his works in which his search for identity completely dissolved, leading to his early death.

Like Kafka's beast, language now listens to this unavoidable and growing noise from the bottom of its burrow. And to defend itself against this noise, it has no choice but to follow its movements, become its loyal enemy, and allow nothing to stand between them but the contradictory thinness of a transparent and unbreakable partition. We need to speak continually, as long and as loudly as this indefinite and deafening noise — longer and louder — so that by combining our voice with it, we might succeed, if not in silencing and mastering it, at least in modulating its uselessness into this endless murmur we call literature (Michel Foucault 1994: 255).

Introduction

Most chapters in the present volume relate to the challenges and difficulties encountered by 'foreign' individuals and communities in new environments. At the center of these experiences are the questions of identity and difference, and of ways in which new identities are shaped. Indeed, most of the time, migrants and their children accommodate to their new countries by adopting some of the values and behaviors (including language) of the receiving cultures and, at the same time, still adhering to some of their ancestors' traditions and habits.

This chapter deals with a special case: that of an author who tried to use language and literature to 'follow the movements' of his new culture, but who ultimately failed in both his attempts to accommodate to American culture and to maintain a French-Canadian identity. This trial was doomed from the start. Indeed, language itself always maintained, in Foucault's words a 'transparent and unbreakable partition' that made it impossible for the author to have a grasp on reality. At the same time, language led him on a road from which there was no way back to his French-Canadian roots.

The first part of this chapter focuses on Kerouac's quest through his life and works. The second part tries to answer the question whether Kerouac should be called a French-American author (an ethnic author), or rather, a diasporic (or minor) writer.

Jack Kerouac: From Lowell to 'America'

Who was Jack Kerouac? What was his 'quest'? How did he weave his French-Canadian heritage with the variety of American cultures and subcultures? What made this 'minor' writer a major American writer? These are the questions we will try to answer in this chapter.

Jack Kerouac was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, the third child of his French-Canadian parents, Leo and Gabrielle Kerouac (known as *Mémère* in his novels). He spent his early years with his brother Gerard, who died slowly of rheumatic fever at the age of nine. Gerard was considered as a saint in the community, and Kerouac's life has sometimes been seen as a long, not least by himself, quest for his lost brother. Kerouac wrote: 'The whole reason why I wrote at all and drew breath to bite in vain with pen and ink, ... because of Gerard, the idealism, Gerard, the religious hero — *'write in honor of his death'* (*Visions of Gerard* 112).

Kerouac spoke only French until the age of six and still had an accent when he made up his mind, while still in high school, to become a major American writer. However, it was as a football player that he first won any kind of recognition. In 1939, he entered Horace Mann High school in the Bronx with the promise of a football scholarship at Columbia if he could prove himself academically. He had to give up his scholarship after being injured, and joined the Navy, from which he was discharged as a 'schizoid personality'. He returned to New York, where he became a close friend of Allen Ginsberg, William Burroughs, and other members of the generation that he would later call 'Beat' and with whom 'he kept talking about the same things [he] liked, long lines of personal experience and vision, nightlong confessions full of hope that had become illicit and repressed by war, stirring rumblings of the new soul' (Plummer, *New York Times*, 30 December 1979). In the middle of the 1940s, he met Neal Cassady, embodied as the character Dean Moriarty in *On the Road*, who became his lifelong fellow-traveler, his

'long lost brother', and the 'Holy Goof', a literary model, an alchemist who redeemed life from darkness, just as Kerouac was trying to do in his writing.

However, Kerouac would never be satisfied with this kind of wandering life and his sense of loneliness and search as a 'religious wanderer' or 'Dharma bum', as he called himself, would be clearly expressed as he delved into Buddhism in the late 1950s. This new experience would not bring him to the end of his search for the sainthood of his lost brother. He increasingly withdrew into paranoia and alcoholism and died in 1969, after going to France and Quebec in search of his roots.

Why did Jack Kerouac leave Lowell?

Kerouac's life and writings mainly emerge from his dissatisfaction with American society and from his relentless quest for a condition that would transcend himself and America. In his first book, *The Town and the City*, the decline of the Martin family is presented as a result of their naïve belief in the American Dream. The negation of the myth of success and upward mobility comes to the fore in George's (the father) letter to his wife:

The poor American people! All the world takes us for millionaires living in mansions. ... Some poor devil who works his heart out because his parents and grandparents had to work so hard and taught him the life of work too. And he is such a peaceable man, the American, the first really peaceable man (cited in Weinreich 1983:76).

The Martin family represents the ideal good, hard-working American family that deserves its share of the pie, but they never get it. George dies poor, his business swallowed up by large money concerns. As a reaction against this state of affairs, the three Martin brothers struggle to set themselves free from their father, and through that struggle, from the life-styles associated with authority and responsibility.

However, all of them experience loss, including the loss of their hopes, as they move from the town to the city, even though this 'rite of passage' is seen as a necessary rebellion for survival. The paradise lost can only be regained through a quest for new meanings and new identities, through a series of acts of transgression. Unfortunately, these acts only lead the three brothers to restlessness and often to despair. At the end of the novel, the father dies a poor man, and the sons still have not found an answer to their questions about their identity and their place in American society.

In *Doctor Sax*, Kerouac expresses his doubts about the Catholic religion. Through Doctor Sax, a figure that represents both the author's anxieties and fears and his literary development, Jacky Duluoz (alias Kerouac) rejects Catholicism, which, for him, is inextricably linked with death. At the beginning of the book, he writes: 'I gave up the church to ease my horrors — too much candlelight, too much wax' (1959:66). However, Kerouac's position was always more ambivalent.

Indeed, not only would he describe himself 'a Catholic mystic' at the end of his life, but even in *Doctor Sax*, he suggests that Jacky's allegiance to Doctor Sax is, in fact, rather dangerous, as it may involve the loss of heaven. Unlike his friends, who, by living the lives of workingmen, will be protected from hell on earth, Jacky may lay himself open to mutilation of body and soul in his search for a world beyond Lowell. For Kerouac, leaving the church in search of a mystic experience also meant leaving behind all certainty about life. The feeling of loss was immediate. He felt that there was no turning back, he judged that 'he was being torn from [his] mother's womb, from home Lowell into the Unknown — a serious lostness that has never repaired itself in [his] shattered flesh' 111).

Kerouac's disillusionment with a self-satisfying but oppressive post-war America is also a recurrent motif in his 'road novels'. During the first of the four trips in *On the Road*, Sal Paradise (alias Kerouac) arrives in Cheyenne during 'Wild West Week'. The streets are crowded with 'fat businessmen in boots and ten-gallon hats, with their hefty wives in cowboy attire'. Sal is 'amazed, and at the same time [he] felt it was ridiculous' in [his] first shot at the west [he] was seeing to what absurd devices it had fallen to keep its proud tradition' (33). Sal, who was searching West for the 'real' and the 'authentic' American identities, only finds, in Baudrillard's terms, simulacra, that is, a world in which reality and tradition have been lost and replaced with another reality that is similar, but 'even better', and even 'more authentic'. In the novel, the 'real' is represented by some native Americans who 'watch everything with their stony eyes' (35).

At the end of the novel, as they travel through Mexico, Sal and Dean meet a group of shawled Indians:

All had their hands outstretched. They had come down from the back mountains and higher places to hold forth their hands for something they thought civilization would offer, and they never dreamed the sadness and the poor disillusion of it. They didn't know that a bomb had come that could crack all our bridges and roads, and reduce them to jumbles, and we would be as poor as they someday, and stretching out our hands in the same, same way (299).

The sense of dissatisfaction can also be found in Kerouac's earlier and later novels. In *Doctor Sax*, when the Merrimac river threatens to flood the town, the boys wish that it would rip through the dull, adult dominated life of Lowell. When it does, they are shocked, but Kerouac regrets that 'there was something that can't possibly come back again in America and history, the gloom of the unaccomplished mudheap civilization when it gets caught with its pants down from a source it has long lost contact with' (180). America is about to lose contact with man and nature, and the 'mudheap civilization' is about to repress the natural forces of life and nature. In *The Dharma Bums*, Ray Smith (Kerouac), who is told that it is against the law to sleep on the river bed, reacts: 'The only alternative to sleeping out, hopping freights and doing what I wanted. I saw in a vision would be to just sit with a hundred other patients in front of a nice television set in a

madhouse where we could be "supervised"" (96). Again, we find some of the themes that would become dominant ten years later.

Kerouac's literary pursuits

Kerouac's main quest should be seen as above all a literary pursuit. Indeed, his trips through America are motivated more by his urge to write and his need to find materials than by a personal quest for identity. It is to a large extent the American author Thomas Wolfe who sent him 'on the road'. In *Vanity of Duluo*, Kerouac remembers that: 'He just woke me up to America as a Poem instead of America as a place to struggle around and sweat in. Mainly this dark-eyed American poet made me want to prowl, and roam, and see the real America that was there and that had never been uttered' (1968:75). Kerouac suddenly realized that all his dreams as a football player had been futile, and that 'we were all crazy and had nothing to work for except the next meal and the next good sleep'. Pushed into the 'American night, the Thomas Wolfe darkness', he sees that 'little winding dirt road going west to my lost dreams of being an American man'. However, Thomas Wolfe also reminds him, through the title of one of his most famous novels, that 'You Can't Go Home Again'. Unfortunately, as we will see, Kerouac would be less successful in following this part of his master's precepts.

Kerouac's road goes west, but it is also a road that leads him into the uncertainty of future. At the beginning of *On the Road*, Sal Paradise makes it clear that his trip is pure exploration. When a car picks his companion and himself up, the driver asks them: 'You boys going to get somewhere, or just going?' Sal answers: 'We didn't understand the question, and it was a damned good question' (1957: 22). What seems to be most important in the road novels is for Kerouac to turn his back on the past. In *On the Road*, Alain Fournier's novel *Le Grand Meaulnes* is used to illustrate the choice he makes between the past and the future, between east and west. As Sal travels through Arizona, he gives up reading Fournier's novel and prefers 'reading the American landscape'. This sense of anomie, of not belonging to any specific place or group, also appears in other parts of the novel. After a few days of his first trip, Sal

woke up as the sun was reddening, and that was the distinct time in my life, the strangest moment of all, when I didn't know who I was ... I was just somebody else, some stranger, and my whole life was a haunted life, the life of a ghost. I was halfway across America, at the dividing line between the East of my Youth and the West of my future, and maybe that's why it happened there and then ... (1957:17).

However, the distinction between past and future, between East and West is not always clear-cut. A little later, Sam meets the Ghost of Susquehanna who claims that he is headed for 'Canady'. He looks for a bridge which he never finds, and is going west while he thinks that he is going east. The same confusion reappears in Kerouac's later novel *Pic*, where he asks:

Slim, who was that man?' I asked him, and he said 'Shoo, that was some kinda ghost of the river, he's been looking for Canada in Virginia, West Pennsylvania, North New York, New York City, East Arthurtis and South Pottzawattony for the last eighty years as far as I can figure, and on foot too. He'll never find the Canady and he'll never get to Canady because he's going the wrong way all the time (cited in Waddell 1990:13).

These situations reflect the whole difficulty and ambiguity of Kerouac's search. The America 'that is there and has never been uttered' is that of lost identities, or at the very least, of identities that have been marginalized by the mainstream of American society. Throughout *On the Road*, Kerouac celebrates America's racial diversity. Mill City, where Sal Paradise's friend Remi Boncoeur lives, is described as 'the only community in America where Whites and Negroes live together voluntarily', and in California, Sal, the Franco-American, and Terry, his Mexican-American girlfriend, eat in a Chinese restaurant and spend a pleasant evening with an African-American family – a racial 'mixture' that was much less common in the fifties than today. Sal wishes he were anything but a white American:

At lilac evening I walked with every muscle aching among the lights of 27th and Welton in the Denver colored section, wishing I were a Negro ... I stopped at a little shack where a man sold hot red chili in paper containers; I bought some and ate it, strolling in the dark mysterious streets. I wished I were a Denver Mexican, or even a poor overworked Jap, anything but what I was so drearily, a 'white man' disillusioned. All my life I'd had white ambitions ... (1957:180).

He envies the Negro family that 'knows nothing of disappointment and 'white sorrows'.

However, while finding inspiration for his writing in these margins of society, Kerouac never goes very far in experiencing Black or Mexican 'sorrows'. In spite of his sincere and profound sympathy for the outcasts of society, his descriptions of racial difference often dissolve into stereotype or cultural fantasy. He does not have, nor does he take enough time for such experiences, since, as he later writes in *On the Road*: 'I was rushing through the world without a chance to see it' (1957:205). His failure to live the lives of other minorities is highlighted by his returns to his mother at the end of his trips. Not only does Kerouac fail to understand other identities, but he also fails to extricate himself from the grip of his own French-Canadian roots. Indeed, much has been written about Kerouac's pathological relation to his mother. The same could be said concerning the way he essentialized the French and French-Canadian communities. Indeed, these were changing rapidly, but Kerouac always represented them as the 'paradise lost' of his childhood. Thus, he somehow succeeded in exploring the many margins of America, but forgot that such an enterprise also means that 'you can't go home again'.

It must be noted, however, that Kerouac's quest is not foremost a search for his own identity. It is also a quest for a form of transcendence, for a new sort of religious experience that would enable him to go beyond identity. The inherent contradiction and tension between these two quests and his inability to solve them ultimately explains why he failed in both.

Thus, *On the Road* can also be read as Kerouac's search for his lost brother. To the sainthood of Gerard corresponds the symbolism of Dean Moriarty as a passionate American youth, the hero of the beat generation. In a church in his hometown, Kerouac had a vision that told him that the real meaning of 'beat' was 'beatific'. In the novel, Dean is 'beat' as a member of the beat generation who could not care less about the rules and conventions of mainstream middle-class America, and also 'beatific' in the sense that he converts his rejection of conventions into a mystic experience.

Dean is a kind of Nietzschean hero, beyond good and evil. He represents pure transgression (as does Kerouac's writing) and the antithesis of the good father, the faithful husband, and the hard-working middle-class American, all of whom he abhors and despises. At the beginning of the novel, Kerouac presented him as 'a youth tremendously excited with life', and though he was a con-man, he was only conning because 'he wanted so much to live and to get involved with people who would otherwise pay no attention to him' (1957:10). Kerouac compares Dean with his New York intellectual friends and finds Dean's intelligence 'every bit as formal and shining and complete without the tedious intellectualness'. Dean is the symbol of what Kerouac is looking for: 'A western kinsman of the sun, Dean. Although my aunt warned me that he would get me in trouble, I could hear a new call and see a new horizon' (10). The clash between Dean's exuberance and traditional American values is best depicted in what has been called his 'trial'. In the scene, the wife of one of his disciples accuses him of being guilty of irresponsibility, of using people, and other buffoonery. However, Kerouac makes it clear that it is his moralistic assailants, not Dean, who are guilty. In fact, Dean is 'purely uplifting', 'never complains' and has given all of his ungrateful aggressors 'a damned good time'. This scene gives Kerouac an opportunity to criticize societal institutions, as well as all the influences that try to curtail individual attempts to invigorate this dormant society. Indeed, unlike George Martin who 'did everything right' in *The Town and the City*, but died poor, Dean Moriarty violates all rules; he is beyond conventions, and, therefore is a real American hero.

This transcendent character, this higher state of being which irrepressibly attracts Kerouac is referred to in his novels as 'IT'. In *On the Road*, it is in movement and in exuberant characters that he tries to find this state of ecstasy:

The only ones for me are the mad ones, the ones who are mad to live, mad to talk, mad to be saved, desirous of everything at the same time, the ones who never yawn or say a commonplace thing, but burn, burn, burn, like fabulous yellow Roman candles, exploding like spi-

ders across the stars and in the middle you see the centerlight pop and everyone goes, Awww! (1958:8).

Later, Rollo Greb, a minor character that Sal Paradise and Dean Moriarty meet at a party in New York provides us with a complete embodiment of the state of 'IT'. Indeed, Rollo danced in an almost subconscious way, 'he lisped, he writhed, he flopped, he moaned, ... he fell back in despair, ... he was so excited with life', and Dean tells Sal: 'That's what I want to be, I want to be like him ... If you go like him, you'll finally get it' (1957:127).

Kerouac's search for 'IT' leads him to an exploration of Buddhism in the novel *The Dharma Bums*. According to his friend Allen Ginsberg, Kerouac was particularly interested in the Three Marks of Existence: first, existence contains suffering; second, experience is transitory, and third, there is no permanent self. At this stage, Kerouac seems to have given up his search for a single unified identity, but rather sees suffering and impermanence as a way to move beyond both his roots and his idea of an American hero. He now seems to have accepted loneliness as his fate. In *Dharma Bums*, as he hitch-hikes, the narrator Ray Smith sings a song called 'Everybody's got a home but me'. He also speaks of the bleak feelings of homelessness that oppress him in cheap hotel rooms along the road. However, at the end of one of his later novels (*Lonesome Traveler*), Kerouac reaffirms his faith in the ultimate goodness and oneness of existence; he minimizes life's significance and sums up man's purpose here as the need to suffer to prepare for golden Eternity; a very Catholic conclusion to a Buddhist experience.

It is in *Desolation Angels* that Kerouac comes the closest to pure mystic experience, to the Void that constitutes the 'IT'. On top of the mountain where he works as a guard for the army, he realizes that 'Homozeen is the Void — at least HOMOZEEN means the void to my eyes' (cited in Charters 1995:320). For a few days at least, he has managed to free himself from all contingencies, 'to be *and* not to be'. He sees the future as one in which he will no longer experience any need for identity and territory: 'regain [his] life and go down from this mountain and simply be-be-be the infinite fertilities of the mind of infinity, make no comments, complaints, criticisms, appraisals, ... just flow, flow' (322). At this point, he no longer feels the need to travel or to physically move since 'I will be the void, moving without being moved' (323).

Unfortunately, Kerouac's descent from the mountain also turned out to be a descent into hell and to his own death as he fell prey to alcohol, drugs, and prostitutes. His visit to his friends at Big Sur (also the title of one of his novels) becomes a metaphor of his own death. The sandy paths that lead to the sea are there to engulf him. He is scared by the sight of the carcass of an old car which he sees as his own body, and when he accidentally poisons a mouse, he compares himself to Cain, the first murderer of humanity. The sainthood of his brother is forever lost. Kerouac turns away from his Buddhist inspirations and returns to his Catholic imagery. As he wakes up one morning, he hears the cries of a Salvation Army priest: 'Satan is the cause of your alcoholism, Satan is the cause of your immorality, Sa-

tan is everywhere working to destroy you ...' (Charters 1995:388). As one of his friends later wrote: 'Jack clung to his origins. He was given the benefit of a lot of rope, but the road was always that rope that would finally hang him'¹ (Hamelin 1988:386).

Kerouac: A French-American writer

In a letter to Franco-American journalist Yvonne Le Maître, Kerouac writes: 'All my knowledge rests in my 'French-Canadianness' and nowhere else. The English language is a tool lately found ... so late (I never spoke English before I was six or seven), at 21, I was still somewhat awkward and illiterate sounding in my speech and writings. The reason I handle it so easily is because it is not my own language. I refashion it to fit French images, do you see that?' (Anctil 1990:v).

Kerouac learned the art of story-telling in the French-Canadian community in Lowell, Massachusetts, where his parents came together with other families in the traditional *veillées* where people sang, drank, and told numerous stories. His famous novel *On the Road* can be read as a series of little stories on America.

However, the French language only appears in his three 'Lowell novels', those that relate directly to the time when he was using French in his family and his community. Furthermore, Kerouac was very much aware that his readers would not understand his *joual* (French-Canadian) dialect and therefore translated all his French phrases into English.

Thus, French is used only as a private code to talk about the Church, the family, his brother Gerard, and the kitchen where he spent most of his time. It helps the Franco-American reader penetrate the intimacy of Kerouac's family while keeping others out. It also helps Kerouac give a better picture of how restricted the use of French had already become, with most public functions being performed in English.

It is upon his literary style, however, that Kerouac's French heritage had the most profound influence. In 1951, Kerouac began experimenting with language, sketching his words on paper in the manner of an impressionist painter or a jazz musician. This method allowed him to write words as they came to his mind² — in standard English, in slang, or in French — and freed him to explore his French heritage. It was a way for him to deal with his bilingualism — the riddle of how to assimilate his first language to the development of an American prose style. As literary critic Maurice Potteet recognized:

The spontaneity of Doctor Sax (do not stop to think, baroque phrasing and form, word-play, bilingual texts, film-book comparisons) permits Kerouac to build bridges to and from a number of inner and local realities which otherwise might not 'become' American at all. In other words, 'spontaneous' writing and effect are one answer at least to an ethnic situation that in many ways resembles the 'double bind' of psychology: if a writer cannot be himself in his book (a minority

background) he is lost; if he becomes an 'ethnic writer' he is off on a tangent. Also, 'spontaneous' writing, as a technique, reflects a cultural set of values which pins hopes upon the individual ('I had a dream') who can come up with something original and new (cited in Charters 1990:185).

Thus, it is not his use of French that made Kerouac a 'French-American' writer, but rather that fact that, in Henri Miller's words: 'Kerouac did something to our immaculate prose from which it may never recover'. According to Deleuze & Guattari (1997:105), Kerouac is a minor author who writes in a minor language. In these authors' definition, a minor language is not a minority language, but rather 'the dialect or rather idiolect, on the basis of which one can make one's language minor'. Thus, minor languages are 'not simply sublanguages, idiolects or dialects, but potential agents of the major languages entering into a becoming-minoritarian in all of its dimensions and elements' (Deleuze & Guattari 1997:106). Thus, the authors conclude, 'That is the strength of authors termed "minor", who are in fact the greatest, the only greats: having to conquer one's own language, in order to place it in a state of continuous variation (the opposite of regionalism³)' (Deleuze & Guattari 1997:106). In their book on Kafka, Deleuze & Guattari argue that minor literatures are characterized by three main features: (1) deterritorialization; (2) a political aspect; and (3) a collective nature. In our discussion of Kerouac's writing, we should add a fourth one: writing against death.

(a) Deterritorialized language

As a user of English as a foreign language, Kerouac first tried to reterritorialize his language. He rewrote his first novels many times, trying to adopt the style of the major American writer he respected most (Thomas Wolfe). However, when he later developed his own style, this style reflected the intensity of his writing,⁴ the beat of jazz music. He uses the dash, just as Céline, one of the authors he admired most, used exclamation.

When William Burroughs writes about Kerouac that 'he was a writer', what he is telling us is that, in spite of the autobiographical nature of his writing, Kerouac's novels should *not* be read as the story of his own life. He recognizes that there is a gap between speech, language, and writing on the one hand, and memory on the other, between 'the saying' and 'the said' (Ducrot), between the act of enunciation and what is enunciated. As Deleuze writes in *Proust and the Signs*: 'The work of art not only interprets and not only emits signs; it produces them, by determinable procedures' (cited in Mottram 1983:53). Kerouac was deeply aware of these procedures as he exposed them in his 'Essentials of Spontaneous Prose'⁵. He was also aware that, as Deleuze adds for Proust, 'the search is oriented to the future, not the past'. However, he also attempted to shape the materials he collected during his numerous trips and changing experiences. Therefore, the search gives rise to an inevitable tension between past and future, between memories and words. As Roland Barthes writes in his *Degré zéro de l'écriture*, 'it is because there is no reconciliation within present society, that lan-

guage, necessary and necessarily oriented, creates a situation fraught with conflict'.

At the end of his life, Kerouac became disillusioned with himself, but also with his success (or lack thereof) as an author. In his novel *Vanity of Duluoz*, he writes to his wife: 'a WRITER whose very 'success' far from being a happy triumph as of old, was the sign of doom himself'; and he adds: 'Insofar as nobody loves my dashes anyway, I'll use regular punctuation for the new illiterate generation' (1968:9). It is therefore not surprising, in view of his return to 'his roots', that Deleuze & Guattari present Kerouac in their *Anti-Oedipus* as: '... the artist with the soberest means who took revolutionary 'flight', and who later finds himself immersed in dreams of a Great America, and then in search of his Breton ancestors of a superior race. Is it not the destiny of American literature that of crossing limits and borders, causing deterritorialized flows of desire to flow, but also always making these flows transport fascisizing, moralizing, puritan, and familialist territories' (Deleuze & Guattari 1075:232). Therefore, for Deleuze and Guattari, Kerouac represents the contradiction within certain forms of American ideology which see American society as 'future-oriented', but whose values always refer to territory, nation, religion, and 'order'.

(b) The political nature of Kerouac's language.

Kerouac was not interested in politics. Yet his writing is one of the most powerful political statements of his generation. It is the search for the communal soul that was being dissolved following WWII, the search for the many 'paradises' and roots that were forever lost; it is the rejection of new middle-class America. Through Kerouac's books, a whole generation expresses its anxieties, its anger, and its desire to live. Kerouac's literature represents all minorities (Mexicans, African-Americans, etc.), those rejected by mainstream society, those who are burned, and burn to live 'like fabulous roman candles'.

(c) Everything has a collective value.

Kerouac is always a 'we': the 'we' French-Canadians, the 'we' Catholics, the 'we' Americans, the 'we' beat generation. His identity is not characterized by hybridity, but rather by constantly shifting identities. Allen Ginsberg explains how Kerouac's discovery of general semantics helped him dissociate 'words from ideas and events', avoid the 'is of identity', so that he could empathize with the American boy, the football hero, the sophisticated litterateur, or the old drunk, alternatively. In every situation, the other is himself and he is the other.

(d) Writing against death

The death of his brother Gerard, but also that of many other children in Lowell developed an early awareness of mortality in Kerouac. The events recalled in his Lowell trilogy (*Visions of Gerard*, *Doctor Sax*, *Maggie Cassidy*) are most often related to mortal visions and remembrances. These visions are most vivid in *Doctor Sax*, a product of Kerouac's imagination which represents both death itself, and a superhero that helps him fight death and his other anxieties. Schooled by

the dead (many of his Lowell friends died at a very young age) and the memory of his brother who died a saint at the age of nine, Jacky (Kerouac) fears death, but finds it seductive at the same time. Interestingly, these flights of imagination also lead to the awakening of his interest in art and literature. At the end of the novel, Doctor Sax takes Jacky to 'the pit' for 'judgement day': 'I leaned on a stone, the Pit yawned below, I looked down to face my horror, my tormentor, my mad-face demon mirror of myself I found myself looking into the dark. I found myself looking into IT. I found myself compelled to fall. *The snake was coming for me!*' (238). When the snake disappears, when Jack's fears are released in language, Doctor Sax is transformed into a man, his purpose is fulfilled. Kerouac's quest, his courage to face 'IT', the Void allows him to build walls against death through language. However, since 'IT' and the void also represent language, he needs to keep writing against death. This is only possible because he reappropriates and 'minoritizes' the English language and turns against it as a majority language.

Following Foucault's definition of literature used in the epigraph to this chapter, Kerouac listened to 'the unavoidable and growing noise' of post World War II America. He followed its movements on the road and its discourse, and opposed his own language to it as a loyal but distorting mirror image, hence the different styles that correspond to his various experiences, and the numerous fights he had with his editors who wanted to change his use of punctuation. He successfully managed to make himself understood in English, while maintaining an unbridgeable distance with the 'conventional English sentence'. Even though, through his death, he eventually fell into the Void he had created for himself, this Void (his writing) is still with us as a sign (or signifier) of the English of all the American English-speaking minorities he encountered, a Void that needs endless shaping and reshaping to give voice to the constantly changing conditions of these minorities.

Kerouac's life and works have often been described as a quest, both by his many biographers and by himself. The variety of his experiments with writing indicates that this quest could not be satisfied. It was Foucault again who pointed out that the search for identity and immortality through language was something of the past when he wrote that: 'Where a work had the duty of creating immortality, it now attains the right to kill, *to become the murderer of its author*' (my emphasis). He added that: 'If we wish to know the writer in our day, it will be through the singularity of his absence and in his link to death, which has transformed him into a victim of his own writings' (Foucault 1977:117). Kerouac may have failed to understand that, once his writing had led him on the inextricable network of American roads, avenues, streets, and dead ends, a single, well-defined identity could no longer be recovered. While he succeeded in becoming a diasporic writer, his quest for his roots went in the opposite direction. These could not survive together; the writer survived, but the author died.

NOTES

¹ The French writer and philosopher Bataille defines this tension between the 'I' and the 'void', between identity and the language into which this identity dissolves, as an opening which is communication: 'at this point, there is no need to elaborate; as my rapture escapes me, I immediately reenter the night of a lost child, anguished in this desire to prolong his ravishment, with no other end than exhaustion, no way of stopping short of fainting. It is such excruciating bliss' (cited in Foucault 1977:43).

² In his *Visions of the Great Rememberer*, Ginsberg writes: 'The mind supplies the language, if you don't interfere. That's something I learned from Jack Kerouac — how to let the mind supply the language ... Language is a vehicle for feeling, language itself does not mean anything' (cited in Mottram 52).

Indeed, if Kerouac's style varies incredibly from novel to novel, if he experienced with poetry, music, and other forms of art, it is because he was giving expression to his experiences to language. Writing for him does not mean shaping reality into a linguistic form (that of the novel, the poem, etc.), but rather *shaping language* to make it fit feelings and experience.

³ As his friends and biographers often noted, Kerouac was very 'intense' when writing: he wrote extremely fast (it took Kerouac only three weeks to write *On the Road*) and typed vigorously. This led literary critic Truman Capote to write that 'this isn't writing, it's just typing'.

⁴ Kerouac describes his 'procedure' as follows: 'Time being of the essence in the purity of speech, sketching language is undisturbed flow from the mind of personal secret idea-words, blowing (as per jazz musician) on the subject of image'. It is interesting to observe how Kerouac integrated the different cultural rhythms (linguistic, musical, etc.) in his own language. It is mainly through these rhythms, most notably jazz music, that he managed to weave the expression of these groups in his own language.

⁵ See for example the rather peculiar syntax and the use of dashes in the following extract from the *Book of Dreams* :

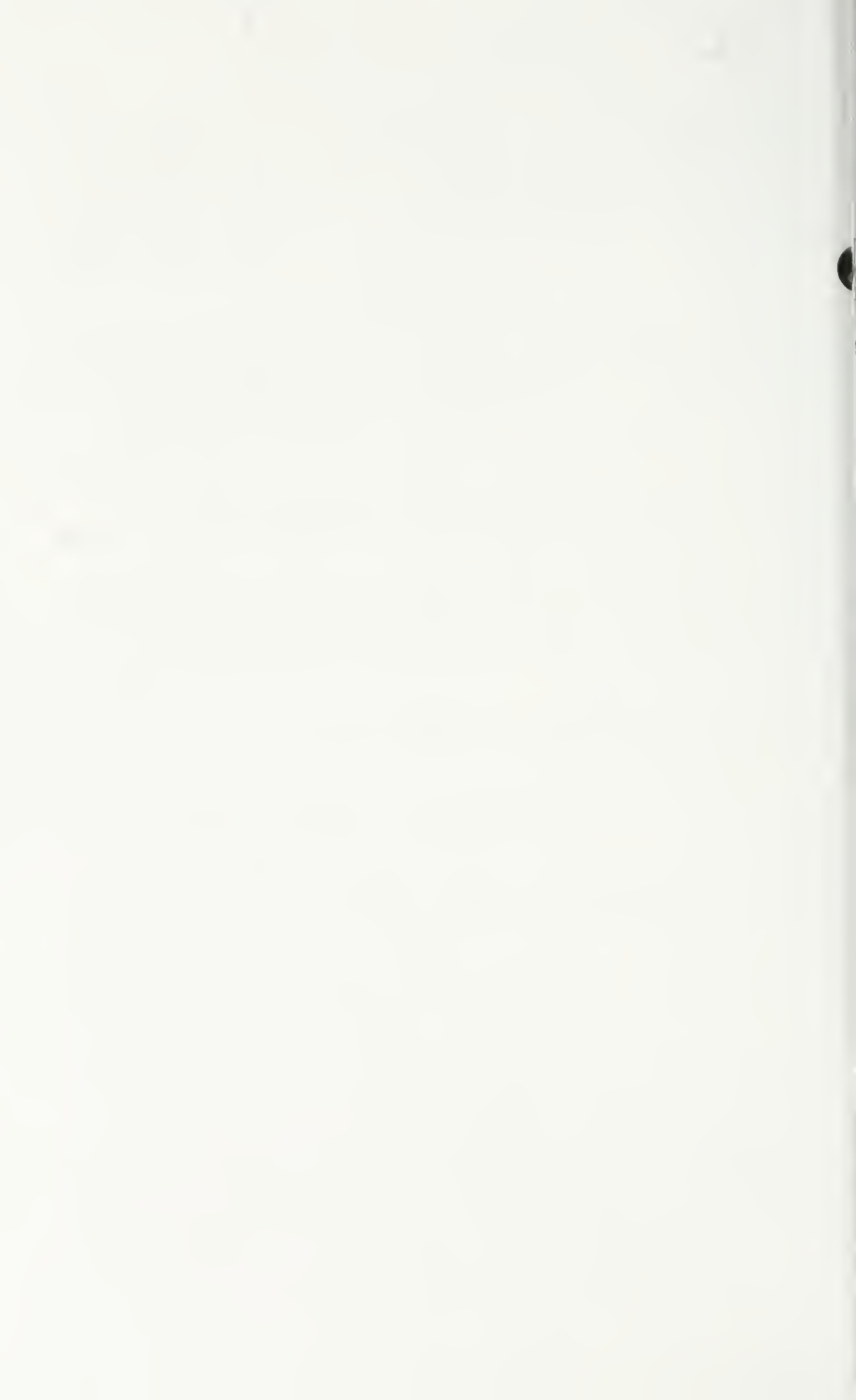
FOR THE FIRST TIME — dreamed I climbed a gradual cliff from slope to slope and got up on top and sat down but suddenly in looking down I saw it was not a gradual cliff at all but sheer — in the dream no thought of getting down on other side — in the dream as always in Highplaces Dreams I'm concerned with *getting down the way I came*, or rectifying my own mistakes — and even though I know it's a dream, within the dream I insist I must get sown off the high cliff I climbed — the same old fear grips me in mortal throes — 'but if it's a dream then the cliff is not real', I tell myself 'so just wake up & the cliff will vanish' — I hardly believe its possible, and trembling, open my eyes & the dream is gone, the cliff is gone, the terror is gone This is the sign ... (cited in Charters 1985:587).

Kerouac writes about his own style: 'My position in the current American literary scene is simply that I got sick and tired of the conventional English sentence which seemed to me so ironbound in its rules, so inadmissible with reference to the actual format of my mind as I had learned to probe it in the moderns spirit of Freud and Jung, that I couldn't express myself through that form any longer' (cited in Charters 1995:486).

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MEDIA, IDENTITY AND DIASPORA: INDIANS ABROAD

Tej K. Bhatia

The aim of this chapter is to present a profile and pattern of Indian diaspora together with the causes which led to the emigration of Indians from India. In the process of presenting various faces of Indian diaspora, the paper seeks answers to the following questions: (1) What does the term 'diaspora' mean and how does it relate to the Indian diaspora? (2) What are the defining features of the Indian diaspora? Does it make any sense to use labels such as 'Indian diaspora' in view of the highly diverse nature of the Indian presence worldwide? (3) What is the American perception of Indian Americans and does this perception match the self-perception of Indian Americans? (4) Are Indian Americans a part or yet apart in their transplanted environment? (5) What identity are the media either consciously or subconsciously portraying for Indians abroad? (6) Do both ethnic and the main-stream media help or hinder in the promotion of the Indian identity? While attempting to answer these questions, some aspects of the tension between Indian identity as perceived by Indians and by the host nations are dealt with.

Introduction

An Ancient Indian Sanskrit text captures the essence of diaspora by saying:

'There is no happiness for him who does not travel, Rohita! Thus we have heard. Living in the society of men, the best man becomes a sinner. Therefore, wander!

The feet of the wanderer are like the flower, his soul is growing and reaping the fruit; and all his sins are destroyed by his fatigues in wandering. Therefore, wander!

The fortune of him who is sitting, sits; it rises when he rises; it sleeps when he sleeps, it moves when he moves. Therefore, wander!'

The Aitreya Brahmanam, 7:15 (700 BC-600 BC)

Ancient Indians were well known for traveling to distant lands and for explorations. The Hindu sages and Buddhist monks traveled to distant lands in search for knowledge, higher values of life, and to spread the word of the Buddha. Indian traders traveled to trade and acquire new skills. They were the pioneers of Indian diaspora, those who left their mark as far as Central Asia, and South-East Asia. That was perhaps the golden era (300 BC-800 AD) of the Indian diaspora.

The golden period was followed by a wave of emigration which marked the darkest chapter in the history of the Indian diaspora. The stage and the tone of the new diaspora was set by the Gypsies and a crystal-ball reading foretold its fate. The Gypsies, who are often mistakenly identified as Egyptians, were actually north Indians, mostly Rajputs, who started their journey from India at the turn of the 4th century. Genetic blood tests, Sanskrit-based language, music, and customs strongly point to their Indian roots. (See Hancock 1987:7-15, Sutherland 1986, and Singhal 1982, among others, for the Indian roots of the Gypsies.) Their journey has its own ironic twist. Chosen to defend India from foreign invasions (mostly Muslim), the Gypsies kept moving away from India, settled for a significant length of time in Persia, and then moved on to almost every part of the world — Asia, the Middle East, Australia, Africa, Americas and Europe — always yearning to return to their homeland but never able to do so. They were hunted, enslaved, and persecuted in Europe and other parts of the world and as a recent film graphically depicts, the curse on the Gypsies is still on (see 'Curse on the Gypsies' 1998). Although the fate of Africans and Jews in diaspora improved significantly during the post-World War II era, the fate of the Gypsies still awaits better understanding and treatment on the part of host nations and communities. Perhaps the new century will turn the tide of what can best be characterized as the world's most despised and ill-fated diaspora group.

The migration of Indians in the nineteenth century opened yet another dark chapter in the history of the Indian diaspora. In this period, many Indians went abroad in search of work to improve their economic conditions under the indentured-labor system, soon after the abolition of slavery in British (1834-1838), French (1848), and Dutch colonies (1863-1873). The Indian immigration to the United States began with an equally distressing situation when the Asian Exclusion League, consisting of White European Americans, virtually declared war on a handful of Indian laborers working in lumber and sawmills in the state of Washington. Not only were the 'riots' organized, but the ugly blend of media attention and politics herded Indians out of Washington like cattle. However, the face of Indian immigration began to change radically during the second half of the twentieth century with a shift from a racial immigration policy to a secular one.

By 1990, approximately two-thirds of Mauritians, more than half of Fijians, about half of Guyanians, and about one-third of Trinidadians were Indians. Indians today live in many countries (Fiji, Trinidad, Mauritius, Guyana, Reunion, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, United Kingdom, The Netherlands, Germany, Australia, the United States, and many countries of the

Middle East.). See Clarke et al. 1990 for a complete list which reveals that Indians live practically in every country of the world. Their adaptability, entrepreneurship, solid work ethic, and technical knowledge have earned them a significant place among the global diasporic communities. Indians are considered one of the three most important global diasporic communities, the other two being the Jewish and Chinese communities (Kotkin 1993). The estimated size of the world-wide Indian diasporic population has jumped to an estimated 15-20 million, an increase of about 300-400% since 1960.

Contextualizing diaspora

The aim of this chapter is to seek answers to the following questions: (1) What does the term 'diaspora' mean and how does it relate to the Indian diaspora? (2) What are the defining features of the Indian diaspora? Does it make any sense to use labels such as 'Indian diaspora' in view of the highly diverse nature of the Indian presence world-wide? (3) What is the American perception of Indian Americans, and does this perception match the self-perception of Indian Americans? (4) Are Indian Americans 'a part or yet apart' in their transplanted environment? (5) What identity are the media either consciously or subconsciously portraying for Indians abroad? (6) Do both ethnic and the mainstream media help or hinder in the depiction of the desired Indian identity?

In the process of answering these questions, I will present a profile and pattern of the Indian diaspora, together with the causes which led to the emigration of Indians from India. In this analysis I will consider some aspects of the tension between Indian identity as perceived by Indians and by the host nations. These questions will be answered with special reference to Indians in America for the following two reasons: (1) The Indian American community serves as a model for the Indian diaspora outside the United States and holds the key to the future of Indian diaspora world-wide; and (2) The Indian American community is all-inclusive in nature — both old and new diasporic Indian communities have come to America. In other words, the Indian community in America is a 'microcosm' of the Indian diaspora.

The term *diaspora* can be defined in a number of ways. The broad notion of diaspora refers to 'dispersion from the homeland'. If one considers this broad definition, then all Indians, including the Gypsy communities of Europe, will form the Indian diaspora. However, if one considers a narrow notion such as the 'link (physical or psychological) with the homeland' as an important criterion for diaspora, then the Gypsies would not be considered a part of the Indian diaspora because they have lost their links to their homeland at both the physical and psychological levels. The diasporic Indian community that I will attempt to account for meets both these criteria. However, the next section presents yet another criterion which might tempt one to contest this label. For more details regarding the question of labels and the adequacies of labels such as 'Asian American', see Shankar & Srikanth 1998.

Features of Indian diaspora

Before I attempt to isolate the salient features of the Indian Diaspora, it is imperative to examine the causes and the history that led Indians to leave their homeland. The first major migration of modern Indians started from the nineteenth century and occurred in three waves.

(a) Indentured System

The first wave of emigration came from India soon after the abolition of slavery. This marked the onset of the indentured-labor system (often called the 'Coolie' system). Under this system, Indians were brought to the Caribbean area, Africa, and islands in the Indian and Pacific Oceans to work on sugar plantations, to fill a labor gap left by the emancipation of slaves, and to provide better economic opportunities abroad (see Jain 1993, van der Veer 1995). Although the indenture system was terminated in 1920, the Indian immigration to the British colonies continued. The linguistic, religious, geographical and gender identity of the immigrants to the colonies is given in Table I.

Table 1

PERIOD	COUNTRIES	COLONIES	MAJOR GROUP	MIGRATION MINOR GROUP	LANGUAGE	RELIGION	GENDER
1840's	Trinidad	British	UP and Bengal	South India	Hindi, Bengali	Hindus	Male
1860's	Natal, SA	British	UP and Bengal	South India	Hindi, Bengali, Telugu, Tamil	Hindus	Male
1870's	Surinam	Dutch	UP and Bengal	South India	Hindi, Bengali, Telugu, Tamil	Hindus	Male
1880's	Fiji	annexation British	UP and Bengal	South India	Hindi, Bengali, Telugu, Tamil	Hindus	Male
1870's	Southeast Asia	British	Tamil mainly	other South	Tamil, Telugu	Hindus, Muslims	Male
1890's	Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika (1919)	British East Africa	Gujarat, Punjab Goa	Goa	Gujarati	Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Muslims	mixed

(b) Non-indentured migration to South-East Asia

The second wave of emigration that came from India consisted of nonindentured migration. Mostly it was South Indian Tamils who migrated to South-East Asian colonies, such as Sri Lanka, Malaya, and Burma to work on tea and rubber plantations in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In addition to serving as plantation workers, they also became money-lenders and worked at blue-collar jobs.

(c) Free migration to Africa

Like the Chinese migration to the United States, the odyssey of Indians to East Africa began with the building of railways in countries such as Kenya and Uganda in the 1890's. They were neither indentured nor contractual plantation workers, but were largely free immigrants, who later played a very important role in the local economy. They worked as lower civil servants, small-business owners, professionals, and merchants. During this period, Indian merchants paid the immigrants' way to set up businesses in South Africa to serve as satellites to the original core of the indentured Indian community.

**(d) Indian diaspora in the nineteenth century:
Transplantation and transformation**

There are some striking parallels between the Indian diasporic tradition during the colonial era and the African Slave tradition in the United States. Although the Indians were not chained, the experiences of crossing the oceans were equally traumatic for both groups. The conditions in the living quarters were equally distressing. Some of the indentured laborers sought relief from such harsh conditions by returning to their home country, only to be betrayed by their homeland on account of the belief-system of that time. In those days any one who crossed the boundary of the Indian Ocean was considered untouchable (see Bhatia 1986:1-2). In spite of this, unlike the African slaves in the United States, Indians enjoyed more freedom to maintain and practice their religious beliefs, family structure, and linguistic traditions. Naturally, these values underwent transformations under the new conditions. For example, the Hindi language changed after coming in contact with creole languages of Trinidad. Bhatia 1988 gives an account of the three-generational linguistic changes which the language of Trinidad Indians underwent. The caste system among Hindus weakened to varying degrees, though Indians of East Africa maintained their ties to the caste system more vigorously than their Caribbean counterparts. A recent archeological work (Armstrong 1998) provides a rare look and a unique account of the living quarters and evidence of the changing caste system among Indians in Jamaica. The living quarters of Indians reveal that they varied from both the African and the European communities in terms of having a far higher ratio of clothing items (primarily buttons) and adornment items (decorative objects such as metal tips) than the other two communities. They also differed from the other two communities 'in their limited use of bottled pharmaceutical items (health and hygiene items), presumably preferring herbs' (Armstrong 1998:394). An equal access to accumulation of material

goods might have weakened caste barriers on one hand and strengthened community ties on the other.

(e) Indian Diaspora: A Reincarnation

After gaining independence from the former colonial powers, Indians made important strides in terms of their economic, educational, and professional situations. However, they failed to make any significant political gains. With the exception of Mauritius, Indians were not able to achieve political control in the independent nations of Fiji, Trinidad, Guyana, Myanmar, Uganda or Kenya, despite their strong presence. The tensions between the native populations and the Indians often resulted in either expulsion, as was the case in Uganda under the dictator, Idi Amin, or in repression by violent military force, as in Fiji in 1987, when native Fijians prevented democratically elected Indians from taking power by using military means. These incidents started the flow of Indian refugees to the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States, thus marking the renewal of the Indian diaspora.

Indian diaspora in the twentieth century

Indian Diaspora in the United States

The earliest record of an Indian arriving in the United States was of a man/visitor from Madras. It is reported that he visited Massachusetts in 1790. In 1851, six Indians marched in the Salem Fourth of July parade, representing the 'East India Marine Society.' Some Indian traders made their way to America in the late nineteenth century to trade silk, spices, and other commodities. The high point of the nineteenth century was the visit by the Hindu monk, Swami Vivekananda, who addressed the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893. The goodwill created by his visit took several steps backward during the dawn of the twentieth century, however, when the systematic pattern of the Indian immigration to the United States began. Indian migration to the United States took place in four stages in the twentieth century:

Phase I: 1907-1924

This was the darkest chapter in the history of U.S. immigration. The earliest Indian migrants were approximately 6,400 male Sikhs and some Muslims from rural Punjab. Most of them came via Canada and settled down on the West coast. After facing rejection and riots by the white workers of the Asian Exclusion League in the lumber-mills and sawmills, they returned to familiar professions, i.e. agricultural work. During this stage Indians were perceived as hostile groups because of their involvement with the Gadar movement to free India from Great Britain. The only silver lining was the election of the first elected Indo-American representative, Dilip Singh Saund, to Congress.

Phase-II: 1924-1946

During the great depression, a decline in Indian population took place. Many Indians returned to India in search of peace and self-respect.

Phase-III: 1946-1965

The change in U.S. immigration policies in the allocation of small quotas for Indians reversed the pattern of Indian immigration during this era. The Nazi period in Germany called for soul-searching among Americans, and realizations about their own racial policies led Americans to liberalize their immigration policies. During 1946-1965, about 6,000 Indians came to the US; among them were educated professionals who came for higher education in American universities and later decided to reside in America.

Phase-IV: 1965-1974

The shift in immigration requirements from quotas to professional skills marked a critical turning point in Indian immigration. Indian immigration increased dramatically – up 2,000%. Not only did the pattern of immigration to America experience a radical shift, with one-third of the total immigrants being female, but professionals also made significant strides in terms of fulfilling immigration's professional skills requirements. From being an insignificant Asian group, Asian Indians became the fourth-largest ethnic group during this period, trailing only the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos.

Phase V: The Late Twentieth Century Diaspora: Europe, Australia, and the Middle East

In the 1950's and 1960's, the flow of Sikhs from Punjab to the United Kingdom marked the beginning of the Indian diaspora to Europe. They were lured there by the promise of blue-collar employment. During the same period, liberalized immigration policies also led Indians to migrate to Australia. In the 1980's, Germany and Austria attracted Indian professionals to migrate there. During the oil boom of the 1970's, Indians flocked to oil-rich nations of the Middle East, such as Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates.

Indian Americans: Profile in the USA

On October 25, 1994, the U.S. Congressional Caucus on India and Indian-Americans issued the following statement regarding the economic and political power of Indian Americans:

Growing economically at a pace matched only by one other Asian group, Indians living in America now earn more than any other ethnic community in the United States and hence are positioned to exercise unprecedented political influence in the upcoming election.

With a mean family income of about \$60,000, the highest of any Asian group in the U.S.A. and more than 25% higher than the national average, the economic power of Indians is indisputable. Furthermore, in the area of education, the 1990

Census Bureau data reveals that 87.5% of Asian Indians in America have completed their high school diploma. More than 58% hold Bachelor or higher degrees, which is the highest among all Asian-American groups. Their presence in the fields of engineering, science, medicine, literature, and technology is staggering. More than 5,000 Indians serve as faculty members in American universities. They have produced a number of Nobel laureates (e.g. Dr. Har Govind Khurana in medicine, Dr. S. Chandrashekar in physics, Dr. Sen in economics). In select industries, such as computer software, hotel and motel businesses, farm economies, their presence is also notable (see for details Helweg & Helweg 1990 and Kotkin 1992 about the success story of Indians).

Diversity and pluralism are two defining features of Indians in general and of Indian communities abroad in particular. Indian Americans will readily profess their affiliation to caste, color, linguistic, regional, and religious identities. They live with multiple faces and multiple identities in their daily activities. A cursory look at a matrimonial section of any newspaper targeted either at Indians or diasporic Indians will confirm my claim (see Kachru 1992 and Pandey 1998).

Indian diaspora: Its distinctive and unique nature

Against this background of multiplicity and pluralism, it is natural to ask the question: What is common between Trinidadian/Hindu/Bihari/Brahmin, South African/American/Gurajati/Hindu, a clean shaven Punjabi-Mexican/Indian-American, and a Hong Kong/Ismaili-Muslim? Do they form a cohesive Indian diasporic community like the Jewish, Chinese, or African diasporic communities? While the Jewish diaspora can be viewed as unified on account of religion, the Chinese on account of language, and the African on account of race, the Indian diaspora is very distinct. It is true that Indians in America have not given up their caste, regional, linguistic, or religious identities; however, these affiliations have been either transformed or weakened. The weakening of linguistic identity is self-evident from the way Indian languages are dying among the diasporic Indian communities and English is a source of one common bond. (For the treatment of language death, see Bhatia 1988 for Trinidad; Mitherie 1991 for South Africa; Gambhir 1986 and 1988 for Mauritius and Guyana; Moag 1979 and Siegal 1988 for Fiji; and Singaravelou 1990 for Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Reunion). Because religious identity crosses language boundaries, it takes a stronger hold than linguistic identity among Indians. While pluralism and diversity are the striking features of the Indian identity, unity in diversity is what marks Indianness in Indians. Overnativeness is another feature to which I will return later.

One might take issue with my claim that there is a single unifying feature in Jewish, Chinese, and African diaspora. Perhaps, at a deeper level, these diasporic communities are as diversified as the Indian diaspora. But one thing is quite clear: the degree of diversity among Indians is quite staggering, both in qualitative and quantitative terms.

Perception of Indian Americans in America

In order to seek answers to questions (3) and (4), over the past four years I conducted a survey in my honors undergraduate course at Syracuse University. The students were given the following task:

When you (as an American) think of India/Indians and Asian Indians in the US, some dominant images involuntarily flash in your mind. Give the words (nouns or adjectives) which best characterize those.

In addition to providing their own responses, they were asked to interview at least five other Americans for this survey. About 150 subjects have participated in this survey during the past three years. Although all kinds of labels about Indians in the U.S. were reported, including 'belly dancer', the most relevant and prominent ones include the following:

GROUP CHARACTERISTICS: intelligent, quiet, friendly, serious, smart, educated, hard working, traditional, less integrated, varied, many religions, not outgoing, interested in sciences, reserved, rich, vegetarians, very religious, male-dominated, women discouraged from playing sports.

OCCUPATIONS: doctors, TAs, good jobs, little food/convenience-store owners, taxi drivers.

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS: eye of God (forehead dot), loose clothes, smelly, dark skin, dark eyes.

Most of the subjects admit that their knowledge of Indians is very superficial and is primarily based on American newspapers, TV programs, and Hollywood movies. From the survey, it became clear that two perceptions coexist in America. One is of a generic nature which was best captured by the remark, 'I do not think anything about them, they are Indians.' This generic perception is a widely held belief among Americans. However, there is another side of the coin, too. A specific perception, which is usually formed by the main-stream media, Hollywood movies, and TV programs, also exists. This specific American perception of Indian Americans comes strikingly close to the self-descriptors used by Indians, in the sense that both pinpoint the diversity of Indians. Although both the generic and the specific perceptions suffer from over-generalization, some stereotypical features reflect deeper distancing and some racial tensions between the Indian Americans and the white Americans. This tension is evident from the following remarks made by the subjects:

'fractionalized', 'We consider them inferior', 'cheap', 'late shift convenient store workers', 'smelly,' 'annoying', 'enduring', 'hostile', 'aggravated', 'upset', 'annoying accent — understand them', 'discriminated against', 'segregated', 'different cultural outlook', 'mentally oppressed', 'fat', 'don't fit in', 'under-represented', 'funny accent', 'business oriented', 'neighbor rolling in the grass', 'untouchable', 'Mahesh yogi'.

Although the task of separating myths from reality is outside the scope of this paper, Indian Americans do feel betrayed and exploited by the American media. It is their widely-held belief that the American media portrays Indians in an overwhelmingly negative light. The negative images promoted by the media include Indians as being fragmented, queer, and non-Christians who practice voodoo or cultist religions. To some extent, such images are natural consequences and extensions of the media's perception of India. Since Indian Independence, India has been portrayed as divided and fragmented. Predications about the disintegration of India are made often by political pundits. This fragmented view is one-sided, according to Indians. Gruesome images left by movies such as 'Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom' do irreparable damage to the perception of Indians by Americans. Their sacred symbols, especially Hindu symbols, are exploited for commercial gains and damage their religious tolerance. Two recent cases in point are Madonna wearing the sacred *Vaishnava Tilak* (which is a symbol of purity) on her forehead, and the Aerosmith album cover that shows distorted and mutilated images of Krishna. So swift was the reaction to the latter incident by Indian Americans that SONY had to withdraw the cover. (Interestingly, there was little uproar in India.) In short, although there are some areas of overlap between the American perception of Indian Americans and their self-perceptions, a gap still remains, which needs to be bridged by developing a more accurate and balanced view of Indian Americans. In short, Indian Americans are seen as 'a part yet apart' in the American perception. Indian discourse styles, including their accent, are still unappealing for Americans in general. This, in part, answers question (6). The mainstream American media poses considerable hindrances to forming and promoting a more accurate perception of Indian Americans in America.

Constructing and negotiating Indian identity and media

There are three major agents in constructing, negotiating, and transmitting the Indian diasporic identity: (1) ethnic Indian media in America and other countries; (2) the Indian film industry, and (3) business networking with global and local businesses.

Indian ethnic media and the formation of Indian identity

The ethnic/expatriate Indian media has a long tradition of promoting Indian identity and are notable for THEIR DISTINCTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS AND CONTENT. More than twenty Indian newspapers or newsletters were produced during the first half of the twentieth century which dealt with the formation of Indian identity, and the problems and concerns of the Indian diasporic community. The blueprints of the Indian identity were set by the weekly newspaper, the *Hindustan Gadar* 'Indian Revolution', which was the main publication of the Gadar Party. It appeared in both English and Punjabi. It was published by Dr. Lala Har Dayal, a noted Indian Nationalist, then a Professor at Stanford University. The first issue of the newspaper (San Francisco, Oct. 22, 1913-July 8, 1917) ran the following advertisement, which best exemplifies Indian identity by way of setting the stage for

the Indian nationalist movement among Indian Americans and the revolt against British colonialism in India:

Wanted — Brave Soldiers to Stir Up *Gadar* in India:
 Pay: Death
 Prize: Martyrdom
 Pension: Liberty
 Field of Battle: India (*Gadar*: the Urdu word for 'revolution')

The newspaper often published long lists of revolutionaries and their plights, cartoons depicting the excesses of the British empire, and detailed descriptions of relevant political events from all over the world with painstaking details. What was the impact of the ethnic press at that time in England and America? It sent shock waves to British authorities in India and to Britain, as an American ally. The movement produced the ingredients of a spy thriller and high-suspense courtroom drama. Ram Chandra and the sixteen other members of the *Gadar* Party were arrested for Hindu-German conspiracy.

In comparison to the availability of ethnic media during the first half of the century, there has been an explosion of print and electronic media forms in the second half of the century. A list of Indian-American newspapers, Radio, and TV stations is given in Table 2. Although the current state of Indian-American media may lack the thrill and the high drama of the *Gadar* era, it plays an important role in the promotion of the new Indian identity. The ethnic media get a further boost from the Indian media in achieving this shared goal. For example, the case of the coverage of Indian Americans in the most widely read magazine, *India Today*, shows the asymmetrical characteristics of the coverage of India and Indians on one hand and of the Indians in America on the other. The coverage of the former has the elements of sensationalism and sectarianism, and it depicts an image of Indians which is quite familiar and predominant in Western media. The coverage of the Indian Americans is presented in a small special section of the magazine called the 'North American section'. Indian Americans are almost always presented as great role models. Indianness is depicted as a great virtue to which even the younger generation subscribes. The content analysis of the two sections reveals that the North American section places a special emphasis on the good news that one could use. The stories usually deal with high-profile achievers and success stories of Indian Americans. Students with perfect SAT scores, computer whiz kids, and Valedictorian speeches in Sanskrit by Harvard graduates are covered in abundance. Although problems of Indian Americans are addressed, such stories are overridden by the 'model' and 'success' stories, with their evidence of genuine pride in their subjects' Indian heritage.

Table 2: Ethnic Indian-American Media

NEWSPAPERS

India Abroad, News India Times, India Monitor, India Tribune, Naya Padkar (Gujarati), India Today, Asia on Line, India Post, India Journal, Masala Magazine, Voice of Asia, Indo-American News, Asian News, India Herald, Kerala Darshan (English & Malayalam), Little India, India Light, India Chronicle, Chicago India Times, India West, Financial World, Kerala Express, Kerala News Digest, Pravasi (Malayalam), Presidents and Prime Ministers, LA India, India Currents Magazine, Hinduism Today, The Asiatic Journal.

RADIO

Bharat Vani Radio, Voice of America, The Asia Observer/Kashmir Today, All India Radio (South Carolina), Jhankar, Geet Gujarati (Gujarati), Raunak Mela, Rangen Mafgil, Asian on Line and Indo-American News.

TELEVISION

Vision of Asia, Eye on Asia, TV Asia, India Broadcasting Network, Asian Panorama, Namaste America, International Primetime Network, Namaste Bombay, Bharat Darshan, Alphastar/Asian Television Network, New Anchor, Everest TV.

Indian film industry and over-nativeness

Although several social, religious, linguistic, and cultural associations are important sources of promotion and maintenance of 'Indianness' among Indians in America, all of these societies and associations combined cannot match the role played by 'Bollywood.' Bollywood, the Bombay version of Hollywood, is the largest producer of films in the world. Hindi movies around the world promote the theme 'unity in diversity' and traditional Indian values. Melodramatic in nature and loaded with songs and dances, they show the triumph of Indianness over non-Indian values. The appeal of these values is not restricted to Indians or Indians abroad, but it also reaches out to non-Indians. A case in point is in the Middle East, where almost every Hindi movie is subtitled in Arabic, a language which most Indians do not even understand. For example, movies such as *Hindustani*, meaning 'Indians', was first made in Tamil and then in Hindi. Both movies were loved by both Tamil and Hindi speakers. The linguistic rivalry among Tamils and Hindi speakers becomes diluted when it comes to the appreciation of Hindi movies. The same is true of Indians abroad.

Consider another example, Ramanand Sagar's TV serial *Mahabharat*. *Mahabharat* represents one of the greatest epics of the Sanskrit language, the most voluminous book in world literature. A couple of years ago this serial became so popular that it can be compared with the TV serial *Dallas* in the 1970s in the U.S.

The BBC produced a special version of *Mahabharat* for consumption in the United Kingdom. Japan produced the entire Hindi transcript of the serial in two volumes to teach Japanese students Hindi, Hinduism, and the essentials of the Indian culture.

The Hindi movie industry has not only united diasporic Indians world-wide with India, but its role in the promotion of 'Indianness' is undisputed. See Chakravarty 1993 and Berger 1998 for more details. It is the lifeline of the promotion of the Indian identity. The Indians abroad take this identity, perhaps, much more seriously than Indians in India, and in that process they become more Indian or over-native. This observation is made over and over again by Indian artists, scholars, and media personalities when they visit abroad.

In addition to Hindi films, South Indian classical dances, music, and food form the common core of the Indian identity. For example, Punjabi Bhangra music and the Gujarati stick dance (the Dandia Ras dance) transcend their regional appeal and become the markers of overseas Indian identity. (Also see Pareles 1999 on the musical and dance diaspora of the Gypsies and Indians.) The role of the cassette industry (see Manuel 1993) and business networking are other means of promoting Indian identity.

Business networking and Indian American identity

In what follows, I will identify how the three forces — the Indian movie industry, and the ethnic Indian American media join hands with global and 'homeland/Indian' business networking to serve as a catalyst in the promotion of Indian identity in print advertising. Let us analyze some markers of Indianness, the way they appear in ethnic Indian print-media advertising. The data are drawn primarily from the three years 1995-1998 of the weekly newspaper *India Abroad* and the monthly magazine *India Today*. Both have the largest readership in the United States among the newspaper and magazine categories. In addition, *India Today* has the highest circulation among the English-language magazines in India, with regional-language versions in major Indian languages.

Markers of Indian identity and the ethnic media

In light of the foregoing discussion dealing with the construction and negotiation of Indian identity as reflected in the media, it is possible to answer question (5), namely, what marker or markers are chosen for Indian identity. The role of the main-stream Indian and American media in carving out the desired Indian identity is less meaningful and important to diasporic Indians in general and Indian Americans in particular than the ethnic media is. These two segments of the main-stream media are seen as being more a hindrance than a help in shaping the desired or perceived identity. The ethnic media find more receptive partners in the Indian film industry and in local and global businesses than in main-stream Indian and American media to achieve the goal of creating Indian identity. The approach that the ethnic media follow in the process of negotiating Indian identity can best be

characterized as a 'multifactoral' and 'mixed' approach. This approach is naturally more realistic and appealing than a singular, monolithic approach. Markers drawn from various categories, such as history, literature, languages, religions, folk and cultural beliefs, combine with verbal and visual images to create a 'mosaic portrayal' of Indian identity. Naturally, the various categories do not carry equal significance. For example, religions receive more significance than languages and rurality may take precedence over urbanization, past supercedes the present in print advertising in ethnic media. An analysis of three representative advertisements will support this point.

Consider an AT & T ad. The image of the Rajasthani rural women carrying water in a desert region invokes the harsh but fruitful realities of Indian life, and this image is further amplified by a Hindi attention-getter in Roman script — *buunda buunda se saagar* 'drop by drop, fill an ocean'. Such images are common to both diasporic and nondiasporic Indian identity, and thus hold special significance and appeal. The images of super-heroes (Gandhi, Nehru), historic events (India's first Prime Minister's historic speech from the Red Fort in Delhi, in the 50th year of Indian independence), monuments (the Taj Mahal, the Red Fort), sacred marriage rituals, and classical Indian dancers are often combined with Hindi words in ads placed by the banking, insurance, and communication industries.

Real-life achievers are applauded in ads such as that placed by Met Life. Headliners such as *taliyaan* 'applause', *mubaarak* 'congratulations' are drawn from Hindi-Urdu, while sacred symbols of Hinduism and Sikhism are combined with themes such as pilgrimages, festivals, religious texts, mantras (*Gayatri Mantra*), and rituals to mark Indian religious identity. Literary and musical heritage forms such as Urdu *Qyvaali* and Tamil *kartvayam* have an appeal that creates a larger identity beyond the confines of religious and linguistic boundaries. Indian TV programs, film premieres, Bollywood concerts, Indian soap operas, combined with sweepstakes, exemplify yet another pan-Indian identity which is grounded in the popular culture of India. Ads dealing with the computer industry involve more contemporary themes, but even in those the computer does not fail to invoke Indian identity by means of mixing the images of Indian deities on the computer screen or a pan-Indian greeting such as *namaste* or *namaskar*.

Conclusion

In conclusion, there are many faces of Indians abroad. In spite of the fact that multiplicity and pluralism are integral parts of the views and attitudes of diasporic Indians, Indianness represents a unifying feature of their ethnic identity which is created or negotiated by means of blending and wedding oppositions and multiplicity. These oppositions can best be characterized by the different petals of a lotus flower which reinforce an ancient Indian view of the universe/earth (see Figure 1). The different petals (oppositions) and their layering (relative importance) constitute an Indian identity (see Figure 2). The Hindi film industry, ethnic

Indian media abroad, and business networking at the global and the local levels serve as important agents in shaping a unified new identity. With these forces at work, the Indian diaspora will gain further strength and momentum in the future. Most importantly, the Indian-American community will provide a model for the various diasporic communities in the future, and provide a crucial link which was missing between the old and the new diasporic Indian communities.

