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FONDEMENTS DU DIALOGUE CULTUREL

GEOGRAPHICAL – HISTORICAL PATTERNS OF ROMANIAN IDENTITY

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Abstract:

The present study expounds a synthesis of the main cultural models leading to the present-day configuration of Romanian cultural identity. We start from the assumption that cultural identity is a *construct*, an ever-evolving process involving not only objective, externally induced factors, but also elements of willfulness. This perspective of analysis, also adopted by historians and cultural studies specialists, is based on the perception that the geographical location and historical events impinging on Romanian society along the centuries have created a matrix defining some of the present features of Romanian identity.

Key-words:

Cultural identity, Romanian, geographical parameters, historical parameters, cultural models.

1. Preliminary observations

1. Studies regarding Romanian cultural identity have become more substantial and coherent during the fourth and fifth decades of the twentieth century, according to our bibliographical resources. The issue is that, at that time, there were no uniform research methods in this field, but rather a philosophy of national specificity ensuing from the extrapolation of various fields of human knowledge, which were also progressing: sociology, geopolitics, cultural anthropology, culture theory, communication theory. The perspective was often unilateral, focusing on space, time, the human being, collective psychology issues, etc. hence it was not a synthesizing approach. Only at the beginning of the third millennium did papers based on modern approaches emerge – on international models of analysis of cultural variables, such as the two books of Andrei Şerbănescu-Vasilescu,

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the books of Dan Ungureanu and of others who maintain the communicative perspective as being uppermost.

In the following study we intend to synthesize some conclusions bringing into focus *potential features of Romanian cultural identity*, from an integrated perspective involving definitions, basic concepts that we have analyzed in our approach, and, implicitly, the criteria of analysis resulted from these definitions.

We have to point out from the outset that any attempt to synthesize the cultural definition of a community is under the sign of *the relative*, since there can be serious concerns or even counter-arguments against any element considered as defining.

Therefore, modern studies about cultural identity mentioned social "models" and "variables". In our study we shall approach a *model* of defining Romanian cultural identity, more specifically a **possible** *model*, subject to all the variables resulting from the analyzed criteria.

2. Geographical and historical parameters
2.1. Romania's peripheral condition

The Romanian space has always been a *frontier* one, due to its double connection, with the historical axis of all great civilizations, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, with geopolitical constructions[1]. More specifically, it was situated at the frontier opening *toward the Greek world*, thanks to Tomis, Callatis, Histria, citadels located at the western extremity of this world; *toward the Roman Empire*, but also the space of modern Latinity, representing the Oriental pole of (neo)Latinity; toward *the Byzantine, Ottoman, Habsburg, Russian empires (ancient and modern)*; toward the Occident and Orient, in general; and, at present, *toward the European Union*.

The most general consequence of this position was the development and permanent manifestation of the so-called "*islander syndrome*" [2]. We refer to certain aspects of isolation – spatial, historical, functional, and spiritual – with "contradictory and complementary effects":

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[1] Lucian Boia, 2007.
[2] Acc. Lucian Boia, „At the crossroad of civilizations: European models in Romanian culture", in: Libuše Valentová (ed.), 2009, p. 15-18.

a) On the one hand, the perception of insularity as a *closed space*, restricted, autonomous, has lead to the following phenomena that marked Romanian identity:

- The persistence of an ancient, predominantly rural, civilization, due to these circumstances;

- The preservation of some organizational structures, functional traditional methods and mentalities attached to indigenous values;

- The slow, delicate, deformed, often formal perception of models "from the centre", and of foreign models in general.

b) On the other hand, insularity as an *open space* has favoured the following phenomena:

- A great abundance and diversity of ethnic and cultural infusions coming from all cardinal points;

- The development of the power of assimilation and integration of influences that were not only different, but also contrasting, and never before met with in the area. Be it at different times, or in different Romanian regions, either simultaneously or diachronically, temporarily or permanently, partially or totally, Romanians have assimilated and integrated old and new, occidental and oriental influences: Slavonic and Hungarian; Greek and German; French and Russian; Arabic, Korean, Chinese, but also American.

- Nevertheless, the embracement of foreign influences has never meant total assimilation and identification with the foreign model.

We have to admit here the action of some identity features expressed by key-terms such as: complexity, complementariness, permanent/changing dialectics, alterity, synthesis, and especially *paradox*.

2.2. Paradoxes of the geographical – historical parameters
Paradox no. 1: *opening/isolation*

The open character of the *conceptual insularity* of the Romanian territory has allowed the *passing through* or even *the settlement in this area* of a great number of various peoples; in the era of the great migrations – in the third and fourth centuries – the German, Turanian, Hun, Slavonic waves[3] marked the ethno-linguistic structure of the Romanians.

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[3] Gothic, Hunnic, Gepidian, Avar, Slavonic, Pecheneg, Cuman, Tatar peregrines, etc., acc. Constantin C. Giurescu; Dinu C. Giurescu, 1976, pp. 11-27.

On the other hand, this description entails instability, whose direct effect is isolation from the development model of the *settled societies*, especially Occidental, but also Oriental.

Paradox no. 2: uniform/ fragmented

Located in the strongly marked framework formed by the Carpathian Arch, the Danube and Black Sea – the three pillars of our spatial and temporal resistance – the Romanian community has continued in its development, assimilating all that it was imposed on, without changing its Dacian-Roman essence. The anthropomorphic typology and the territorial language configured in this way are the most uniform in the whole world. Isolation, in this case, means an *integrated whole*.

On the other hand, fragments of this territory have always been attached to the great adjacent powers: the Second Bulgarian Empire, the Kingdom of Hungary, the vassalage toward the Habsburg, Ottoman, Russian Empires, etc. The state – as a fundamental element of cultural identity at a certain time – is a late creation in the Romanian space.

Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania are the last states to have been formed and officially recognized in Europe: 1310 – Wallachia, under Basarab I; 1359 – Moldavia, under Bogdan I; 1541 – Transylvania becomes an autonomous state, vassal to the Turkish Empire, under Ioan Sigismund (actually, under Gheorghe Martinuzzi, *locumtenens regius* governor). At that time, Bulgaria and Serbia had already had a state history of some centuries, and Hungary and Poland were already great regional powers.

Paradox no. 3: purity/mixture (homogeneity/heterogeneity)

Along the centuries Romanians declared and defended (with weapon or words, with laws, etc.) their ethno-linguistic and cultural purity[4].

In fact, few peoples accumulated in their being so much disparate ethnic elements:

- The Dacian-Thracian substratum was itself a conglomerate, because Thracians were a world of tribes – as numerous and widely spread on a huge region as they were different. The Romanians are the descendants not of *one,* but *several* of these tribes: we refer to the Geto-Dacians.

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[4] Anti-Semitic, xenophobic laws, in general – in Romania, but also worldwide, even in the so-called civilized countries (France, England). For the situation in Romania, acc. L. Boia, 2011.

- The Romans who conquered Dacia were themselves colonists that came from various regions of the Roman Empire.

The successive waves of migrations – German, Turanian, Slavonic (the 4th-10th centuries), Hun (the 9th-11th centuries), German (the 12th -18th centuries), Turkish (the 14th -18th centuries) – as well as the Jewish, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbian influxes, have contributed to the configuration of the Romanian ethno-cultural profile.

The paradoxical feature of these geographical, historical and ethno-linguistic facts can be demonstrated by the *mutuality test*, meaning that the perspective can change and still the same result obtains: actually, the relative isolation allowed the existence of the Romanian language and people in a "rather marvellous way"[5]. Had they been located in the middle of the spaces of great interest, and not at the frontier, "the Romanians would have been swallowed by the Slavs or Hungarians" [6] (L.B., *loc. cit.*) or by the Turks, Russians, etc.

The etymological structure of the Romanian language faithfully reflects this overlapping of cultural and ethno-linguistic strata, and they must be known as long as *language* is a fundamental element of cultural identity:

Legend:
1. Geto-Dacian substratum
2. Popular Latin base
3. Slavonic superstratum
4.-5. Various adstrata and influences (Greek, Turkish, Hungarian, German, French, Italian, English, etc)

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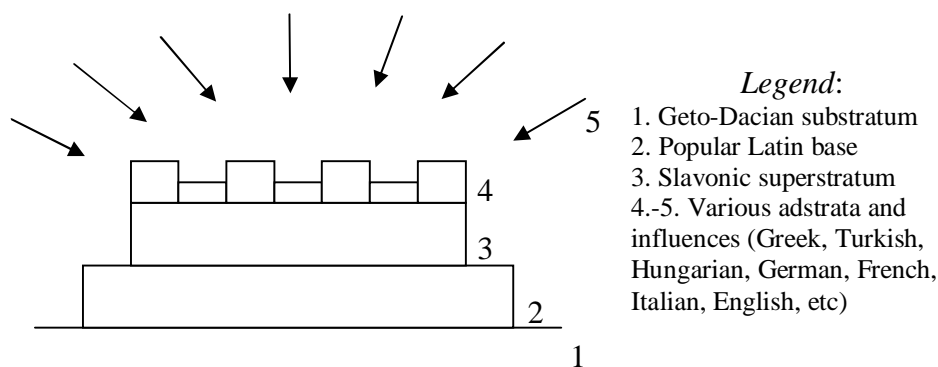
[5] Gh. I. Brătianu, 2010.
[6] L. Boia, 2009, p. 16.

Observations:

1. Romanian is one of the most complex (most "mixed") languages in Europe. It is a good material for general linguistic studies (the performance of language laws and various peculiarities of the language – Crh. Kiparski)

2. It is a Romance language, but one with two contradictory features (not to say paradoxical features): *the most Latinate of the new Romance languages* (meaning that it preserves very well old popular Latin elements, grammatical structures that no longer exist in other similar languages – case inflection, the supine, etc.) but not *a **less** Latinate language among Romance languages,* meaning that various fields of vocabulary (maritime, military, trade civilization language) were not inherited in Romanian, and form the group of 214 Latin words called „*panroman sauf roumain*"[7] in specialized discourses.

3. Romanian is a sequence of "miracles", precisely due to geographical and historical facts (the three so-called "miracles" of the Romanian language).

4. All these influences and this extraordinary openness towards the new did not change its fundamental Latin character; instead, they made it a) richer; b) flexible; c) expressive[8].

2.3. The identity construction according to the models of the geographical-historical context

2.3.0. It is a universally accepted fact that cultural identity does not represent a fixed endowment, but a *construction* composed of various elements in constant movement. The construction process is *spontaneous or educated*. Its development is natural due to geographical-historical circumstances, and, in this case, it reaches in a relatively equal manner all the layers of society; or, conversely, it is oriented by the human will, according to the same parameters, only following the models chosen by opinion leaders (the intellectual elite, schooling at all levels, in literature, the press, etc.) and certain plans of the collective imagination. According to this last area of meaning we can also refer to "learning", to the more or less

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[7] Acc. Ernout-Meillet, DELL; S. Puşcariu, *Etudes…*, p. 33-34; *History of the Romanian language*, vol. II, 1969, pp. 122-128.
[8] S. Puşcariu, *loc. cit.*

institutionalized perception of data regarding cultural identity. We shall return to this aspect presently.

For the moment we shall focus on the models spread from the "centres of influence" toward the periphery represented by Romanian society, given the aforementioned border, islander status of its geographical and historical position across time.

2.3.1. The Slavonic – Byzantine Model

This model was developed in the middle Ages, between 900 (917) and 1600, and is characterized by the direct influences of Byzantium (through Dobruja, part of the empire between years 917 - 1185), but especially by the influences of the southern Slavs, mainly the ones of the Second Bulgarian Empire (the Bulgarian-Wallachian Empire, 1185 - 1391).

The adopted elements, some of which are still present nowadays, can be noticed in the following fields:

- Language elements, especially in the vocabulary (Byzantine-Slavonic terminology from the Greek adstratum of Romanian [9]) – *călugăr, episcop, monah, mănăstire,* etc.

- The introduction of the Slavonic language in the church and then in the state institutions and culture; the Cyrillic alphabet, confirmed in the thirteenth century, has survived in Moldavia and Wallachia until the educational reform of Al. I. Cuza in 1865.

- Architecture – in the design of religious and civil buildings; the Slavonic-Byzantine style, enriched by the particular Romanian traditional elements and details which were grafted on the Greek-Slavonic cultural fundaments – we are particularly referring to the so-called "Brancovenesc style".

2.3.2. The Phanariot – Turkish Model

This model was developed at the beginning of the eighteenth century (1711, when the first Phanariot ruler was instated in Moldavia, and 1716, in Wallachia) until the beginning of the nineteenth century, more precisely until 1821.

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[9] Acc. ILR, p. 366-367, acc. Haralamb Mihăescu, *Greek influences upon Romanian until the fifteenth century*, Bucureşti, E.A., 1966; Gh. Mihăilă, *Southern Slavonic old loan words in Romanian*, Bucureşti, 1961; totally, 278 words from Byzantine Greek, among 22 direct, 254 through Slavonic, 2 through Modern Latin (P.G. Bârlea, 2009, p. 203).

Researchers mention a "certain strong infusion of Ottoman and Greek elements"[10] in the Romanian culture of the time. Actually, the terms of "complexity and complementariness" must be used in the description of this epoch as well, since they activated tendencies of preserving the old identity values – ancient autochthonism, patterns of the previous model, as well as various new tendencies. Once again, the result was a synthesis between nationalism and cosmopolitism. The great aristocratic Romanian families adopt in time the elite culture of Greek origin and even the popular culture of the middle classes from urban environments represented a mixed, Greek-Romanian culture. There are well-known reasons why we talk about the Greek component of this model, even though the political, economic and cultural power centre was Turkish[11], from an institutional point of view.

The model was manifest in the following fields:

- Language – the Phanariot element of the Greek adstratum is one of the most substantial one in the lexical structure of the Romanian language (1225 words – PGB 204), from which, 150 in current Romanian (*alfabet, caligrafie, diată, lefter, pictură, tipografie* etc.); in the contemporary vocabulary there are more than 1%[12].

- Education (among the first princely academies, the first schools of secondary and higher education);

- Culture (translations, manuals, various books; scientific terminology; theatre interpretations);

- Secular and religious constructions;

- Social life [inter-family relationships, socialite circles, etc. – acc. word *protipendadă (aristocracy)*] – without social or economic content, but valid nowadays – "aristocracy".

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[10] L. Boia, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[11] Subordinated to the Ottoman Porte, the Romanian provinces were governed by Greek families, recruited from the aristocracy established in the Phanar quarter from Constantinople/Istanbul, due to religious and political reasons. The Greek Orthodoxy, the cultural authority that these families were bringing with them from the old Hellenistic civilization, the skill of diplomacy, trading ability, etc. were innate aspects that facilitated the infusion of Greek elements into Romanian spirituality; but it was present even before the Ottoman conquest. On the other hand, the principles of the Koran imposed this delegation of duties for the Turkish people (these were not allowed to speak other foreign language or to eat local food, etc.) acc. P. Gh. Bârlea, 2009, p. 205-207.

[12] P. Gh. Bârlea, 2009, p. 201-205.

- Culinary art – *super* + Turkish words – *baklava, ciulama, halva, musaca, sarma; cafea, narghilea, telemea, pilaf, ciorbă, ghiveci*; *ciubuc, bacşiş, duşman etc.*

We have to mention that the Greeks' own openness toward the Occidental models favoured the perception of the next model – the Occidental one – in the Romanian cultural space.

The result of this manifestly complex model, which worked in a complex context, was obviously a *mixtum compositum*, thus characterized by one of the most competent historians of the Romanian identity phenomenon:

"Around 1800, the Romanian landowners had Turkish clothes, spoke Greek as the language of culture and wrote Romanian with Slavonic letters (Cyrillic)"[13].

2.3.3. The First Occidental Model (German - French)

This model was developed after 1821 – the Revolution led by Tudor Vladimirescu marked the end of Romanian feudalism and the beginning of the new modern era in Wallachia – and lasted until the end of the Second World War in 1945.

In the view of various researchers, this model marks a final orientation toward modernity, although – by reference to the active indigenous traditionalism – each of the two previous models represented the acceptance of the new and, in several respects, the acceptance of modernity.

But this time the break from the old is more strongly manifested; sacrifices are greater since they focus on the basic elements of Romanian cultural identity. For example, in the past, the Greek and Slavonic models were accepted based on orthodoxy – the common religion of Romanians – but now the Occident brings along the Christian values in their Catholic, Protestant version, etc. Moreover, the Turkish-Greek-Slavonic elements of the previous models belonged to the Balkans, whose strong cultural influence entered Wallachia due to the intersections of a common history. Now the model came from countries which defined themselves as "the only authentic representatives of Europeanism".

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[13] L. Boia, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

Nevertheless, the Romanian elites adopted the new model quickly and on a massive scale. Over only a few decades, the Romanians' lifestyle, thinking and language changed radically, as well as institutional systems[14] etc. And we have actually enumerated the fields of action of the new cultural model upon Romanian identity. It would be more accurate to say that *everything* was changed in the Romanians' lifestyle, at least in the urban area. As for the rural traditionalism or old reminiscences of every Romanian's thinking or character – these have been perpetuated anyway until nowadays.

Still we presume to enumerate some of the fields of Romanian cultural identity shaped by Occidental patterns during the nineteenth and twentieth century:

- In linguistics, there is a phenomenon of Re-Romanization/ Re-Latinization and modernization of the Romanian language by the massive elimination of the Slavonic, Greek, Turkish, Hungarian elements and the substitution of these elements for the corresponding Latin-Roman terms (from Classical Latin or French, Italian, etc.): *evgenicos/nobil; polcovnic/colonel; polk/regiment; văzduh/aer; diată/testament* etc.

- The vocabulary shows that all other fields were influenced by the Occident, especially by France:

> - Education and science
> - Culture in general, (literature, the visual arts etc.)
> - Architecture, roads and communications organization
> - Public administration and institutions
> - Political organization etc.

Nowadays, the current terminologies in French, German, Italian, are illustrative of this fact.

The French influence was so powerful and massive that it has determined the so-called "third miracle of the Romanian language". This can be generalized to the whole configuration of Romanian cultural identity.

It is enough to mention that:

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[14] In specialized literature, "system" means health, education, justice, administration, internal order, and army.

- The first Romanian bookshops were exclusively French, and the ones that appeared afterwards were directly and largely provided with French books.

- 75% of the translations into Romanian were from French, in that period (less from Italian, German, Hungarian, English, and very few from Russian)[15];

- The first magazines appeared in the Romanian space – *Courrier de Moldavie*, 1840; *Le glaneur moldo-valaque*, 1841 – were published in French and Romanian;

- Theatre performances were in French;

- Schools were organized according to French curricula and the teaching of professors of great influence upon the young generations, as A.I. Vaillant, Frollo, and others;

- Fashion was completely copied from Paris (acc. terms as *modă, fetru, rever/ revers, bluză, şal, fular, mantou*, then *coafură* etc.);

- The Arc de Triomphe is a copy of the French one, and the great boulevards of Bucharest's centre were modelled after Place d'Etoile from Paris (even if they were made by a Russian governor, Pavel Kiseleff, 1831);

- Bucharest was called "little Paris", and Romania "little Belgium";

- The first modern Romanian Constitution of 1866 was an adaptation the Belgian Constitution, although we already had a German prince, Carol I.

- Clothes fashion – Occidental, even Parisian at times; even though in Transylvania modern suits were called "German outfit".

- The Latin alphabet was reintroduced in 1865. The United Romanian Provinces became the only orthodox Latin country and the only orthodox country with a Latin alphabet.

In short, we refer to a *model with a powerful impact* upon Romanian cultural identity, which deserves a separate analysis. For the moment, we shall make the following observations:

a) This model was developed based on the nationalist ideology that differentiated the landowners' parties, which were authentic, autochthonous and native (comprising families of Basarabia, Brâncoveanu, Craiova,

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[15] Cf. P. Gh. Bârlea; R.-M. Bârlea, 2000, *The Romanian vocabulary of French Origin*, Bucureşti: Bibliotheca, pp. 34-42.

Văcărescu, Câmpina) from the parties with foreign composition (Rosetti, Ghiculescu, Sturza, Papadopol);

- The Greeks and Russians "start to be perceived as opponents", as it happened in Transylvania with the Hungarians and Germans.

b) It was imposed, as stated above, in a quickly and forcefully, but not as fast as historians believe[16], and, paradoxically, with the support of those supposed to oppose this model[17].