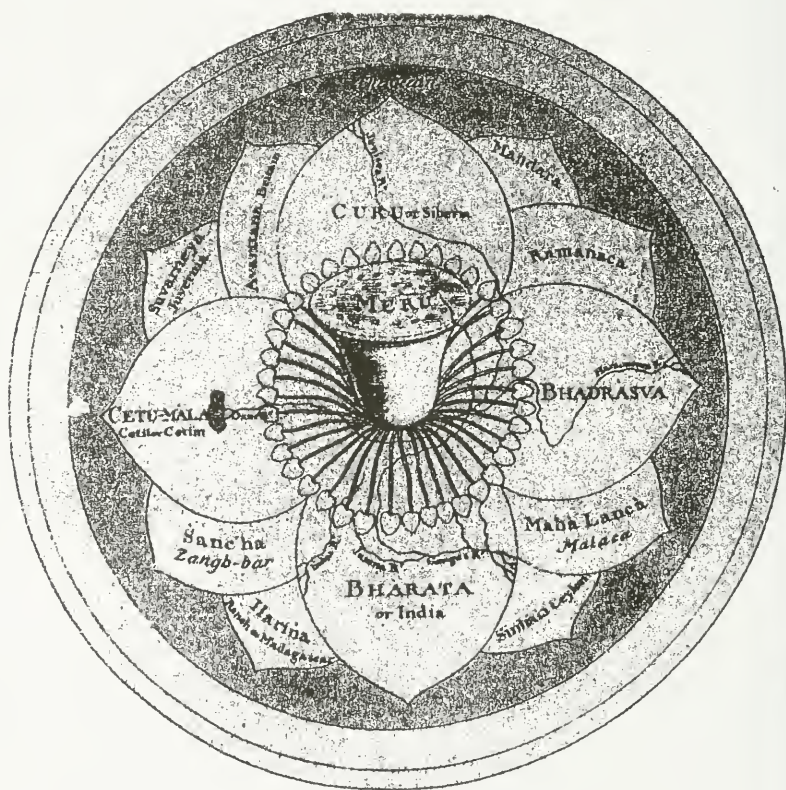


Figure 1: Indian view of the universe/earth

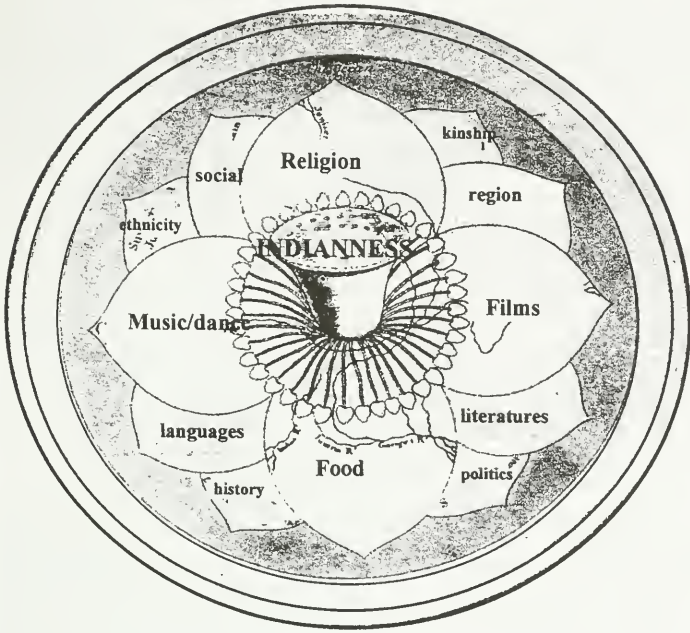


Figure 2: Markers of Indianness

NOTE

I wish to express my deep appreciation to Professors Braj B. Kachru, Salikoko Mufwene, and William C. Ritchie for their comments on the earlier version of this paper. I have specially benefited from the comments and suggestions of the participants in the Diaspora conference.

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[A historical perspective of Americans of Asian Indian Origin (1790-1997)]



PART IV:

AFTERWORD



DIASPORA: THE PAST IN THE PRESENT

Ladislav Zgusta

The Greek and Jewish application of the term *diasporá* is confronted with its richly ramified modern usage.

The term *diasporá*¹ belongs to the Greek (and ultimately Indo-European) root *sper-*; the vowel of this root shows alternations that are quite regular, which, however, we shall not discuss. In any case, the verb *speírō* means 'to sow'. (The root is *sper-*; the *-i-* is metathesized from an original **sper-iō*.) Several Greek derivations of this root are used as terms in our scientific terminology, e.g., *spérma* 'seed', *sporá* 'sowing, seed' (given here are the Greek meanings, not the modern ones). In pre-industrial agriculture, sowing was performed by hand, the seed being thrown on and into prepared soil in such a way that in the best possible case, each seed had space enough for its growth: that means that the seeds were spread or scattered; naturally, some seeds were usually carried away by the wind or went to waste by some other circumstance. The prefixed verb *dia-speírō* was used in reference to such scattering of other things as well, frequently in a negative sense, such as in reference to scattered troops (Thucydides 1, 11; 5th century BC) and in other metaphors. However, it could also be used in collocations such as *tò diesparménon dógma* 'the widespread opinion' (Epicuros; 4th/3rd century BC). The prefixed noun *diasporá* 'scattering, dispersion' can have both the positive and the negative sense; the positive sense, however, did not occur frequently. This was the Greek usage.

The noun *diasporá* (and the verbal forms of the root) gained frequency only when it became a term in Jewish religious, historical, or philosophical discourse (insofar as its medium was Greek; e.g., Philo of Alexandria, *De legatione ad Gaium* [= Caligula], 281 [1st century BC/1st century AD]; Josephus Flavius, *Antiquitates Iudaicae* 4, 115-116 [1st century AD]), in which it usually meant the dispersion of groups of people, normally Jews. Such a dispersion was in most cases understood as part of divine justice, and we find it taken in such a sense in the Septuagint² (3rd-2nd centuries BC) and other texts. The usual reference of these passages in the Septuagint is the outstanding case of such an event, namely the captivity in Mesopotamia of a good part of the Jewish population of Palestine

(6th century BC). The outstandingly important passages³ in which this divine meting out of justice is mentioned are: 4 (or 2) Kings 25:27; Jeremiah *24:5, 25:16 (34 or 36) 4, *28:4, *29:22, *40:1, *52:31; Isaiah 45:13; Ezekiel *1:2 and 33:21; Obadiah (Abdias) 1:20; Daniel *2:25, *5:13; 12:7, and Ezra (Esdras) *6:16. In the passages marked by the asterisk, the Hebrew text uses the expression *galut*, which is derived from a root meaning 'exile'. It would, then, seem that this is the Hebrew original of the Greek *diasporá*, as used in this sense. However, the term *diasporá* in the Septuagint translation is not in close cooccurrence with Hebrew *galut*. Relatively frequent in those passages is the Greek word *aikhmalōsia* 'captivity' (from *aikhmē* 'spear' + (*h*)*alōsis* 'taking captive') and its derivations (this is the case in two passages of Daniel, the one of Esdras, and those of Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Abdias 1:11); Daniel 12:7 has *dia-skorpismós* 'scattering' (a synonym of *diasporá*, with the same polysemy), Jeremiah has once *ptōsis* 'fall' (29:22); the idea of a change of domicile is expressed by the translators of Jeremiah 52:31 by the Greek verb *apoikízesthai*, whereas the translators of Abdias (Obadiah) 1:31 used the noun *metoikesía*, and those of 4 (or 2) Kings 7:35 *apoikesía* for the same idea. The translation of Jerem. 52:31 is particularly good, because the word used is a verb in its passive form, so that the non-voluntary character of the change of habitat is well expressed. On the other hand, Jeremiah 25:16 (34 or 36) has the verbal form *kai diasperō autoús* 'and I will disperse them', but the target of the action are not necessarily Jews and in the original *galut* does not occur.

There is no particular difficulty in the assumption that the term *diasporá* gained currency only in the later Hellenistic and Roman period, as exemplified above by Philo and Josephus. It has, particularly in the Septuagint, the same polysemy as in the non-Jewish Greek texts; it occurs also in several passages not quoted above, but enumerated in the special dictionary to the Septuagint.⁵ The idea of divine punishment is not necessarily present in these passages (so in Gen. 9:19). Both the noun and the verbal forms collocate not only with designations of people (and mostly Jews), but also with words denoting, e.g., war, winds, tempests, and with words that belong to the semantic domain of winnowing. (The purport of some of the passages is obviously or probably metaphorical.) This shows that the word *diasporá* had, in this Hellenistic Jewish literature, the same polysemy as in non-Jewish Greek. The assumption that the Greek word acquired the meaning of a Hebrew model (in other words, that a part of its polysemy, the one connected with divine punishment, was loan-translated from Hebrew) is highly probable, or practically certain. David Gold (personal communication) is undoubtedly right in suggesting two possible Hebrew models, viz. *hapezura* 'the Dispersion' as abbreviation of *hapezura haheyudit* 'the Jewish Dispersion', or *hatefutsot* 'the [Jewish] Dispersion': either or both of them could be the model. The roots from which these two nouns are derived are <pzr> and <nps>, both meaning 'scatter, disperse'.

The noun *diasporá* was also used to refer to the places where those scattered people lived, both in Jewish and in later Christian texts, but the distinctions among the notions 'exile', 'people in exile', and 'place of exile', or equivalently,

'dispersion', 'dispersed people', and 'place of dispersion' are not always sufficiently sharp.

The old Christian church (1st-2nd centuries AD), which used the Septuagint as the sacred text and whose language was Greek even in the Western parts of the Roman Empire,⁶ applied the word and concept of *diasporá* in both the verbal and the nominal forms, either in the same meaning and with the same reference as in the Jewish texts of the Hellenistic and Roman epochs (i.e., Jews scattered among Gentiles, John 7, 35), or to express the idea of Christians living among non-Christians (originally only Jews, Acts 8, 1, but later among any non-Christians, 1 Peter 1, 1).

When the Christian church lost its minority character and acquired majority status, and then even the status of the official church of the Roman Empire (4th century), the usage mentioned in the preceding paragraph disappeared. At the same time, Latin became the ecclesiastic language in the West. It is important to notice that the Vulgate (i.e., the Latin text of the Christian Bible as translated from Hebrew and Greek at the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th century, which for centuries was the authorized version in the Christian church and is used in that capacity in the Roman Catholic Church to this day) uses in most of the passages of the Jewish Scriptures (the Old Testament) which are mentioned above, the expression *transmigratio*, and in quite a small minority of cases expressions like *captivitas*. In the passages of the Christian New Testament that have been quoted above, the Vulgate offers *dispersio* or a verbal form that belongs to the same root (*dispersi sunt*) for the Greek *diasporá*.

In short, then, what we find is that at the end of antiquity, the word *diasporá* was being used in reference to people who had belonged to a community, which, however, had come to be scattered. Excepting the first centuries of the existence of Christianity, the usage of the term was restricted to the Jewish texts written in Greek.⁷

It is in this sense that the word *diaspora* has come to gain an increased frequency in modern times; tracing the history of the term through the Middle Ages and into the early Modern Age will be a highly interesting topic for future research. At any rate, it was particularly in the 19th century that the word became part of the cultural and scholarly terminology in the European languages. (The use of the verbal forms of the Greek root was discontinued.⁸) It was only natural that it was in the context of Jewish history and contemporary Jewish situations, present then and subsequently, and in the discussion of their consequences, that the term *diaspora* was used; it had to be so, given the tragedies and vicissitudes of Jewish history, beginning with events such as the above-mentioned captivity in Mesopotamia (6th century BC) or the conquest of Jerusalem, during which the Temple was destroyed by the army of the future Emperor Titus (1st century AD). The sequence of calamities then continued with a series of larger or smaller rebellions against the Roman Empire. New waves of migrations were caused by events such as the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, from some parts of the Habsburg

monarchy, and from other places in the 15th and subsequent centuries. No need to mention the catastrophes of the century just coming to its end.⁹

The original connection of *diasporá* and related expressions with the idea of divine justice and punishment would seem to imply that the term necessarily refers, or at least in antiquity used to refer, to something involuntary and perhaps permanently disagreeable. Nevertheless, to take an example, the Jewish diaspora in Alexandria (and in the whole of Egypt¹⁰) was already in antiquity quite voluntary and developed into an economically and culturally flourishing center of Jewish life, its disruption coming only much later. This is one of the reasons why some Jewish historiographers prefer to make the distinction of Hebrew *galut* 'exile' (involuntary), over against *diasporá* 'diaspora, dispersion' (voluntary). Again, only a study of more sources can show with more clarity how far such a distinction can be claimed already for the Hellenistic and Roman sources (with the exception of the Septuagint, where such a distinction seems not to occur), or whether it developed in some more recent Jewish texts and is perhaps treated somewhat normatively.

It must be mentioned, however, that with the development of more liberal, or rather, less orthodox forms of Judaism, the component of divine justice and punishment in the notion of the term *diaspora* became increasingly evanescent, at least for many speakers, and that with the arrival of Zionism (late 19th/early 20th century) and with the foundation of the state of Israel (1948), the problems of the Jewish diaspora acquired a new angle from which they could be considered. Not only is Israel not a diaspora, but one can even raise the question as to whether, e.g., Western Europe and the United States should not cease to be considered diasporas.

From the beginning of the modern use of the term, the diaspora was a typically Jewish phenomenon. This was the case because it is only about the Jews that one could say, up to the middle of the 20th century, that all of them were living in the diaspora: there was no state, area, or city which would be considered the main center of Jewish life, culture, language, or population. This, indeed, is the strongest form of diaspora: no homeland at all. Also, only few areas in Europe contained no Jewish diaspora, whereas other major portions of the population of Europe, mainly the agrarian segment, were quite sedentary far into the modern age, up to the time of the liberalization of society that took place from the end of the 18th century onwards. (The large-scale emigrations of English and French speakers to North America that took place in the 17th and 18th centuries have not led to the establishment of what would be called diasporas because of the scope of the events and the number of people involved, as mentioned below.) However, it is primarily the 19th century that witnessed massive emigrations of non-Jews of various ethnicities from Europe and the creation of various diasporas elsewhere, chiefly in the United States. With these massive movements of populations, the term began to be applied frequently not only to Jewish history, culture,

and problems, but increasingly and by now, it would seem, perhaps prevalently, in reference to other groups of people.

We shall not try to offer a definition of *diaspora*, because as of now, there are too many divergent opinions on it; or rather, the ways in which the term is used are widely divergent.¹¹ But we can discuss some delimitative criteria, using various examples. No attempt, however, is made here to mention all the forms or types of modern diaspora, or even most of the situations actually referred to as diasporas.

Immersed in the areas of various forms of Scottish speech, there are to be found some enclaves of Gaelic that are scattered chiefly on the Hebrides, on the Orkneys, and in several Highland counties of Scotland. It would seem that the reason why this situation is usually not called the 'Gaelic diaspora' lies in the fact that the speakers are not immigrants to these areas: Gaelic is a RESIDUAL LANGUAGE there.

Gypsies are speakers of an Indo-European Indian (Indic) language who live in scattered groups, mostly in Europe and North America. Only a segment of this ethnic group became sedentary, and this only quite recently; the rest have lived a nomadic life. To my knowledge, they are not called the 'Gypsy diaspora', the reason apparently being that immigrants living in diaspora are supposed to be sedentary and to be in real contact with their neighbors. In the modern world, no language has more native speakers who are descendants of immigrants who had gone overseas from one country, than English; still, I doubt that there does or ever did exist a collocation like the 'English diaspora in North America (Australia, New Zealand ...)', even before these territories acquired their independence from Great Britain. The diaspora is expected to be a minority of the population: there is a British diaspora in India, even a diaspora of English-speaking expatriates in Paris, Florence, and so forth. In the same way, the French speakers in Quebec usually are not called a diaspora; but it would seem that the French speakers in the rest of Canada and in Louisiana, etc., can be, and sometimes are, so called.

The preceding paragraphs repeatedly mention the language of the people in diaspora; however, the paradigmatic case, the Jewish diaspora, has for centuries consisted of people without a common everyday language, but largely connected by common (but not in all respects completely identical) culture and ritual. For instance, today's Indian diaspora throughout the world probably continues to speak as many languages as are counted in India itself (including English). Of course, the Jewish diaspora has existed for many generations, i.e., for twenty-six centuries, whereas the other diasporas are mostly fairly recent, so it is not yet possible to be sure about the outcome of possible linguistic interference in the non-Jewish cases.

Religiously-motivated emigration can create a diaspora of communities other than Jewish ones; such was, for instance, the case of the Huguenots, French Calvinists, who were forced to leave France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by King Louis XIV (17th century). One can discover traces of that dias-

pora in, for instance, the French personal names that we find in relatively great numbers in South Africa (not to mention the excellent vineyards and wineries there); this is not surprising, seeing the Calvinist character of the majority of the Dutch settlers there, which must have made the territory quite attractive to the French Calvinists.

With the wane in modern days of the idea of immediate divine intercession in human political affairs, however, the ideological component of the decision to emigrate has come to be supplied either by the powers that be that had sufficient will and strength simply to expell the unwanted part of the population (take, for instance, the expulsion of the Accadians from the former French Canada after its conquest by the British in the 18th century), or else it was the decision of the emigrants themselves, who felt oppressed by the regime in their country (as in the case of the 'White' Russians between 1917 and about 1925, who formed a diaspora in Western and Central Europe, and in the United States). This second type of politically motivated emigration tends, however, not to be really massive, given that the oppressive regimes usually discourage or forbid emigration. In any case, during the last centuries political and ideological reasons for the formation of diasporas tend to be more frequent than religious ones.

It would seem, however, that the conception of a diaspora as the result of many people leaving their original countries in search of economic opportunities has gained currency in modern times, or is close to doing so. Just like religious diasporas, political diasporas seem by now to be less numerous — both in respect to the number of diasporas and to the number of people participating in the emigration — than economic ones (and this in spite of the occasional overlap of the political and the economic motives, as in the case of the massive emigration of Jews from Tsarist Russia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries). If we take the United States as an example, one can say that while the 20th century brought increased numbers of political refugees, mainly from the Fascist and Communist regimes, most immigrants in both the 19th and the 20th centuries (chiefly in its first part, up to World War I) would seem to have arrived in search of better economic opportunities.

Nowadays, the most up-to-date usage of the term (which some perhaps may even deem irreverently innovative) can be illustrated by *Time* magazine (June 19, 2000, p. B 26), where we read the following title and subtitle: 'The Golden Diaspora. Indian immigrants to the U.S. are ... the most spectacular success story.' However, at the same time *Newsweek* (June 10, 2000, p. 48) offers a case of reference to an involuntary diaspora in the following caption: 'Cyberculture: Targeting the African diaspora'. The caption refers to a discussion that follows in the article about there being new webpages on the Internet concerning African-American history and culture. The difference of putting the name 'African diaspora' to what can, in terms of its result, also be called the 'African-American diaspora' aptly attracts attention to the fact that there are temporal and evolutionary dimensions in a diaspora, which is not a static phenomenon, but a process.

NOTES

¹ The italicized words with accents are transliterations from the Greek; without accents, they represent their versions in Latin and other modern languages.

² The Septuagint (or in Latin, *Septuaginta*) is a translation into Greek of the books of the Jewish Bible (= the Christian Old Testament); the translators were Jews, most of them probably from Alexandria, whose number is said to have been seventy.

³ Dr. David Gold (New York) was kind enough to supply all the Hebrew data and their interpretation; naturally, any error is mine.

⁴ The textual criticism of the passage offers some problems, particularly in respect to the number of the verse.

⁵ J. Lust, E. Eynikel, K. Hauspie. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, part I, A-I, sub voce. [Sine loco]: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1992.

⁶ See L. Zgusta, Die Rolle des Griechischen im römischen Kaiserreich. *Die Sprachen im Römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit: Kolloquium, April 1974*, ed. by Günther Neumann & Jürgen Untermann, 121-45. Köln: Rheinland-Verlag 1980.

⁷ The preceding statement is somewhat problematic, because many if not most authors of Christian texts in the first two centuries were Jews themselves. However, it is not possible to pursue this line of thought in this short article.

⁸ When requirements of style call for variation, some derivation of the same Indo-European root that appears in Greek *sper-*, *spor-* is frequently used, but in its Latin form. See, for instance, the title and subtitle of a book by Joel Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry; Culture, Politics, and the Formation of a Modern Diaspora*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998). (The Latin verb from which the noun *dispersion* is derived belongs to an extended form of the Indo-European root **sper-*, but the derivation of the form is too complicated to be discussed here.)

⁹ Writing in July 2000.

¹⁰ Naturally, the reference is to Ptolemaic Egypt, not to the Egypt of the Pharaohs.

¹¹ The exemplification and the whole discussion in the paragraphs that follow are necessarily incomplete and rather impressionistic. An accurate description of the various types of usage and an indication of their relative frequencies, dates of the first attested contexts, etc. would require a lengthy study based on a vast corpus of English (and preferably, French, German, Post-Classical and Modern Latin, Yiddish, etc.) lexical material. I owe thanks to Dr. Dale Hartkemeyer, LST, for help with the following exemplification and other aspects of the article.



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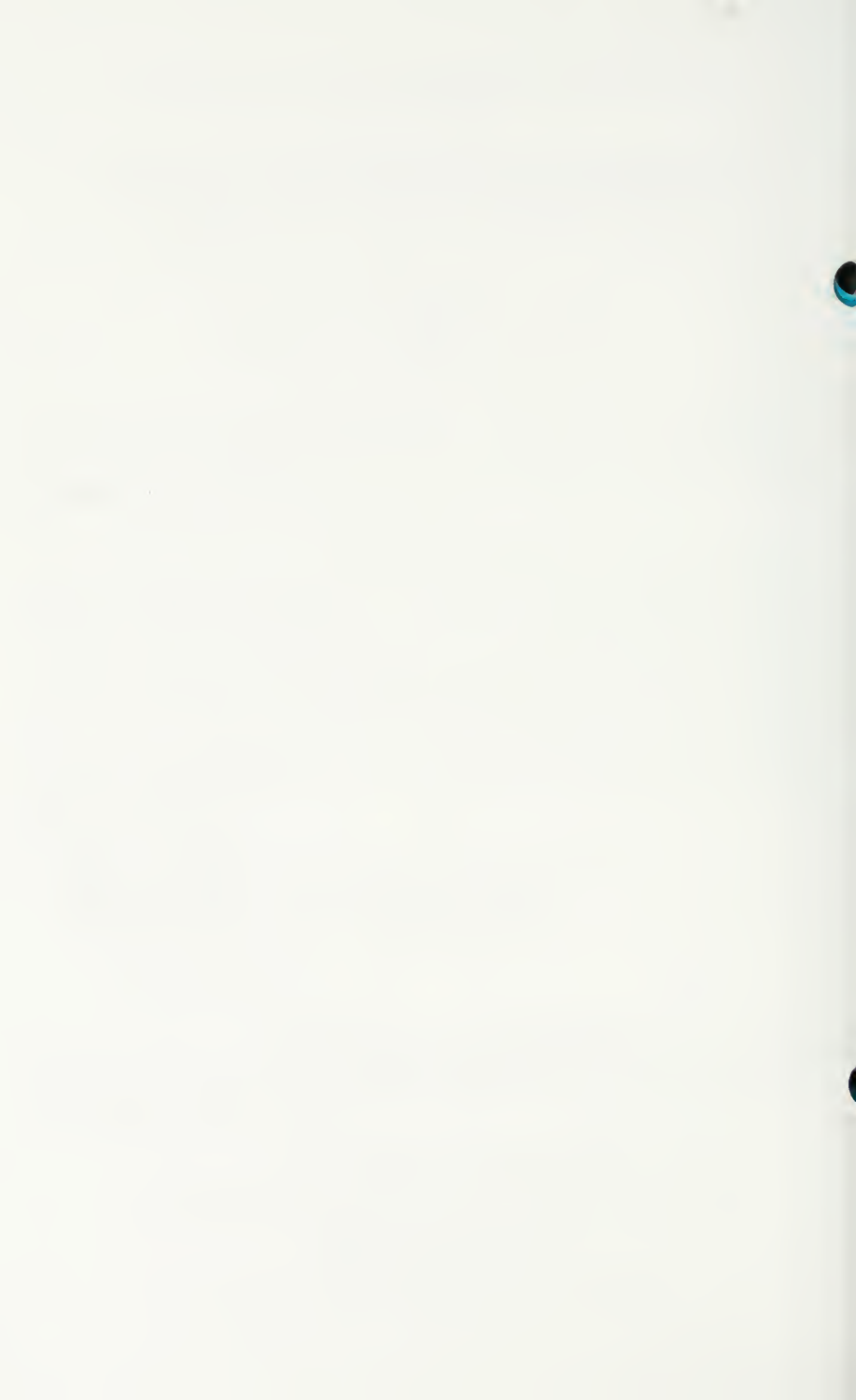


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CONVERGENCE AND DIVERGENCE IN TRANSLATING VS. INTERPRETENING COMPETENCE

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The paper tackles competence in English-Arabic translation and interpreting while highlighting similarities and differences at the textual and performance levels. It sets out by discussing the requirements of quality and fluency for both translators and interpreters. A focal point of interest is performance constraints in simultaneous interpretation, which include, among other things, logistics, lag, SL deficiencies, lexico-grammatical asymmetry and rhetorical divergence. The study concludes with an overview of the compensation strategies employed by interpreters such as queuing, segmentation, approximation, compression, and ellipsis.

0. Introduction

For the proponents of the *theorie du sens* (Dillinger, Lederer, & Seleskovitch), there is no apparent difference between translating and interpreting, as both deverbilize an SL message and reproduce it in a TL utterance in a 'spontaneous' and 'automatic' manner (Pochhacker 1994:22 and Baker 1998:42). Yet, many interpreters and psycholinguists consider the two to be very different and even incompatible professions. The most obvious of these differences is that a translator deals with written language and has time to access reference sources, revise, edit, and polish his work, while a simultaneous interpreter (SI) deals with oral language under stressful conditions and has no time to refine or retract his output (Gile 1989: 41). He is expected to play the role of an overhearer, not a conversationalist. His task is to parrot the SL speaker in a different language code. For after all, he transmits to a public whom he does not know thoughts of which he is not the author. Any supplementary background, whether terminological or world knowledge, should be acquired prior to interpreting, as decision-making and response to the SL stimulus has to be instantaneous and 'spontaneous'. 'Non-automatic' text processing operations that require a special effort can give rise to errors, omissions, and gaps (Baker 1998:44). Therefore, an SI should be witty, quick-tongued, and possess a high level of SL/TL proficiency.

A number of experimental studies conducted by psycholinguists (Treisman 1995; Goldman-Eisler 1968; Gerver 1972; and Henderson 1982) focused on performance variables such as SL/TL pace of delivery, short-term memory, ear-voice span, noise interference, pauses, false starts, etc. Many recurrent interpreting errors have been attributed to either saturation in or improper management of the

interpreter's processing capacity.

In the following sections, the paper will discuss points of convergence and divergence between translation and interpreting. It should be noted at the outset that this study is concerned with simultaneous conference interpreters (SI) who sit in a booth without having direct contact with the SL speaker. This will exclude liaison (i.e., ad-hoc or casual) interpreters who play the role of an intermediary with the right to solicit repetitions, rephrase, give explanations, summarize, and rearrange.

1. Quality and audience reception

While assessing the quality of a written translation, reviewers may look for grammatical, terminological or orthographical accuracy, and stylistic fidelity. In interpretation, audience rather than reviewers are mainly concerned with intelligibility, speedy delivery and avoidance of corrections, false starts, and artificial pauses in the middle of a sentence. TL audience requires a continuous flow regardless of the lag the interpreter faces between the onset of an SL burst and its TL rendition. This element of continuous flow will lead to rushed structures, lack of cohesive devices, and paraphrases of jargon terms as the interpreter is denied any break to evaluate his options.

While the audience may sympathize with the interpreter in cases of false starts, stuttering, or self-corrections, they may be unforgiving when an erroneous rendition leads to poor bilateral communication. It is, therefore, better for an interpreter to pass unnoticed as an invisible mediator since feedback from the audience is often a criticism rather than praise. An interpreter is expected to produce a full post-edited version with no room for revisions as he does not have the option of covering his mistakes with ivy, as architects do, or with mayonnaise, as chefs do (Sykes 1987:97). Such recipient constraints are not observable in the same way in written translation. A translator can work on his draft(s) in the absence of the recipients who will only have access to the finished work rather than the work in progress.

2. Fluency and output ratio

Venuti (1998:1-2) criticizes linguistic-oriented attempts to objectively quantify and measure interpretation output relative to SL input. In his view such an approach ignores the fact that translation and interpretation entail a creative reproduction and manipulation of the SL original. Bassnett (2001:751), in turn, believes that it is absurd to believe 'that complete equivalence can ever exist' let alone be measured quantitatively.

A conventional way of assessing the fluency of an interpreter is to compare the volume of the SL input and the TL output. In written translation this can be measured in terms of word count, paragraph and sentence divisions as well as punctuation marks and cohesive devices. In SI one can measure the ratio of pauses, chunking, acceleration, deceleration, and tempo of delivery. The highest pause intervals are the equivalents of paragraph divisions, while shorter ones mark

sentence boundaries (Yagi 2000: 534).

If the interpreter's pause time is disproportionate to the speaker's, this may indicate that the interpreter is missing out on SL discourse, either because of his/her nonfluency or owing to SL redundancy. Even if the latter is the case, the audience may readily ascribe pauses to interpreter incompetence and complain of poor quality. Therefore, interpreter fluency implies that TL pauses must not be longer than the speaker's. In other words, the speaker's performance is used as a benchmark (Yagi 2000:527). The interpreter is expected to imitate the tempo and intensity of the speaker's voice. Low speech rate is often conceived of as typical of less-qualified interpreters.

The matching of SL and TL volume by means of chunking and pause intervals is by no means conclusive evidence of an interpreter's fluency. To begin with, a cumulative speech ratio is less sensitive to occasional variations (e.g., initial pauses when rendering verbal sentences from and into Arabic). Intrasentential pauses may occur as a result of the interpreter's attempt to render a nuance or a jargon term by paraphrase.

In other instances, interpreters use a slow pace and lengthen their utterances on purpose to cover up for TL lexical gaps or omissions. Fluctuations may also occur when interpreters reformulate SL chunks into different packages in order to cope with complex structures or run-on sentences.

3. Performance constraints in SI

Like any other communication event, output in simultaneous interpreting is governed by input quality. The performance of an SI may be influenced by one or more of the following factors:

3.1 The need for specialization

It has been argued that interpreters should only work into their mother tongue as a TL (cf. FIT charter) while other linguists suggest that the mother tongue should be the SL as it is the only one s/he understands well enough to react to rapidly (Baker 1998: 45). In practice, interpreters are required to code-switch constantly between L1 and L2 as either SL or TL. Yet, it should be pointed out that the choice of SL or TL for a given interpreter depends on the comparative ease or difficulty in the comprehension and production processes. Other factors being equal, when an interpreter faces more difficulty in the comprehension stage, then he should work from his mother tongue as SL. If the difficulty is in the production stage, then he should work into his mother tongue as a TL.

While the ideal situation requires interpreters to specialize in a given field, conference organizers often perceive the interpreter to be a 'jack of all trades'. Thus, the same interpreter who undertakes legal interpretation is given economic, political, technical, or medical assignments.

3.2. Personal and logistical factors

The interpreter's awareness that major decisions hinge upon the precision of the interpretation puts him in a highly stressful situation. The quality of the

interpretation is negatively affected by the interpreter's inexperience, fatigue, lack of motivation (e.g., financial incentives), or poor audio-visual conditions in the booth (e.g., inefficient acoustic equipment, distorted signals, noisy surroundings). Some speakers use gesture to amplify or clarify what s/he is saying. This may form an integral part of the communication process in certain cultures. Unfortunately, conference booths are often placed at the farthest point from the podium (usually at the back of the conference hall). This will deprive the interpreter from maintaining visual contact with the speaker's gestures or multimedia presentation, a task not required of the translator of written texts.

3.3 Lack of a holistic approach

To quote an old cliché, Dijk (1983:101) compares a simultaneous interpreter to a juggler, a tightrope walker, rather than a scientist working under ideal conditions. As he ventures into the unknown, an SI never knows what awaits him around the bend or where to go next. More often than not, the subject of the SL may shift drastically, especially in QA sessions. He may be caught off guard when the speaker uses a neologism or an idiolectal idiom.

In contrast, the translator has sufficient time between text reception and delivery (up to an agreed deadline, which might be negotiable) to look at the text 'holistically' at first before attempting to 'localize' his attention to a given paragraph, sentence, clause, or a word. The input processed by the translator is an autonomous 'polished' text with most of its cohesive devices inserted in place. He does not have to anticipate the next segment, as the whole text is a tangible 'visible' entity laid before him. He has more time to ponder the entire text at his disposal. As a result, memory load is less and stress is milder.

An interpreter does not have this holistic top-down approach. It is the task of the SI to wrestle with the immediate textual clues on the basis of the separate installments of input. Each chunk of output is expected to be 'locally' coherent in its own right and fall in line with the overall context (Mason & Hatim 1997:51). This means that the SI must possess the original speaker's talent and have a hermeneutic power of his own. In practice, however, an SI relies on textual signals available in the immediate pretext rather than the overall context. He operates at the level of the lexical item until a break occurs in the speaker's output (e.g., a pause or falling intonation), at which the interpreter is able to predict how the clause will be completed. This impromptu performance denies the interpreter the opportunity to apply the 'think-aloud protocols' where translators introspect and verbalize what they do as they do it. Therefore, false starts, slips, editing, and self-repair have to be dealt with on the spot. Many of the so-called jerky starts and inconsistent TL renditions may be traceable to lack of an adequate overview of context and structure rather than interpreter's incompetence.

3.4 Time lag

This relates to the ear-voice span (i.e., decoding and encoding), which varies according to the syntactic and lexical complexity of SL input and pace. Thus, for example, if the SL syntactic structure is too complex, the time given for the lexical search diminishes. The further an interpreter lags behind the speaker the clearer

the understanding of the SL message, hence the easier its reformulation, but the heavier the burden on memory (Giles 1995:207). Although full synchronization remains an ideal, an excessive delay can disrupt the interpreter's execution tempo and may lead to a freeze in the encoding of some TL chunks.

A professional translator typically produces 6-7 words per minute or approximately 360 per hour. An SI, in contrast, has to respond instantly to the incoming SL utterance at a rate of approximately 150 words per minute or 9000 words per hour. The pace of delivery depends among other things on whether the SL discourse is an improvised or a written speech and the time limit allocated for each speaker. For example, long conference presentations of some 20 or 30 pages are often squeezed into twenty minutes or less.

While the translator is free to weigh a range of alternatives before deciding on the 'best' version, the interpreter has only one chance (Baker 1998:186). With an increase in speed (e.g., 180-200 w.p.m.) and a more complex text, there is bound to be a decline in output accuracy and more cases of vague, poorly cohesive structures, mistranslations, and omissions. The time available for evaluative listening is curtailed by the pressure to process current input, render preceding input, and anticipate the next utterance. This is aggravated by the feedback of the interpreter's voice from the microphone to the headset.

Unlike a consecutive interpreter who can take notes and render the gist of the SL utterance without his attention being divided between speech reception and production, a simultaneous interpreter is engulfed in a crisis situation. S/he is always on tiptoes as s/he tries to apply tactics and strategies (see below) to cope with the SL input in 'real time', and time in SI is relatively uniform and extraordinarily stringent. Therefore, The load in SI is rather on the short-term memory, while in consecutive interpreting the long term memory comes to the forefront.

In a given interpretational situation there are triggers that increase processing-capacity requirements. These include fast speeches with dense information, unusual logic, syntactic and stylistic idiosyncrasies, as well as lack of redundancy (e.g., numbers, names, and acronyms). The result is a saturation of the processing capacity that leads to a pile up of earlier, more difficult segments. In such situations novice interpreters follow a consecutive-interpretation strategy whereby they listen long enough to make sense of a given SL segment and translate it without following up what the SL speaker is saying during the transformation into TL (Gile 2000:543). Naturally, there would be a high rate of omission, a low speech ratio, and eventually a lag.

3.5 SL deficiencies

The smoothness and fluidity of TL delivery may be negatively affected by the poor quality of an SL input. The latter may be fraught with obscurities, solecisms, non-standard accents, misarticulated word segments, idiolectal peculiarities, a vocabulary replete with foreign borrowings, and sloppy syntax (e.g., incomplete and run-on sentences). For example, Arabic speakers tend to override sentence boundaries and ignore comma pauses. In fact, commas in Arabic are a formal

convenience, as they do not necessarily coincide with pauses in actual speech, as in (1).

- (1) مضى ما يقرب من قرن ونصف على بداية التنقيب الأثري، و نشر العديد من الكتب حول علم الآثار، إلا انه لم يزل هناك غموض في كثير من معاني هذا العلم، فهو من العلوم الحديثة التي دخلت البلاد العربية، واتسعت مجالته اتساعا كبيرا، بالإضافة إلى أنه جلب معه مصطلحات مبهمه وغير معروفة، وكثيرا ما يلتبس معناها على الدارسين.

/mɪɫɖa: ma: yaqrub min qarn wa-niṣf ʔala: bida:yat al-tanqi:b al-ʔaθari:, wa-nuṣira al-ʔadi:d min al-kutub hawla ʔilm al-ʔa:θa:r, ʔala: anna-hu lam yazal huna:ka ʔumu:ɖ fi: kaθi:r min maʔa:ni: ha:ða: al-ʔilm, fahuwa min al-ʔulu:m al-hadi:θa allati: daḫalat al-bila:d al-ʔarabiyyah, wa ʔittasaʔat maja:la:tuhu ʔittisa:ʔan kabi:ran, bil-ʔiɖa:fah ʔila: annahu jalaba maʔahu muṣṭalaħa:t mubhama wa-ʔayr maʔru:fah, wa-kaθi:ran ma: yaltabisu maʔna:ha: ʔala: al-da:risi:n/

[Almost a century and a half has passed since the beginning of archaeological excavation, and many books were published on archaeology, although there is still ambiguity in many of the concepts of this science, for it is one of the new sciences that entered the Arab countries, and its fields expanded tremendously, and it further introduced ambiguous and incomprehensible terms, and their meanings are often confusing to students.]

Texts like the one above increase the load on the interpreter's short-term memory and may disrupt his comprehension of the SL input. Interpreters from Arabic as SL sometimes wonder about the value of rendering convoluted speeches or repetitive presentations that do not advance any new hypothesis or argument. A calque rendition would make English, as a TL, sound awkwardly superfluous. The result is an interlinear translation that aspires to the communication of an informative message rather than stylistic elegance. For this reason, interpreters improvise their own way of segmenting the SL input into minimal units of meaning in order to avoid any unanticipated turns while rendering an unstable SL discourse.

3.6 Structural asymmetry

Despite the interpreter's competence, pauses and delays may become inevitable owing to the structural asymmetry of SL/TL patterns. If the pace of the SL is slow or moderate, the interpreter may opt for a delay tactic until the SL syntactic format becomes clear. Goldman-Eisler (1968:31) considers pausing to be an attribute of spontaneity in the creation of new 'verbal' constructions. For instance, English has a fixed linear word order while Arabic is a free word-order language. When a verb occurs initially in Arabic the interpreter has to wait for the subject before he can start the English rendition. To double the trouble, when the verb and its agent/subject are intersected by a parenthetical or subordinate phrase, this initial inactivity becomes greater, as in (2).

(2)

وكانت قد وقعت في الأيام القليلة الماضية وفي نفس المنطقة أعمال شغب مشابهة.

S

V

/wa ka:nat qad waqaʔat fi: al-ʔayya:m al-qali:lah al-ma:ḍiyah wa-fi: nafs

V

al-minṭaqah ʔaʕma:l šaʕab muša:biha/

S

[Over the past few days similar riots occurred in the same region.]

In other words, the interpreter has to wait for the theme before rendering the rheme or propos. This structural realignment may, however, lead to a change of focus, as the beginning of a clause represents an emphatic position.

Other constituents and discourse links are affected in the same way. Arabic prefers explicit links (e.g., cohesive devices and markers of case, number, and gender agreement) while English is more implicit (i.e., uses more-neutral referents). The word pioneer, for example, has a zero syntactic feature in English as an adjective with regard to case, gender, and number. In Arabic, it can be rendered into one of six forms رائد/raaʕid/ (masc. sing), رائدة/raaʕida/ (fem. sing), رائدان/raaʕidaan/ (masc. dual), رائدتان/raaʕidataan/ (fem. dual), رواد/ruwwaad/ (masc. pl.), رائدات/raaʕidaat/ (fem. pl.) according to gender and number, and a further fifteen forms depending on the nominative, accusative or genitive case of the qualified noun.

Similarly, an Arabic verb in a post-nominal position has to agree with its subject in number and gender. For example, the verb *presented* in the sentence *the speaker presented his paper* can be interpreted as either قدم/qaddama/ (masc. sing.) or قدمت/qaddamat/ (fem. sing.), while the same verb after a plural subject in English can be rendered as قدما/qaddamaa/ (masc. dual), قدمتا/qaddamataa/ (fem. Dual), قدموا/qaddamu:/ (masc. pl.) and قدمن/qaddamna/ (fem. pl.).

Furthermore, Arabic uses the definite article for cases that would otherwise be expressed by a zero article in English. Even adjectives qualifying defined nouns require marking for definition (Shunnaq 1993:95), as in (3).

- (3) International conventions call for **the** dissemination of a just peace among Muslims, Christians, and Jews.

تدعو المواثيق الدولية لنشر السلام العادل بين المسلمين والمسيحيين واليهود.

/tadʕu: al-mawa:θi:q al-dawliyyah li-našr al-sala:m al-ʕa:dil bayna
al-muslimi:n w-al-masi:hiyyi:n w-al-yahu:d/

[**The** international **the** conventions call for **the** dissemination of **the** just **the** peace among **the** Muslims, **the** Christians, **the** Jews.]

In the literal back-translation of the Arabic interpretation, there are eight definite articles while only one is used in the English original.

The above examples show that neutral anaphoric and cataphoric pronominal/ adjectival referents in English have to be marked for gender, number, and definiteness in the Arabic version. This would increase the TL word count. It also demands more time and effort on the part of the interpreter to determine the nature of the linkage, as in (4).

(4) To praise Thee, to glorify Thee, to bless Thee, to give thanks to Thee, to worship Thee in all places of Thy dominion, for Thou art God ineffable (Kelly 1979:187).

Here, anaphoric references to God have to be rendered in the masculine gender in Arabic. The interpreter who has no visual access to the speaker's text may render the wrong gender but it would be too late then to retrieve the spoken utterance. In contrast, a translator can decide the case, number, gender, and definiteness of constituents before embarking on the actual process of translation.

3.7 Lexical incompatibility

Henderson (1982:49) maintains that the interpreter is continually involved in evaluating and filtering the information of the SL message rather than its words. Although this may be true of the general output of interpretation, our analysis of recorded conference interpretations has shown that pauses often result from the interpreter's wrestling with a difficult jargon term for which he has no ready-made paraphrase. Sometimes, a lengthy paraphrase would delay the interpreter's response to a following segment. For instance, the neologism *Macdonaldization* requires a long time and a thorough analysis of the politico-economic concept involved before it can be borrowed into Arabic as *مكدلة* /makdala/ or paraphrased as *شركة ماكدونالد أسلوب تطبيق نحو اتجاه* /al-ittijaah naḥwa taṭbiq islu:b šarikat makdo:nald/ in an economic context, and as *الهيمنة الأمريكية* /al-haymana al-ʔamri:keyya/ 'American domination' in a political one. The same can be said for the word *deglobalization* *العولمة عن النكوص* /an-nuku:ṣ ʔan al-ʔawlama/ and the 1980's *Reaganomics* *الاقتصاديات الريغانية* /al-iqtisā:diyyaat ar-ri:ʔaagiyya/.

One of the main areas of lexical incompatibility concerns compounding, which is a productive morphological process in English. Yet, it becomes a source of problems in Arabic, which lacks this process. As compounds in general are poorly paraphrasable, they are likely to cause delays for the interpreter who has to economize in the delivery time. This is particularly true of new nonlexicalized compounds and jargon wherein the semantic relation between their adjuncts is not transparent enough to be interpreted correctly, such as *metal matrix composite* (in the aluminum industry), *unmap volume* (in computer software), which have no target equivalents in Arabic.

To tackle the problem of lexical incompatibility, the interpreter may resort to one of four alternatives:

- a. Transliterate (i.e., borrow the loanword in approximation to the SL pronunciation), e.g., spectrophotometer *سبكتروفوتوميتر*

- b. Paraphrase by using a composite genitive, adjectival, or prepositional expression, e.g., Spectrophotometer مقياس الطيف الضوئي /miqya:s al-ṭayf al-ḍawʔi:/
- c. Derive a new word by blending a root and a noun or attaching affixes to lexical stems, e.g., spectrophotometer مطياف /miṭyaaf/.
- d. Expand the semantic meaning of an existing word.

Needless to say, under the constraints of time, alternatives c and d are the least likely to be attempted, as the interpreter is not expected to assume the task of a lexicographer.

Another lexical divergence that causes both delay and an increase in the TL volume is the rendition of abbreviations and acronyms that in Arabic are spelled out in full. In example (5), the s-apostrophe (s') and the abbreviation U.S. are given full equivalents in Arabic. [Smiths' must be plural and needs referent]

- (5) The Smiths' relatives have been U.S. residents for the past twelve years.

إن عائلة سميث مقيمة في الولايات المتحدة منذ إثني عشرة سنة.

/ʔinna ʔaqa:rib ʔa:ʔilat smiθ muqi:mu:n fi: al-wila:ya:t al-muttahida
mundu ʔiθnay ʔašara sanah/

3.8 Cultural and rhetorical divergence

Sometimes a translator may intervene on behalf of the readers to achieve coherence by explaining a reference to a cultural norm or a literary work, as in (6).

- (6) Henry the Eighth is a landmark in the history of English literature.

تعتبر مسرحية هنري الثامن علامة مميزة في تاريخ الأدب الإنجليزي.

/tuʔtabar masrahiyyat Hinri: al-θa:min ʔala:mah mumayyazah fi: ta:ri:ħ
al-ʔadab al-ʔinji:lzi:/

Here, the translator inserted the word مسرحية /masrahiyya/ 'play' as he felt that the TL audience might not share the same background as that of the TL audience. Under the constraints of time and immediacy of delivery, an interpreter cannot decipher all the inferences, presuppositions, and allusions of the SL speaker. In the following example, the translator, who was concerned that the TL audience might not have the 'casserole' schema, inserted a paraphrase explanation; an interpreter would simply borrow the SL pronunciation as in (7).

- (7) The chef has already cooked your casserole, sir!

لقد انتهى الطباخ من طهي الكاسرول (وجبة من الخضراوات واللحم).

/laqad ʔintaha: al-tabba:ħ min ṭahy al-ka:saru:l (wajbah min al-ħuḍrawa:t
wal-lahm)/

Arabic rhetorical thrust depends on reiteration by means of lexical and pronominal recurrence, redundant conjunctions, and synonyms (hendiadys). The latter may be used for alliteration rather than for sense addition. Thus there is an

increased level of explicitness in Arabic, which may be more evident in written translation. In interpretation, there is less room for modifying the SL cohesive features as the addition of extra lexical items or pronominal references would consume time and create an unnecessary delay. In the Arabic translations in (8-9), the boldfaced words represent the additions in the rendition of the English original.

- (8) Halfway to the office, he realized that he had forgotten the keys at home.

كان في منتصف الطريق إلى المكتب حينما لاحظ أنه قد نسي المفاتيح في المنزل.

[He was halfway to the office when he realized that he had forgotten the keys at home.]

James ran into the kitchen for a sandwich.

جرى جيمس إلى داخل المطبخ ليحضر شطيرة.

/jara: jims ?ila: **da:xiil** al-maṭbaḫ liyuhḏira šaṭi:rah/

[James ran **inside** the kitchen to **bring** a sandwich]

Arabic uses dummy initial and-connectors to signal sentence and paragraph boundaries and make up for its somewhat lax system of punctuation. In the following Arabic extract from a conference on money-laundering (Kuwait 2000), the interpreter was faced with two, *and*-connectors, one genuinely additive, the other adversative. Yet, both were rendered as and due to the interpreter's failure to anticipate the adversative link between the two sentences.

- (9) وتزايد التبادل التجاري بين الدول نتيجة لتقدم الأنظمة المصرفية الآلية. و أدى ذلك إلى تزايد عمليات غسل الأموال.

/wa taza:yada al-taba:dul al-tija:ri: bayna al-duwal nati:jatan litaqaddum al
?anzima al-mašrafiyyah al-ʔa:liyyah. wa ʔadda: ʔa:lika ʔila: taza:yud
ʔamaliyya:t ʔasi:l al-ʔamwa:l/

[Recorded interpretation]

And trade exchange among countries has increased owing to the advanced automated banking systems. **And** this led to a rise in money-laundering operations.

[Proceedings translation]

Moreover, trade exchange among countries has increased thanks to the advanced automated banking systems. **Yet**, this led to a rise in money laundering.

Despite being grammatically a coordinating conjunction, 'and' may introduce logically subordinate structures, digressions, or contradictory statements. In such instances, it is often coupled with another 'meaningful' conjunction, as in (10).

- (10) 'and then' و عندئذٍ / 'and even' وحتى / 'and but' ولكن / 'and as' وأما / 'and if' وإن
/waʔin / waʔamma: / wala:kin / wahatta: / waʔindaʔiḏin/

An interpreter has to think over the functions of such conjunctions and whether they help in the cohesive linkage or the progression of ideas. The erroneous reproduction of an SL conjunction may jeopardize the logic and consistency of the argument, as in (11).

- (11) تسعى اتحادات شركات الألمنيوم للإبقاء على أسعار المواد الخام مستقرة. وعندئذ فإن أية تذبذبات في الأسواق يجب ألا تفسر بأنها نتيجة فشل هذه الاتحادات في الالتزام بمبادئها.

/tasʕa: ʔittiha:da:t ʃarika:t al-ʔalamunium lil-ʔibqa:ʔ ʔala: ʔasʕa:r al-mawa:d al-ʕa:m mustaqirrah. wa-ʕindaʔiðin faʔinna ʔay taðabðuba:t fi: al-ʔaswa:q yajib ʔalla: tufassar biʔannaha: nati:jat faʕal ha:ðihi al-ʔittiha:da:t fi: alʔiltiza:m bimaba:diʔiha:ʔ/

[Aluminum corporate syndicates aim at maintaining stable prices for raw materials. Then, any market fluctuations should not be construed as a failure of such consortiums to adhere to their principles] (Arabal Conference Kuwait, 1999).

The retention of عندئذ /ʕindaʔiðin/ 'then' in the interpretation has given a sequential additive link between the two sentences. The sense of consequential/resultative relationship in the SL would require the use of 'therefore', 'consequently', 'as a result', etc.

In such cases, the interpreter should view SL formal devices with skepticism as *faux amis*. Indeed, the above examples refute the misconception leveled at interpreters as being nothing but shadows who mimic the SL speaker without exhibiting a measure of autonomy. Likewise, trainee interpreters should be made aware of the occasions when SL cohesive devices may be reproduced or jettisoned in the TL depending on their role in the service of textual coherence and thematic progress.

3.9 Phatic communion

Modes of address in Arabic and English differ widely. In Arabic, it is customary to greet the audience with honorary titles and use elaborate phatic phrases in the opening and closing segments of speeches. Likewise, Arabic speakers frequently invoke the name of God or quote religious verses to express greetings and wishes even in the most technical of speeches, as in (12).

- (12) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

/bismi alla:h al-rahma:n al-rahi:m/

[In the name of Allah Most Gracious most Merciful.]

أيها الأخوة والأخوات

/ʔayyuha al-ʔuʕwa wal-ʔaʕawa:t/

[O, Brothers and Sisters]

السلام عليكم و الصلاة على نبينا محمد

/al-sala:m ʔalaykum wa-al-ṣala:t ʔala: nabiyyina: muhammad nuhayyi:kum/

[May peace be upon you and our Prophet Mohammed]

نحييكم تحية مباركة من عند الله

/tahiyyah muba:rakah min ʔind alla:h/

We greet you with the Grace of Allah

‘وقل اعملوا فسيرى الله عملكم ورسوله والمؤمنون’

/wa-qul ʔiʔmalu: fasayara alla:h ʔama:lakum wa-rasu:luh wal-muʔminu:n/

[‘And say: work! For Allah, His messenger and the believers will witness your deeds’.]

To an English speaker who uses a simple ‘good morning/evening’ and ‘thank you’, such expressions are void of any informative value. Otherwise, if rendered verbatim, the greeting السلام عليكم /as-salaamu ʔalaykomu/ would sound similar to the Biblical ‘peace to thee and thine house’ (Hassanain 1994:73). Such courteous expressions are more frequent in orally delivered speeches than in written texts. They call for tactical omissions on the interpreter’s part as they are generally intended for their phatic function rather than propositional content or referential value (Sykes: 101).

4. Compensation strategies

Experienced interpreters use all kinds of anticipation strategies regarding both context and structure. But even when prior expectations are sufficiently focused, the processing is still tentative and the hypotheses must be confirmed or disproved by the forthcoming textual evidence (Hatim & Mason 1997:45). To tackle the limitations of textual clues, interpreters resort to other means such as register membership, type of topical issues involved (i.e., domain), pragmatics, semiotics, participants, stylistic background, etc. But these are not conclusively reliable clues to overcome the unpredictability of the way a given text will develop and conclude (Mason & Hatim 1997:51). Therefore, interpreters resort to a number of strategies that may help ease the burden and improve the pace of delivery.

4.1 Intonational clues

Unlike written translation, in interpretation suprasegmental features occupy a paramount status. Delays, hesitations, false starts, stuttering, tempo, and accent are part and parcel of the overall effect. One of the paraverbal clues an SI may resort to is the intonation pattern of the SL discourse. Thus, if there is a rising intonation on the theme, a rheme is to follow. In case of a rising intonation coupled with an inversion of subject and verb, an interrogative structure is to follow. When a level or rising intonation continues for a long time, this signals either a list of parallel structures or a sequence of phrases (or sentences) with a falling intonation on the finite verbal clause that serves as a common rheme, as in (13).

- (13) Basically the trend of the government to privatize ~ the consolidation of businesses ~ the setting up of a free trade zone ~ and the soaring stock prices ~ are all indications of an imminent economic boom #. [~ indicates level or rising intonation. # indicates sentence-end intonation].

Yet, caution should be exercised as the implications of intonational contours may differ from one language or variety to another. For instance, the intonation of excitement in Italian resembles that of anger in English. An American teenage female would use a rising consultative intonation in almost all sentences whether affirmative or interrogative. Further, a Burmese uses an almost stilted rise-and-fall (circumflex ^) pattern regardless of the meaning content of the utterance. A misinterpretation of these phonological aspects may lead to a change of sense and focus. In contrast, a translator has no such worries aside from the occasional emphasis represented by italics or underlining and the rare insertion of a transcription.

The question is, should an interpreter imitate (i.e. reproduce) SL intonational patterns in order to maintain neutrality by acting as an invisible agent, or should s/he adapt the phonological patterns to those of the TL and be accused of taking sides? In practice, interpreters often tend to accommodate their audience by adopting equivalent TL patterns. In case of a great disparity between the SL and TL, a neutral level (i.e., flat) contour is rendered.

4.2 Cohesive signals

Aside from intonational contours, an interpreter may rely on SL cohesive devices to anticipate the next segment of a given discourse. For example, the use of course, nevertheless, yet, while, etc., signals a counter-argument structure. The use of enumerative words (e.g., firstly, secondly, the following, finally) introduces a list of parallel structures in the form of a theme followed by a rheme, an NP plus comment or simply an NP without a finite clause. An 'if' would signal a conditional structure and so on.

4.3 Queuing

Here, the interpreter delays either a less important TL rendition or a complex sentence structure during a heavy load period and then catches up in any lulls that occur later (el-Shiyab 2000:556). Although this tactic helps the interpreter in reducing lag, it has its drawbacks, as the postponed segment may not fall in line with the cohesive pattern of later segments. It may also jeopardize the SL thematic progression.

4.4 Segmentation and parceling

One of the basic processes an interpreter has to perform is the segmentation or chunking of the SL discourse into what Vinay (Vinay & Darbelnet 1958) terms manageable *unité de pensée* or units of meaning that can be translated en bloc. This strategy helps in processing long-drawn or run-on sentences that require declustering (i.e., slicing) into shorter units in order to cope with short-term memory span. Segmentation is particularly useful for languages that have Russian doll-like structures with one subordinate clause fitting into another one, which in

turn fits into another (Jones 1998:102), as in (14).

- (14) 'A passion for routine in administration, the sacrifice of flexibility to rule, delay in the making of decisions, and refusal to embark upon experiment', evils inherent in bureaucracy, according to Harold Laski, are undoubtedly to be found in bureaucratic bodies — public and private — but the efficiency and realizability desired in the operations of any large organization are also the product of what sociologists call bureaucracy (ITI Qualifying Exam 1994).

After segmentation and some structural rearrangement, the above example was rendered into the following version in Arabic:

(15)

ويرى هارولد لاسكي أن العيوب المتأصلة في البيروقراطية وهي الولوج بالروتين الإداري، والتضحية بالمرونة في سبيل التقيد بالأنظمة و التأخير في اتخاذ القرارات موجودة بلا أدنى شك في الهيئات البيروقراطية ورفض الخوض في التجارب العامة والخاصة على حد سواء. إلا أن تحقيق الكفاءة والإنجاز في عمليات أي مؤسسة كبرى ما هو إلا نتاج لما يطلق عليه علماء الاجتماع لفظ البيروقراطية.

/wa yara: haruld la:ski: ?nna al-?uyu:b al-muta?aðšilah fi: al-bi:ru:qra:tiyyah wa-hiya al-wala? bi-al-ru:ti:n al-?ida:ri:, wa-al-taðhiya bil-muru:nah fi: sabi:l al-taqayyud bil-?anzimah wa-al-ta?xj:r fi: ?itti?a:ð al-qara:ra:t wa-rafð al-?awð fi: al-taja:rub mawju:dah bila: ?adna: šak fi: al-haya:t al-bi:ru:qra:tiyyah al-?a:mmah wal- ?a:ššah ?ala: had sawa:?. ?illa: ?anna tahqi:q al-kafa:ʔah wal-?inja:z fi: ?amaliyya:t ?ay muʔasasah kubra: ma:huwa ?illa: nita:j lima: yuʔliq ?alayhi ?ulama:ʔ al-?ijtima:ʔ lafz al-bi:ru:qra:tiyyah/

[According to Harold Laski, evils inherent in bureaucracy, i.e., 'a passion for routine in administration, the sacrifice of flexibility to rule, delay in the making of decisions, and refusal to embark upon experiment', are undoubtedly to be found in bureaucratic bodies — public and private. Yet, the efficiency and realizability desired in the operations of any large organization are also the product of what sociologists call bureaucracy.]

Segmentation in written translation depends on visible punctuation marks and paragraph divisions while in interpretation it is an ad hoc process that depends on gaps and pauses in the SL speech or the interpreter's short-term memory. If the SL sentences are small and numerous, interpreters may parcel (i.e., combine) them into larger units and vice versa. In other words, the interpreter would reformulate SL discourse units into shorter or longer fragments according to SL or TL style and tempo. The difference in number between the SL and TL fragments indicates whether the interpreter has sliced long sentences of SL or otherwise joined short structures into longer more complex ones.

Kate: /ʔasman minni: ʔala: ma:ʔaʔtaqid/ كيت: أسمن مني على ما أعتقد.

Kate: Fuller than me, I think (pause).

Deeley: /ka:nat kaða:lika fi: al-sa:biq/ ديلي: كانت كذلك في السابق

Deeley: She was then?

Kate: /ʔaʔtaqid ða:lik/ كيت: أعتقد ذلك

Kate: I think so.

Deeley: /qad la: taku:n kaða:lika ʔalʔa:n/ ديلي: قد لا تكون كذلك الآن.

Deeley: She may not be now.

Arabic requires the adjective to be marked for gender immediately after the lexical item being modified. This may be overcome in translation by looking further down for textual clues. But the case might be different for the interpreter who finds himself obliged to correct the gender after uttering the first three lines. The Arabic version would be more cohesively explicit with a dense texture rather than the loose SL original. Such grammatical modifications along with the insertion of *كذلك* /kaða:lika/ 'so' would increase TL overall volume and cause delivery delay. This process would be reversed when Arabic is an SL as there would be a high level of syntactic redundancy.

3. Difficulty in determining T/V second person pronoun. In a vocative discourse, the English second person pronoun 'you' may be rendered in the singular *أنت* /ʔanta/ or the deferential plural *أنتم* /ʔantum/ in translation, one can look for textual clues, while in interpretation the urgency to render the immediate context of utterance blocks the contextual clues further down the line. The most frequent strategy to overcome such indecisiveness is to use the second person inclusive plural form or an agentless passive structure.

4.6. Calque and paraphrase

Instances of calque renditions abound in interpretation owing to the constraints of time and the intermittent nature of speech delivery. In order to avoid any unanticipated lexical turns, interpreters may adhere to the SL lexical patterns creating a verbatim version of the SL. In the following examples quoted from a Conference on Globalization (Kuwait, 1999), the boldfaced collocations in Arabic were firstly rendered verbatim in interpretation, whereas in a more careful translation of conference proceedings they were given equivalent English collocations.

(18) ويحمل هذا التغيير في طبيّاته مشاكل عديدة.

/wa-**yahmil** ha:ða: al-taʔyi:r **fi: ʔayya:tihi** maša:kil ʔadi:dah/

Interpretation: This change carries with it many problems.

Translation: This change is fraught with many problems.

(19) وتتميز هذه الحادثة عما سبقها من حوادث في حدتها.

/wa-tatamayyazu ħa:ðihī al-ħa:diθa ʕamma: sabaqaha: min hawa:diθ fi: šiddatiha:/

Interpretation: This incident is distinguished from previous ones in its intensity.

Translation: This incident has unprecedented intensity.

On the other hand, paraphrase, which is a strategy of explication (Al-Qinai 1999: 237-239), is used in cases of SL cultural references or jargon terms and compounds for which the TL lacks direct one-word equivalents (see under lexical incompatibility above), as in (20).

(20) carcinoma → ورم البشرات السائرة الخبيث /waram al-bašra:t al-sa:tirah al-ħabi:θ/ [malignant tumor of the epithelial tissue]

/al-saʔy/ السعي → running between Safa and Marwa during pilgrimage.

4.7 Approximation and substitution

In the absence of a direct TL equivalent or when the interpreter finds it difficult to remember the TL item, an alternative that shares most of the semantic features of the TL word is used, as in (21).

(21) opium poppy → مخدرات /muħaddira:t/ [drugs] instead of الخشخاش /al-ħišħa:š/

Unlike approximation, an interpreter may substitute the SL term by a remotely related equivalent, which becomes handy under the stress of a rapidly delivered speech, e.g.,

Legion of Merit → الفيلق المتميز / al-faylaq al-mutamayyiz/ [the distinguished legion] instead of الإستحقاق /wisa:m al-istihqa:q/

(23) سرير البحر /sari:r al- baħr/ [sea bed] instead of قاع البحر /qa:ʕ al-baħr/

4.8 Reduction

This strategy involves the use of a superordinate term to superimpose two collocational synonyms. Alternatively, the interpreter may delete modifying words and retain key semantic elements. Needless to say, this results in a change of the intended force of the SL, as in (23) (el-Shiyab: 236).

SL	Interpretation	Translation
(23) Terrible consequences wayħi:mah/	أخطار /ʔaħta:r/ [dangers]	عواقب وخيمة /ʕawa:qib
Direct severe criticism naqdan la:ðiʕan/	ينتقد /yantaqid/ [criticize]	يوجه نقدا لاذعا /yuwajjih

Premeditated aggressive plans نوايا عدوانية /nawaaya ʕudwa:niyyah/ [aggressive plans] مبيتة نوايا عدوانية مبيتة /nawa:ya: ʕudwa:niyyah mubayyataħ/

4.9 Compression

This strategy is employed when interpreters try to economize by sifting the SL input into shorter and briefer TL output, especially when interpretation is conducted from Arabic into English. Here, paraphrased loan abbreviations,

acronyms, and jargon terms are reinstated in their original English form, as in (24).

- (24) وحدة العناية المركزة /wihdat al-ḡina:yah al-murakkazah/ [intensive care unit] → ICU
 معهد الكويت للأبحاث العلمية /maḡhad al-kuwayt lil-ḡabha:ḡ al-ḡilmiyyah/ [Kuwait Institute for Scientific Research] → KISR
 التهاب منبت الظفر /ḡiltiha:b manbat al-zifr/ [inflammation of nail stem] → onychia

4.10 Borrowing

In view of the rapid pace of delivery in conference presentations, an interpreter may find recourse in adopting a TL loan-form by way of transliteration, as in (25).

- (25) WAP (i.e. Wireless Application Protocol) → واپ /wa:b/

Massicot → أول أكسيد الرصاص /masiku:t/ instead of أول أكسيد الرصاص /ʔawwal ʔuksi:d al-raṣa:s/ [lead monoxide]

4.11 Ellipsis

Certain kinds of SL utterances may be omitted when they are deemed cumbersome or superfluous. Such a strategy of reduction is resorted to in the following cases:

1. Repetition: In the following excerpt from a PTSD conference (Kuwait 1994), the boldfaced items in the Arabic original have been edited out.

- (26) لقد تعرض المدنيون لشتى أنواع التعذيب البدني والتعذيب النفسي. فمن صنوف التعذيب البدني الحرمان من الطعام والاعتداء الجنسي. أما التعذيب النفسي فقد تمثل في إرغام المدنيين علي مشاهدة حالات الإعدام.

/laqad taṣarraḡa al-madaniyyu:n liṣatta: ʔanwa:f al-taṣḡi:b al-badani: wa al-taṣḡi:b al-nafsi:. fa-min ṣunu:f al-taṣḡi:b al-badani: al-hirma:n min al-taṣa:m wal-ḡiṣtida:ʔ al-jinsi:. amma: al-taṣḡi:b al-nafsi: faqad tamaḡḡala fi: ʔiṣa:m al-madaniyyi:n ḡala: muṣa:hadat ha:la:t al-ḡiṣda:m/

Verbatim: [Civilians were subjected to all kinds of physical **torture** and psychological torture. **Among the kinds of physical torture** is food deprivation and sexual assault. **As for psychological torture it was manifested** in compelling civilians to witness cases of execution.]

Interpretation: Civilians were subjected to all kinds of physical and psychological torture, such as food deprivation, sexual assault, and compelling civilians to witness executions.

The lexical repetition of the words physical, psychological, and torture in Arabic is intended to reiterate the concept of trauma and deprivation. It seems that the interpreter felt that the recurrence of such lexical items was inappropriate in English rhetoric and should therefore be neutralized by skipping.

2. An interpreter may gloss over an SL term when he fails to find its exact equivalent in the TL or when a paraphrase is too long. The latter is most likely when the interpreter is lagging behind the speaker and attempts to catch up. It

should be noted, however, that this is a drastic measure that is rarely resorted to lest the interpreter should be accused of incompetence or malpractice, as in (27).

(27) **The rationale** for holding this seminar is to evaluate the papers presented in the conference.

هذه الندوة تقيم الأبحاث المقدمة للمؤتمر.

/ha:ðihī al-nadwah tuqayyim al-ʔabha:θ al-muqaddamah lil-muʔtamar/

[This seminar evaluates the papers presented in the conference.]

5. Conclusion

While both translators and interpreters perform almost similar tasks of rendering a TL version of an SL original, the performance constraints and the skills required for each vary in many aspects. A translator deals with visible text and has time to access reference sources, revise, edit, and polish his work, whereas a simultaneous interpreter deals with oral language under stressful conditions and has no time to refine or retract his output. Some of the points raised in this study, such as syntactic asymmetry, lexical incompatibility, and cultural-rhetorical divergence pertain to both translator and interpreter. Yet, issues such as lack of a holistic approach, time lag, and intonational patterns remain the exclusive domains of the interpreter.

Whether deviation between SL input and TL input in terms of quality, volume, and textual strategies is attributable to performance constraints or interpreters incompetence remains a moot point. The resort to compensatory strategies, such as ellipses, paraphrase, and approximation, should be approached with caution, as they can be abused by novice interpreters who may attribute their errors to poor SL quality and unfavorable logistics.

Further studies in this area may investigate cognitive and pragmatic aspects of interpretation in contrast to translation. Other studies might consider points of convergence and divergence across different languages.

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NON-FINITE CONTROL IN PERSIAN

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This paper provides an analysis of PRO in Persian. I will show that apparently infinitival clauses are actually nominal in nature, and not clausal. Then, considering the mixed behavior of the infinitival form with respect to its precedence relation with its complement, I will propose two distinct structures for the construction in question: one involving a nominal construction headed by a noun taking its complement to the right à la Giorgi & Longbardi's (1991) analysis of a similar construction in Italian and another having the structure [_{NP} [_{IP} PRO ...]] following Chomsky's (1996b) analysis of a corresponding construction in English. A new analysis of arbitrary PRO in Persian is presented in section four, providing further support for the proposed analysis. The paper is concluded with arguments against analyzing the infinitival forms in Persian as morphological compounds.

1. Persian infinitival clauses

Persian is an pro-drop language in which major phrasal categories, except VPs, are head-initial (Samiian 1983, Ghomeshi 1996). Although, the language is an SOV type, complement clauses follow the matrix verb underlyingly (c.f. Karimi 1989, Darzi 1996). There are sentences in which the covert subject of an embedded clause is strictly coreferential with the matrix subject suggesting a subject control phenomenon in finite clauses. This is illustrated in (1). The head of the embedded clause in this sentence is inflected for person and number, suggesting that the clause is finite, though due to the presence of the subjunctive mood prefix the verb may not be morphologically in the past tense. The subjunctive mood in Persian involves the morpheme *be* prefixed to the present stem of the verb.

- (1) mæn_i qæsd dar-æm [PRO_i name be-nevis-æm]
I intention have-1sg letter sub-write-1sg
'I intend to write a letter.'

There are various analyses of sentences similar to (1) (c.f. Hashemipour 1990, Ne'matzadeh 1995). However, I am not concerned with finite control constructions in Persian in this study. There are also sentences corresponding to (1) in which the embedded clause is apparently non-finite as illustrated in (2). In (2a), *neveštæn* 'writing' follows its complement 'letter', whereas in (2b), it precedes its complement with the morpheme *e* 'of', known as *Ezafe* 'addition' intervening between the two. *Ezafe*, according to Samiian (1983), usually links a non-verbal head (N, P, A) to its postmodifiers. Given the Uniformity of Theta Assignment

Hypothesis, assigning a structure to the bracketed infinitival clause in (2) identical to the corresponding finite clause in (1) is warranted within the GB framework (Chomsky 1981, 1986a,b).

- (2) a. mæn qæsd-e name neveštæn dar-æm
 I intention-Ez letter writing have-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'
- b. mæn qæsd-e neveštæn-e name dar-æm
 I intention-Ez writing-Ez letter have-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'

In addition to this type of sentences, Ne'matzadeh (1995) maintains that non-verbal components of compound verbs and constructions containing a nominal do, in fact, involve a control construction. This is illustrated in (3) and (4), respectively, with the highlighted relevant constituents adopted from her study. In these sentences, Ac stands for accusative and ye is an allomorph of the *Ezafe* morpheme.

- (3) dowlæt bayæd ba ÆFZAYEŠ-E dæstmozd-ha æz
 government must by increase-Ez wage-pl from
 kargær-an hemayæt kon-æd
 worker-pl support do-3sg
 'The government must support workers by increasing their wages.'
- (4) dadgah BÆRRÆSI-YE pærvænde-ye u ra æqæ bændaxt-ø
 court investigation-Ez file-Ez he-Ac back threw-3sg
 'The court postponed his file.'

Ne'matzadeh (1995) analyzes the sentences in (2) and the relevant parts of (3) and (4) as involving an obligatory control construction. She holds that there is a PRO in the Specifier of the infinitival IP of the embedded clause. She states that the string embedded under the matrix verb of the construction under discussion is an exceptional clause. Under, her analysis, the structure of the sentences in (2) may be represented as in (5) in which Ind stands for 'indicative'.

- (5) a. mæn_i qæsd-e [_{IP} PRO_i name neveštæn] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez letter writing have-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'
- b. mæn_iqæsd-e [_{IP} PRO_i neveštæn-e name] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez writing-Ez letter have-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'

She states that PRO is Case marked by the preposition preceding it as in (3) as required in Chomsky's (1981:322) analysis. She further maintains that cases where PRO is preceded by an *Ezafe* as in (5), satisfy the Case requirement on the PRO as the *Ezafe* is, in fact, a preposition assigning Case to PRO. In short, she presents an ECM analysis of infinitival clauses in Persian. In the next section, I will propose several arguments to show that the infinitival construction in Persian is nominal and not clausal.

2. The grammatical category of Persian infinitival clauses

In this section, I demonstrate that the so-called infinitival construction in Persian has a clausal structure.

2.1. Theoretical considerations

Ne'matzadeh's (1995) ECM analysis of Persian infinitival clauses is problematic. Firstly, the exceptional clause analysis of the embedded constituent, treated by Ne'matzadeh as a clause, makes the PRO available for outside government in violation of the PRO Theorem. Secondly, Chomsky (1986a:104) proposes that PRO has an Inherent Case not a Structural one as assumed by Ne'matzadeh (1995). Thirdly, Samiian (1983) has persuasively argued that the *Ezaf* is not a preposition.

2.2. Empirical considerations

In this subsection, I present several syntactic arguments to support the hypothesis that infinitival clauses in Persian are not clausal. The arguments are constructed in such a way as to show that the structure under discussion is a nominal structure (NP/DP).

Overt NPs

If the exceptional clause analysis of the construction in question is on the right track, we would expect overt NPs to occur in the position of PRO as the NP is governed and Case assigned by an outside governor. This prediction is not borne out as suggested by the ungrammaticality of (6) which correspond to those in (2).

- (6) a. mæn qæsd-e [æli name neveštæn] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez Ali letter writing have-1sg
- b. *mæn qæsd-e [æli neveštæn-e name] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez Ali writing-Ez letter have-1sg
 *'I intend that Ali writes a letter.'

The complementary distribution between PRO and an overt NP in these sentences undermines Ne'matzadeh's (1995) analysis, indicating that the structural position in question is not a structural Case position. This makes the ECM analysis of the construction implausible.

Presence of *ke* 'that'

The second argument against the ECM analysis and in support of the nominal nature of infinitival clauses in Persian comes from the impossibility of the so-called infinitival clause to be headed by the complementizer *ke* 'that' which optionally heads all embedded complement clauses in Persian. The sentence in (7) which involves a finite control may optionally be headed by the optional complementizer, whereas the NP object in (8) may not.¹ The apparently infinitival clause in (9) cannot be headed by the complementizer either. This can be explained if the seemingly infinitival clause is treated as an NP not an IP or CP.²

- (7) mænⁱ qæsd dar-æm (ke) [PRO_i name be-nevis-æm]
 I intention have-1sg (that) letter Sub-write-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'
- (8) *mæn ke name mi-nevis-æm
 I that letter Ind-write-1sg
 'I write a letter.'
- (9) mæn qæsd-e (*ke) [name neveštæn] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez (that) letter writing have-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'

Restrictions on coordination

The third argument in support of the nominal analysis of infinitival constructions in Persian comes from the restrictions on coordination. In this language, two CPs or NPs may be coordinated as shown in (10) and (11) respectively.

- (10) a. æli dær bank kar mi-kon-æd væ pedær-æš doktor æst
 Ali in bank work Ind-do-3sg and father-his doctor is
 'Ali works in a bank and his father is a doctor.'
- b. u mi-dan-æd æli dær bank kar mi-kon-æd væ
 he Ind-know-3sg Ali in bank work Ind-do-3sg and
 pedær-æš doktor æst
 father-his doctor is
 'He knows that Ali works in a bank and his father is a doctor.'
- (11) a. sara in mæqale væ an ketab-e čamski-ra xande æst
 Sara this paper and that book-Ez Chomsky-Ac read is
 'Sara has read this paper and that book by Chomsky.'
- b. u nešani-ye ma væ nam-e pedær-æm ra mi-dan-æd
 he address-Ez we and name-Ez father-my Ac Ind-know-3sg
 'He knows our address and my father's name.'

However, while an NP may be coordinated with an infinitival clause as in (12), a CP may not be so coordinated as shown in (13). This shows that infinitival clauses in Persian are not CPs.

- (12) a. mæn_i qæsd-e [PRO_i ræftæn-e be emrika] væ [IP molaqat
 I intention-Ez going-Ez to U.S and meeting
 ba u-ra] næ-dar-æm
 with he-Ac neg-have-1sg
 'I do not intend to go to the U.S and meet him.'
- b. mæn_i qæsd-e [PRO_i xæridæn-e xane] væ [IP foruš-e
 I intention-Ez uying-Ez house and selling-Ez
 an be u-ra] næ-dar-æm
 it to he-Ac neg-have-1sg
 'I do not intend to buy a house and sell it to him.'

- (13) a. *u [NP nešani-ye ma] væ [CP æli dær bank kar
 he address-Ez we and Ali in bank work
 mi-kon-æd] ra mi-dan-æd
 Ind-do-3sg Ac Ind-know-3sg

'He knows our address and that Ali works in a bank.'

- b. *u mi-dan-æd [CP æli dær bank kar mi-kon-æd]
 he Ind-know-3sg Ali in bank work Ind-do-3sg
 væ [NP nešani-ye ma-ra]
 and address-Ez we-Ac

'He knows our address and that Ali works in a bank'.

Distribution of the *Ezafe* morpheme

The fourth argument in support of the nominal analysis of infinitival forms in Persian comes from the distribution of the *Ezafe* morpheme. Samiiian (1983) shows that *Ezafe* occurs between a non-verbal head and some of its postmodifiers. Specifically, she (1983:64) mentions that the *Ezafe* does not occur between a head noun and its complement clause or relative clause. Now, considering the fact that this morpheme must precede an infinitival form as in (14) but may never precede a complement clause as shown in (15), we can legitimately conclude that infinitival forms in Persian are not clausal. The sentence in (14) that involves an infinitival form is totally out in the absence of the *Ezafe* morpheme. However, the sentence in (15) which involves a finite embedded clause is totally out in the presence of the *Ezafe* morpheme.

- (14) a. mæn qæsd-*(e) [name neveštæn] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez letter writing have-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'

- (15) a. mæn_i qæsd-*(e) dar-æm [PRO_i name be-nevis-æm]
 I intention-Ez have-3sg letter Sub-write-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'

The specificity marker *ra*

The presence of *ra* which, according to Karimi (1989), marks certain NPs for specificity provides us with the fifth argument in support of the nominal analysis of infinitival forms in Persian. The crucial point here is that *ra* strictly marks NPs, mainly specific direct objects, but not complement clauses as shown in (16) and (17) respectively. The absence of *ra* in (16) renders the sentence ungrammatical regardless of its precedence relation with the complement clause.

- (16) man u-ra mi-šenas-æm
 I he-Ac Ind-know-1sg
 'I know him.'

- (17) a. *u mi-dan-æd æli dær bank kar mi-kon-æd (*ra)
 he Ind-know-3sg Ali in bank work Ind-do-3sg Ac

- b. *u mi-dan-æd (*ra) ali dær bank kar mi-kon-æd
 he Ind-know-3sg (Ac) Ali in bank work Ind-do-3sg
 'He knows that Ali works in a bank.'

The fact that *ra* may follow infinitival forms in Persian suggests that infinitivals in this language are nominal. This is shown in (18).

- (18) mæn qæsd-e [ræftæn be emrika-ra] næ-dar-æm
 I intention-Ez going to U.S-Ac neg-have-1sg
 'I do not intend to go to the U.S.'

Distribution of the infinitival forms

Another syntactic argument in support of the hypothesis proposed in this paper comes from the differences in the distribution of clausal complements as opposed to NP complements. Non-specific NPs in Persian have to precede the verb according to Karimi (1989). While object NPs in general occur before the main verb in unmarked cases, complement clauses have to follow the main verb or the sentence is ungrammatical. This is illustrated in (19) and (20) respectively.

- 19) a. æli ketab mi-xan-æd
 Ali book Ind-read-3sg
 b. *æli mi-xan-æd ketab
 Ali Ind-read-3sg book
 'Ali is reading a book.'
- (20) a. u mi-dan-æd [_{CP} æli dær bank kar mi-kon-æd]
 he Ind-know-3sg Ali in bank work Ind-do-3sg
 b. *u [_{CP} ælidær bank kar mi-kon-æd] mi-dan-æd
 he Ali in bank work Ind-do-3sg Ind-know-3sg
 'He knows that Ali works in a bank.'

Now the fact that infinitival forms in Persian strictly precede the main verb as shown in (21) may be explained if they are not treated as clauses.³

- (21) a. mæn qæsd-e [ræftæn (e) be emrika-ra] næ-dar-æm
 I intention-Ez going Ez to U.S-Ac neg-have-1sg
 b. *mæn qæsd-(e) næ-dar-æm [ræftæn (e) be emrika-ra]
 I intention-Ez neg-have-1sg going Ez to U.S-Ac
 'I do not intend to go to the U.S.'

Morphological evidence

Finally, infinitival forms behave morphologically like NPs as they can take plural ending not available to clauses. This is illustrated in (22) in which the infinitival form is marked for plurality, making the nominal analysis of infinitival forms more plausible. Note also that the infinitival form in this example is the complement of the preposition *æz* 'from', further supporting the nominal analysis of infinitivals in Persian under the Case Resistance Principle (Stowell 1981) which restricts clauses to non-Case positions.

- (22) mæn æz doruq goftæn-ha-ye u xæste šod-e-æm
 I from lie telling-pl-Ez he tired got-en-1sg
 'I cannot tolerate his lies (him telling lies).'

In sum, there are variety of reasons coming from both syntactic and morphological facts supporting the idea that infinitivals in Persian are nominal not clausal. In the following section, I will propose two distinct structures for the construction in question.

3. The structure of non-finite control in Persian

In this section, two distinct structures are assigned to Persian infinitival constructions. If we consider the structure of the infinitival clauses in Persian, we will see a discrepancy in the head position of the construction relative to its complement. The head of the seemingly infinitival form *neveštæn* 'to write/ writing' takes its complement to the left in (2a) and to the right in (2b) repeated here in (23). These sentences also show a sharp contrast with regard to the presence of the *Ezafe* morpheme. The presence of *Ezafe* before *neveštæn* 'to write/ writing' renders (23a) ungrammatical, whereas in (23b) the absence of *Ezafe* makes the sentence totally out.

- (23) a. mæn qæsd-e [name (*e) neveštæn] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez letter (Ez) writing have-1sg
 b. mæn qæsd-e [neveštæn-*(e) name] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez writing-(Ez) letter have-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'

Recall that as mentioned earlier non-verbal heads which are head-initial take *Ezafe* before certain of their postmodifiers whereas VPs are head-final and are never separated from their complements by the *Ezafe* morpheme. As such, the analysis that suggests itself is that the bracketed phrase in (23a) contains a projection of IP whereas the one in (23b) is purely nominal with no Infl. However, if the infinitival form (23b) is treated as an NP with a PRO in its Spec, then PRO will be governed by the matrix verb under Chomsky's (1986a,b) analysis violating the PRO Theorem. Chomsky (1986a,b) refers to a similar situation in English Exceptional Case Marking constructions with an infinitival complement as in (24).

- (24) a. John regretted [_{IP} PRO losing the game]
 b. John believed [_{IP} [PRO losing the race] to be a tragedy]

To avoid the PRO Theorem violation, Chomsky (1986b) proposes that the infinitival clauses in (24) are dominated by an NP. I will adopt Chomsky's (1986b) proposal and extend it to the first type of infinitival phrases in Persian exemplified in (23a). The infinitival forms is, then, analyzed as having the structure [_{NP/DP} [_{IP} PRO]] in which the complement of the non-finite verb precedes it and the head of the NP is empty. The sentence in (23a) has the structure assigned to it in (25). The fact that the presence of *Ezafe* between *neveštæn* 'to write' and *name* 'letter' renders the sentence ungrammatical is then straightforwardly accounted for as verbs do not take *Ezafe*.

- (25) a. mæn qæsd-e [NP/DP [IP name neveštæn] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez letter writing have-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'

Following Giorgi & Longobardi's (1991) analysis of Romance languages, the structure of the second type of control construction in Persian, illustrated in (23b), is proposed to be [_{DP} [_{NP} PRO N' [N ...]]] in which the seemingly infinitival verb is actually an NP/DP with a PRO in its spec. This is suggested by the presence of the Ezafe morpheme which appears only between a non-verbal head and certain of its postmodifiers. The structure of (23b) is represented in (26).

- (26) mæn qæsd-e [_{NP/DP} PRO neveštæn-e name] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez writing-Ez letter have-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'

In so doing, the nominal nature of the construction in question, as suggested by various syntactic arguments, is accounted for as the apparently infinitival clause is embedded under an NP/DP. Moreover, the order of the complement of the so-called infinitival verb with respect to its complement is accounted for in both constructions.

4. Arbitrary control in Persian

The analysis proposed in this paper accounts for arbitrary control in Persian as well. The construction, not investigated in the literature on Persian as far as I know, involves sentences like (27)-(28) below.

- (27) [ræftæn (-e) be danešgah] fayde næ-dar-e
 going (Ez) to university use neg-have-3sg
 'It is no use going to school.'

- (28) sohbæt kærdæn pošt-e sær-e u] xub ni-st
 talk doing behind-Ez head-Ez he good not-is
 'It is not good to talk behind him.'

In Persian, the reciprocal anaphor *yekdigær* (each other/ one another) requires a c-commanding antecedent in the same clause as predicted by the Principle A of the Binding Theory. The lack of an appropriate antecedent for the anaphor renders the sentence ungrammatical as is suggested by the contrast in (29).

- (29) a. bæradær-e ma ba yekdigær sohbæt mi-kærd-ø
 brother-pl-Ez we to each other talk Ind-did-3sg
 '*Our brother was talking each other.'
- b. bæradær-an-e ma ba yekdigær sohbæt mi-kærd-ænd
 brother-pl-Ez we to each other talk Ind-did-3pl
 'Our brothers were talking to each other.'

Now, the sentence in (30) which involves an embedded infinitival construction can be explained if we assume that there is an arbitrary PRO in the embedded clause binding the anaphor.

- (30) mæn æz [sohbæt kærdæn pošt-e sær-e yekdigær]
 I of talk doing behind-Ez head-Ez each other
 motenæffer hæst-am
 hateful be-1sg

'I hate talking behind each other.'

In these sentences, the semantic subject of the infinitival form is understood to be arbitrary in reference. As such, positing a PRO in the subject position of the bracketed phrase (NP/DP) is in line with the analysis proposed in section three and explains why *yekdigær* 'each other' which requires the presence of a plural NP/DP in sentence has been licensed.

5. Against a nominal compound analysis

An alternative view might be to suggest that control constructions in Persian simply involve a morphological compound. Under this view, the bracketed constituents in (23) repeated here in (31) would involve a morphological compound with the control interpretation arising from theta-role assignment along the lines proposed in Williams (1987) and not through PRO. This analysis may also be extended to similar forms in the arbitrary control constructions in Persian.

- (31) a. mæn qæsd-e [name (*e) neveštæn] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez letter (Ez) writing have-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'
- b. mæn qæsd-e [neveštæn-*(e) name] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez writing-(Ez) letter have-1sg
 'I intend to write a letter.'

Such an analysis may face difficulties in explaining the presence of *Ezafe* in (31b). Recall that *Ezafe* links a non-verbal major lexical head to some of its post modifiers. As such, (31b) in which the absence of *Ezafe* renders the sentence ungrammatical may not easily be accounted for under the nominal compound analysis. Moreover, *sohbæt kærdæn* 'talking' in (30) has a modifying phrase *pošt-e sær-e yekdigær* 'behind each other' which may also appear before 'talking' indicating that we are dealing with a phrasal category not a morphological/lexical compound. In what follows, I present further arguments to show that a morphological compound analysis of the construction in question is not on the right track.

First, I follow Koizumi (1995:82) in assuming that the productivity of lexical compounds is relatively low as opposed to post-lexical compounds which are highly productive. In Persian, a great number of semantically appropriate nouns may cooccur with the infinitival form in the construction at hand. That is to say, in addition to 'letter writing' in (31a), Persian also has article writing, book writing, memory writing, note writing, phone number writing, prescription writing, joke writing, slogan writing, lie writing, dictionary writing, fine writing, statement writing, etc.

Second, following Koizumi (1995:82), I maintain that syntactic processes may access the first element of a post-lexical compound but not the first element of a morphological compound. Now, the nominal form in the bracketed infinitival construction in (32a) may be clitic left-dislocated to give (32b). This is not possible under the alternative analysis I am arguing against. In the worst case, infinitival constructions in Persian may involve a post-lexical compound, not a lexical compound, though this does not seem plausible either as I will show shortly.

- (32) a. name neveštān do saæt tul mi-keš-e
 letter writing two hour duration Ind-pull-3sg
 'Writing a letter takes two hours.'
- b. name neveštān-ešt do saæt tul mi-keš-e
 letter writing two hour duration Ind-takes-3sg
 'The letter, it takes two hours to write it.'

Third, and more importantly, the nominal part of the allegedly compound form may be separated from the infinitival form. This is not possible if the two formed one single constituent, namely a compound. This is illustrated in (33) in which *telefon* 'call' is not adjacent to *zædæn* 'place or make, lit:hit' with which it forms a compound under the alternative analysis I am rejecting.

- (33). telefon be ostād zædæn dorost ni-st
 call to professor hitting appropriate not-is
 'It is not appropriate to call one's professor.'

Fourth, the nominal element of the infinitival form may take some post-modifiers. This is illustrated in (34) indicating that the construction in question does not involve a compound.

- (34) a. mæn qæsd-e [name-ye ašeqane neveštæn] dar-æm
 I intention-Ez letter-Ez amorous writing have-1sg
 'I intend to write a love-letter.'

6. Summary

In this paper, I presented an analysis of PRO in Persian. I showed that apparently infinitival clauses are actually nominal in nature, and not clausal as proposed in the literature. Then, considering that the complement of the infinitival form sometimes follows and sometimes precedes it, I proposed two distinct structures for the construction in question. The first type of infinitival construction was analysed as simply involving a nominal construction in which the infinitival form is the head of an NP taking its complement to the right. The second type was analysed as having the structure $[_{NP/DP} [_{IP} PRO \dots]]$ in which the infinitival form is the head of a VP. The proposed analysis was then extended to arbitrary PRO in Persian. I finally showed that the infinitival forms in Persian may not be treated as involving a nominal compound undermining the analysis according to which Persian control constructions does not involve PRO, rather the control interpretation arises through theta-role assignment.

NOTES

* This paper was supported by Grant Number 314/1/296 from the Vice Chancellor for Research at Tehran University. The theoretical framework of the paper is the traditional GB theory as developed in Chomsky (1981, 1986a, b), and others. More recent analyses of control constructions, such as Hornstein's (1999) movement analysis may not straightforwardly account for the Persian due to the identical distribution of some overt NPs in Persian with PRO.

¹ The sentence in (8) may be considered grammatical just in case *ke* is construed to have an emphatic function on the identity of the subject performing the action stated by the verb.

² Further arguments presented in this paper makes it clear the infinitival form does not belong to any other category either.

³ According to Karimi (1989), only specific NPs marked by *ra* may follow the verb. The ungrammaticality of the ill-formed sentences has been attributed to ECP violation in Karimi's (1989) analysis. I will not discuss how infinitival forms seem to intervene between the constituents of what appears to be a compound verb such as *qaesd daštæan* (lit: to have intention) in this paper.

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**SPANISH EPENTHESIS:
FORMAL AND PERFORMANCE PERSPECTIVES¹**

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Epenthesis of /e/ before *sC*- clusters in Spanish is documented word-initially (e.g., *esfera*) as well as in word-internal contexts (e.g., *subestimar*). Cases of alternating epenthesis also exist (e.g., *arterio-sclerosis / arterioecclerosis*). Epenthesis is examined in the formal frameworks of lexical phonology and optimality theory. Both formal analyses are able to account for the majority of the data presented, however, each requires some arguably ad hoc manipulation in order to do so. From a performance standpoint, it is argued that epenthesis plays no role in the processing of native Spanish words. The appearance of epenthesis in loan words (e.g., *stress* > *estrés*) is explained in terms of schemas. The fact that /e/ emerges as the epenthetic vowel, as well as the fact that epenthesis applies so as not to break up *sC*- clusters, is the result of a phonotactic schema that has its origins in a historical epenthesis process that is synchronically defunct. Adopted words epenthesize with /e/ because /e/ is the most commonly occurring vowel before word initial *sC*- clusters. In addition, epenthesis occurs to the left of the *sC* cluster because word initial *seC*- is much less common than word initial *esC*-. Cases of alternating epenthesis are due to the varying degrees of morphological decomposition different speakers perform.

I. Introduction

In classical generative linguistics, the initial *e*- of words such as *esfera* 'sphere', *eslabón* 'link', and *estructura* 'structure' was seen as a predictable element that could be derived by rule, and thus did not need to appear in the underlying representation. Therefore, epenthesis of *e*- was derived by rule (e.g., Cressey 1978):

(1) $i \rightarrow e / \# _ _ s [+cons]$

In this way, [esfera] was derived from /sfera/. Further evidence for the existence of the rule is adduced by the fact that it applies to loanwords (e.g., *estándar* < standard; *esmóquin* < smoking jacket) as well as in interlanguage phonology (e.g., Scott > [eskot]; sport > [espor]).

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, I review the ability of extant formal analyses to account for a wide variety of Spanish words that undergo epenthesis, and I present an optimality theory account of the process. Second, I explore the role that epenthesis has as far as linguistic performance is concerned. In both

cases, the crucial test of an analysis is that it correctly account for the existence of epenthesis following certain prefixed words such as *antiestético* 'unaesthetic', and *interestatal* 'interstate', as well as the lack of epenthesis in other prefixed words such as *proscribir* 'to expatriate', and *transpirar* 'to perspire'. Since I differentiate between formal and performance models, these terms need precise definition.

2. Formal and performance models.

The major difference between formal and performance models may be couched in terms of the competence/performance distinction. Formal models deal with competence, which is defined as a speaker's knowledge of language (Chomsky 1980: 205). Competence is an idealized concept which comprises the system of rules, representations, and constraints which are thought to underlie a speaker's ability to produce and understand language. Formal models usually claim to reflect facts about an idealized speaker-hearer. Performance models, on the other hand, attempt to explain how actual speakers put linguistic knowledge to use in the course of the real-time task of speech production and comprehension.

In other words, formal linguistics is a realm of inquiry which deals with axiomatizations about linguistic structure which 'make it possible to deduce all true statements about the system from a small set of prior assumptions about its nature' (Kac 1974: 44). It reflects 'a kind of abstract complexity with which somehow the human brain must cope' (Goyvaerts 1978: 12), but does not necessarily spell out how the brain copes with it. Most linguists² would agree that formal representations in the form of rules, derivations, and constraints do not relate to the actual processing of language (performance) but only to competence (e.g., Bradley 1980:38; Chomsky and Halle 1968:117; Kiparsky 1975:198; 1982:34). For example, Kager (1999:26) states that 'explaining the actual processing of linguistic knowledge by the human mind is not the goal of the formal theory of grammar. ... a grammatical model should not be equated with its computational implementation'. The computational implementation belongs to domain of performance.

3. A rule-based analysis of epenthesis.

The fact that words beginning with *sC-* form illicit syllables, along with the fact that such clusters become *esC-* in borrowings prompted a number of early researchers to include a rule such as (1) in their formal analyses (Cressey 1978, Harris 1983, 1987; Hooper 1976; Morgan 1984). Harris and Cressey explicitly note that this rule only applies word initially. However, while epenthesis appears to occur mainly at the beginning of words as in (2), Eddington (1992) points out that epenthesis is not uniquely a word-initial process (3).

(2) /sfera/	→	<i>esfera</i>	'sphere'
/skribir/	→	<i>escribir</i>	'to write'
/in + skribir/	→	<i>inscribir</i>	'to inscribe'
/emi + sferio/	→	<i>hemisferio</i>	'hemisphere'
/arterio + sklerosis/	→	<i>arteriosclerosis</i>	'arteriosclerosis'

(3) /semi + sfera/	→	<i>semiesfera</i>	'semisphere'
/des + speransa/	→	<i>deseperanza</i>	'hopelessness'
/inter + stata/	→	<i>interestatal</i>	'interstate'
/anti + stetiko/	→	<i>antiestético</i>	'unaesthetic'

He accounts for this alternation in a lexical phonology framework in which prefixes are attached to stems in two different strata. For example *pro-* belongs to the first stratum while *semi-* belongs to the second, as seen in Table 1.

Table 1.

	CLASS I	CLASS II
STRATUM I	[pro][skribir]	[semi][sfera]
Affixation of Class I Prefixes	[proskribir]	---
Syllabification	[pros.kri.bir]	*[s.fe.ra]
Epenthesis	---	[es.fe.ra]
STRATUM II		
Affixation of Class II Prefixes	---	[semiesfera]
Syllabification	---	[se.mies.fera]
Epenthesis	---	---

The words in Tables 2-4 appear in *Diccionario de la lengua española* (Real Academia Española 1984), with the exception of those words marked with asterisks. Based on the data in Table 2, the prefixes *ad-*, *arterio-*,³ *hemi-*, *hipo-*, *peri-*, *pro-*, *tele-*, and *trans-* are Class I prefixes which are attached in Stratum I. Table 3 demonstrates that *contra-*, *inter-*, *pos(t)-*, *semi-*, and *super-* belong to Class II which are affixed in Stratum II.

Table 2: Examples of words containing Class I prefixes
(All words appear in Real Academia Española 1984).

adscrito 'assigned'	escrito 'written'
adstrato 'adstratum'	estrato 'stratum'
adstringir 'constrict'	estringir 'restrict'
arteriosclerosis 'arteriosclerosis'	esclerosis 'sclerosis'
hemisferio 'hemisphere'	esfera 'sphere'
hemisférico 'hemispherical'	esférico 'spherical'
hipostático 'hypostatic'	estático 'static'
hipóstilo 'column-supported'	estilo 'style'
periscopio 'periscope'	escopio ^{4*} 'scope'
proscribir 'expatriate'	escribir 'write'
prosperar 'prosper'	esperar 'hope'
prostático 'prostatic'	estático 'estatic'
telescopio 'telescope'	escopio* 'scope'
telesférico 'ski lift'	esférico 'spherical'
telesquí 'ski lift'	esquí 'ski'

transcribir 'transcribe'	escribir 'write'
transcurrir 'elapse'	escurrir 'drain'
transpirar 'perspire'	espirar 'exhale'

Table 3: Examples of words containing Class II prefixes.

contraescarpa 'counterscarp'	escarpa 'scarp'
contraescota 'preventer sheet'	escota 'sheet'
contraescotfn 'preventer sheet'	escotfn 'top sail sheet'
contraescritura 'counterdeed'	escritura 'deed'
contraespionaje* 'counterespionage'	espionaje 'espionage'
contraestay 'counterstay'	estay 'forestay'
interestatal 'interstate'	estatal 'state'
interestelar 'interstellar'	estelar 'stellar'
pos(t)escolar* 'after-school'	escolar 'after-school'
semiesfera 'semisphere'	esfera 'sphere'
superestrato 'superstratum'	estrato 'stratum'
superestructura 'superstructure'	estructura 'structure'

The division of prefixes into two classes is not made merely on their relationship to stem epenthesis. It has been observed that prefixes that are attached in later strata tend to be more productive, and to be more semantically transparent than those of earlier strata (Kiparsky 1982:8; Mohanan 1986:56-58). So far, this appears to be true as far as Spanish is concerned. The prefixes *contra-*, *inter-*, *pos(t)-*, *semi-*, and *super-* are much more productive than the Class I prefixes. In addition, the meaning of the words in Table 3 is easily deriveable from the meaning of the prefix plus the meaning of the stem. The same is not true of Class I prefixes. Another tendency of semantically transparent prefixes is that they are more likely to be affixed to unbound morphemes (Goldsmith 1990:260). Class II prefixes attach to complete well-formed words (*super* + *estructura* = *superestructura*), while Class I prefixes attach to stems, such as **scribir* and **scopio*, which are bound morphemes that cannot stand on their own as whole words.

The difficulty with this analysis becomes evident upon examining the words in Table 4. What class of prefixes do *anti-*, *des-*,⁵ *in-*, *pre-*, *re-*, *sobre-*, *sub-*, and *yugo-*,⁶ belong to?

In certain lexical items, they appear in stems that have undergone epenthesis (e.g., *antiestético*, *subespecie*), while in other cases they are affixed to unepenthesized stems (*antistrofa*, *subscribir*). As far as *pre-*, *re-*, and *sobre-* are concerned, whether epenthesis has applied or not may be masked by the fact that series of identical vowels in Spanish may be given a long or short duration. This is seen in words such as *alcohol*, *creer*, and *moho* ([alkol]~[alko:l], [krer]~kre:r, [mo]~[mo:]). I submit that this phonetic alternation has given rise to alternate spellings that do not accurately reflect whether there are two contiguous front mid-vowels at some point in the derivation.

Table 4.

antiesclavista* 'abolitionist'	esclavista 'proslavery'
antiescorbútico 'antiscorvy'	escorbuto 'scurvy'
antiespasmódico 'muscle relaxant'	espasmo 'spasm'
antiestético 'unaesthetic'	estético 'aesthetic'
antistrofa 'antistrophe'	estrofa 'stanza'
descampar 'stop raining'	escampar 'stop raining'
describir 'describe'	escribir 'to write'
descamar 'to scale'	escamas 'scales'
desescombrar 'to remove rubble'	escombros 'rubble'
describir 'to perform a literary analysis'	escribir 'to write'
desespañolizar 'to despanishize'	españolizar 'to spanishize'
desesperanza 'hopelessness'	esperanza 'hope'
desestancar 'to release'	estancar 'to jam'
desestañar 'to unsolder'	estañar 'to tin'
desestimar 'belittle'	estimar 'to esteem'
despabilar 'to wake up'	espabilar 'to wake up'
desparcir 'to scatter'	esparcir 'to scatter'
inescrutable 'inscrutable'	escrutar 'to scrutinize'
inescudriñable 'inscrutable'	escudriñar 'to scrutinize'
inesperado 'unexpected'	esperado 'expected'
inestable 'unstable'	estable 'stable'
inestancable 'unjamable'	estancar 'to jam'
inestimable 'invaluable'	estimado 'valued'
inscribir 'to inscribe'	escribir 'to write'
insculpir 'to insculpt'	esculpir 'to sculpt'
inspirar 'to inspire, inhale'	espirar 'to exhale'
pre(e)scolar* 'preschool'	escolar 'school'
preescribir 'to prewrite'	escribir 'to write'
preestablecido 'preestablish'	establecer 'to establish'
prescribir 'to prescribe'	escribir 'to write'
rescribir 'to rewrite'	escribir 'to write'
restablecer 'to reestablish'	establecer 'to establish'
reestreno 'second debut'	estreno 'debut'
reestructurar 'to restructure'	estructurar 'to structure'
resplandor 'brilliance'	esplendor 'brilliance'
restringir 'to restrict'	estringir 'to restrict'
sobrescribir 'to overwrite'	escribir 'to write'
sobre(e)sdrújula 'preantepenultimate'	esdrújula 'antepenultimate'
sobrestadía 'extra lay day'	estadía 'stay'
sobrestimar 'overestimate'	estimar 'to esteem'
subscapular 'subscapular'	escapular 'scapular'
subespecie 'subspecies'	especie 'species'
subestimado 'underestimated'	estimado 'esteemed'
substrato 'stratum'	estrato 'stratum'
subscribir 'to subscribe'	escribir 'to write'

substancia 'substance'
yugoeslavo 'Yugoslavian'

estancia 'stay'
eslavo 'Slav'

In order to account for many of the remaining inconsistencies, one may assume, as does Eddington (1992), that words such as those in Table 4 contain different prefixes that have the same phonological shape. That is, there are two *re-* prefixes, *re*₋₂ meaning roughly 'again', and *re*₋₁ whose meaning is opaque. Transparent suffixes are attached to unbound stems that have undergone epenthesis, and whose meaning is derivable from the meanings of the prefix and the stem. Following this line of reasoning, there is one prefix *anti*₋₂ meaning 'against', *des*₋₂ meaning 'not, against', *in*₋₂ meaning 'not', and *sub*₋₂ meaning 'under, inferior'. The meanings of *anti*₋₁, *des*₋₁, *in*₋₁, *re*₋₁, and *sub*₋₁ are opaque. Words containing the opaque prefixes are attached in Stratum I, while those with transparent prefixes are attached in Stratum II as in Table 5.

Table 5.

	CLASS I	CLASS II
STRATUM I	[des ₁][skribir]	[des ₂][stañar]
Affixation of Class I Prefixes	[deskribir]	---
Syllabification	[des.kri.bir]	*[s.ta.ñar]
Epenthesis	---	[<u>es</u> .ta.ñar]
STRATUM II		
Affixation of Class II Prefixes	---	[desestañar]
Syllabification	---	[de.ses.ta.ñar]
Epenthesis	---	---

The optional shortening of sequences of identical contiguous vowels (i.e., /ee/) in words beginning with the prefixes *pre-*, *re-*, and *sobre-*, along with the assumption that several apparently unitary prefixes are actually instances of two different prefixes, allows the majority of the words in Table 4 to be elegantly accounted for. Nevertheless, *descamar*, *desperanza*, and *subscapular* appear without epenthesized stems as if they contained Class I prefixes with opaque meanings, in spite of the fact that their meanings are clearly derivable from their constituent morphemes. *Yugoeslavo*, on the other hand, would have to undergo affixation in Stratum II, yet the meaning of *yugo-* is obscure. Of course, in an analysis of this sort it is always possible to simply consider these words exceptional. Another approach would be to abandon the attempt to provide independent semantic motivation for the distribution of prefixes, and stipulate that any prefixed stem that undergoes epenthesis is affixed in Stratum II.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty a lexical phonological analysis encounters is in accounting for the data in Table 6.

Table 6.

Hi=Unprefixed frequency higher than frequency of prefixed word
 Lo=Unprefixed frequency lower than frequency of prefixed word
 X=No independent stem exists
 ?=Unable to determine

		esC	ØsC	
anti(e)strofa 'antistrophe'	estrofa 'stanza'	0	0	?
arterio(e)sclerosis 'arteriosclerosis'	esclerosis 'sclerosis'	5	12	Hi
des(e)scamar 'to scale'	escamas 'scale'	0	5	Hi
des(e)scobar 'to remove rubble'	escombros 'rubble'	2	0	Hi
des(e)stimar 'belittle'	estimar 'to esteem'	16	0	Hi
des(e)esperanza 'hopelessness'	esperanza 'hope'	655	2	Hi
hemi(e)sferio 'hemisphere'	esfera 'sphere'	0	68	X
hemi(e)sférico 'hemispherical'	esférico 'spherical'	0	2	Hi
in(e)scrutable 'inscrutable'	escrutar 'to scrutinize'	17	0	Hi
in(e)esperado 'unexpected'	esperado 'expected'	306	1	Hi
pre(e)scolar 'preschool'	escolar 'school' adj.	6	0	Hi
pre(e)stablecido 'preestablish'	establecer 'to establish'	12	0	Hi
re(e)scribir 'to rewrite'	escribir 'to write'	21	0	Hi
re(e)stablecer 'to reestablish'	establecer 'to establish'	3	91	Hi
re(e)estreno 'second debut'	estreno 'debut'	7	0	Hi
re(e)estructurar 'to restructure'	estructurar 'to structure'	21	0	Hi
re(e)esplendor 'brilliance'	esplendor 'brilliance'	0	226	Lo
re(e)estringir 'to restrict'	estringir 'to restrict'	0	134	Lo
sobre(e)scribir 'to overwrite'	escribir 'to write'	0	0	?
sobre(e)sdrújula 'preantepenultimate'	esdrújula 'antepenultimate'	0	0	?
sobre(e)estada 'extra day layover'	estada 'stay'	0	0	?
sobre(e)estimar 'overestimate'	estimar 'to esteem'	3	1	Hi
sub(e)escapular 'subscapular'	escapular 'scapula'r	0	0	?
sub(e)especie 'subspecies'	especie 'species'	2	0	Hi
sub(e)estimado 'underestimated'	estimado 'esteemed'	12	1	Hi
sub(e)estrato 'substratum'	estrato 'stratum'	0	44	Hi
super(e)estrato 'superstratum'	estrato 'stratum'	0	0	?
super(e)estructura 'superstructure'	estructura 'structure'	16	0	Hi
tele(e)sférico 'ski lift'	esférico 'spherical'	0	0	?
tele(e)esquí 'ski lift'	esquí 'ski'	0	6	Hi
Yugo(e)slavia 'Yugoslavia'	eslavo 'Slav'	0	38	X
yugo(e)eslavo 'Yugoslavian'	eslavo 'Slav'	2	54	Lo

These data were originally obtained by searching Spanish language pages on the World-wide Web for instances of the words from Tables 2-4. Instances were sought both with and without the epenthetic /e/. One question that is of interest is which of the alternating forms in Table 6 is more common. Unfortunately, using the internet to determine the actual frequency of occurrence of a given word is not possible. In order to better quantify the results of the internet search, the rate of occurrence of these words was verified in two frequency dictionaries (Alameda

and Cuetos 1995; Sebastián, Cuetos, and Carreiras 2000). A count of all inflectional variants of these words (e.g., *re(e)scribir*, *re(e)scrito*, *re(e)scriben* etc.) appears in the third and fourth columns of Table 6. For example, the frequency dictionaries contain five instances of *arterioesclerosis*, and twelve instances of *arteriosclerosis*. It may be tempting to dismiss the occurrence of some of these words as mere spelling errors. Nevertheless, errors often provide very telling information, and should not be discarded offhand, especially when the 'errors' appear in the speech of many different speakers.

It is apparent that accounting for these alternations would require the same word beginning with the same prefix to undergo affixation in both strata, which is an undesirable state of affairs. For example, the meanings of *antiestrofa*, *restringir*, *sobreestadía*, *telesquí Yugoslavia* and *yugoeslavo* cannot be clearly derived from their parts, as can other words with Class II prefixes, yet they would have to undergo affixation in Stratum II. As Goldsmith notes (1990:264), 'assigning a suffix [read--prefix] to both classes without independent justification can, under certain circumstances, be just a sign that the model is in trouble, and is making wrong predictions'. Although the lexical phonological analysis is able to account for far more of the cases presented than early generative analyses could, (because they did not consider cases of word-medial epenthesis), it does not render a satisfying account of the full range of data presented herein without resorting to what could be considered ad hoc manipulation.

4. An optimality theory analysis

The most influential model of formal phonology to be developed in past ten years is arguably optimality theory (McCarthy and Prince 1994a, 1994b; Prince and McCarthy 1993; see Kager 1999, and Archangeli and Langendoen 1997 for introductory texts). It dispenses with the idea of ordered rules that specify how derivations are to proceed. Instead, it assumes that a variety of different outputs are generated, and the task of the grammar is to evaluate each output in terms of how well it conforms to stipulated constraints. Constraints are violable statements that are ranked hierarchically. A constraint that is ranked lower may be violated as long as a higher ranking constraint is not violated.

The following analysis draws on the four constraints that are most relevant to epenthesis in Spanish: morpheme contiguity (M-CONT), sonority (SONORITY), vowel faithfulness (FAITH-V), and no coda (NOCODA). Morpheme contiguity prohibits the insertion of elements into a morpheme. In regards to Spanish epenthesis, this constraint was noted at an early date by Hooper (1976: 234-5). Sonority stipulates that in a syllable, the most sonorous elements must be closest to the nucleus. Vowel faithfulness suggests that only vowels that exist in the underlying representation may appear in the surface structure, which means that epenthesis is prohibited.⁷

Table 7.

/spera/	M-CONT	SONORITY	FAITH-V	NOCODA
a. spe.ra		*!		
b. sE.pe.ra	*!		*	
☞ c. Es.pe.ra			*	*

As is seen in Table 7, the correct constraint ranking is: M-CONT, SONORITY >> FAITH-V, NOCODA. The unepenthesized output **spera* violates sonority because in the syllable [spe], the [p] is closer to the nucleus than [s], yet [p] is less sonorous. The output **sepera* allows epenthesis morpheme-internally in violation of morpheme contiguity. It also violates vowel faithfulness by inserting an epenthetic vowel that does not appear in the underlying representation. The correct outcome, *espera* is chosen in spite of the fact that it violates vowel faithfulness by undergoing epenthesis, as well as violating the no coda constraints by containing the closed syllable [es]. The correct outcome emerges as a result of the fact that the constraints it violates are ranked below those it does not violate.

Table 8.

/in+spirado/	M-CONT	SONORITY	FAITH-V	NOCODA
☞ a. ins.pi.ra.do				*
b. i.nEs.pi.ra.do			*!	*
c. in.sE.pi.ra.do	*!		*	*
d. in.spi.ra.do		*!		*
/tele+skopio/				
☞ a. te.les.co.pio				*
b. te.leEs.co.pio			*!	*
c. te.le.sE.co.pio	*!		*	
d. te.le.sco.pio		*!		

Table 8 demonstrates how this analysis can be extended to the words in Table 2 without modification. However, prefixed words that attach to an epenthesized stem, such as those in Table 3, are incorrectly predicted not to undergo epenthesis. In Table 9, the predicted outcomes are **semisfera* and **insperado* rather than the correct *semiesfera* and *inesperado*. Clearly, another constraint is at work here which I call semantic transparency (SEM-TRANS).

Semantic transparency dictates that when the meaning of an affixed word is clearly derivable from its constituent parts, the affix must be attached to an unbound stem. Consider the English word *deceive*. It is composed of the prefix *de-* and a root *ceive*. The meaning of the word is not derivable from its parts, and *ceive* is a bound morpheme, therefore, *deceive* does not violate SEM-TRANS. *Reread*, is also composed of a prefix and root, but the meaning 'to read again' is derivable from the combination of the meanings of the two morphemes. Semantic transparency is not violated in this case either since *read* is an unbound morpheme.

Table 9.

/in+sperado/	M-CONT	SONNORITY	FAITH-V	NOCODA
☞ a. * ins.pe.ra.do				*
b. i.nEs.pe.ra.do			*!	*
c. in.sE.pe.ra.do	*!		*	*
d. in.spe.ra.do		*!		*
/semi+sfera/				
☞ a. * se.mis.fe.ra				*
b. se.miEs.fe.ra			*!	*
c. se.mi.sE.fe.ra	*!		*	
d. se.mi.sfe.ra		*!		

Table 10 demonstrates a case in which SEM-TRANS is violated. SEM-TRANS allows epenthesis in *inesperado* because the meaning 'not expected' is derivable from the meaning of the prefix plus that of the root, and *esperado* is an unbound morpheme. By the same token, the meaning of *inspirado* cannot be derived from its constituent parts. Therefore **inspirado* is not allowed, since **espirado* is not an extant unbound morpheme. (The constraint ranking is: SEM-TRANS, M-CONT, SONORITY >> FAITH-V, NOCODA. NOCODA and SONORITY are essentially constraints on syllabification, which is not an important issue in the present analysis, and do not affect the outcome, therefore, they will not be included in the remainder of the discussion.)

Table 10.

/in+spirado/	SEM-TRANS	M-CONT	FAITH-V
☞ a. inspirado			
b. inEspirado			*!
c. insEpirado		*!	*
/in+sperado/			
a. insperado	*!		
☞ b. inEsperado			*
c. insEperado	*!	*	*

The difficulty with this analysis arises in accounting for the cases of variable epenthesis in Table 6. For example, *subestrato* with epenthesis would be predicted given the constraints and rankings presented so far (SEM-TRANS, M-CONT >> FAITH-V). However, one could argue that *subestrato* and other exceptionally behaving words could be explained by considering a differing constraint ranking, namely FAITH-V >> SEM-TRANS, M-CONT as in Table 11.

Table 11.

/sub+strato/	FAITH-V	SEM-TRANS	M-CONT
☞ a. substrato		*	
b. subestrato	*!		
c. subsetrato	*!	*	*

This reversal in constraint rankings works well for semantically transparent words, but does not explain epenthesis in the semantically opaque words *antiestrofa*, *hemisferio*, *reesplandor*, *reestringir*, *sobreestadia*, *telesférico*, *telesquí*, *yugoeslavia*, and *Yugoeslavia*. Regardless of the ranking, these words will be predicted to occur without epenthesis (Tables 12 and 13). Nevertheless, the frequency information in Table 6 shows that the optimality analysis correctly predicts the more frequent unepenthesized version of these words, and only has difficulties with the arguably odd epenthesized counterparts that are infrequently occurring forms.

Table 12.

/emi+sferio/	SEM-TRANS	M-CONT	FAITH-V
☞ a.hemisferio			
b.hemiEsferio			*!
c. hemisferio		*!	*

Table 13.

/emi+sferio/	FAITH V	SEM-TRANS	M-CONT
☞ a. hemisferio			
b. hemiEsferio	*!		
c. hemisEferio	*!		*

Whether or not the optimality account is preferable to the lexical account is open to debate. Both models require some manipulation (i.e., affixation in both strata or differential constraint rankings) in order to handle the majority of the data.

5. A performance analysis.

In Section 2, I differentiate between formal and performance models of language. Formal models are not generally thought of as specifying the actual mechanisms used in processing language. However, the distinction between formal and performance models is clouded because formal mechanisms are often spoken of as if they relate to steps in actual processing (Carr 2000; Eddington 1996). It is also not uncommon for a formal model to appeal to performance-related evidence in order to support a formal mechanism (Stemberger 1996). In order to avoid these pitfalls, I chose to divide the present discussion into its formal and performance aspects.

There are essentially three reasons for including a rule of epenthesis in a formal grammar. The first is that /e/ before sC- is predictable, and therefore may not form part of the lexicon. This formal motivation contrasts with evidence from performance that shows that detailed information about individual words is stored in memory (Brown & McNeill, 1966; Bybee, 1994; Pisoni, 1997; Palmeri, Goldinger, & Pisoni, 1993; Goldinger, 1997), not merely the unpredictable or contrastive characteristics. Therefore, this motivation does not apply to performance.

Another reason for assuming a formal rule of epenthesis is that one is needed in order to explain the /e/-Ø alternation that occurs in words containing the same stem (e.g., *inØscribir*, *proØscribir*, *reEscribir*, *preEscribir*). From a performance

standpoint, this sort of analysis suggests that speakers obligatorily parse morphologically complex words. It is doubtful that the majority of Spanish speakers recognize that *proscribir* is composed of a prefix followed by exactly the same stem found in *reescribir*. Experimental evidence suggests that many morphologically complex words are stored as wholes rather than segmented into morphemes (Alegre and Gordon 1999; Baayen, Dijkstra, and Schreuder 1997; Butterworth 1983; Bybee 1995; Manelis and Tharp 1977; Sereno and Jongman 1997). Therefore, it is more likely that both words have individual entries in the mental lexicon. Of course, the stems of these words may be linked to each other due to their phonological similarity, but not their semantic similarity.

The third reason given for a rule of epenthesis is that a rule appears to apply to foreign borrowings, as well as in interlanguage phonology (*stress* > *estrés*; *stay* > [estej]). This fact surely deserves treatment in a model of linguistic performance which I will address later. Nevertheless, the application of epenthesis to foreign words may not be construed as evidence that the same productive epenthesis process applies each time speakers process a native Spanish word such as *esperar* or *desesperanza*. Epenthesis in native words must be viewed as an unproductive process (Terrell 1983). That is, the /e/ in a word such as *estufa* 'stove' is not missing in the mental representation of the word, only to be attached in the course of production. Therefore, a performance model must assume that words are learned and stored in a form closely resembling surface structure, in other words, they are stored along with any historically epenthetic vowels they may contain. The burden of proof that a word such as *esfera* is actually stripped of its initial vowel in the course of processing, and stored as *sfera*, only later to undergo epenthesis, falls to those who would make such a claim.

If epenthesis in native words is not a productive process, and speakers merely learn each word on an item-by-item basis, how can the alternations in Table 6 be explained? The formal analyses presented earlier hold that the unmarked state of affairs is for semantically transparent words to be composed of a productive prefix followed by an unbound stem beginning with /e/. Semantically opaque words that are composed of an unproductive prefix followed by a bound stem without an epenthetic /e/ are also unmarked. The frequency data corroborates this because where there are alternative forms, the unmarked form is more frequent than the marked form. The only exceptions are *arteriosclerosis*, *descamar*, *restablecer*, and *substrato*. It may be that the relatively high frequency of *restablecer* allows it to maintain its irregular, unepenthesized form. On the other hand, I submit that the less frequent epenthesized forms *arterioesclerosis*, *desescamar*,⁸ and *subestrato* may be considered regularizations since they are semantically transparent forms containing an unbound stem.

In a study by Hay (2001), two types of English words were contrasted: 1) words such as *dishorn* whose stem (*horn*) is more frequent than the prefixed word itself (*dishorn*), and 2) words such as *dislocate* in which the stem (*locate*) is less frequent than the prefixed word (*dislocate*). Hay found that prefixed words such as *dishorn* are more likely to be semantically transparent, and are also more likely to be decomposed into the constituent morphemes *dis-* and *horn*. In contrast, words

such as *dislocate* are more semantically opaque, and less likely to be perceived as morphologically complex.

In regards to the Spanish data, prefixed words such as **spirar* arguably have a stem frequency of zero since their stems do not occur as independent words (Table 2). According to Hay, words containing this sort of stem are less likely to be perceived of as being morphologically complex. By the same token, they are more likely to be semantically opaque. However, in words such as *inesperado*, in which the stem (*esperado*) is also a viable word by itself, the stem frequency may vary, thus resulting in variable degrees of transparency and morphemic decomposition. The last column in Table 6 indicates whether the stem frequency is higher or lower than the whole word frequency. It should not be surprising that the only items in which the stem is less frequent than the entire prefixed word (i.e., *re(e)splendor*, *re(e)stringir*, and *yugo(e)slavo*) are words in which the unepenthesized versions (i.e., *resplendor*, *restringir*, and *yugoslavo*) are more common. In contrast, the majority of words, whose stems are more frequent than their prefixed counterparts, appear more frequently in the frequency dictionaries with epenthesized stems. The only exceptions to this generalization are *arteriosclerosis*, *descamar*, *restablecer*, and *substrato*, which have already been discussed as being marked forms. However, the lack of epenthesis in *hemisférico* and *telesquí* must also be considered exceptional by this account since the stems are more frequent than their prefixed partners. One explanation for their exceptional behavior, as far as Hay's observation is concerned, it is that the meaning of the unproductive prefixes *hemi-*, and *tele-* do not combine with the stems *esférico* and *esquí* in a way that their meaning is deriveable from the parts.

Some of the alternations involving *pre-*, *re-*, *sobre-*, and *tele-* may be due to the fact that sequences of identical vowels may be realized as either a short or long vowel in Spanish. For example, since *preescolar* can alternate between [preskolar] and [preeskolar], the written form may also alternate between *preescolar* and *prescolar*. The long vowels in *reesplendor*, *restringir*, and *sobreestadia* are unusual since these words are semantically opaque. However, given the alternation between short and long vowels in the language, the long vowel version of these words could be considered hypercorrections based on words such as *reescribir*, *reestablecer*, *reestructurar*, *sobreescribir*, *sobreestimar*, and *sobreesdrújula*.

According to Bybee (1988), the memory representation of high frequency words is stronger than for low frequency words. As a result, high frequency words are stored as entities that are more independent from other words. Low frequency words, on the contrary, are less independent, and are stored with more links to other lexical items. The majority of words that demonstrate apparent alternation between epenthesizing and non-epenthesizing stems are fairly low frequency words. I submit that their low frequency may account for some of the variation that exists. That is, whether or not the semantic relationship between the prefix and stem is perceived may vary from one person to the next. Speakers who perceive the relationship would be more likely to produce an epenthesized stem than those that have not parsed the word into its constituents.

6. Accounting for productive epenthesis

The previous sections dealt with unproductive epenthesis, which I argue is essentially lexicalized, although it demonstrates a small degree of variation. I now turn my attention to the kind of productive epenthesis that occurs when foreign words beginning in *sC-* are either pronounced by Spanish speakers, or adopted into the Spanish vocabulary. One approach to this question is to consider that the historical process, (which originally converted *sC-* clusters in Romance into *esC-* clusters in Spanish), is still in force. Of course, why some Romance languages, such as Spanish, underwent epenthesis while others, such as Italian, did not is a question that the present study does not pretend answer. Although this process is presumably no longer invoked in processing native Spanish words, it could still be in effect and play a part in interlanguage phonology when foreign words with initial *sC-* are nativized.

Another explanation for epenthesis is that epenthesis is a pattern of correspondence that Spanish speakers perceive to hold between foreign and native words. Some patterns of correspondence involve substituting a native phone for a foreign one. For example, French speakers tend to replace English /ð/ with /z/, and English /θ/ with /s/. However, not all correspondences entail replacing a foreign phone or with a native one. Replacement of English /θ/ with Spanish /s/ is a common process even for speakers of Peninsular Spanish which has /θ/ in its phonemic inventory. In a similar vein, Hualde (2000) notes that Spanish words ending in *-o* and *-on* are adopted into Basque with final *-u* and *-oi* respectively. This pattern of correspondence is followed even though the Basque vocabulary contains many native words ending in *-o* and *-on*.

What I would like to propose in the remainder of the paper is that the epenthesis process in Contemporary Spanish is phonotactic in nature. From this perspective, there are two issues to discuss. The first is why the epenthetic vowel is unwaveringly /e/; the second is why epenthesis occurs to form an *esC-* cluster instead of an *seC-* cluster. From a generative perspective, /e/ is the vowel of choice for epenthesis because it has been declared the default vowel in Spanish (Harris 1983, 1987). In terms of performance, the question is not to establish /e/ as the default in terms of how useful it is in a formal rule system, but to determine why it emerges as such in language usage. The most obvious answer is that /e/ is the most frequently occurring vowel in Spanish (Guirao and García Jurado 1990). However, in the context in which productive epenthesis occurs, there is further justification.⁹

Consider a study by Wang and Derwing (1994) on the English vowel alternations [e]~[æ], [i]~[ɛ], [a]~[ɪ], [o]~[ɔ], [u]~[ʌ]. In an experiment, English speakers were presented words and asked to add the suffix *-ity* to produce a new suffixed word. They were also asked to determine how the vowel quality of the stem changes as a result of suffixation. According to proposed formal rules, an [e] in the stem should yield a suffixed form with the vowel [æ], while an [i] should produce a suffixed form with [ɛ], and so forth. Many of the subjects did produce suffixed words with the predicted lax vowels. However, one of the most common vowels preferred by the subjects in the suffixed words was [ɔ], regardless of what the original vowel in

the stem happened to be. Wang and Derwing found there are a great many extant English words that end in *-ity* whose stem final vowel is [ɔ]. In other words, many of the subjects' choices appear not to be based on the original vowel in the unaffixed word, but on the fact that there are many *-ity* words that are preceded by the vowel [ɔ] in the stem. This sort of influence has been explained in terms of product-oriented schema (Bybee and Slobin 1982).

Another example of how a product-oriented schema can exert its influence on phonology is provided by Brown (1999). In Spanish, when /p/ is found in the coda of a syllable, it often suffers some sort of change. It may delete or be given a different point of articulation. For example, the pronunciation of *septiembre* 'September' has been documented as [setjembre], [settjiembre], and [sektiembre]. *Pepsi* yields [pesi], [petsi], or [peksi]. Brown observes that in words such as these, the most common change in the point of articulation is from [p] to [k], rather than to [t]. She explains this tendency as due to the fact that /k/ is a much more frequent element in the coda of Spanish words than is /t/.

What I would like to propose is that productive epenthesis in Spanish is the result of a similar sort of product-oriented schema. Epenthesis was an extremely productive process in the development of Spanish from Latin. According to some accounts, this historical process continues to be in effect in contemporary Spanish. However, I argue that the historical process no longer applies in Spanish, even in loan word phonology (e.g., *scanner* > *escáner*). Instead, the historical epenthesis process is responsible for establishing *esC-* as an extremely common cluster. That in turn, affected the phonotactic composition of the language. It is the high frequency of *esC-* at the beginning of words, in contrast to the low frequency of occurrence of *asC-*, *isC-*, *usC-*, and *osC-*, that explains why /e/ emerges as the default vowel.¹⁰

To test the frequency hypothesis in the present synchronic analysis, I obtained a type and token frequency count of these five word-initial clusters. The type frequency count was taken from a word list of about 90,000 entries.¹¹ The list contained 2,367 cases of *esC-* and only 447 combined cases of *a/i/u/o/sC-*. In other words, 82.3% of all instances of *VsC-* have /e/ as the initial vowel. Of course, token frequency is often an important factor in language processing as well. A token count was taken from a 1.1 million word corpus of spoken Spanish (Marcos Marín no date). In this corpus, 21,549 instances of *esC-* were found, and only 3,707 cases of *a/i/u/o/sC-*. Therefore, 85.3% of *VsC-* clusters have /e/ as the initial vowel, or summarizing the data in other terms, *esC-* occurs 5.8 times more often than all other *VsC-* clusters combined. Given these data, it is not surprising that /e/ emerges as the default vowel when Spanish speakers are obliged to adapt a foreign word beginning with *sC-* into Spanish phonological structure.

The next question to be resolved is why epenthesis of /e/ applies to the left of the /s/ in the *sC-* cluster, instead of to the right yielding *seC-*. The fact that epenthesis occurs to the left may be considered somewhat odd in that it creates a closed syllable; Itô (1989: 223) finds that epenthesis processes generally apply so as to create open syllables, not closed ones. I again argue that a process-oriented

schema is at work. As mentioned above, 2,367 words beginning with *esC-* were found in the word list. The question is how frequent the clusters are that would be formed if epenthesis applied to the right of the /s/. The word list contains only 637 words beginning with *seC-*, where *C* indicates any consonant that can occur in a word-initial *esC-* cluster. What this means is that the type frequency of *esC-* clusters is 3.7 times greater than its corresponding *seC-* clusters. The token frequency data indicates an even stronger pull towards *esC-* clusters. There are 21,549 cases of *esC-* clusters, and only 3,885 cases of *seC-* clusters, which means that in spoken Spanish, the former is 5.5 times more frequent than the latter.