Therefore, the liberated Greeks and Russians prepared the ground for abandoning the models they offered to Romanian culture, as, in the realm of their own cultures, they favoured a foreign model which was fascinating for them, too.

c) For the first time, we notice *the activation of the willing factor of Romanian identity construction*, signifying *the educated form, guided by the orientation towards a model of construction,* in a process where *imagination* is used more actively than in the previous stages.

For example, Romanian intellectuals initiate a definition of the Romanian people and country as "an island of Latinity in a Slavonic ocean"; France is "the great Latin sister", Rome is "the parental citadel", Italy is "the country of the Latin ancestors", and Europe is the continent we actually belong to.

In other words, for the first time in the history of Romanian identity construction, the ideology of identity is working, an ideology which bonds nationalism to foreign cultures and in which the *Self* identifies with the *Other*.

We shall approach these aspects from another perspective further on.

d) The French/German connection of this model emerges as a relevant fact. A single example: most young people from Moldavia and Muntenia were sent to study in France, from where they brought the Parisian lifestyle. However, while other youths studied in Germany – worthwhile examples being personalities such as Mihail Kogălniceanu, Titu Maiorescu and others, whose contribution was paramount to the

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[16] L. Boia, *loc. cit.*

[17] We have already said that the Greeks themselves organized the first French schools and introduced the first French tutors, the first French books, the first French terms in culture and the Romanian language. During the time of the Organic Statute (1828-1832), The Russians continued this process by adding the civic and architectural organization of Bucharest and Romania in general after the French model.

development of public opinion and Romanian public life, not to mention the Royal House of German origin. There are many *Romanian* researchers who state that if the German sub-model had functioned more powerfully, the Romanians would have had more benefits[18].

Unfortunately, the action of the Occidental general model, French, German, English or Italian, was brutally stopped by the historical events on the international scene – the Second World War and its aftermath, with its political and economic treaties.

2.3.4. The Soviet Model
After the Second World War (23rd August 1944), the fall of Berlin (9th May 1945), the Yalta Treaty (1945), and after the infamous elections of November 1946, a new eastern model was imposed from the outside, "brought on the cannons" as it was said, which lasted until 22nd December 1989, in different forms and at diverse levels.

Romania did not manage to fully accomplish a new occidental identity. According to many prominent researchers, the process would have needed two more generations of Romanians formed by the old occidental model[19], after this model had already created some 2 or 3 generations of high quality – within the high classes and, most importantly, within the middle classes – and after a very traditional rural class had been established in the rural region. Romania had hardly experienced the exercise of democracy and was not able to protect itself from the "red plague" when the fake elections of 1946 took place; in addition, it failed to obtain the support of the Great Powers by way of diplomacy; the monarchy itself was undergoing a crisis and lacked the strength to impose its point of view.

Romanian society had a certain Byzantine, Balkanic, Occidental respect for the Great Powers and Civilizations, but it was not an honest attitude, much less an efficient one.

On the other hand, the new model was programmatically imposed, according to a strategy created at Moscow and experimented on a great number of states, but in Romania it was applied in a very rough and thorough manner. The social and intellectual elites were brutally

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[18] Acc. Lucian Boia, 2010[2], „*Germanophiles". The Romanian intellectual elite in the the First World War years*, Bucureşti: Humanitas.
[19] L. Boia, 2009, p. 17.

neutralized by means of incarceration, assassination and social and professional marginalization.

History itself was mystified and counterfeited. Reforms aimed at altering the key-elements of national identity in a systematic way: the educational reform of 1946; the linguistic reform (the one that imposed the writing of *mînă, romîn(ă),* instead of *mână, român(ă)* etc.) were aimed at the denationalization and the loss of the people's consciousness of affiliation to its historical, geographical space and Latin spirit, which, in fact, represented the Occident.

- In architecture there appeared huge buildings of the Stalinist type, such as Casa Scânteii[20]. At that time the working class housing estates were established, with their drab apartment buildings, completely devoid of personality and comfort, as the ones we can still see nowadays.

- In social life, phenomena with extremely serious consequences occurred. The elimination of the landed peasantry, by the enforced imposed collectivization of village lands, brought about the destruction of the rural foundation of the country, affecting the two defining fundaments of Romanian rural civilization – the economic and spiritual aspects – and the underlying principle preserving tradition.

- The entire social stratification of the country became unnatural. Theoretically, uppermost was "the working class in alliance with the working peasantry and the intellectual group", meaning that all Romanian socialist society, as it was described in the official formula of those times, represented the concept of "popular democracy". In fact, the peasantry and the intellectual elite were marginalized until they were almost eliminated. The working class had an equally hard life, even though, officially, it represented "society's foundation". Actually, it was out of this class – and less from the other two classes – that a communist aristocracy emerged, which enjoyed all the privileges of the new organization, according to the

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[20] On the one hand, we have to mention that such massive buildings, with a heavy air, can be found in all capitals of former communist states – in Sofia, Kishinev, Eastern Berlin, and especially in Moscow (see the Academy's building, etc.). On the other hand, such "Pharaoh" buildings, without the suitable artistic taste are typical to the dictatorial societies. In Hitler's time there were projected and built similar buildings.

age-old patterns of any human society[21]. The enforced industrialization engendered a mixture between village and city mentalities and behaviours with negative consequences upon both entities.

- There was a total control that the new power exercised over subordinated compartments at all levels. The state's control upon the entire economy (industry, agriculture, transport, finance, banks, etc.) created the *centralized economy*, with devastating effects upon production and implicitly upon the standard of living, as is the case with any deviation of the laws of free market economy.

- Regarding the spiritual component, it was warped – from the outside, but also with complicit tools from the inside – through a campaign of denigration of the national values, aimed at promoting the values brought by the great Eastern brother. The phenomenon lasted, in a first sub-stage, from 1945 to 1955, and came to be known in Romanian culture, especially in literature, as the "Obsessive decade". Subsequently *new Romanian identity tendencies*, started to emerge, especially after the death of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1965) and the ascension of Nicolae Ceauşescu: the overvaluation of the Thracian-Dacian Protochronism; the extolling of folkloric values (badly processed and didactically assimilated); national isolation and socialist cosmopolitanism (the return to a raw nationalism) etc.

2.3.5. The Current Occidental Model or the European Integration

The model sought after in the wake of 22nd of December 1989, which is still under way at present, is also called "the second occidental model".

The analysis is difficult to operate because the model is still in full swing.

Obviously, there is a reorientation toward an already known model, partially taken from a previous historical epoch (1821-1945), though readapted with significant changes.

The new model was advanced due to an historical international event of great relevance – the fall of communism, a determining, life-changing phenomenon affecting the global geopolitics. This time the ideological component has, *more than ever*, accompanied the concrete, historical facts. It brought about the *organized action of the educated*

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[21] The formulas of the written and unwritten literature describe very well this fact: „*In communism all individuals are equal but some of them are more equal than others*"; „*All individuals have access to all goods, but through their certified representatives*" etc.

version of the identity construct, with *the total development of the collective imagination*. And this is because the integrating structure, the European Union, as well as the Euro-Atlantic Partnership, is itself under construction, in a different context – a global one.

As any other historically determined model, its development was rather a matter of form over content. We have occidental institutions – a Parliament, a constitution, systems of public service (education, health, army, police, culture), but real democracy has yet to be instantiated; we have a free economy, but not a healthy economic system; we have laws but they are deficiently applied; we have corruption, officially acknowledged, but very few corrupt people that have been proven as corrupt, etc.

For now, in the course of our generation, we are re-enacting and traversing, once more, as we did at many other times in our history, the drama of forms without substance, which is a symptom of our peripheral condition, of a borderline society.

3. Conclusions

1. All these models function by virtue of the mechanism of the "*eternal identity paradox*" (not only Romanian, but general), which represents only the old/new, tradition/innovation, stability/change dialectic. In the development of Romanian cultural identity, this dialectic evinced a perfect *balance between traditionalism and adaptability.*

The Romanians have wonderfully succeeded in preserving, across the millennia, rituals, myths, art forms, as well as ancestral socio-economic forms of organization linked to their pagan, pre-Christian, pre-Latin past, while experiencing and assimilating, at the same time, the most diverse progressive and modernizing influences.

- This dualism is clearly reflected in the great differences between village and city life, not only at a concrete, material level, but also at the level of the imaginary, of ideas and mentalities. Unfortunately, the village has remained isolated, archaic, even elemental, anchored in its traditions – as changed or extinct they might be – up to this day. When we say "unfortunately", we think of the absence of community services, of everyday life civilization (surgery, school, sewage, running water, roads, transportation, etc.). Meanwhile, the city has continued to develop, more or less, in keeping with the standards of urban civilization.

- The village has always been considered the space of ethnical purity, the keeper of tradition, while the city has embraced "alien", cosmopolitan forms. And this is the truth: in Transylvania, the Hungarian ethnics, the Transylvanian Saxons and Székelys have mainly settled in urban environments[22], while in the Old Kingdom (Wallachia and Moldavia), the same is true in the case of Greeks, Turks, Jews and Russians, etc. This fact is assumed and extended, says L. Boia[23], in the imagination. The literary works of some entire literary movements, such as Semănătorism, Poporanism, promoted the image of the peasant's modesty and meekness, in contrast with the adulterated mentality of city-dwellers[24]. The national essence ideology was built on the same opposition: "the peasant is the only authorized exponent of Romanian-ism", while the city-dweller has become Europeanized to the extreme – see Lucian Blaga's *Spaţiul Mioritic*; see how the author's expressions were adopted by the entire population: "*eternity was born in the countryside*", the "*hill-valley alternation*" as a juxtaposition of space and spirit etc.; see the orthodox rural ideology of Nechifor Crainic, etc. As people say today, there are still "two Romanias" (actually even more Romanias).

2. The *development of Romanian cultural identity* has constantly been associated with the phenomenon of "*forms without content*".

- Many researchers understand this fact as a streak of Romanian collective mentality, which would validate the equation Romanian = superficial. In fact, things are rather different.

a) First of all, *any* expression of *acculturation*, in any *society*, at *any level*, under *any circumstances*, goes through the following two stages that refer to the universals of the human being: the forms are created first, then the content. Therefore we conclude that everything is a matter of *time*. Every such process traverses these two stages, which require quite a long time for the forms to be implemented.

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[22] Nevertheless, there were entire villages inhabited by ethnic groups, such as Gărâna, Brebu, Şuşneviţa etc., in Caraş-Severin County, as well as many mixed, multiethnic villages, where Romanians represented only one ethnic group.

[23] *Op. cit.*, extended in the book *Two centuries of national mythology*, Bucureşti: Humanitas, 2011[3].

[24] Most significant are the novels of Sandu Aldea or the poems of G. Coşbuc.

b) The orientation toward one model or another has been decided under the pressure of some significant historical events, which always marked the transition to a new stage before Romanian cultural identity had had the necessary time to fully assimilate (sometimes not even partially) the fundamental values, meaning the essential content of the previous stage.

For example, the "no. 1 occidental model" operated for a little over one century – an extremely short time for a population. And still, many things changed and many things were created, starting with the modern national state, after occidental system of thought and ideas.

The famous description of the Romanian civilization of the nineteenth century was made by Titu Maiorescu[25] in Romania's first century of Westernization, whose deep-running effects are still present nowadays – that is after two decades have passed since the beginning of the second period of Westernization. The official framework has already been adjusted to the new cultural model during these last two decades. As we were saying, we already have the institutions, the laws, the free press, the free economy, public services and systems, a modern Western political and administrative organization. The education and will for the development of these engines of construction of the new collective identity are hard to form, so they need *time* to evolve. And neither is it absolutely certain that just about everything coming from the West is also automatically valuable.

What has happened at present in the entire world should teach us how to be more attentive to the selection of models, since we have become aware that they are functioning…

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[25] The theory of forms without substance formulated by T. Maiorescu in his article *„Against today's orientation of the Romanian culture",* published in 1868, in the magazine *Convorbiri Literare*, Iaşi:

„Apparently, according to the statistics of forms from abroad, the Romanians own today the entire occidental civilization. We have politics and science, journals and academies, schools and literature, museums, conservatories, theaters, and even a constitution. But in fact, all these are dead products, pretence without fundament, ghosts without body, illusion without truth".

The historian L. Boia, whom we referred to in this study regarding the models of Romanian identity construction, states that T. Maiorescu's verdict is "partially unfair, partially true". A system of civilization was changed for another and it was only normal that the substance should sift and settle more slowly than the adopted forms.

Officially, we are legally integrated in the Euro-Atlantic structures. But given our geographical location, economic and institutional delay, the differences in spiritual and cultural development, the absence of democratic experience – worn-out, imposed on by an agitated, quirky history, for the moment we find ourselves in our eternal situation: that of a *border culture*. We have practically reached the point where we started from, at another level of the historical spiral. We are still isolated in our insularity – with the restrictions and openings that define this situation.

The additional element that we have now, at the beginning of the third millennium, is the scientific knowledge of the mechanisms of identity construction. This can help us in being ourselves, despite all the historical pressures and geographical parameters.

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Rezumat:

Modele geografico-istorice al identităţii culturale româneşti
Studiul de faţă îşi propune să prezinte o sinteză a principalelor modele culturale care au condus la actuala configuraţie a identităţii culturale româneşti. Pornim de la premisa că identitatea culturală este un *construct*, un proces aflat în permanentă evoluţie, cu elemente obiective, date de factori externi, dar şi cu elemente volitive. Perspectiva de analiză propusă, de altfel, de către istorici şi de diverşi specialişti în domeniul studiilor culturale, se bazează pe constatarea că poziţionarea geografică şi evenimentele istorice care au marcat comunitatea românească de-a lungul secolelor au creat o matrice care explică multe dintre trăsăturile identitare actuale ale românilor.

Cuvinte-cheie:
Identitate culturală, românesc, parametric geografici şi istorici, modele culturale.

THE LINGUISTIC INTEGRATION
IN EUROPEAN UNION

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Abstract:
Since its beginnings, the history of western thought has considered language and politics as a definition what it is to be human. This article will focus on the main problems of linguistic policies in Albania, the present problems and the future developments in the framework of integration into the EU.

Linguistic identity is largely a political matter. As a result, either its background or its language itself gives the main characteristic of a nation. Nowadays, discussion revolves round the issue of a unique, global language. English has the role of the main language spoken all around the world.
Key words:
Linguistic identity, communication, loyalty, nationalism, linguistic rule.

Introduction

The study of language and politics is aimed at understanding the role of linguistic communication in the working of social units, and how this system shapes language itself. Since its beginnings, the history of western thought has considered language and politics as a definition of what it is to be human. Aristotle's *Politics* describes man as being a political animal by nature. He shows that what actually separates the man from the beast is the articulation of a language signified by convention. The fact that the word "politics" derives from the Greek "*polis*", i.e. city, is highly significant. The city as an organized social unit depends on linguistic communication for its functioning, and urban life places functional demands on language, which are substantially different from those of a

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sparsely populated rural setting. Country folk rely on land for their living, city folk on one another. Politics is the art, and language the medium, whereby they position themselves to get what they need, and beyond that, what they want.

Language is the principal means through which we conduct our social lives[26]. When it is used in contexts of communication, it interacts with culture in multiple and complex ways. The words that people utter refer to common experiences. They express facts, ideas, or events that are communicable because they refer to a stock of knowledge about the world that other people share. Words also reflect their author's attitudes and beliefs, their points of view, which are at the same time those of others. In both cases, language expresses cultural relativity.

As already mentioned above, language expresses culture, tradition, the custom of one nation but, more importantly, the language represents the identity, the origin of that nation, the idea of nationalism. The quest for identity is bound up with nationalism, cultural distinctiveness and language rights (including the rights of minorities)[27]. The use of a language as a maker of identity is what leads to the search for a national language, a regional language and the revival of languages associated with ethnic minorities within a larger multilingual community.

The challenges of linguistic integration

The European Union is a unique model of integration among European national states. It is reflected in various fields such as economy, culture, politics, law etc. The integration into the EU constitutes an advantage for Albanian society. The challenges of integration into the EU in the field of economy and politics are the same for all the countries. In every country of the European Union, the principles of economy are the same and provide the same outcomes. The same situation occurs in politics even during elections.

Does the integration in the EU effect any changes in language and culture?

Culture and language are two facts which cannot easily adapt themselves to new conditions. Every nation has its own language, its own

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[26] C. Kramsch, 1998, *Language and culture*, Oxford University Press, p. 3.
[27] P. Sterkennburg, 2004, *Linguistics Today – Facing a Greater Challenge*, The Netherlands: John Benjamin Publishing, p. 69

customs and culture, and these are facts that cannot be adapted with ease. While various countries reflect almost the same economic conditions, they preserve particular features of language and culture. Furthermore, each country is characterized by a variety of cultures, old customs and traditions which encapsulate the core of a nation and, of all these, language is the key to the identity of a nation. The nation is determined by its language. Language is what distinguishes nations from one another.

European countries are moving toward a society without borders. From the economic and political point of view, all European countries are nearly the same, but from the cultural and linguistic point of view the difference is evident. How are national and international languages going to interact in this new communication atmosphere? Will the old traditions and the national languages remain the same? What is going to happen with language contact? What kind of innovation will the integration into the EU bring about in Albania in the field of linguistics? Globalization is a main topic of discussion. English has acquired a new and heightened global status in world communication.

Elsewhere in Europe, English is learned as a foreign language in many countries, such as Germany and Finland and, of late, more increasingly in the former Soviet societies at the East[28]. The state of affairs mirrors its advancement everywhere else in the world.

The European Union has 27 Member States and 23 official languages. On entering the EU, each member state stipulates which language or languages will be declared official languages of the EU. So the Union uses the languages chosen by its citizens' own national governments; not a single language, but even a few languages, which may not be understood by other people in the Union. The languages of the EU, given the Union's policies of encouraging language learning and linguistic diversity, by way of a review of language skills in the Union today, are adapted to the rules of use of the EU's own official languages.

The EU views the use of its citizens' languages as one of the factors which make this institution more transparent, more legitimate and more efficient. At the level of culture and the enhancement of life standards, the EU works actively to promote wider knowledge and the use of all its

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[28] R. Hartman, 1996, *English Language in Europe*, Wiltshire: Cromwell Press, p.11.

official languages throughout the Union. It has recognized the importance of its special language policy at the highest level.

One of the principle avis of well-being among the EU member states is the recognition of the diversity of cultures, customs and beliefs. This includes languages as well, due to linguistic diversity. The official languages of EU countries alone represent three language families: Indo-European, Finno-Ugric and Semitic. And, in comparison with other continents, these are relatively few. Linguistic diversity is an evident phenomenon, because of the increased frequency of global intercourse among people. They increasingly face situations where they have to speak languages other than their own, occasioned by student exchange programs, migration or business projects in Europe's ever more integrated market, tourism and globalization.

Article 22 of the European Union's charter of fundamental rights, adopted in 2000, requires the EU to respect linguistic diversity, and Article 21 prohibits discrimination based on language. Together with the respect for individuals, tolerance for other cultures and the right to linguistic diversity is what constitutes the core of EU values. This principle applies not only to the 23 official EU languages, but also to the many regional and minority languages spoken by segments of their population. It is this that makes the EU what it is – not a "melting pot" that reduces difference, but a place where diversity can be celebrated as an asset.

According to the Treaty of Lisbon, signed by the Heads of State or Government of all the EU Member States in December 2007, the EU shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced.

Albania and Kosovo are two countries which make use of the same language and they have many common cultural features. Which are the main problems of the linguistic policies in Albania? What are the present problems and what is likely to happen in the future? As we said before, linguistic identity is also a political matter. Therefore, what mainly characterizes a nation is its linguistic background or the language itself. A nation cannot really define its identity without its language.

Albanian is spoken in the actual Republic of Albania, in Kosovo and other regions of ex-Yugoslavia, in northern Greece, as well as by numerous emigrants in Europe, the USA, etc[29].

What is the situation in Albania? What is going to happen with Albanian customs and the Albanian language? How is the Albanian language to be considered in relation to other languages? What is the function of the rule of language in Albania and Kosovo?

English is a powerful language in Albania, and, as a result, many people learn it because it is an international language and it is an advantage to use it. Albania is going to be part of the EU. The integration of the Republic of Albania will progress through some stages.

Over the past two or three decades, English has come to occupy a singular position among languages. Previously only one among several dominant European languages, it is today a *world language*, the language people use whenever they wish to communicate with others outside their own linguistic community. English has become *the lingua franca* of the global network. English is the "protocol" for oral and written communication across national frontiers.

Linguistic homogenization is not only a consequence of global imperial domination; the process of nation-building has also contributed to this. Quite frequently, the creation of nation states has involved the adoption of a single national language, whereupon education and cultural expression in other dialects and languages within the national frontiers have ceased. Not infrequently, the use of subordinate languages and dialects has been forbidden or has been subject to political sanctions. In a similar fashion, different dialects of the designated national language occupy different positions in a rank order, where one dialect is the prescribed norm. Thus, globalization and the predominance of English at the expense of other languages is nothing new. It is rather a question of a radicalization and acceleration of a centuries-old trend, in which local varieties of language die out, and more universal varieties survive.

Globalization refers to real changes that are important to human society. The process of globalization does not imply a homogenous process characterized by universality[30].

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[29] Sh. Demiraj, 2000, *Gjuhësi ballkanike*, Tiranë: SHBLU, p. 61.

The spread of English, the replacement of national languages with English in certain spheres in modern society, as well as the bilingualism of a more or less educated part of society can lead to similar consequences. The English spoken in different countries will differ under the inevitable influence of national languages and along with British and American English there will appear such varieties of English as Russian English or Chinese English. The process will not go as far as it went in the Middle Ages, since it will be smoothed by the Internet and other modern means of communication. But there cannot be any doubt that there will appear a unified and simplified variety of English, an International English. Sooner or later, "Global English" will probably be adopted by all nationalities in order to communicate with and to be understood by the rest of the world. Thus English can be the first victim of Globalization. And what may happen to national languages? Being exiled from different spheres of science and business, they will have to concentrate on cultural spheres. In the situation of forced or voluntary bilingualism, the less prestigious language eventually develops and flourishes in culture.

Today's world is often said to be characterized by globalization. The process of globalization is leading to even more changes in the world's language situation, but what exactly does globalization mean and what are its implications for language?

Globalization is a relatively new word. It only started to be used in the 1960's. The word "globalization" is seen and heard almost everywhere; in everyday conversation, in the media and in academic discourse. Furthermore, almost all areas of life have been touched by globalization in some way. Globalization refers to the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation-states (and by implication their societies) which make up the modern world system. It defines a process through which events, decisions and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe. Nowadays, goods, capital, people, knowledge, images, communications, crime, culture, pollutants, drugs, fashions, and beliefs all readily flow across territorial boundaries. Transnational networks, social movements and relationships are extensive

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[30] J. Ervin, and Z. Smith, 2008, *Globalization,* USA: Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, p.1.

in virtually all areas of human activity, from the academic to the sexual. Moreover, the existence of global systems of trade, finance, and production binds together in very complicated ways the fate of households, communities and nations across the globe.

Global English is a feature of linguistic globalization and the local policies of global English can tell us a lot about globalization[31]. A brief look at pertinent areas of life shows examples of globalization. The political aspects of globalization include international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU) and the multitude of international laws and agreements on the environment, human rights and trade. Cultural aspects of globalization include the flow of images, ideas, symbols and people around the world.

Globalization brings innovation in every society. What are the innovations which globalization will bring to Albania? What is going to happen with the old Albanian customs and the language of Albanian society? Are the Albanian people going to preserve their old traditions and customs in order to represent their nation? Or will globalization bring about innovation and, with it, the forgetting of the old culture? Is language going toward globalization, too?

The English language is supposed to be an obligatory foreign language in Albania. Starting with higher education; before going to university, pupils have to take an exam in English, besides those in Albanian Language and Literature and Mathematics. The English exam is an obligatory one for access to higher education. Furthermore, the students who get a master's degree at Tirana University have to pass the English exam at the University of Tirana. Recently, there was another decision of the Government of Albania that all the students who want to pursue a master program at Tirana University have to pass the TOEFL-test, or before they start a master program at any university in Albania.

With regard to the linguistic laws in Albania and the European Union, they should be considered within the framework of the linguistic laws of International Law and European Union Law. Respect for cultural, religious and linguistic diversity is based on the provisions of article 6 of the EU constitution on the observance of the principles of freedom and

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[31]S. Sonntag, 2003, *The Local Politics of Global English*, USA: Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data, p. 119.

democracy, human rights and of States governed by the rule of law within the Union. In that sense, respect for diversity is essential in giving any minority access to the fundamental rights. Article 22 is also based on the provisions of article 151 EC on the community's action in the field of culture. Paragraphs 1 and 4 of article 151 EC provide that the Community, in the context of its actions, respects and ensures the promotion of the diversity of its different cultures. This guarantee applies to the respect and support for European cultural or regional minorities. At the frontier of the two articles of these treaties, article 22 of the Charter should guarantee the respect for all cultural, religious or linguistic minorities within the Union.

There are few Conventions on cultural, religious or linguistic diversity. The Council of Europe is, nevertheless, active in this area but the European Charter on Regional or Minority Languages of 5 November 1992 was ratified only by Austria, Belgium, France, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and Portugal. As for the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, it was ratified only by eight of the fifteen member states of the Union (Austria, Belgium, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg and Portugal).

Article 27 (the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) of the United Nations of 16 December 1966)**:** In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.

According to this, (Communication COM: 2003, 449):

„*The peoples of Europe are building a single Union out of many diverse nations, communities, cultures and language groups; it is a Union built around the equal interchange of ideas and traditions and founded upon the mutual acceptance of peoples with different histories but a common future. Within a very short time, the European Union will undergo its most significant enlargement to date. The new Union will be home to 450 million Europeans from diverse ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. It will be more important than ever that citizens have the skills necessary to understand and communicate with their neighbors. In short, the ability to understand and communicate in other languages is a basic skill for all European citizens. Language skills are unevenly spread*

across countries and social groups. The range of foreign languages spoken by Europeans is narrow, being limited mainly to English, French, German, and Spanish. Learning one lingua franca alone is not enough. Every European citizen should have meaningful communicative competence in at least two other languages in addition to his or her mother tongue. This is an ambitious goal, but the progress already made by several Member States shows that it is perfectly attainable."

The European Union commits a high level of resources to the promotion of the linguistic diversity which is part of its identity, and to encouraging language learning, which is indispensable to the proper functioning of its policies. Let's move on to Article twenty-second of the EU's charter of fundamental rights:

Article 22: Cultural, religious and linguistic diversity**.** The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.

As mentioned above, in Article 22 of the European Union charter, the unique issue of respecting culture, language and religion is important and uniquely safeguarded in the European Union. The integration in the European Union includes the official language of every nationality.

In 2006, Albania signed a Stabilization and Association Agreement with the EU. Theoretically, this is the first step towards membership in the EU. For the country, it was the corollary of 16 years of – sometimes rocky – transition to democracy. Under this agreement, Albania is obliged to improve its treatment of ethnic minorities – in order to bring it into line with EU-wide standards.

Prior to this, the country had already undertaken some important reforms. In 1993, a charter of rights passed by the Albanian legislature ensures for the 'individuals belonging to minorities full protection and equality before the law and it makes provision for education in their mother tongue.' In addition, the Albanian Constitution guarantees the rights of recognized national minorities, including the right to study and be taught in their mother tongue. Correspondingly, there is some provision of schools and classes for the Greek and Macedonian national minorities, where education in the minority language is available, to varying degrees. However, other minorities do not fare so well. There is a lack of education in and of minority languages for the Aromanian/Vlach and the Roma minorities.

The Greek minority participates politically through a number of national parties. For example, the Human Rights Union Party theoretically represents all of Albania's minorities, yet in practice predominantly the Greek minority. In the 2001 elections it received 2.6 % of the vote and three members of parliament. At the last elections, in July 2005, it won two seats in parliament. Other minorities, in particular Roma and Egyptians, appear to be outside the system. The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance, in its third report on Albania in December 2004, expressed its concern over 'the lack of effective participation of persons belonging to some minority groups in the country's decision-making processes at the national as well as local levels.' It said that a lack of statistical information made it impossible to assess the extent of the problem, but highlighted the marginalization of the Roma and the Egyptians in particular, saying that numbers of Egyptians and Roma in state institutions seem particularly low, with those few persons that are employed in the public sector for the most part filling positions such as cleaning and maintenance.

From this point of view, one question arises: which are the problems of cultural integration in Albania? Is it necessary to change the old tradition, the national language and culture?

It is clear that the Albanians as a nation are not going to change their old tradition, customs and language. These issues are part of Albanian life and are going to remain the same as a sign of Albanian nationalism and history. Albania is going to be integrated into the European Union with the values of modernity, not with the values of seniority.

What are the challenges that Albanian, as an official language, and English, as an international language will have to face?

It is true that in Albania, most of the population considers English as an international language but this doesn't mean abandoning the national language, Albanian. There is another fact which is worth mentioning; there are so many borrowed words (Anglicism or other foreign words) which are used in the Albanian language instead of Albanian words. Albanian society is going to integrate itself in the European Union with its own linguistic identity, its tradition and customs. It cannot be denied that many people made a lot of effort to protect the Albanian language and even to defend it by a law. In 1974, the journalists at the radio and TV stations were forced to respect the norms of orthography and spelling set by the Congress of

Orthography (which decided the standard of Albanian language as the official one) in 1972. Also, the journalists were forced to purge the Albanian language of unnecessary borrowings. At the end of the '70s and the beginning of the '80s began a campaign for the purism of the Albanian language. After the '90s, the situation changed completely. The changes in society were reflected even in the language. Albanian society had lived through the informational isolation of communism for a long time. Under the new circumstances, the language of the media changed. The journalists in the radio and television tried to prove their professionalism by using borrowings and foreign words supposed to show "their ability and professional culture". This phenomenon extended to every newspaper, Radio and TV station, spoken or written language use.

At the same time, another phenomenon emerged in Albania concerning the official Albanian language. The fact that the standardization of the Albanian language is based on one of the dialects of Albanian (the Tosk dialect) causes much conflict between scholars. Some of them describe this norm as being enforced by the communist system. The influence of the media plays an important role in Albanian society. TV broadcasts fill 70% of the people's free time, and politics occupies an important part of the programs. Dialectal and foreign language structures are characteristic of the politicians' speech, due to their incapacity of arguing their ideas and of offering alternative choices. As a result, the language becomes impracticable. As De Mauro emphasizes, "It is very difficult only to write and it is very easy to write. Just a little is needed to understand each other"[32]

The scholar Shefkije Islamaj admits to the fact that the information media have a negative impact in the digestion and use of the official language[33]. This phenomenon has largely influenced the Albanian media in the Republic of Albania, as well as out abroad.

Conclusion

The possibilities of improving the linguistic performance of the media can and must be found in the linguistic policies of the state. In the civilized world, every country follows its linguistic policies, which are even

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[32] T. De Mauro, 2006, *Dukuri të shqipes bashkëkohore,* Tiranë: Excipere, p. 31.

[33] Sh. Islamaj, 2003, *Vëzhgime rreth shqipes standarde në mjetet e informimit në Kosovë*, Tiranë: Shqipja standarde dhe shoqëria shqiptare sot, pp. 311-325

part of the cultural trend of that country. The Constitution and its laws clearly define the official language and the government abides to it. The decision of the Prime Minister in 1973 influenced the role of language in society. It took into account the fact that new laws and rules are to be issued by the government, whose duty is to defend the national language and regulate its appropriate use within society[34].

An important role must be played by the academic world. Albanian linguists and scholars have to bring their contribution to the area of linguistics. They have to set the trend of opinion in the institutional and national politics concerning the language. School and the educational system in general have to fulfill their mission in the linguistic education of the population. Particularly important to stress is the utter need of professionalism among journalists, who have to abide to the norms of the official language of their nation, even as part of the globalization process.

This will bring new possibilities for perfecting the normative system of use of the national language, which defines the linguistic identity of both individuals and nations in a world where the speed of change is measured in hours and minutes. This will keep the identity of the national language safe from winds of change blowing continuously in our fast developing world.

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Rezumat:

Integrarea lingvistică în Uniunea europeană
Studiul de faţă prezintă o sinteză a principaleor modele culturale ce au condus la actuala configurţie a identităţii culturale româneşti. Pornim de la premisa că identitatea culturală este un *construct*, un continuu proces evolutiv ce implică nu numai factori obiectivi, induşi din exterior, ci şi factori subiectivi, cu precădere elemente volitive. Această perspectivă de analiză, adoptată şi de istorici şi specialiştii în studii culturale, se bazează pe percepţia că situarea geografică şi evenimentele istorice care au influenţat societatea românească de-a lungul secolelor au creat o matrice definitorie pentru unele din caracteristicile prezente ale identităţii româneşti.

Cuvinte cheie:
Identitate culturală, românesc, parametri geografici, parametri istorici, modele culturale.

IN SEARCH OF SOMETHING NEW. CHRONICLES OF DUTCH MOBILITIES IN ARGENTINA BETWEEN 1880 AND 1914

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Abstract:

Religion played a pivotal role in configuring the mixture between migrant delivering and receiving countries a couple of centuries back, although today the mobility is based on secular values. The present essay explores the life of Dutch migrants in Argentina, their expectations and reason to leave their homes behind. The religious compatibility between the Protestant and Catholic matrix was more than important in selecting or discarding Argentina as a first destination. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the point of gravity between delivering and receiving countries was determined by religion. The Korstanje life story is one among the thousands of Dutch migrants, which reflects the conditions of selective migratory flows which founded Argentina. Unlike modern mobile groups, many of the migrants were driven by cultural compatibilities and religious affiliation. The material imbalances that triggered their displacement to unknown lands were not solved once they arrived. In Argentina many of them were circumscribed to work without satisfying their basic needs.

Key Words:

Dutch migration, Argentina, mobilities, religion, Korstanje.

Introduction

From my childhood I remember some problems with spelling my last name during my elementary education. Obviously, this name does not seem to be very common on this side of the Atlantic. My father was acquainted with the roots of his ancestors, but had no further details about the antecedents of Dutch immigration to Argentina, neither under what conditions the arrivals of the first Korstanje in the country occurred. To some extent, at a moment in my life when I worked as a travel agent, I was surprised to discover that this name typically comes from a province in Holland known as Zealand. From that day onwards, I became profoundly

concerned with and keenly interested in delving into the history of Dutch migration. Understanding the Korstanje biographies is a way of expanding knowledge about Dutch migratory flows. Unlike the experimental method in a lab, where the state of the hypothesis can be easily verified and validated, history should recur to a black box where the conditions and reasons of an event remains covered. There is either a bridge or a gap between what happens in the past and what people remember. To fill this gap, I started my research in order for me to gain further knowledge not only about my heritage but also about Dutch immigration in Argentina. Self ethnography is an experimental and valid method to understand social issues. My case being similar to that of many other Dutch migrants, the outcomes of my search promptly received considerable support and aroused interest from many Dutch migrant descendants who had no access to their family history. This posed some questions that guided the present research, such as: How many Dutch migrants arrived in America? How many were received in Argentina? Why this destination and not others?

From 1846 to 1932, valid dataset sources reveal that 224,000 migrants left the Netherlands on a quest for better opportunities in the United States and South America. This number can seem small when compared to the 18,020,000 British and the 10,092,000 Italians. Basically, from the entire volume of migration, the United States received 32,000,000 migrants, while Argentina only 6.405.000. To some extent, the material conditions of production seemed to be a key factor in generating a reasonable gravity between the new and old world[35]. To a certain extent, the United States monopolized almost 60% of international migration. From the whole number of Dutch migrants, 60.74% travelled to the United States, 16.82% arrived in Asia, 14% in Canada, 4.67% in South-Africa and scarcely 3.73% (representing 8.000 persons) were headed for South America (Swierenga, 1998).

Within this context, we come across some methodological limitations, since part of the historical files at Direccion Nacional de Migraciones (organism that regulates the migration to Argentina were destroyed during the last dictatorships 1976-1982. To reconstruct the traces of Dutch Migration, some alternative resources were employed instead.

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[35] Source: Carr-Saunders in AM World Population, Oxford University Press,1936, p. 49.

Furthermore, our lack of fluency in Dutch raised difficulty in the accessing of the existing literature as well as in reading the correspondence between migrants, a method often adopted by researchers whenever interviewees are no longer living. These limitations were solved by combining diverse methodologies, some of them innovative, meant to reconstruct with certain accuracy the way in which Dutch immigration evolved during 1880 and 1914. In order to resolve this scarcity of documentary resources, we resorted to the employment of self-ethnography or life-history as methods that help unearth covert or not recorded information. Due to the testimonies of descendants of the Korstanje family and other Dutch families as well, we obtained valid data sets from which to infer that this type of mobility was primarily determined by religious attachment, and, secondly, by language considerations or cultural similarities between industrial countries and their periphery. E. Stone says that everybody caries under their skin their family biography in the form of stories, which, to some extent, determines our own biography in this world (Mumby, 1993).

Preliminary debate

Migration as a phenomenon depends on the gap between pour and rich countries, which reflects the problems that capital generates among classes. Foreigners are channelled into the supply of informal workforce that drives the economy, but at the same time they are relegated as a secondary working class. This means that migration is actuated by economic reasons but this is not the sole motivation. Apart from this, nation-states were created by the introduction, to a major or minor degree, of specific migration policies. However, the growing level of unemployment capitalism has experienced in the last decades made migration a taboo, mostly associated to xenophobia and racism. There are many negative effects associated with migration (Marmora, 2004; Rose, 1969; Domenach and Picouet, 1995; Maguid, 1995).

Migration requires ethnic/cultural encounters and intercultural learning, but it also generates an added value for the hosting countries, in terms of technological innovation or intercultural exchange, as new ideas are adopted by both newcomers and residents. In a globalized economy, surely, the economy depends on the configuration of the global labour market; the social mobility among workers is higher. However, the

concentration of capital does not necessarily entail forced migration or mobility. According to the logic of production, unskilled workers choose to start over in an exemplary centre, and this involves cultural and symbolic reasons (Marmora, 2004). What is important to remember today is that the material imbalance created by capitalism has generated an extreme tendency of workforce mobility (Day and Mc Manus, 1994). Migration almost always engenders social issues and the problems of concern among the local residents become are capitalized upon by politics and political messages. One of the most troubling aspects in the psychology of residents seems to be the question as to why the economic problems surfaced in other countries should be absorbed by industrial nations. This discourse nourishes a sentiment of rejection towards aliens (Enzesberger, 1992) to the extent of denying the principle of hospitality. In truth, the forced migratory flows at the beginning of the 20th century were programmed and guided by the states, while postmodern flows are more likely to originate in disorganized economies. Senkman (1945) considers that the fear of migration starts the moment one of the groups faces cultural change.

Culturally speaking, states have developed in the last years diverse mechanisms to encourage and discourage mobility. Hospitality, as a social institution, would be an instrument of erecting walls for aliens. One of the scholars who devoted considerable attention to hospitality, work and migration was J. Derrida (2006). He argued that foreigners shake the rein of dogmatism regarding who they are and the world they live in. Derrida considers as guests those who come accompanied by a different language and culture from that of the host community. A difference like this not only reminds us of our own prejudices but also re-elaborates a new sense for our societal institutions. Hospitality is offered, or not offered, to a foreigner and his personal properties. In the same context, we understand the world from the questioning of knowledge and experience that others bring to us. The stranger splits our world into two parts. It is often assumed that our identity is born in the heart our family, city or nation; however, for Derrida, this is not possible, since our identity is formed by the conception of "others." In this way, only outsiders know, see, and ask for an explanation about our customs and habits beyond the limits of ethnocentrism. If we look down on others who look different from us, then we also despise ourselves.

Migration can be compared with such a questioning. Certainly, Derrida suggests that the question is conceptually linked to the foreigner. Like the foreigner, the question may (or not) be hosted; on some occasions the question would be welcomed but under another situation may be rejected. In this way, we may show hospitality before a question. But does it make sense to enquire when the host does not allow it in the first place? The foreigner is forced to adopt another tongue which is not the one he usually speaks or writes. The host's translation is part of his very own abode and, according to Derrida, it is precisely the point where the possibility of hospitality takes place. In the succeeding pages of the book, Derrida treats the notion of hospitality within the context of the rights of the foreigner. If we wish to think for an instant about the power of the name, once more, we will find a paradox, since hospitality does not apply to a foreigner without a name, patrimony, or family. To be more exact, anonymity lies excluded from hospitality because nobody offers lodging to a person who is not recognized, at least not by name. Following the same point of view, Derrida affirms that this is the strict difference between foreigners and others. It remains to be seen whether migration and tourism fall under the same category.