Thus far, I have argued that a phonotactic schema is responsible for Spanish epenthesis. However, if the phonetic structure of foreign words is merely modified in accordance with native phonotactic patterns, why do so many borrowings exist that violate Spanish phonotactics? Many fairly recent borrowings admit blatantly un-Spanish final phonemes: *club*, *láptops*, *robots*, *megabit*, *módems*. Evidently, there are a number of competing factors that influence loan word phonology. The incorporation of illicit final phonemes appears to bow to another sort of pressure to maintain the phonology of the foreign language. For example, Janda, Joseph, and Jacobs (1994) document cases in which loan words appear to follow, not the actual phonology of the foreign language from which they were borrowed, but stereotypical notions and often erroneous notions about the phonological patterns of the foreign language. Of course, not all Spanish speakers will consistently pronounce these words with their unusual final phonemes. There is a tendency (which is both dialectal and individual) to delete them, which brings the words in line with Spanish phonotactic patterns (e.g., *club* > *chí*; *laptops* > *láptos*). Nevertheless, this differential treatment appears to be allowed because the words are perceived to be foreign or somehow not 'normal,' thus exempting them from native patterns.

An interesting case of differential treatment given to 'special' words may be found in the pop culture that revolves around the Japanese-produced *Pokémon* cartoon and video game characters. These media have introduced several hundred characters with names such as *Charmander*, *Pikachu*, and *Diglet*. However, as far as the plural morpheme is concerned, the English translation follows the Japanese use of the null morpheme: 'a bunch of Diglet,' 'two Pikachu,' and 'some Charmander'. Informal 'wug' experiments I've performed with children familiar with the *Pokémon* products demonstrate that children produce null plurals of even the most obscure (as well as nonexistent) *Pokémon* characters. At the same time, these same children apply the standard English -s when the 'wug' item is not presented as a *Pokémon*.

In sum, two or more factors may compete when the task of pronouncing a foreign word is presented. I argue that phonotactic schema account for epenthesis, and most likely for the deletion of odd word final phonemes as well. However, the retention of word final phonemes that violate Spanish phonotactics suggests a competing factor which may reflect the desire to retain the foreign phonological structure of certain borrowings, especially in words that are perceived as foreign or otherwise different from normal. Exactly why phonotactics wins in the case of

epenthesis and does not always win in the case of odd word-final phonemes is not clear, and calls for more study.

7. Conclusions

Both of the formal analyses of epenthesis are able to account for the majority of the data presented in this paper. However, each requires some ad hoc formal manipulation in order to do so. The performance-based analysis considers epenthesis to have productive and unproductive aspects. Productive epenthesis is thought to apply to foreign words. The fact that /e/ emerges as the epenthetic vowel, as well as the fact that epenthesis applies so as not to break up *sC-* clusters results from the fact that epenthesis is the result of the influence of phonotactic schemas; /e/ is the most commonly occurring vowel before word initially *sC-*, and word initial *seC-* is much less common than word initial *esC-*.

As far as unproductive epenthesis is concerned, the notion of semantic transparency (or opacity) explains the majority of the cases involving words comprised of a prefix plus a stem. The variability seen in the words in Table 6 is due to several factors. Because of the low frequency of most of these forms, speakers may differ in the extent to which they perceive a given word to be morphologically complex, or whether they see a semantic relationship between the prefix and stem. The more a speaker perceives the word to be comprised of a prefix plus stem, and the degree to which the semantics of both elements are seen to combine to give the meaning of the word, the more likely the stem is to be epenthesized. In addition, some of the alternation that occurs in words beginning with *pre-*, *re-*, *sobre-*, and *tele-* may be due to the optional phonetic realization of a sequence of identical vowels (i.e., /ee/) as either a long or short vowel. This phonetic alternation may influence the spelling as well.

NOTES

¹ I express my thanks to Joan Bybee, José Ignacio Hualde, and Devin Jenkins for their critique and input on this paper.

² However, Bromberger and Halle (2000:35) take a realist stance: 'Do speakers REALLY retrieve morphemes from their memory, invoke rules, go through all these labours when speaking? We think they do.'

³ *Arterio-* may be more correctly termed a pseudoprefix.

⁴ Probably a borrowing from English. Refers to a surgical camera.

⁵ When *des-* is affixed to a stem beginning with /s/, the outcome is a simple /s/ not a phonetically or orthographically geminate one (e.g., *des+scombrar* > *descombrar*).

⁶ *Yugo-* may be more correctly termed a pseudoprefix.

⁷ DEP-IO could be used in place of FAITH-V without changing the essence of the analysis.

⁸ The only forms of *descamar* that appear in the frequency dictionary are *descamación* and *descamamiento* that denote a flaking off of skin. This is semantically quite distant from *escamas* 'fish scales.' *Descamar* referring to the process of scaling a fish would be much less likely than *desescamar* in this context.

⁹ Guirao and García Jurado cite other studies in which diphthongs are counted as monophonemic units, so that the /e/ in /we, je, ej/ etc. does not figure into the count of instances of /e/. According to those studies /a/ is the most common vowel.

¹⁰ The reasons why /e/ appeared as the epenthetic vowel when epenthesis was a productive process are obviously different from those I suggest for synchronic epenthesis.

¹¹ Available for download at:

www.umich.edu/~archive/linguistics/texts/lexica/span-lex.zip

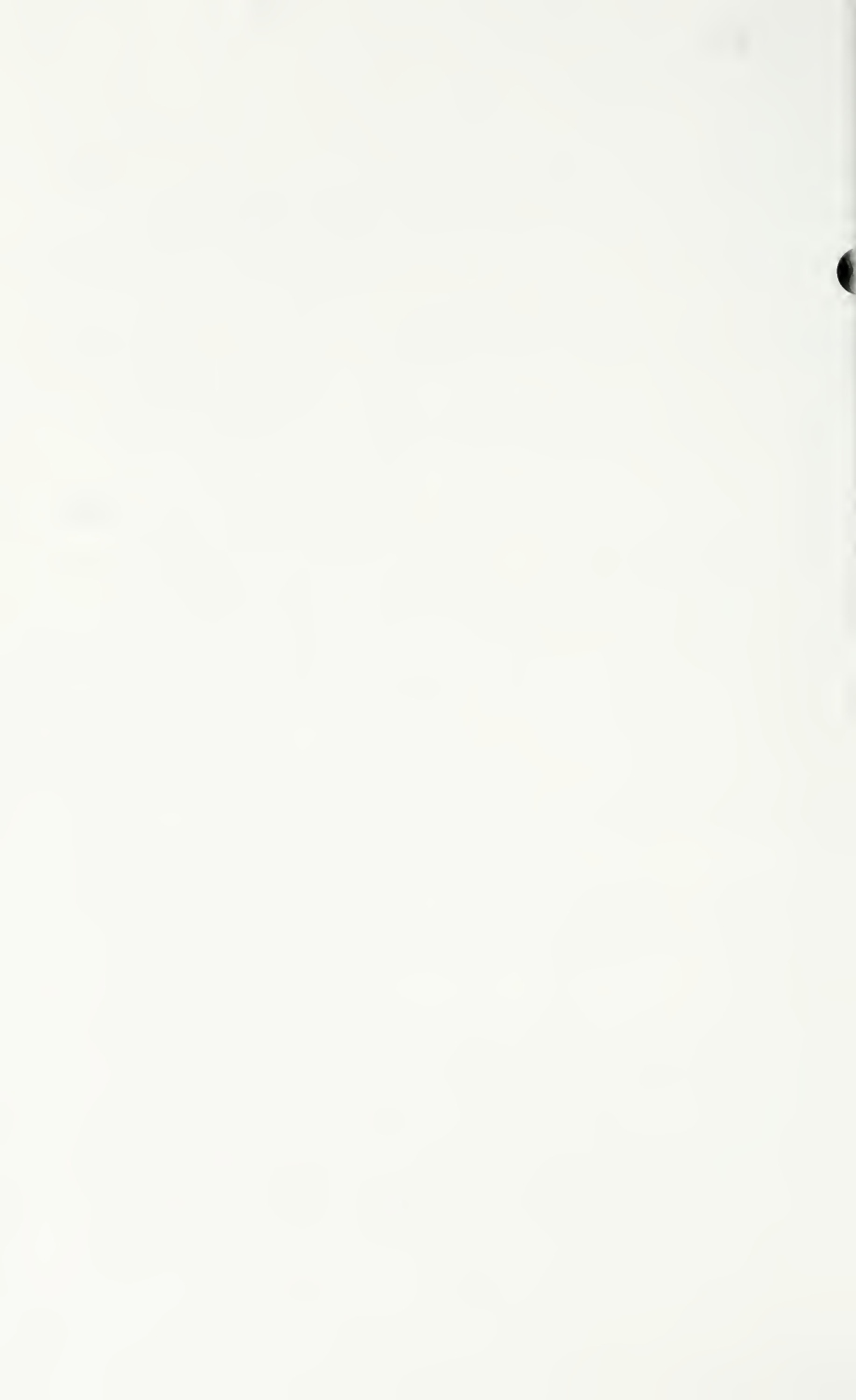
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THE CONSTRUCT STATE IN BERBER*

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This paper deals with the construct state (CS) in Berber within the minimalist framework. I argue that genitive constructions, or CSs of the type: [_{DP} N (prep) NP], are derived by means of N-raising to D in parallel with V-raising to T in TPs in conformity with the Head Movement Constraint. I adopt the DP analysis whereby CSs are DPs headed by D. This claim implies that D contains an AGR that may be overt or covert in Berber. At any rate, AGR triggers Gen(itive) case under Spec-Head agreement. I will argue that N-raising to D in such structures is due to the strong N-feature of the functional head D in Berber.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 1 presents data and describes the salient characteristics of CSs in Berber.¹ Section 2 deals with CSs as involving N-raising to D. Section 3 includes the agreement analysis of CSs. Section 4 discusses post-modifiers and how they agree with CSs in Berber.

1. Data

Consider the following examples:

- (1) a. tafunast (n) wrba
cow of boy
'The boy's cow'
b. aDar (n) wryaz
foot of man
'The man's foot'
c. tasarut *(n) tHanut
key of shop (fem)
'The key of the shop'
d. imi *(n) isli
mouth of the bridegroom
'The bride groom's mouth'
e. idamn *(n) ifullusn
blood of chicken
'The chicken's blood'
- (2) a. taguni (n) wsrdun
sleeping of mule
'The mule's sleeping'

- b. ign wsrđun
slept mule
'The mule slept.'
- c. iγrsi n wryaz i wHuli
slaughtering of man to sheep
'The man's slaughtering of the sheep'
- d. iγrs wryaz i wHuli.
slaughtered man the sheep
'The man slaughtered the sheep.'

According to Guerssel (1986), in Berber the NPs that form the CS are not a homogeneous class. Subject NPs in VSO sentences are in the CS form:

- (3) iswa wrba aman.
drank boy water
'The boy drank water.'

while object NPs and left-dislocated NPs are not marked for the CS:

- (4) a. inγa Ahmed arba
kill Ahmed boy
'Ahmed killed the boy.'
- b. arba, inγa-t Ahmed
boy kill-him Ahmed
'The boy, Ahmed killed him.'

Likewise, object prepositions are in the CS:

- (5) xf wrba
on boy
'about the boy'

whereas complements of some prepositions are in the free state form:

- (6) idda Ahmed bla arba
left Ahmed without boy
'Ahmed left without the boy.'

Noun complements in genitive structures are always in the construct form, as in (1) above.

In Tashlhit Berber, the CS is absent, i.e., only the 'of'-phrase is possible, while in Tamazight Berber, with which I am dealing, the CS is present but restricted in the sense that it is phonologically conditioned. The noun family where the two possibilities (CS and 'of'-phrase) are available is the one that consists of masculine nouns having consonant-initial stems. The corresponding stems in (1a-b) are: *-rba*, *rγaz*. However, if a noun is either feminine or includes a vowel-initial stem, the occurrence of the genitive marker is compulsory. (Cf. Guerssel 1986.)

The issue of the formation of the CS in Berber is perhaps phonological, but it is unclear to what extent phonology and syntax interact. The genitive preposition *n* is presumably omitted at PF for phonological reasons that are beyond the scope of

this paper. (Cf. Chaker 1983; Guerssel 1986; El Moujahid 1993; and Sadiqi 1986a, 1986b.)

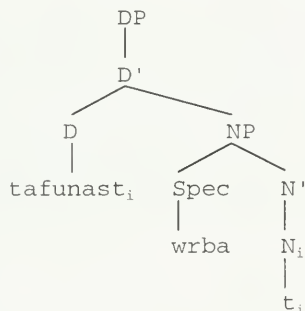
Examples in (1) are constatives and in (2) include derived nominals. Both structures are commonly referred to as construct state nominals, which are characterized by the following major properties:

- lack of a preposition
- strict adjacency
- the head N precedes the genitive phrase and bears the case of the entire construction
- the head N assigns Gen case to the argument it immediately governs
- the head N can never have a definite determiner.

2. N-raising to D

In (2) above the CS contains a derived nominal with two arguments, subject and object, as in VSO sentences (2a) and (2b). This illustrates that there is a structural parallelism between verbal sentences and CSs in Berber, which backs up the DP hypothesis. I assume that CSs are derived as in (7), respectively:

(7)

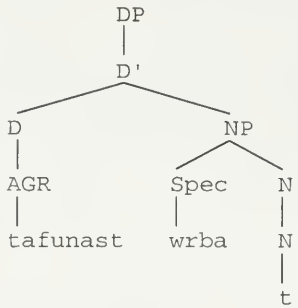


In (7), the head N is raised from within the lexical projection NP to D, whereas the genitive complement remains in-situ, which results in a CS. Evidence for the fact that the genitive NP does not move comes from the process of nominalization, which necessitates the order NSO, as in verbal clauses.

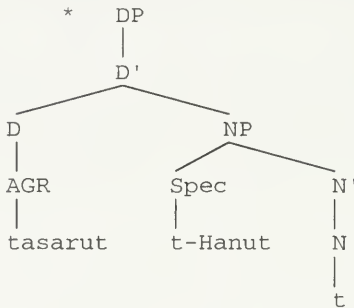
N-raising to D conforms with the Head Movement Constraint, and the motivation behind it is to discharge Gen case onto the argument on its right. But how are definiteness and agreement related? Why is a definite determiner prohibited from appearing on the head N in CSs?

These questions find a reasonable answer in the DP hypothesis where CSs are argued to be DPs headed by D Gen. This claim implies that D contains an abstract AGR that triggers Gen case. Thus, it is in complementary distribution with overt determiners (Aoun 1978, Rizzi 1990). Under this view, the structures of the well-formed CS in (1a) and its ill-formed counterpart in (1c) are expected to be as in (8a-b), respectively.

(8) a.



b.



In (8b), unlike in (8a), the abstract AGR fails to case-mark the subject *tasarut* due to the presence of another head, the prefixal determiner *l-*; the latter, like its English equivalent *the*, is not a case-marker; thus, the resulting structure is filtered out (at PF) as a Case Filter violation. The same restriction is witnessed in the following example:

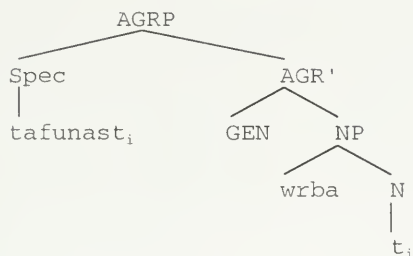
- (9) **l-biru ta-l-mudir-t*
 the-office (fem-)(the-director(-fem))

In (9) the argument *ta-l-mudir-t* 'the director' does not receive its due genitive case given the absence of the genitive preposition *n*. The questions to be raised are: Do CSs really involve any agreement at all, apart from abstract AGR? If so, what features does this agreement involve?

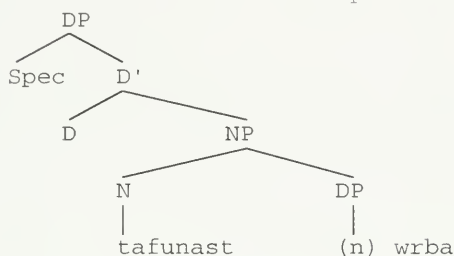
For Guerssel (1986), free state forms are Kase Phrases (KPs) including a case-marker, whereas the CS is a DP containing a determiner and a noun. For Guerssel, nearly all elements traditionally called prepositions in Berber are actually nouns or case-markers that behave as heads of KPs, and thus a proper treatment of prepositions can help us understand the CS.

In Berber, the genitive preposition is a reflex of an overt AGR that assigns Gen case to its Spec. These agreement facts suggest that NPs in Berber contain an AGR node. These NPs are not only DPs, but also AGRPs:

(10) a.



b.



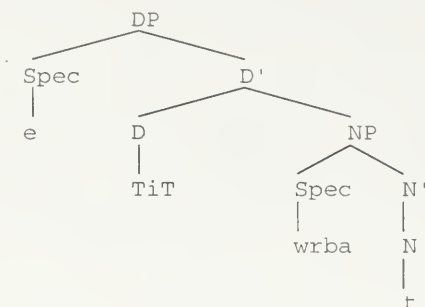
In (10a), the head N *tafunast* is raised to the Spec of AGRP for reasons of genitive case-checking; an AGR-Gen assigns genitive case to its complement *wrba*. In (10b), there is no agreement, and AGR is not projected; the Spec of DP is not a case position. Thus, the head N is not raised, and the complement *wrba* receives its case from the preposition *n*.

According to Ouhalla (1988), noun phrases may be DPs or AGRPs depending on whether they display overt (Spec-Head) agreement. With this in mind, let us examine the following examples:

- (11) a. TiT *wrba*
 eye boy
 'The boy's eye'
- b. **wrba* TiT
 boy eye

Observe that the possessor NP must surface after the head N; this is determined by the directionality of genitive case assignment in Berber. The starred example is excluded by the Case Filter because the movement of the possessor argument is not motivated by feature-checking. Besides, agreement is not morphologically manifested.

(12)



The head N raises from N to D, and c-commands the subject in [Spec, NP] but does not overtly agree with it in any feature, government and agreement being in complementary distribution in Berber. The possessor NP is licensed because it is c-commanded by lexicalized D.

There are two more arguments in favor of the idea that Berber CSs have an AGRP, either overt in the syntax or covert at LF. First, D can be filled by the definite article and AGR:

- (13) t-zday di [matta tarbat]?
 she(-AGR) lives here which girl
 'Which girl lives here?'

The bracketed *wh*-phrase agrees with the VP in person, number, and gender in the way that V agrees with the postverbal subject in the free state order.

A second piece of evidence for the existence of an AGR node in DPs comes from extraction facts:

- (14) a. tannayt arba n mi?
 saw-you son of who
 'Whose son did you see?'
 b. *n mi tannayt arba?
 of whom saw-you son

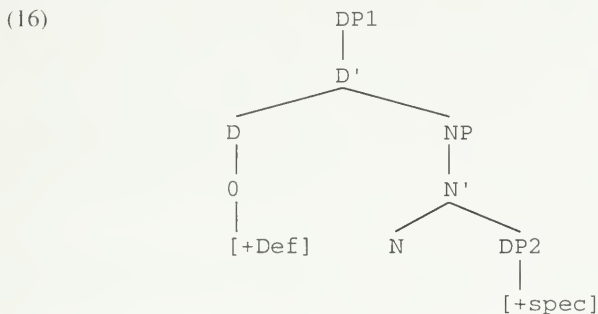
The ungrammaticality of (14b) is attributed to the fact that AGR in DP is weak and may not license the displaced *wh*-phrase. Thus, I argue that DPs of the type exemplified in (13) are AGRPs. We can assume therefore an abstract AGR node, which is satisfied at LF. Consider the following:

- (15) arba-n-s
 son-of-him
 'His son'

The Poss marker is taken to be a spell-out of AGR, which is triggered after NP-raising to [Spec, DP]. In Berber, the CS constructions are considered to be of the form [_{DP} N (Prep) NP]. In these constructions, the head of DP may be either a N or a derived nominal. The genitive preposition *n* in Berber may be deleted, as in other Semitic languages. When the genitive preposition is present, the features of

the genitive constructions are checked by this lexical preposition (see Guerssel 1986). In Berber, the genitive preposition *n* may be deleted, especially if the noun is masculine having consonant-initial stems, as mentioned in Section 1.

In the above examples, the DP construction has a regular N as its lexical head; the feature [+Def] is inherent to DP given the nonexistence of an overt definite article (apart from the borrowed Arabic definite article *-al*). Thus, the representation of DP constructions is as follows:



In this configuration, the functional head D is projected for syntactic reasons. The functional head D is not phonetically realized and it contains only the abstract feature [+referential] represented at LF for reasons of full interpretation. The position [Spec, NP] is the generation site of subject DPs which are outside the domain of N' in D-structure. Object DPs are generated in the position complement of N. We assume that the lexical head N moves to D, as we have established for the derivation of the simple DP structure.

The raising of N into D is not related to Baker's Affixation Principle (1985, 1988) given that there is no affixal article under the node D. The abstract AGR that is contained in D can validate the case assigned to DP in its totality, when the latter is subject or object.

As we have previously mentioned, the element D is marked intrinsically by the nominal feature [+N] and the abstract feature [+Def], which are both diffused in the whole projection DP. These properties make D apt to receive N which incorporates into it, thus instantiating a case of head to head movement (cf. Chomsky 1986).

What seems to motivate the movement of N into D in these constructions is the requirement of the Directionality Principle, especially because D contains an abstract AGR validating the case assigned to DP (cf. Koopman 1984). Similarly, what motivates the VSO order in IP is the Directionality Principle as has already been mentioned; the latter principle is behind the order in the DP as well. The head N moves to the left of its complement for feature-checking. The feature-checking of case on the complement is done through the preposition in ordinary genitive constructions and through the N in CSs.

Another motivation for the movement of N to D is the necessity of making N, and the whole DP, accessible to case-checking. This fact is verified by the test of the case-marking of the head N in Berber in all syntactic contexts.

- (17) a. yaru Driss [tabrat wryaz].
 wrote Driss letter man
 'Driss wrote the man's letter.'
 b. [tabrat wryaz] tyara.
 letter man written
 'The man's letter was written.'
 c. *I-kartabl trbat
 the-satchel girl

If we assume that D does not contain a realized AGR element responsible for Gen case, and if this movement does not differentiate simple DP from complex DP with the structure [_{DP} N Prep NP], we must analyze Gen constructions on the basis of other principles to account for their analytic property.

Berber is among the languages that adopt the *analytic* strategy in the sense that the case-checking on the complement noun inside DP is done via the preposition that occurs between N and its complement NP.

This strategy distinguishes Berber from the languages with a *synthetic* genitive like Standard Arabic and Hebrew, and makes it similar to Romance languages (see Ritter 1987, Ouhalla 1988, Fassi Fehri 1993, Mohammad 1988, and Benmamoun 1996).² It seems to be an alternative to the absence of the morphological element AGR in D, on the one hand, and to the inaptitude of the nominal head to check case features.³

3. The agreement analysis

It has been argued in the literature that there exists a structural parallelism between CSs and verbal sentences, i.e., between DP and TP.

Word order confirms the structural parallelism between IP and DP. Thus, we can state that DPs with derived nominals keep the internal structure of their corresponding IP.

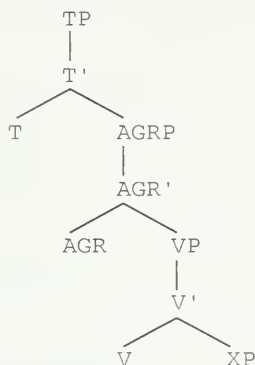
VSO structures are similar to CSs in that the agreement features of the subject and the genitive argument cannot be checked in overt syntax because the heads they are associated with encode weak features. In VSO sentences, V moves successive cyclically to AGR then [AGR-V] moves to T. The raising of V to T imposes the raising of the subject to [Spec, AGRP] and eventually to [Spec, TP], as the licensing of the latter depends on the checking of case and agreement features. V raises to the highest minimal position that is checked in the structure, hence the VSO order.

In CSs, the complex NP must have its features checked at PF (with the use of the 'of' phrase) or at LF in the pure CS.

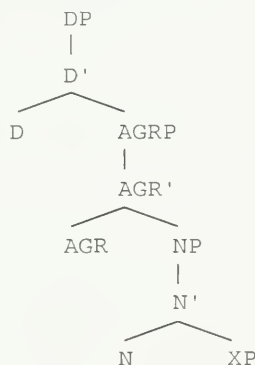
Overt movement of the genitive NP is barred by Procrastinate because the features of D are weak. Therefore, the head D must remain in-situ until LF. At this level, it can satisfy feature-checking.

According to Abney (1987), there exists an abstract category AGR in the functional head of the nominal group; this functional head has two distinct constituents: Art and AGR. This assumption supports the idea of structural parallelism between TP and DP in the sense that each projection has an inflexional structure containing an agreement element responsible for case-checking. In fact, in TP, AGR is always present, even when it has no morphological form, as in the case of nonfinite clauses in Arabic (cf. Ennaji 1985, chapter 3). The detailed representation of the sentence (TP) is given in (18a), and the detailed representation of DP containing an AGR is given in (18b).

(18) a.



b.

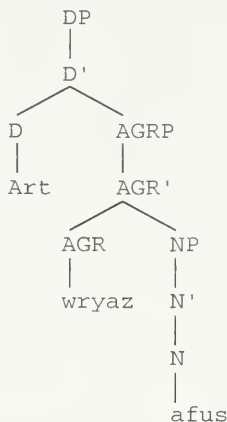


The structural parallelism between a simple sentence and DP is in support of the hypothesis that AGR in the nominal domain has the same role as AGR in the sentential domain. Thus, AGR in TP (18a) determines the relation between the subject and the verb, because it is responsible for nominative case-checking. AGR in DP is involved in the relation between the head noun and its complement, in the sense that AGR is responsible for the genitive case discharged onto the complement NP.

These assumptions can be illustrated by the contrast existing between the two constructions in (19), the derivational representation of which corresponds to the configuration in (20):

- (19) a. *afus* *wryaz*
 hand-nom *man(-gen)*
 ‘The man’s hand’
- b. **l-kas* *trbat*
 the-glass *girl(-gen)*

(20)



In structure (20), the NP possessor *wryaz* ‘the man’ is generated in [Spec, NP] position, in analogy with the positioning of the external argument in [Spec, VP] in the domain TP. In order for N to check off its case and definite features, we assume that the head N, *afus* ‘hand’, moves into AGR and then D provided that it is empty. In its surface position, N becomes also accessible to another external source for case-checking. By incorporating the abstract AGR, the N becomes able to check the feature Gen of the complement NP, hence the inflected genitive NP *wryaz*.

This analysis accounts for the well-formedness of (19a) in the sense that the raising of N into this structure is made possible by the nonmorphological realization of the element Art in D. The incorporation of N permits AGR to discharge its Gen case onto the NP subject (possessor), and at the same, it validates the Spec-Head agreement relation. At LF, the movement of N in D ensures full interpretation. Alternatively, the same analysis accounts for the non-grammaticality of (19b), where the element Art is realized as the definite *Art l-*. In fact, on the account of Emonds (1985), Abney (1987), and Fassi Fehri (1988), the lexical realization of Art excludes that of AGR, the two categories being in complementary distribution, as is stipulated in the axiom (21):

- (21) AGR and [+Def] Art are in complementary distribution.

In consequence, N-raising to D is incapable of discharging the Gen case feature on the NP complement, and the latter will be caseless, which suffices to reject the construction (19b) by the Case Filter.

This analysis can be generalized to the other structures in (17). Thus, the deviant forms in Berber are due to the proposition in (21), and their grammaticality is accounted for by the movement of N to D.

The fact that the head N overtly raises to D is accounted for by the strong N feature, which must be checked off before Spell Out. This movement operation is parallel to that of V-raising to T in verbal sentences. In both operations, movement is triggered by Greed, which specifies that strong features are to be checked at PF.

In addition, in CSs, N-raising to D is required to lexicalize the null D so that it becomes available for case-checking, and as a result a case-checker can occur on its left, as exemplified in:

- (22) a. *annay-γ* *iydi* *wrba*
 saw-I dog(-nom) boy(-gen)
 'I saw the boy's dog.'
- b. *γal-γ* *is* *iwssir* *uyyis* *wryaz.*
 thought-I that old horse(-nom) man(-gen)
 'I thought that the man's horse was old.'

In (22a-22b), the head N of the CS has accusative case (although this case is phonologically covert), as imposed by the transitive verb *annay* 'see' and the complementizer *is* 'that'.

N-raising to D also satisfies the case-checking requirement imposed on the genitive NP. When the head D is lexicalized by N, it can check the case of the genitive DP in the [Spec, NP], as in the case of nominative case-checking in verbal clauses.

Like N-raising, postmodification is a characteristic of Berber. In the following section, we will examine the agreement of CSs with possessive pronouns, modifying adjectives, and restrictive relative clauses.

4. Post-nominal modifiers

4.1 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns in Berber are affixes that agree with the modified noun for person, number, gender, and case, as in (26):

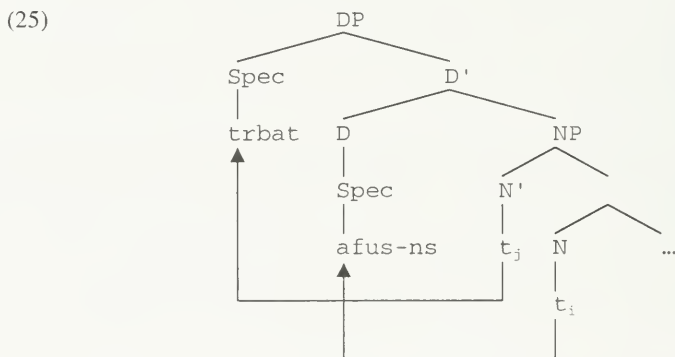
- (23) a. *arba-*inu**
 son(-nom)(-m)
 'His son'
- b. *arba-*usu**
 son(-nom)-their
 'Their son'

The possessive pronoun in (23) spells-out genitive rather than accusative case because it is selected by the head N not V. (See Ennaji 1995, 1997.) The italicised

possessive pronoun is a bare head D that initially appears in [Spec, NP], and then incorporates into the head N under D. Incorporation, which is a case of head-head checking, is imposed by Greed. Being a bound morpheme, the genitive argument must be affixed to N prior to Spell Out for genitive case-checking. Thus, Gen case-checking in Berber applies in a rightward manner irrespective of whether the genitive element is lexical or affixal. (Cf. Santelmann 1993, for a comparison with Swedish, and Makhoukh 1998, for a comparison with Standard Arabic.) Now consider (24):

- (24) a. tarbat afus ns ibbi.
 girl hand-her cut
 'The girl's hand is cut.'
 b. afus (*-ns) trbat.
 hand-her the-woman
 'The woman's (*her) hand.'

The ill-formedness of (24b) is due to the fact that the doubling overt DP cannot check its Gen case feature which is already checked off by the possessive pronoun *ns* during its incorporation into the head N under D. However, in (24a) the genitive NP is fronted and is necessarily linked to the resumptive pronoun *ns*; the resumptive pronoun is incorporated into N as in (25) below:



The raising of the genitive argument from [Spec, NP] to [Spec, DP] is an instance of focus, which is reminiscent of left-dislocated subjects. Thus, overt DP-raising satisfies the principle of Greed. The resumptive pronoun attached to the host N is incorporated during its derivation to PF to check off the Gen case. (24b) is ill-formed because the genitive NP is not fronted; as a result, the Gen case feature remains unchecked. (24a) is well-formed because the displaced DP is licensed by the resumptive pronoun under Spec-Head agreement.

In (24a), the genitive phrase is licensed because it is in Spec-Head agreement with the resumptive pronoun, which is spelled-out on the head N when the genitive NP is fronted. Let us turn to see how agreement is realized in CSs when they are postmodified by attributive adjectives.

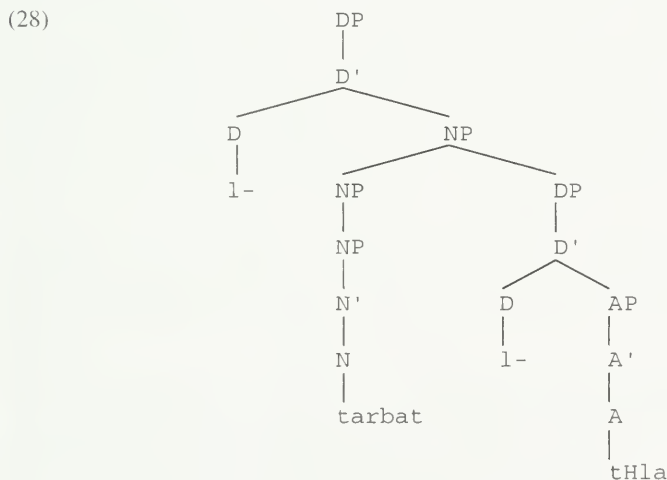
4.2 Postmodifying adjectives

Postmodifying adjectives are attributive adjectives that inflect for person, number, gender, case, and (in)definiteness (Def for short). Let us focus on agreement with attributive adjectives, more particularly with Def:

- (26) a. tarbat wryaz tHa.
 girl man nice(-fem)
 'The man's daughter is nice.'
- b. l-kunnaš wrba n ušTTab n l-mdrsa
 the-notebook son of the cleaner of the school
 'The notebook of the son of the school cleaner'
- c. *arba w šTTab iyzzif (as a CS)
 son cleaner(-gen) (is) tall

The ungrammaticality of (26c) can be accounted for by the disagreement in the Def feature between the head N and the attributive adjective (Adj). Although it is realized morphologically on the attributive Adj (26a), the Def feature of a head N in CSs is inherited from the genitive argument. The same remark is valid for embedded CS, as in (26b). The Def feature percolates on the Ns in (26) which also take a definite reading. (26a) is represented by (27):

- (27) a. [[[Spec [N...]]]
 DP D NP N']
 Spec-Head agreement
- b. [[N [[t...]]]
 DP D Spec N']



Thus, the modifying Adj agrees with the head N not only in gender, number, and case, but also in Def. The latter feature is inherited from the genitive argument.

The head N acquires the Def feature by Spec-Head agreement between the genitive phrase in [Spec, NP] and N before N-raises to D.

Nonetheless, the schematic structure (27a) illustrates that the head N is in agreement relation with the Adj, not with the Gen DP, which is verifiable from the morphology of these elements. The genitive argument is not involved in agreement because it is not the target of modification.

With regard to (28) above, Det and Adj constitute a noun phrase; unlike predicative Adjs, attributive ones are apparently subjectless. Adjs inherit case (as a covert feature) from the modified nominal.

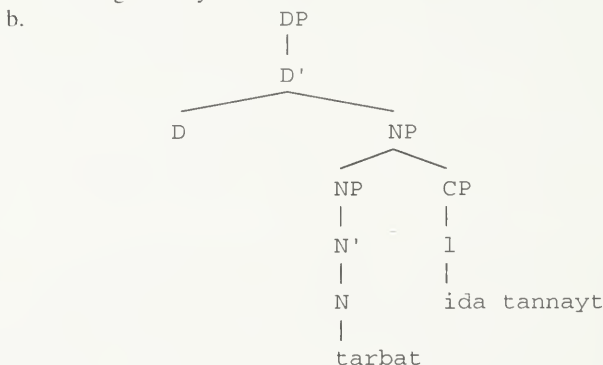
In (28), the adjective *tHla* merges with the noun phrase *tarbat* as both carry the same features of definiteness, gender, number, and case, which are transmitted from the noun through percolation (Radford 1997:158), except definiteness which is transmitted from D.

Now let us look at restrictive relatives as a case of the postmodification of the CS in Berber.

4.3 Restrictive relatives

Attributive Adjs are in fact reduced relative clauses, which entails that they should appear right-adjoined to NP in the same way that restrictive relative clauses do (cf. Demirdache 1989):

- (29) a. tarbat ida tannay-t.
 girl that saw-you
 ‘The girl that you saw.’



Consider the following examples:

- (30) a. [l-kas wšiban] ida tusi-t.
 the-glass old man that took-you
 ‘The old man’s glass that you took.’
- b. *ašiban, l-kas ns ida tusi-t.
 old man the-glass of that took-you

(30a) is well-formed because the CS, i.e., the whole DP, is postmodified, and the restrictive relative adds the Def feature to the CS. However, (30b) is ill-formed because the head N, which is modified by the relative clause, is already postmodified (hence definite) by the resumptive pronoun *us*. This is supported by the existing parallelism between definite determiners and relative complementizers: Det and C are realized when the genitive DP is definite, and they are absent if the genitive DP is indefinite.

In CSs, the modified DP triggers the N-raising to D, and the absence of the definite article given its content is recoverable from the attributive Adj.

Furthermore, the definite article cannot appear in the landing site of N-raising since the latter is a head position and can host only N for case-checking. N-raising to the higher functional head D is motivated by the strong feature of N. N-raising is necessary to satisfy the principle of Greed and results in the lexicalization of the empty D. This movement also allows for the checking of the genitive case of the genitive argument in [Spec, NP]. The same analysis can be extended to derived nominals. (Cf. Makoukh 1998.)

Thus, Berber has agreement features that also trigger N-raising to D and induce the postmodification of nominals. In modified CSs, the head N case-checks the genitive argument after raising to D; following Chomsky (1993), the head N licenses the agreement and case features of the modifying Adj by means of feature copying. (See also Sigurðsson 1993.)

5. Conclusion

The derivation of both DP and TP is a case of head movement, V and N to the functional heads T and D, respectively. In Berber, AGR is present in the inflectional structure of TP. AGR in DP constructions has the same function, as in TPs. Given that D is a functional category that has the nominality feature [+N] and the [+Def] feature, D can receive N as a result of head to head movement (Chomsky 1986). This movement is all the more motivated by the Directionality Principle; D includes an abstract AGR that discharges genitive case onto the NP complement.

In Berber, the two alternatives (AGR and N) are in complementary distribution. When N is [+Def], it loses its function as a case-checker and as a licensor of its complement, and the lexical preposition takes up this function. All in all, CSs in Berber involve overt N-raising to D, due to the strong N-feature of the functional head D.

Chomsky's (1993-1995) minimalist model, more precisely case-checking theory, can straightforwardly account for CSs in Berber, which exhibit N-raising to D. This structure is available because of the strong features of D. The Principles of Procrastinate and Greed regulate these mechanisms.

When the genitive NP is left-dislocated at PF for focus reasons, a resumptive pronoun appears on the head N under D for case-checking and for licensing the fronted genitive NP. As a consequence of N-raising, Berber allows postnominal

modification, which can take the form of resumptive pronouns, modifying adjectives, or restrictive relatives.

NOTES

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¹ The Berber variety dealt with in this article is Tamazight, which is spoken in the areas of the Middle Atlas in Morocco.

² Mohammad (1988) comes up with the following conclusions: First, there is V movement to I just as there is movement of N to D; second, c-command plays a central role in the binding properties of both structures; third, the fixed word order of the CS, which is dictated by genitive case, imposes strict adjacency, in contrast with nominative case, which allows for a relatively free word order in verbal sentences. Benmamoun (1996) puts forth the hypothesis that VS order in Standard Arabic is due to PF merger of the verb and the postverbal subject to form a single prosodic unit. The same operation is assumed to apply in the derivation of CSs. For him, number is not spelled-out in VSO structures because it is redundant in the presence of a postverbal lexical subject. When the subject is null, PF merger does not apply, hence full agreement is manifested. Similarly, definiteness is not spelled-out in CSs because it is redundant in the presence of a lexical genitive argument.

³ Chomsky (1993) argues that there is a significant correlation between overt movement and the strength of morphological features. This operation is controlled by the Principle of Greed, which specifies that strong features must be checked off at PF in Spec-Head relations; otherwise, the derivation will crash at this level. However, if the features are to be checked are weak, movement should be delayed until LF. This operation is regulated by the Procrastinate Principle.

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THE LEXICAL ACCULTURATION OF ENGLISH
IN THE CHINESE CONTEXT*

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This paper presents a data-based analysis of the lexical nativization of English in the Chinese context. In light of the analysis, the paper shows that although English in China functions primarily as a performance language variety, yet it has been acculturated, which in turn helps to argue for the legitimacy of the claim that there exists a Chinese variety of English. A brief survey of the functions of English in China — in both the international and the intranational domain — is also included in the paper, which provides the sociolinguistic background in which the nativization of English is taking place.

1. Introduction

It is now well recognized that English as an international language has reached virtually every corner of the globe (e.g., Crystal 1997). In China, some relatively recent sociolinguistic surveys (e.g., McArthur 1992; Zhao & Campbell 1995) claim that there are approximately 200 to 300 million users of English with various degrees of proficiency. This is the largest number among countries in the Expanding Circle (Crystal 1985).¹ Cheng (1992) labels World Englishes in the Chinese context 'Sinicized English'. Others (e.g., Zhang 1997) term the same variety of English 'China English'. Whatever the label, it is significant that these terms are used with reference to the acculturation of English in lexis, syntax, phonology, discourse, etc., which in turn has substantial bearing on the issue of the nativization of English in different sociocultural contexts (e.g., Kachru 1965, 1983).²

Studies of the contact between English and Chinese and their resultant convergence have already been documented (e.g., Hsu 1994; Zhou & Feng 1987). Regarding the contact between English and other languages, Kachru (1992) points out that whenever English starts to be used by a country or region in which English is not the native language, be it for science, technology, literature, or modernization, it undergoes a process of reincarnation that is linguistic as well as cultural. Kachru considers most such changes pragmatically determined, given the fact that a nonlocalized variety of English is not capable of adequately expressing what is unique to a certain culture. In addition, Kachru (e.g., 1986a) notes that bilinguals' creativity also plays a role in the nativization of English. Therefore, it is only natural that when English is used in China, it is also nativized linguistically as well as culturally.

English in China is considered primarily a norm-dependent or exo-normative variety. In other words, it mostly functions as a foreign language.³ This assump-

tion derives essentially from the limitation of the penetration of English in China, in both the range and depth, which is closely related to China's sociohistorical background. It is also true that in the Chinese context, the degree to which English is acculturated is not as large as that in Outer Circle countries, where English is now institutionalized. It is basically due to these realities that some scholars are still hesitant to acknowledge the existence of a legitimate Chinese variety of English.⁴ It seems to me that it is actually an attitudinal issue whether there exists 'Sinicized English' or 'China English'.

2. The data

In this study the data examined were collected primarily from two sources — *Beijing Review* and *China Daily*. *Beijing Review* is one of the major China-based English magazines, which was first published in 1958 and is now published weekly. *China Daily* is one of China's most widely-read English newspapers, which was started in 1981. It is generally assumed that English used in these two publications is representative of the Chinese variety of English. Although native speakers of English⁵ were, and still are, on the editorial staff of both publications, a number of usages of English still carry with them unmistakably Chinese characteristics.

The data analyzed in this study were collected from the articles published in *Beijing Review* in the year 1968 and 2000 and also those published in *China Daily* in the year 2000. The motivation for the selection of data from two different periods is to establish a basis for the comparison and contrasting of different features of China English in different historical periods. The gathering of data from both journal and newspaper articles is to demonstrate that the acculturation of English in China is not confined to just one type of publication. Other than these considerations, the collection of data was random.

3. The lexical nativization of English in China

For the purpose of this study, the denotation of LEXICON is extended to include both words and phrases. In order to facilitate the comprehension of the acculturated English expressions, some of which may be opaque to non-Chinese users of English, the denotations of all nativized expressions are provided in the immediately following parentheses. Moreover, whenever possible and also appropriate, Chinese characters are provided together with their English equivalents.

3.1 General overview

In the Chinese variety of English, vocabulary is the level at which the influence from Chinese sociocultural elements is the most evident. An examination of the use of English in *Beijing Review* and *China Daily* confirms this point. This is only natural considering the fact that the lexis of a language is typically more open and receptive than other aspects, such as the syntax. One relevant point, which is crucial and yet usually ignored, is that whatever the distinctive characteristics are of the different varieties of World Englishes, for these varieties to be still called 'English', they must share certain important linguistic features in certain aspects.

Generally speaking, syntactic features are more likely to be shared than lexical usages.

This paper focuses on the discussion of the lexical contextualization that took place over relatively recent stages of the contact between Chinese and English.⁶ Examples of contextualized English expressions found in the Chinese variety of English are provided in (1-4).

- (1) 三八式工作作風
the three-eight working style (a firm, correct political orientation; and liveliness)
(Beijing Review, January 3, 1968)
- (2) 無產階級文化大革命
the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (the movement started by Mao Tse-Tung to purge the Party, which, however, brought China political turmoil and caused enormous destruction to the country. Since this movement began in 1966 and ended in 1976, it is also called the 'Ten-Year Calamity')
(Beijing Review, February 2, 1968)
- (3) 三代領導集體的領導
the collective leadership of three generations (the three generations of leadership represented respectively by Mao Tse-Tung, Deng Xiaoping, and Jiang Zemin)
(Beijing Review, January 3, 2000)
- (4) 兩大關注
two major concerns (the so-called 'strategic thinking' proposed by the late Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping; one is to expedite the development of the eastern coastal areas, the other is to quicken the development of the central and western regions when China develops to a certain stage)
(Beijing Review, February 7, 2000)

As Xu (1987:66) observes, such contextualized expressions are 'English in the lexical form but Chinese in cultural content'. Xu further notes that this is, as a matter of fact, an inevitable phenomenon, given that Chinese culture possesses certain unique values and concepts that are hardly even imaginable to non-Chinese users of English.

Although for pragmatic reasons, native speakers of English may use such acculturated English expressions, these usages are not necessarily in their lexical repertoire. In most cases native speakers can easily recognize the foreignness of these words or phrases. Furthermore, in order to accurately comprehend and interpret such expressions, average non-Chinese speakers of English need to have been exposed to the very facet of Chinese culture with which these expressions are associated. In addition, among these speakers of English there exists a cline of familiarity with the nativized expressions. Certain usages, e.g., *the Cultural Revolution*, may be more familiar than others, e.g., *two major concerns*. The latter kind of expression is normally seldom used by non-Chinese speakers of English. Instead,

they are mostly found in books or articles written or translated by Chinese (Zhou & Feng 1987).

3.2 Means of acculturation

According to Zhou & Feng (1987), the impact on English from the Chinese language is manifested in loanwords, loan-translations, and semantic shift. This observation provides a helpful framework within which the acculturation of English used in China may be studied. However, English loanwords from the Chinese language, such as *litchi*, which comes from the Chinese word 荔枝 (with the pronunciation *lizhi*), are excluded from the discussion in this study, since these words have already become part of the English vocabulary in the sense that they are entered in English dictionaries. In other words, these words are no longer distinctive of the Chinese variety of English.

3.2.1 Loan-translation

The majority of the acculturated English expressions observed in China English are word-by-word translations of Chinese expressions, although the position of each word in the whole phrase may be different in these two languages. These nativized English expressions are used mostly because no English expressions in the native variety adequately or precisely match both the denotation and connotation of the relevant Chinese expressions. Primarily out of necessity, these Chinese expressions are translated directly into English so that the unique Chinese culture can be communicated to the outside world. Interestingly, some of the acculturated English expressions have already developed their own abbreviations, which bespeaks bilinguals' creativity.⁷ English expressions of this kind are provided in (5-8).

- (5) 國營企業
state-owned enterprises (SOEs) (nonprivate enterprises)
(*China Daily*, November 21, 2000)
- (6) 經濟特區
special economic zones (SEZs) (areas that enjoy privileged policies in their economic development, which were designated in the very early stages of China's opening to the outside world started in the late 1970s and early 1980s')
(*China Daily*, November 15, 2000)
- (7) 階級敵人
class enemy (those that are against the working class, used particularly during the Cultural Revolution)
(*Beijing Review*, January 27, 1968)
- (8) 紙老虎
paper tiger (a term used to refer to the imperialist countries, particularly between the early 1950s and early 1970s, which denotes the notion that although these countries appear to be strong and powerful, they are weak in actuality)
(*Beijing Review*, January 12, 1968)

3.2.2 Semantic nativization

The semantic nativization of English expressions involves their semantic shift in the Chinese context. Although semantic acculturation may occur at the sentential level, in the Chinese variety of English most of the striking cases occur in the lexical domain. Concerning semantic approximation, Kachru (1992) comments that as lexical items are contextualized, their denotation and/or connotation are/is usually either extended or restricted. In other words, there occurs an alteration of the constraints on mutual expectancy. Cheng (1992) also notes that in different societies words may have different connotations.

On the same issue, Zhou & Feng (1987) identify four different situations, i.e., semantic extension, reduction, amelioration, and deterioration. This proposal provides a helpful guideline for the analysis of semantic shift. As is shown below, however, the four directions of semantic shift proposed here must not be deemed mutually exclusive. In the following, the semantic nativization of certain English words in the Chinese context is analyzed. In order to obtain the meaning of the English vocabulary as defined in the native variety, which constitutes the basis for the comparison, this study takes as reference *The Oxford English Dictionary* prepared by Simpson and Weiner (1989) (henceforth *OED*).

(9-10) Carry On the Revolution Under the *Dictatorship* of the
Proletariat

(*Beijing Review*, January 19, 1968)

Dictatorship: According to *OED*, *dictatorship* is a derogatory word. It denotes a form of government in which absolute power is grasped in the hands of an autocrat or a small clique. In the above context, although *dictatorship* denotes the concentration of power, it is definitely loaded with commendable connotation. In this sense, this usage exemplifies SEMANTIC AMELIORATION.

Proletariat: *OED* defines *proletariat* as people of the lowest social or economic class. In the above context the word *proletariat* does not refer to people of the lowest social class, although their economic status may not be as high. On the contrary, the *Proletariat* is the leadership in the Chinese revolution and social life. Hence, the usage in this context is also an example of SEMANTIC AMELIORATION.

(11-12) The Poor *Peasants'* League is conducting a sharp struggle against Tsui, the biggest *landlord* in the area. The people confiscated his fields, houses and other property and divide them among the poor and lower-middle *peasants*.

(*Beijing Review*, January 3, 1968)

Peasants: One of the relevant definitions of *Peasants* in *OED* is uneducated people who are of low social status. In the above context, though the word may denote being uneducated, *peasants*, especially *poor peasants*, are of very high social status. They were supposed to be highly respected, and were also the major force in the land reform. Even later, those who were of peasantry origin were still privileged in society. For example, they enjoyed priority in being recommended to receive higher education. This is also a case of SEMANTIC AMELIORATION.

Landlord: One of OED's definitions of *landlord* is an owner of land. In this sense *landlord* is a neutral word. In the above context, the word *landlord* denotes an owner of land who, as a rule, cruelly and mercilessly exploited poor laborers who did not have their own land to farm on. So *landlord* acquires the derogatory connotation. Landlords were targets of the revolution during China's land reform, whose fields, houses, and other properties were confiscated by the Government. So, in this context the word *landlord* has undergone SEMANTIC DETERIORATION.

The definitions of the word *landlord* in OED also include the person in whose house one lodges or boards. The master of an inn is part of the definition as well. Nevertheless, in the above context and also in most other usages in China English, both these senses were lost. In other words, the original semantic content of *landlord* has been REDUCED. So, this usage by itself exemplifies two types of semantic shift.

One of the words that Zhou & Feng (1987) draw on to illustrate SEMANTIC EXTENSION is *intellectual*. They hold that in the native variety of English, this word designates people who are engaged in those activities requiring the creative use of mental power, such as scholars, professors, et cetera. In China English, in addition to the denotation found in the native variety, the word *intellectual* also means college students, or even high school graduates, especially in the countryside.

Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that with the ever-rising educational level of the Chinese people, the sense of the word *intellectual* is gradually dwindling. In other words, what was in the past categorized as an *intellectual*, e.g., a high school graduate, is not regarded as such today. In big cities where the educational level is usually higher than in the countryside, even college graduates are not viewed as *intellectuals* anymore. In this manner, not only when English enters into the Chinese context will semantic shift occur. Even within the Chinese context itself, semantic shift also occurs as society changes.

3.3 Fields in which lexical acculturation occurs

An examination of the acculturated English lexicon used in China indicates that in a certain historical period it is the nativized expressions belonging to a certain field that tend to be used with high frequency. Furthermore, for those nativized English expressions used frequently in one historical period, they may not be used as often in another era. In contrast, acculturated English expressions in certain other fields occur with relatively identical frequency even in different historical periods. Moreover, acculturated English expressions in certain fields are seldom found in China English, which may suggest that in these domains values, beliefs, and concepts of native English users and those of Chinese are roughly parallel. It is even possible that there exists cultural universality in these areas.

3.3.1 Politics

Cheng (1992) observes that Chinese politics, especially during the Proletarian Cultural Revolution when China was thrown into domestic political struggles, is one of the major sources of numerous loan-translations. On the other hand, most

of these localized English expressions are short-lived. When the political movement ceases, these politicized phrases, unintelligible to the ordinary English reader would normally be out of the linguistic market, except when people talk about what happened during that political turbulence. Examples of politicized loan-expressions from before the early 1980s are provided in (13-16) and an example of the relatively few such expressions from current Chinese politics is given in (17).

It is noteworthy that the loan-expression in (13) is not a word-by-word translation. Instead, the verb 走 ('walk') in the Chinese expression is lost in the translation, which reflects the syntactic difference between Chinese and English. Moreover, by analogy the Chinese people created the word *roadster* to meet their need, which again reflects bilinguals' creativity. In (15) the English translation is only an incomplete representation of the original meaning of the Chinese expression.

- (13) 走資派
capitalist roadster (those who choose the capitalist way of living, used particularly during the Cultural Revolution)
 (Beijing Review, January 3, 1968)
- (14) 紅衛兵
Red Guards (young people who have a high sense of revolution and are politically alert, used particularly during the Cultural Revolution)
 (Beijing Review, January 12, 1968)
- (15) 牛鬼蛇神
demons and snakes (intellectuals and those whose family members were capitalists or landlords, used particularly during Cultural Revolution)
 (China Daily, November 21, 2000)
- (16) 先進分子
advanced elements (This expression has different senses in different contexts. During the Cultural Revolution it was used to refer to those who were active in repudiating "the revisionist line" in the Communist Party.)
 (Beijing Review, January 26, 1968)
- (17) 一國兩制原則
the principles of one country, two systems (one of the solutions to achieving China's unification proposed by the Chinese government, i.e., although mainland China practices the socialist system, Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan may maintain their capitalist system for a relatively long period of time if/after they are united with mainland China)
 (China Daily, November 24, 2000)

3.3.2 Trade and economy

An examination of the use of English in articles published in 2000 demonstrates that political expressions like those in (13-16) are indeed rarely used. In their

place, loan-translations related to business, trade, and economy abound. Examples of this type are given in (18-21).

- (18) 引進 外資
foreign capital introduction (attracting the financial investment from foreign countries)
 (Beijing Review, July 3, 2000)
- (19) 社會主義市場 經濟
socialist market economy (the type of market economy that possesses socialist characteristics)
 (China Daily, November 24, 2000)
- (20) 外資企業
foreign-funded enterprises (enterprises that are funded by foreign companies)
 (Beijing Review, August 7, 2000)
- (21) 支柱產業
pillar industries (pivotal industries)
 (Beijing Review, August 21, 2000)

The key factor leading to the emergence of such loan-translations as in (18-21) is that China is currently pursuing an economy-oriented policy, which is drastically different from the one adopted during the Cultural Revolution. Language and the society in which it finds itself are inextricably intertwined. When society changes, language, especially its vocabulary, changes with it and reflects such social changes. It is then only natural that the social changes in China have caused such acculturated expressions as in (18-21) to burgeon. Meanwhile, these changes have left those political epithets as exemplified in (13-16) with no market. In this sense, the use of translated lexical items in China English functions, to some extent, as a barometer of the policy that the Chinese government is following.

3.3.3 Traditional customs and arts

Some loan-translations are connected with a certain aspect of traditional Chinese culture, e.g., festivals. These expressions generally do not have their ups and downs together with changes in Chinese society. The reason is that whatever policy China is pursuing, she simply cannot completely eliminate her cultural heritage. Examples in this vein are provided in (22-25):

- (22) 春節
the Spring Festival (the 1st day of the year in the lunar calendar, which is the festival celebrated most extensively by the Chinese people)
- (23) 元宵 節
the Lantern Festival (the festival that falls on the 15th of the 1st lunar month)
- (24) 端午節
the Dragon Boat Festival (the festival that falls on the 5th of the 5th lunar month)

- (25) 中秋節
the Mid-Autumn Festival (the festival that falls on the 15th of the 8th lunar month)

Provided in (26-29) below are some more examples of acculturated English expressions related to other aspects of Chinese culture.

- (26) 敦煌藝術
Dunhuang art (the art recorded in the murals in Mogao Grottoes, Gansu province)
 (Beijing Review, July 17, 2000)
- (27) 京劇
Peking opera (the type of opera that originated in Beijing — the most popular opera in China)
 (Beijing Review, August 7, 2000)
- (28) 毛式書法
Mao-style calligraphy (the unique style of handwriting characteristic of the late Chinese leader, Mao Tse-Tung)
 (Beijing Review, January 3, 2000)
- (29) 地壇
the Altar of the Earth (one of several altars located in Beijing, which was built by ancient Chinese to worship the Earth)
 (Beijing Review, February 28, 2000)

3.3.4 Education

Loan expressions in the field of education are also found in the published articles in *Beijing Review* and *China Daily*, although such expressions are not as numerous as those in any of the three fields above. The quantitative difference of loan expressions between the fields of economics and education may imply that the focal task of the present-day Chinese government is not to improve education but to develop economy. It may also be the case that, compared with education, China's economic activities share fewer concepts or practices with those countries where English is a native language. Examples from education are given in (30-32).

- (30) 四級考試
Band Four (The full name is Band Four College English Test. In China undergraduates are required to pass this comprehensive English test before they can receive the Bachelor's degree.)
 (China Daily, September 7, 2000)
- (31) 六級考試
Band Six (The full name is Band Six College English Test. This test is required of undergraduates in certain majors, such as foreign trade and international law. In certain universities, graduate students are also required to pass Band Six before they can get their Master's degree.)
 (China Daily, September 7, 2000)

(32) 211工程

Project 211 (a project launched in 1995, whose aim is to turn 100 Chinese universities into centers of advanced scientific research so that they may help the national economic development in the 21st century)

(*China Daily*, December 7, 2000)

3.3.5 Other areas

In addition to the contextualized English expressions in politics, economy, traditional Chinese cultures, and education, localized expressions in other spheres of life are also observed in the articles published in *Beijing Review* and *China Daily*. Some examples of this type are presented in (33-38).

(33) 十個五年計劃

the 10th Five-Year Plan (a comprehensive development plan drawn up by the Chinese government for the years 2001-2005)

(*China Daily*, November 20, 2000)

(34) 改革開放

reform and opening-up undertakings (a series of tasks involved in the reform and opening-up to the outside world, which was initiated in the late 70s by the late Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping, who has been called the architect of the Chinese reform and opening-up policy')

(*China Daily*, November 15, 2000)

(35) 尋根

root-searching (a trip that aims at finding out one's place of birth or visiting the place where one's ancestors lived)

(*Beijing Review*, September 11, 2000)

(36) 自治區

autonomous region (any one of the five regions that enjoy more independence from the Chinese central government than a province. These *autonomous regions* are not entirely self-governing. Each of these regions is home to one of China's major minority nationalities.)

(*Beijing Review*, September 25, 2000)

(37) 健身操

body building exercises (exercises designed to make one healthy and strong)

(*Beijing Review*, June 19, 2000)

(38) 白色的新年

a white New Year (a New Year with snow)

(*Beijing Review*, January 3, 2000)

In claiming that English has been acculturated in the Chinese context, it is not meant to assert that expressions like the examples above are found ONLY in China. It is true that similar or exactly the same English expressions may also be used in other countries that are not in the Inner Circle, which happen to have an analogous sociocultural background to China. Nevertheless, this does not make the

claim that English has been nativized in China, given the fact that when discussing the nativization of English, it is with reference to Inner Circle English that English used elsewhere is investigated.

4. The functions of English in China

English in China functions in international as well as intranational domains. The international use is primarily found in foreign trade and international business, tourism, and science and technology. Intranational domains mainly cover media, education, and translation. It should be borne in mind that the international versus intranational dichotomy is not intended to be categorically clear-cut. It is instead only an approximation. The survey of functions provides the most up-to-date information about the sociolinguistic profile of English in China, which helps to better understand the acculturation of English in the contemporary Chinese context.

4.1 The international functions of English

4.1.1 Foreign trade and international business

With the endorsement of the open-door policy, China's foreign trade and international business are developing rapidly. *The Far East and Australasia 2000* (henceforth *FEA 2000*) reports that the volume of China's foreign trade totaled US \$325,057 million in 1997. China's major trading partners include not only countries like the United States, but those like Japan, which has been China's major trading partner throughout the 1980s and 1990s, accounting for approximately 19% of total Chinese foreign-trade volume in 1997 (*FEA 2000*). Since English is the predominant language used in international communication, for employees working in foreign trade and business, a good command of English is a prerequisite. For instance, English is needed when a contract is negotiated with foreign business people. English is also needed in daily work.

4.1.2 Tourism

China has a long history of civilization and boasts numerous historic sites and scenic spots. With large numbers of people coming to travel in China, the tourist industry is growing rapidly. According to *The Europa World Year Book 2000*, in 1998 a total of 63,478.4 thousand tourists visited China, and receipts from tourism amounted to US \$12,602 million. Excluding some 56,250 thousand tourists from Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, most of whom can speak a certain variety of Chinese, approximately 7,228 thousand still need to be serviced in a foreign language, which is English in most cases. The largest proportion of these 7,228 thousand tourists were from Japan (1,572 thousand), which was followed by Russia (692 thousand), the republic of Korea (632.8 thousand), and Singapore (316.4 thousand). In the same year only 224.8 thousand tourists were from the United States. People doing various kinds of jobs related to the tourism industry need to speak English. They include, but are not limited to, tourist guides, interpreters, hotel staff, and even peddlers.

4.1.3 Science and technology

One of the most immediate incentives for China to encourage Chinese to learn English is to learn from the developed countries (e.g., Dzau 1990). In recent years many researchers, professors, etc., have been sent abroad, e.g., to the United States, or Singapore, to study, attend conferences, or do research. For these people, English is so important that most of them are, to some degree, selected on the basis of their ability to use English. In addition, these people are often offered short-term intensive English training before they go abroad.

4.2 The intranational functions of English

4.2.1 Media

Recently it is in the media that the use of English in China has increased most rapidly. China has more than a dozen English publications, which include newspapers, e.g., *China Daily*, and magazines, e.g., *Beijing Review*, *China Reconstructs*, *China Pictorial*, *Chinese Literature*, and *China Today*, which cover a broad variety of topics. As Zhao & Campbell (1995) suggest, although most of these publications are for foreign consumption, many readers are Chinese. Particularly for the intranational consumption, China has English publications as well, e.g., the newspaper *Shanghai Star*, and *21st Century*, and the magazine *The World of English*.

China also broadcasts English programs on both radio and television. These include not only English-teaching programs, e.g., *Follow Me* and *Family Album USA*, but also nonteaching programs whose contents range from news to investment guides, travel guides, advertisement, et cetera. China Radio International is one of the radio stations and China Central Television is one of the television stations that broadcast the greatest number of English programs.

Concerning the spread of English in the media, one of the most significant developments is that China Central Television, the one that has the largest number of viewers in China, opened an English-only channel on September 25, 2000. Even more significantly, this channel is not foreigner-oriented (personal communication, March 12, 2001).

4.2.2 Education

Except in foreign-language schools, English is a subject of instruction and taught mostly in Chinese in elementary and secondary schools. However, in college-level classrooms, especially for English majors, English is frequently used as a medium of instruction. In recent years, some private primary schools not only started teaching English in English, but also teaching other subjects, e.g., mathematics, in English (Zhao 1991). This is just one of the many barometers that point to the growing penetration of English in China.

In 1997, China had 60,179 thousand students in general secondary schools, 3,743 thousand in secondary technical schools, 911 thousand in teacher training schools, and 3,174 thousand in higher education (FEA 2000). English is a required course for students throughout the six years of secondary and two (or three) years

of teacher-training schools. College students are required to study English for at least two out of the total four years. (So it is reasonable to assume that half of the college students at any time are taking English courses.) This is tantamount to saying that in 1997 alone, roughly 66,240 thousand Chinese students were studying English.

4.2.3 Translation

The translation profession is prospering in China. Most major cities have organizations where people are engaged in translating from Chinese to English and vice versa. As China becomes more and more internationalized, countless things need to be translated into English, e.g., business cards and product descriptions. Numerous English novels are also translated into Chinese for those who do not know English or whose English is not good enough for them to read English novels. These translated books sell very well in China.

Although China's Four Classic Novels have been translated into English (i.e., *the Dreams in the Red Mansion*, *the Outlaws in the Marshes*, *the Journey to the West*, and *Stories of Three Kingdoms*), a great many of China's novels, both classic and modern, are still waiting to be translated into English and introduced into the world. This situation promises further thriving of China's translation profession.

5. Conclusion

This paper examines the lexical nativization of English in the Chinese context. In doing so, it implicitly recognizes the legitimacy of claiming that there *is* a Chinese variety of English, be it labeled 'China English' or 'Sinicized English'. Provided that English is going to maintain its status as an international language for an indefinite period of time, the use of English in China will become more and more widespread as the country is gradually integrated into the international arena. This in turn foretells the greater degree to which English is to be acculturated. It is even not impossible that in the future English may become an institutionalized variety of language in China.