The rights of the foreigner are within hospitality itself. If a foreigner arrives in a country, he is immediately subjected to the host's laws, even if they are unknown to him. Each foreigner is constructed on the basis of the host country's "ethos." Based on Hegel's explanation, the Right is determined by the family, the bourgeois society, and the State; these limits create a liaison between hospitality and hostility. In a first instance, hospitality means a certain protection, whereas hostility refers to the violence directed to *xenos* (those who do not belong to our group). On the other hand, the problem lies indeed in the communication among different actors and the role of the State in that interaction. In a hotel or in a shopping complex, for instance, a guest and host may interact in private but when a crime is involved, the police takes over the scene by interrogating the actors or by tapping phone lines; under these circumstances, hospitality momentarily disappears. Privacy and hospitality are ruled by some structures like the State, Law, Justice or Police. Following Kant, Derrida sustains: "How to distinguish a guest from a parasite? Principally, the difference is in *strictu sensu* but for that it is necessary to respect the law."

If we analyze this matter from a Kantian perspective, we must also admit that morality is constituted internally in relation to the ego, and therefore the police are legitimated to investigate us even in psychological terms. Derrida clarifies this issue by arguing that hospitality is due to "the Right", which is always conditional. For instance, a guest may be very well accommodated under the principle of hospitality even when he remains as a foreigner but he is obliged to respect the laws of the locale where he is currently lodging. If not, the reciprocity between the guest and the host will be "breached." Apart from this point, Derrida affirms that "the relationship with a foreigner is ruled by the right, for being the right part of justice."

How do we fully understand Derrida when he claims that "there is no hospitality? Moreover, how do we interpret his concept of justice? If the right lies within us, then we may reckon justice according to our own views. If such is the case, why does Derrida claim that there is no such thing as hospitality? On the one hand, the sense of hospitality invites us to break the rules by marking powers, limits and authorities while, on the other hand, the other transgresses these laws. It does not mean that the foreigner should be jailed and considered a criminal unless the unconditional hospitality contradicts the foundation of his own reception. In other words, hospitality works paradoxically in two different senses: one by affirming social order through the law, and, by not subjecting the law to common citizens, it transgresses the notion of universal citizenship. Lastly, Derrida decides to tackle hospitality from the standpoint of the philosophy of language. The author maintains that there are two senses of speaking: a *strict* and a *wide* one. If we think of our tongue in a wide sense, Derrida says an Israeli intellectual bourgeois has to do with me more than a French policeman. In this case, the language does nothing to do with the nation.

Otherwise, if we apply the strict sense (conditional hospitality), an Israeli bourgeois will be more apt for an occasional meeting to Derrida than a French worker. Not only does this example help Derrida in explaining how hospitality may be applied, but it also delineates the different classifications that come from such an application. But this looks as the surface expression of a much more deeply-seated issue; in fact, a the comparison between a hospital and a hotel synthesizes both types of hospitalities. Whereas at hospitals patients (strangers) are usually seen without any restrictions with regard to patrimony or origin, at hotels

consumers or guests are welcomed within a time-frame wherein they should vouch for their stay by their patrimony (conditional hospitality). Another example that explains the difference between unconditional and conditional hospitality is the Nation State's treatment of migrants and tourists, respectively. In the case of migrants, they are subject to strict and arbitrary laws being sometimes jailed and deported when the demands of the host state are not met. While tourists are encouraged to stay and enjoy them, but this is not to say that they are not subject to some laws; in this case, the status of the host country matters (e.g. First World or Third World). Throughout the globe, Nation States promote the return of tourists for its economic benefits.

Europe and Holland

The history of Holland may be described by recourse to the homology of life and death. The history of this country encompasses rise, stagnation and decline. Some historians have convincingly argued that the history of immigration in the 19th and 20th centuries show the advance of industrialism. It is important to note that the hegemony of Holland set the pace for the advance of Great Britain, after the legal disputes between two opposite doctrines, "mare clausum" (covert sea), and "mare liberum" (overt sea). Given the previous background, England encouraged the idea of opening the doors to commerce and the liberty to create factories, while Holland developed a more restrictive and conservative policy. Although Holland colonized many points during 1630 to 1700, soon after the civil war, their commercial hegemony starts to experience some important problems (List, 1979). If the Methuen covenant obliged Holland to cede its colonies before England, internally the decline of economic prosperity led to civil wars between the detractors and proponents of William III. These internal disputes obliged Holland to accept the loans of external powers such as Russia and France. Years of fighting and disorder caused Holland's independence to be finally ended by its indexation by Bonaparte's Empire after the French revolution. With the passing of years, Holland experienced a gradual fall, descending from being an international power to the status of a dominated nation. J. B. Duroselle (1991) explains that from 1830 a new civil war will resurface between Catholics and Protestants.

Undoubtedly, Gellner adds, the problem of international migration between the 19th and 20th centuries depended on the dichotomy *imperialism / slavery* simply because these movements have not entailed only genuine displacement, but the need to consider the others in view of conquest and dominance. The real reasons of colonialism remain questioned by scholarship. For some scholars, it was triggered by economic factors which drove countries to colonize and make trade with new peoples. This economic exploitation allowed the expansion of capital beyond European boundaries. Marxist and neo-Marxist intellectuals adopted this stance, considering that colonialism paved the way for the advent of capitalism (Duroselle, 1991). Others prefer to indicate that this phenomenon was the result of the prestige and status these nations gained by indexing new lands. The idea of a centre in opposition to the periphery was not economic but cultural. Beyond this debate, the truth remains that thousands of Europeans were pauperized by industrialism, being forced to abandon their homes in quest of better fortune and luck. The 19th and 20th centuries witnessed mass-migration as a result of three combined aspects: a) the poverty of rural areas and peasants who were obliged to migrate to the cities and work in factories, b) the conquest of America, which encouraged the belief in exploration and adventure, c) the structural need of European nations for expanding their markets abroad. Besides, the demographic imbalances produced by the previous prosperity of the 18th century, followed by the wars caused by religious intolerance, caused thousands of Hollanders (just as many other ethnicities too) to leave their home for other countries. The old monarchies rested on shaky foundations and did not provide solutions to the social problems people experienced. The advent of nation states was not only troublesome but also traumatic for peasants and thousands of migrants.

The Dutch Migration

Dutch migration is very complex to define. It is important to focus on the reasons that made thousands of farmers abandon their homes. The diverse kinds of material deprivation led to the discontent in farmers and peasant in pour province as Friesland or Frisian. Some agrarian countries such as the United States, Argentina, Canada and India, which saturated the European market with their grains, were paradoxically transformed in fertile destinations for an obliterated workforce. G. Oberman (1993) points out that the crisis in farms, emerging from 1877 to 1891 as a result of the needs

of industrialization, induced movement and mobility among peasants. Many of them went to the greatest cities, while others to other peripheral countries. It is important here that the national context in Argentina was a fertile reason in receiving these unemployed workers. After Pavon's battle, three presidencies played a pivotal role in the configuration of Argentina as a nation: B. Mitre (1862-1868). D. F Sarmiento (1868-1874) and N. Avellaneda (1874-1880).

One of the proponents of national unity, Mitre argued that after years of conflicts and dispute, Argentina should be imagined as an all-encompassing reality based on a shared constitution under the rule of law. This project called for a re-organization of local resources, implanting the European ideals of progress and fraternity (Winter and Rins, 1997). This process demanded not only selective migration policies that preferred Anglo-Saxon workers to Mediterranean ones, but also needed a specific and accurate design that facilitated a new perspective on the nation. European workers coming from industrial countries such as Holland, England or Germany were better than Italians or Spaniards for the needs of Argentine aristocracy (Ramella Susana). This triggers a hot debate between J. B Alberdi and D. Sarmiento. The former wanted to install the European legacy because it would bring the industrial single-mindedness necessary for reorienting the old post-Hispanic feudal structures. In other words, Alberdi thought that European supremacy was not cultural but material. They had access to new forms of production after the industrial revolution, while other countries were certainly excluded from the resulting benefits. On the contrary, for Sarmiento advancement was rooted in the cultural supremacy of the Norse Spirit (Halperin Donghi and Di Tella, 1969; Korn 1977:130). Civilization, according to Argentine aristocracy, was to depend on how many Englanders may migrate and settle in the country. Great Britain and France embodied the ideal of civilization and education. From many perspectives, Norse migrants chose to settle in the United States because of a deeper ethnic affinity than Argentina did not provide. Following the previous argument, in 1871 the fist migration office in Antwerp, Belgium is opened by the Argentine government. This will create a mass-movement to Argentina not only of Belgians but also Dutch people, from 1880 to 1910 (Swierenga R, 1998). This migration was certainly accompanied by the issuance of a legal structure that received and

reorganized geographically the induction of these workers to the lands (Gaignard R, 1989). Most certainly, General J. A. Rocca, as Security Minister, organized a military expedition to push aborigines beyond the boundaries of Rio Colorado. This campaign, known as the "Campaña del Desierto", exterminated the aborigines, thus facilitating the access of investors to taking possession of these colonized lands. More than 15,000 hectares were given to a few aristocratic families who had financed the Government in the past (Ferns, 1968; Chiaramonte; Luna, 1990; Gainard, 1989).The new landowners monopolized for centuries the destiny of government, its interests and international policies. Even for European migrants, the access to these hectares was restricted. Thousand of migrants were obliged to work as subordinated to the already settled landowners (Giberti, 1986). The problem with the State's goals was that Norse migrants ultimately chose to travel to the United States, while only Spaniard and Italians arrived in Argentina. In spite of the thorough planning to captivate Englanders, Argentina received other ethnicities. This poses two interesting questions: What can be said about the international migrant flows that selected Argentina as a primary option? What were the reasons to select one destination over antoher?

Dutch Migration in figures

Based on to the Migration direction records, we have successfully reconstructed a part of the traces of Dutch migration from 1880 to 1910, though only of those arrivals computed from Darsena Norte port. Other sources of information were destroyed during the dictatorship 1976/82. Therefore, this dataset is compared and contrasted to bibliographical testimonies extracted from books or papers and from the Korstanje biography provided by Alberto Korstanje, who kindly offered to work as our key-informant. The combination of all these resources allowed us to bring forward a clear understanding about Dutch preferences in terms of migration.

Table 2 & 3 show that in Argentina, Dutch migration was more intensive from 1881 to 1890, representing 4,698 arrivals and 1,028 returnees home. This leaves 3,670 remaining workers. This means that Dutch migration was insignificant compared to other ethnicities. The rate of migrants who returned to Holland was approximately 46.11%. In any case, this sample of migrations does not represent more than 1% of the total

arrivals. W. Velez said that religion was a key factor for workers to select a country and disregard others. This thesis suggests that Catholic countries such as Spain and Italy chose, besides more compatible languages, countries with a Catholic matrix such as Argentina, while Hollanders chose to migrate to the United States, more rooted in Protestant traditions.

Table no 2 – Nationalities in Argentina 1900/1910

NATION	IN	OUT	% IN	REMAINING	%
Italians	2.341.126	1.231.635	52.61	1.109.491	47.39
Spaniards	1.602.752	682.965	42.61	919.787	57.39
French	221.774	114.230	51.67	106.844	49.33
Russians	163.862	68.209	41.63	95.653	58.37
Hungarians	87.266	36.726	42.08	50.540	57.92
Germans	69.696	39.595	56.81	30.101	43.19
Englanders	60.477	41.315	68.32	19.162	31.68
Suisse	34.363	13.342	38.82	21.021	61.18
Portugueses	30.729	14.625	47.59	16.104	52.41
Belgians	23.549	6.387	27.12	17.162	72.88
Dutch	8.111	3.740	46.11	4.371	53.89
TOTALES	**4.643.005**	**2.252.769**	**48.52**	**2.390.236**	**51.48**

Source: Eguileor De Ochoa Jorge y Valdés Eduardo - *¿Dónde durmieron nuestros abuelos? Los hoteles de inmigrantes en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires.* 2000. Centro Internacional para la Conservación del Patrimonio.

Table no 3 – Dutch Migration – Argentina – Arrivals and Departures

DUTCH YEAR	ARRIVALS	DEPARTURES	REMAINING
1857/60	42	28	+14
1861/70	111	50	+61
1871/80	94	36	+58
1881/90	**4.698**	**1.028**	**+3.670**
1891/00	323	147	+176
1901/10	1.579	873	+706
1911/20	1.264	1.578	-314
TOTAL	**8.111**	**3.740**	**+4.371**

Source: Eguileor De Ochoa Jorge y Valdés Eduardo - *¿Dónde durmieron nuestros abuelos? Los hoteles de inmigrantes en la Ciudad de Buenos Aires.* 2000. Centro Internacional para la Conservación del Patrimonio.

To test Velez's approach, one might realize that diverse censuses in 1909/10 revealed that in Buenos Aires, the majority of foreign dwellers

were Italians (22.5%) or Spaniards (14.2%). Both nationalities represented almost 45.5% of the total population. R. Swierenga examines the family scaffolding of Dutch migration, noting the following relevant aspects:

A) A 74% of the families arrived between 1882 / 1890 were married.
B) During 1891-1901 this percentage fells to 55%.
C) Until the First World War, this decreased to 45% and 37% up to the World War II.
D) The majority of migrants that selected Argentina were Catholics.
E) Almost 70% of Dutch migration went directly to the USA or Canada.

The points mentioned above validate the idea that religion was a key factor determining the destination of migration, without being the only one. In Buenos Aires, the first settlements and hotels that lodged migrants were constructed in 1820 and inaugurated for 1834. Many Churches were recycled or re-built to give assistance to these travellers. This not only compromised the official commitment but also generated a serious dichotomy between life in rural and urban areas. (Eguileor and Valdés, 2000:116). Unlike in Europe, where governments encouraged the migration from farms to cities, in Argentina, new dwellers were rechanneled to rural zones. Whereas the Argentine government overtly boasted about European migration, they did not provide any resources or instruments for working the land. The workforce was undoubtedly pushed between the devil and the deep blue sea. On the one hand, they were unable, in some circumstances, to go back home, and on the other, the situation in Argentina was not ideal, as they originally thought. Of course, the first Dutch migrants were brought to give an incentive to the bovine industry, even by creating a new race, Holando-Argentino (Giberti, 1989). However, many workers did not only face linguistic barriers in relating to their partners, but were also confronted with other problems, such as the lack of instruments and tools for parcelling the lands. This dependency on the landowners resulted in the return home of many Dutch pioneers.

Until 1888, as shown by the figures extracted from the International migration board offices in Buenos Aires, many migrants arrived in ships whose ownership or flags were not Dutch. This seems to be the example of

the Snike family, who were bound for Buenos Aires in Ohio's ship. Other vessels such as Gironde and Niger transported the Vander family between 1882 and 1886. However, for 1890, the Schiedam ship arrived fraught with Dutch families such as Wabeke (6 members), Balkenende (3), Breddles (4), Denhof (4), Elst (7), De Bacet (4), Kool (6), Mandero (6), Staal (6), Van Lijst (5) and Van Koon (4). Aditionally, in 1890, another Dutch vessel, Edam, brought other contingents of workers, Breudel (10), Engwerda (4), Jans (4), Slimmer (8), Van Deijk (4), Bosters (2) and Van Der Werff (6). Other families, such as Bruxeberg (7), Hoogendyk (2), Huyer (5), Krekelaar (3) arrived on board of the Zaandam. Particularly, these details bring evidence that the 1880/1890 period is characterized by an official intervention in protecting Dutch migration. In order to learn more about their professions and religion, we have drawn a sample made up of 152 migrant biographies who reached Buenos Aires from 1882/1888. This information was served by the Migratory Office Museum.

While 58.55% professed the catholic religion, 21.05% were Protestants and 15.13% were mixed families. Regarding their occupations, 28.94% were children with no specific profession, while 71.05% were workers skilled as farmers -26.85%-, merchants -11.11%, and 3.7% technicians. Ultimately, in terms of age, we find that 37.5% were 21-30 years old while 19.07% were 31-40 years old. Unlike other nationalities, most Dutch migrants came with their wife and children. Although this sample illustrates to some extent the features of some Dutch migrants, they are not statistically representative and do not provide very accurate information about the expectances of these travellers or their attitudes to adapting to a new culture.

Hollanders in Argentina, hither and thither

Buenos Aires, the capital of the country, was the first destination for many migrants because it was being an exemplary centre for trade and mobilities. From here many Hollanders were delivered to other towns such as Tres Arroyos, San Cayetano and 9 de Julio. In this respect, it is important to understand that these flows were represented by people who were not settled successfully in Buenos Aires or were skilled professionals. In this view, Oberman (2001) explains that these migrants were only farmers in quest of a better place to live. Many of them faced the serious economic problems surfaced in 1890, under the presidency of Juarez-Celman.

Unemployment rose to worrying figures while thousands of migrants were forced to wander from one region of the country to another. Throughout 1891 – after the collapse of Colonia Cascallares, a Dutch colony – a woman wrote to a well known Dutch journal: 'our master has not delivered the food for us to survive for two month, our master said that he was poor and their lands should be transferred to new masters. This means undoubtedly, new customs, new laws, we suffered in Europe but our shadows remain (Oberman, 2001, p. 3).

As a consequence of this crisis, many Dutch dwellers were obliged to migrate again towards other colonies such as Tres Arroyos or were repatriated to Europe. Following this, almost 320 families came back to Buenos Aires to claim from the consul L. Van Riet concrete steps for resolving their situation (Oberman, 2003).   Van Zeijl is not wrong in affirming that the social fragmentation experienced by Hollanders in Argentina doubled the number of prostitutes. In Buenos Aires, for instance, throughout the 19th century there were only 10 brothels, but while this number tripled until the end of 1910. D. Guy infers that almost 320 women worked as prostitutes in Buenos Aires (Gutman and Reese, 1999). The hard conditions of these migrants in Buenos Aires facilitated the foundation of the first Reformed Church, originally intended to protect and give assistance to poor farmers. The Nederlandse Vereniging – the Dutch Association – envisaged helping all those Hollanders who needed financial assistance or food. Out of the shadows, the first pillars of the Dutch community were erected. Religion somehow soothed the material privations these new dwellers experienced.

Other contingent was arbitrarily directed to the cities of Santa Fe and Rosario. Unlike in Tres Arroyos, in urban centres the migrants adopted the Argentine style of life, abandoning not only their beliefs but also their culture and language. Most of them married local women and never returned home. It is hypothesized that only those who kept their religion also conserved their habits and cultural customs. In Rosario, for example, the Dutch community was consolidated up to 1930, when the internal conflicts between the members weakened the action of the Reformed Church. Without religion, they dropped their language and pride, trying to pass for Argentines. By means of the Tango dance, football and school, the sons of these immigrants forgot their roots and rejected their Dutch identity.

In this context, religion played a pivotal role in revitalizing the social bond that allowed the success of the communities. Ranging from epidemics to economic problems, religion was the only cocoon protecting the migrants, as their faith worked as a mechanism of cohesion, preventing their acculturation and assimilation with the rest of country (Korn, 2004, Durkheim, 2004). The success of the Tres Arroyos colony depended not only on the three waves of Dutch and Danish migrants that reinforced their cultural belonging, but also on the Church in this little town, which was stronger than others. Perhaps, the history of the Korstanje families in Argentina illustrates better than a thousand words the problems and expectances of Dutch the migratory inflows into the country. Biographies and self-ethnographies are valorised in relation to other methods simply because they unravel the secret life of family units which helped in connecting the self with its history (Mumby D, 1993: 71). Therefore, family biographies correspond to valid research resources in expanding our current understanding of migration.

Older records of the Korstanje family come from Zeeland, a Dutch province. Claes Korstanje from Vlake was in 1555 the first registered member of this clan. Claes lived in Kappelle town, located in zuid-Beveland but little is known about his trajectory or destiny. The first Korstanje arrived to Argentina was Marinus, married with Cornelia Oelle. Their arrival, together with 9 children – Pietr, Elizabeth, Jannetje, Jan Jacobus, Lowrina, Johanna, Adrianna, Jacobus, Leendert and Cornelius Jr. – looked promising. Because of the conditions in Europe, two of their daughters died before arriving in Argentina. Undoubtedly, this family was not specially invited by the Argentine government, as their descendants believed; they were urged to emigrate by misery and hunger. Argentina represented for them an alternative relief from their situation. Of course, many migrant names were badly registered upon arrival because of linguistic barriers. For non Spanish names, there were many cases of misspelling and migration officers made many mistakes when processing the new entries. This does not seem to have happened to Korstanje and other Dutch migrants. Whenever the arriving ship was under a Dutch Flag, the captain provided the officers with a crew list to be registered in the Migration records.

On arriving at the Buenos Aires port, the Korstanje family was hosted at two migrants' hotels where they lodged for more than 2 years. Although they would have been repatriated immediately, there was a big economic crisis during Juarez Celman's administration that wreaked havoc in the local economy to the extent that it slowed down the progress characterizing earlier times. As a result, many workers were stranded in the country, suffering from the consequences of bad administration, aggravated by the conflict between Celman and Roca (Botana N, 1998: 94). Whilst 5 Korstanje clans chose to migrate to the United States, only one clan chose Argentina as their primary destination.

Originally, Marinus, at a certain moment, selected Quilmes to settle down, while some other of their children remained in 25 de Mayo in the Buenos Aires Province. One of his sons, Jan, met Neeltje Van der Bliek there, a newly arrived lady who had been forcefully sent to Argentina as a punishment for defying the Real Protocols by trying to marry a plebeian. In this new world, the nobility disappeared together with their privileges. Neltje, who was in Chaco, travelled to Buenos Aires, plagued by a Typhus epidemic that had killed part of her companions, and met Jan in Buenos Aires. Their daughter, Elise, was married some decades later to Arturo Klynjan, manager of Shell Oil Company. In quest of better opportunities, Neltje and Jan moved to La Boca Borrough where they had 7 children, Marinus, Cornelia, Pedro, Juan, Elisa, Jacoba, and Santiago. Although originally Jan and Neltje observed all the protestant duties, the conventillo was the centre where their descendants lost their attachment to Dutch archetypes. One of Jan's sons, Juan, had 2 sons and 2 daughters. Ultimately, Juan Santiago, my grandfather, had three sons, Carlos, Claudia and Fabian.

Concerning their religious affiliation, the family preserved its protestant roots at least until the two first generations, but once their descendants married Argentine women, their faith was radically altered. With their religion, the Korstanjes abandoned their language, culture and lore. Living in La Boca Borough, Buenos Aires the family embraced Spanish and Catholicism as their two primary values. Many years later, the Korstanje descendants travelled to Holland to visit the sites and towns where their ancestors lived. Tourism, in this vein, paved the way for an ethnical reconnection with the roots. Both forced migration and tourism share similar natures, actuating people to go beyond their familiar

surroundings in quest of something new. One is based on material needs while the other derives from humdrum routine and hedonism.

Conclusion

The Korstanje life story, one among the thousands of Dutch migrants, reflects the condition of selective migratory inflows which founded Argentina. Unlike modern mobile individuals, many migrants were motivated by cultural compatibilies and religious affiliation. The material imbalances that had triggered their displacement to unknown lands were not solved once they arrived. In Argentina many of them were circumscribed to working without making ends meet. Although many workers returned to Europe, the Korstanje chose to settle down in the host country, adapting their customs to those of the local population. The colonies where religion played a vital role, like Tres Arroyos, preserved their cultural legacy and idiom, while others, as Buenos Aires or Rosario, where internal disputes predominated, failed to do so. This means that even if the migratory flows were determined by economic factors, religious and cultural ethnic values exerted an influence at time of selecting a destination. Today, Dutch descendants know Holland through the media and tourism. Fortunately, they did not face the suffering of the pioneer settlers. Tourism plays a crucial role in connecting citizens with their heritage and roots, distilling displacement into stories, landscapes and places. What is important to note here is that faith and religion accompanied the first migrants as guiding lights in adapting to an alien environment.

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Rezumat:

În căutarea noului. Cronici ale imigraţiei olandeze în Argentina între 1880 şi 1914

Religia a jucat un rol crucial în configurarea relaţiei dintre ţările care dădeau şi cele care primeau imigranţi cu două secole în urmă, deşi astăzi aceste mişcări se bazează pe valori laice. Eseul de faţă are ca obiect viaţa imigranţilor olandezi din Argentina, aşteptările lor şi motivele ce i-au determinat să-şi părăsească ţara natală. Compatibilitatea religioasă dintre matricile protestante şi catolice a fost foarte importantă în alegerea sau evitarea Argentinei ca primă destinaţie. În secolele al XIX-lea şi al XX-lea, axa de referinţă dintre ţările ce livrau sau primeau imigranţi a fost determinată de religie. Povestea familiei Korstanje este una dintre miile de istorii ale imigranţilor olandezi, care reflectă condiţiile de selecţie ale valurilor de imigranţi care au populat Argentina. Spre deosebire de grupurile specifice migraţiei moderne, mulţi dintre imigranţi au fost motivaţi de compatibilităţi culturale şi afinităţi de natură religioasă. Privaţiunile materiale ce au determinat exodul lor către tărâmuri necunoscute nu au fost rezolvate imediat după sosirea lor. În Argentina, mulţi dintre ei au fost supuşi unor condiţii de muncă limitative, ce nu le satisfăceau nevoile de bază.

Cuvinte cheie:
Imigraţia olandeză, Argentina, mobilităţi, religie, Korstanje.

CONFLUENCES

ARCHAEOLOGICAL, ARCHITECTURAL AND VEGETAL METAPHORS OF POSTCOLONIAL BRITISH IDENTITY IN V. S. NAIPAUL'S *THE ENIGMA OF ARRIVAL*

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Abstract:

V. S. Naipaul's *The Enigma of Arrival* is a classic postcolonial autobiography, mapping out the geographical and cultural journey of the postcolonial migrant towards the mythologized centre of civilization, the imperial metropolis. In his Wordsworthian contemplation of rural England as a utopian site of natural, historical and cultural 'piety', Naipaul retraces the inscriptions of a teleological myth of Englishness underlying the grand historical narrative of the Empire and the utopian imagination of the colonial subject's mindscape. The present paper examines Naipaul's deployment of the symbolical valences of English archaeological sites, of architectural and garden landscapes in rewriting his own, as well as Britain's, postcolonial identity. The analysis highlights the historical and ideological significations of the consistent architectural and vegetal conceits of imperial glory and decay, informing this highly poeticised enactment of the colonial migrant's repositioning in the changing cultural landscape of post-imperial Britain.

Key-words:

Postcolonial, migration, cultural identity, hibridity, multiculturalism.

V. S. Naipaul's *The Enigma of Arrival* (1987) is a book of synthesis, which draws together the multiple strands interweaving the postcolonial author's awareness of his being in the world, and reflects upon their bearing on his creation and construction of personal and artistic identity. *The Enigma of Arrival* is Naipaul's recapitulative *apologia pro vita sua*, born from the need of the middle-aged writer to probe for the meaning of his destiny and the forces which helped shape it – mainly his experience of

British colonialism as he grew up and his migration to Britain as an aspiring young writer, determined to conquer the very centre of imperial culture.

The confessional narrative introduces us to meditation of the now mature, successful writer, as he revises his career and experience as a migrant to Britain, and, more importantly, celebrates his ultimate rooting into his bicultural heritage, originating in his native Trinidad and adopted Britain. The narrator takes us back to the time of his arrival in Britain, reminiscing about his arduous journey towards realising his personal and literary aspirations and, in so doing, in defining and articulating his postcolonial migrant identity, ultimately housed by the former imperial centre.

As the writer explores the surroundings of Stonehenge, the impression of spatial immensity induces a glimpse of the place's prehistoric past:

'The setting felt ancient; the impression was of space, unoccupied land, the beginning of things' (p. 15).

For any citizen of the New World, the prehistoric site bears the feel of a temporal regression, of a vision of the birth of civilisation. Again, he confesses how reality can by bent by a preconceived illusion:

'The emptiness, the spaciousness through which I had felt myself walking was so much an illusion as the idea of the forest' (p. 15).

Yet, despite the presence of the new, the narrator retains the awe of the place's antiquity, and tries to cling to an enduring, idealised image of the 'merry old England', unaltered by visible layers of history. Still, he is assailed by images of change and dereliction, of the new discarding the old, spoiling the iconic images of his mindscape. All around him, he sees the remnants of the dying agricultural civilisation of rural England. His descriptions become imbued with meditations on the socio-historical mechanisms of change and with nostalgia for a past which encapsulated his idea of England. The wide-ranging semantic inventory related to change, decay and dereliction creates a cumulative impression of mutability, loss and regret. Occasionally, the fabulous land of the imagination is substantiated by a scene fleetingly touched by the aura of literariness. The sight of sheep-sheering feels *'like something out of an old novel, perhaps by Hardy, or out of a Victorian country diary'* (p. 18).

In the midst of the brutal, disordering invasion of newness, the narrator's eye is soothed by the atemporal perfection of Jack's garden. Its image is symbolic of the bucolic England he had pictured from his readings

of English literature, from Chaucer to the Edwardians. For him, the garden epitomises the bond between man and earth, which he has always associated with the homeliness of the '*immemorial, appropriate things*' (p. 19):

'*Jack himself...I considered to be part of the view. I saw his life as genuine, rooted, fitting: a man fitting the landscape. I saw him as a remnant of the past (the undoing of which my presence portended)*' (p. 19).

Jack's possession and ordering of his

'*...little piece of earth', is seen as an act of divinely artistic creation, through which 'he had created a special land for himself, a garden where...as in a version of the Book of Hours, he celebrated the seasons*' (p. 20).

From the writer's aesthetic, literary perspective, Jack's rituals of creating and ordering his space in harmony with the rhythms of nature are ennobled by an aura of saintliness. The gaze of the mature man, like the imagination of the day-dreaming child of long ago, projects the longing for an original purity of place and history in a utopian construct. The utopia of Jack's garden is woven by the erudite man's literary and historical associations:

'*So much of this I saw with the literary eye, or with the aid of literature. A stranger here, with the nerves of a stranger, and yet with a knowledge of the language and the history of the language and the writing, I could find a special kind of past in what I saw; with a part of my mind I could admit fantasy*' (p. 22).

Every sight and human gesture is fitted in the idealised mindscape of literary and historical memory. Jack's father-in-law

'*seemed a figure of literature in that ancient landscape...a Wordsworthian figure...in an immense Lake District solitude...I saw him actually with a load of wood on his bent back: Wordsworthian, the subject of a poem Wordsworth might have called 'the Fuel-Gatherer'* (pp. 20, 26).

The topography of the garden looks '*like a mediaeval image in literature*', with Jack as '*the remnant of an old peasantry*' (p. 22). Even Jack's geese, associated with those of ancient Rome, become the pretext of historical and literary excavations:

'*Jack's geese...developed a kind of historical life for me, something that went beyond the idea of medieval peasantry, old English ways*' (p. 22).

Ironically, their image helps a writer habituated to reading life through literature to perform the reverse operation, and gain a better insight of a passage in King Lear by associating it with a scene of life:

'*...with the help of Jack's geese...I had arrived at an understanding of something in King Lear which...commentators had found obscure*' (pp. 22-23).

Jack's sickness and death, and the subsequent dissolution of his order dissipate the writer's fantasy of perfection, awakening him to the reality of change and the impermanence of things. He understands that the illusion of historical coherence and permanence induced by his image of Jack's ritualistic enactment of tradition 'like something in a modern Book of Hours' (31), has blocked his awareness of the flux around him. The old man's death is symbolic of a dying order, but the memory of his life remains with the writer as a symbol of the perfect act of creation. With hindsight, he corrects the idealised colouring of his former vision, and reinterprets its meaning in the act of writing.

"*I had seen Jack as solid, rooted in his earth. But I had also seen him as something from the past, a remnant...My ideas about jack were wrong. He was not exactly a remnant; he had created his own life, his own world, almost his own continent...All around him was ruin; and all round, in a deeper way, was change, and a reminder of the brevity of the cycles of growth and creation. But he had sensed that life and man were the true mysteries, and he had asserted the primacy of these like something like religion*" (p. 87).

As a whole pageant of new faces and names, of comings and goings unfolds before him, the writer perceives the frailty of his fantasy and the tyranny of the new over the discarded artefacts of an age-old tradition. Not until later does he realise that Jack's island of perfection is a personal triumph over the decay of both past and present, over a life 'among ruins, among superseded things' (19). His quasi-religious idea of Jack as 'a man in his own setting...a man in tune with the seasons and his landscape' (33), embodying an identity rooted in historical continuity, is set in sharp contrast with the discontinuity of the migrant's identity, with his unsettling sense of deracination and non-belonging. His dystopian sense of being the offspring of a ruinous colonial history prevents him from seeing the historical fragmentation of the centre:

"That idea of ruin and dereliction, of out-of placeness, was something I felt about myself, attached to myself: a man from another hemisphere, another background...I felt unanchored and strange...I felt that my presence in that old valley was part of something like an upheaval, a change in the course of history of the country" (p. 19).

The symbolism of Jack and his garden bespeaks the writer's ideal notion of identity and belonging, which in *The Mimic Men* he imagines as the 'link between man and landscape'. In the next chapters the narrator focuses more on his own relationship to the place and to the meaning of his habitation of an Edwardian estate. Fascinated by the estate's antiquated perfection, whose tranquil solitude suits his mood and temperament, he begins to feel more at home than he has ever felt:

'*overwhelmed by the luck of the near-solitude I had found in this historical part of England, the solitude that that had done away with my stranger's nerves, I had seen everything as a kind of perfection, perfectly evolved*' (p. 51).

However, he is aware that this illusory stillness, the cohesion of history which he relishes is itself the bitter-sweet fruit of '*flux and the constancy of change'* (p. 51). When the house was at the height of its resplendent glory, '*arrived at forty or fifty years before*' (p. 51), his presence there would have been inconceivable:

'*But in that perfection, occurring at a time of empire, there would have been no room for me...Fifty years ago there would have been no room for me at the estate; even now my presence was a little unlikely*' (p. 52).

In the traces of the past glory, he deciphers the chain of events which has opened the possibility of his presence there:

"*But more than accident had brought me here. Or rather, in the series of accidents that had brought me to the manor cottage...there was a clear historical line. The migration, within the British Empire, from India to Trinidad had given me the English language as my own, and a particular kind of education. This had partly seeded my wish to be a writer in a particular mode, and had committed me to the literary career I had been following in England for twenty years*" (p. 52).

If earlier, his presence felt like a disruptive intrusion in an uninterrupted historical evolution, now he realises that the demise of Empire (epitomised by the decay of the manor) was the pre-requisite of his

own healing sojourn on its grounds. The same vision of history which '*sent [him] into the world with a sense of glory dead*' (p. 52) gives him now a sense of pertaining to a coherent historical chain, and of a redemptive, private glory. His habitation of the estate implies a defeat of his colonial history. He relishes a liberating, empowering feeling of conquest, of a redemptive colonisation in reverse:

        'The builder of the house and the designer of the garden could not have imagined, with their world view, that at a later time someone like me would have been in the grounds, and that I would feel I was having the place...at its peak, living in a beauty that hadn't been planned for...while it lasted, it was perfection' (p. 52).

        The narrator experiences an epiphany in which the two strands of imperial history, that of conquest and that of hurt, are fused together within the same history of rise and fall, glory and decay. His vision of the world's becoming is no longer split into binaries (metropolis-colony, coloniser-colonised, master-slave, centre-periphery, civilisation-bush). He *no longer feels the victim of his history of hurt and violation, but the inheritor of a 'universal civilisation'*. This reconciliation with the '*history that had made [him]*' (p. 52) is evident in the association of the two meanings of the word 'estate', which still reminds one of the iniquitous relationship of economic interdependency between the colonial periphery and the imperial centre:

        Reconciled with himself, the narrator confesses to a sense of rebirth, of being 'in tune with the natural world' (p. 53), of a kind of homeliness never experienced before:

        'Now ironically – or aptly – living in the grounds of this shrunken estate...I found a beauty perfectly suited to my temperament and answering, besides, every good idea I could have had, as a child in Trinidad, of the physical aspect of England' (p. 52).

        The mood is most certainly unique in Naipaul's writing, where the ideal and the real never coincide, and the utopia of the centre dissolves in disappointment. For the first time, the child's fantasy is fulfilled in the migrant's sense of wonder, in which the strangeness of the place melts under the familiarity of gilded old dreams. The recognition of iconic images stored by the mind's eye conflates fantasy and actuality in an emotion of discovery which telescopes time and distance:

'Cows and grass and trees...Though I hadn't truly seen those views before or been in their midst, I felt I had always known them (38). ...And they had seemed like the cows in the drawing on the label of the condensed-milk tins I knew in Trinidad as a child: something to me as a result at the very heart of romance, a child's fantasy of the beautiful, other place, something which, when I saw it on the downs, was like something I had always known' (pp. 38, 80).

The magical instantiation of romance is a rare feeling for Naipaul's homeless wanderers, one that startles him late in life, after a second arrival. Like a latter-day Wordsworthian figure, he relives, in an inverted manner, *'emotions recollected in tranquillity'*, by insufflating life into the pictures of his literary memory, so that inscape and landscape become *'bound each to each in natural piety'*. For Naipaul too, *'the Child is father of the Man'*, as he defines his therapeutic experience in the valley as *'my second childhood of seeing and learning, my second life, so far from my first'* (p. 82).

His rebirth culminates symbolically in the building of his own home only a few miles away from the manor. Finally, the chronic homelessness at the core of the writer's literary identity is healed by the fulfilment of a lifetime dream – that of the bond between man and landscape, which perpetually eludes his characters. Naipaul's poetics of space has always fed on his acute sensitivity for place, always perceived as an intense sensual, aesthetic and cognitive experience, but this is the first time when his love for a place feels shared, as if the place recognised him and loved him back. His setting up home in the valley is bound up with his gratitude for this gift of a lovely, loving, comforting place, which fulfils the child's fantasy and the adult's need for roots:

'The beauty of the place, the great love I had grown to feel for it, greater than for any other place I had known, had kept me there too long...For me, for the writer's gift and freedom, the labour and disappointments of the writing life, and the being away from my home; for that loss, for having no place of my own, this gift of a second life in Wiltshire, the second, happier childhood as it were, the second arrival (but with an adult's perception) at a knowledge of natural things, together with the fulfilment of the child's dream of the safe house in the wood' (pp. 83-84).

Within Naipaul's pre-eminently tragic vision of displacement, this passage encapsulates the simplicity of a lifetime longing for the archetypal

fulfilment of a fairytale homecoming. The enigma of arrival is suddenly lightened by the epiphany of home. King views the novel's parable of home building as 'a rewriting and fulfilment of Biswas' (King, p. 141). He observes that

'*…like Biswas in Port of Spain the narrator's life in Wiltshire is a healing process leading to success. Biswas's story concludes when he obtains a house of his own; the narrator's story also leads to the building of his own house…Enigma concludes the story of Biswas*' (King, pp. 141-142).

The third section, 'Ivy', returns to the narrator's contemplation of his Wiltshire rural paradise. His living on the old aristocratic estate is defined by a sense of empathy with '*the man in whose grounds I had so unexpectedly, for the first time in my adult e life, found myself at peace*' (p. 172). His romanticising gaze focuses on the microcosm of the estate, on its natural and architectural harmony and the secluded lives of its residents – the landlord, Mr and Mrs Philips, the manor caretakers, Bray, the driver and Pitton, the gardener. If in 'Jack's Garden', he witnesses the decay of a traditional rural civilisation, his meditation on the idyllic, nostalgic stillness of the landlord's decaying garden and manor suggests a change of larger, global significance – the decline of the empire. The narrator sees his relationship with his landlord as illustrative of the empire's fate. The difference between their backgrounds and experience of colonial history makes them the metonyms of the coloniser/colonised binary. Their co-habitation and acceptance of difference is an acknowledgement of their interconnected history:

'*I was his opposite in every way, social, artistic, sexual. And considering that his family's fortunes had grown…with the spread of empire…it might be said that an empire lay between us. This empire at the same time linked us. This empire explained my birth in the New World, the language I used, the vocation and ambition I had; this empire in the end explained my presence their in the valley, in that cottage, in the grounds of the manor. But we were – or had started – at opposite ends of wealth, privilege, and in the hearts of different cultures*' (p. 174).