Most of the research on the nativization of English deals with the situation in the Outer Circle countries, whereas the acculturation of English in the Expanding Circle is relatively inadequately documented. By investigating the lexical acculturation of English in China, a country in the Expanding Circle, this study aims to provide some documentation that is lacking in the research on World Englishes.

6. Further discussion

The survey of the international functions of English in China shows that Chinese use English not only with those people from countries where English is a native language, but also with those from countries where English is either a foreign language, e.g., Japan, the Republic of Korea, and Russia, or a second language, e.g., Singapore. In light of this situation, in the teaching of English, it may not be advisable for China to adopt invariably the established norms of English in the Inner Circle, e.g., BBC English or General American English. It is more sensible to

teach the model determined by the interlocutors with whom English is (going to be) used.

Given that in China, English is used with people not only from the Inner Circle but also from the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle countries, students must be exposed to all major varieties of English in the world — native and non-native varieties as well. Kachru (1992) points out six fallacies about the users and uses of English that provide strong theoretical support for this standpoint.⁸ Several researchers (e.g., Smith 1992) suggest that the unintelligibility problem in World Englishes is mainly caused by the lack of exposure to the variety of English at issue, which further helps to support this argument.

NOTES

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¹ English-using countries are often categorized as three concentric circles in Kachru's model of World Englishes (1985): the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle contains countries where English is used as a native language, such as the US. The Outer Circle countries are those where English has been nativized and institutionalized for intranational communication, such as Singapore. And in the Expanding Circle are countries where English is learned and used as a foreign language, such as China.

² Kachru has conducted extensive research on various issues of World Englishes. For the issue of bilinguals' creativity, see Kachru (1986b, 1995a). For the issue of EFL pedagogy, see Kachru (1988, 1995b). And for the issue of language contact and convergence, see Kachru (1990, 1994).

³ This is largely true. However, as Pride & Liu (1988) comment, based on the amount of English used in the Chinese media, the degree to which Chinese policies favor English, and the favorable attitude toward English by the general public, in China, English may be regarded as a second language, ranking only second to Chinese.

⁴ Related to the issue of the existence of a legitimate Chinese variety of English, some scholars distinguish between China-English (or Sinicized English) and Chinese English (or Chinglish). Whereas the former is considered to be a legitimate variety by these scholars, the latter is not. For detailed discussions see, e.g., Jiang (1995) and Zhang (1997).

⁵ In recent years the construct 'native speaker' has been subject to scrutiny and become the object of heated debate. For a thorough discussion of this issue, see Paidkeday (1985). In this article 'native speaker' is used merely as a working concept.

⁶ Early stages of the contact between Chinese and English have produced English words borrowed from Chinese, e.g., *litchi*, *chow mein*, *kowtow*, *kung fu*, *typhoon*, and *mahjongg*. McArthur (1992) points out that English has nearly 1,000 such Chinese loanwords.

⁷ Zhang (2002. Forthcoming) contains a detailed examination of the creativity of bilinguals expert in both the Chinese and the English languages. In so doing, Zhang investigates the writings in English by a Chinese novelist and examines the bilinguals' creativity at both lexical and discursive levels.

⁸ Three relevant fallacies out of the six are: (1) in the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle, English is essentially learned to interact with its native speakers; (2) English is learned as a tool to understand and teach what is generally termed the Judeo-Christian traditions; and (3) the goal of learning and teaching English is to adopt the native models of English.

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A CRITIQUE OF MARKEDNESS-BASED THEORIES IN PHONOLOGY

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The notion of markedness has been prevalent in phonology since its use by one of the founders of the Prague school of phonology, Trubetzkoy (1939). In contemporary writing it is most often used as a measure of the relative naturalness of linguistic elements. In this paper I explore the use of markedness in phonology literature and argue that it is an ill-defined notion that relies on circular reasoning and, quite often, leads to conflicting or vacuous predictions. Specifically, I question the generative theory-internal notion that markedness is encoded in the grammar. I focus on the multidimensional aspect of markedness in phonology and the various criteria used as diagnostics for the assignment of markedness values. I conclude that the predictive and descriptive powers of the dimensions of markedness, when taken individually, are far superior to those of *markedness* used as a cover term.

1. Literature survey

1.1 Introduction

The goal of this paper is to explore the commonly accepted notion in phonology that markedness is somehow encoded in the grammar. I argue that, at best, markedness is a notion that exists only for linguists to make our job of describing languages easier and our generalizations more elegant. This argument is similar to the one made by Cole & Hualde (1998:3) against abstract Underlying Representations (UR's):

We find that, without any doubt, UR's are a valuable, and perhaps even essential tool for linguistic fieldwork, whose adoption often allows for simple and concise statements of phonological patterns. However, our concern in this paper is not with the task of the linguist in identifying and describing sound patterns, but with the psychological status of UR's as an encoding [of] the sound representation of a word in the mental lexicon.

Similarly, I question the psychological status of markedness as an encoding of some universal 'naturalness' in the phonology, although I readily admit that the notion of markedness may very well be a useful tool for linguists in a number of ways.

Providing conclusive evidence in favor of my argument will surely prove impossible. The existence of markedness as some psychological entity, much like Universal Grammar (UG) and many other linguistic mechanisms posited by gen-

erativist theorists, is an unfalsifiable hypothesis.¹ It is a *deus ex machina*: like the Greek literary mechanism used as a last resort to resolve overcomplicated plots, markedness is a supposed faculty that humans possess which can somehow resolve the tangled plot of phonology by linking the generativist-positing symbolic system to some physical reality. Despite the lack of evidence for the existence of some such faculty or even, as is shown in the present paper, agreement on what MARKEDNESS means, it is a commonly used notion in the field of phonology as well as in other domains of linguistics.

Markedness goes by many names and a variety of definitions. It is a notion that is deeply embedded, although to varying degrees, in linguistic theories. And yet there is no consensus on what the term means. A similar sentiment is often articulated in other surveys that target the notion of markedness. (Recent work on this front includes Battistella (1990, 1996) and Rice (1999).) Battistella (1990:ix) notes that

Different approaches to markedness (and there are many) define the markedness relation in different ways, apply the concept to different domains of inquiry, and integrate it into different theoretical approaches.

And Rice (1999:37) ends her paper with the following conclusion:

Markedness is something about which linguists come to have strong intuitions. In many areas there is agreement: Something called markedness exists. It is multidimensional, with several factors involved at various levels (e.g., featural, combinatorial, positional). Variation exists in what can pattern as unmarked, although it is not without limit. However, many questions remain. ... The issues surrounding markedness do not appear to be ones that will find quick solutions, and the area promises to continue to be one of lively debate for some time to come.

For the reasons detailed above, and others that will be expanded on within this paper, exploring the notion of markedness is both important and difficult.

In this part of the paper I consider and evaluate some of the major definitions of markedness that have been explored in the literature. I examine the entrance of the term *markedness* into mainstream linguistics jargon, how this notion gained ground, and how it became so closely tied to linguistic universals, and hence to some psychological reality. I also attempt to isolate the often controversial theory-specific (more often than not, generative theory-specific) assumptions that are presupposed in various uses of markedness theory. The present discussion calls attention to the complications and misconceptions involved in the use of the notion of markedness in contemporary theories and helps build a case against the view that markedness is in some way significant to speakers.

My exploration of the notion of markedness in phonology literature is, at first, chronological. I start with the origin of the term in the writings of one of the founders of the Prague school of phonology, Trubetzkoy's *Principles of Phonology* (1939), where the notion of markedness is heavily utilized in the classification

of types of neutralization. Chomsky & Halle (1968:402) note that 'the notion of markedness is hardly mentioned in the phonological literature of the 1940s and 1950s.' Hence *The Sound Pattern of English* (1968) is the next work I explore on the subject. Guitart's *Markedness and a Cuban Dialect of Spanish* (1976) draws on both Trubetzkoy's and Chomsky & Halle's work, as well as on Jakobson's (1968, 1971) and Postal's (1968), and offers a clear idea of the development of markedness after its entrance into the generativist framework. Herbert's *Universals and Markedness* (1986) and Greenberg's *Language Universals* (1966), as is obvious from the titles, further the view of markedness as a universal. Kaye's 'On the alleged correlation of markedness and rule function' (1979) showcases the complications of utilizing markedness notions within definitions of rule types in phonology. I finish with Rice's *Featural Markedness in Phonology: Variation* (1999), which begins with a review of various studies related to markedness and, perhaps inadvertently, leads to the conclusion that existing work complicates, rather than explicates, the situation.

1.2 Principles of Phonology (Trubetzkoy 1939)

It is commonly agreed that the term *mark* originates with Trubetzkoy, one of the founders of the Prague school of phonology. The notion of markedness in his work is associated, to varying degrees, with articulatory complexity, combinatory possibilities of sounds, phonological statistics, functional load, and neutralization. Most prevalent, and most often cited, is Trubetzkoy's observation that the outcome of neutralization is normally the unmarked member of an opposition. Having borrowed the term from Trubetzkoy, generativists suggest that in contrast to their own approach, he considered markedness assignments to be language-specific rather than universal; however, it is his work that sparked the use of markedness in the context of universal tendencies of language.

Trubetzkoy wrote that if two phonemes share the same set of features, except for one feature found in only one of the phonemes, this feature is the 'mark' and involves an extra articulatory gesture. Guitart (1976) points out that within the generative framework it is not always the case that the marked member involves an extra gesture. For example, a [+nasal] element is considered marked, but it is the unmarked oral sounds that require the extra gesture of closing the velum. While the generativist argument that the marked element does not always require an extra gesture is well taken, the example shows how complex this situation really is. The resting position of the velum is neither completely open nor closed. Furthermore, in running speech the position of the velum depends on the surrounding sounds.

From a notational point of view, for Trubetzkoy the '+' member of an opposition usually corresponds to 'marked'. That is, [+nasal] is marked whereas [-nasal] is unmarked; similarly, [+glottal] is marked whereas [-glottal] is unmarked, etc. In adopting the term *markedness*, generativists depart from Trubetzkoy's work in this respect as well. Since an element could be formally described as [+nasal] or [-oral], the 'marked = +' aspect of Trubetzkoy's use of the term was abandoned.

In his classification of neutralization types, at the highest level of the typology, Trubetzkoy distinguishes between contextually (in the environment of specific phonemes) and structurally (in specific positions in the word) conditioned neutralization. Within these two basic sets he also distinguishes between 'dissimilative' and 'assimilative' neutralizations.² The notion of markedness relates to the four types of dissimilative contextually conditioned neutralization. That is, these types of neutralization can serve as diagnostics for markedness values, as detailed below.

CONTEXTUALLY CONDITIONED DISSIMILATIVE NEUTRALIZATION: The trigger for this type of neutralization is the same feature being neutralized (e.g., voicing triggers voicing neutralization); also, by definition, this involves change in polarity (+ → - or - → +) when not privative. There are four possible types of this neutralization:

- a) **IN THE VICINITY OF BOTH MEMBERS OF THE SAME OPPOSITION:** In many languages there is neutralization between voiced and voiceless obstruents in the vicinity of voiced and voiceless obstruents. (1) are examples from Serbo-Croatian:

(1) Serbo-Croatian obstruent voicing:

a.	<i>srb</i>	'Serb (masc.)'
	<i>srpski</i>	'Serbian'
	<i>srpkinja</i>	'Serb (fem.)'
b.	<i>naručiti</i>	'to order'
	<i>narudžba</i>	'the order'

In (a) the labial obstruent is voiced when it is word final (*srb*) but voiceless when it is followed by voiceless obstruents (*srpski* and *srpkinja*). Similarly, in (b) voicing of the palatal obstruent is determined by the voicing properties of the following obstruents: voiceless in *naručiti* but voiced when followed by *b* in *narudžba*. Another example comes from French, where the opposition between nasalized and nonnasalized vowels is neutralized before all (+/-nasal) vowels.

- b) **IN THE VICINITY OF THE MARKED MEMBER, BUT RETAINED IN THE VICINITY OF UNMARKED MEMBER:** For example, in Slovak the opposition between long and short vowels is neutralized after a syllable with a long nucleus. Another example comes from Sanskrit, where the opposition between dental and retroflex *ɳ* is neutralized after retroflex *ʃ* (which occurs even with intervening vowels, labials, or gutturals), but is retained after nonretroflex consonants.
- c) **IN THE VICINITY OF BOTH MEMBERS OF A RELATED PHONOLOGICAL OPPOSITION:** For example, in Lezghian the opposition between rounded and unrounded consonants is neutralized before and after high vowels (*u, ü, i*) because these vowels are members of the opposition of timbre rounded/ unrounded; but the low vowels (*a, e*) are not.

- d) IN THE VICINITY OF THE MARKED MEMBER OF A RELATED OPPOSITION, BUT RETAINED IN THE VICINITY OF THE CORRESPONDING UNMARKED MEMBER: For example, in Japanese, Lithuanian, and Bulgarian the opposition between palatalized and nonpalatalized consonants is only phonologically valid before back vowels, and is neutralized before front vowels.

Types (a) and (c) cannot serve as diagnostics for markedness because the features in question could be either marked or unmarked; types (b) and (d) can, because there is a difference in results depending on whether the marked or unmarked feature is in the vicinity.

Trubetzkoy's work on Phonological Statistics, while not incorporated into his own notion of markedness, is relevant to later work on the subject. According to Trubetzkoy (1939:267-8), statistics in phonology are significant because they can show how often a specific phonological element of a given language recurs in speech (token frequency), and more importantly for our purposes, they show the importance of the functional load of such an element or of a specific phonological opposition (type frequency):

By this method of examining the vocabulary it is also possible to determine for each language in numbers the extent to which the individual phonological oppositions are utilized distinctively (their functional load), as well as the average load of the phonemes in general.

However, markedness per se is never cited by the author as related to functional load. His discussion focuses on the relationship between neutralization and functional load, with markedness playing a role only due to its use in the definition of certain types of neutralization.

Trubetzkoy turns to Zipf's (1935) theory that frequency depends on the degree of articulatory complexity. Trubetzkoy rejects this theory, arguing that it is difficult to pin-point the degree of complexity of sounds; for example, which is more complex: tense vocal cords but relaxed organs of mouth, or lax cords and tense mouth organs? Trubetzkoy categorically rejects the explanation of phonological facts by means of biological, extralinguistic, causes. However, he is willing to translate Zipf's theory into phonological terms; for this he uses markedness. That is, markedness, rather than degree of complexity, determines frequency.

Such use of markedness as a substitute for some abstract notion, in this case the difficult to measure degree of complexity, suggests that markedness values are concrete, and even absolute. This tendency is echoed in the generative framework, where markedness values are linked to +/- feature values. And yet, when phonologists started work on determining markedness values they found themselves relying on many of the notions deemed abstract and in need of translation into markedness values, such as articulatory effort, for their decisions (e.g., Guitart 1976, Postal 1968, and Greenberg 1966, to name a few). This type of circular thinking can be observed throughout the literature on markedness.

On the subject of frequency, Trubetzkoy adds that one must take into account the possible presence and the extent of neutralization. That is, the differ-

ences between unmarked and marked opposition members, and the differences between oppositions that can be neutralized and those that cannot, affect phoneme frequency. Put simply, the presence and extent of neutralization affects the frequency of a sound: if neutralization can occur, the unmarked elements, which are the usual results of neutralization, will be more frequent. It becomes obvious that, in this diagnostic for frequency, it is not the markedness values that matter but whether or not the elements in question can be results of neutralization.

Trubetzkoy adds that this diagnostic does not always work because in some languages the markedness relationship cannot be objectively established. Since all other references to markedness in his work can be translated into 'presence of neutralization', this statement can be understood as the following: in some languages there may be cases of neutralization where no one member of an opposition is more likely to be the target of the process than the other member. In such cases, then, the presence and extent of neutralization does not affect the frequency of the elements in question. As discussed in §1.4, Guitart (1976) attempts to resolve the problem of neutralization where the outcome, contrary to expectations, appears to be marked. This becomes an important issue once, based on Trubetzkoy's work, the outcome of neutralization is formally declared a diagnostic for markedness values.

Frequency plays an important role in the 'extent of utilization' of an opposition. By examining the vocabulary it is possible to determine for each language the extent to which the individual phonological oppositions are utilized distinctively, as well as the average load of the phonemes in general. Trubetzkoy distinguishes between 'economical' and 'wasteful' languages: the 'economical' languages have numerous words that are only distinguished by one phoneme, and the percentage in which theoretically possible phoneme combinations are realized is very high. The 'wasteful' languages have a tendency to distinguish words by several phonological elements and to realize only a small percentage of the theoretically possible phoneme combinations.

Here Trubetzkoy discusses one of the key issues in phonology: the relation between sound substitutions and meaning. Neutralization will have different functional consequences for economical and wasteful languages. For economical languages the functional load of an opposition is expected to be higher, and phonological neutralization is more likely to yield functional neutralization.³ It is vital to note that markedness has no functional purpose whatsoever. Its only connection to the subject is its use to distinguish between two of the types of contextually conditioned dissimilative neutralization. In Trubetzkoy's discussion of functional load, no one type of neutralization is singled out; in this particular discussion, markedness brings nothing to the party: it has no theoretical value.

In summary, Trubetzkoy not only brings the term *markedness* into the phonological arena; he also draws associations between this notion and many of the characteristics that markedness takes on in later literature (e.g., neutralization, functional load, and frequency), as well as its use as a translation mechanism from abstract notions such as articulatory complexity. However, as I suggest in the dis-

discussion of his work, in most cases Trubetzkoy intended to draw connections between the occurrence and result of neutralization processes, rather than markedness values per se.

1.3 *The Sound Pattern of English* (Chomsky & Halle 1968)

In the final chapter of *The Sound Pattern of English* (*SPE*), Chomsky and Halle discuss unresolved problems from previous chapters. In particular, they acknowledge that their previous discussion suffers from the fundamental theoretical inadequacy of being overly formal and ignoring the fact that features have intrinsic content.

For example, their theory suggests that the 'naturalness' of a class can be measured in terms of the number of features needed to define it. This diagnostic of naturalness often fails, as in the case of voiced obstruents: they have the more complex definition, as they are measured with a larger number of features than all voiced segments, but are intuitively more natural as a class than the class of all voiced segments (vowels as well as consonants). The authors point out that the content of the features, rather than the form of the definition, is responsible for naturalness. Hence, ignoring the content is precisely the reason for the failure detailed above.

Another example in which their framework is found lacking is provided by independent phonological processes which somehow work together, e.g., Cole (1955) and Fudge (1967) subsume the following processes in Tswana under the single heading of 'strengthening': voiced stops become ejectives after nasals, non-obstruent continuants become voiceless aspirated plosives, and obstruent continuants become voiceless aspirated affricates. Chomsky & Halle agree, but lament the lack of a formal device to bring out the relation among the three processes.

A third example of where the framework is lacking centers on the fact that a vowel system as in (2) is more natural than those in (3) and (4), but the measures of evaluation previously suggested by the authors cannot make such a distinction.

(2)	i	u	(3)	i	u	(4)	ü	i
	e	o		e	o			^
	a			æ			æ	a

Similarly, no distinction can be made between a more natural situation where all the vowels in a language are voiced, and an unattested situation where all vowels in a language are voiceless.

The above examples suggest a need to extend the theory in order to accommodate the effects of the content of features. This would allow the theory to distinguish between the natural and expected configurations and the less natural and less expected ones. In other words, the final chapter of *SPE* addresses situations where linguists can tell something is natural (whether it is one element as compared to another, a class of elements, a system within a language, or the relationship between some processes in a given language) but have no way to formalize this intuition within the framework as articulated at that point.

Note that these observations, used to motivate the need for a notion of markedness, are indeed valuable to the linguist; but the question of what value a language learner could derive from such knowledge, e.g., that some element in their language is more natural than another element, or that their vowel inventory is not as natural as their neighbors', is not addressed. This is due to the underlying generative belief (at least at that stage of the theory) that the job of the linguist is the same as the job of the learner, and that the theory's formalisms are equivalent to the manner in which learners code language. That is, that which is common across languages is presumed to be part of the UG and hence the knowledge learners are born with, and that which is unique about each language is what learners must acquire about their individual languages. The linguistic formalization of a language's grammar is, therefore, primarily a matter of identifying the exceptions and additional rules to the UG, which, according to this theory, mimics the job of a learner.⁴ But while it makes sense for speakers of English to know that nasals assimilate in place of articulation to following stops in their language, what benefit is there to also being aware that this process is much more natural than, say, $i \rightarrow i$ after nonpalatalized consonants (as occurs in Russian)? While arguing against this particular generative approach is beyond the scope of the present paper, I do try to emphasize that most knowledge encompassed by markedness issues is knowledge a learner either does not require (such as knowing a process in their language is more natural than a process in some other language) or can easily determine with no prior knowledge (e.g., that intervocalically voiced stops are easier to articulate than voiceless ones).

An especially significant aspect of the framework detailed in *SPE* requires that rules that lead to the more natural configurations (e.g., voicing vowels, determining a vowel system as in (2), etc.) do not add to the complexity of a grammar because, as noted above, such rules are part of the UG and are therefore part of a speaker's knowledge already. Instead, the absence of such rules should increase complexity because a speaker must 'unlearn' such rules if they are absent in their language. Thus, the Praguean notion of marked and unmarked values of features are incorporated into the framework in order to inject the intrinsic content of features into the theory; furthermore, the values are used in a manner such that unmarked values do not contribute to complexity (Chomsky & Halle 1968:402-3).

As a first step, the specifications in a matrix that constitutes a lexical entry are u (for unmarked) and m (for marked), along with $+$ and $-$. We then add universal rules of interpretation which systematically replace the symbols u and m by the symbols $+$ and $-$. Being universal, these rules are not part of a grammar but rather contentions for the interpretation of a grammar; they do not affect the complexity of a grammar, as determined by the evaluation measure, any more than the rules for interpreting \rightarrow or $\{ \}$.

Echoing Trubetzkoy's strategy of substituting markedness values for more abstract values, as if markedness values were any less abstract, u and m are offered as the content-wise replacements for the overly formal and content-lacking $+$ and $-$. If intrinsic content of features could be evaluated in some absolute (nonabstract)

manner, *u* and *m* might be considered less abstract than + and -. However, as noted above and repeated throughout my work, the diagnostics for assigning markedness values have remained abstract as well as controversial. In short, it is difficult to see how adding the abstract translation between phonetic reality and feature values can possibly resolve the problems of neglecting intrinsic content.

Finally, the authors suggest that with the use of markedness they now have the machinery for making distinctions between more and less plausible rules in purely formal terms (Chomsky & Halle 1968:427).

If it should prove possible to define a reasonably short list of such 'plausible' phonological processes and show that all — or the majority of — the phonological processes encountered in different languages belong to this set, this would constitute a very strong empirical hypothesis about the nature of language.

That is, what appears natural in human languages, once translated into markedness terminology, can be used to argue what is natural in languages. This type of circular reasoning is a recurring theme in markedness based theories.

1.4 *Markedness and a Cuban Dialect of Spanish (Guitart 1976)*

Guitart's work explores the benefits of the markedness version of generative phonology over the premarkedness version. It is for this reason that his work is so useful in detailing the development of the notion of markedness after its incorporation into the generative framework. For Guitart, markedness can be divided into two theories: one is a more general theory of the phonological structure of human language; the second is a more specific theory of the phonological structure of the lexicon. I focus on the more general aspect in his work because the details of markedness and lexical representation, i.e., the intricacies of encoding information without complicating the grammar, are theory-specific and marginal to the present discussion.

In §1.3 I discuss the *SPE* notion that markedness helps formalize intuitions that linguists have based on the content of features. On a similar note, Guitart reiterates the idea that certain phenomena are somehow more natural in the languages of the world. For example,

1. Vowels can be voiceless, but are usually voiced; languages exist that have only voiced vowels, but there are no known languages that have only voiceless vowels.
2. When stops are neutralized in word-final position—a fairly common phenomenon—the result is usually the voiceless stop.
3. Commonly, languages have only two nasal consonants as systematic phonemes. When this is indeed the case, these two phonemes are most often *m* and *n*.
4. Children learning languages that have liquids usually master these sounds quite late, and before they do they tend to use glides instead.

These phenomena suggest that certain feature values are more common, are more likely to appear in a given context, are acquired earlier than others, and are hence

more natural. The already familiar strategy detailed in *SPE* is to characterize this naturalness, that is based on the intrinsic content of features, with markedness values. And, Guitart clarifies, since the set of features is universal, the intrinsic content of features is also universal. Hence if it is decided that it is more natural for back vowels to be rounded, that decision has been made for all languages.

Guitart is concerned with the heavy burden of making the universal marking decisions. He relies quite heavily on Postal (1968) for a discussion of marking criteria:

RELATIVE OCCURRENCE OF SOUNDS: Certain sounds are very common in the languages of the world while others are rare. This leads to generalizations such as that nasality is marked for vowels because vowels are normally oral and there are no languages with only nasal vowels. Similarly, voicelessness is marked for vowels because no languages exist with only voiceless vowels.

APPEARANCE IN POSITION OF NEUTRALIZATION: This criterion is already familiar from Trubetzkoy's work where it originated as an observation rather than a diagnostic for markedness values. Postal does not rule out the possibility that for some features the marked value appears in a neutralized environment, so for him, this criterion is not absolute. Later in this section I discuss a strategy that Guitart suggests, which he terms 'relative markedness', to deal with Postal's mistrust of this criterion.

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND LANGUAGE LOSS: Guitart refers to Jakobson's (1968, 1971) hypothesis that sounds are acquired by the child—and lost by the aphasic—in a certain fixed, universal order. Those phonological elements that are acquired later and lost earlier are marked.

PHONOLOGICAL CHANGE AND DIALECT VARIATION: It should be expected that sound change would affect marked elements more often than the unmarked ones. This should lead to situations where marked features are lost; a hypothetical example is two dialects that differ in that one has both glottalized and plain consonants while the other has only non-glottalized consonants (which are cognate with both series in the former). Opposite situations, however, where there is a merger of unmarked to marked elements, would be extremely rare or even nonexistent.

PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PERCEPTUAL INVESTIGATIONS: This, according to Postal, is the strongest evidence in favor of marking decisions. Physiologically speaking, features requiring special instructions to the organs of speech are expected to be marked. For example, apicality is marked for labials, palatals, and velars, but unmarked for dentals because this region is closest to the resting position of the tip of the tongue. On perceptual grounds, sounds that tend to enhance communication are regarded as unmarked, while marked sounds tend to obscure the signal. Note that according to this criterion, clicks must be considered perceptually unmarked.

IMPLICATIONAL HIERARCHY: The hypothesized order of acquisition underlies a fundamental assumption made by the theory of markedness, that the

organization of features is hierarchical. That is, there are implicational relations among the sounds of a language. For example, the presence of fricatives in a language implies the existence of stops in the same language, because according to the theory, the feature 'continuant' is acquired after the feature 'obstruent'.

SYNTAGMATIC ASSIGNMENTS: With the exception of neutralization, the above markedness assignment criteria are based on paradigmatic properties. Syntagmatic markedness assignments can also be made on the basis of naturalness; that is, on the basis of what sequence of sounds are considered more natural, e.g., CVCV is a sequence that is most natural on both articulatory and perceptual levels.

At this point Guitart expresses a criticism of markedness theory similar to my own, discussed in §2, that the possibility the criteria may be in conflict is often ignored. However, Guitart focuses his criticism on a much narrower scope than my own. He refers specifically to the situation where the physiological and perceptual criteria for markedness assignments conflict. He suggests as an example the case of voiced and voiceless obstruents: the voiceless ones are unmarked, but the voiced counterparts are chosen intervocalically because, according to him, while the voiced obstruents may be marked articulatorily, they are unmarked perceptually. Guitart does not discuss why intervocalic voicing is natural on perceptual grounds. While I do not doubt that a conflict between the physiological and perceptual criteria could arise, the case of obstruent voicing is not an example of such conflict, but instead, an example of the blurred line Guitart makes between syntagmatic and paradigmatic markedness assignments. That is, the markedness assignment of voicing in obstruents should be viewed as contextually determined. Intervocalic voicing of obstruents is generally agreed upon as unmarked articulatorily.

In any case, Guitart concludes that in situations where the physiological or perceptual criteria fail on their own, the use of both criteria at the same time may supply a fairly natural explanation. He points out the 'tug of war' aspect of the interaction between the two criteria, where certain feature values could be regarded as unmarked physiologically but marked perceptually, or vice versa. The author proposes the term 'relative markedness' to describe the theoretical framework that would incorporate the following characterizations of phonological systems:

1. Not all sounds and sequences of sounds are either perceived or produced with equal ease.
2. The constraints imposed on the organization of phonological systems and on the utilization of phonological elements are due to the limitations of the human structures having to do with the production and perception of speech, and are, as such, universal.
3. Even though there are phonological elements that are both easy to produce and easy to perceive, there are elements that are physiologically simple but perceptually complex and elements that are physiologically complex but perceptually simple.

4. Neither maximal contrast nor least effort is the main guiding principle in human communication, i.e., neither the speaker nor the hearer is overwhelmingly preferred. Phonological elements which are neither too simple nor too complex — if judged by either the perceptual or the physiological criterion — will be used more frequently than elements which are least complex according to one criterion but most complex according to the other.
5. Human communication does not utilize sounds that are both harder to produce and harder to perceive.

The incorporation of these characterizations⁵ into a theory leads Guitart to make the following formalization of three possibilities of markedness categories:

1. Elements that are unmarked both physiologically and perceptually
 2. Elements that are unmarked physiologically but marked perceptually
 3. Elements that are unmarked perceptually but marked physiologically
- ✦ But no phonological elements that are marked both physiologically and perceptually.

We now see that 'relative markedness' refers to a type of continuum on which every element is unmarked on some level, either physiologically, perceptually, or both. For Guitart, this means that the requirement that the output of neutralization be unmarked is always satisfied, and the reputation of the Trubetzkoy-inspired criterion is saved. He seems to have little concern that 'relative markedness' allows any and all sounds to be unmarked on some level, rendering markedness values completely vacuous.

In summary, Guitart claims that markedness assignments are universal. When these assignments cannot be made based on physiological or perceptual grounds, they can rely on the relative occurrence and distribution of sounds in the languages of the world, including appearance in positions of neutralization; language acquisition and language disorders; and dialectal variation and sound change. For cases where the criteria fail to select the appropriate markedness value for some element, usually due to conflict between physiological and perceptual considerations, Guitart suggests that markedness can be relative, and proposes a formalization that renders any sound as unmarked on some level.

1.5 *Universals and Markedness (Herbert 1986)*

As part of his discussion of the underlying nature of prenasalized consonants and categorization of the types of half-nasal consonants among the world's languages, Herbert studies the relationship between diachronic and synchronic universals in phonology. Markedness surfaces in his discussion of universals.

Herbert describes a theory of markedness as articulated by Chomsky & Halle, and reiterated, for the most part, by Guitart. He cites a criticism by Lass (1972), that within markedness theory, considerations of simplicity are not reconciled with language-internal economy of individual phonological systems. This criticism is based on the fact that, on a statistical level, the theory's claims about the frequency of some highly marked elements (e.g., front rounded vowels or clicks) might be justified; but as universals they do not hold for languages with the

sound inventories of Swedish or Zulu. The author points out that Lass's interpretation of the theory, that the unmarked elements will always gain ground, is equivalent to claiming that all phonological evolution is directed towards the development of an optimal sound inventory. Markedness theory does not make such claims, and according to Herbert, it is able to offer some insight even for languages with highly marked inventories. That is, on a universal level, systems such as Swedish or Zulu can still obey some language-internal markedness considerations.

The author points out that the assignment of marked and unmarked values represents only a class of OBSERVATIONS, but that statistical frequencies, diachronic mergers, synchronic neutralizations, etc., point to the fundamental correctness of this concept. However, 'the theory remains one of observation, one of probabilities' (Herbert 1972:24). Herbert also concedes that the significance of the theory is weakened due to a total lack of explanation. He offers to provide some of this explanation in his classification of prenasalized consonants by pin-pointing and adding more phonetic information to some level of the symbolic system that links phonetic reality to feature values.

Herbert's response to criticism that markedness theory lacks explanation, adding more phonetic information to some level of this symbolic system, does not render the system any less symbolic or abstract. Herbert recognizes the fact that markedness theory is one of observations and implicational statistics. But the 'fundamental correctness', as he puts it, of these observations nevertheless leads him, as it does most generativists, to suppose a universality that must be encoded in the UG.

1.6 *Language Universals (Greenberg 1966)*

Greenberg attempts to generalize the notion of markedness to mean some psychological reality, or even human nature, based on the fact that its characteristics can apply to phonology, grammar, and the lexicon. He claims that the concept of markedness provides the possibility of finding more specific universals than can be arrived at by purely empirical methods. This rather grandiose statement is supported with circular arguments: Greenberg looks for the connection between markedness and universals by isolating the common features of markedness in the various fields of linguistics; he then uses the fact that he can identify such common features as evidence for the connection between markedness and universals.

Greenberg emphasizes the origin of the concept of markedness as arising from the Prague school of phonology in the context of problems of neutralization and the archiphoneme: although neutralization is a language-specific phenomenon, it is generally the same category of sounds that appears in the position of neutralization in the different languages, that is, the unmarked. He offers this as the first characteristic of markedness to be shared by other fields of linguistics.

The second characteristic of markedness that Greenberg cites, frequency, also originates in Trubetzkoy's work: the unmarked category has higher frequency (he does not specify TYPE or TOKEN frequency, nor does he specify if within a language or universally). This is related to another characteristic of markedness,

taken from Zipf's (1935) principle of least effort as well as Trubetzkoy's discussion of it, that the more complex is less frequent, and therefore, marked. A third characteristic of markedness is that the unmarked element will show greater variety of subphonemic variation than its marked counterpart. That is, the more specified, the more marked, and the more variability (less resistance, more features can be filled) the less marked. A fourth is that the basic allophone is unmarked, e.g., in English [t] and [t^b] are allophones of /t/; [t] is the basic allophone, and is therefore the unmarked.

Having identified what he considers the main characteristics of markedness, Greenberg attempts to generalize them to phonology, grammar, and the lexicon. However, while the same major criteria of markedness seem to apply for grammar and lexicon, in phonology this concept is used differently. Greenberg's solution is to construct a grammar and a lexicon in terms of features. And so, going one-by-one through the above characteristics of markedness for phonology he 'translates' them into the domains of grammar and lexicon. This translation of phonological characteristics of markedness into other domains then becomes Greenberg's evidence for the universality of markedness, and its existence as psychological reality, and even human nature. Certainly this is the best example of how markedness is part of the universals of linguistic theory, rather than of languages.

1.7 'On the alleged correlation of markedness and rule function' (Kaye 1979)

Kaye's work was published in response to Houlihan & Iverson's 'Functionally-constrained phonology', appearing in the same volume. Specifically, Kaye presents data that calls into question the diagnostics proposed by these authors for whether a rule is neutralizing (contrast-obliterating) or allophonic (contrast-maintaining). Kaye's argument is based on the very formal definitions of neutralization and allophonic rules, which are, in part, dependent on markedness relations. The uncontroversial assumption that a rule cannot be both neutralizing and allophonic is complicated by the expectation that a rule that starts out diachronically as either allophonic or neutralizing must remain as such over time in the grammar.⁶ Most importantly for the present paper, Kaye's work emphasizes the circular nature of markedness definitions, as well as definitions of other phenomena that formally depend on markedness (e.g., neutralization).

Houlihan & Iverson state that rules that convert marked segments into unmarked ones must be neutralization rules, and all rules that are not neutralizing are allophonic. Given this definition, Kaye points out that it is hardly surprising that neutralization results in less-marked segments. Furthermore, since the presence of marked segments in a language typically implies the presence of their unmarked counterparts (we know this as implicational hierarchy), it is to be expected that rules that result in unmarked segments will do so in the context of a phonological inventory that already contains these segments. In the same line of reasoning, the claim that rules resulting in relatively marked segments are allophonic rules follows from the fact that marked segments are found less frequently and are thus

less likely to be found among the underlying phonemes of a language or as the output of a phonological rule applying before the rule in question.

Kaye concludes, therefore, that the fact that these definitions are *generally* true is in no way an argument in their favor, but merely a consequence of their formalizations. Put simply, defining these two types of rules using markedness relations, when markedness relations are basically defined using the rules they participate in, is circular and provides no insight into either situation.

To illustrate his point, Kaye discusses an example from Algonquin where a rule converts marked segments to unmarked ones, but is obviously an allophonic — and not neutralization — rule. This, and other examples in Kaye's work, clarify how Houlihan & Iverson's principles fail because their definitions lead to contradictions. In many dialects of Algonquin, there is a rule that devoices initial obstruents. This initial devoicing rule turns relatively marked segments (voiced) into relatively unmarked ones (voiceless) and ought to be a neutralization rule following Houlihan & Iverson's definitions. But in fact it is an allophonic rule because although both voiced and voiceless obstruents exist in Algonquin, according to Kaye only voiced obstruents occur in word-initial position — the context in which initial devoicing applies. Thus it is clearly a meaning-maintaining, and not a meaning-obliterating, rule. This example shows that basing definitions of rule types on markedness rather than meaning considerations is ineffective.

In summary, the author illustrates violations of Houlihan & Iverson's definitions, and emphasizes that the fact their principles generally hold is beside the point. This fact follows from general notions of markedness as well as the circular definitions of neutralization and allophonic rules, and therefore plays no role in constraining the class of possible phonologies.

1.8 *Featural Markedness in Phonology: Variation (Rice 1999)*

Rice's work comprises an extensive survey of literature on markedness in phonology. Rice puts together a nearly exhaustive list of the various definitions, used in sources such as Jakobson, Trubetzkoy, Kenstowicz, and other works on phonological theory and writings on the theory of markedness, to describe the difference between marked and unmarked categories. This list of definitions is reproduced in (5).

(5) <u>Marked</u>	<u>Unmarked</u>
Less natural	More natural
More complex	Simpler
More specific	More general
Less common	More common
Unexpected	Expected
Not basic	Basic
Less stable	Stable
Appear in few grammars	Appear in more grammars
Later in language acquisition	Earlier in language acquisition
Subject to neutralization	Neutralization targets
Early loss in language deficit	Late loss in language deficit

Implies unmarked feature	Implied by marked feature
Harder to articulate	Easier to articulate
Perceptually more salient	Perceptually less salient

This list, surely, represents the intuitions most linguists have about elements that are characterized using markedness terminology. These are the general observations that can be made about such elements; the general tendencies that are often repeated in elements belonging to the same category (of marked or unmarked), and hence considered universal.

Rice's own approach to markedness, which stems from the study of language acquisition, is to treat it as related to structure: markedness is mostly a consequence of the amount of structure, where the less structure, the less marked and vice-versa. Her goal is no different from similar works that stem from other disciplines within linguistics. It is to provide 'an account of what universal grammar allows to be unmarked and what the universal and language particular aspects to markedness are' (Rice 1999:34).

Rice & Avery (1995, cited in Rice) argue that two aspects of language must be accounted for: that there is crosslinguistic uniformity in the features that pattern phonologically as unmarked ('global uniformity'), but these features are not always the same ('local variability').⁷ The variability aspect is, of course, what makes the pattern only a TENDENCY rather than a LAW. For Rice, it seems, the key to explaining markedness resides in the criteria that separate elements that succumb to the general tendency to pattern with others of the same markedness category, from those that do not.

Rice devotes the bulk of her study to reviewing existing work on markedness, adding her own approach at the end. However, she does not appear to be able to make any generalizations that encompass the works she reviews, save for recognizing the fact that markedness is a controversial area that will continue to be debated for some time to come.

1.9 Discussion

The one constant that is retained, and reiterated, in the sections above relates to the origin of the notion of markedness as a universal. This is the observation that unmarked elements tend to pattern similarly crosslinguistically, as well as to some extent within languages. Encoding markedness categories in the grammar is deeply rooted in the recognition that such universal tendencies exist. This is emphasized in generative theories, where universal tendencies are especially significant because these are the aspects of languages that are attributed to the UG.

The trend of universalizing markedness statements starts with the observation, credited to Trubetzkoy, that there is a similarity between the elements that can appear in positions of neutralization across languages. Regardless of Trubetzkoy's original intention for using the notion of mark, which was to help classify types of neutralization, this generalized the language-specific processes of neutralization. For linguists, who are interested in generalizations, this finding is not

one that can be ignored. Thus, the notion of markedness from its very beginning embodies some universal aspect of a theory of language.

The trend of using markedness as a translation system for more abstract or symbolic notions, a trend that mistakenly regards markedness values as less abstract or symbolic than the notions it translates, can also be traced back to Trubetzkoy. Trubetzkoy used markedness to translate the extralinguistic biological causes of articulatory complexity into a linguistic system. Chomsky & Halle use markedness as a link between phonetic reality (that is, content of features) and the purely symbolic system of +/- feature values, creating linking rules that are somehow encoded in the grammar without complicating it. And Greenberg finds a novel use for markedness as a translation system: he uses it to translate phonological characteristics into other domains of linguistics.

Steriade (1995) outlines exactly how markedness statements, in the form of redundancy rules that may be left unspecified lexically, might ease the burden of the learner by moving this burden into the UG. A typical problem with the generativist approach arises: in an attempt to simplify the task of the learner, as much of the burden as possible is moved into the UG; the tradeoff aspect of this theory—the fact that this supposed entity acquires more and more complexity—is conveniently ignored because the UG can be anything that is required of it; it is not a physical entity that can ever be examined.

Whether one believes in the UG or not, it is still interesting to ask the following questions: What is the advantage of including markedness statements in the grammar? Why should properties of language that are easily observable (such as ease of articulation⁸), and those that are not at all important to learners of a language (such as crosslinguistic frequency of some element) be built into the linguistic mechanism we are supposedly born with? Never mind the questionable advantage of removing the burden from being the responsibility of a learner; what is the advantage of possessing such knowledge at all? Why should a learner have access to the knowledge that sonorants are voiced before any exposure to the data, when the minimum of such exposure would make this fact clear? It seems obvious that any and all advantages of encoding markedness statements are theory-internal: the only motivation for including markedness statements in the grammar is that such statements represent some universal tendencies. The goal of generative phonologies is closely tied to isolating such tendencies for the express purpose of building a UG.

Beyond questioning generativist wisdom, in this section I emphasize the circularity of so many of the markedness definitions and uses. First and foremost is the circularity of using markedness values to characterize aspects of language that are difficult to measure (e.g., articulatory effort, frequency), which are in turn used as criteria for awarding markedness values. Second, there is Greenberg's search for the connection between markedness and universals by isolating the common features of markedness in various fields of linguistics, which are in turn used as evidence for the existence of this connection. Third comes Kaye's illustration of how defining rule types as either neutralizing or allophonic using markedness val-

ues is not insightful because markedness values themselves depend on the types of rules an element can undergo: markedness values are awarded to elements based on the behavior of these elements within a system, and participation in neutralization or allophonic rules is what makes up this behavior.

Finally, this section shows that, while few agree on exactly what markedness means, nobody questions its encoding in the grammar. The generativist-internal motivation for the existence of such a component in the grammar is clear: the UG contains (but is not limited to) that which is common across languages; markedness captures these commonalities, and must therefore be part of the UG. External motivation for allowing markedness to represent some psychological reality is nonexistent, and yet such an essential part of scientific reasoning does not seem lamented in the literature.

2. The multidagnostic approach

In this section I draw on the various characterizations of MARKEDNESS reviewed in the previous section in order to show motivation for, but also problems with, the multidagnostic approach to markedness in phonology.

2.1 Motivation for the multidagnostic approach

The discussion in §1 of the history of the term *markedness* and the development of this notion in linguistics suggests that this notion was never unidimensional. Trubetzkoy's (1939) use of the term is associated most commonly with neutralization processes, that is, with the fact that the output of such processes is usually the unmarked member of an opposition. But his work also links markedness to articulatory effort, where the marked member of an opposition is defined as requiring an extra articulatory gesture as a means of explaining the biological causes of such effort in linguistic terms.

In bringing the term into the generative framework, and thereby into contemporary phonology theories, Chomsky & Halle (1968) attempt to formalize some degree of naturalness based on the intrinsic content of features. While naturalness could be considered the one leading dimension of markedness, it is clear that it is a dimension that is inherently abstract and cannot be determined based on any one diagnostic. The most notable reasons for this are that naturalness is based on articulatory as well as perceptual grounds, which do not always agree, and that it is context dependent rather than absolute. Furthermore, not only is naturalness in itself a multidimensional measure, but its use in the generative framework is applied to a variety of phenomena which are common among the languages of the world (listed in §1.4).

Within the generative framework, markedness values can be awarded to elements as compared with each other within an inventory system, a class of elements, an inventory of elements from one language as compared to another language, the relationship between some processes in a given language, and processes among those possible in all languages. Since the naturalness of so many different aspects of language is measured using markedness, it is obvious that no one diagnostic could accommodate the full load (e.g., what diagnostic could possibly

measure both frequency and voicing distinction?). In short, the fact that markedness values accommodate a variety of phenomena is uncontroversial in phonology literature, and the multidagnostic determination of markedness values is necessary in order to oblige the variety, and could therefore also be considered uncontroversial.

For a list of diagnostics for assigning markedness values, I turn to Postal (1968). He (1968:168) discusses *SPE*'s framework of allowing marked-unmarked to represent + and – feature values, and notes:

Accepting such a theory involves the responsibility for discovering the right class of universal rules interpreting M and U representations as + and –. This is a vast undertaking. At the moment, from the point of view of a completed system, our knowledge along these lines is limited. But there is already a great deal of knowledge, and many M-U decisions can be made with some confidence.

The diagnostics he suggests may be used with confidence are the following (cited in §1.4, where they are discussed in detail):

- a. Relative occurrence of sounds
- b. Appearance in position of neutralization
- c. Language acquisition and language loss
- d. Phonological change and dialect variation
- e. Physiological and perceptual investigations
- f. Implicational hierarchy
- g. Syntagmatic assignments

An additional, and relevant, checklist for assessing markedness can be found in McMahon's (1994:98) discussion of natural morphology, where naturalness is defined in terms of markedness:

Unmarked or natural features occur frequently cross-linguistically; appear often in numerous contexts in languages where they occur; are relatively resistant to change but often result from changes; occur in pidgins and are introduced early in Creoles; and are acquired early by children, but unaffected or lost late in aphasia. Furthermore, borrowings and neologisms in a language will typically follow the unmarked pattern; and it is rarely affected by speech errors, although marked forms are commonly assimilated to the unmarked pattern in error.

The motivation behind the multidagnostic approach to markedness is summarized as follows: Markedness is meant to encode some degree of what linguists agree is 'intuitively natural'. What is considered natural by linguists is normally based on phenomena that recur or are common in many of the world's languages. For generativists this implies a connection to the UG (i.e., what is common between languages is usually part of the UG, and should not add complexity to the learning of any individual language). For non-generativists some degree of naturalness is also a useful measure as a general observation that can be made about human languages (that is, there is an intellectual benefit to making generalizations

both edges of this continuum simultaneously), and that an element could fall anywhere on the continuum and be considered unmarked ('relatively unmarked') on some level. In this manner the result of neutralization can always be unmarked, and hence, can always serve as a criterion for markedness assignment, despite Postal's reservations. However, this scale renders every element unmarked on some level, and hence renders the physiological and perceptual diagnostics of markedness assignments, the diagnostics deemed most important by Postal and others, vacuous.

Markedness value assignments based on both syntagmatic and paradigmatic criteria constitute examples of the contradictory predictions that can result from the multidagnostic aspect of such assignments. Consider the simple case of voicing: on a syntagmatic level, voicing intervocalically is aerodynamically natural, while on a paradigmatic level, voicing inventory-wise is marked (on the basis of articulation effort; also on the basis of implicational hierarchy: if a language has voiced stops it has voiceless ones; along other criteria as well, e.g., frequency) (Westbury & Keating 1986). While most phonologists readily acknowledge that naturalness is contextually dependent, few consider the contradictory predictions of syntagmatic vs. paradigmatic criteria for the determination of markedness values a defect of the theory.

In Rice's (1999) discussion of the patterning of the unmarked, she focuses on three phenomena that are common: emergence of the unmarked, submergence of the unmarked, and transparency of the unmarked. Emergence of the unmarked refers to the fact that unmarked elements, often the 'default' elements in their class, are usually the choice for epenthetic matter. An example is the epenthetic *i* in Cairene and Iraqi dialects of Arabic:

- (6) Epenthetic *i* breaks up triconsonantal clusters (Ito 1989:241-2)
- a. CCC → CCiC e.g., /ʔul-t-l-u/ → ʔulitu 'I said to him' (Cairene)
 - b. CCC → CiCC e.g., /gil-t-l-a/ → gilitla 'I said to him' (Iraqi)

Submergence of the unmarked refers to a very different behavior of unmarked elements. Those elements which are most susceptible to assimilation, deletion, and other forms of weakening are diagnosed as unmarked. E.g., the coronals in Korean, where the coronal feature is a target, assimilating to other places of articulation (a) and (b) but not a trigger (c) and (d), and is therefore considered unmarked:

- (7) Korean place of articulation assimilation (Cho (1988), Iverson & Kim (1987, cited in Rice 1999:8))
- | | | | | |
|----|----------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|
| a. | coronal-labial | ko/tp/alo | ko[pp]alo | 'straight' |
| b. | coronal-dorsal | pa/tk/o | pa[kk]o | 'to receive and' |
| c. | labial-coronal | pa/pt/o | pa[pt]o | 'rice also' |
| d. | dorsal-coronal | ka/ŋt/o | ka[Nd]o | 'rubber' |

Unmarked features also display a common behavior that Rice (1999:9) calls transparency of the unmarked, where they are transparent to assimilation while the marked features block it:

Steriade (1987) shows that vowel harmony may be restricted to cross laryngeals but not other places of articulation, suggesting that laryngeals are unmarked in place while other consonantal places of articulation are marked; Paradis & Prunet (1989) argue that vowel harmony crosses the coronal place of articulation in Guere, but not others, implying that coronal is unmarked amongst the other places of articulation.

These three ways in which unmarked elements tend to pattern similarly cover a wide range of phenomena, some exact opposites of each other. What theoretical significance is there to a diagnostic of markedness that is based on participation in processes such as loss as well as epenthesis, and assimilation as well as transparency to it? As with 'relative markedness', although to a lesser extent, almost any element can be characterized as unmarked based on its participation in one of so many processes.

A final example where the multidagnostic determination of markedness values fails comes from diachronic change. In particular, I explore the contradiction between the predictions markedness values make about the rate of change: marked elements are usually considered less stable diachronically, but often they are regarded as the more stable elements.

Marked elements are harder to learn and are less natural and hence are often subject to weakening or loss. This view of the marked element as being less stable diachronically has already been presented in §1.4 where the example of glottalized consonants disappearing from an inventory is offered. Another example of diachronic change of marked elements towards their unmarked counterparts is the intervocalic weakening of stops:

(8) Lenition/weakening (Hock 1991:81):

Lat. *pacatum* > (*)*pagado* > Sp. [*paɣaðo*]
> dial. [*paɣaðo*] 'pacified, pleased'

In this weakening of intervocalic stops from Latin to a dialect of Spanish, first the intervocalic stops are voiced in the intermediate, reconstructed, stage. Then they are spirantized in Spanish, and the dental element is finally lost in the dialect of Spanish. Since each stage of the change in (8) involves a more 'relaxed' pronunciation than the previous stage and hence a less marked element, the weakening process is a change of marked elements to unmarked ones.

However, marked elements are often more stable diachronically. Consider an example from morphology: irregular verbs in English. The more common irregular verbs resist regularization into *-ed* forms (e.g., *drink/drank/drunk*, *eat/ate/eaten*, *is/was/were*, etc.). There are even cases where the irregular form (considered marked) takes over an unmarked form, as in the case of *dove* replacing *dived* as past for *dive*. The example is taken from Hock (1991:175):

(9)	Old English	New English	
	dȳvan	dive	
	dȳv(e)de	dived	→ dove (cf. drive: drove) ⁹

Thus certain irregular verbs in English are more stable, less susceptible to change, diachronically. Of course, one could claim that their frequency—the most common explanation for their stability—renders them unmarked, and hence their stability is expected. The question becomes one of determining the markedness values of these elements in a situation where more than one value is predicted by the diagnostics, and hence one of conflicting predictions.

An example of diachronically stable marked elements in phonology comes from click-languages. Most would agree that clicks are marked inventory-wise in almost every aspect, but few would predict the loss of these sounds from the inventory of Zulu, for example. Also, glottalization, offered above as an example of a marked feature that can be expected to be lost, is actually quite common in syllable-final stops (Silverman, p. c.).

Since marked elements can be both more and less stable diachronically, it is doubtful that the markedness status of such elements is behind their behavior. In fact, it becomes obvious that a variety of phenomena, and the interaction between them, must be responsible for the variation in diachronic stability between these elements (e.g., functional load, frequency, contrast maintenance, and social factors, among others). These are the same phenomena used as diagnostics for the determination of markedness value assignments. Subsuming them under one cover term, and representing them with only one of two values, ignores not only the specifics of these phenomena and their influence on diachronic stability, but also the interaction between them, and hence reduces the explanatory power of the theory.

3. Conclusion

In §1, the exploration of markedness in phonology literature concludes that the term is an abstract notion whose definitions are mostly circular and whose motivation is limited to theory-internal reasoning. In §2, the circularity of the previous section's definitions is echoed in the conclusion that the multidimensional aspect of markedness is, in part, a paradox. On the one hand, the fact that markedness is used to evaluate a multitude of often unrelated phenomena in a variety of domains (within a class, an inventory of one language, or all the world's languages) makes the determination of markedness values necessarily multidagnostic. On the other hand, the various criteria used as diagnostics often lead to conflicting assignments of markedness values.

But there is a way out: I suggest that the phenomena subsumed under the cover term *markedness* are individually far more valuable than the cover term itself. It is these phenomena that often drive phonological behavior. The fact that these phenomena often conflict with each other, and therefore lead to conflicting or vacuous predictions, is only a problem if they are thought of as dimensions of one aspect of language, that is markedness. Individually, the fact that these phe-

nomena do not always act in unison, as if towards some predetermined goal, is part of the nature of language. Furthermore, funneling the generalizations that can be made based on the individual phenomena into one of only two values (marked or unmarked) emerges as a generalization that is too wide in scope to be truly insightful. The predictive and descriptive powers of the dimensions of markedness, when taken individually, are therefore far superior to those of markedness used as a cover term.

NOTES

¹ Again I turn to Cole & Hualde's (1998:8) questioning the existence of abstract underlying representations. They believe that 'the burden of the proof should be on the defenders of non-observable entities.' I agree, but do not believe that the defenders of markedness as some psychological entity can be persuaded to take on this burden.

² In both cases he means to/from the 'contextual phoneme' in a slightly different use of the terms than is common in contemporary writings. Trubetzkoy classifies as DISSIMILATIVE NEUTRALIZATION processes where the trigger of neutralization is the same feature being neutralized (e.g., voicing triggers voicing neutralization). ASSIMILATIVE NEUTRALIZATION refers to processes where an independent feature triggers loss of contrast (e.g., nasals trigger voicing neutralization in obstruents).

³ FUNCTIONAL NEUTRALIZATION refers to the consequence for meaning that a phonological neutralization of a distinctive opposition may have. That is, if a distinction between two sounds is obliterated, it may lead to the obliteration of the meaning distinction between lexical elements that contain these sounds (and may previously have been distinguished by them).

⁴ This is an oversimplification of the theory, especially since the UG is not limited to commonalities across languages. My intention is only to show the theory-internal relationship between the job of a linguist and that of a learner.

⁵ Guitart uses *perception* somewhat inaccurately, neglecting the fact that perception is significantly shaped by language specific contrasts. For example, for speakers of English, where no such contrast exists, it is difficult to perceive the difference between glottalized and plain stops; but for Korean speakers it is easy.

⁶ As far as I know, there is no reason for this to be true.

⁷ It is not clear to me what aspect of this notion is *local*. Possibly, she means within a language as opposed to the GLOBAL crosslinguistic tendencies. Or, more likely, she means LOCALLY within the group of elements that pattern as unmarked crosslinguistically. I can only guess, but it does not really matter for our purposes.

⁸ This property is difficult to measure objectively; but it is not objective measuring that I refer to here.

⁹ This type of change is a 4-part analogy, a systematic type of proportional analogy that generalizes a pattern of morphological relationship between given forms to other forms.

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**CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS IN MULTILINGUAL SOCIETIES:
A METHODOLOGICAL ISSUE**

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In language-contact situations we know that various languages influence each other. In order to best understand the degree of influence and predict the difficulties of the learners, the contrastive analysis approach was proposed in the 1940s by Fries (1945) and his disciples. Applied contrastive analysis as advocated by Lado (1957) should take into consideration the differences and similarities of the languages being compared. In the developments that followed in this area of study, there has been a lot of research in monolingual societies and the monolingual model has become the norm. In this paper I will show that the monolingual model is not appropriate as an applied contrastive linguistic model for multilingual societies and would therefore propose a multilingual model that takes into consideration the intermediary languages between the native language and the foreign language (English in the case of Burkina Faso). This model is inspired by error analysis, which takes into consideration all the languages present in the language learning situation. I will illustrate my proposed model with examples of contact between English and Mooré in Burkina Faso and then between French and Twi in Ghana.

I. Introduction

This cross-linguistic study is to determine if the monolingual model of the contrastive analysis (CA) approach can be used to predict difficulty of Mooré-French or Twi-English bilinguals in learning English or French, respectively. The study will be limited to the noun-phrase structure of the languages concerned. The hypothesis that underlies this study is that the monolingual model of CA cannot be used to correctly predict L₂ learner difficulty and errors in multilingual contexts. The theoretical framework for the CA is that of structural linguistics.

Mooré is a Gur language, a subgroup of the Niger-Congo family classified in Greenberg 1966 as I.A.3 Voltaic. This language is spoken mainly in Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast, West Africa. Twi is a dialect of Akan, and is a Kwa language, a subgroup of the Congo-Kordofanian family classified in Greenberg 1966 as I.A.4 Kwa group. It is spoken in Ghana, West Africa.

I chose to examine the methodological issue of CA because students' dissertations I have read or for which I was a member of the defense committee revealed to me that most of the students use the monolingual model for their comparison, although they claim the results of their study should help improve the

teaching of English in Burkina Faso. In this respect, their studies miss certain generalizations regarding the place of the intermediary language, French, in their predictions.

Another reason for choosing this topic is that most of the maîtrise students in the Modern Languages Department of the University of Ouagadougou do CA for their dissertations. These research works are pedagogically oriented, hence I believe they should understand not only the difference between applied and theoretical CA, but also the methodological differences between monolingual and multilingual contexts. This is because in most of the CA studies, their aim is to discover and predict learning difficulties of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) students by comparing the native language with the foreign language. In this endeavor, they tend to forget the intermediary language because most of the papers they read and rely on concern monolingual contexts: English-French, Spanish-English, Polish-English, Romanian-English, etc. They are therefore heavily influenced by the monolingual model, which, as I will show later, makes wrong predictions in multilingual contexts, hence is inappropriate. This paper seeks to call their attention and also that of CA researchers in multilingual societies to the fact that the methodology they are used to is not suitable for their research context.

It is an established fact that in monolingual societies we compare L_1 with L_2 or native language (NL) with the target language (TL) because the L_2 is the only interfering language. My research question then is: How should the model for multilingual societies be? The acquisition model can help explain the CA model used simply because in a monolingual situation we have the native language compared with the target language, hence the only interference possible is from the language being learned; the languages in the contact situation are the L_1 and L_2 . Can this model be valid for multilingual situations? I do not think so, since only two languages in the monolingual context are taken into consideration by the model. In the multilingual situation, we have at least three languages; this is the very reason why I believe that the multilingual situation has to have a model that takes into consideration all the languages in the language-contact situation as is the case in the monolingual context. This model could consist of two stages because the number of comparison is equal to the number of languages minus one (i.e., number of languages - 1). Considering this logic for comparison, we have only one comparison in a monolingual society where we have two languages and two comparisons in a multilingual society with three languages. Hence, our multilingual CA model is as follows:

- a) compare the intermediate language with the foreign/target language:

$$L_{\text{int}} \longrightarrow L_3.$$
- b) compare the native language with the foreign/target language:

$$L_1 \longrightarrow L_3.$$

In this model, L_{int} represents one of the various European languages (English, French, Portuguese, Spanish) that the learner has learnt after the native language, L_1 , before coming to learn the foreign language (L_3). My model as I conceive it will be valid for Sub-Saharan Africa where English, French, Spanish, and Portu-

guese are second or foreign languages, depending on the colonizer's language. In this model, L_1 is the native language(s) of the learner, and L_{int} is French, English, or Portuguese depending on the learner's colonizing country.

Data for this study are from two sources: Kambou 1992 for Mooré and introspection for the Twi data. In the data, Twi and Mooré are native languages (L_1). French is L_{int} in Burkina and L_3 in Ghana while English is L_{int} in Ghana and L_3 in Burkina. The analysis of the data is based on comparing the two models with the same data in order to show the weaknesses of the monolingual model in multilingual contexts. The preliminary results of this study show that the multilingual model makes better predictions than the monolingual model for multilingual contexts.

2. Review of the literature

Comparison of languages is as old as linguistics itself. A comparison could be interlingual (comparing two or more languages) or intralingual (comparing dialects of the same language). In general, when dialects or languages are compared the aim is to show the differences and similarities between them. Thus, historical linguistics used the comparative method for the reconstruction of languages in history. Language teaching in the 40's contributed in encouraging linguists who undertook research in contrastive linguistics in order to improve, if possible, existing language teaching methods. At that time, most people thought the main problem in language learning was the structural difference between the source language (L_1) and the target language (L_2). The pioneers of contrastive analysis applied to language pedagogy are: Fries (1945;) and Reed, Lado, & Shen (1948). Research by Fries & Pike (1949) as well as that of Weinrich (1953) was focused on the learning of foreign languages. In the pedagogic perspective of contrastive linguistics, there are as many models of grammar as there are theoretical models of description. Among these, we can mention: (a) the structuralist or 'taxonomic' model elaborated from research by Bloomfield (1933), Fries (1945), Lado (1957), and Harris (1963); (b) the case-grammar model elaborated from Fillmore's (1968) research on universal semantics; (c) Krzeszowski's (1974, 1976) model based on a bi-directional contrastive studies. Most of the research on the pedagogic contribution of contrastive linguistics of the 60's compared English, on the one hand, with German, Italian, Spanish, or French, on the other hand. The majority of these focused on phonetics and phonology; there is relatively little research on syntax. Proponents of the pedagogic perspective of contrastive linguistics in the 60's believed that thanks to contrastive studies (of L_1 and L_2) focused on the differences, they could predict learners' difficulty and errors. The hypothesis that underlies these researchers' works is known in the literature as the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH). The importance given to the phenomenon of language transfer in foreign language learning at the time brought about three versions of this hypothesis: (a) a strong version supported by Lado (1957); (b) a weak version supported by Wardhaugh (1970); and (c) a moderate one supported by Oller & Ziahosseiny (1970). Today, contrastive linguistics has gone beyond structural comparison and is using a sociolinguistic approach, because structural and semantic equivalence

are not sufficient. We must look at pragmatics and conversational implicature as was suggested by Y. Kachru (1976). S. N. Sridhar (1980) also pointed out some of the above mentioned problems in CA and showed that in spite of these difficulties, CA remains both theoretically and methodologically the most principled component of a theory of errors. Even though UG in SLA does not make it explicit, the parametric variation view of White (1988) and the parameter-setting model of Flynn (1987) are a type of CA approach to SLA.

CA, as Fisiak (1981:1) noted, 'comparative studies in linguistics have a long history.' He makes a distinction between comparative historical linguistics, comparative typological linguistics, and contrastive analysis or contrastive study. He further showed that the last two share some common elements and could be considered as synchronic comparative linguistics. 'Contrastive linguistics', according to Fisiak, 'may be roughly defined as a sub-discipline of linguistics concerned with the comparison of two or more languages or subsystems in order to determine the differences and similarities between them.'

In the literature, CA is said to have two aspects or sub-areas: applied and theoretical. In theoretical CA, the comparison between languages A and B seeks to find out how a universal category X is realized in the two languages. There is no question of directionality in this approach. The question of directionality is important to applied CA whose aim is to find out how a universal concept X realized in language A as Y, is realized in language B. The results of applied CA are said in the literature to be used for teaching, translation, bilingual studies, etc.

The review of the literature shows that the CA model used in European countries compared all the languages in the contact situation, which are generally two. There is no published research to my knowledge that questions the general CA model used in multilingual societies. There is also no published CA data in multilingual countries taking into consideration all the languages in the contact situation; it is this vacuum that my paper sets to fill and hence contribute data to the literature on multilingual contexts and also propose a multilingual CA model.

3. Data for CA

The data for the CA are from English, French, Mooré, and Twi. They are presented as L₁ (Mooré and Twi), L₂ (French and English), and L₃ (English and French). The L₂ and L₃ languages depend on the context because English is L₂ in Sub-Sahara Anglophone countries and French L₃; in Sub-Sahara Francophone countries French is L₂ and English L₃.

In this section, we simply present sentences in the three languages of the Anglophone and Francophone situations. The comparison proper will be done in the discussion section. In column I, we have the Francophone data, and in column II, that of the Anglophone situation. The noun phrases (NPs) are underlined in the examples. The NPs in the sentences or alone illustrate cases where nouns are non-specified, unspecified, or specified.

The structure of the African languages is Noun + Determiner and that of the European languages is Determiner + Noun as in examples (i) and (ii).

I. MOORÉ, FRENCH, ENGLISH

- i. L₁: *págá wǎ*
 woman +sg/det/
 'the woman'
 L₂: *La femme*
 L₃: *The woman*

II. TWI, ENGLISH, FRENCH

- ii. L₁: *ɔbaa nu*
 woman +sg/det/
 'the woman'
 L₂: *The woman*
 L₃: *La femme*

A. NON-SPECIFIED NOUNS (GENERIC USE)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. L ₁ : <i>Báag tarà náo a náasé.</i>
/dog-sg/have+inacc-aff/leg+pl/four/
'A dog has four legs'
L ₂ : <i>Un chien a quatre pattes.</i>
L ₃ : <i>A dog has four legs.</i> | L ₁ : <i>ɔkramāi wɔ nnai ɛnai</i>
/dog+sg/have/leg+pl/four/
'A dog has four legs'
L ₂ : <i>A dog has four legs.</i>
L ₃ : <i>Un chien a quatre pattes.</i> |
| 2. L ₁ : <i>B râtá péteróllè.</i>
/they/need-inacc-aff/kerosine/
'They need kerosine'
L ₂ : <i>Ils ont besoin de pétrole.</i>
L ₃ : <i>They need kerosene.</i> | L ₁ : <i>wɔ mɔ hiã kresĩ</i>
/they/need/kerosine/
'They need kerosine'
L ₂ : <i>They need kerosene.</i>
L ₃ : <i>Ils ont besoin de pétrole.</i> |
| 3. L ₁ : <i>Biisim sao bééré!</i>
/milk/be better-aff/beer/
'Milk is better than beeter'
L ₂ : <i>Le lait est meilleur que la bière.</i>
L ₃ : <i>Milk is better than beer.</i> | L ₁ : <i>mirik yɛ cɛ̃ bia</i>
/milk/be better/beer/
'Milk is better than beeter'
L ₂ : <i>Milk is better than beer.</i>
L ₃ : <i>Le lait est meilleur que la bière.</i> |

B. UNSPECIFIED NOUN (INDEFINITE USE)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 4. L ₁ : <i>M pa tar ligd ye.</i>
//neg1/have/money/neg2/
'I have no money'
L ₂ : <i>Je n'ai pas d'argent.</i>
L ₃ : <i>I have no money.</i> | L ₁ : <i>mì nì sika.</i>
//neg1+have/money/
'I have no money'
L ₂ : <i>I have no money.</i>
L ₃ : <i>Je n'ai pas d'argent.</i> |
| 5. L ₁ : <i>F tàrà bōbō bíf?</i>
/you/have-inacc-aff/sweets/interro/
'Do you have any sweets?'
L ₂ : <i>As-tu des bonbons?</i>
L ₃ : <i>Have you any sweets?</i> | L ₁ : <i>wɔ wɔ tɔfi ana?</i>
/you/have/sweets/interro/
'Do you have any sweets?'
L ₂ : <i>Have you any sweets?</i>
L ₃ : <i>As-tu des bonbons?</i> |

6. L₁: *Séb bólá ràmbá.*
/book/blue/pl/
'Blue books'
L₂: *Des livres bleus.*
L₃: *Blue books.*
- L₁: *nhoma bru*
/book+pl/blue/
'Blue books'
L₂: *Blue books.*
L₃: *Des livres bleus.*
7. L₁: *Wá-y né séés ràmbá!*
/come with+imp/chair/pl/
'Bring some chairs'
L₂: *Apportez quelques chaises!*
L₃: *Bring some chairs!*
- L₁: *fa nkonya bra!*
/take+imp/chair/pl/come
'Bring some chairs'
L₂: *Bring some chairs!*
L₃: *Apportez quelques chaises!*
8. L₁: *Sébr sen ya bólá.*
/book-sg/relative pro/be+inacc/blue/
'A blue book'
L₂: *Un livre bleu.*
L₃: *A blue book.*
- L₁: *homa a εεε bru*
/book+sg/relative pro/be/blue/
'A blue book'
L₂: *A blue book.*
L₃: *Un livre bleu.*
9. L₁: *A Sayiid tará yúús wúsgó.*
/Seydu/have-inacc-aff/cat+pl/many/
'Seydu has many cats'
L₂: *Seidou a beaucoup de chats.*
L₃: *Seidou has many cats.*
- L₁: *sedu wə nginamua bebre*
/Seydu/have/cat+pl/many/
'Seydu has many cats'
L₂: *Seidu has many cats.*
L₃: *Seidou a beaucoup de chats.*
10. L₁: *Bì-púgla tará lígd zèmbàlá.*
/child-girl+sg-det/have-inacc-aff/
money/enough/
'The girl has enough money'
L₂: *La fille a assez d'argent.*
L₃: *The girl has enough money.*
- L₁: *əbayaa nu wə sika dudə*
/child+girl+sg/det/have/money/
enough/
'The girl has enough money'
L₂: *The girl has enough money.*
L₃: *La fille a assez d'argent.*
11. L₁: *B ràtà kóom wúsgó .*
/they/need-inacc-aff/water+sg/much/
'They need much water'
L₂: *Ils ont besoin de beaucoup d'eau.*
L₃: *They need much water.*
- L₁: *wə mʊ hiā nsuo bebre*
/they/need-inacc-aff/water+sg/much/
'They need much water'
L₂: *They need much water.*
L₃: *Ils ont besoin de beaucoup d'eau.*

C

SPECIFIED NOUNS (DEFINITE USE)

12. L₁: *A Sayiid kàremdá a sebrè.*
/Seidu/read-inacc-aff/his/book-sg/
'Seidu is reading his book'
L₂: *Seidou lit son livre.*
L₃: *Seidu is reading his book.*
- L₁: *sedu kāi ni huma*
/Seidu/read/his/book-sg/
'Seidu is reading his book'
L₂: *Seidu is reading his book.*
L₃: *Seidou lit son livre.*
13. L₁: *A Hawá kàremdá a sebrè.*
/Hawa/read-inacc-aff/her/book-sg/
'Hawa is reading her book'
L₂: *Hawa lit son livre.*
L₃: *Hawa is reading her book.*
- L₁: *hawa kāi ni huma*
/Hawa/read/her/book-sg/
'Hawa is reading her book'
L₂: *Hawa is reading her book.*
L₃: *Hawa lit son livre.*

14. L₁: A wábà *némá* gíllì.
/he/cat-acc-aff/meat-det/all/
'He has eaten all the meat'
L₂: Il a mangé *toute la viande*.
L₃: He has eaten *all the meat*.
- L₁: wa di *nam nu nyinaa*
/he/cat/meat/det/all/
'He has eaten all the meat'
L₂: He has eaten *all the meat*.
L₃: Il a mangé *toute la viande*.
15. L₁: Pípi *karèmbúsa*.
/first/read-child+pl-det/
'the first students'
L₂: *Les premiers élèves*.
L₃: *The first students*.
- L₁: *suku fɔɔ wɔ mu tɔsu baaku*
/school/person+pl/they/classed/one/
'the first students'
L₂: *The first students*.
L₃: *Les premiers élèves*.

4. Discussion

Before beginning the discussion we should first of all remind the reader that the European countries at the advent of CA were monolingual countries hence the name of the CA model used in these countries. On the contrary, most of Sub-Saharan countries are multilingual due to the contact of African languages and that of their colonizers (English, French, Spanish, Portuguese) and the urge today to learn foreign languages, those mentioned above as well as German, Russian, Italian, etc.

The problem with multilingual societies is that CA is not just comparing L₁ and L₂ but we have to take into consideration the intermediary languages. For example, if we consider the case of a Francophone country like Burkina Faso. French is an intermediary language and the national or Burkinabè languages are the L₁s of the learners. What is certain is that both the native language(s) and French have an influence on the learning of English by the Burkinabè students. This condition is also true of Ghanaian students learning French, but here the intermediary language is English and the native language(s) the L₁. This reality should be taken into consideration if we wish to use the results of our research to help improve the teaching and learning of English and French as foreign languages in Burkina Faso and Ghana, respectively. As is mentioned in the literature, CA alone cannot be used to improve teaching of a language since the factors affecting language acquisition and learning are linguistic, sociolinguistic, and psycholinguistic, hence it is just one of the main factors. The criticisms leveled against CA also show that CA needs the support of other approaches to language learning to sufficiently address the issues of language acquisition and learning.

The data from Anglophone and Francophone countries of Sub-Saharan Africa will be tested against the two models in competition: the monolingual CA model and the multilingual CA model.

MONOLINGUAL CA MODEL	STAGE OF COMPARISON	MULTILINGUAL CA MODEL
L ₁ —————→ L ₂	stage 1	a. L _{int} —————→ L ₃
	stage 2	b. L ₁ —————→ L ₃

4.1 Predicting the presence or absence of a determiner

From the two models above, we see that in the multilingual model there are three stages in the comparison while in the monolingual model there is only one stage. We could therefore assert that the monolingual model is a subset of the multilingual model, similar to stage (c). If this model is therefore used as the model for multilingual contexts, it will miss the information contained in stages (a) and (b) of the multilingual model. Let us analyze the data with the two models:

In examples (1-3), the monolingual model, comparing L_1 and L_3 , will predict that the Mooré speaker will omit the determiner of the NP because in the L_1 there is no determiner. Hence the prediction is that the speaker will produce the following sentences in English: *'Dog has four legs'; 'They need kerosene'; 'Milk is better than beer'. Comparing these sentences with the expected ones in L_3 of (1-3), this shows that the prediction will be correct in examples (2) and (3). In the case of the Twi speaker, the model will predict that the speaker will also omit the determiner and say *'Chien a quatre pattes'; 'Ils ont besoin de pétrole'; *'Lait est meilleur que bière'. Here again, if we compare the predicted forms with the L_3 expected forms, the prediction will be correct only for example (2).

As for the multilingual model, a 2-stage comparison, it will not only make the same predictions as the monolingual model, it will in addition make predictions by comparing the intermediary language (L_{int}) with the target language (L_3). Hence, it will predict that the Mooré speaker will either omit the determiner due to the L_1 or use a determiner due to the L_{int} in (1). In (2), it will predict that there will be no determiner whether the L_1 or L_{int} NP is transferred into L_3 , and in (3) the determiner will be dropped due to L_1 or not dropped due to L_{int} . This second model as we can see from the analysis of the data has a higher chance of making correct predictions in the three examples because it takes into consideration all the languages present in the contact situation. In the case of the Twi speaker, this model will predict that in example (1) the learner will either omit the determiner of the NP in L_3 due to L_1 or use it due to L_{int} . The L_3 sentences will be either *'Chien a quatre pattes' or 'Un chien a quatre pattes'. In examples (2) and (3), the Twi learner of French will omit the determiner in French due to the absence of a determiner in the NPs of L_1 and L_{int} . The speaker is thus predicted to produce the following sentences: 'Ils ont besoin de pétrole' or 'Lait est meilleur que bière'. In sum, the multilingual model from the examples (1-3) will make a better prediction than the monolingual model (66% for Twi speaker and 100% correct predictions for Mooré speaker, as against 33% correct predictions for both learners).

In examples (4-11), the monolingual model will predict the absence of determiners in (4, 5, 7, 8), and the presence of determiners in (6, 9, 10, 11), due to the L_1 of the learner. In the case of the multilingual model, the prediction will be the absence of determiners in (4), due to the L_1 and L_{int} while it will predict the presence of determiners in (5, 7, 8), due to the L_{int} . In all 8 examples, the monolingual model will make 4 correct predictions (50%), while the multilingual model will make 7 correct predictions (87.5%). With regard to the Twi speaker, the monolingual model will predict the absence of determiners in the L_3 NPs in exam-

ples (4, 5, 7, 8), and the presence of determiners in examples (6, 9, 10, 11). The multilingual model on the other hand will predict the presence of determiners in the NPs of (4, 5, 7, 8) due to L_2 and in (6, 9, 10, 11) due to L_1 or L_{int} . I can conclude that the monolingual model will make 5 correct predictions out of 8, i.e., 62.5% in the case of the Twi speaker, and 4 out of 8, i.e., 50%? in the case of the Mooré speaker. On the contrary, the multilingual model will make 7 out of 8 correct predictions, i.e., 87.5% for the Mooré speaker and 8 correct predictions out of 8, i.e., 100% correct predictions in the case of the Twi speaker.

Concerning examples (12-15), the monolingual model will predict the presence of determiners in L_3 in all the examples and the multilingual model will also predict the presence of determiners in all the examples for the Mooré speaker. As for the Twi speaker, the monolingual model will predict the presence of determiners in examples (12, 13, 14), and the absence of determiners in (15) while the multilingual model will predict determiners in all four examples. In this category of nouns, the monolingual model will make 3 out of 4 correct predictions, i.e., 75% for the Twi speaker, and 4 correct predictions out of 4, i.e., 100%, for the Mooré speaker. The multilingual model will make no wrong predictions for native speakers of either Twi or Mooré.

In conclusion, it has been shown that between the two CA models in competition, it is the multilingual model that makes fewer wrong predictions than the monolingual model. In addition, it also takes into consideration the languages present in the language-contact situation when making predictions.

4.2 Predicting the type of determiner

If the CA model in our example predicts the presence of a determiner or determiners in the target language (L_3), the next thing will be to predict the type of determiner that the L_3 learner will use. This aspect of CA needs the support of other language-learning methodologies to be very accurate. As can be seen in examples (1-3), the prediction will be that in L_3 the determiner of the NP will be the indefinite article in (1) and the definite article in (3). As regards examples (4-11), the predictions of the negative determiner 'no' in (4) is not possible, the prediction will be that the learner will use the normal negation, which is wrong. In (5), the prediction will be 'some' due to French (L_{int}) and problems with English as L_{int} . The case of (6) will be word order 'some books blue' due to French and 'bleus livres' due to English. In (7), 'some' and 'quelques' will be predicted correctly and the same is true for (8) and (10). However, in (9) and (11), correct predictions of the determiner to be used cannot be made since the choice of the determiner type depends on the nature of the noun in L_3 , which is not the case in L_1 . This is where a conceptual model of learning would be of great help. The same is true for (5) and (6).

In the third category of nouns, predicting the exact determiner will not be a problem in examples (14) and (15); however, in (12) and (13) it will be difficult, since the choice of the possessive adjective depends on the thing possessed in French, on the possessor in English, and neutral in L_1 . A conceptual model will here again be useful in making correct predictions. In spite of these, there is the question of

the word order of the NP structure, which the monolingual model will predict to be noun + determiner due to L_1 , and the multilingual model will predict to be Determiner + Noun due to L_{int} . However, where we have adjectives and not simply articles with nouns as in (6) and (8), both models will make wrong predictions about the word order.

4.3 Predicting the source of error

In all cases the error predicted will be due to the L_1 according to the monolingual model whereas the multilingual model predicts some errors to be due to L_1 and others due to L_{int} . However, in some cases, the error predicted by this model could be due to either of the previous languages learned by the L_3 learner, and in this case it is not easy to predict the exact source of the error.

5. Conclusion

The study shows that the monolingual model when used in multilingual contexts misses some generalizations with regard to $L_{int} - L_3$ relationship. The multilingual CA model, which takes into consideration the realities of the language-contact situation, is further given independent evidence from Error Analysis in multilingual situations, which can be considered as a complementary approach to CA.

6. Implications

There are two possible implications of this study: (a) the generalization of the multilingual CA model, and (b) the reanalysis of multilingual society data based on the monolingual CA model. The multilingual CA model as presented in this study can be generalized to Sub-Saharan Africa. For example, the case of Ghana can be generalized to all Sub-Saharan Anglophone Africa, that of Burkina to all Sub-Saharan Francophone Africa and the model can also be applied to Sub-Saharan Lusophone Africa where L_1 is the native language of the population, L_{int} is Portuguese/Spanish, and L_3 either French or English.

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SHIFT FROM MAITHILI TO HINDI: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

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Sociolinguists have studied language shift from a variety of perspectives. Even though the recent literature on language shift shows new trends, certain key questions remain unanswered and seek explanation. Language shifts taking place in various sociolinguistic contexts of India vary in their nature and function. To name a few, shifts take place from a minority language to a majority language and an immigrant language to the dominant regional language. This paper investigates the language shift from a minority language, Maithili, to a majority language, Hindi. Recent developments show that Maithili speakers are shifting toward Hindi in various domains of language use. This paper examines functional and formal dimensions of this shift.

1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate the gradual shift of Maithili speakers to Hindi. The use of Hindi by Maithili speakers in most of the functional domains facilitates the formal shift from Maithili to Hindi. So far as the present study is concerned, it does not view the shift from Maithili to Hindi as evidence for the danger of losing Maithili or losing respect for the mother tongue by its speakers. The phenomenon of shift from Maithili to Hindi, as discussed in the subsequent sections of this paper, can always be argued for as evidence of code switching. On the basis of the fact that the domains of Maithili use are getting reduced day by day, I argue that the phenomenon observed in this study is evidence of language shift.

Maithili and Hindi form part of the Indo-Aryan family of languages. Hindi is the first official language of the Republic of India and is the major Indo-Aryan language. As per the available details from the 1991 census, it was the mother tongue of 37% of the total population of India. Hindi, being the first official language of India, is understood by nearly 55% of the total Indian population. Hindi is spoken by nearly 55% of the Indian population in most of the functional domains. This includes the native speakers of Hindi (according to the official census report) and the native speakers of most of the Indo-Aryan languages, such as Maithili, Bhojpuri, Magahi, Bajjika, Angika, Oriya, Kashmiri, Punjabi, Haryanvi, Gujrati, Marathi, etc. Khubchandani (1983) is of the opinion that Hindi is spoken for all practical purposes (i.e., in functional domains) by all whose mother tongue is any of the Indo-Aryan languages. Maithili, as the name indicates, is mainly the language of the residents of Mithila. According to modern geography, the entire

Mithila region is part of North Bihar. Bihar is one of the twenty-five states of India. Maithili is spoken by more than 16 million speakers in Bihar in the districts of Darbhanga, Madhubani, Samastipur, Saharsa, Sitamarhi Supaul, Monger and Deoghar, and by more than 2 million speakers in Nepal. The current trends in the Maithili-speaking districts of Bihar show that Hindi is gradually replacing Maithili in formal (outside/functional) domains such as schools, offices, and even in the informal (home) domain such as family and informal communications.

Language shifts, taking place in various sociolinguistic contexts in India, vary in their nature and function. The first category includes the cases in which shift is from minority languages to the dominant majority language, for example, the shift from Maithili (a minority language) in India to Hindi. The second category includes the cases of the shift of immigrants' languages to the regional languages of the place to which migration has taken place. For example, if a speaker of language A migrates to the place where language B is spoken, in this situation, the speaker of language A has to shift to language B.

This paper discusses the gradual shift of Maithili speakers from Maithili to Hindi. Maithili is a minority language, and Hindi the dominant language in India. This paper will attempt to establish certain sociolinguistic factors motivated by psychology and culture responsible for shift. The discussion is organized in two parts. The first discusses the earlier works done in the field of language shift, whereas the second part discusses the functional and formal dimension of reasons for shift from Maithili to Hindi.

2. Background

Recent work in the field of the study of language shift and language maintenance shows new trends that may reformulate the entire domain of the study. However, there are many questions that still require explanation. They are: what is meant by the terms *language shift* and *language maintenance*, and when is language shift believed to have taken place?

Pandharipande (1992) observes language shift as a process by which language A is replaced (partially or completely) by language B to the extent that the former becomes dysfunctional in one or more domains of its use. The concept of 'domain' is very helpful in explaining the phenomenon of language maintenance and language shift. Domains can be classified broadly as 'home' domain and 'outside' domain. (i.e., when two different linguistic communities are in effective contact). The language of the larger domain is not in immediate danger of shift. It is usually the language of the restricted domain that is threatened. In contact situations it is difficult to maintain the language of the restricted domain if this is in effective contact with the language of the larger domain. Aima (1998) claims that the process of language shift cannot be thought to have taken place in this context because this kind of domain redistribution is a compulsion for the language in danger. The speakers of minority languages (particularly in case of migration) have no option but to shift to the language of the host community. We can say that language shift has taken place only when the shift is in the home

domain, which is usually impervious to language shift. Aima (Forthcoming), in his studies of Kashmiri migrants in Delhi, claims that socio-psychological factors are effective to the extent that the shift (from Kashmiri to Hindi) also takes place in the home domain.

There are two established paradigms of language maintenance and shift. Weinreich (1953) emphasizes maintenance and shift as a purely contact phenomenon, whereas on the other hand Fishman (1968) believes that the issue is deeply connected to social as well as psychological factors. Weinreich (1953) suggests three dimensions for the study of language maintenance/shift:

- (a) A group may switch to a new language in certain functions but not in others. Therefore, it is important to consider the order in which this shift takes place.
- (b) The order of shift should be studied in a contact situation where the mother tongue division is congruent with various other nonlinguistic divisions in order to allow for a differentiated response to the new language among various groups.
- (c) Shifts, like interference, should be studied against time across generations.

Weinreich (1953) did not incorporate these suggestions into his studies and barely touched upon the problems of language maintenance and language shift, considering the matter of language shift as entirely extrastuctural. Haugen (1953) shows a keen awareness of the socio-cultural setting of Norwegian-English contact, yet his study is primarily concerned with the analysis of the different aspects of borrowing and changes in the structures of the languages involved in contact.

Fishman (1972a) formulated a comprehensive model for a systematic inquiry into the field of language maintenance and language shift. He proposed three major topical subdivisions, namely:

- (a) Habitual language use at more than one point in time or space under conditions of intergroup contact.
- (b) Antecedent, concurrent, or consequent psychological, social, and cultural processes, and their relationship to stability or change in habitual language use; and
- (c) Behavior toward language in the contact setting, including directed maintenance or shift efforts.

The first topical subdivision that concerns habitual language use at different points in time or space necessitates the location and measurement of bilingualism. This makes linguistic analysis of the speech of bilinguals an integral part of Fishman's model. The second subdivision focuses on the past, and presents experiences of the speakers of the language of restricted domain and their relationship to language use. The last subdivision is concerned with attitudes toward and stereotypes of languages in contact.

In the case of habitual language use, the consequences that are of PRIMARY concern to the student of language maintenance and language shift are NOT interference phenomena per se, rather there are degrees of maintenance or displacement in conjunction with several sources and domains of variance in language behavior. The variety a speaker may choose at a given point of time depends on the medium (reading, writing, speaking), the interlocutor (male, female or old, young), the situation (formal, informal, or intimate), and the domain. Fishman (1968) defined domains as 'institutional contexts' and their congruent behavioral co-occurrences. It is a technique to categorize the major clusters of interactions and the language varieties used therein in complex multilingual settings. They enable us to understand that language choice and topic reflect socio-cultural norms and expectations. To quote Dittmar (1976:208): 'The construction of the domains is based on the following (macrolevel) consideration: if the stability of two language varieties depends on two complementary value systems being kept stable, then the latter must themselves be manifested in two complementary sets of domains in which one or other variety is clearly predominant.'

The domains to be investigated vary from community to community, and so does the role and relations within each community. The domains generally recognized for the study of language maintenance or shift are: family, playground, neighborhood, school, workplace, place of worship, literature, press, army, and government bureaucracies. An analysis of language use in different domains helps us in determining the dominance configuration. The analysis also indicates the direction of shift. The frequency and density of the analysis indicates the direction of shift. The frequency and density of contact in different domains, and the desire to retain role-specificity, may sometimes act in opposite directions. Gumperz (1964a) shows how the Punjabis in Delhi still continue to retain their identity in spite of regular and frequent interaction with Hindi speakers. Though a code-switching style is emerging as a result of contact, Punjabi is kept sufficiently distinct from Hindi, which may be used in domains like public speeches when Hindi identity is called for. Gal (1979) points out that this aspect of language maintenance and shift has not received proper attention. Its merits, and the social processes responsible for the reallocation of linguistic variance to new speakers and new social contexts have generally been ignored. For instance, Rubin (1981) has shown how under changing social conditions, the same Paraguayan speaker used Guarani at home and Spanish in the courts.

The second major topical subdivision of Fishman's model is concerned with the study of social, psychological, and cultural processes related to language maintenance and language shift. The antecedent, concurrent, and subsequent variables will acquire significance according to the specific nature of the study. Weinrich (1953) lists the following ten variables: geographic obstacles, indigenouness, cultural or group membership, religion, sex, age, political/social status, occupation, and rural vs. urban residence. Haugen (1956) adds: family, neighborhood, political affiliation, and education. The duration of contact, frequency of contact, and pressures of contact derived from economic, administrative, cultural, political, military, historical, religious or demographic sources are also mentioned

in the literature. Kloss (1966) isolates six factors favorable to language maintenance and language shift. Of these the first, religious-societal insulation is powerful enough to be a sufficient solitary factor assuring language maintenance. As in the case of minorities, a small religious group withdraws itself from the world around it and creates its own self-sufficient world, sometimes at a greater cost. Other important factors include time of immigration, existence of language islands, parochial schools, and pre-immigration experience. Kloss (1966) also lists several ambivalent factors. He emphasizes factors like population composition, residential segregation and isolation, occupational pressures, and age differences. Karunakaran (1983), who is interested in explaining language maintenance in some pockets of Kerala, suggests eight parameters. He shows how lack of job contact, education through the mother tongue, endogamous marriages, group living, non-migration, lack of competitiveness, preserving business secrets, and caste identity encourage language maintenance.

In almost all studies of language maintenance and language shift, it is extremely important to study the demographic patterns of the speakers of the language in danger. The social, cultural, religious, and historical background of the speakers of the language in danger will require careful investigation. A group may be illiterate or semi-illiterate without any tradition of education behind it. Its members might have migrated for purely economic reasons. In order to climb the economic ladder and join better professions, they have to learn the language of the host community. The moment their children enter educational institutions, the children learn not only the language of the host community but also their social and cultural patterns. Khubchandani (1983), in his study of the Sindhies in Poona, points out that Sindhies of the younger generation are shifting from Sindhi to Hindi and Marathi, the official language of the state of Maharashtra. They no longer recognize the difference in the different dialects of Sindhi. They speak less or no Sindhi in different domains, and their attitude toward Sindhi has become less positive than that of the Sindhies of the older generation. A similar kind of language-shift situation prevails in the case of migrants from Bihar to Delhi. Their children too hardly speak languages such as Maithili, Bhojpuri, and Magahi. In the case of the migrant community in Delhi from Bihar, the shift is not only from Maithili, Bhojpuri, or Magahi to , but also from the social and cultural patterns of Mithila, Bhojpur, and Magadh. There is a huge difference between the attitude of the migrants and their children toward language and social and cultural patterns of their native place. So far as language identity is concerned, the children of the migrants have identified themselves with Hindi.

The patterns of marriage, the policy of the government, frequency and density of contact, etc., need to be examined in the context of the functional distribution of languages in contact. If the migrating group comes from a bi/multilingual background, it may not find it difficult to add one more language to its verbal repertoire. Processes of assimilation are not necessarily at the cost of losing the mother tongue. Whereas the minority group may acquire the language of the majority for getting employment, it may still use the native language in family and neighborhood. The way the host society reacts to the expectations of the immi-

grants sometimes becomes a powerful factor in the processes of language maintenance.

The impact of any of these factors on language maintenance or language shift is not unidirectional and constant. In fact, they overlap and interact with each other in a very complex manner. Their importance and the nature of the impact vary from community to community. For instance, Gal (1979) points out how generalization concerning the macrosociological causes of shift, e.g., industrialization, urbanization, loss of isolation, loss of national self-consciousness, loss of group loyalty, and several others as essential factors, fails to account for large numbers of cases, and many are too broadly defined and illusive to be of value at all. For example, geographical proximity is generally said to reinforce language maintenance, since the group in contact can easily maintain social, political, cultural, and religious ties with its place of origin. Geographical distance may also reinforce language maintenance to the extent that it may increase group loyalty. Aima (Forthcoming) points out the importance of religious encapsulation in measuring language maintenance. On the other hand, group loyalty may continue with or without language, and does not enjoy the status of a symbol crucial to group identity. The vestiges of cultural ethnicity may remain for a long time even after the mother tongue is lost. Gal (1979) believes that to study the process of language shift, it is extremely important to find out answers to questions such as (1) how industrialization as a social factor affects language shift, and (2) how it affects the communicative strategies of speakers so that individuals are motivated to radically change their choice of language in different contexts of social interactions so that eventually they lose respect for their languages altogether? This paper does not view the shift from one language to another as a loss of respect for the mother tongue.

The third major topical subdivision of Fishman's model is concerned with behavior toward language, particularly with more focused and conscious behavior on behalf of either maintenance or shift per se. This involves investigation of linguistic and social stereotypes, and collecting systematic data about language consciousness and language-related perceptions of group-membership. The relationship between subjective and objective language behavior will vary from situation to situation.

3. Language shift: Dimensions, types, and motivation

Sociolinguists and sociologists have studied language shift from a variety of perspectives. The present study will present the two-fold dimension of language shift, i.e., the functional and formal dimensions. It is the formal dimension of language shift that gives birth to phenomena such as code mixing and switching, and it is the functional dimension that motivates such phenomena. It is important to understand the multilingual context of India in order to understand the nature and function of language shift. India is a multilingual country with 18 official languages. Linguists unanimously agree that two-thirds of the languages of the world are spoken in India. The languages spoken in India belong to four major language families: Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto-Burman. Ty-

ologically, these languages can be divided into two groups: verb final (SOV) and verb medial (SVO).¹ The languages considered in this study, Maithili and Hindi, belong to the Indo-Aryan family. Both languages are verb-final (SOV) languages. India's multilingualism lies not only in the number of languages but also in the fact that the verbal repertoire of most of the speech communities consists of at least two languages. Of the 512 districts of India, there is hardly any in which only one language is used in all sociolinguistic contexts.

Language shift in India is taking place in various sociolinguistic contexts. The shifts are of different kinds. They vary in their nature and function. The different types of language shifts in India can be divided in two major categories. The first category includes those in which the shift is from minority languages to a dominant/majority language, e.g., the shift from Maithili to Hindi. The second category includes the cases of the shifts of migrants' languages to the regional languages of the place to which migration has taken place.

4. Analysis

4.1 Functional dimensions of the shift from Maithili to Hindi

Hindi is the official language of Bihar and also the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. In spite of being the mother tongue of more the 16 million people, the use of Maithili is confined to a restricted domain. The domains of language use can be broadly divided into two, i.e., formal situations and informal situations. Formal situations include school, office, public speeches, meeting with strangers, etc., whereas informal situations include religious gatherings, family meetings, meeting with a friend. The use of Maithili is restricted to informal situations only. The distinction between the two domains is such that in a formal situation even two Maithili speakers will switch over to Hindi. Hindi enjoys the same position in the Maithili-Hindi relationship that English enjoys in the Hindi-English relationship in India.

In almost all formal situations, native speakers of Maithili use Hindi. After a careful observation of all the formal domains, I have come to the conclusion that two Maithili speakers discussing politics, business, or any topic that would normally take place in formal situations invariably shift to Hindi or English (if they know English). That is to say, Hindi, being the marker of prestige, is unconsciously replacing Maithili even in some informal domains. Native speakers of Maithili do not consciously take part in this shift. Although even today they demand the inclusion of Maithili in the 8th schedule (a section dealing with languages) of the Constitution of India, at the same time there is no resistance against Hindi. One can even go so far as to say that native speakers of Maithili want education in Hindi or English rather than in Maithili, and still they demand the status of a national official language for Maithili. Maithili is their identity-marker. This is the language that reflects their culture in their speech. The reason why the speakers of Maithili want education in Hindi or English is that they do not want to be separated from the mainstream. Apart from the facts discussed above, mass migration to the cities, urbanization, and industrialization are playing

an effective role in the shift from Maithili to Hindi. These factors are very effective in restricting the domains of the use of Maithili. Hindi interferes even in informal domains like family (home) and meeting with friends, but native speakers still use uncontaminated Maithili in religious gatherings. The reason this is so is that religion is a very strong aspect of the society and culture of Maithili speakers.

I will discuss two types of Maithili to show the ongoing shift to Hindi. They are uncontaminated Maithili and the shifted variety of Maithili. People who are not in effective contact with Hindi, that is to say the people who do not take part in the formal domains, use uncontaminated Maithili.² Even those who are in effective and regular contact with Hindi can use uncontaminated Maithili, but that would be a deliberate attempt on their part. Otherwise, people who are in effective and regular contact with Hindi will always use the shifted variety of Maithili. In my opinion, and in the opinion of some native speakers too, the shifted variety of Maithili is more natural to the native speakers of Maithili. The situation of Maithili in the Maithili speaking region is not the situation of the languages of the migrated communities. Maithili speakers do not HAVE to shift to Hindi. Even in cases of migration, Maithili speakers feel at home with Hindi because that is not new for them, and they do not have to shift to Hindi in spite of Aima's (Forthcoming) claim that the migrated community has no option but to shift to the language of the host community. Maithili speakers shift to Hindi in case of migration. To some extent this comes close to the observations of Aima, because for all practical purposes Maithili speakers speak Hindi in Delhi. Where I differ from Aima is that Maithili speakers still have an option to choose their language. They are not forced to speak Hindi. The only factor that motivates the selection of Hindi is again the use of Hindi in most of the functional domains. The situation of Maithili speakers in case of migration is totally different because Hindi is already there in certain domains.

Media, too, play a great role in accelerating the shift from Maithili to Hindi. It could be used as an argument in favor of the effective contact of Maithili speakers with Hindi. There are very few newspapers and journals in Maithili. If there are some, they are either weekly, fortnightly, or monthly. Similarly, there are not many radio and television programs in Maithili. The only radio station in the Maithili-speaking area is located in Darbhanga, the city which is known as the heart of Mithila, and it broadcasts in Maithili only 30 minutes daily and 60 minutes weekly. There is no news program available in Maithili. The nearest TV-transmission center is located in Patna, the state capital, and this center does not transmit a single minute in Maithili. Radio and television are very popular entertainment media. Thus, the newspapers and magazines that Maithili speakers get to read are in Hindi. The news and entertainment programs available for them on radio and television are in Hindi. That is how Maithili is gradually shifting toward Hindi. The domains of the use of Maithili are being reduced. The shift in the outside (formal) domain is quite obvious. The interference of Hindi in the home (informal) domain can also be felt. The very high frequency of occurrence of the shifted variety of Maithili, the low frequency of the occurrence of the uncontami-

nated Maithili, on the other hand, and the nonavailability of publications in Maithili are influencing the shift from Maithili to Hindi to a great extent.

4.2 Formal dimensions of the shift from Maithili to Hindi

The functional dimensions of the shift from Maithili to Hindi have influenced phenomena such as code mixing and code switching. The structures discussed below maintain the differences between language shift and code switching and mixing. On the basis of the data presented in this paper, one can argue that the phenomenon could always be called code switching. However, on the basis of arguments such as high frequency of occurrence of the shifted variety of Maithili, and very low frequency of occurrence of the uncontaminated Maithili, and unconstrained convergence, this is an ideal case of language shift. The shift has taken place at almost all levels of grammar. This paper discusses the shift only at the different syntactic levels. The following examples show the shift from Maithili to Hindi. The shifted variety of Maithili is termed *Maithili-Hindi*, and uncontaminated Maithili is called *Maithili*. The items in focus are in italics.

Examples (1-4) show that Maithili speakers use Hindi adverbs *kahā* 'where' and *dhīre-dhīre* 'slowly' instead of the uncontaminated Maithili forms *kataya* 'where' and *game-game* 'slowly'.

Maithili:

- (1) āhā *kataya* jāi chī
 you where go PRS
 'Where are you going?'

Maithili-Hindi:

- (2) āhā *kahā* jāi chī
 you where go PRS
 'Where are you going?'

Maithili:

- (3) *game-game* chal- u
 slowly walk IMP (formal)
 'Please walk slowly.'

Maithili-Hindi:

- (4) *-dhīre-dhīre* chal- u
 slowly walk IMP (formal)
 'Please walk slowly.'

In the Maithili-Hindi examples (2) and (4), Maithili adverbs *kataya* 'where' and *game-game* 'slowly' are expected in place of the Hindi adverbs *kahā* 'where' and *dhīre-dhīre* 'slowly'. The Maithili examples in (1) and (3) are illustrative. Adverbs are not easily borrowed into a language from guest code. The very presence of the Hindi adverbs *kahā* 'where' and *dhīre-dhīre* 'slowly' in place of Maithili adverbs *kataya* 'where' and *game-game* 'slowly' in the normal speech of Maithili speakers shows the shift in progress. The shift is purely the result of contact by native Maithili speakers with Hindi.

Examples (5-6) demonstrate that the Hindi verb stem *baiṭh* 'sit' is used by Maithili speakers instead of Maithili *bais* 'sit', whereas the system morpheme is still from Maithili.

Maithili:

- (5) āhā̃ *bais-* u
 you sit IMP (formal)
 'Please be seated.'

Maithili-Hindi:

- (6) āhā̃ *baiṭh-* u
 you sit IMP (formal)
 'Please be seated.'

Note that in examples (5) and (6) the effect of contact of Maithili speakers with Hindi is such that lexical items are being replaced. The same phenomenon is demonstrated by examples (7-8), in which the Hindi verb stems *bol* 'tell' and *bhej* 'send' are used in place of Maithili *bāj* 'tell' and *paṭhā* 'send', respectively.

Maithili:

- (7) *bāj-* u kakarā *paṭhā* -u
 say IMP (formal) who send IMP (formal)
 'Tell me please, whom should I send.'

Maithili-Hindi:

- (8) *bol-* u kakarā *bhej-* -u
 say IMP (formal) who send IMP (formal)
 'Tell me please, whom should I send.'

Maithili speakers in effective contact with Hindi in their day-to-day life in formal domains shift at the phrasal level, too. Instead of Maithili *ām-ak pāt* 'mango leaf' as in example (9), Maithili speakers use Hindi *ām-ke pattā* 'mango leaf' as in example (10).

Maithili:

- (9) ek ṭā *ām-a-* k *pāt* lā- u
 one classifier mango GEN leaf bring IMP (formal)
 'Please bring a mango leaf.'

Maithili-Hindi:

- (10) ek ṭā ām- ke patta lā- u
 one classifier mango GEN leaf bring IMP (formal)
 'Please bring a mango leaf.'

Examples (11-12) illustrate similar cases in which the Maithili phrases *baḍ kāl* 'long time' and *bāṭ johnā* 'to wait', as in (11), are replaced by Hindi *bahut samaya* 'long time' and *rastā dekhnā* 'to wait', as in (12).

Maithili:

- (11) baḍ kāl tak ham āhā̃-k *bāṭ joh-al-auṅ*
 very time until I your GEN wait PST-1SG
 'I waited for you for a long time.'

Maithili-Hindi:

- (12) *bahut samaya tak ham āhā-ke rastā dekh-al- auṅ*
 very time until I your GEN wait PST-1SG(HON)
 'I waited for you for a long time.'

Note that the genitive case marker in Maithili is *k*, while the same markers in Hindi are *ka/ke/ki* which vary in agreement with the number and gender of the following noun. We have Maithili genitive *k* in examples (9-11) but in the shifted variety of Maithili we have the Hindi genitive *ke*. So far as genitive agreement is concerned, Maithili speakers consider *patā* 'leaf' in (10) and *rastā dekhūā* 'wait' in (12) as complete and subsequently plural. This is why in the shifted variety of Maithili the genitive *ke* is always masculine plural.

The shift can also be seen at the level of functional categories like relative pronouns. Maithili does not have relative pronouns as in example (13). The regular contact of its speaker with Hindi has influenced the shift at the level of functional category too. In the shifted variety of Maithili, speakers use a relative pronoun such as *je* 'who' as illustrated in example in (14).

Maithili:

- (13) *ek ṭā baccā nab angā pahirne sojhā āy -al*
 one classifier boy new shirt wearing front come PST
 'A boy who was wearing a new shirt appeared.'

Maithili-Hindi:

- (14) *ek ṭā baccā je nuyā kamīz pahirne ch-al,*
 one classifier boy who new shirt wearing be PST
sāmne āy -al
 appear PST
 'A boy who was wearing a new shirt appeared.'

It is difficult to predict at this stage of research whether the use of *je* 'who' in Maithili is influenced by the Hindi relative pronoun *jo* 'who' or is just the functional extension of the complimentizer *je* 'that', which is already there in Maithili. The Hindi complimentizer is *ki* 'that'.

Let us consider some more evidence in favor of the shift from Maithili to Hindi in the following examples.

In (15) we have Maithili *taregan* 'stars', whereas in (16) we have Hindi *tārā* 'star'. I would like to mention specifically in support of my claim of shift from Maithili to Hindi that Mishra (1990), who is a native speaker of Maithili, uses the shifted variety of Maithili in examples (16) and (18). The use of the shifted variety of Maithili in Mishra (1990) is evidence of the shift from Maithili to Hindi and is the result of regular and frequent contact of Maithili with Hindi.

Maithili:

- (15) *hamar -ā taregan dekhai delak*
 I DAT stars visible gave
 'I saw stars' (Lit- I happened to see stars.)

Maithili-Hindi:

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|-------|---------|-------|
| (16) | hamar | -ā | tārā | dekhai | delak |
| | I | DAT | stars | visible | gave |
- 'I saw stars' (Lit- I happened to see stars.)

(Mishra 1990:107)

Again, the Maithili phrase *baṛ nīk* 'very beautiful' has been partially replaced by a Hindi phrase *baṛ sundar* 'very beautiful' in (17-19). The gradual shift is obvious here. First it was replaced by *baṛ sundar* 'very beautiful', as in (18), and later by *bahūt sundar* 'very beautiful', as in (19).

Maithili:

- | | | | | |
|------|------|-----------|--------|------|
| (17) | baṛ | nīk | phūl | chai |
| | very | beautiful | flower | is |
- 'It's a beautiful flower'

Maithili-Hindi:

- | | | | | |
|------|------|-----------|--------|------|
| (18) | baṛ | sundar | phūl | chai |
| | very | beautiful | flower | is |
- 'It's a beautiful flower'

(Mishra 1990: 113)

Maithili-Hindi:

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----------|--------|------|
| (19) | bahūt | sundar | phūl | chai |
| | very | beautiful | flower | is |
- 'It's a beautiful flower'

Note that in (18) the phrase *baṛ sundar* 'very beautiful' consists of two lexical items: *baṛ* 'very' and *sundar* 'beautiful'. Here *baṛ* 'very' is a Maithili item, whereas *sundar* 'beautiful' is Hindi. In (19), the whole phrase *bahūt sundar* 'very beautiful' is Hindi.

In (21) we have *hae* 'is', the Hindi auxiliary verb in the present tense, in place of the Maithili present auxiliary *ai* 'is', as in (20).

Maithili:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|-----|-----------|-------|------|
| (20) | hamar | -ā | ek | bīghā | zamīn | ai |
| | I | DAT | one | big piece | land | have |
- 'I have a big piece of land'

Maithili-Hindi:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----|-----|-----------|-------|------|
| (21) | hamar | -ā | ek | bīghā | zamīn | hae |
| | I | DAT | one | big piece | land | have |
- 'I have a big piece of land'

In example (21) the Maithili present auxiliary *ai* 'is' as in (20) is replaced by the Hindi *hai* 'is'. Note that the use of the Hindi present auxiliary verb in the shifted variety of Maithili is evidence of shift at the level of auxiliaries.

The data presented for the discussion of the shift from Maithili to Hindi show the difference between the uncontaminated Maithili and the shifted variety. They demonstrate the gradual shift from Maithili to Hindi at the formal (structural)

level. The difference between the structures of uncontaminated Maithili and the shifted variety could be taken to represent the phenomenon of mixed/switched code in which Maithili speakers are mixing Hindi. But in the literature on code mixing/switching, it has been argued that mixing/switching does not take place at the level of adverbs, case markers, relative pronouns, and auxiliaries. The data presented in this paper for discussion show that in the shifted variety of Maithili, speakers are shifting at the level of adverbs, case markers, relative pronouns, and auxiliaries. On the other hand, the functional dimensions of the shift from Maithili to Hindi show that the domains of Maithili use are being reduced. Hindi is used by Maithili speakers in functional domains (formal situations). It has also been argued that Hindi is sometimes used also in informal communications. That is to say, the frequent and regular interaction of Maithili speakers with Hindi is influencing the shift from Maithili to Hindi. Thus, on the basis of arguments like limited domains of Maithili use, day-by-day reduction of the domains of Maithili use, and the influence of these at the formal (structural) level, I argue that Maithili is shifting toward Hindi and the phenomenon is not simply code mixing/switching.

5. Conclusion

The shift from Maithili to Hindi is unintentional and purely the result of contact. Maithili speakers are not deliberately shifting to Hindi. Rather their regular and frequent interaction with Hindi is influencing the shift at the formal level. Hindi is used by Maithili speakers in all functional domains, as it is the first official language of India and the official language of the state of Bihar (the native place of Maithili speakers). The use of Hindi in functional domains provides a suitable environment for the shift at the formal level, which cannot be viewed as a case of code mixing/switching, since the shift is taking place at different levels of grammar at which code mixing/switching either does not take place at all or is not common.

NOTES

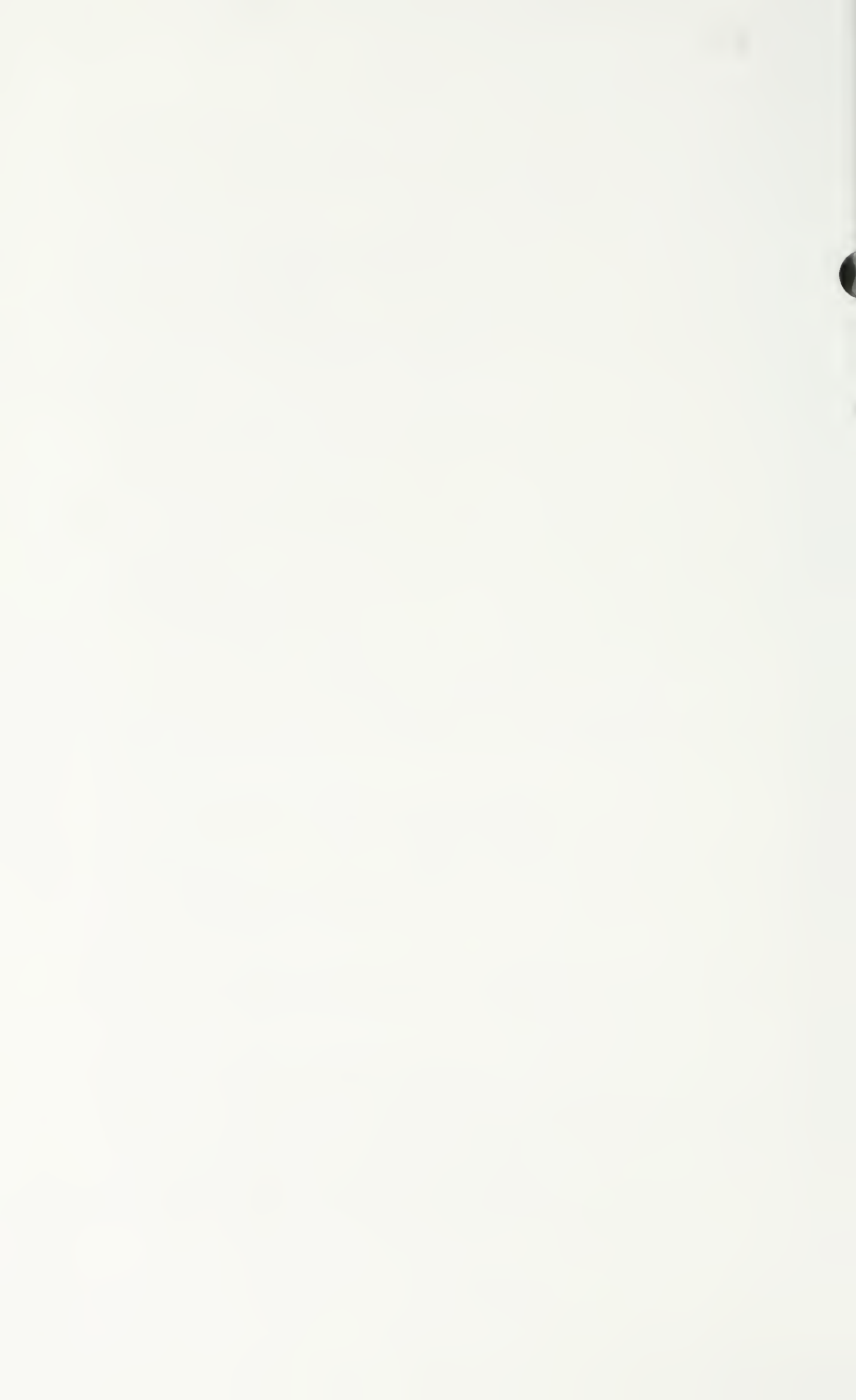
¹ Apart from English, Khasi, which is spoken in the state of Meghalaya and genetically belongs to the Austro-Asiatic family, is the only SVO language of India.

² By 'people who are not in effective contact with Hindi', I mean the people who do not move out of their villages. In other words, even when the world is marching toward the 21st century, there are people in Maithili-speaking areas who generally do not visit cities where the other domains are located. They are generally the poor and/or the religious priests. To investigate the reason why they do not move to the cities requires further research. To mention a few reasons, poverty and illiteracy are prominent ones.

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ADJECTIVAL PASSIVES AND THEMATIC ROLES
IN EGYPTIAN ARABIC:
A COGNITIVE SEMANTIC APPROACH*

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This paper investigates the semantic and pragmatic constraints on adjectival passive participles (APPs) in Egyptian Arabic within the framework of Cognitive Semantics. In this language it is acceptable to use APPs 'derived' from unaccusative activity verbs to modify head nouns or subjects that carry the thematic roles of LOCATION, SOURCE, GOAL and INSTRUMENT. The acceptability and distribution of APPs are argued to be determined by the construal of the participants in an entailed event or process. Specifically, an APP can be used regardless of the thematic role of the subject or head noun as long as the referent of that noun is profiled as the landmark of the entailed event and is construed as the trajector of the resultant state. Moreover, the use of an APP has to be informative and relevant to the speech event providing information that is not presupposed or entailed by the use of head noun.

0. Introduction

Adjectival passives are deverbal adjectives that are used attributively either as NP modifiers (e.g., *the RETIRED professor*) or as predicates (e.g., *Mary is WIDOWED.*) Various generativist hypotheses have been proposed to describe the constraints that determine their distribution and acceptability in English as well as other languages assuming that their derivation is motivated by 'universal deep principles'. For example, Anderson (1977) proposed the *theme hypothesis*, which requires the head noun modified by an adjectival passive to hold the THEME relation to the verb it is derived from. The inadequacies of this hypothesis motivated the *subject theme hypothesis* proposed by Bresnan (1982), where adjectival passives can be derived from transitive verbs according to the *theme hypothesis* and from intransitive verbs that take a THEME subject. However, this hypothesis has become subject to much criticism mainly because of the exceptional nature of the data it can account for and because of the observations that novel adjectival passives derived from transitive verbs are marginally acceptable, whereas those formed from intransitive verbs are completely unacceptable, as in example (1) (Dryer 1985, 324).

(1) He lay in bed all night ?*unbothered*/**unslept*.

An alternative analysis proposed by Dryer (1985) is the *direct object hypothesis*, which claims that the use of an adjectival passive is acceptable only if the head noun it modifies can be used as a direct object licensed by the verb the participle is derived from in a grammatical sentence. Levin and Rappaport (1986) proposed a more explicated analysis based on the assumption that an adjectival passive maintains the lexical-thematic properties of the verb it is derived from. They argue that only the direct internal argument that is assigned a theta role by an underlying verb can be externalized as the subject or head noun for an adjectival passive modifier or predicate. Their analysis explains the grammaticality of (2a), where the THEME direct internal argument of the underlying verb is externalized, and the ungrammaticality of (2b) where the LOCATION indirect internal argument, which is assigned a theta role by the preposition, is externalized.

(2a) The books remained neatly placed on the table.

(2b) *The table remained neatly placed the books on.

The English adjectival passives roughly correspond to two linguistic categories in Arabic: the active participle and the passive participle. Usually, the difference between them is described in terms of argument structure such that the active participle is associated with the external argument of the verb it is derived from, whereas the passive participle is used in association with the internal argument of that verb (Cuvalay-Haak 1997). Other analyses restrict the passive participle to the argument denoting the entity that had undergone some action viz. the PATIENT argument (Gadalla 2000). For example, in (3) only the passive participle *maksu:r* 'broken' is acceptable since the head noun *ef-fibba:k* 'the window' holds the PATIENT relation to the assumed underlying verb denoting the breaking event.

(3) *ef-fibba:k* *el-maksu:r/* **el-ka:sir*
 the-widow the-broken_(APP) /the-breaking_(AP)
 the broken window/*the breaking window

The arguments presented in this paper aim to explore the semantic and pragmatic constraints on the use of adjectival passive participles (APPs) in Egyptian Arabic (EA) within the framework of Cognitive Semantics developed by Langacker (1990; 1991). For an analysis to adequately account for APPs in EA, it has to explain acceptability of the set of data exemplified by the sentence in (4a).

(4a) *el-keli:m*, *el-mamfi* *ʕalei-h*, *mehta:g* *tanɕi:f*.
 the-rug the-walked_(APP) on-it need cleaning
 'The walked-on rug needs cleaning.'

This type of sentences is problematic for many analyses of APPs because of the following observations. First, the APP *mamfi* 'walked' is derived from an intransitive unaccusative verb even though it is generally assumed, if not stipulated, that APPs in EA can be derived only from transitive verbs (Abdel-malek 1972). Second, the APP is associated with an activity predicate even though it is well established in the literature that this is not possible because activities can not denote resultative states (Ackerman & Goldberg 1996). Third, the subject of this

sentence does not bear the THEME or PATIENT relation to the 'underlying' verb denoting the walking event because *el-keli:m* 'the rug' is a LOCATION. Fourth, the subject of this sentence cannot be the direct object or a direct internal argument licensed by the verb associated with the APP in an acceptable sentence as illustrated in (4b). In fact, it is the complement of the preposition in an adjunct phrase as indicated by the resumptive pronoun.

- (4b) *ana mafe:t el-keli:m.
 I walked the-rug.
 'I walked the rug.'

The problem described above is not limited to NPs that carry the thematic role LOCATION because GOAL, SOURCE and INSTRUMENT arguments can also be modified by APPs derived from the assumed underlying verbs in acceptable sentences. For example, in (4c) the SOURCE NP *el-ṭaba:ʔ* 'the dishes', which is the object of the preposition *menn* 'from', can not be the direct object of the verb associated with the APP, yet the sentence is acceptable. Also, in (4d) the NP *el-fira:χ* 'the chicken' is modified by an APP in an acceptable sentence even though the NP is a GOAL argument following Jackendoff's analysis (1990, 1997).

- (4c) el-aʔṭba:ʔ_i el-metta:kel menn-ha_i la:zem te-t-ʔasal
 the-dishes the-eaten from-it must 3rd.sing.fem.-pass.-wash
 'The eaten off dishes must be washed.'
- (4d) el-fira:χ el-mahʃeyy-ah roz fi el-forn.
 The-chicken the-stuffed-fem. rice in the-oven
 'The rice stuffed chicken is in the oven.'

With regard to the semantic constraints on APPs in EA I argue that their acceptability is determined by the construal of the participants in a given event, namely the event entailed by the use of the APP. Specifically, an APP can be used regardless of thematic role of the subject or head noun as long as it can be construed as the landmark rather than the trajector of the entailed event, and as the trajector of the state resulting from that event. In Cognitive or Space Grammar the notions of trajector and landmark roughly correspond to the traditional notions of subject and object respectively. The difference is that the former terms are determined semantically rather than configurationally. Also, a landmark refers to a 'conceptually autonomous' entity whereas the trajector is 'conceptually dependent', and consequently construed in relation to the landmark:

every relational predication shows an asymmetry in the prominence accorded the entities that participate in the profiled interconnections: some participant is signaled out and construed as the one whose nature or location is being assessed. That participant is called trajector (tr) and analyzed as the figure within the relational profile. The term landmark (lm) is applied to other salient participants, with respect to which the trajector is situated. (Langacker 1990: 76)

The pragmatic constraints include *informativeness*, initially proposed by Ackerman and Goldberg (1996), where APPs are acceptable only if they provide

information that is not presupposed or entailed by the use of the head noun or subject. Ackerman and Goldberg state this constraint as *the non-redundancy constraint*: "If the referent of the head noun, N, implies a property P as part of its frame-semantics or encyclopedic knowledge, then the APP is not allowed to simply designate P; it must be further qualified" (21). Another constraint is the *current relevance*, where the APP denotes a resultant state that holds at the time of utterance, such that this state is either a real state such as 'confused' or an abstract one denoting the extension in time of being the landmark of that state.

1. Form and distribution of the APP in EA

Although both verbal and adjectival passives in EA do not allow *by*-phrases that are usually used as a diagnostic of verbal passives (Wise 1975), they are morphologically distinct as two different constructions. The prefixes *it-* and *in-* are bound to a past tense verb stem only to express verbal passives, hence the distinction between the verbal passive forms *it-kasar* and *in-kasar* (be broken) on one hand, and the APP *maksu:r* (broken) on the other. Moreover, APPs in EA are distinguished from other adjectives in that the phonological forms of APPs are associated with verbal roots according to systematic patterns such as those illustrated below, which do not apply to adjectival patterns (see Gadalla 2000 for a detailed description of these patterns).

VERB PATTERN		ADJECTIVAL PASSIVE PARTICIPLE FORM	
C ₁ aC ₂ aC ₃ a	katab (wrote)	maC ₁ C ₂ u:C ₃	maktu:b (written)
C ₁ aC ₂	hab (love)	maC ₁ C ₂ u:C ₂	mahbu:b (loved)
C ₁ aC ₂ a	ɣala (boil)	maC ₁ C ₂ i	mayli (boiled)
C ₁ iC ₂ i	nisi (forget)	maC ₁ C ₂ i	mansi (forgotten)
C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃	naɖɖaf (clean)	mitC ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ aC ₃	mitnaɖɖaf (cleaned)

Although Arabic APPs are generally treated as nominal forms (Xrakovskij 1988) they have adjectival properties. Among their adjectival properties is the inflection for definiteness, number and gender in agreement with the head noun as in example (5). However, APPs can be used as subjects, as in (6), which makes it difficult to draw a distinction between APPs and nouns. The distinction between nouns and adjectives becomes quite blurred when, under certain pragmatic conditions, nouns can be modified with degree modifiers such as the equivalents of 'very', 'extremely' and 'to some/large extent', similarly to APPs, as in *ana dokto:r giddan* 'I am a very doctor.'

- (5) el-harameyya el-masgun-i:n
 the-thieves the-imprisoned-masc.pl.
 'the imprisoned thieves'
- (6) el-masgun-i:n harabu
 the-imprisoned-masc.pl. escaped
 'The prisoners escaped.'

If the head noun is a super-ordinate term, it is usually deleted because its use is not informative, and the APP is used as a referential expression, e.g., *masru:ʔa:t*

'stolen', and *mawlu:d* 'born' where the deleted nouns are 'items' and 'baby' respectively similarly to English lexicalized APPs of French origin such as 'deportee' and 'divorcee'. Another adjectival property of the APPs is the observation that the plural forms for APPs used to describe human referents can only be regular masculine plurals, expressed by the suffix *-i:n* as in (7), even if the referent of the head noun is feminine. If the feminine regular plural or irregular plural is used, the sentence is ungrammatical.

- (7) el-mudarres-i:n/el-mudarres-a:t el-maʕzu:m-i:n/*el-maʕazi:m
 the-teacher-masc.pl. /the-teacher-fem.pl. the-invited-masc.pl./the-invited-pl.
 'the invited teachers'

Moreover, if the APPs are used to describe non-human referents, they are not inflected for plural, and they are marked for feminine gender even if the head noun has masculine grammatical gender as in (8). Also, if the APP is the predicate of a verbless sentence such as that in (9), it is always indefinite, and otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical.

- (8) el-kotob el-masru:?-a
 the-books.masc. the-stolen-fem.
 'the stolen books'
- (9) el-kotob di masru:?-a/*el-masru:?-a
 the-books this.fem stolen-fem./the-stolen
 'These books are stolen/*the stolen'.

2. Thematic roles and the APP

Previous analyses of adjectival passives in general, or the Arabic APPs in particular, agree that the head noun or the subject has to refer to an entity that is either the PATIENT or THEME as long as it can be used as the direct object of the verb the APP is derived from in an acceptable sentence. These claims are based on uses of the APP such as that in (10a) where the head noun *ef-ʕibba:k* 'the window' refers to the entity that has undergone a breaking event, and it can be the direct object or bear the PATIENT relation to the verb the APP is derived from as in (10b).

- (10a) ef-ʕibba:k el-maksu:r (10b) hadd kasar ef-ʕibbka:b
 The-window the-broken someone broke the-window
 'the broken window'

However, these analyses make false predictions and leave many uses of APPs unaccounted for. For example, there are many cases where the head noun can carry the THEME relation to the verb the APP is associated with, yet the utterance is ungrammatical. For example, in (11a) the head noun *ed-deyu:f* 'the guests' can be the direct object of the verb the APP is derived from, as illustrated in (11b), and at the same time the head noun is the THEME of the receiving event, yet the use of the APP is ungrammatical. It is not clear how the analyses based on the thematic roles can account for such instances.

- (11a) *ed-deyu:f el-mostaʕbali:n (11b) ana istaʕbelt ed-deyu:f.
 the-guests the-received I received the-guests.

'the received guests

Moreover, when the APP is associated with some dative shift verbs such as that in (12a), the head noun holds the GOAL rather than the THEME relation to the assumed underlying verb, yet the phrase is grammatical. Interestingly, if it is the THEME NP that is used as the head noun, the phrase is ungrammatical as in (12b). Assuming, along with Bresnan's (1982) analysis, that the noun phrase *es-sikerte:r-ah* 'the secretary' is actually the THEME; not the GOAL, it is not clear what thematic role is assigned to the NP *ingli:zi* 'English'.

(12a) *es-sikerte:r-ah* *el-metšallem-ah* *ingli:zi*
 the-secretary-fem. the-taught_(APP)-fem English
 'the taught English secretary'

(12b) **ingli:zi* *el-metšallem* *es-sikerte:r-ah*
 English the-taught_(APP) the-secretary-fem.
 'the secretary taught English'

In the case of predicates that take two internal arguments: a THEME and a LOCATION, either argument can be used as a head noun modified by an APP associated with that verb. For example, in (13a) below, the THEME argument *el-kotob* 'the books' is the head noun in an acceptable noun phrase as predicted, as it can be the direct object of that verb in a grammatical sentence as in (13b). However, in (14a) it is the LOCATION argument that is used as a head even though it cannot be the direct object of the verb the APP is associated with as illustrated in (14b).

(13a) *el-kotob* *el-mahtu:ta* *šala el-maktab*
 the-books the-put_(APP)-fem. on the-desk
 'the put on the desk books'

(13b) *ana* *hače:t* *el-kotob* *šala* *el-maktab*
 I put-1st thebooks on the-desk
 'I put the books on the desk'.

(14a) *el-maktab* *el-mahtu:t* *šalei-h* *el-kotob*
 the-desk the-put_(APP) on-it the-books
 'the put on books desk'

(14b) **ana* *hateit* *el-maktab* *šalei-h* *el-kotob/el-kotob* *šalei-h*
 I put the-desk on-it the-books/the books on-it
 'I put the desk on it the books'.

3. A cognitive semantic analysis

Langacker (1990, 1991) provides an analysis of situation construal that can provide valid constraints for the uses of the APP illustrated above. The main claim is that the APP can be used to modify any head noun as long as that noun refers to an entity that can be construed as the landmark of an entailed preceding event and can be construed as the trajector or figure of the resultant state denoted by the APP. He argues that the perfect participle morpheme¹ in English has three

variants: [PERF₁], [PERF₂], and [PERF₃]. The first of these variants 'designates a state characterized as the final state in a process (e.g., *swollen* designates the final state in the process *swell*)' (129). [PERF₁] profiles the state that came about as a result of the culmination of a process that has a single participant, namely the trajector, which undergoes change of state or location. Langacker's [PERF₁] corresponds to the EA adjectival active participle. For example, the sentence in (15) below profiles a final state resulting from a culminated event of closing, where the subject NP 'the store' is the single participant that is salient i.e., a trajector. That NP is also profiled as the trajector of the resultant state, even though it is the THEME or PATIENT of the closing event, and it can be the direct object of the verb *ʕafal* 'close' in a grammatical sentence.

- (15) ed-dokka: ʔa:fil
 the-store close_(AP)
 'The store is closed.'

[PERF₂], on the other hand, profiles states that results from the culmination of processes involving two participants such that the profiled trajector imposes a change of state or location on the landmark, which is profiled as the trajector of the resultant state. Langacker's [PERF₂] is the APP in EA. For example, the APP *masru*: 'stolen', in (16) below, profiles a final state of a stealing process where the landmark, the car, undergoes change of location or domain, as it was transferred from the domain of its owner's property to that of the thief. That landmark of the process is profiled as the trajector of the state in the APP construction.