The antagonism of their symbolic positions on either side of the historical divide recedes in front of the changing, inclusive concept of contemporary Britishness. The narrator ends up at the heart of the Englishman's culture. They share a space symbolic of the centre of empire,

a setting reminiscent of a past imperial glory. The context of their encounter suggests a symbolic empowerment of the former colonial, and his active participation in the imperial culture:

'*But the world had changed; time had moved on. I had found my talent and my subject, ever unfolding and developing*' (p. 174).

His empathy with the landlord is no doubt sincere, but the nature of his identification with him, beyond their affinity of disposition and mood, can be read as the colonial migrant's belated triumph over history, by which he can share the space of the former colonial master:

'*So though we had started at opposite ends of empire and privilege, and in different cultures, it was easy for me, as his tenant now, to feel goodwill in my heart for him*' (p. 175).

The landlord's declining status is also suggested by his accidia, an affliction of the spirit which makes him withdraw from the world of purposefulness and action:

'*...a disturbance of some sort, a morbid, lasting depression, almost an illness, resulting in withdrawal, hiding, a retreat to the manor, complicated after a while by physical disorders and – finally – age*' (pp. 173-174).

Even his inherited privilege, which defines the difference between him and his tenant, is seen to be a burden rather than an asset. United by their mental and emotional disposition for seclusion and by their shared hermitage, they are also differentiated by the predictable nature of their futures, as the narrator's hope of recovery and a new beginning is contrasted with the hopelessness of the landlord's infirmity:

'*Privilege lay between us. But I had an intimation that it worked against him. Whatever my spiritual state at the moment of arrival, I knew I would have to save myself and look for health; I knew I would have to act at some time. His privilege – his house, his staff, his income, the acres he could look out at every day and knew to be his – this privilege could press him down into himself, into non-doing and nullity*' (pp. 174-175).

However, the narrator's profound compassion also crosses the boundaries of the historical and social opposition inherent in their polar imperial inheritance. His benign sense of communion with his landlord springs from their shared vulnerability to the displacements of historical change or adversity:

'*And coming to the manor at a time of disappointment and wounding, I felt an immense sympathy for my landlord, who, starting at the other end of the world, now wished to hide, like me. I felt a kinship with him.*' (p. 174).

The historically constructed incompatibility between them, the incongruity of their origins and destinies dissolve in their sharing the same time, space and mood:

'*And though I knew that men might arrive at similar states or attitudes for dissimilar reasons and by different routes, and as men might even be incompatible, I felt at one with my landlord*' (p. 174).

They never really meet face to face or speak to each other. Their mutual invisibility to each other symbolically re-enacts the recognition of otherness, which, in Bhabha's vision, both divides and binds the antagonistic, yet mutually dependent subjectivities created by colonialism. Their exchange is mediated and rather one-sided, almost like the coloniser's dissemination of his values and civilisation. In the landlord's gift of poems about Krishna and Shiva, transmitted through Mrs Phillips, the writer sees '*my landlord's gesture of welcome to me*' (p. 192). It may also be read as reminiscent of the coloniser's dissemination of the West's Orientalistic myth and wholistic notion of India, which left its mark on the collective consciousness of the subcontinent. It epitomises the European's gift of knowledge to the Orient, accepted as the Orient's knowledge of itself:

'*His Indian romance was in fact older, even antiquated, something he had inherited, like his house, something from the days of imperial glory...philosophy melting away into sensuousness, sensation – my landlord's Indian romance partook of all those impulses and was rooted in England, wealth, empire, the idea of glory, material satiety, a very great security* (pp. 192-193).

Moreover, the landlord's firm hold of his place in the world is rooted in the consciousness of his inalienable dominion over his material and cultural inheritance:

'*His anchor was his house, his knowledge of his social worth...the knowledge of who he was remained with him...his signature...spoke of someone still savouring his personality*' (p. 193).

His self-assurance contrasts with the writer's relentless wonder at his own presence in that space, at the centre of imperial order:

'*I felt delight at the setting, the naturalness, the rightness. And surprised that this was where I lived*' (p. 176).

But their likeness sometimes seems to supersede their difference. On catching a glimpse of his landlord basking in the sun, the narrator speculates on the northerner's longing for sunshine, imagining his indulgence in tropical fantasies.

'*But his instincts were Mediterranean, tropical; he loved the sun...But he stayed in his house, which was his setting, and dreamed of being elsewhere, dreamed in his own way*' (p. 192).

The symmetrical inversion of their utopian impulses speaks of the universally human yearning for the mystery of alien, distant shores, of an enticing life awaiting elsewhere. The Englishman's fantasy of the tropics parallels the Trinidadian child's fantasy of the pastures of England. Two people dreaming of each other's hemispheres, they become the perfectly fitting halves of the same sphere. This craving for the Other's place is symbolic of the duality of the imperial desire, which Bhabha defines in psychoanalytical terms as the bidirectional desire to possess the space of otherness, to imaginatively inhabit the Other's being, endowed with the sensualistic symbolism of a fetish. This romance of displacing and replacing the Other is particularly associated with the colonised subject's fantasy of possessing the space and identity of the coloniser. The narrator's view of himself and his landlord as two metonymic inheritors of empire envisages his reversed conquest and colonisation of the centre.

The juxtaposition of the two life stories allegorises the historical cycles to which they pertain – the landlord's life cycle encapsulates the rise and fall of the empire, while the writer's new life among '*the debris of a life*' (p. 197) bespeaks in its turn the collapse of imperial order and the dawn of a new, postcolonial cycle. The end of the imperial cycle, with its dislocations of the history and identity of peoples and territories, heralds the beginning of a post-imperial cycle of displacement and relocation, which remaps the human geography of the former metropolis. The two lives are reflected as emblematic of a parallel, but contradictory movement – the writer's rise parallels the aristocrat's fall. This parallel is confirmed by a significant chronological intersection. The narrator discovers that the moment of his initial journey to England coincides with the landlord's retreat into seclusion. His adventure begins where the other's life journey ends:

'In 1949 or 1950 – 1950 being the year I had left my own island...– in 1949 or 1950 my landlord had withdrawn from the world out of an excess of knowledge of that world' (p. 197).

This chronological coincidence, which juxtaposes one man's arrival with the other's departure, is suggestive of a *'curious transfer of power, a rewriting of the imperial configuration'* (Mustafa, p. 173). Through this new revelation, the writer's journeying towards the centre of a personal and historical identification comes full circle. The first journey, reinterpreted in the symbolic light of this ironical biographical intersection, is connected with the final journey and integrated in its larger historical significance. This also highlights the irony underlying the relationship of the two moments to the dialectic of imperial history. The irony of the earlier coincidence is reinforced by the writer's present awareness of

'…the historical irony he reads into his entry, as a former colonial, into his landlord's domain, empire's very heart itself' (Mustafa, pp. 172-173).

The narrator's postcolonial spin on the ironies of historical change is not confined to the symbolic interpretation of individual biographies. Again, he discerns the traces of flux and change in the vegetal and architectural configuration of the landscape. As in his first excursions in the valley, he relishes the impression of primeval timelessness offered by the landscapes of the manor's grounds. It takes time for him to understand that the impression of naturalness is only the effect of the landlord's design. The artful landscaping and architectural conception are combined so as to convey a vision of the owner's historical inheritance. The narrator discovers with wonder that the estate has been designed to recreate the topography and landscape of a medieval village, to evoke historical continuity by *'a remnant and a reminder of medieval huddle and constriction'* (p. 177). The masterful creation of *'the toy village'* (p. 185) is regarded to proclaim a firm sense of historical and cultural belonging, as well as a feeling of national and imperial pride:

'…it was part of the taste of the time for a special idea of the past, the assertion – with the wealth and power of an unbelievably extensive empire – of racial and historical and cultural virtue' (p. 185).

But it is the feeling of untouched naturalness which delights the narrator's sense of *'natural piety'*. Surprised at seeing a blue iris among the nettles on the water-meadow, he expresses his joy in Wordsworthian tones:

'*I was transported at the sight, and instantly had the wish, if I ever were to plant a garden of my own, to try to achieve that effect...I felt myself in tune with other plants, and truly in tune with the seasons*' (p. 189).

However, in the natural glory of a generously designed, but now untended garden he also sees the signs of the landlord's inaction:

'*Perfection such as my landlord looked out on contained its own corruption. Perfection like that could be easily taken for granted...there was nothing in that view which would encourage action*' (p. 186).

As in the section treating of Jack's garden, the illusion of perfection is marred by the reality of death and decay. The manor's garden itself becomes a metaphor for a dying concept of order. The decay and pervasive wilderness of the garden parallels the declining fate of its owner. The central trope for the fading glory of the estate, which also provides the section's title, is the image of the ivy engulfing the garden and besieging the manor's walls. The landlord himself is reported to have forbidden the gardener to cut the ivy, which illustrates a kind of nostalgic resignation before the tyranny of time and nature, and their triumph over the transience of human order. The narrator is fascinated by the effect of naturalness created by this contrived disorder, but his enjoyment of its bucolic peace is permeated by his nostalgia for the garden's decay.

The image of the dereliction inflicted by time and vegetal overgrowth, evocative of nature's enduring tyranny over human transience, also frames the narrator's portrayal of the humanity inhabiting the manor grounds. All the aging figures at the manor are symbolic of a dying era. Their life stories, all bearing the intimation of the end, are recounted in the third and fourth sections. The title of the latter section, 'Rooks', introduces another metaphor for the journey through the cycles of life and death. If the imagistic trope of the ivy refers to the death of human constructs, the rooks' association with '*birds of death*' (p. 267) portends the deaths and departures which accumulate as the narrator's ten-year stay at the estate draws to a close.

The writer's building of his own house in the English countryside is the symbol of his existential, historical and literary rooting in the synthesis of a hybrid personal and artistic identity. As King points out, Naipaul's harmonisation with the English landscape inscribes his '*claim to have come, eventually taken root, and in his own way, conquered*' (King, p. 147).

Enigma '*is not really a story of accumulation and assimilation*', but rather of cultural hybridisation, as it '*implies that Naipaul and other former colonials are now part of, and inheritors of, the English literary tradition*' (King, p. 147). The integrative vision of the book resides in its inverted historical symmetries. Its allegory of the colonial's reversed conquest '*continues a history that started with the English conquest of India*' (King. p. 147), to which the writer confers a liberating sense of closure and poetic justice.

King commends his '*daring claim*', remarking that '*to have set his story in London would have been less daring*' (King, p. 147), as London's multiculturalism has long borne out Naipaul's prophesy that imperial centres

'*…were to cease being more or less national cities…[and] were to become cities of the world, modern-day Romes…visited for learning and elegant goods and manners and freedom by all the barbarian peoples of the globe*' (p. 130).

He integrates his art into a perennial myth of English spirituality:

'*But to have set his story in rural England, the England of Hardy's novels, of Constable's paintings, of Cowper's verses and Victorian diaries, of Stonehenge…is in a way to declare oneself the inheritor, someone who has not only earned his place but who is part of the new order, the new literary tradition of the migration of the world's peoples*' (King, p. 147).

His claim to a home in this tradition is firmly grounded in his linguistic inheritance, further refined by his '*growing empathy with a romantic spirit of place and distance*', which underlies Enigma's

'*resemblance to romantic prose, where the writer's self is both the bridge and the traveller between these worlds and ways of writing*' (Hughes, pp. 93, 92).

In Naipaul's integration of his life into a universal spiritual dimension, Peter Hughes discerns a vision which 'is profoundly romantic, a life comparable to Wordsworth's *Prelude*, in which the initial void of the self expands through writing until it fills the universe' (Hughes, p. 91). He argues that the book's texture and language goes back to a

'… *fundamental romantic text, to Wordsworth's Preface to the Lyrical Ballads', arguing that the 'heroism in Naipaul's decision to do without narrative and plot…is comparable to Wordsworth's argument that against any distinction between the 'language of prose and metrical composition*'' (Hughes, p. 99).

Indeed, the pictorial and musical expressivity of the novel's language resounds with the tonality of a prose poem. History comes full circle as Naipaul refashions and reinvigorates the English language in the spirit of cultural pluralism. The gift of language which he received is enriched by the stylistic brilliance and the classical cadence of his prose, and restored to a literary tradition which has acknowledged his gift by hailing him as '*one of the finest living novelists writing in English*' (Swinden, p. 210).

The author's habitation of a once sumptuous Edwardian estate, bespeaking the zenith of imperial glory, suggests an act of reversed colonisation, of appropriating an iconic space of the centre's cultural creation, whereas the extinct order of Empire is conveyed through the garden's dereliction. His designing of a house and garden of his own symbolises a reconciliation of centre and margin and an ultimate empowerment of the postcolonial migrant. Against the prehistoric backdrop of Stonehenge, Salisbury Plain and the Wiltshire downs – functioning as an outsized historical theme park – the migrant writer undergoes his rite of passage transforming him into the rightful inheritor of English culture and literature, entitled to inscribe the founding myth of multicultural Britishness.

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Rezumat:

Identitatea britanică postcolonială şi metafora de ordin arheologic, arhitectural şi vegetal în "The Enigma of Arrival", de V. S. Naipaul

Romanul lui V. S. Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival*, este o autobiografie postcolonială devenită clasică, care trasează călătoria geografică şi culturală a imigrantului postcolonial către miticul centru al civilizaţiei, reprezentat de metropola imperială. În contemplarea de factură wordsworthiană a Angliei rurale ca loc utopic al unei „pioase reverii" despre natură, istorie şi cultură, Naipaul urmăreşte inscripţiile unui mit teleologic al identităţii engleze ce fundamentează grandioasa epopee istorică a Imperiului şi imaginarul utopic al supusului colonial. Lucrarea de faţă examinează modul în care Naipaul utilizează valenţele simbolice ale siturilor arheologice, ale peisajului arhitectural şi horticol pentru a rescrie nu numai propria identitate postcolonială, dar şi a societăţii britanice. Analiza reliefează semnificaţiile istorice şi ideologice ale imaginilor arhitecturale şi vegetale prin care se construiesc elaborate metafore ale gloriei şi decăderii imperiului. Construcţia metaforică sedimentează substanţa ideatică a acestui profund poetizat parcurs de repoziţionare a migrantului colonial în peisajul cultural înnoit al Marii Britanii post-imperiale.

Cuvinte cheie:

Postcolonial, migraţie, identitate culturală, hibriditate, multiculturalism.

WRITING TRANSGRESSION: PRESERVING THE LANDSCAPE OF TRADITION IN TANURE OJAIDE'S *GOD'S MEDICINE-MEN & OTHER STORIES*

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Abstract:
Tanure Ojaide, a celebrated Nigerian poet, is a writer who is constantly in search for an alternative social vision to the degenerating socio-political concerns in Nigeria. Social concerns mediated by *orature* provide the predominant framework within which his poetry collections have been analyzed. At the debut of his writing career now spanning three decades, Ojaide's entry into the Nigerian literary landscape in 1973 was heralded by the publication of *Children of Iroko. God's medicinemen and other stories* is his first attempt at writing short stories. This anthology of short stories expresses a deep moral indignation, in its denunciation of the shameful state in which the socio-cultural ethos has been compromised in contemporary Nigeria. This paper evaluates the manner in which Ojaide explores the broad theme of the break-down of social and cultural norms in Nigerian society as exemplified in *God's medicine-men and other stories*. It also examines how, in the anthology, the complexity of the intersections that obtain between tradition and modernity has significantly shaped individual lives, focusing mainly on the way in which cultural hybridity serves to underscore the effect of this breakdown in contemporary Nigerian society.

Key words:
Imagination, transgression, socio-cultural, ethos, landscape, tradition.

Introduction

Oral tradition provides a significant background for contemporary Nigerian writers. By oral tradition, this paper refers to traditional songs, song-poems, various forms of oral narratives, tales, legends, myths, historical narratives, and the creative arts in general, in which part of the concern is presenting events so as to give aesthetic satisfaction. Joel Adedeji, in his book *Oral Tradition and the contemporary Theatre in*

Nigeria, evaluates the significance of oral tradition as the '*complex corpus of verbal or spoken art created as a means of recalling the past*', which is '*based on the ideas, beliefs, symbols, assumptions, attitude and sentiments of people*' that can be acquired '*through a process of learning or initiation and its purpose is to condition social action and foster social interaction.*' Charles Bodunde, in his article 'Oral Traditions & Modern Poetry: Okot p'Bitek's *Song of Lawino* and *Okigbo's* Labyrinths', has provided a further categorization of oral tradition as literary and historical. In the literary category are included: poetic genres such as *oriki* or praise and totem chants, *Odu* or *Ifa*, divination poems and songs. The literary category also comprises formulae like proverbs, parables and incantations. The historical category is made up of forms such as narratives anchored in myths, legends and historical forms like the epic (p. 24). The vital influence of oral tradition in contemporary literary creativity has been recognized by critics like Ode Ogede, who provides an insight into why African writers usually appropriate matter from oral tradition:

'*The sense of having a mission to teach and to analyse issues of public concern is one of the features that, in general, the modern African writer has borrowed from the oral tradition*''. (p. 73)

Like the traditional oral artist, whose works must be grounded in the social reality of his society, in order for his message to have the reverberation and persuasion expected of someone who is the conscience of the nation, African contemporary writers, by employing the appurtenances of oral tradition, have been situated in a vantage position from which to discuss, in their poetry, fiction and drama, the socio-political problems besetting Africa. This view has also been acknowledged by Tanure Ojaide in his essay *Examining Canonisation in Modern African Literature*:

'*The cultural identity of modern African literature is a major consideration in establishing a canon for its texts. Culture involves a shared experience of belief systems, worldview, traditions, and aesthetic standards*' (p. 6).

Ojaide further observes the presence of certain aspects of cultural identity in the African novel, including: the utilitarian function of literature, social cohesion, the ethical/moral nature of African civilisation, defence of African culture, African mystical life, ideas of law and order, peculiar attitudes to time and space, and the special use of folklore and language,

especially of proverbs. These aspects are sacrosanct to African novelists because they constitute variables for mediating culture and social reality in their works.

Tanure Ojaide's reputation in Nigerian literary enterprise is given prominence in his poetry. Some of his poem collections include: *Labyrinths of the Delta (1986)*, *Children of Iroko (1973)*, *Endless Song (1989)*, *The Eagles Vision (1987)*, *The Fate of Vultures& other poems* (1991), *Blood of Peace (1991)*, *Delta Blues and Home songs (1998)*, *Daydream of ants (1997)*, *In the kingdom of songs (2002)* and *I want to Dance and other poems (2003)*. Ojaide has also written some short stories and novels: *God's medicine-men and other stories (2004)*, *The Debt-collector and other stories* (2009), *Matters of the Moment (2009)*, *The Activist (2006.* He has also written a memoir entitled *Great Boys*: *An African childhood (1998).* In these literary works, he has not only reworked folklore, but has also deployed folk items for the purpose of enhancing his writing and promoting his Urhobo culture in particular and the Niger-Delta cultural and linguistic background in general. This underscores Ojaide's sustained campaigning for the restoration of the dignity of the Niger-Delta, as succinctly captured by Tayo Olafioye in *The Poetry of Tanure Ojaide*: *a critical appraisal*:

„*Ojaide, like his art, makes every stage of his evolution a structural Ascendance of self-improvement. Each setting or stage therefore assumes a poetic. Experience, language and craftsmanship. His genesis from pastoral rurality, for example, reveals his botanical soul, an affinity with nature images, elegiac history, social dirges and satires, animated cleavages with cultural milieu and ambiences such as the satiric Udje song and dance*" (pp. 74-75).

Ojaide's recourse to short-story writing is for the continuation of social criticism against different shades of social malaise in Nigeria, which affords him the use of techniques of oral expression meant to create a much convenient platform of discourse, because

'*… the short story has been regarded as a most effective vehicle for instruction because it dispenses with the extensive embroidery and ornamentation built into other forms like the novel and the literary drama, while managing to carry equal appeal with these other genres*'. (Ode, Ogede, p. 74)

This essay aims to evaluate how Ojaide, in his *God's medicine-men and other stories*, presents a vision of Nigeria descending into moral

bankruptcy, in its struggle to address the clash of old and new social imperatives. The essay establishes a shift away from a concern with the impact of colonisation and the historical past and towards an examination of prevailing social, cultural and economic problems as grounded in the locale of the ten stories in the anthology. The essay further examines how Ojaide, in this anthology of short stories, mediates between the oral and the written elements of the novel as delineated by Ruth Finnegan: 'The basic point then, is the continuity of 'oral' and 'written' literature. There is no deep gulf between the two: they shade into each other (...) and there are innumerable cases of poetry which has both 'oral' and 'written' elements. The idea of pure, uncontaminated *'oral culture' (...) is a myth.'* (p. 24)

God's medicine-men and other stories is an anthology of short stories with diverse themes, written with poise and precision. Its structure demands that a reader's focus should be premised on the immediate level of perception, and should not search for parallel or inner meanings, which should come later. It is an anthology replete with a heavy portentous style, drugged with its own significance, which continually draws attention to its own profoundness. The thematic preoccupations of the ten stories in the anthology are stylistically derived from the modernist re-interpretation of social history, myth, legend and anecdote of Urhobo folkloric proclivity and Nigeria's social contradictions. These thematic concerns ostensibly foreground the signification of social and cultural transgressions, and how they have undermined value systems in Nigeria. In spite of the exploration of these folklore elements and social concerns in the narratives of the anthology, Ojaide, nonetheless, aesthetically improvised on the style of individual chapters in the anthology, so as to elevate them to the level of incisive social criticism.

In *God's medicine-men and other stories*, there is a skilful exploration of the social disconnection among individual characters, as well as of the individual's own evolving understanding of the dynamics of cultural hyphenation, revealing with grace, humour and a trace of sadness, the plight of those who occupy the interstices between modernity and tradition. Though Ojaide has not been prolific in fiction, his poetry collections have earned him several awards and recognition. The vivid details, the rambunctious humour and vibrant irony that characterize his depictions of primordial cultural practices in the Urhobo homesteads and

communities of the Delta in Nigeria are underlined and amplified by his criticism of the inherent ambivalence embedded in such cultures. Aside from some of the engaging and esoteric aspects of his characters' lives, one of the necessarily curious elements of Ojaide's fiction is the presentation of Nigeria as a huge landscape of corruption and prebendal antisocial practices. Ojaide's Urhobo communities of Oghara, Eku, Warri, Oghareki and Okpe only serve as microcosms of socially corrupt Nigeria.

The stories in the anthology incorporate myths, legends and even supernatural occurrences. In *Come back when you are ready to die*, a story whose aesthetic bravura is grounded in Urhobo orature, a woman who got married four times and three of the husbands died mysteriously, Ojaide weaves a narrative around a spirit husband, which constitutes a vibrant myth in the trajectory of Urhobo orature. The dominant theme here is man's outright helplessness in the hands of the gods:

'*Man is caught in webs and mysteries he cannot understand, explain or disentangle himself from. Man must struggle to survive, indeed to live and prosper despite the threats to his survival; the doubts, the unanswerable questions, the fears that he must give faces to and delimit in some ways for his own sanity*' (Ebele Eko, p. 34).

This man's helplessness is what is underlined in Elechi Amadi's *The Concubine* (1966).

Just as Amadi did not pursue an alternative belief system in *The Concubine*, portraying the life of Ihuoma, an incarnation of a sea goddess and the wife of a sea-king, whose two husbands died mysteriously at intervals, Ojaide, too, in *Come back when you are ready to die*, did not place the death of the two nameless husbands of the protagonist in an alternative belief system, but implied it in the story. Its significance is internalised and frequently *dramatized* rather than being presented as a subject of analysis in the story. Ojaide would want the readers to take the elements of African traditional belief system seriously within the context of magic realism, and not to trivialise them as myth, metaphor or image. This is in conformity with the view of William Bascom, who contends that

'*myths and legends contain detailed descriptions of sacred ritual, the codified belief or dogma of the religious system of the people*'. (p. 345)

The tragedy of the protagonist in the story may suggest other meanings to a modern reader, but at the level of narrative, Ojaide demands

that we set aside our modern views of motive and cause, and surrender our imaginations to the nuances of a traditional world. The story, as it stands, acts to recuperate this alternative world. It shows how it offered those who lived in it coherent, meaningful ways to order and understand their lives. It also demonstrates the play-outs of the mysteries which sometimes characterised them.

Come back when you want to die begins at the death of an unnamed character simply referred to as 'my mother' by the narrator, who is her son. The protagonist's turbulent marriages constitute the thematic concern which has to be harnessed through a retrospective narrative device which provides Ojaide ample opportunity to deploy an insight into the pathetic experience of the protagonist. The protagonist recounts her life history from the time she married the first husband, a marriage which remaining childless for twelve years and had to be dissolved so that both parties could go their different ways. She then remarried, and had a baby, but lost the second husband mysteriously when her son was only six months. After eight years she remarried again, had three children and, in the fifth year, her third husband died mysteriously. After many more years in limbo, she remarried again and had a baby by her last husband, and the marriage lasted for fifteen years until the protagonist died. The story provokes pity and curiosity which reverberates with a haunting vision of human despair. Ojaide's appropriation of this Urhobo myth underscores Wole Ogundele's observation, that

'*Orature has come in handy for demonstrating fierce (but selective) loyalties to indigenous traditions. It has also been serving compensatory purposes: writers use it to assert artistic authenticity or continuity, and critics to claim cultural authority.*' (p. 132)

Ojaide deftly handles the complex, varied themes of the poignancy of traditional ethos through the employment of topical narratives in this anthology of short stories, inviting readers to peer into the experiences of characters who are victims of mystical manipulations, like Endurance in the story *God's medicine men*, who is constantly sexually violated by an unidentified person in her dreams. Her solicitation of divine assistance in warding off this violation through pastor Odele eventually reveals that he is the unmasked violator of Endurance, through supernatural manipulation:

'... pastor Odele had assured her that he would drive away the wicked spirits that tormented her with a repulsive body odour. He asked her to spend the night in his room in his mother's house, he would want to pray and also perform some sacrifices at midnight in a nearby crossroads. Before that night, Endurance had placed so much trust in Pastor Odele's power. That very night, she found herself in the experience which Pastor Odele was supposed to have cured her from, the only difference was that this time it was real! When it was over, it appeared Pastor Odele was the one who used to steal in to her because it happened in the same manner.' (p. 87)

Ojaide seems to suggest here that there are mysteries in life that cannot be explained through modern belief systems and evaluations. Who could have believed that Pastor Odele, though mystically inclined, could manipulate such magic power to torment an innocent victim like Endurance. Ojaide's depiction of inherent African mysticism does not unobtrusively affect the structure of the narrative of *God's medicinemen*, thus contradicting Eustace Palmer's observation that

'the use of supernatural agents in a novel always presents grave difficulties such as the problem of rendering them credible and realistic.'(p. 56)

Tanure Ojaide's use of this element of oral tradition is designed to achieve two aims: situate the story within the locale of African cultural proclivity and satirize the inadequacy of Christianity in resolving deeply-seated mysteries such as the one Endurance experienced in the story.

Witchcraft as disruption of the transcendental ordering of society is touched upon in *The Major's appeal*. Major Efe Segine, who has attempted to disperse a village mob, is pushed from the back by a member of the rival family and inadvertently fires at the crowd killing a member of the rival family. In the story, the supernatural arouses curiosity, until it is eventually discovered that Major Segine's travails were caused by his sister, Titi, who confesses to being a witch and the cause of woes. Ojaide's characters are individuals who constitute an integral part of the community, who have to subscribe to a set of traditional norms and prescriptions. In Major Segine, Ojaide created a character with whose misfortune the reader empathises, whilst recognising that his travail was the product of a complex set of factors including ostensible overzealousness, protracted inter-family feuding, and the mysterious manipulation of the incident that led to his trial. The characters in this story are often torn between the values and cultural

codes of the community and their personal desires. But any violation of these codes also attracts severe punishment, and that is why Titi falls ill, confesses her evil deed and dies for transgressing the cultural codes of her community. Ojaide's strength as a writer with an uncanny interest in the custom and tradition of his Urhobo ethnic group is never in doubt. He dextrously presents the inter-play of reality and the supernatural, which provides a first-hand assessment of cultural practices among the Urhobo group of the Niger Delta of Nigeria in particular and among other ethnic groups in Africa. Ojaide intends to articulate the significance of the supernatural ethos in his representation of his communal background, which is significant because by this strategy he indeed subverts the Eurocentric modernist fictional tradition, which tends to downplay the essence of witchcraft in the African milieu.

A get-rich quick syndrome through criminal tendencies among officers and men of the Nigerian police force is poignantly represented in Ojaide's *God's medicine men and other stories*. More conventionally shaped as a narrative of corruption in modern Nigeria, *The Roadblock* tells the story of how Private Oyibo and Corporal Shegbe commit an enormous criminal act, by mounting an illegal roadblock so as to extort illegal fees from commercial buses plying the Warri-Agbarho-Ughelli road, part of the busy PortHacourt-Lagos road. The story highlights the despicable level of corruption in Nigeria, as manifested within the police force, Prison service and other para-military units.

The increasing pessimism of the Nigerians as to the state and future of the country significantly constitutes the locale of *The Road block*. The story presents a bitterly disillusioning image of contemporary Nigeria, marred in corruption which seems irredeemable. Whilst the story stresses the impact of corruption on Nigerian society as debilitating, corruption is also presented in stereotypical terms, as an endemic scourge motivated by an insatiable appetite for material possession. Pursued aggressively, even if it undermines the values of society, as exemplified in the illegal acquisitions of houses and exotic cars by PS Debo Fakade, for whom no holds are barred as he thrives on administrative subversive practices, such as giving preferential treatment to prisoners and inmates awaiting court trials in exchange of monetary gratifications. In the story, primary moral impulses are seen to be hedged by specific qualifications arising from the actual

conditions of life in Nigeria, which has circumstantially engendered such an ugly and despicable way of life. The characters' elemental sense of integrity is socially determined, as characters are free agents who have to be seen as metonymic of other Nigerians and of a debased Nigerian society. The graphic presentation of the chaotic administrative system in Nigeria, which thrives on ostentatious living, of the bizarre corrupt practice of illegal roadblocks dotting the highways in Nigeria, underscores how problematic the nature of corruption is in present-day Nigeria. Thus the social and economic corruption of modern Nigeria is portrayed as the legacy of years of moral compromise, of a history of duplicity foisted upon the nation by successive military regimes.

The transgression of societal norm is further reiterated in *The last-born.* In this chapter, deception and matrimonial manipulation constitute a thematic preoccupation. Titi's past, tainted by having had a baby as a teenager, is carefully concealed from her husband Ubi until it becomes the butt of jokes in the hospital complex where Ubi works as a medical doctor and Titi as a nurse. In spite of his expertise as an obstetrician, Ubi never knew Titi had had a baby, Tetebe, after a short but devastating love affair she had with George Kurusu when she was in the 4th form at St. Theresa's Grammar School Ughelli. However, the matter was amicably resolved through the ingenuity and maturity demonstrated by Ubi. That Titi has compassion and love for Ubi is not in doubt, but her inability to openly discuss her past with Ubi either before or in the early stage of their marriage reiterates the younger generation's eagerness to shake off the old system, perceived as synonymous with the traditional bondage which only affects women's social status in Africa but does not in any way diminish the social image of men who have children through sexual escapades before marriage. Titi is depicted here by Ojaide as a counter-example of a 'good wife', who is expected to confess her past to her husband before their marriage, as demanded by Urhobo culture and tradition.

A dimensional approach towards the articulation of cultural and social transgression in the anthology is skilfully reverberated in the devaluation of matrimonial bliss, as underlined in *I used to drive a Mercedes.* Ojaide created a world dominated primarily by women, where men function only as passing characters, effeminate husbands, lovers who are only preoccupied by sexual gratification. The bond between men and

women is seen as a material exchange and marriage is overtly commodified. The narrative presents the undermining effects of adultery not simply on the cohesion of family life, but its attendant consequences on the individual lives of those going through divorce. The matrimonial bond between Alfred, a Major in the army education corps and Sarah is doomed to fail because of their inherent incompatibility. While Alfred is hardworking, compassionate and considerate, Sarah is wayward, contemptuous and very materialistic. The relationship between the two is played out in terms of power and domination: Sarah is depicted as heartless, withdrawn and selfish, while Alfred is weak, foolish and outright stupid. In an attempt to please his wife, Alfred indulges and pampers Sarah, who descends in sexual decadence and immorality in order to obtain the material benefits that her husband cannot give her:

„*Sarah's taste was now insatiable. She wanted to live with Major Tobrise as if she was still with Alhaji Isa Mohammed in a London hotel. She suddenly travelled out, according to her, to visit her girlfriends In Kano.*
She kept the tryst with Isa and returned after five days of Tumultuous love making" (p. 60).

Although Sarah is an extraordinarily attractive woman, she allows her beauty to go to her head. She sinks out of her depth in cutting away from her role as a wife. But one also has to blame Alfred, who allows her to operate freely without any measure of restraint, to the extent of allowing her to stay in the hostel and travel at will wherever she wants, which allows her, for the first time in her marriage, to explore various techniques of sex which Alfred could not provide her while living with him as a housewife. She is for the first time enthralled, aroused, awakened and dazed by the monstrosity of sexual exploration she has with Isa Mohammed in a London hotel and its repeated performance in Kano, which she has not the strength of character to prevent.

Sarah's infidelity reached its crescendo when she starts making impossible demands that Alfred could not meet:

'*Major for nothing. See your mates with Mercedes for their wives while I am still on footroen and you driving a Beetle*'. (p. 60)

Alfred was pushed to the extreme when Sarah eventually leaves him. He decides to sell his poultry farm and buy a Mercedes, thinking that the acquisition of a Mercedes Benz would lure Sarah to come back to him.

But the detour he makes to the female undergraduate hall at the University of Benin, to pick 'Miss Ekaite Okon' leads to a quarrel between him and the porters which unfortunately degenerates to a free-for all brawl, culminating in the burning down of the army jeep which contained the bundles of five hundred and fifty thousand naira notes, the proceeds from the sale of his Midway Poultry farm.

This incident drives Major Alfred Tobrise out of his mind. He is declared mentally ill and is discharged from the army. In his madness, he takes to prowling the streets, howling: '*I used to drive a Mercedes. Give way and let me pass*'. (p. 53)

A cursory look at the development of the narrative and its imagery reveals the depth and subtlety of Ojaide's vision on how helpless an individual could become in a decadent society where social and matrimonial values have been grossly compromised.

Overzealousness at deploring cultural nuances in contemporary Nigerian society is obliquely criticised in *My master's son-in-law*. Here, Ojaide depicts the negative aspect of Urhobo culture. While Mr. Tadafe is an Urhobo man grounded in the ethos of his culture, he is not enslaved to its norms. He is pragmatic and considerate in his dealings with his house boy, Isaac Oghuvwu, who his kinsmen want to prevent from marrying his daughter Vera, because they counselled that Urhobo culture forbids the free-born from marrying the bonded. But Mr. Tadafe reacts differently and defends Isaac's innocence by chasing away the culturally irredentist kinsmen from his house:

„*Leave my house and don't ever come here again. This youngman is human being and if he and Vera love each Other, they will marry despite his background. You would not See him to insult if I did not ask him to come*" (p. 50).

Mr. Tadafe's reaction is symptomatic of a man who knows that although culture is fundamentally important to the well-being of everyman so long as it relates to them in their daily lives and arises out of the important aspects of their past and directly address their experiences in the present. A culture which only acts as the sophistry paraphernalia of superficial dressing, without the inherent, intrinsic internal regulatory mechanism of some flaws embedded within its ethos, cannot drive a society forward.

In this story, Ojaide explores the dilemma of a boy whose identity is controversially steeped in cultural ambivalence reflecting the major concern with generic African identity formation, which is reminiscent of the story of a boy's search for his identity within the nation state of Somalia in Nurrudin Farah's *Maps*. While such identity search becomes somewhat transcendental and sustained in Farah's *Maps*, it is only sudden and spontaneous in *My master's son-in-law*. Ojaide's narrative broadens and deepens our understanding of the complexity of ethnic chauvinism in contemporary Nigeria, as a convenient weapon that could be wielded by any individual or group to demoralise and humiliate another person or group perceived as not conforming to its primordial values.

The low appreciation of hard work and productivity in contemporary Nigeria is ostensibly dramatized in the anthology. This is succinctly underscored in *The book case*. The story examines the plight of Mrs Fatumbi who diligently and meticulously toiled day and night to write a seminal Geography text: *The Human Geography of West Africa.* Mrs. Fatumbi's erroneous understanding of Nigeria's social dilemma is that the government celebrates academic excellence and encourages authors. Hence she assumes that her book:

„*Though a textbook*, *should do well. After all*, *the nation Emphasizes the education of its youths. Parents would go any lengths to educate their children. The Federal Government and the various State governments always talked of supporting Nigerian authors who could Write books that had a Nigerian flavour. Mrs. Fatumbi knew her book had A West African*, *albeit a Nigerian*, *flavour that would be difficult for any Geographer to mat*ch" (pp. 125-126).

The story attempts to link nation, culture and Nigerian national narrative, which focuses on the traumas of prolonged military rule, national collapse and misplaced priorities. How does Nigeria, with its ebbing values, write its contradictory positions among other, saner countries of the world? How does Nigeria re-think the conjunction of nation, culture and narrative amidst the chaos in its social milieu? In *The book case*, the conflicts between the Nigerian nation and its citizens are generated by opposing ideas about what should constitute national values. Mrs. Fatumbi represents the typical voice of the national ethos and the colonial era, in which academic excellence and contributions were honoured and acknowledged

not only according to their individual merits, but also on the basis of their ability to uplift and positively project the image of the nation. By contrast, the Nigerian post-independence leaders, both civilians and military, are shown to be less sensitive towards these national values.

These contradictions in the value system underscores the bizarre turn-out at the book launch of Mrs. Fatumbi's text, marred by the absence of government patronage, which leads to the hospitalization and eventual death of Mrs. Fatumbi. The significance of the story lies in its portrayal of Nigeria as a nation which does not prioritise its values. As such, the story takes a new look at the vexed question of the social relevance of literature, the perception of the 'Nigeria project', and the nature of the aesthetic responses of individual Nigerian writers to the stifling socio-political realities in Nigeria. Invariably, the story locates literary production and reception within the context of the development of society.

An evaluation of the worthlessness of life without money and means of livelihood in contemporary Nigeria is clinically examined in *As in such things*. The story explores the life of Nick Mara, who lives on the fringes of social life. His business has failed, his son is gravely ill and he needs to refund a debt he owes his friend, who needs urgent medical attention abroad for a terminal disease.

Grounded in the personal story of the economic misfortunes of Nick Mara, *As in such things* encompasses the story of other Nigerians, helpless, depraved, rudderless, and economically jaundiced, in a nation that provides no meaningful forms of social welfare for their present and future. Nick Mara's decrepit home constitutes a general metaphor for the pervading squalor and utter poverty among the poor in contemporary Nigeria:

"The building had not been repainted, and the peeling original paint gave the house a dull brownish ochre-like appearance. The inside was mouldy, the cushion-chairs cumbersome and smeared with sweat. Some were torn and I could tell that their springs were either broken or loose. I knew that Nick Mara was not yet doing well, at least financially from the look of his home. Anyone who had such a fine woman as Mrs. Mara would use his means to make her shine, but she looked like a star covered by clouds" (p. 149).

The story portrays a nation that is ethnically divided, trapped in social disequilibrium, with no succour for the socially displaced. The image of Nigeria is grievously sullied by the scandalous social neglect of its

citizens, given the usual rapidity with which the economic policies of successive Nigerian governments change, in contrast with the variations in the economic well-being of the rulers and the ruled. Ojaide argues that literary writing in present-day Nigeria should strive towards the responsibility to detail and preserve the interplay of the social and economic circumstances which affect the well-being of the citizens. The story's plot exposes a landscape grounded in misery, bedevilled by a perennial fuel crisis, harangued by a neglected health sector, typified by a General Hospital, '*where the consulting doctor would need a bribe before checking a patient whom he would advise to seek help at his private clinic.*' (p. 146)

As in such things is a pathetic story in which almost every aspect of Nigeria in the depth of socio-economic deprivation is touched upon: lack, want, poor infrastructure, ethnic chauvinism, vanity and poverty induced deaths. At no point does any hopeless situation change for the better in the story. The story's pessimism is highlighted by the string of misfortunes that marks the life of Nick Mara:

'*His son had died. While there, I learnt his friend who could not be flown abroad for treatment had also died. His car was parked, dry of fuel. His wife and relations were more afraid of what would happen to him in his distraught state than they were concerned about their mourning for the dead son and friend*' (p. 150).