- (16) el-ʕarabeyya el-masru:ʔa
 the-car the-stolen
 'the stolen car'

Many EA class X verbs, whose stems start with *ist-* and denote events that involve eliciting such as *istaʔbel* 'to receive someone', and *istagweb* 'to question someone' do not have acceptable APPs even though they seem to have theme direct objects, and therefore, they have always been stipulated to be exceptional. Applying the construal analysis of APPs to this class of verbs indicates that in fact there is nothing peculiar about them because their objects cannot be construed as the landmark of the event and hence cannot be used in a [PERF₂] construction where it is construed as the trajector of the resultant state. Similarly to causative constructions, class X verbs profile events that involve two participants such that the trajector, 'the persecutor' in example (17a), induces a process whose trajector is the secondary actor, namely the referent of the NP 'the defendant' who answers questions. Since the secondary actor is the trajector of the imposed or induced process, it cannot be construed as the trajector of a resultant state profiled by an APP as in (17b).

- (17a) en-neya:ba istagwebet el-mottaham (17b)*el-mottaham el-mestagwab
 the-prosecutor questioned the-accused the-accused the-questioned
 'The prosecutor questioned the defendant. The questioned defendant'

The same analysis accounts for the acceptability of APPs derived from intransitive activities as in (4a), repeated below as (18). The APP *mamfi* 'walked'

profiles a final state resulting from a walking process that involves two participants: an unexpressed trajector (those who walked) and a landmark (the carpet) that has undergone some change such as getting dirty. The resulting state involves only one participant, namely the landmark of the process, which is construed as the trajector of the state, and hence the acceptability of the utterance below.

- (18) el-keli:m_i el-manfi ʕalei-h_i mehta:g tandi:f.
 the-rug the-walked_(APP) on-it need cleaning
 'The walked-on rug needs cleaning.'

One basic assumption in this paper is that APPs denote current states that came about as a result of the culmination of an entailed preceding process (Parsons 1990). Support for this claim comes from the observations that a sentence such as that in (19a) is contradictory because the second clause denies that the event entailed by the APP occurred, and that in (19b) is also contradictory because the second clause entails that the state of being broken does not hold at speech time.

- (19a) #dera:ʕi maksu:r, bas ma-it-kasar-f
 arm- my broken, but neg-pass-broke-neg
 'My arm is broken, but it was not broken'.
 (19b) #dera:ʕi maksu:r, bas ʕaff
 arm-my broken, but healed-3rds.
 'My arm is broken, but it healed'.

For an event or a process to culminate, it has to cease to continue, i.e., a sentence profiling event e has to be false at the point in time t_2 immediately following t_1 at which it holds. In other words, although it is usually assumed in the formal paradigm of semantics that the sentence 'John is pushing a cart' entails that he pushed a cart even if the pushing event is in progress (Dowty 1979), that event culminates only when he stops pushing that cart. This view of culmination explains why a sentence such as that in (20) is acceptable even though the APP is associated with an activity verb. The activity process of eating culminated, even though there is no object NP that triggers the telic reading, and the resulting state of having been the landmark of an eating event is relevant to the speech context, which explains why the dishes need to be washed.

- (20) el-ʔatba:ʔ el-meta:kel fi:ha ʕawza yasi:l.
 the-dishes the-eaten in-it need washing
 'The eaten-off dishes need to be washed.'

4. The nature of resultant states

APPs derived from stative predicates denote real attributive states such as *mafʕu:l* 'busy/occupied', which entails a past event of moving from a state of not being busy to a state of being busy. That event results in a state that has to hold at speech time and hence the unacceptability of the sentence in (21) when the past time adverbial *imba:reħ* 'yesterday' indicates that the state no longer holds.

- (21) ba:l-i mafɣu:l (*imba:reh)
 mind-my occupied (yesterday)
 'My mind is occupied (*yesterday).

APPs associated with non-stative verbs might not denote a real state, but they all denote abstract states, namely the extension through time of a stable state. For example, the APP in (22) denotes a real state of being kidnapped, yet that state does not hold at speech time as asserted by the past time verb 'returned'. The sentence is not contradictory because the APP also denotes a state of having been kidnapped that is relevant to the speech context as it might be the only way to refer to the child or because that state is the reason why is he the topic of discourse.

- (22) el-walad el-maɣtu:f ragaʃ li-ʔahl-oh
 the-boy the-kidnapped returned t o-family-his
 'The kidnapped boy returned to his family'.

In other cases the APP entails a past event, which results in the referent of head NP ceasing to exist, however, the abstract state of having been a participant in such an event still holds as long as it is relevant to the speech context. For example, in (23) the APP denotes an event that resulted in the speaker's losing a tooth. That sentence would be acceptable to profile a state for every individual who lost a baby tooth, yet that is not the case because the state has to be relevant to the speech context such as explaining why there is a gap in the speaker's mouth or explaining why he is taking strong pain killers.

- (23) ʃandi senna maɣlu:ʃa
 at-me tooth removed
 'I have a missing tooth'.

Closely related to the notion of current relevance is the informativeness constraint such that the use of an adjectival passive is pragmatically required to provide information that is not presupposed or entailed. It has been observed that phrases such as 'a built house' are unacceptable because they are not informative (Ackerman & Goldberg 1996) and therefore, an adjunct phrase is necessary. The same constraint applies for APPs in EA. For example, the APP *mawlu:d* 'born' is always used without the head noun because mentioning the trajector of the resultant state (someone) is not informative. Moreover, that APP is used only to refer to newly born babies because all individuals are assumed to have been born at some point (current relevance).

An example of the interaction between the *relevance* and *informativeness* requirements is that it is acceptable to use an APP to profile the final state of a selling process, but not of buying process even though they differ only in the direction they profile; from the seller's domain to the buyer's domain, or vice versa. Assuming that all cars owned by dealers or individuals have been bought at some time, it is uninformative for a car dealer to profile a car as having been bought especially that his/her concern is to sell cars rather than to buy them. On the other hand, in a context such as that in (24) it is the transition from the seller's domain

that is relevant, hence the unacceptability of (24c) where it is the buyer's domain that is profiled.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| (24) A: be-ka:m el-ʕarabeyya di? | How much is this car? |
| B: ʔa:sif, el-ʕarabeya di metba:ʕa | Sorry, This car is sold. |
| C: #ʔa:sif, el-ʕarabeyya el-metʕereyya | #Sorry, This car is bought. |

The use of EA 'verbal nouns', which are equivalent to gerunds in English, to designate the process that resulted in the state is acceptable even though such uses seem redundant and uninformative. For example, in (25a) below the noun *kasr* 'breaking' has no compositional value, as it provides no further information about the state. Such structures are conventionally interpreted as to implicate that trajector of the process incurred the process on purpose or meticulously as in (25b).

- | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------|----------|---------------------------------|----------|----------|
| (25a) el-fibba:k | makru:r | kasr | (25b) el-felu:s | maʕdu:da | ʕad |
| the-window | broken | breaking | the-money | counted | counting |
| 'The window is broken breaking.' | | | 'the money is counted counting' | | |

In sum, the APP in EA designates a final state of a process such that the landmark of the process is profiled as the trajector of the state. The state has to hold at speech time provided that it is relevant to the discourse context and it is informative. Moreover, the state could be a real state that can be designated by the use of a linguistic form such as 'annoyed' and 'surprised' or an abstract state of being the trajector of a resultant state such as 'broken' and 'sold'.

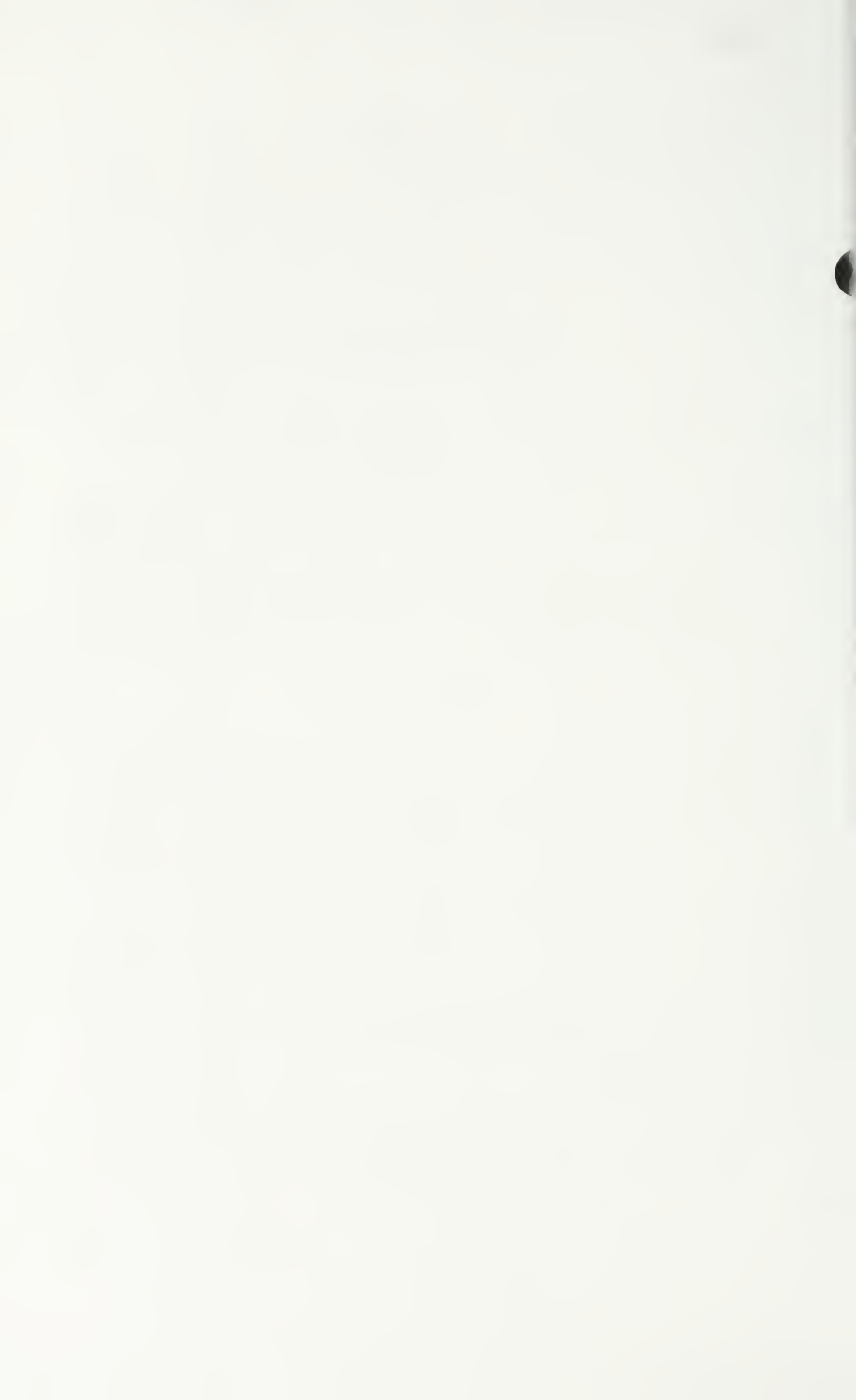
NOTES

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¹ Interestingly, when EA participles (active and passive) are used as predicated in verbless sentences, they are interpreted as to have a present perfect reading, which is Langacker's [PERF₃] even though there is no phonologically represented functional category that denotes tense. Analyses that assume invisible copulas (Brustad 2000, Eisele 1999) or a null AUX (Jelinek 1982) consider the participles as marked uses where tense is not associated with the deictic present invisible categories.

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CROSS-LANGUAGE SPEECH PERCEPTION IN ADULTS: DISCRIMINATION OF KOREAN VOICELESS STOPS BY ENGLISH SPEAKERS

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This study examines the ways in which three classes of alveolar stops in Korean (voiceless 'tense' unaspirated /t*/, voiceless 'lax' slightly aspirated /t/, and voiceless heavily aspirated /t^h/) present different degrees of perceptual difficulty to adult English and Korean listeners. Results show that the /t/-t^h/ contrast presented the greatest difficulty in perceptual discriminability for the American listeners (61% error rate) while the /t*/-t/ and the /t*/-t^h/ contrasts presented relatively easy discriminability with 9% and 3% error rates respectively. Pairwise *t*-test results show that English listeners discriminated the /t*/-t^h/ contrast significantly better than the /t*/-t/ contrast, suggesting that a larger difference in VOT between stimulus items increases discriminability. These and other results suggest that English listeners' perception of Korean voicing contrasts is largely determined by phonemic status and to a lesser extent by the magnitude of acoustic difference.

1. Introduction

Cross-language perceptual studies have repeatedly shown that adults typically discriminate all native language contrasts but have difficulty discriminating phonetic contrasts that are not used contrastively in their native language (e.g., Abramson & Lisker 1970; Goto 1971; MacKain, Best, & Strange 1981; Miyawaki et al. 1975; Strange & Jenkins 1978; Tees & Werker 1984; Werker 1991; Werker & Logan 1985; Werker & Tees 1984). The difficulty in discriminating nonnative contrasts has been attributed to the nonphonemic status of these contrasts in the listeners' native language. That is, listeners are sensitive to phonetic differences between sounds when these differences signal a meaningful distinction in their native language, but are apparently insensitive to other phonetic differences. For example, it was found that adult speakers of Japanese have considerable difficulty discriminating between English [r] and [l], a contrast not found in Japanese, whereas English listeners showed highly accurate discrimination of across-category comparisons (Miyawaki et al. 1975).

The effect of phonemic status of the listeners' native language has been reported for a wide range of phonetic properties. For consonants, this includes place, manner, and voicing distinctions. Of particular interest here is cross-language perception study of consonant voicing. The classic acoustic measure of voicing is VOI (Voice Onset Time), which is defined as the difference in time

between the release of the stricture (usually, stop closure) and the onset of voicing for the following vowel (Lisker & Abramson 1964). A negative VOT value indicates voicing lead while a positive VOT value indicates voicing lag. Lisker and Abramson (1970) generated 37 synthetic CV stimuli in which the C portion incrementally varied in VOT from -150 to +150 ms. These stimuli were presented to speakers of Thai and English using identification and discrimination paradigms. Thai listeners separated the synthetic labial VOT series into three distinct categories on an identification task (with category boundaries at about -20 msec VOT and +40 msec VOT) and produced two categorical peaks in discrimination corresponding to these two identification boundaries, consistent with the three distinct voicing categories in Thai stops. In contrast, English has a two-way voicing distinction in stops, whose average labial VOT values are 0 msec and 58 msec (Lisker & Abramson 1964). Correspondingly, American subjects produced a single categorical peak at +25 msec VOT and showed no indication of better discrimination for pairs that crossed the Thai -20 msec VOT boundary than for within-category comparisons (Abramson & Lisker 1970).

Although it has been fairly well established that phonemic experience in the listener's native language influences the perception of nonnative contrasts, it has also been noted that some nonnative contrasts present greater difficulty than others (Best 1991; Best, McRoberts, & Sithole 1988; Tees & Werker 1984; Werker & Logan 1985; Werker & Tees 1984). This nonuniform difficulty indicates that phonemic experience alone cannot adequately account for the effects of specific language experience. Aside from the listeners' phonemic experience, it has been claimed that phonetic familiarity and acoustic salience may also underlie differences in perceptual difficulty among nonnative speech contrasts (Polka 1991, 1992; Werker & Logan 1985).

The proposed role of phonetic familiarity is that allophonic experience with the relevant phones may improve discriminability of these phones. For example, in a study of American English speakers' perception of Hindi phoneme contrasts, Tees & Werker (1984) found that English subjects who had had more than five years of Hindi instruction were able to discriminate a Hindi voicing contrast and a Hindi place of articulation (dental-retroflex) contrast, while subjects who had less than one year of instruction could discriminate the voicing but not the place distinction. Tees and Werker suggested that, for the second group of English listeners, allophonic experience with a range of voiced and voiceless variants in English may have been sufficient to enhance discrimination of the Hindi voicing contrast whereas such phonetic familiarity was lacking for the place contrast.

Other studies have shown that efforts to train nonnative speakers to distinguish voicing contrasts have been more successful than training involving place distinctions (Pisoni, Aslin, Perey, & Hennessy 1982), suggesting that voicing distinctions might be inherently more salient. Polka (1991) suggests that the spectral differences found in different places of articulation may be less 'robust' than the temporal differences found in voicing contrasts. Such differences in perceptual difficulty are distinct from those caused by the phonemic status of the listener's native language or the listener's familiarity with

nonnative phones and can only be explained by inherent salience of acoustic parameters.

1.1 Best's Perceptual Assimilation Model

Best and her colleagues (Best 1991; Best et al. 1988) have presented a perceptual model that provides an integrated view of how phonemic, phonetic, and acoustic factors may underlie variation in the perception of nonnative speech contrasts. Best et al. (1988) maintain that the listeners' attention is normally focused at the phonemic level during speech perception and that listeners perceptually assimilate nonnative phones to their native phoneme categories whenever possible. Best (1991) proposes four ways in which nonnative phones may be assimilated, and makes several predictions regarding the relative perceptual difficulty of the four assimilation patterns.

In the first pattern, two target phones are assimilated as members of two different native phoneme categories ('two-category' assimilation). This pattern is exemplified by French listeners' perception of the English voicing contrast in voiceless and voiced dental fricatives. French listeners tend to perceive these fricatives as /t/ and /d/ respectively. The second pattern is 'single-category' assimilation, where the two target phones are assimilated as variants of a single native phoneme. An example is English listeners' perception of the Hindi voiceless retroflex-dental contrast, where both consonants are perceived as instances of the same English alveolar stop category (Werker 1991). Best's model predicts that listeners will have the least difficulty discriminating two-category contrasts while having the greatest difficulty discriminating single-category contrasts.

Two other assimilation patterns give rise to intermediate levels of difficulty. In 'category-goodness' assimilation, the nonnative phones may both be assimilated to a single native category, but the listener perceives one phone to be phonetically more similar to the native category than the other nonnative phone. For example, both the Zulu voiceless aspirated velar stop /k^h/ and velar ejective /k'/ are likely to assimilate to English [k^h], but the former is perceived as essentially identical to English [k^h] while the latter is heard as quite discrepant from it. In the fourth pattern, nonnative sounds are highly discrepant from the properties of any native categories and are perceived as nonspeech sounds (i.e., 'nonassimilable' category). The clicks of southern Bantu and Khoisan languages are unlikely to assimilate well to any English phoneme categories because they are unlike any English phonemes. Since the 'nonassimilable' category tokens are perceived as nonspeech sounds, the listener differentiates them by attending to psychoacoustic differences rather than phonemic or phonetic differences.

1.2 The current study

Based on this model then, the current research examines adult English and Korean listeners' perception of the distinctions in phonological types found in Korean alveolar stops in naturally spoken tokens.¹ More specifically, this study attempts to investigate phonemic status, phonetic familiarity, and acoustic salience underlying English listeners' perception of voicing distinctions in Korean, which has a three-way contrast in voiceless stops in initial position. The

three Korean stops contrast phonemically and are exemplified by the following minimal triplet:

Type 1: [t*am] 'sweat' (unaspirated, tense or fortis)

Type 2: [tam] 'fence' (slightly aspirated, lax or lenis)

Type 3: [t^ham] 'greed' (heavily aspirated)

Tables 1 through 3 present a summary of previously reported mean VOT values for each of the three categories of Korean stops in word-initial position at labial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation.

Table 1. Mean VOT values (msec) for unaspirated stops in initial position

	p*	t*	k*	mean	# of speakers
Kim (1965)	9	15	13	12	1
Lisker & Abramson (1964)	7	11	20	13	2
Han & Weitzman (1970)	5	10	24	13	2

Table 2. Mean VOT values (msec) for slightly aspirated stops in initial position²

	p	t	k	mean	# of speakers
Kim (1965)	23	38	45	35	1
Lisker & Abramson (1964)	20	28	48	32	2
Han & Weitzman (1970)	23	28	52	35	2
Silva (1992)	60	51	71	61	7

Table 3. Mean VOT values (msec) for heavily aspirated stops in initial position

	p ^h	t ^h	k ^h	mean	# of speakers
Kim (1965)	98	92	90	93	1
Lisker & Abramson (1964)	90	96	126	105	2
Han & Weitzman (1970)	117	120	142	126	2

As can be seen in Tables 1 through 3, all three categories of Korean stops lie on the positive side of the VOT continuum, unlike some other three-category languages such as Thai or East Armenian which have a voiced stop (with negative VOT), an unaspirated stop (VOT around 0 ms), and a voiceless stop (with a positive VOT). This presents an interesting perception problem for speakers of English, which has a two-way distinction with a perceptual categorical peak around +25 msec. If VOT is indeed a salient acoustic feature in cross-language perception of stops, as has been claimed by previous research mentioned so far, we should be able to make the following predictions regarding English listeners' perception of Korean stops.

1.3 Perception predictions

In terms of Best's Perceptual Assimilation Model, Korean /t*/ and /t/ (which cross the English phonemic boundary) should be assimilated as two categories,

/d/ and /t/ in English; the same would be true of /t*/ and /t^h/. However, Korean /t/ and /t^h/ would be assimilated as a single category since both of their VOT values fall within the English /t/ category. If phonemic status is the sole factor in explaining perception of the Korean contrasts, then /t*/-/t/ and /t*/-/t^h/ contrasts would be predicted to be equally easy. However, if acoustic salience exerts an influence on perception of Korean phones, then perception of /t*/-/t^h/ and /t*/-/t/ contrasts would be predicted to be different. Based on the claim made by Carney, Widin, & Viemeister (1977) that a larger VOT difference is perceptually more salient than a smaller VOT difference, English listeners would be predicted to better discriminate the /t*/-/t^h/-contrast than the /t*/-/t/-contrast since the former pair is characterized by a larger VOT difference.

2. Method

2.1 Stimuli

A 30-year-old male native speaker of the Seoul dialect of Korean was recorded producing multiple repetitions of CV syllables where C was one of the three Korean alveolar stops and V was /a/. The speaker had been living in the United States for six years. Multiple repetitions of 20 randomized Korean CV syllables including the 3 alveolar stop types and 17 other Korean consonants were recorded by the speaker in a sound-attenuated chamber. The 8 tokens of each stop category were low-pass filtered at 5 KHz and digitized at 10 KHz with 16 bit resolution. Stimulus materials were prepared using a multiple natural exemplar approach (Polka 1991) in which tokens of each stop category are selected so as to minimize across-token differences within that category.

On the basis of acoustic analysis and perceptual judgments by three other native Korean speakers, four tokens of each stop category were selected so that acoustic variations among the four tokens were minimal. Two criteria were used to determine the amount of acoustic variation between tokens: VOT and F0 at the onset of the following vowel. This is done because, in addition to VOT differences between the Korean stop categories, it has been found that F0 following /t*/ is higher (by about 30 Hz) than that following /t/ and F0 following /t^h/ is higher (by about 10 Hz) than that following /t*/ (Han & Weitzman 1970; Silva 1992).

VOT values (measured from the release of the stop closure to the onset of voicing) and F0 at the onset of the following vowel were obtained by using spectrographic and waveform displays. The VOT values and the F0 measures for voiceless unaspirated /t*/, voiceless slightly aspirated /t/, and voiceless heavily aspirated /t^h/ are listed in Tables 4 through 6.

VOT values for the four tokens of each category differed by up to 8 msec for the /t/ and /t^h/ categories and by about 4 msec for /t*/. Test tapes consisted of pairings of the 12 stimuli arranged in a categorial AX task that requires the listener to attend to between-category differences and to ignore within-category variation. (Thus, the categorial AX task used by Polka (1991), among others, is conceptually similar to the name-identity AXB discrimination task used by Best et al. (1988)).

Table 4. VOT and F0 measures for 4 tokens (t*1-t*4) of /t*/

/t*/	VOT (ms)	F0 of V (Hz)
t*1	8.01	128
t*2	9.76	127
t*3	6.93	129
t*4	10.18	129
mean	8.72	128.25

Table 5. VOT and F0 measures for 4 tokens (t1-t4) of /t/

/t/	VOT (ms)	F0 of V (Hz)
t1	37.61	117
t2	29.83	112
t3	36.27	116
t4	31.92	117
mean	33.90	115.5

Table 6. VOT and F0 measures for 4 tokens (t^h1-t^h4) of /t^h/

/t ^h /	VOT (ms)	F0 of V (Hz)
t ^h 1	90.51	137
t ^h 2	93.62	136
t ^h 3	86.31	134
t ^h 4	94.40	135
mean	91.21	135.5

The test sequence consisted of 48 12-trial blocks (48 blocks X 12 trials/block = 576 trials total). Every possible combination of 'same' and 'different' pairs were created except that no token was paired with itself (e.g., t*1 was never paired with t*1). For example, as shown in Fig. 1, the /t*/-category 'same' pairs had 6 combinations which could occur in either order (e.g., t*1-t*2 and t*2-t*1). Corresponding 'same' pairings were created for the /t/ and /t^h/ categories as well. Figure 2 shows an example of 'different' pair combinations between /t/ and /t*/. Sixteen pairs result from such pairings and these are in turn reversed as above. Corresponding 'different' pairings for /t/-/t^h/ and /t*/-/t^h/ were also created. There were 16 repetitions of each of the 18 'same' pair types and 6 repetitions of each of the 48 'different' pair types so as to make the same total number of 'same' and 'different' pairs. Each 12-trial block contained 6 'same' pairs and 6 'different' pairs in a randomized fashion and the entire test sequence consisted of 288 'same' pairs and 288 'different' pairs.

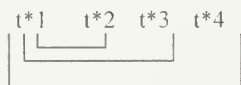


Figure 1. Sample 'same' combinations

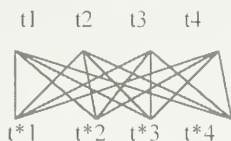


Figure 2. Sample 'different' combinations

The interval between two stimuli in a trial (e.g., between t^*1 and t^*2 in a 'same' pair trial, or between $t1$ and t^*1 in a 'different' pair trial), or interstimulus interval (ISI), was 1.5 seconds and the interval between trials, or intertrial interval (ITI), was 3 seconds. The interval between blocks was 8 s. A relatively long ISI of 1.5 seconds was chosen because listeners tend to demonstrate phonemic-level processing with a longer ISI and auditory processing with a shorter ISI (Werker & Tees 1984). The Korean syllables on the test tapes were identified by the author to determine whether the stimulus items had been distorted or mislabeled during stimulus processing.

2.2 Subjects

20 American-English speaking undergraduate students at the University of Michigan and 10 native Korean speakers served as subjects. The 8 male and 12 female American subjects ranged from 18 to 36 years of age, with a mean age of 20.6 years. The extent of the American subjects' knowledge of foreign languages ranged from no training at all to several years of classroom instruction in one or more of Spanish, French, Italian, German, Hebrew, and Vietnamese. The control group of 6 male and 4 female Korean subjects were either graduate students at the University of Michigan or their spouses and ranged from 23 to 33 years of age, with a mean age of 27.7 years. Length of stay in the U.S. for the control group ranged from 1.5 years to 6 years, with a mean length of stay of 3.8 years. Subjects were paid for their participation. All subjects reported having normal hearing and having had no phonetics training.

2.3 Procedure

2.3.1 American-English Listeners

American-English subjects were told that they would hear syllables beginning with three different consonants that do not differentiate words in English but are distinctive in other languages. To familiarize subjects with the three-way distinction, two or three examples of each of the three stop categories were played one or more times so that the total number of stimuli played per category was five. The stimuli in this familiarization sequence were not those used in the test sequences. Following the familiarization sequence, a brief 12-trial practice test was given, again using tokens that were not used in the actual test. While the first 6 trials of the practice test had correct answers written on the response sheet, the last 6 trials contained blanks for listeners to write their own responses. Answers for the last 6 trials were given after the practice test was completed and listeners graded their own responses.

The recorded test sequences were presented through Sennheiser HD 222 headphones connected to a Panasonic Audiotape Deck SV-3500 in a sound-attenuated chamber to one to four listeners at a time. Subjects were asked to respond 'same' when they thought the pair contained two instances of the same consonant, and 'different' when they thought the pair contained two different consonants, by writing 'S' in the former case and 'D' in the latter. It was explained that 'same' does not mean 'identical' but rather refers to two instances of the same stop category. During the actual test, two five-minute breaks were given: one after the first 18 blocks, another after the next 18 blocks. During breaks, all listeners were asked to leave the sound-attenuated chamber and move around in the hallway. The entire procedure was approximately one hour and 30 minutes in duration.

2.3.2 Korean Listeners

Instructions to Korean listeners were given by the author in Korean. Korean listeners were told that they would hear syllables beginning with three different consonants in Korean. The same familiarization sequence and the 12-trial practice test were given to the Korean listeners. Subjects were asked to respond 'same' when they thought the pair contained two instances of the same consonant, and 'different' when they thought the pair contained two different consonants, by writing an 'O' (a circle) in the former case and 'X' (an ex) in the latter. Again, explanation was provided that 'same' does not mean 'identical' but rather refers to two instances of the same stop category. Answers for the last 6 trials were given after the practice test was completed and listeners graded their own responses.

3. Results

The mean percent errors of the 10 Korean listeners in the categorial AX task for each of the Korean contrasts are shown in Table 7. The Korean listeners had a 99% accuracy rate, except for one subject who had an accuracy rate of 92%. It should be noted that 4% out of the 5% error rate for the /t*/-/t*/ pair and 0.8% out of the 1.4% error rate for the /t^h/-/t^h/ pair was due to that listener. The source of this particular listener's difficulties is unclear since the length of her stay in the U.S. is 3.5 years, close to the mean length of stay of 3.8 years for the ten Korean subjects. Overall, however, the near-perfect accuracy rate of Korean listeners' perceptual data suggests that the tokens used in the perception test are clear instances of Korean stops.

Table 7. Pooled perceptual results for Korean listeners

Contrast	t* - t*	t - t	t ^h - t ^h	t* - t	t* - t ^h	t - t ^h
% Error	5.0	0.6	1.4	0.1	0.1	0.5

The mean percent errors of the 20 American English listeners in the categorial AX task for each of the Korean contrasts are shown in Table 8. While discrimination of the /t*/-/t/ contrast and the /t*/-/t^h/ contrast appears to be relatively easy for English-speaking listeners, the /t/-/t^h/ contrast seems to be

much more difficult with a greater than chance error rate (with chance being 50%).

Table 8. Pooled perceptual results for American-English listeners

Contrast	t* - t*	t - t	t ^h - t ^h	t* - t	t* - t ^h	t - t ^h
% Error	23.7	11.3	22.6	8.5	2.9	60.9

Pairwise *t*-tests were performed, comparing the % errors for the three sets of 'different' pairs. The results showed that the % error for the /t/-t^h/ pairs was significantly greater than that of both the /t*/-/t/ pairs ($t = 17.3$, $p < 0.0001$) and the /t*/-t^h/ pairs ($t = 19.001$, $p < 0.001$). In addition, the % error for the /t*/-/t/ pair was also significantly greater than that of the /t*/-t^h/pair ($t = 4.9376$, $p < 0.0001$). As for the three 'same' categories, it is not clear what caused the large difference in the error rates of the sameness judgments. (But see section 4 for a discussion of some possible factors.)

4. Discussion

In the Introduction, different predictions were outlined regarding the relative differentiability of the three Korean contrasts by English listeners. First, phonemic status as a predictor of perception of the three contrasts was evaluated. Based on Best's Perceptual Assimilation Model, it was predicted that English listeners would clearly distinguish the Korean voiceless unaspirated stops, /t*/, from both slightly aspirated stops, /t/, and heavily aspirated stops, /t^h. This pattern is well reflected in the perceptual data. While both the /t*/-/t/ and the /t*/-/t^h/ contrasts produced low error rates, the /t/-t^h/ contrast resulted in a significantly higher error rate.

Recall that if we were to take only phonemic status into account, English listeners' perceptions of /t*/-/t/ and /t*/-/t^h/ contrasts were predicted to be equally difficult. The acoustic salience factor, on the other hand, predicted that English listeners would better discriminate the /t*/-/t^h/ contrast because of a larger VOT difference between /t*/ and /t^h/ than between /t*/ and /t/. Although the difference in error rates between the two pair types is indeed small (less than 6%), the difference is significant in the predicted direction, suggesting that the /t*/-/t^h/ contrast was in fact easier to discriminate. This result supports the idea that the magnitude of difference in VOT, along with the phonemic status of English, influences English listeners' perception of Korean voicing contrasts.

Turning to listeners' performance on the 'same' pair types, the error rates on these pairs ranged from 11% to nearly 24%. This points to a fairly high level of uncertainty in making 'same' judgments which presumably is due in part to the within-category acoustic variation in the four tokens of each category type. This variation arises from the use of natural speech tokens rather than synthetic tokens that provide complete control over acoustic parameters (see also Polka 1991). Since the within-category VOT and F0 differences (Tables 4-6) do not clearly correlate with the level of perceptual difficulty (Table 8), it may be that English listeners (and perhaps the one Korean listener who had an unexpectedly

high error rate) were attuned to acoustic differences other than VOT and F0. A future study may determine the relationships between perceptual difficulty and other specific acoustic parameters not examined here, such as formant transitions, total duration of the syllable, vowel duration, vowel mean amplitude, and vowel peak amplitude.

In summary, this study investigated how English-language listeners perceive phonation distinctions among Korean alveolar stops. Predictions based on the phonemic status of these stop categories in English and on the magnitude of the acoustic differences (in selected dimensions) were generally supported by English-listeners' response patterns to the across-category ('different') pair types. However, the factors underlying their responses to within-category ('same') pair-types were not conclusively determined and would require further investigation. Overall, the perceptual data suggest that neither phonemic status nor acoustic salience can individually account for the variability in perception of the Korean contrasts. Rather, a more integrated approach that incorporates these and other acoustic factors seems to be necessary in producing a complete explanation of the manner in which English listeners perceive Korean stop contrasts.

NOTES

¹ In this study, only the alveolar series was investigated due to the large number of trials required in the perception experiment (see also section 2.1).

² Silva (1992) did not provide VOT measurements for unaspirated and heavily aspirated stops. For slightly aspirated stops, there is a striking discrepancy between Silva's study and the previous ones, which Silva attributed to differences in measurement procedures. Silva reported that Kim (1965) and Lisker & Abramson (1964) measured VOT from the beginning of the release to the onset of voicing in the following vowel; Han & Weitzman (1970) measured from the beginning of the release to the onset of F1; and Silva (1992) measured from the end of the release to the onset of F2. Since it is often the case that onset of voicing occurs before the onset of F1, which in turn occurs before the onset of F2, Silva reasoned that using each of these three points to mark the end of aspiration would yield values that are progressively longer in each case.

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**CONTEXT- AND EXPERIENCE-BASED EFFECTS
ON THE LEARNING OF VOWELS IN A SECOND LANGUAGE**

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The objective of the present study was to investigate how adult language learners perceive the relationship between native (L1) and second-language (L2) vowels in different phonetic contexts and how L2 experience influences this ability. Previous research has revealed that, in their perception of this relationship, L2 learners may erroneously perceive — as distinct L1 phonemes — what are actually allophones (i.e., context-determined phonetic realizations of phonemes) in their L2 and that the amount of L2 experience may affect the extent to which they do so. Two hypotheses were proposed. The first hypothesis was that inexperienced L2 learners would perceive allophones of a given L2 phoneme as being distinct phonemes in their L1. The second hypothesis was that, unlike inexperienced learners, more experienced L2 learners would perceive various allophones of a given L2 phoneme as being instantiations of a *single* phoneme in their L1. Results provided support for both of these hypotheses. The findings of the present study thus provide important insights into the role of phonetic context and experience in L2 vowel learning and into the dynamic and often complex nature of the interaction between L1 and L2 phonetic systems.

0. Introduction

Ever since Uriel Weinreich described three major ways in which a bilingual's two language systems could interact, researchers have attempted to study this interaction in both bilinguals and second-language learners (e.g., Flege 1999; Mack in press). In L2 speech learning, this interaction may manifest itself as the influence of a native language (L1) on a second language (L2). The question of when and to what extent this influence occurs remains as compelling today as it was when discussed by Weinreich (1953) nearly five decades ago.

Specifically, some researchers have shown that the extent to which an L1 phonetic system influences that of an L2 can depend on the perceived relationship between L1 and L2 sounds (Best 1995; Best, McRoberts, & Goodell 2001; Flege 1995). At least in the beginning stages of L2 speech learning, how L2 sounds are perceived seems to be determined by how closely they are identified with L1 sounds (Best et al. 2001; Guion, Flege, Akahane-Yamada, & Pruitt 2000). What is not well understood, however, is how the L1/L2 perceptual relationship evolves and how it relates to the development of the L2 phonetic system as second-language learning progresses. Thus, this study was undertaken to answer two questions: (1) How do inexperienced L2 learners perceive the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds? and (2) how do more experienced L2 learners do so as a function of L2 experience?

Studies of how inexperienced L2 learners (those with minimal or, in the parlance of some researchers in cross-language studies, even *no* L2 experience) perceive the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds have yielded interesting findings. That is, with even minimal amounts of experience in an L2, learners may be able to detect differences between acoustically similar L1 and L2 sounds. Moreover, they can perceive allophonic variants in their L2 (i.e., variants in the context-dependent phonetic realizations of meaningfully distinct abstract units of speech, or phonemes), but their ability to do so seems to be influenced by the phonetic environment in which those variants occur (Mann 1986; Polka 1995; Strange, Akahane-Yamada, Kubo, Trent, Nishi, & Jenkins 1998; Strange, Akahane-Yamada, Kubo, Trent, & Nishi 2001). For example, Steensland (1981) found that judgments of the similarity between the Russian vowel /e/ and a number of Swedish vowels, made by native speakers of Swedish unfamiliar with Russian, depended on the phonetic context in which the Russian vowel occurred. Similarly, Strange et al. (1998, 2001) observed that word-level effects (vowel length and word length) as well as discourse-level effects (whether sounds occurred in disyllabic words or in sentences) influenced how native Japanese speakers perceived the relationship between native and non-native sounds with which they were unfamiliar. (See related findings in Schmidt 1996.) These studies thus suggest that inexperienced learners of an L2 are sensitive to fine-grained acoustic and/or phonetic properties in L2 sounds.

Experiments conducted by other researchers (e.g., Bradlow, Pisoni, Akahane-Yamada, & Tohkura 1997; Lively, Logan, & Pisoni 1993; Mochizuki 1981) provide further support for the notion that contextual (stimulus-dependent) effects are relevant in the learning of an L2 sound system. For example, it has been found that native Chinese speakers of English, most of whom were inexperienced in English, could more accurately distinguish between voiced and voiceless stop consonants in word-initial than in word-final position (Flege & Wang 1989; Flege, Munro, & Skelton 1992). Likewise, when trained to distinguish between English /θ/ and /ð/ in word-initial position (as in the words *think* and *this*, respectively), native French listeners cannot always distinguish them when they occur in other syllable positions, such as word-finally (Morosan & Jamieson 1989). These and the results of similar studies (e.g., Crowther & Mann 1992; Polka 1991, 1992)

suggest that L2 learners may attend to (non-meaningful) allophonic variants — thus functioning unlike native speakers and many experienced L2 learners who essentially learn to ignore such variants — and, in so doing, may actually perceive L2 allophones as being instantiations of sounds that are phonemically distinct in their L1. That is, they may equate non-meaningful context-dependent phonetic variants in L2 speech sounds with meaningful context-free representations of L1 sound categories.

However, these contextual effects are not limited to learners with minimal L2 experience. Indeed, Takagi & Mann (1995) found that, even with over 20 years of L2 experience in English, the Japanese-English participants in their study did not discriminate between English /ɹ/ and /l/ in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final position with equal accuracy. That is, these participants learned to discriminate between the English liquids /ɹ/ and /l/ when they occurred in word-final position but — regardless of their amount of L2 experience — they could not discriminate between /ɹ/ and /l/ when these consonants (or more accurately, when their phonetic instantiations) occurred word-initially.

But why should certain L2 contrasts be treated selectively (such as the English /ɹ/-/l/ contrast when presented to Japanese learners)? That is, why are some sounds perceived accurately only in some phonetic contexts but not in others? It is here maintained that such a disparity in perceptual accuracy occurs when sound units in the L2 — in this example, English /ɹ/ and /l/ — are perceptually mapped onto either *one* phoneme (i.e., are treated as members of one category) in the L1, as seems to occur when /ɹ/ and /l/ occur word initially, or onto *two* phonemes (i.e., are treated as members of two categories) in the L1, as seems to occur when /ɹ/ and /l/ appear word-finally.

It is important to note that, in the present study, mapping refers to the way in which phonetic units in one language are associated, either implicitly at the mental level or explicitly in formal experimental tasks, with phonetic units in another. For example, an inexperienced L2 learner of English whose L1 is French might, when presented with the English vowel /ɪ/ as in *fish*, map it onto the French vowel /i/, as in *fiche*, since /ɪ/ is nonoccurrent in French but is acoustically similar to /i/. This has been demonstrated in a study in which native Japanese speakers not familiar with English mapped English (L2) consonants onto Japanese (L1) sounds (Takagi 1993). These Japanese speakers identified both English /ɹ/ and /l/ with the Japanese liquid /r/ when they occurred in word-initial position. However, when these two English consonants appeared in word-final position, they identified the English /ɹ/ more often with the Japanese /a/, and the English /l/ with the Japanese /ru/. This finding suggests that these native Japanese speakers, all of whom had had minimal experience in English, may have perceived the English /ɹ/ in these two contexts not as allophones of a single L1 phoneme, but as instantiations of two distinct L1 phonemes.

Thus how L2 units are mapped, relative to the learners' L1 system, seems to be crucially influenced by the phonetic context in which those units occur, since phonetic context alters the acoustic properties of sounds and hence can affect their

perceptual salience and status. More specifically, the acoustic properties of sounds are often strongly affected by the context in which they occur. Thus, although the word-medial [i] in *bead* and the word-final [i] in *lucky* are both phonetic realizations of a single phoneme — the English vowel /i/ — they are quite different at the acoustic level. Consequently, inexperienced L2 learners, unlike native speakers and at least some experienced L2 learners, may perceive the different phonetic realizations (allophones) of a given L2 phoneme as distinct L1 phonemes rather than the allophones of a single L2 phoneme that they actually are.

Thus of interest in the present study are two major questions: (1) How does phonetic context influence the way in which inexperienced L2 learners perceive the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds? and (2) do more experienced L2 learners perceive this relationship in a manner that is systematically different from the way in which inexperienced learners do? Two hypotheses are proposed. The first hypothesis is that inexperienced L2 learners will perceive the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds in a way that depends upon the phonetic context in which L2 sounds occur. For example, inexperienced L2 learners may perceive the English [ɹ] as in *rock* as being more representative of a corresponding L1 phoneme than the English [ɹ] as in *car*, or they may perceptually equate these two phonetic instantiations of the English /ɹ/ with two separate L1 phonemes (e.g., the word-initial English /ɹ/ could be treated by Japanese learners as the Japanese phoneme /r/, and the word-final English /ɹ/ could be treated as the Japanese phoneme /a/, as some research has previously demonstrated). This finding may indicate that inexperienced L2 learners are unable to ignore non-meaningful variations in L2 sounds and may thus treat allophones of a given L2 sounds as two (or theoretically, even more) separate L1 phonemes.

The second hypothesis is that more experienced L2 learners will perceive the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds in a manner that is less dependent upon the phonetic context in which L2 sounds occur. For example, more experienced L2 learners may perceive the English [ɹ] in *rock* and the English [ɹ] in *car* as being similar to a single related L1 phoneme, such the Japanese /r/. This finding may indicate that more experienced L2 learners ignore non-meaningful context-dependent variants in L2 sounds and may thus perceive L2 sounds as native speakers do. Overall, understanding how inexperienced and more experienced L2 learners treat the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds in different phonetic contexts may thus indicate how L2 sounds are perceived as L2 learning progresses and may explain why some L2 sounds seem more learnable than others.

To test these hypotheses, two experiments were conducted. Experiment 1 was designed to determine how inexperienced L2 learners perceive the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds in specific L2 phonetic contexts. In this experiment, native Korean speakers with minimal English experience were asked to map English (L2) vowels onto Korean (L1) vowels and rate the similarity between them. Experiment 2 was designed to determine how more experienced L2 learners perceive the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds, also in specific L2 contexts. In this experiment, an additional group of Korean learners of English was asked to perform the same tasks as those performed by the participants in Experiment 1.

However — unlike the participants in Experiment 1 — those in Experiment 2 differed with respect to their amount of L2 (English) experience. That is, they were selected and subsequently categorized into three groups based upon their amount of experience with English as a second language. In both experiments, amount of experience in the L2 was operationalized as the language learners' years of residence in the U.S.

1. Experiment 1: Context-dependent effects on the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds as perceived by inexperienced L2 learners

The objective of Experiment 1 was to determine how inexperienced Korean learners of English perceive the relationship between English and Korean vowels in different phonetic contexts. It was hypothesized that inexperienced Korean learners of English would perceive the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds in a way that depends upon the phonetic context in which L2 sounds occur.

1.1 Materials

The vowels used in this experiment included the following four pairs of phonemically contrasting English vowels: /i/-/ɪ/, /u/-/ʊ/, /a/-/ʌ/ and /æ/-/ɛ/. These vowel pairs were chosen because they are often confused by Korean learners of English in perception and production (Flege, Bohn, & Jang 1997; Ingram & Park 1997). Furthermore, comparing perceptual similarity between a number of vowels in English and Korean, both of which have large vowel inventories, permitted the (potential) emergence of a variety of cross-linguistic perceptual relationships.

To determine how Korean learners of English perceive the relationship between English and Korean vowels in different phonetic contexts, English vowels were placed in five CVC phonetic contexts — /h_d/, /b_d/, /b_t/, /l_C/, and /n_C/ (Table 1). Careful consideration was given to the stimulus words.

Table 1. Stimulus words used in Experiment 1

Context	/i/	/ɪ/	/u/	/ʊ/	/a/	/ʌ/	/æ/	/ɛ/
b_t	beat	bit	boot	book	bought	but	bat	bet
b_d	bead	bid	bood	good	pod	bud	bad	bed
h_d	heed	hid	who'd	hood	hot	hut	had	head
n_C	neat	knit	nuke	nook	not	nut	gnat	net
l_C	leak	lick	Luke	look	lock	luck	lack	let

Specifically, the /h_d/ context was chosen because it is often used in speech perception studies due to its relative neutrality (e.g., Hillenbrand, Getty, Clark, & Wheeler 1995). That is, the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ usually exerts little influence on the acoustic properties of the following vowel (Olive, Greenwood, & Coleman 1993). The /b_d/ and /b_t/ environments were chosen so that the way in which word-final voicing affects the perceived relationship between English and Korean vowels could be assessed. (All Korean stop consonants are devoiced word-finally.) In addition, English vowels are systematically shorter before voiceless than before voiced stop consonants (House & Fairbanks 1953), at least in stressed prepausal conditions (Mack 1982), and Korean vowels are often shorter than Eng-

lish vowels (Sohn 1999). Thus, it was believed that the English vowels might be perceived as being more similar to Korean vowels in the /b_t/ than the /b_d/ context because word-final voicing violates a phonetic rule in Korean.

Finally, the contexts /l_C/ and /n_C/ were chosen so that the effect of pre-vocalic liquid and nasal contexts could be evaluated cross-linguistically. Because both of these sound types exert a strong influence upon the acoustic properties of post-consonantal vowels (Kewley-Port 1995), the relationship between English and Korean vowels might be perceived in these two contexts unlike the way in which they are perceived in the other contexts. In addition, although the phoneme /l/ exists in Korean, it appears rarely in word-initial position and primarily in borrowings from English (Sohn 1999). By contrast, the word-initial /n/ is quite productive in Korean. Thus, it was believed that the English vowels could be perceived as being more similar to Korean vowels in the /n_C/ than in the /l_C/ context because, in Korean, /l/ occurs word initially much less often than does /n/.

The vowel stimuli were produced by three functionally monolingual male speakers of American English from the Pacific Northwest whose average age was 24, with a range of 22 to 26. These three speakers were chosen because none of them had studied a second language beyond the level of high-school language courses, none had lived outside the U.S., none had received any formal training in phonetics or linguistics, and all spoke the standard variety of General American English.

A Shure unidimensional head-mounted microphone (model: SM10A) and Sony DAT tape recorder (model: TCD-D8) were used to record the three speakers as they produced three iterations of the 40 monosyllabic English stimulus words. Recording of each speaker took place in a sound-attenuated booth in the Phonetics Laboratory of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The 40 stimulus words were typewritten on individual cards, randomized, and presented in the carrier phrase, *I say ___ for you*. Sentences appeared on cue cards placed, one at a time (with one sentence per card) on a table in front of the speakers. The speakers were asked to produce each sentence at a normal speaking rate. ESPS/Waves+ signal analysis software was used to excise each stimulus word from its carrier phrase. Subsequently, the stimulus words were subjectively evaluated by the first two authors and the best token of each word was selected for inclusion in the experiment. Questionable tokens were judged for inclusion by the third author. The resulting 120 words (40 words \times 3 speakers) were digitized at 16 kHz, ramped off during the first and last 15 msec to eliminate any audible clicks, and normalized for peak intensity and perceived loudness.

To further validate the quality of the stimuli, the 40 stimulus words were presented in individual listening sessions to 10 monolingual native English speakers with no training in phonetics or linguistics. A forced-choice identification and a goodness-rating task were administered using a personal computer and presentation software (Smith 1997). The native English speakers were asked to identify the vowels /i/, /I/, /u/, /U/, /a/, /A/, /æ/, and /ε/ presented in the stimulus words. Because of the difficulty of orthographically representing isolated English vowels,

the English words *seat*, *sit*, *soup*, *took*, *sock*, *suck*, *sat*, and *set* were presented on a computer screen as response alternatives. Specifically, the native English speakers were told to select that word containing the vowel most similar to the one they had just heard. The procedure was as follows: Each speaker heard a stimulus word and then identified the vowel in it. Next, each speaker heard the same stimulus word but this time rated its goodness on a 7-point scale. On this scale 1 indicated that the vowel sounded very dissimilar from, and 7 indicated that the vowel sounded very similar to, the vowel in the English word they had heard in the identification task.

Those words which were not identified accurately at least 95% of the time and were not rated with at least an average of 5 on the 7-point goodness-rating scale were replaced by other stimulus words and were re-tested using 10 other native English speakers with the same qualifications and the same procedure as those described above. These resulting stimulus words were used for Experiment 1, described below.

1.2 Participants

There were 10 adult participants in Experiment 1 — 4 male and 6 female — ranging in age from 24 to 33 years, with a mean age of 29. All were native speakers of the Seoul dialect of Korean and all had resided in the U.S. from 3 weeks to 5 months, with a mean length of residence (LOR) of 3 months. Participants were recruited through written announcements placed in various locations in the community, such as churches, businesses, and the University of Illinois. The participants (hereafter, Korean monolinguals) were not enrolled as students, nor did they work outside the home, so they had had minimal exposure to English in the U.S., and had also had an average of fewer than 2 months of formal instruction in English. At the time of testing, 5 were enrolled in a beginning course in an English-language program or a similar course given by the local school district.

The participants provided self-ratings of their English proficiency on a 10-point scale on which 1 corresponded to 'I don't know any English', and 10 corresponded to 'I am a native speaker of English'. The mean self-rating in English was 3.4, with a range of 2 to 4. The participants also provided self-ratings of their Korean proficiency on a comparable 10-point scale. The mean self-rating in Korean was 10, with none of the participants giving himself/herself a value below 10. None could carry out even a simple conversation in English. Because the participants' English proficiency was so low, all testing instructions were translated into Korean, which they were told to read prior to testing.

1.3 Procedure

The participants were tested individually in a quiet location using the same personal computer and stimulus presentation software (Smith 1997) previously utilized in presenting stimuli to the monolingual native English speakers who had validated the stimulus words. All participants were tested at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. The English CVC stimulus words were randomly presented 240 times (40 words \times 3 speakers \times 2 repetitions) over stereo headphones

(Sennheiser Model HD 535). The participants performed a forced-choice cross-language mapping task and a similarity-rating task.

Specifically, the Korean monolinguals were asked to map the English vowels /i/, /ɪ/, /u/, /ʊ/, /a/, /ʌ/, /æ/, and /ɛ/ presented in the stimulus words onto one of the 10 vowels of standard Korean (/i/, /o/, /ɪ/, /y/, /œ/, /ɛ/, /ɛ/, /ʌ/, /a/, /u/) and to rate the similarity between them. The Korean vowel response alternatives were displayed in Hangeul characters on a computer screen. The Korean monolinguals were told to select that Korean vowel most similar to the English vowel in the stimulus word and then to rate how similar the English vowel sounded to the chosen Korean vowel. The procedure was as follows: Each participant heard a stimulus word and then mapped the vowel in it onto a Korean vowel (i.e., selected the Korean vowel that sounded most similar to the vowel in the English word that had been presented auditorily). Next, each participant heard the same stimulus word but this time rated the similarity of the English vowel to the Korean vowel on a 7-point scale. On this scale 1 indicated that the vowels across the two languages sounded very dissimilar and 7 indicated that the vowels sounded very similar. The participants had unlimited time to map the vowels and to provide similarity-rating judgments but were not permitted to change their responses after they were given. Before testing, the participants were given a 10-item practice session to familiarize them with the procedure.

1.4 Data analysis

Both the cross-language mapping and similarity-rating data were collected to obtain valid and reliable estimates of each participant's perception of the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds. In the cross-language mapping task, responses were scored by computing how many times each participant mapped a particular English vowel onto any of the ten Korean vowels cited above. For example, the number of times each participant mapped the English /i/ onto the Korean /i/ was tabulated, as well as the number of times this same English vowel was mapped onto the nine other Korean vowels. Likewise, the similarity-rating responses were scored by computing each participant's rating of the similarity between each English vowel and each Korean vowel. The mapping data and the similarity-rating responses were omitted from the analysis if a participant failed to perform either the mapping or similarity rating. (This occurred rarely — i.e., only in 1.3% of the cases.) Averages for vowel mapping and similarity-rating responses were obtained for vowels produced by all three speakers in all five phonetic contexts. Mapping and similarity-rating responses were also tabulated for each phonetic context and were compared using analyses of variance (ANOVAs) and, for pairwise comparisons, the Bonferroni test (a t-test with the alpha level adjusted for the number of pairwise comparisons).

1.5 Results

In response to six of the eight English vowels used in this study — /i/, /ɪ/, /u/, /ʊ/, /a/, and /ʌ/ — the Korean monolinguals chose a single (modal) Korean response alternative a majority of the time (at least 71% of the time) and rated this alternative as being most similar to each of the above six English vowels (with an aver-

age rating of 5.4 to 6.0 on a 7-point scale). By contrast, they mapped English /æ/ and /ɛ/ equally infrequently (between 37 and 54% of the time) onto both Korean /ɛ/ and /e/ and rated English /æ/ and /ɛ/ as being equally similar (with an average rating of 5.2 to 5.7 on a 7-point scale) to both Korean /ɛ/ and /e/ (Table 2).

Table 2.

Mean percent of times (out of a possible total of 300) each English vowel was mapped onto its two modal (most frequently chosen) Korean vowels (with similarity ratings appearing in parentheses).

English	Vowel		Modal responses
	English	Korean	
/i/	→	/i/	95 (6.0)
	→	/y/	5 (5.3)
/ɪ/	→	/i/	80 (5.6)
	→	/ɨ/	4 (4.9)
/ɛ/	→	/e/	38 (5.2)
	→	/ɛ/	54 (5.3)
/æ/	→	/ɛ/	45 (5.7)
	→	/e/	37 (5.5)
/u/	→	/u/	85 (5.4)
	→	/ɨ/	13 (4.0)
/ʊ/	→	/u/	71 (5.4)
	→	/ɨ/	16 (4.5)
/a/	→	/a/	78 (5.8)
	→	/ʌ/	17 (5.0)
/ʌ/	→	/ʌ/	73 (5.5)
	→	/a/	21 (5.8)

1.5.1 Effect of phonetic context

Analysis of the Korean monolinguals' mapping and similarity ratings in each phonetic context revealed that context *did* affect how frequently Korean monolinguals mapped six of the English vowels (/i/, /ɪ/, /u/, /ʊ/, /a/, and /ʌ/) onto their Korean modal response alternatives and how they rated the similarity between them. By contrast, phonetic context *did not* affect how frequently Korean monolinguals mapped the English /æ/ and /ɛ/ onto the Korean /ɛ/ and /e/ or how they rated the similarity between them.

Specifically, a two-way 5×8 (context \times vowel) ANOVA comparing Korean monolinguals' mapping revealed a significant main effect for vowel [$F(7,63) = 14.83$, $p < .001$] and for context [$F(4,36) = 8.69$, $p < .001$], as well as a significant context \times vowel interaction [$F(28,252) = 8.99$, $p < .001$]. Subsequently, one-way ANOVAs comparing the mapping frequency for each English vowel in the five phonetic contexts revealed a significant effect for phonetic context for six (/i/, /ɪ/, /u/, /ʊ/, /a/, and /ʌ/) of the eight vowels. (In each analysis, the obtained p-value was less than .01.)

A two-way 5×8 (context \times vowel) ANOVA was also conducted to compare the Korean monolinguals' similarity ratings for the English and Korean vowels. It revealed a significant main effect for vowel [$F(7,63) = 2.25, p < .05$] and for context [$F(4,36) = 3.19, p < .025$], as well as a significant context \times vowel interaction [$F(28,252) = 2.39, p < .001$]. However, one-way ANOVAs comparing the similarity ratings for each English vowel in the five phonetic contexts revealed that the effect of phonetic context was statistically significant only for the English vowel /ɪ/ [$F(4,32) = 3.47, p < .05$].

Context-based comparisons further revealed that, in the /l_C/, /n_C/, and /b_d/ environments, the Korean monolinguals were less likely to map English vowels onto their first most frequent Korean response alternatives and were instead more likely to map English vowels onto their second most frequent Korean response alternatives. In particular, Korean monolinguals were less likely to map the four English vowels /i/, /ɪ/, /a/, and /ʌ/ onto the Korean /i/, /i/, /a/, and /ʌ/, respectively, in the /l_C/ than in any other context. They were also less likely to map the English /ɪ/, /ʌ/, and /u/ onto the Korean /i/, /ʌ/, and /u/, respectively, in the /n_C/ than in any other context. Finally, they were less likely to map the English /u/ and /ʊ/ onto the Korean /u/ in the /b_d/ than in any other context.

1.6 Discussion

Results of Experiment 1 revealed that the Korean monolinguals perceived the relationship between six of the eight English vowels and their Korean modal response alternatives more dissimilarly in some phonetic contexts than in others.¹ (It should be noted that this result, in large part, obtained in the analysis of cross-language mapping but not in the analysis of similarity ratings. The procedure of cross-language similarity rating used in the present study may thus not have been sufficiently sensitive to detect context-based differences in the perception of the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds by the Korean monolinguals.)

That is, the Korean monolinguals were less likely to equate English vowels with their Korean modal response alternatives when these English vowels occurred in certain phonetic contexts. Notably, such phonetic contexts included those which heavily influenced the acoustic properties of adjacent vowels (/n_C/) or which violated the phonotactic constraints of Korean (/l_C/ and /b_d/). This finding is consistent with the results of previous studies demonstrating that inexperienced L2 learners are sensitive to non-meaningful context-dependent variants in L2 sounds (i.e., L2 allophones) when identifying L2 vowels with L1 vowels (e.g., Strange et al. 1998, 2001).

The results of Experiment 1 are consistent with the hypothesis that inexperienced L2 learners perceive the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds more dissimilarly in some phonetic contexts than in others, suggesting that they may have treated allophones of L2 vowels as separate L1 phonemes. For example, the Korean monolinguals mapped the English /a/ most frequently onto the Korean /a/ in every context except /l_C/. In this context, they mapped the English /a/ most frequently onto the Korean /ʌ/. That is, the Korean monolinguals perceived the English /a/ as one Korean phoneme in the /l_C/ context and another Korean phoneme

in the other contexts. Phonetic context likewise affected five other of the eight English vowels in this experiment. This result supports the hypothesis that inexperienced L2 learners are influenced, in vowel perception, by the context in which vowels occur and that they may treat allophones of a given L2 vowel as distinct phonemic representations of given L1 vowels.

The results of Experiment 1 thus raise the following question: Do more experienced L2 learners also perceive L2 vowels as inexperienced L2 learners do? That is, do more experienced L2 learners perceive L2 allophones as L1 phonemes in a context-dependent manner? A negative answer to this question would suggest that more experienced L2 learners learn to ignore non-meaningful variations in L2 sounds and that they (thus) perceive L2 sounds as native speakers do. To test this hypothesis, a second experiment was conducted.

2. Experiment 2: Context-dependent effects on the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds as perceived by experienced L2 learners

The objective of Experiment 2 was to determine how experienced Korean learners of English perceive the relationship between English and Korean vowels in different phonetic contexts. If experienced L2 learners recognize how L2 allophones relate to each other and their phonemic categories, they should be less affected by phonetic context in their perception of this relationship. That is, more experienced L2 learners should perceive L2 vowels as members of the same L1 category regardless of the phonetic context in which L2 vowels occur. This finding may thus demonstrate that more experienced L2 learners ignore non-meaningful context-dependent variants in L2 sounds and perceive L2 sounds as native speakers do.

2.1 Participants

Thirty Korean learners of English, all native speakers of the Seoul dialect of Korean, participated in Experiment 2. Participants were recruited using the same methods described above in Experiment 1. However, they were chosen based upon their amount of L2 experience, defined as length of residence in the U.S. and their age of L2 learning, defined as age at the time of arrival in the U.S. Length of U.S. residence was considered a valid measure of L2 linguistic experience because the participants were all students at a major university and were exposed to and used English on a daily basis (Flege & Liu 2000). Because age of L2 learning is also an important determinant of L2 speech-perception accuracy (Flege, MacKay, & Meador 1999; Mack in press), the groups were also matched for age at the time of L2 learning. Two groups of late L2 learners had been exposed to English in the U.S. as adults yet differed in their amount of English experience. (They had had three and ten years of experience in English, and they are henceforth referred to as the Late+3 and Late+10 groups, respectively.) By contrast, the early L2 learners (henceforth the Early+10 group) had been exposed to English prior to the age of 11 and had been in the U.S. for an average of 11 years — a length of time comparable to the U.S. residence of the Late+10 group. As had the Korean monolinguals in Experiment 1, the three groups of experienced L2 learners estimated their Eng-

lish proficiency on a 10-point rating scale. The Early+10 and Late+10 groups rated their English proficiency similarly, and their ratings were significantly higher than both the Late+3 group and the group of Korean monolinguals, as was revealed in a one-way ANOVA followed by Bonferroni test comparing the participants' self-ratings of English proficiency [$F(3,36) = 119.91, p < .001$] (Table 3).

Table 3.

Means for chronological age (Chron. Age), age of arrival in the U.S. (AOA), length of residence (LOR) in years, and participants self-ratings in English (Rate E.) and Korean (Rate K.). Standard deviations appear in parentheses.

Group	N	Chron. Age	AOA	LOR	Rate E.	Rate K.
K.mono. ²	10	29.3 (2.7)	29.0 (2.7)	0.3 (0.1)	3.4 (0.9)	10.0 (0.0)
Late+3	10	27.3 (3.5)	24.0 (3.7)	3.0 (0.4)	6.0 (0.9)	10.0 (0.0)
Late+10	10	32.1 (2.7)	21.4 (2.8)	9.8 (2.3)	7.6 (1.0)	10.0 (0.0)
Early+10	10	20.3 (1.6)	9.0 (1.2)	11.1 (1.9)	8.5 (1.3)	6.1 (1.5)

2.2 Materials and procedure

Experiment 2 utilized the same materials and procedures as documented above for Experiment 1.

2.3 Data analysis

The participants' mapping and similarity-rating responses were tabulated using the same procedure as in Experiment 1. Both mapping and similarity-rating responses were omitted from the analyses if the participant failed to perform either mapping or similarity rating. This occurred in only a small percentage of the cases for each group (i.e., Late+3: 0.5%, Late+10: 2.0%, Early+10: 0.7%). In the overall analysis, averages for vowel mapping and similarity-rating responses were obtained for the vowels in the words produced by all three speakers in all five phonetic contexts. In subsequent analyses, mapping and similarity-rating responses were tabulated in each phonetic context and were compared within and between the participant groups using one-way ANOVAs followed by Bonferroni tests.

2.4 Results

The three groups of experienced L2 learners overall mapped six of the eight English vowels (/a/, /ʌ/, /i/, /ɪ/, /u/, and /ʊ/) onto their Korean modal response alternatives and judged English /æ/ and /ɛ/ as being similar to both Korean /e/ and /ɛ/, in much the same manner as did the Korean monolinguals in Experiment 1 (Table 4).

Table 4.

Mean percent of times (out of a possible total of 300) each English vowel was mapped onto its two modal (most frequent) Korean vowels (with similarity ratings appearing in parentheses)

Vowel		Group			
English	Korean	K. mono. ³	Late+3	Late+10	Early+10
/i/	→ /i/	95 (6.0)	98 (5.3)	98 (5.7)	100 (5.3)
	→ /y/	5 (5.3)	1 (6.3)	1 (4.3)	
/ɪ/	→ /i/	80 (5.6)	92 (4.7)	82 (4.9)	84 (4.0)
	→ /ɪ/	4 (4.9)	3 (2.8)	3 (2.9)	5 (2.2)
/ɛ/	→ /ɛ/	38 (5.2)	66 (5.2)	60 (5.1)	60 (5.1)
	→ /ɛ/	54 (5.3)	30 (4.8)	35 (5.1)	37 (4.6)
/æ/	→ /ɛ/	45 (5.7)	54 (5.1)	71 (5.3)	86 (4.4)
	→ /e/	37 (5.5)	33 (5.0)	21 (4.9)	11 (3.5)
/u/	→ /u/	85 (5.4)	94 (4.7)	89 (4.9)	95 (4.9)
	→ /ɪ/	13 (4.0)	4 (3.4)	6 (3.4)	4 (3.7)
/ʊ/	→ /u/	71 (5.4)	80 (4.5)	79 (4.5)	69 (4.4)
	→ /ɪ/	16 (4.5)	16 (3.8)	18 (3.8)	27 (4.3)
/ɑ/	→ /ɑ/	78 (5.8)	73 (5.1)	73 (5.5)	85 (4.9)
	→ /ʌ/	17 (5.0)	24 (4.6)	20 (3.9)	15 (4.1)
/ʌ/	→ /ʌ/	73 (5.5)	88 (4.9)	88 (5.1)	93 (5.0)
	→ /ɑ/	21 (5.8)	9 (5.3)	8 (5.1)	4 (3.4)

2.4.1 Effect of phonetic context

Analysis of the experienced L2 learners' patterns of cross-language mapping revealed that — as in Experiment 1 — the context in which the vowels occurred influenced the way in which the experienced learners mapped the English vowels onto their Korean modal (most frequent) response alternatives. A three-way $3 \times 8 \times 5$ (group \times vowel \times context) repeated-measures ANOVA yielded no significant main effect for group but a significant main effect for vowel [$F(7,252) = 109.26$, $p < .001$] and for phonetic context [$F(4,144) = 21.12$, $p < .001$], as well as a significant group \times vowel \times context interaction [$F(84,1008) = 2.86$, $p < .001$]. By contrast, statistical analysis of the participants' similarity ratings revealed that phonetic context did *not* yield significant differences in the participants' ratings of the English vowels and their Korean modal response alternatives. Thus, phonetic context did not influence the way in which the experienced learners rated the similarity between the English vowels and their Korean modal response alternatives.

More detailed analysis of performance within each of the three experienced learner groups was conducted to determine, specifically, how each group mapped the English vowels onto the Korean vowels in each of the five phonetic contexts. Thus, one-way ANOVAs were conducted to determine if, within each group, there were context-based differences in the mapping patterns. Results revealed that there was a significant difference, by vowel context, for six of the eight English vowels (/i/, /ɪ/, /u/, /ʊ/, /ɑ/, and /ʌ/) for the Late+3 group (in each analysis, the obtained p -value was less than .05 and was thus statistically significant), and for four of the

eight English vowels (/ɪ/, /ɑ/, /æ/, and /ɛ/) for the Late+10 group (in each of these analyses, the obtained p-value was less than .01), but not for the Early+10 group. Specifically, those L2 learners who had been exposed to English later in life perceived the relationship between the English and Korean vowels more dissimilarly in three of the five phonetic contexts (/l_C/, /b_d/, and /n_C/) (Table 5). These phonetic contexts included two which violated the phonotactic constraints of Korean (/l_C/ and /b_d/) and one (/n_C/) in which the medial vowel was probably quite strongly 'colored' by the acoustic properties of the word-initial sound — i.e., by the nasal consonant.

Table 5.

Phonetic context effects for each of three native Korean groups.

Group	Context		
	/l_C/	/n_C/	/b_d/
K.mono.	/i/, /ɪ/, /ɑ/, /ʌ/	/ɪ/, /ʊ/, /ʌ/	/u/, /ʊ/
Late+3	/ɪ/, /ɑ/, /ʌ/, /æ/, /ɛ/	/æ/, /ɛ/	/ʊ/
Late+10	/ɪ/, /ɑ/, /æ/, /ɛ/	/æ/, /ɛ/	—
Early+10	—	—	—

Presented in the above table are the three English phonetic (word) contexts which most strongly influenced how the L2 learner groups perceived English vowels. That is, the English vowels listed in each context column are those for which statistically significant effects for a particular phonetic context were obtained. Of special interest is the fact that, for the Late+10 group, relatively few English vowels (and, for the Early+10 group, *no* English vowels) revealed phonetic context effects. What this indicates is that the more experienced L2 learners — those with 10 years of experience in English — were less affected by phonetic context in their mapping of L2 onto L1 sounds than were the less experienced L2 learners. In fact, as can be seen, the (experienced) L2 learners in the Early+10 group perceived all L2 allophones of each of the English vowels in the present study as instantiations of L1 phonemes. Hence, in their perception of L2 vowels, they appeared not to be influenced by context-dependent acoustic differences and they responded to the vowels as native monolingual speakers would be expected to, perceptually 'ignoring' non-meaningful allophonic variations in phonetic instantiations of specific phonemes.

The assertion that the experienced learners were less affected in their perception of the English vowels by phonetic context than were the inexperienced learners gains further support in statistical analyses in which the mapping patterns were compared in each of the five phonetic contexts between the participant groups. In particular, one-way ANOVAs were conducted to determine if, for each English vowel, there were group-based differences in the mapping patterns. Results revealed that there was a significant difference, by group, for seven of the eight English vowels when these vowels occurred in three of the five phonetic contexts (/l_C/, /b_d/, and /n_C/). (In each analysis, the obtained p-value was less than .05). Thus, the L2 learners with more English-language experience, regardless of age at the onset of their exposure to English, were more likely than those

with less English-language experience to map the English vowels onto their Korean modal response alternatives. That is, the more experienced L2 learners perceived the English vowels, at least when they occurred in certain phonetic contexts, as being more similar to the corresponding Korean vowels than did the less experienced L2 learners.

2.5 Discussion

Experiment 2 was designed to test the hypothesis that experienced L2 learners would perceive selected L2 allophones as L1 phonemes. Specifically, it was predicted that the perceived relationship between L1 and L2 sounds, among experienced L2 learners, would not be influenced by the phonetic context in which the L2 sounds occurred.

Results of this experiment largely supported this hypothesis. (As in Experiment 1, these results obtained in the analysis of cross-language mapping, but not in the analysis of similarity ratings, suggesting that similarity ratings may not always reveal context-based differences in L2 learners' perception of the relationship between L1 and L2 sounds.) That is, the more experienced L2 learners tended to map the English vowels /i/, /ɪ/, /u/, /ʊ/, /ɑ/, and /ʌ/ onto their Korean modal response alternatives equally often in all five phonetic contexts. It is important to note that this result obtained for those vowels which the Korean monolinguals in Experiment 1 had perceived as being the most similar to their Korean modal response alternatives. (For example, the Korean monolinguals perceived the English vowel /i/ as being that vowel most similar to the Korean vowel /i/.) Such a finding suggests that a 'perceptual overlap' between L1 and L2 sounds may help L2 learners to ignore non-meaningful context-dependent phonetic variants in L2 sounds and the extent to which such variants can be ignored appears to be, at least in part, a function of amount of experience with the L2.

One exception to the above pattern of results was, however, exemplified by the L2 learners' perception of the English vowels /æ/ and /ɛ/. That is, regardless of their amount of English-language experience, the more experienced L2 learners still mapped the English vowels /æ/ and /ɛ/ onto the Korean vowels in a way that depended upon the phonetic context in which these English vowels occurred (Table 5). Again, it is important to note that this result was observed in those vowels which the Korean monolinguals in Experiment 1 had perceived as being the most dissimilar from Korean vowels. (For example, the Korean monolinguals perceived the English vowels /æ/ and /ɛ/ as being dissimilar from the Korean vowels /ɛ/ and /e/.) Thus, a relatively poor perceptual overlap between L1 and L2 sounds apparently renders more salient the idiosyncrasies of L2 sounds, causing L2 learners to be particularly sensitive to non-meaningful context-dependent phonetic variants in L2 sounds.

Finally, the more experienced L2 learners who were exposed to their L2 as children (i.e., those in the Early+10 group) mapped all English vowels onto their Korean modal response alternatives equally often, regardless of the phonetic context in which they occurred. Thus, the more experienced L2 learners who were

first exposed to their L2 as children perceived the L2 vowels as native speakers do by ignoring non-meaningful context-dependent (allophonic) effects.

3. General discussion

As will be recalled, the present study tested two related hypotheses. The first hypothesis was that, in their perception of L2 vowels, inexperienced L2 learners would be influenced by context-based effects, as reflected in their tendency to map L2 allophones onto L1 phonemes, rather than treating L2 allophones as (mere) non-meaningful phonetic variants. (Another way of stating this is to say that inexperienced L2 learners would be so sensitive to small acoustic differences in the phonetic instantiations of certain L2 sounds that they treat them as members of different sound categories in their L1.) The second hypothesis was that, by contrast, experienced L2 learners would not be strongly influenced by context-based effects in vowel perception, as reflected in their tendency *not* to map L2 allophones onto distinct L1 phonemes (and in this regard, would perform much as do native monolingual speakers who learn to ignore non-meaningful allophonic variants in their formation of native-language sound categories).

Results of Experiments of 1 and 2 provided support for these hypotheses and thus suggest that the perceived relationship between the sounds of the L1 and L2 evolves over time as L2 learning progresses. More specifically, the present study suggests that the L2 learners may reorganize their L1 and L2 phonetic system(s) as L2 speech learning progresses (Best & Strange 1992; Flege 1995) and that those learners who are exposed to their L2 as children rather than as adults may be more successful in carrying out such phonetic reorganization (Mack & Trofimovich 2001). That is, in the present study the more experienced L2 learners, unlike the less experienced L2 learners, and the early L2 learners, unlike the late L2 learners, were less influenced by phonetic context in their perception of L2 sounds and also were more likely to map L2 sounds onto corresponding L1 sounds. This evidence for a reorganization of the L2 learners' L1 and L2 phonetic system(s) obtained for those L2 sounds which were acoustically most unlike the L1 sounds or for those L2 sounds which occurred in the phonetic contexts that violated L1 phonotactic constraints. The perceptual differences between such L2 sounds and the sounds in the L1 apparently have caused the L2 learners to reorganize their L1 and L2 phonetic system(s) (Best & Strange 1992; Flege 1995). Further research could provide important information about the acoustic and articulatory correlates of cross-language differences. It could also determine which perceptual training procedures would be useful in rendering previously imperceptible L2 sound contrasts (such as the oft-cited problems with the /ɹ/-/r/ distinction among Japanese learners of English) more salient to adult L2 learners (McClelland 2001).

Finally, the finding that L2 learners may reorganize their L1 and L2 phonetic systems as their L2 speech learning progresses leads to an important question regarding the nature of such reorganization. For example, L2 learners may establish new categories for L2 sounds (Best & Strange 1992; Flege 1995) or may adjust existing L1 categories to accommodate perceptually similar L2 sounds (MacKay, Flege, Piske, & Schirru 2001). For example, to accurately perceive and produce

the English vowel /i/, which is nonoccurrent in Korean, more experienced native Korean learners of English probably need to establish a new vowel category. By contrast, to accurately perceive and produce the English vowel /i/, such learners may simply need to modify the category for their Korean vowel /i/ since that phoneme is so acoustically similar to the English vowel /i/. The results of the present study favor the latter alternative. That is, because the more experienced L2 learners, in contrast to the less experienced L2 learners, were more likely to map L2 sounds onto corresponding L1 vowels, they may have been modifying existing L1 sound categories to process perceptually similar L2 sounds (Flege 1995; MacKay, Flege, Piske, & Schirru 2001). Overall, therefore, this study suggests that L2 learners likely exploit the perceived similarity between L1 and L2 sounds to accommodate existing L1 categories to process L2 sounds.

In conclusion, the present study examined how inexperienced L2 learners perceive L2 vowels in different phonetic contexts and how L2 experience influences this ability. In particular, the extent to which inexperienced and experienced L2 learners recognize that L2 allophones are (merely) context-dependent variants — as reflected in the way in which they were mapped onto L1 phonemes — was investigated.

Results revealed that L2 learners may indeed process L2 allophones as if they are members of particular L1 phonemic categories as they become increasingly familiar with the sounds of the L2. In so doing, L2 learners appear to exploit cross-language perceptual similarities as they gain familiarity with the L2. This finding underscores the importance of continuing the study of cross-language relationships, just as Uriel Weinreich did so many years ago, and it reveals the continued need for careful cross-language analyses in the development of theories regarding second-language acquisition and the functional organization of two languages in various types of bilinguals.

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NOTES

¹ Overall low cross-language identification frequencies (i.e., the presence of a 'floor' effect) may have concealed how phonetic context influenced the perceived relationship between the English /æ/ and /ɛ/ and the Korean /ɛ/ and /e/. The loss of a phonemic distinction between Korean /ɛ/ and /e/, both of which are frequently perceived and produced as allophones /e/ in many dialects of Korean (Lee & Ramsey 2000; Sohn 1999), may have also obscured how phonetic context influenced the perceived relationship between these English and Korean vowels.

² Demographic data for the group of Korean monolinguals from Experiment 1 have been included in this table for purposes of comparison.

³ Data for the group of Korean monolinguals from Experiment 1 have been included in this and the following table for purposes of comparison.

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AN ANALYSIS OF TV ADVERTISING LANGUAGE ACROSS CULTURES

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The paper investigates Chinese TV advertising language and presents a comparative analysis of advertising strategies between the U.S. and China to demonstrate that the language of advertising is closely culturally oriented and ideologically invested. Contrary to claims made about western advertising language (Rings 1998), the data of four hundred eighty-seven TV commercials show that Chinese advertising language is more of a specialized subset of language, distinct from everyday language. It makes excessive use of rhyming couplets, stock expressions, and references to Chinese culture, which confirms Han's 1991 finding about Chinese newspaper advertising language. Ten linguistic strategies are identified, which include creative use of idioms and proverbs, puns, metaphors, and direct and indirect requests.

Compared with American advertising, Chinese advertisements rarely attack competitors directly by comparing price, effectiveness, or side effects, preferring more subtle and indirect comparisons while avoiding extreme self-indulgent promotion language. American influence Chinese advertising is observed although the mixing of English is still rare. In addition, an examination of the strategies adopted by American companies in China reveals an ongoing nativization process in which American companies employ more Chinese cultural and linguistic elements in their advertising. These features of advertising language reflect a changing society, in which the individualistic consumer ideologies compete with the more collective traditional ideologies in public discourse.

1. Introduction

In recent years, Chinese advertising has been studied along the line of pragmatics, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics, and in comparison to western advertising. Han's 1991 research has noticed persuasion can be achieved through both reasoning and emotion in the language of Chinese newspaper advertisements. He also found stock expressions, couplets, and heavy references to Chinese culture in newspaper ads. His research constitutes a basis for a fuller understanding of the Chinese language in advertising of other media. Short & Hu 1997 compared eighteen British and Chinese TV advertisements and concluded that Chinese advertising is shifting toward the soft-sell approach popular in English-language advertising, which is characterized by a faster changing and more sophisticated presenta-

tion, less linguistic information, and a more rapidly changing nonlinguistic format. Chan 1995 found that the Hong Kong advertisement contains more information about product availability, price, and other related information. Furthermore, cross-linguistic study showed that the phenomenon of mixing with English is near-universal. The role of English in attention-getting slogans, signature lines, and in generating positive psycholinguistic effects in discourse processing is phenomenal (Saville-Troike 1987). Along the line of previous research, the following questions are raised:

- 1) What constitutes the effectiveness of a TV ad in Chinese? What are the linguistic and cultural devices exploited to achieve this goal? What are the discourse strategies that are used in advertising (command, request, indirect request)? What is the creativity involved?
- 2) Does advertising language constitute a specialized use of language, i.e., sufficiently different from everyday language and newspaper and magazine advertising language?
- 3) Is English used in Chinese TV ads? What are the linguistic strategies in Chinese that differ from American advertising? What are the strategies adopted by American companies to enter Chinese market? Has China come to a soft-sale stage?

2. Data collection

For logistical reasons, the advertisements were recorded on a JVC VCR in Tianjin, a northern city near Beijing. The advertisements were recorded randomly over a period of three months from November 2000 to January 2001 on channels including China Central TV 1, 2, 3, 4, and different regional TV channels, such as Jilin, Hunan, Guangdong, Tianjin, Beijing, and so forth. Due to larger audience figures and relatively high concentration of advertising, the recording usually took place in the evenings from 6:30pm to 11pm. In total, four hundred eighty-seven pieces of commercials were taped, transcribed, and analyzed.

3. Linguistic strategies

Linguistic strategies are the most predominate in Chinese TV advertisements. Chinese TV advertisements seldom employ visual effects or create bizarre situations like American commercials. In his study of Chinese newspaper advertisements, Han 1991 found salient topics and commonplace openings of advertising discourse, a combination of literary and vernacular styles, stock vocabulary and prescribed patterns, abundance of rhetorical devices, and block language. This study finds similar results, including the extensive use of rhyming couplets and other prescribed patterns, such as idioms and proverbs. However, different from Han's 1991 research, innovation and creativity are found within the prescribed patterns of rhyming couplets and idioms and proverbs. Therefore, Chinese advertising is not merely simple reproductions of stock language and expressions, vernacular styles, stock vocabulary and prescribed patterns, abundance of rhetorical devices, and block language.

3.1. Rhyming couplets

It was found that 76 out of the 487 advertisements contain rhyming couplets, over 15% of all advertisements examined. The products being advertised range from food and drinks to houseware and cosmetics. The rhyming couplets appear in any part of the commercial and most often they appear as the signature lines or the opening lines. They can also make the entire script for the commercial. The popularity of this strategy has to do with the prestige associated with rhyming patterns in traditional Chinese, but also the effect of rhyming patterns on retaining memory. The semantic relation between the two rhyming couplets is often that of topic and comment, and the rhyming is commonly accidental, i.e., the final character of the second line happens to rhyme with the final character of the first line, which is usually the product name (such as in (2), (4), (7), and (8)), but there is no semantic matching between them. They are not the rhyming couplets in the traditional sense in that each character or word of the first couplet must match the meaning of its counterpart in the second couplet, and the final character in both couplets must rhyme. The examples below — except (3), (6), and (9) — only satisfy the second criterion.

- (1) 大自然的珍赐, 黄土地的珍品延
—— 安苹果
dà zhì rán dè bǎo wù, huáng tǔ dì dè zhēn pǐn yì
Nature's gift, yellow earth's treasure
'Nature's gift, yellow earth's treasure.'
—— Yanan apples'
- (2) 智强三合宜, 全家都喜欢。
—— 三合宜核羹粉
zhì qiáng sān hé yī, quán jiā dōu huān xǐ
Zhiqiang Three Harmony, whole family all happy
'Zhiqiang Three Harmony, the whole family is happy.'
—— Three Harmony'
- (3) 年年庆有余, 岁岁添欢乐
—— 可口可乐
nián nián qìng yǒu yú, suì suì tiān huān lè
year year celebrate extra, year year add joy
'Every year celebrate extra, every year add joy.'
—— Coca-Cola'
- (4) 维维豆奶, 欢乐开怀。
wēi wēi dòu nǎi, huān lè kāi huái
Weiwei soymilk, happy joyous
'Weiwei Soymilk, happy and joyous.'
—— Weiwei Soymilk'

- (5) 非常可乐开, 幸福自然来。
 fēi cháng kě lè kāi, xìng fú zì rán lái
 Feichang Cola open, happiness naturally come
 'Feichang Cola opens, happiness comes naturally.'
 —— Feichang Cola'
- (6) 关键时刻, 表现出色。
 guān jiàn shí kè, biǎo xiàn chū sè
 crucial moment, excellent performance
 'An outstanding performance at a crucial moment.'
 —— 999 Cold Medicine'
- (7) 德国瑞嘉, 一切为家。
 dé guó ruì jiā, yī qiè wèi jiā
 German Ruijia, everything for family
 'German Ruijia, everything for family.'
 —— Ruijia Furniture'
- (8) 生态美洗面奶, 焕发生命光彩
 shēn tài měi xǐ miàn nǎi, huàn fā shēng mìng guāng cǎi
 ecological face wash milk, glow life color
 'Ecological Face-washing Milk, glowing with life's color.'
 —— Ecological'
- (9) 动起来, 更精彩。
 —— 健力宝
 dòng qǐ lái, gèng jīng cǎi
 move (start action), more exciting
 'Movement, excitement.'
 —— Jianlibao'

In the last example in (9), as Jianlibao proposes to be a sports drink, its ad uses only six characters, with the picture of a film star doing all kinds of stunts. The ad is upbeat and eye-catching. The couplets go well with the company image with its economy of expression and emphasis on actions. As shown in the above examples, rhyming is employed for all kinds of products. However, this strategy is more prominent with ads of Chinese liquors. Most of them are not merely simple rhymes, but attempted recreations of traditional verses. There are extensive references to history related to the manufacturer, or the place of production.

- (10) 五千年文明, 三千年历史。
 —— 西凤酒
 wǔ qiān nián wén míng, sān qiān nián lì shǐ
 five thousand year civilization, three thousand year history
 'Five thousand years of civilization, three thousand years of history.'
 —— West Phoenix'

- (11) 细水常流，甘甜回肠。
—— 郎泉酒
xì shuǐ cháng liú, gān tián huí cháng
thin water always run, sweet melodious
'Thin water runs long, sweet and melodious.
—— Langquan'
- (12) 三峡天下壮，美酒稻花香。
sān xiá tiān xià zhuàng, měi jiǔ dào huā xiāng
The Three Gorges the world beautiful, fragrant liquor Daohuaxiang
'The Three Gorges is as beautiful as Daohuaxiang liquor is fragrant.
—— Daohuaxiang'
- (13) 九月九的酒，好运伴你走。
jiǔ yuè jiǔ de jiǔ, hǎo yùn bàn nǐ zǒu
September 9th wine, good luck accompany you go
'(Drink) the wine on September 9th, good luck goes with you.
—— September 9th'
- (14) 共饮欣喜酒，友谊更长久。
gòng yàn xīn xǐ jiǔ, yǒu yì gèng cháng jiǔ
together drink happy wine, friendship more enduring
'Drink together Xinxi (happy) Wine, friendship lasts longer.
—— Xinxi Wine'
- (15) 商战变换，
良机乍现，诚招加盟，
共同发展
—— 五粮液集团
shāng zhàn biàn huàn,
liáng jī zhé xiàn, chéng zhāo jiā míng,
gòng tóng fā zhǎn
business war change,
good opportunities suddenly appear, sincerely invite join,
develop together
'Business war changes;
good opportunity suddenly appears;
Five Grains Wine sincerely invites you to develop together.
—— Five Grains Wine'
- (16) 百年老窖，情系百年。
—— 泸州老窖
bǎi nián lǎo jiǔ, qíng xī bǎi nián
hundred year old wine, feeling tie hundred year
'One Hundred year old wine, feeling lasts a hundred years.
—— Luzhou Laojiao'

- (17) 喝杯青酒，交个朋友。
 —— 陈酿贵州青酒
 hē bēi qīng jiǔ, jiāo gè péng yǒu
 drink cup qing wine, make a friend
 'Drink a cup of Qing wine, make a good friend.
 —— Guizhong Qing Wine'
- (18) 溶汇天地沧桑，
 轮回人间万象，岁月珍藏。
 —— 山西桂花香汾酒集团公司
 róng huà tiān dì cāng shèng,
 lún huí rén jiān wàn xiàng, suì yuè zhēn cháng
 melt heaven earth story,
 turn human world elements, time treasure
 'Melting with story of heaven and earth,
 turning with thousands of elements in human world, time's
 treasure.
 —— Shanxi Guihuaxiang'
- (19) 一代代秘方相传
 六百年老作坊飘香。
 —— 老作坊酒
 yí dài dài miào fāng xiāng chuán,
 liù bǎi nián lǎo zuò fāng piāo xiāng
 one generation generation secret recipe hand down,
 six hundred old cellar flow fragrance
 'With secret recipe handed down from generation to generation,
 for six hundred years Old Cellar Wine flows fragrance.
 —— Old Cellar Wine (Five Grains Corp)'
- (20) 胸怀有草原般宽广，
 韵味有牧歌般悠扬，
 蒙古王酒，来自草原的问候
 xiōng huái yǒu cǎo yuán bān kuān guǎng,
 yīn wèi yǒu mǐn gē bān yōu yáng,
 míng gǔ wáng jiǔ, lái zì cǎo yuán de wèn hòu
 chest have prairie broad,
 rhyme have pastoral song melodious,
 Mongolian King Wine, from prairie *de* greeting
 'As broad as the prairie,
 as melodious as the pastoral song,
 Mongolian King Wine, greeting from the prairie.
 —— Mongolian King'

3.2. Children's rhyme

The rhyming pattern does not only involve couplets, but also children's rhyme. The vocabulary is simpler in this kind of rhyming and the form is not as symmetric as rhyming couplets. Usually these rhymes are for children's products, and are

spoken by children in the advertisements.

- (21) 新年到, 新年好,
傅氏瓜子少不了
xīn nián dào, xīn nián hǎo,
Fù shì guā zǐ shǎo bù liǎo
new year come, new year good,
Fushi Sun Seeds short never
'New Year coming, New Year good,
should not miss Fushi Sun Seeds.
—— Fushi Watermelon Seeds'
- (22) 离子钙, 吸收快,
酸酸甜甜, 我们爱
lí zǐ gài, xī shōu kuài,
suān suān tián tián, wǒ mén ài
Ion Calcium, absorb fast,
sweet sour, we love
'Calcium Ion, easy to absorb,
sweet and sour, we love.
—— Sanjing Calcium'
- (23) 娃哈哈, 娃哈哈,
铁锌钙奶来参加,
小朋友们欢迎它,
AD钙奶加铁锌,
补血补钙真贴心,
早一瓶, 晚一瓶,
让我健康更聪明
wā hā hā, wā hā hā
tiě xīng gài nǎi lái cān jiā
xiǎo péng yǒu mén huān yíng tā
AD gài nǎi jiā tiě xīng
bǔ xuè bǔ gài zhēn tiē xīn
zǎo yì píng, wǎn yì píng
ràng wǒ jiàn kāng gèng chōng míng
Wahaha, Wahaha,
Iron, Zinc, Calcium, come join,
little children welcome it,
AD Calcium milk add iron and zinc,
supplement blood supplement calcium real close,
morning one bottle, evening one bottle,
let me healthy smarter
'Wahaha, Wahaha,
Iron, Zinc, Calcium, come to join
little children welcome it
AD Calcium milk added with iron and zinc
supplement blood and calcium so good

drink one in the morning, one at night
let me be healthy and smarter.

— Wahaha Calcium Milk'

3.3. Pseudo-idioms

The following examples are innovations of four character idioms and phrases. Since most Chinese idioms consist of four characters, these constructions give an outward appearance of an idiom and its sounding effect, but strictly speaking they are phrases of piling adjectives. Rhyming can still be found in this kind of pseudo-idiom, which suggests that rhyming is desired in the Chinese language use in advertisements. Rhyming can be both internal (within the pseudo-idiom) and external (among the pseudo-idioms). Most of the examples below use both rhyming schemes.

- (24) 画面锐利, 色彩艳丽, 厦新
真的好神奇, 卓越科技,
精制生活
DVD,
- huà miàn ruì lì, sè cǎi yàn lì, xià xīn dī wī dī,
zhēn de hǎo shén qí, zhuó yuè kē jì,
jīng zhì shēng huó
- picture sharp, color bright, Amoisonic DVD,
really miraculous, advanced technology,
refined life
- 'sharp picture, beautiful color, Amoisonic DVD,
really miraculous, advanced technology,
refined life.
- Amoisonic TV'
- (25) 保暖保健, 抗风抑菌,
透气保湿, 高弹塑身,
驰名品牌, 潇洒风度。
- bǎo nuǎn bǎo jiàn, dǎng fēng yì jūn,
tòu qì bǎo shī, gāo tán sù shēn,
chí míng pǐn pái, xiāo sǎ fēng dù
- keep warm keep healthy, against wind repress bacteria,
allow air preserve moisture, highly elastic sculpturing,
famous brand, handsome manner
- 'Warm and healthy, against wind and rid of bacteria,
allows air and preserves moisture, highly elastic and sculpturing,
famous brand, handsome manner.
- Shanshan Underwear'
- (26) 金霸王电池, 能力强劲,
耐用持久
- Jīn bà wáng diàn chí, néng lì qiáng jìn,
nài yòng chí jiǔ
- Duracell battery, ability powerful,
enduring lasting

'Duracell battery, high power,
long lasting.
—— Duracell battery'

- (27) 摩托罗拉, 汽车电话,
声控免提, 驾驭咨询,
把握无限。

Mōtuōluōlā, qì chē diàn huà,
shēngkōng miǎn tí, jià shǐ zī xìn,
bǎ wò wú xiàn

Motorola, car phone,
voice-dialing without hand, control consulting,
sureness unlimited

'Motorola, car phone,
voice-dialing, control communication,
unlimited sureness.

—— Motorola'

- (28) 爱立信, T20 爱私语,
生活节奏, 尽在掌握。

àilìxìn, Tī èr shí ài sī yǎn,
shēng huó jié zòu, jìn zài zhǎng wò

Ericsson, T20-Love Private Talk,
life rhythm, all in control

'Ericsson, T20-Love Private Talk,
life's rhythm, all in control.

—— Ericsson'

- (29) 天蟾内衣, 一身温暖。

Tiānchán nèiyī, yì shēn wēn nuǎn

Tianchan underwear, all over the body warmth

'Tianchan underwear, warmth all over the body.

—— Tianchan underwear'

- (30) 亭美保健内衣, 内外兼修,
重塑三围, 美体修形,
一穿就变。

tíng měi bǎojiàn nèiyī, nèiwài jiānxiū,
chóng sī sānwéi, měi tǐ xiū xíng,
yì chuān jiù biàn

Tingmei Health underwear, in out both improve,
re-sculpture three lines, beautify body modify figure,
once wear instant change

'Tingmei Health underwear, improve both in and out,
re-sculpturing three lines, beautify body figure,
results right away.

—— Tingmei Healthy Underwear'

3.4. Creative innovations

This kind of innovation dwells more on the semantics rather than rhyming or shape of the phrase itself. Sometimes, it is a combination of all the different strategies. Some of them sound more like modern Chinese poems such as in (31) and (32). Rhyming is not as important in these two examples.

- (31) 有形世界，无限风光。
 yǒu xíng shì jiè, wú xiàn fēng guāng
 Bounded world, boundless scenery
 'Bounded world, boundless scenery.
 — CCTV'
- (32) 变荒漠为甘泉，变旷野为坦途。
 biàn huàn mò wéi gān quán, biàn kuàng yě wéi píng tǔ
 Change desert to well, change wilderness to smooth road
 'Change desert to well; change wilderness to smooth road.
 — CCTV'

In the following example (33), the advertisers cleverly use well-used idiom or invented a situation that include words that are their brand name (in bold face).

- (33) 澎湃之于生命，灿烂之于天空，
 富饶之于勤奋，
 伟大之于精神，
 开拓创新，发扬 **光大**。
 — 中国光大集团
- péng pāi zhī yú shēng mìng, càn làn zhī yú tiān kōng,
 fú rǎo zhī yú qín fèn,
 wéi dà zhī yú jīng shén,
 kāi tuō chuàng xīn, fā yáng **Guāng dà**
 buoyant for life, brilliant for sky,
 abundance for diligence,
 greatness for spirit,
 China Everbright Bank, explore create, carry forward
 to the bright future
 'As buoyant as life, as brilliant as the sky,
 diligence generates abundance,
 spirit generates greatness,
 China Everbright Bank, exploring and creating, carrying forward
 to the bright future.
 — Everbright Corp.'
- (34) 千岭冰峰寒 ，万里 雪中飞
 — 雪中飞羽绒服
- qiān líng bīng féng hán, wàn lǐ Xuě zhōng fēi
 A thousand ice peaks cold, ten thousand miles snow in fly
 'A thousand peaks cold with ice, ten thousand miles Flying In the
 Snow.
 — Flying In the Snow Dawn Jacket'

Sometimes this also involves innovations of proverbs. In the following three examples, the first part of the sentences are the beginning of a proverb or the entire idiom while the second part is the innovation sometimes contain the brand names (in bold face). They can also be viewed as rhyming couplets. Therefore, they are creative innovations within different layers of forms and conventions.

- (35) 常言道，吃好不如睡好，
睡好要用睡宝。

cháng yán dào, chī hǎo bù rú shuì hǎo,
shuì hǎo yào yòng Shuìbǎo

Old saying goes, eating well not as good as sleeping well,
sleep well, you need to use Shuibao (Sleeping Treasure)

'Old saying goes, eating well is not as good as sleeping well.
To sleep, you need to use Shuibao (Sleeping Treasure).

—— Shuibao mattress'

- (36) 天有不测风云，人会伤风感冒。
——康必得

tiān yǒu bù cè fēng yún, rén huì shāng fēng gǎn mào

heaven have unpredicted cloud, human might catch cold

'Heaven has unpredicted clouds; human might catch a cold.

—— Kangbide'

- (37) 人靠衣装，美靠亮妆。

ren kao yi zhuang, mei kao Liangzhuang

People rely clothes, beauty relies Liangzhang

People rely on good clothes; beauty relies on Liangzhang.

—— Liangzhang Cosmetics

3.5. Metaphors

Extravagant use of metaphors is adopted in the following two ads, (38) and (39), from Maybelline. The major metaphor here is to compare its product with water and crystal, and thus unlimited and undisputed natural beauty. Although the ad featured American young female models, the signature line definitely appeals to a widely accepted Chinese belief. This makes them quite different from the signature line of Maybelline's English TV commercial in the U.S., (40), although the design of visual effects are similar.

- (38) 为什么她笑得那么灿烂？

是水的魅力。

美宝莲水晶唇膏。

笑一个。轻轻一抹，

双唇如水波般晶莹亮泽，

让双唇绽放水般光彩。

美来自内心，美来自美宝莲。

wei shé mò tā xiào dé nà mó càn làn?

shì shuǐ de mèi lì.

Méibǎolián shuǐ jīng chún gāo.

xiào yí ge. qīng qīng yì mō,
 shuāng chún rú shuǐ bō bān jīng yǐn liàng zì,
 ràng shuāng chún zhēn fā shuǐ bān guāng cǎi.
 měi lái zì nèi xīn, měi lái zì Méibǎolián.

Why she smile so bright?

is water's charisma.

Maybelline Crystal lipstick.

Smile one. gently apply.

both lips water-like crystal shinny.

Let both lips bloom water-like color.

beauty come from inner heart, beauty come from Maybelline.

'Why is her smile so bright?

It is the charisma of water.

Maybelline Crystal Lipstick.

Give me a smile. Apply gently,

Both lips will shine like water.

Let both lips bloom with the bright color of water.

Beauty comes from within; beauty comes from Maybelline.

— Maybelline' (Chinese ad)

(39) 晶莹持久，不会留痕，

感觉还特别好，

让你亲密无暇又没有化妆后灯

厚重感，

真想让一切都能这么美妙。

美来自内心，美来自美宝莲。

jīng róng chí jiǔ, bú huì liú hán,

gǎn jué hái tè bié hǎo,

ràng nǐ qīn mì wú xiá yòu méi yǒu huà zhuāng hòu dēng hú zhòng

gǎn.

zhēn xiǎng ràng yī qiè dōu néng zhè me měi miào.

měi lái zì nèi xīn, měi lái zì Méibǎolián.

crystal always, no leave mark,

feel still exceptionally good,

let you close and no makeup after heavy feeling,

really wish everything would be as this miraculous.

beauty come from inner heart, beauty come from Maybelline.

'Always crystal, leaves no mark,

feels so good,

and no cumbersome feeling of makeup after being so close.

How I wish everything in this world would be so miraculous.

Beauty comes from within; beauty comes from Maybelline.

— Maybelline' (Chinese ad)

(40) Maybe she's born with it; maybe it's Maybelline.

— Maybelline (English ad)

Some Chinese cosmetic advertisements use similar strategy, such as in (41) and (42).

- (41) 女人的美丽来自珍珠的魅力。
 —— 亮妆珍珠霜
 nǚ rén de měi lì lái zì zhēn zhū de mèi lì
 woman's beauty comes from pearl charisma
 'The beauty of a woman comes from the beauty of pearls.
 —— Liangzhuang Pearl Lotion'
- (42) 永芳 F3珍珠滋养霜,
 嫩白修饰,
 明 润如霞。
 Yǒng fāng F3 zhēn zhū rùn yǎng shuāng,
 nùn bái xiū shì,
 míng rùn rú xuǎ
 Avon F3 Pearl Nourishing Lotion,
 soften whiten beautify,
 bright moisture like rosy clouds
 'Avon F3 Pearl Nourishing Lotion,
 softens, whitens, and beautifies,
 as bright and moisturous as rosy clouds.
 —— Avon F3 Nourishing Lotion'

3.6. Appeals to reasoning

This strategy challenges widely believed concepts and habitual thinking, or they bring out new concepts with 'scientific' evidence to alter the consumer's conception. Normally by stressing one side of facts, it is hoped that the consumers will forget the other sides of the statement and prompt to buying. Example (43) gives the impression that one can alter his or her age as much as they want. However, in reality it is also true that age is more than just a number and there are a number of physical conditions associated with age and aging that can not be easily altered. In (44) the presumption is that you are already beautiful, you only need to maintain it. Example (45) brings out a so-called 'resilience albumen' that is supported by scientific evidence, which has a supposed effect of perpetuating youthful appearance. Researchers have pointed out the possible misleadingness of advertisements in general (Zhou 1995; Han 1991). Here we see the misleadingness not as a result of blunt lying, but of stressing one side of the truth while omitting others. In other words, the advertisers' tactic is to direct the viewers away from rational and objective thinking.

- (43) 年龄只是个数字。
 —— 维格尔美容套餐
 nián líng zhǐ shì gè shù zì
 age only is a number
 'Age is only a number.
 —— Weigeer Beauty package'

- (44) 美丽也需要维护。
 měi lì yě xū yào wéi hù
 beauty also need care
 'Beauty needs to be cared for, too.
 — Trevi Serve'
- (45) 因为弹性一天天在流走，
 庞士弹性润肤霜
 补充弹性蛋白
 没细纹，有弹性，就是年轻。
 yīn wèi tán xìng yì tiān tiān zài liú zǒu,
 páng shì tán xìng rùn fū shuāng,
 bǔ chōng tán xìng dàn bái,
 méi yǒu xì wén, yǒu tán xìng, jiù shì nián qīng
 Because resilience a day day is flowing away,
 Pond's resilience lotion, compensate resilience,
 no fine wink, more resilience, just young.
 'Because resilience goes away day by day,
 Pond's compensates resilience,
 no fine winks, more resilience, look just young.
 — Pond's'

3.7. Puns

Puns are not the most common strategies used in Chinese advertisement, as they are hard to obtain. A good example is use of pun in advertisement Taitai Extract, a herbal extract made for women. In this ad, a handsome couple are talking intimately in their living room. As *Taitai* means wife in Chinese, the puns here is that *Taitai* can refer to both the brand name of extract and the wife. However, at the discourse level, the first two exchanges 'what are you looking at' and 'looking at your face color' can also be puns. 'Face color' can both mean complexion and the anger on the face. Usually when the husband is looking at other women, the wife will scold, 'what (who) are you looking at?' If the husband is afraid of his wife, he would be 'looking at her face color', which means he has to watch himself not to offend her. The final line from the woman can also be interpreted as 'no other woman is better than your wife'.

- (46) 女: 看什么呢?
 kàn shě me nē?
 look what ni (question marker)
 'Female: What are you looking at?'
- 男: 看你的脸色。
 kàn nǐ de liǎn sè.
 look your complexion
 'Male: Looking at your complexion'

女: 还是太太好吧。

hái shì tāitāi hǎo ba.

still is Taitai (wife) better ba(question marker)

'Female: Still, Taitai (wife) is better, right?'

话外音 : 太太口服液

调整睡眠, 改善肌肤,

有光泽, 十足女人味。

Tàitài kǒu fū yè.

tiáo zhěng shuì mián. gǎi shàn jī fū.

yǒu guāng zé. shí zú nǚ rén wèi

Taitai extract,

adjust sleep, improve skin,

have luster, abundant feminine.

'Voice: Taitai Extract,

adjust sleep, improve skin,

add luster, more feminine.

—— Taitai extract'

In the next example (47), the ad about Shanshan Clothes, several young women are talking among themselves, with a man in nicely cut suits standing in the background. This line can either mean these young women never stop talking about men, or Shanshan suits can tell you a lot of stories about the man wearing them — to the very least, he has good taste. Since there is not an agent in this sentence, the sentence is ambiguous and thus interesting.

(47) 讲不完的男人故事

—— 杉杉服装

jiǎng bù wán de nán rén gù shì

talk never end *de* male story

'The story about men never ends.

—— Shanshan Suits'

3.8. Direct and indirect request

In Chinese most of TV advertisements of medicine are direct requests, with the stock expression, 'please use', or 'please be sure to use'. For example,

(48) 抗病毒, 治感冒, 请认准快克。

—— 海南亚洲制药

kàng bìng dú, zhì gǎn mào, qǐng rèn shǐ kuàiké

Kuaike, fight bacteria, cure cold, please make sure Kuaike

'Kuaike, fight bacteria, cure cold, please make sure (to use) Kuaike.

—— Kuaike'

(49) 反反复复咳喘病,

请用贵龙咳喘宁

—— 贵龙制药广西

fán fán fù fù kè chuǎn bìng,

qǐng yòng guilóng kèchuǎnníng

Cough again and again,
 please use Guilong Kechuanning.
 ‘Cough again and again,
 please use Guilong Kechuanning.
 — Guilong’

There are only a few exceptions. For instance, actress Li Yuanyuan did an advertisement for Fuxin Extract. She uses of the honorific second pronoun *nin* to show polite familiarity between the speaker and audience, which is also effective.

(50) 我推荐补欣口服液,
 我的同事都给孩子喝这个,
 信不信,
 您不妨试试?
 ——哈药六厂

wǒ tuī jiàn bǔ xīn kǒu fū yè,
 wǒ de tóng shì dōu gěi hái zǐ hē zhè gè,
 xìn bú xìn,
 nín bù fáng shì shì?

I recommend Buxin Extract,
 my colleagues all give children drink this.
 Believe not believe,
 you (respect form) might like to try?

‘I recommend Buxin Extract.
 My colleagues all give this to their children to drink.
 Believe it or not,
 maybe you (respect form) would like to give it a try?
 —— Harbin No. 6 Medicine Factory’

3.9. Cultural elements

This strategy creates occasions to utilize referrals to special customs particular to the Chinese culture that is widely practiced. The following (51) is a good example. According to the custom, an apprentice or subordinate should pay a visit to their teachers during Chinese New Year with precious gifts to show their appreciation. This episode features Jiang Kun, a famous cross-talk artist, and Da Shan, his famous Canadian student. Da Shan is dressed in a Chinese costume to suggest that he has ‘adopted’ the Chinese customs. By having Jiang Kun say that he will not accept any gift except Naobaijin, the ad emphasizes the special value of Naobaojin. Jiang Kun’s line is also a rhyming couplet.

(51) 大山 : 师傅, 请受大山一拜
 shīfu, qǐng shòu dà shān yī bài
 master, please accept Danshan one bow
 ‘Da Shan: Master, please accept my respect.’

姜昆 : 今年过节不收礼
 收礼只收脑白金。
 jīng nián guò jié bù shōu lǐ,
 shōu lǐ zhǐ shōu nǎobáijīn

this year festival not accept gift,
 accept gift only accept Naobaijin
 'Jiang Kun: This New Year I won't accept gifts
 unless it is Naobaijin.
 — Naobaijin'

3.10. Emphasis

'I just like it' becomes a common phrase used in advertisements for products geared towards children and teenagers. This breeds a new generation of 'I want', 'me first' in the individual-centered consumer economy. Both of the following ads feature popular teenager icons. The emphasis adverb 就 (in bold face) sounds defensive in asserting one's preference.

- (52) 我 **就是** 喜欢。
 — 腊新果冻
 wǒ jiù shì xǐ huān
 I just like
 'I just like it.
 — Laxin Jello'
- (53) 我只要高兴 **就** 好。
 — 旭日升
 wǒ zhǐ yào gāo xìng jiù hǎo
 I only happy then good
 'As long as I am happy!
 — Xurisheng Ice Tea'

4. Comparison between Chinese and U.S. advertisement strategies

There are several clear distinctions between Chinese and American advertisements, revealing the crucial differences between the two cultural ideologies and practice. First, the Chinese advertisements seldom directly attack a competitor's product or compare with another brand name on certain aspects, which is frequently used in American advertisements especially for products such as cold medicines, pain relievers, and cleaning liquids for kitchen.

In the 487 advertisements collected for this study, there is not a single instance of directly attacking a competitor's product by comparing price, effectiveness, or side effects. However, indirect attacks on the competitor's products are found. For example, the flu medicine Kangtaike produced by the Sino Joint-venture of SmithKline was recently banned in China it contains PPA (phenylpropanolamine), an ingredient that can cause hemorrhagic stroke. Afterwards, there appeared a wave of advertisements of cold and flu medicines that claimed they do not contain PPA.

- (54) 感康, 不含 PPA,
 感冒没了, 心更近了。
 gǎn kāng, bù hán PPA,
 gǎn mào méi le. xīn gèng jìn le

- Gankang, not contain PPA,
cold gone, heart become more close *le*
'Gankang, does not contain PPA.
The cold is gone; the heart becomes closer.
—— Gankang'
- (55) 神奇诺宁 (感冒宁片) 安全有效
不含 PPA。
shén qí nuò níng, (gǎn mào níng piàn) ān quán yǒu xiào,
bù hán PPA
Shenqi Nuoning, safe and effective,
not contain PPA
'Shenqi Nuoning, safe and effective,
does not contain PPA.
—— Shenqi Nuoning'
- (56) 白加黑, 不含 PPA,
治疗感冒, 黑白分明。
bái jiā hēi, bù hán PPA,
zhì liáo gǎn mào, hēi bái fēn míng
White & Black, not contain PPA,
cure cold, white and black
'White & Black doesn't contain PPA,
cures cold, white and black.
—— White & Black'
- (57) 联邦菲迪乐, 不含 PPA,
没有担心, 只有放心
lián bāng fēi dì lè, bù hán PPA,
méi yǒu dān xīn, zhǐ yǒu fāng xīn
Union Fedile, not contain PPA,
no worry, only have relief
'Union Fedile doesn't contain PPA,
no worries, only relief.
—— Union Fedile'
- (58) 雷蒙欣, 不含 PPA。
léi měng xīn, bù hán PPA
Leimengxin, does not contain PPA
'Leimengxin does not contain PPA.
—— Leimengxin'

In all the above instances, none of them mentions directly the company name or the product name of SmithKline. These advertisements make it appear that the target of these Chinese pharmaceutical manufacturers was PPA rather than SmithKline. The message is clear: our products are superior since they do not use PPA. The reason for avoiding direct attacks and overt competition may be two-fold. First, for a lot of products, the market has not developed into the monopoly of a few major brands like in the U.S., which makes direct attacking or compari-

son possible or even necessary. In facing big multinational companies who enjoy a large market share in China, the Chinese companies might be too weak to make face-on attack. The second reason might be rooted in the cultural belief that direct confrontation should be avoided at all expenses. It is considered rude to belittle others and it does not necessarily make oneself look good, while the American advertisers and consumers seem to believe more accurate information and more informed choice come out of comparisons and contrasts.

Similarly, Wahaha, a large food and children's product manufacturer, has produced a children's coke and proclaims it does not contain caffeine, indicating their competitors do. Even so, the ad looks nothing as aggressive and direct as Pepsi's campaign against Coca-Cola on American TV. Frequently, native brand soft drinks appeal to patriotism with phrases like 'China's own coke' against foreign-brand soft drinks, which are perhaps their largest competitors.

- (59) 儿童可乐,
娃哈哈, 不含咖啡因的可乐
我们自己的可乐
ér tóng kě lè,
wāhāhā, bù hán kā fēi yīn de kě lè,
wǒ mén zì jǐ de kě lè
Children's coke,
Wahaha, not contain caffeine coke.
we ourselves' own coke
'Children's coke,
Wahaha, does not contain caffeine,
our own coke.
—— Wahaha'

A third example is a more subtle indirect attack on competitors with its usage of puns. Superficially, (60) reads like from South Pole to North Pole, i.e., all over the world, still Jindao inner-wear is the best. However, North Pole itself is the brand name of a competitor of similar kinds of product (61), for which the famous comedian Zhao Benshan (赵本山) has made a commercial, in which he is captivated by aliens and kept frozen.

- (60) 南极到北极, 还是进道内衣。
nán jí dào běi jí, hái shì jìn dào nèi yī
from South Pole to North Pole, still Jindao Winter-wear is
'From South Pole to North Pole, still Jindao Winter-wear is (the best).
—— Jindao'
- (62) 怕冷就穿北极绒。
—— 北极绒保暖内衣
pà lěng jiù chuān běi jí róng
fear cold then wear North Pole
'If you are afraid of coldness, wear North Pole.
—— North Pole Warm Winter-wear'

In American advertisement of today, we frequently see the warnings of side

effects of certain medicines. Often the listing of side effects takes longer time than the description of benefits and the diseases they cure. While in the U.S., companies are bound by law to cite side effects, there is no such law in China. In the 78 Chinese medicine advertisements in this study, there is not a single instance that mentions a word of any possible side effect of the medicine being advertised.

Secondly, despite the American influence on the Chinese advertisements, most advertisements for general public consumption still avoid extremely self-indulgent slogans, which frequent American TV advertisements, such as:

Treat yourself with...
 You deserve...
 I am worth...
 Imagine yourself with/in...

This shows that the traditional values still have their place in public discourse and people avoid being overtly self-absorbed. Thus it highlights the competition in a changing society between traditional values and consumer values. Lastly, very few Chinese advertisements create and exploit a comical or bizarre situation like in American ads.

5. American Influence on Chinese advertising and use of English

Researchers have noted the influence of English, especially American vernacular English on TV commercials used in France (Martin 1998). However, the use of English is still rare in Chinese TV advertisement. Only 4 out of the 487 advertisements have English elements in them, usually as background music, or subtitles on the screen accompanying the Chinese headline. For example, (63) is a piece of advertisement from Everbright, one of the leading banks in China. The English subtitles in this case show noticeable Chinese language influence in terms of syntax and dictation. In the other three examples, catchy phrases in colloquial English are used. However, these English subtitles and background lyrics are barely noticeable and play a secondary role in constructing of the message being delivered.

(63) As buoyant as life, as brilliant as the sky,
 diligence generates abundance, spirit generates greatness,
 China Everbright Bank, exploring and creating,
 carrying forward to the bright future.

—— Everbright Bank

(64) Don't let it go. (background music)

—— Kodak

(65) Come on baby. Oh.

—— Wangzi CQ candy

(66) This is my life. (background music)

—— Sportlife Non-sugar Chewing Gum

Despite the limited use of English, more and more Chinese products have foreign-sounding brand names. Numerous examples can be drawn from different products,

including medicine and clothing, but not limited to these domains. This seems to be a contradiction to the reality of English usage, i.e., why Chinese products take on foreign sounding names that do not have even the remotest Chinese meanings. This calls for an extended research on the subject itself that may include interviews with product name and brand name designers as well as managers and other decision makers. At this stage, this phenomenon can be viewed as an indirect influence of Western influence on Chinese economy and ideology.

As the use of English is rare in Chinese advertisements, it is hard to pinpoint the American influence on Chinese advertising and to generalize into broader conceptualizations. However, in the example below (67), the American influence (68) is so obvious that it almost verges on copyright infringement.

(67) 今天你有否忆唐?

其实终点就是起点,
让眼光更开阔。

jīn tiān nǐ yǒu fǒu yì tāng?

qí shí zhōng diǎn jiù shì qí diǎn,
ràng yǎn guāng gèng kāi kuò

today you have or not etang?

actually finishing point is the beginning point,
let vision more broaden

'Did you etang today?

Actually the finishing point is also the beginning point,
broaden your horizon.

—— www.etang.com'

(68) Do you yahoo?

—— www.yahoo.com

6. Nativization of American brand names and products

Nativization of foreign products and brand names is an ongoing process, in which the foreign companies pose themselves as a local enterprise through linguistic and extralinguistic devices. These advertisements reaffirm their establishment in the People's Republic of China, and their commitment as the permanent members of the local community. The benefit of such a strategy cannot and should not be measured in increase in sale volumes in the immediate future since they are instrumental to produce a loyal customer base in the long-term future.

For example, one TV ad of Coca-Cola in China in the 1980s pictured a bunch of cheerleaders dashing off the bus and the young man selling Coca-Cola outside a football stadium is beamed. Another ad from the same era presented young people singing in a church, each holding a coke. They were both direct reuse of American advertisements, which may look quite impressive and significant for American TV audience, but they made very little impression on the Chinese audience of at that time because they had little cultural relevance. Gradually, Coca-Cola adds more Chinese elements in the advertising, and this change first appears in language. In the following advertisement, Coca-Cola presented soccer

players in actions and background song in both English and Chinese (69).

- (69) 一起喝, 一起乐, 可口可了 it is.
 yì qǐ hē, yì qǐ lè, kě kǒu kě le it is
 together drink, together laugh, Coca-Cola it is
 'Drink together, laugh together, Coca-Cola it is.
 — Coca-Cola'

In more recent years, Coca-Cola had an ad of an army of Chinese male dancers in traditional clothes in front of a traditional Chinese architecture that looks like Forbidden City, drumming away the Coca-Cola theme song. In the year of 2000, the new Coca-Cola ad features a miniature traditional Chinese yard covered with snow, decorated with red lanterns, red couplets. Two porcelain-doll-like puppets are presented as two little children in traditional clothes, climbing the ladder to put up the New Year's couplets on the front door. They fail and their parents come out with a glass of Coca-Cola. The children drink it, give out satisfying 'ah' sound, and are successful with their endeavor on the second trial. The glass has the logo 'Enjoy Coca-Cola'. The background music echoes the theme tune of Coca-Cola. There are not many words in this ad except children's laughter. And the final line is:

- (70) 年年庆有余,
 岁岁添欢乐。 可口可乐
 (WOMEN'S, KIDS' VOICES)
 nián nián qìng yǒu yú,
 suì suì tiān huān lè. kě kǒu kě lè
 year year celebrate extra,
 age age add joy. Coca-Cola!
 'Every year celebrates extra;
 every year adds joy. Coca-Cola!
 — Coca-Cola'

The use of women's and children's voices is significant from many aspects. First, in the previous ads, Coca-Cola often used male voice, with association of sports and men, martial, and the *yang*. Now by adopting women's and children's voices, it embraces more of the feminine, family, and the *yin*. The association of Coca-Cola with children and Chinese New Year is indeed a clear idea, finely woven into the commercial itself. The couplets are effective in enhancing Chinese cultural atmosphere and it rhymes with the final sound of Coca-Cola in Chinese.

Although different companies have distinct strategies, there is commonality among them. The American advertisers are conscious to bland and erase national boundaries and to pose as an international family. Thus U.S. brands and products are not to be seen as outsiders or intruders, but as prominent members of the Chinese community and a constructive element in the Chinese life. For example, the Crest commercial features people of different colors smiling into the camera.

- (71) 在佳洁士的世界里,
 灿烂的笑容,
 牙齿健康, 笑容绽放
 zài jiā jié shì de shì jiè lǐ.
 càn làn de xiào róng,
 yá chǐ jiàn kāng, xiào róng zhèn fàng
 In the world of Crest,
 bright smiles,
 health teeth, smiles bloom
 'In the world of Crest,
 bright smiles are everywhere.
 Healthy teeth, smiles bloom.
 — Crest'

Children are a primary source of focus and a major target for American commercials. These advertisements are geared towards bringing up a new generation of Chinese young people who know only to drink Coca-Cola and eat out at McDonald. The Kodak commercial features children reviewing their pictures with grandparents. McDonald's strategy does not lie in its advertisement but also in its products. A red-bean pie is unheard of in the United States. However, red bean is a popular type of filling in China. McDonald's strategy has always focuses on introducing its varieties of products to fit Chinese consumers. McDonald's also is eager to establish a world of itself, without national boundaries. The opening of scene of the commercial opens a red door in the middle, the door to 'The World of McDonald's' (麦当劳天地). Inside this world, children are playing happily in a tug-of-war. Use of cliché 鸿运当头 is also a strategy to be nativized. The ending of the commercial again features children in a McDonald's restaurant, bowing 'Happy Chinese New Year'.

- (72) 红豆排, 鸿运当头,
 新年新登场, 只收三元钱,
 更多选择, 更多欢笑。
 hóng dòu pāi, hóng yùn dāng tóu,
 xīn nián xīn dēng chǎng, zhǐ shōu sān yuán qián,
 gèng duō xuǎn zé, gèng duō huān xiào。
 Red-bean pie, good luck on your head,
 New Year new on stage, only accept three dollars,
 more choices, more laughter
 'Red-bean pie, good luck ahead.
 New Year new appearance, only three dollars.
 More choices, more laughter.
 — McDonald's'

Finally, American companies are aware of the Chinese cultural metaphors and the importance of utilizing them. As shown before in examples of Maybelline, the signature line 'beauty comes from within' is more a Chinese or Eastern concept than American. And the appeals to water and other natural objects to symbolize beauty make it more on the par with Chinese advertisements of similar

products rather than American ones.

7. Conclusion

Chinese advertising at present relies heavily on language strategies, such as rhyming couplets, coinage of idioms and proverbs, and other creative efforts, which makes it distinctively different from American advertisements. Reference to history and culture elements is also a common strategy used in Chinese advertisements, especially for Chinese medicine and wine. Few Chinese advertisements create or exploit bizarre situations like in American TV ads or use extremely self-centered phrases for the general public. These features of advertising language reflect and reinforce the changes in society, where the individualistic consumer ideologies are competing with the more collective traditional ideology in the public discourse.

It is found that advertising language is highly culture-oriented, which manifests the underlying socioeconomic ideology. The popularity of certain strategies in a given culture may be a good indicator of the relative effectiveness among them; however, consumer questionnaires may be useful to further attest these assumptions. In addition, the cross-cultural influence of advertising is a bidirectional process. On one hand, the American influences on Chinese advertising in forming a more individualistic consumer ideology cannot be underestimated. On the other hand, American companies also exploit traditional images and values to root themselves in the Chinese market. The present research contributes to understanding of the Chinese language in advertising and advertising theory in general, and can serve as background material for cultural studies, business language education, mass communication, and international marketing.

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REVIEW

Joan Bybee: *Phonology and Language Use.* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics, 94.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Pp. xviii + 238. Price: (cloth) \$59.95, ISBN 0-521-58374-8.

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In this book, author Bybee argues that many aspects of phonological patterning may be understood by investigating the usage patterns of speakers themselves. She especially investigates the effects of token and type frequency on phonological representation and phonological change. For Bybee, linguistic categories and their clumping into larger units emerge as a consequence of patterns' frequency of occurrence and co-occurrence. To illustrate with an example from syntax, speakers' conception of a simple DP emerges from the frequency with which they encounter determiners next to nouns. When elements frequently pattern together, they are likely to emerge as an independent functional unit of language. This emergent approach to categorization and structure places Bybee's ideas in the company of connectionist and exemplar-theoretic models of learning, and indeed, she argues that the organizing principles of phonological knowledge are indistinct from those operating in other domains of learning.

According to Bybee, if sound changes are the result of phonetic processes that apply as a consequence of actual use, then those words that are used more frequently are more likely to undergo phonetic processes such as assimilation, lenition, and elision. She provides many case studies — most from English and Spanish, as well as a detailed discussion of French liaison — illustrating how sound changes may begin with words and phrases of the highest frequency, and then may gradually diffuse through the lexicon. For example, frequent words like *camera* and *every* have lost their medial schwas, whereas less common words with parallel structure retain these schwas: *mammary*, *homily*. While frequent words are more likely to lead the way in certain phonetic reductions and assimilations, they are also more likely to resist morphological leveling processes. For example, high frequency irregular past tense verbs like *kept* have resisted the regularization that may be affecting less frequent past tense forms such as *wept* → *weaped*.

These patterns of change are consistent with Bybee's conception of the lexicon. Not an unordered list consisting of idiosyncratic information, the lexicon for Bybee is fully specified with phonetic detail, and is highly structured, with interconnections among phonetically and semantically parallel structures. The more similar that lexical entries are in terms of their structural properties, then (1) the more likely that the morphological structures of these words will emerge, and (2) the more likely that the words will be subject to the same phonological processes.

For example, repeated exposure to words like *played*, *spilled*, *spoiled*, *banned*, etc., presents listeners with both phonological and morphological information about the past tense marker [d]. Through repeated exposure, the phonetic and semantic properties of the past tense marker emerge, in the form of strengthened associative links across words.

Given that repeated patterns are of many shapes and sizes, the phonological units that emerge may consist of articulatory routines of varying length and complexity. Again, some of the clearest evidence for such proposals comes from patterns of sound change. In Japanese, for example, the single tongue blade gesture in the sequence [ʃi] is argued to historically derive from an [s-i] sequence of gestures, which, due to the frequency of their co-occurrence, gradually merged in terms of tongue position, culminating in the single articulatory gesture in evidence today: the common recurrence of the [si] sequence led to its re-conceptualization — and reactualization — as a unitary articulatory event. This analysis likens assimilations to other well-rehearsed motor routines for which repetition leads to compression. In this case, two gestures have become one, but in other cases, the routinized articulatory units may be more complex.

In addition to 'nature's laboratory' of linguistic diachrony, Bybee often appeals to contrived experimental contexts in search of evidence for a usage-based phonology. For example, speaker knowledge of phonotactic regularities is claimed to be an emergent consequence of frequency of type occurrence, rather than based on abstract categorical criteria for licitness. She cites studies that indeed show that listeners' acceptability of sound sequences that are embedded in nonce forms correlates highly with these sequences' type frequency in real words, and with their overall similarity to real words. Hardly an all-or-nothing determination, acceptability judgments of nonce word well-formedness are gradient, showing that more familiar strings are more acceptable to listeners, and less familiar strings are less acceptable.

At several points in her presentation, Bybee considers structuralist/generative alternatives to her functional usage-based theory. For example, she considers the approaches of Kirchner (1998) and Hayes (1999), who both propose that a formal grammar might actually incorporate phonetically natural tendencies in the form of optimality-theoretic constraints. Bybee sees these researchers' approach as an improvement over the non-phonetically informed formalism of Prince & Smolensky (1993) and Chomsky & Halle (1968), but she correctly points out that much of what is phonetically natural in language is a consequence of diachronic change; there is little empirical motivation to conclude that learners take note of phonetic naturalness while formulating their synchronic grammar. For example, according to Bybee, syllables tend to be open not because of a *CODA constraint, and not because children have access to the phonetic reasons behind their prevalence. Instead, according to Bybee, open syllables are the diachronic result of gestural reduction in this context that gradually affects final consonants, and in some cases eliminates them. While I disagree that coda attrition has its origins in gestural reduction—it more likely originates from the perceptual consequences of releasing a consonant into another consonant, as opposed to releasing it into a vowel — her

appeals to diachrony are empirically well-motivated. Indeed, she may have been better off simply ignoring approaches that have no bearing on the issues that she is investigating. Practitioners of the generative theory focus their attention on formalizing a synchronic grammatical statement, and have rarely expressed an interest in how actual language use might influence changes in structure and representation over time.

This discussion of open syllables is characteristic of another shortcoming of the book. While Bybee correctly suggests that much in phonology can be explained by appeals to phonetic naturalness such as articulatory reductions, she is not very forthcoming regarding the specific phonetic mechanisms involved. For example, in a discussion of the common Spanish $s \rightarrow h$ change in preconsonantal position, she (2001:140ff.) correctly suggests that 'part of the reduction perceived by hearers results from the masking of the alveolar features of /s/ by the following consonant.' All well and good, but she elaborates no further. One of the most compelling aspects of John Ohala's work on explanations for phonological patterning is the rigor with which he pursues his phonetically-based hypotheses. Indeed, Ohala is a kindred spirit of Bybee's, and many arguments here would be stronger if she had considered Ohala's research in more detail, in particular, his hypothesis that listeners, not speakers, are the source of many sound changes.

The lack of rigor in her discussions of phonetic detail is also evident in some of the rather imprecise terminology that Bybee employs. She argues, for example, that items with high token frequency have greater LEXICAL STRENGTH, and so resist ANALOGICAL CHANGE. Such items also have WEAKER CONNECTIONS to related forms, and are less likely to serve as the basis for productive processes. There is much terminology here (emphasized by me), but none of it is carefully defined. Such notions appeal to me on an intuitive level, but unless rigorous definitions are provided, their use might serve to alienate readers who rightfully expect new terminology to be properly defined. The same can be said with regard to the term SIMILARITY. However intuitively appealing a similarity-based approach to categorization might be, Bybee offers no suggestions regarding how similarity might be determined. I suspect she would look askance at overly simplistic approaches such as distinctive feature theory, but she offers no alternative of her own. I would have been satisfied had Bybee simply addressed the problems with the notion of similarity, without necessarily offering a real solution.

These flaws force me to wonder for whom exactly this book is intended. It is far too technical for lay readers, yet lacks the detail that linguists expect from specialist volumes. But even with these criticisms in mind, *Phonology and Language Use* is a very valuable volume, and an enjoyable read as well. By emancipating phonology from the self-imposed intellectual ghettoization it has endured since 1968, Bybee is doing the field a great service.

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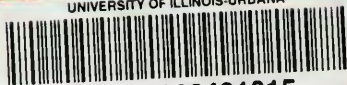
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