In the face of the evidently dysfunctional governance, where social services are grossly insufficient and poorly delivered because the capacity for service delivery is manifestly lacking, the least Nick Mara and other hapless Nigerians could do is to give up in utter despondency.

The theme of poverty and deprivation is further accentuated in *The wake keeping*. The corpse of Odova was kept in the morgue at Ufuoma clinic in Warri, but the body could not be retrieved by his children because the corpse, having been kept in the morgue, has contracted a huge demurrage which has to be offset before it can be released. Though Odova has many children, none of them is well-off enough to pay for the morgue charges and give Odova a befitting burial. His extended family is so affected by abject poverty that his corpse is abandoned in the morgue, which constitutes a desecration of Urhobo tradition.

Ojaide expresses anxiety and concern for the uncertainty surrounding Odova's burial. The anxiety arises from the unclear fate of

Odova, whose burial should have been accompanied by some traditional rites usually reserved for old men in African social setting, but the delay in burying the corpse is now attracting controversy and generating communal resentment against his family and kinsmen from the villagers, who perceive such delay as a transgression of Urhobo traditional values. The characters in *The wake-keeping* are trapped in a world where the balance between persons and objects has been upset. In a typical African cultural milieu, there has always been a considerable veneration for certain kinds of objects, often identified as sacred, like the corpse of an aged man or woman, usually perceived as a symbol of communal bond. Yet this veneration is never directed towards the more physical substance of the object, but rather to certain cultural significations attached to it. It is not sufficient to put the blame for the delay in Odova's burial on the inability of his children to provide the money for his burial, the community should have tasked itself to undertake this process so as to maintain cultural continuity as dictated by African cultural norms.

The construction of the stories in the anthology is satirical and allows Ojaide to include detailed description and exposition of the socio-cultural worldview of the Urhobo of the Niger Delta, Nigeria. The geographic range in the anthology is significantly smaller, in that most actions and events in the stories predominantly take place in Urhobo villages and some towns in mid-western Nigeria. Only *The book case* and *As in such things* are set in Lagos. This offers Ojaide the opportunity of commenting on the impact of the social and cultural breakdown in Nigeria generally, and its effects in the Urhobo enclave.

The stories in *God's medicine-men and other stories* convey a forceful, cohesive, acerbic and satiric pronouncement on Nigeria topical problems: corruption, bribery, ethnic division and social irresponsibility on the part of Nigerian political leaders. The pronouncement is substantially steeped in the dramatic treatment, enhanced and supported by an abundance of imagery and metaphors exemplified in the various dialogues in the stories of the anthology. The daunting, amazing incidents portrayed in *Come back when you are ready to die*, *The last-born*, *The Major's appeal*, *As in such things* and *The wake-keeping* are so organised and skilfully strung together and knotted so as culminate in a hilarious climax.

Proverbs are extensively used in both *Come back when you are ready to die* and *The wake-keeping* as '*a traditional speech trope, to validate what the writer aims at conveying ... These proverbs give a distinctive cultural identity to modern African literature*' (Ojaide, p. 9). These proverbs are used in the stories to reiterate the importance of culture to Urhobo society and show how often some aspects of this culture conflict with the social and emotional demands of the characters involved.

It is interesting to note that Ojaide's major literary forte is Poetry, and *God's medicine-men* and *other stories* is his first attempt at writing short-stories. While the narratives in the anthology evoke a sense of place and events which stimulate the reader's imagination with the scenes and actions in the Nigerian social and cultural landscape, the limited use of dialogue in the narrative structures of most stories constitutes a major weakness. However, Ojaide's spirited sense of humour, deft use of satire and fluidity in the language deployed in the description of actions and events make the anthology a success.

In conclusion, without being exhaustive, this paper has argued that Ojaide, in this anthology, has poignantly appropriated the devices of oral tradition and voiced the tragedy of the transcendental transgression of social and cultural norms in contemporary Nigeria. Some of the social and cultural ills treated in the stories, like the mystery of the supernatural, corruption, matrimonial upheaval, poverty, the misplaced priorities of government and the loss of cultural values, point to the perils which get in the way of Nigeria's steady march to nationhood.

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Rezumat:

Transgresiuni: Prezervarea peisajului tradiţional în "God's medicine-men & other stories", de Tanure Ojaide

Tanure Ojaide, un celebru poet nigerian, este un scriitor aflat constant în căutarea unei viziuni alternative asupra societăţii chemate să răspundă preocupărilor privind deteriorarea climatului social-politic din Nigeria. Problematica socială intermediată de *orature* furnizează cadrul predominant în care au fost analizate volumele sale de poezie. La debutul carierei literare, întinsă acum pe trei decenii, intrarea lui Ojaide, în 1973, în peisajul literaturii nigeriene era consfinţită de publicarea volumului *Children of Iroko. God's medicinemen and other stories* este primul său volum de nuvele. Această antologie de proză scurtă exprimă o adâncă indignare morală prin denunţarea stării de decădere a etosului socio-cultural din Nigeria contemporană. Lucrarea noastră evaluează maniera în care Ojaide explorează tematica amplă a prăbuşirii normelor sociale şi culturale în societatea nigeriană, exemplificată în volumul amintit. Sunt examinate pe rând complexitatea intersectărilor dintre tradiţie şi modernitate ce au afectat semnificativ viaţa oamenilor şi modul în care hibriditatea culturală accentuează efectul crizei societăţii nigeriene contemporane.

Cuvinte cheie:

Imaginaţie, transgresare, socio-cultural, ethos, peisaj, tradiţie.

DU POUVOIR. DE L'HORIZON ÉTHIQUE À CELUI ESTHÉTIQUE

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Abstract:
The political context seems to have established two stock phrases which encapsulate the meaning of the mechanisms of power – the 'struggle for power' and the 'intoxication of power'. If the power struggle is most fiercely enacted at the level of political speeches, which have to be convincing as to the truthfulness of the position they serve, the 'intoxication of power' is not confined to the domain of politics, it can be found anywhere within the realm of social relations. Then the question naturally arises: whatever inside us, innate in the fibre of our being, makes it possible for the powerful one to subjugate the less strong one? This question has multiple ramifications, pointing not only to the ethical horizon, but also to an aesthetic one. He who subdues another has on his side either the authority given by the particular qualities that he possesses or the ascendancy of the situation, dictated by various kinds of hierarchies based on age, social rank, more or less marked biological aggressiveness and sometimes sheer contingency. In the aesthetic realm, we sometimes find original answers.

In Samuel Beckett's play *Waiting for Godot*, the interpretation of power relations is actually based on a reversal of the poles of power. Paradoxically, the power lies not with the torturer, but with the victim, whose so called 'helplessness', regarded as the unconditional submission of a being for whom not to submit is both unconceivable and impossible, becomes in fact the power to understand the place and role meant for him in the game. Since it is the victim who sets the game, it follows he also leads it, so it is he who holds the real power. Besides, he knows to know beforehand something that the other misses: the harm of power has already become, through repetition, something banal.

Key-words:
Power, struggle for power, the intoxication of power, to dominate.

Si l'on se posait la question sur les ressorts d'un discours de pouvoir (question qui, d'ailleurs, ne cessera de soulever nombre de discussions et d'interprétations), on pourrait certes répondre tout en se référant de prime abord au contexte politique, car c'est lui qui semble avoir consacré deux syntagmes repère pour ce que signifient les mécanismes du pouvoir: le *combat pour le pouvoir* et l'*ivresse du pouvoir*. Dans ce contexte, le discours de pouvoir tient notamment au désir de faire connaître et

d'expliquer des états de choses qu'on révèle, jusqu'à un certain point, dans une perspective neutre. Mais comme tout discours politique poursuit un but, la neutralité disparaît dès l'instant où le locuteur le croit nécessaire, cédant la place à l'intervention de points de vue particuliers, à d'intérêts camouflés à première vue et pourtant visibles lors d'une analyse plus rigoureuse; la manière même de structurer le discours, dirigé vers l'obtention d'un certain effet sur l'auditoire, va le prouver. D'où il ressort que si, dans une première étape, le discours recourt à la technique de la description en tant que garantie de l'exactitude des états de faits présentés, dans l'étape suivante il procède à la combinaison de ces arguments qui doivent convaincre de la vérité concernant la prise de position à laquelle il sert. L'enjeu de l'argumentation est, assurément, un enjeu d'influence ou, d'après l'appellation de Patrick Charaudeau[36], *un enjeu de persuasion* dont l'effet sera ressenti tant dans la sphère rationnelle que dans celle émotionnelle. Dans le cadre de la typologie des discours politiques, le discours argumentatif a pour but de faire raviser quelqu'un ou bien de lui faire adopter un comportement projeté d'avance par l'entremise de l'exposé d'une thèse (ou d'une idée) soutenue par des arguments solides. Au cas où l'orateur y parviendrait, il aurait une place privilégiée dans la relation avec le public auquel il s'adresse. Le rapport de pouvoir finirait par pencher la balance en faveur du locuteur, car c'est lui qui persuade autrui, alors que ce dernier en est persuadé. Celui-ci aura la sensation qu'il partagera lui aussi ce pouvoir, qu'il en jouira un jour ou l'autre, peut-être au moins en égale mesure que son vrai détenteur. Désignés dans la stricte perspective de la relation de pouvoir, le locuteur est celui qui convainc/soumet et l'interlocuteur celui convaincu/soumis.

Il est bien certain qu'en un espace de temps plus ou moins long, ce type de discours a affaire à l'éthique. On le passe par le filtre de la vérité censée le vérifier dans l'immédiateté de son articulation ou, plus tard, lorsqu'il reçoit, en tant que «fournisseur d'espoirs», le verdict de *vrai* ou *faux*, suite à sa confrontation au réel. La «sentence» sera rendue en fonction de la réussite ou de l'échec du passage du discours en réalité: sinon, quelle serait la valeur des paroles d'un discours politique qui ne sont pas suivies d'actes?

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[36] Patrick Charaudeau, 2005, *Le discours politique. Les masques du pouvoir*, Paris: Vuibert.

Le discours politique est, d'emblée, un discours de pouvoir. Dans cette catégorie figurent les seuls discours qui convainquent, qui «séduisent» par la puissance des promesses faites: la «parole d'aujourd'hui» est tenue à l'«acte de demain». En un mot, le talent essentiel en politique est celui de convaincre. Après quoi le pouvoir, une fois qu'on l'aura conquis, exerce son influence aussi bien sur la majorité inorganisée que sur la minorité organisée qui se veut l'interprète du grand nombre en vertu de leur complicité, de leur consentement tacite. L'idéologie promue jusqu'à l'avènement au pouvoir doit servir à justifier la domination de cette minorité, domination à laquelle on arrive par la voie des paroles qui anticipent la société à venir, tout en s'efforçant de l'instaurer. La confusion vient de ce qu'on clame le bonheur du plus grand nombre, alors qu'en réalité c'est le succès de la minorité qui est poursuivi et dont on cherche à accroître la puissance pour réduire celle des autres. Le recours à la psychologie (même vulgaire) révèle qu'il existe un penchant à la dictature, que le but de la politique en général est de s'approprier un *pouvoir sans partage*, de s'emparer du pouvoir absolu sans intention aucune de le restituer. Ce que l'on fait après avoir conquis le pouvoir est déjà une autre affaire. Il ne faut pourtant pas ignorer que, parfois, il y a des témoignages gênants concernant le glissement du terrain des promesses à celui des faits.

Mais si le combat pour le pouvoir se livre avec le plus d'acharnement au niveau des discours politiques lors de la confrontation visant à une charge publique quelconque, l'ivresse du pouvoir ne recouvre plus un domaine déterminé, elle n'est plus caractéristique de la seule vie politique. Par contre, on peut la rencontrer du côté de n'importe quel domaine des relations sociales.

Dans sa «Face à l'extrême»[37], Tzvetan Todorov affirme que le plaisir éprouvé lorsqu'on fait ressentir aux autres le pouvoir qu'on a sur eux dépasse de loin les limites de la vie politique, pour s'installer où que ce soit: dans les relations affectives, de parenté ou intimes dont il conclut qu'elles ne sont pas, elles non plus, exemptes de cette ivresse du pouvoir qui se retrouve, somme toute, partout. Naturellement, le problème qui se soulève, à cet égard, porte sur ce qui rend possible, dans la constitution de l'être humain, que le plus puissant soumette celui moins puissant. L'homme qui

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[37] Tzvetan Todorov, 1994, *Face à l'extrême*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

assujettit autrui a de son côté soit l'autorité que lui confèrent des qualités à part qu'il possède, soit l'ascendant de la situation - la simple conjoncture ou bien toutes sortes de hiérarchies: d'âge, de rang social, voire quelquefois d'agressivité biologique marquée d'un individu. Ce qui s'institue dans ce type de rapport de pouvoir est, d'une part, l'aveuglement volontaire du désir d'assujettir et de dominer à tout prix, et d'autre part, le besoin confus de se laisser dominer, de subir la servitude d'une manière absolue. Une explication là-dessus aurait en vue le goût d'exercer la tyranie dont nul n'est exempt, de même que cette aspiration étrange à subir les contraintes impérieuses de la tyrannie dont nul, non plus, n'est exempt. Ces deux traits peuvent coexister en l'une et même personne. Quand ils se manifestent distinctement chez des personnes qui les possèdent à des degrés différents, la conséquence qui en découle est que ceux qui se laissent le plus enivrer par leur pouvoir sur les autres traiteront ces derniers commes de simples outils, comme des moyens destinés à accomplir des projets qui les transcendent, n'ayant rien à faire à leur volonté. La philosophie humaniste n'ignore pas qu'il est inévitable, parfois, que certains hommes soient pris pour des moyens; ce qu'elle prétend en fait c'est qu'ils ne soient nullement réduits à cette dimension. Il y a des voix dans les courants idéalistes qui, depuis l'aube des temps, ont refusé ouvertement un tel asservissement qui fait de l'homme moyen et non point but, outil au lieu de finalité. La réconciliation de ces deux côtés antagoniques, véritable «impératif pratique» pour la vie de quiconque, est conçue par E. Kant[38] dans ses *Fondements de la métaphysique des moeurs*:

«*Agis de telle sorte que tu traites l'humanité dans ta personne et dans celle d'autrui toujours en même temps comme une fin, jamais simplement comme un moyen*».

Il est bien connu que dans le monde des idées, là où l'on travaille avec de pures abstractions, on peut trancher catégoriquement en faveur des beaux principes qui devraient gouverner nos vies. Mais en réalité il survient dans la vie de tout un chacun un moment de lucidité où l'on se voit impuissant à rendre le monde comme on le voudrait. À ce moment précis, les choses se révèlent sous la forme donnée une fois pour toutes. Quant à celui qui s'empare du pouvoir, il n'aura jamais envie (au moins dans son for

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[38] E. Kant, „Fondements de la métaphysique des moeurs", in: G. Pascal, 1968, *Les grands textes de la philosophie*, Paris: Bordas.

intérieur) de le restituer , ce qui porte à croire qu'il y a des caractères qui ne sauraient s'épanouir qu'en exerçant le pouvoir de manière absolue. Cela signifie que l'exercice du pouvoir s'explique parfois par une impulsion primaire de dominer les autres et non pas par le désir vulgaire d'obtenir un avantage de telle ou telle nature. En ce sens, il faut dire qu'il y a des gens qui aspirent au pouvoir envisagé uniquement comme but en soi, que le pouvoir est souhaité pour lui-même et non en vue d'autre chose, qu'il n'est voulu que pour lui-même et en raison de ce qu'il vaut en lui-même. D'où il résulte une sorte d'«ivresse immatérielle»[39] touchant à la véritable métaphysique du pouvoir, qui ne tient ni à l'argent, ni à la belle vie, ni aux flatteries non plus dont on se verrait entouré du fait d'un rang social élevé.

Ceux qui souhaitent prendre le pouvoir pour le pouvoir sont ceux le plus enclins à devenir de vrais tyrans. Ce sont, pour la plupart, des êtres impitoyables, durs et prêts à se faire démontrer à tout moment le pouvoir qu'ils ont sur autrui. Pour cette raison, ils sont d'autant plus dangereux qu'ils chercheront à se ruer avec une intolérance absolue sur des êtres innocents qui se trouvent apparaître dans leur chemin. Pour eux, pour ces tyrans, l'innocence n'est pas mérite ni ne deviendra jamais vertu. Au bout du compte, le mécanisme de la complicité tyran(s)-victime(s) assure la marche du monde. Si le tyran ne jouissait pas de la complicité de sa victime, l'histoire des hommes - réelle ou seulement imaginaire – n'eût pas été ce qu'elle fut ni ne serait ce qu'elle est.

À en juger de la complicité qui atteint le paroxysme dans un couple de personnages illustres de la pièce de Samuel Beckett, *En attendant Godot*, on y verrait clair que la relation de pouvoir s'établit sur un renversement inédit des deux pôles du pouvoir. Ce qui est à remarquer c'est que, paradoxalement, c'est la victime qui joue au pouvoir, puisque c'est elle qui porte le fouet avec lequel, périodiquement, le bourreau lui frappe le dos avec des coups se répétant à intervalles réguliers. Point n'est besoin de la violence du bourreau aussi longtemps que la victime vient à sa rencontre, lui demandant, par le fouet qu'elle lui tend, qu'on la domine.

Qu'est-ce que ladite «impuissance» de la victime? Peut-on encore la concevoir dans les mêmes termes de *soumission inconditionnée d'un être pour qui ne pas se soumettre c'est précisément manquer à son devoir*? Peut-on encore y voir la même acception qu'on y attache de règle suivant

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[39] Tzvetan Todorov, ibid.

laquelle «la victime n'a que ce qu'elle mérite»?. Autant de questions sur l'impuissance qui ne serait, peut-être, que l'inverse de ce qu'on y comprend ordinairement, à savoir que la victime se rend bien compte de la place et du rôle qu'on lui assigne dans le jeu. D'où sa supériorité qui s'avère tout à fait juste. D'abord, parce qu'elle subit ce qu'elle subit. Ensuite, parce qu'elle entend les règles du jeu dont elle sort en vainqueur. Elle porte le fouet et le tend régulièrement, elle fait le jeu et le dirige, par conséquent c'est elle qui détient le vrai pouvoir. Et surtout ce qui la rend d'autant plus digne d'admiration c'est qu'elle semble savoir par avance ce que l'autre ignore: le mal du pouvoir est, à force de le répéter, quelque chose de banal.

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Rezumat:

Despre putere. De la orizontul etic la cel estetic

Contextul politic pare a fi consacrat două sintagme reper pentru ceea ce înseamnă mecanismele puterii – *bătălia pentru putere* şi *beţia puterii*. Dacă bătălia pentru putere se dă cel mai aprig la nivelul discursurilor politice care trebuie să convingă de adevărul luării de poziţie căreia îi slujesc, beţia puterii nu mai este specifică doar vieţii politice, ea poate fi întâlnită în orice domeniu al relaţiilor sociale. Întrebarea care se ridică în mod firesc este ce anume din noi, din constituţia noastră, face posibil ca cel puternic să îl supună pe acela mai puţin puternic? Întrebarea aceasta are multiple trimiteri nu numai la orizontul etic, ci şi la cel estetic. Cel care-l supune pe altul are de partea sa fie *autoritatea* pe care i-o dau însuşiri aparte pe care le deţine, fie *ascendentul* situaţiei dictat de varii feluri de ierarhii: de vârsta, de rang social, de agresivitate biologică marcată şi uneori de simplă conjunctură. În registrul estetic, asistăm uneori la transpuneri inedite. Interpretarea relaţiei de putere se aşază, în piesa lui Samuel Beckett, *En attendant Godot*, pe o răsturnare în fapt a polilor puterii. Paradoxal, puterea nu este la călău, ci la victimă, pentru că aşa-zisa ei „neputinţă", privită ca o supunere necondiţionată a unei fiinţe pentru care a nu te supune este ceva inadmisibil şi imposibil, devine aici puterea de a înţelege locul şi rolul care îi sunt menite în joc. De vreme ce victima ordonează jocul, înseamnă că ea îl conduce, deci ea deţine adevărata putere. În plus, ea pare să ştie dinainte lucrul care celuilalt îi scapă: răul puterii este, prin repetare, deja ceva banal.

Cuvinte cheie:

Putere, bătălia pentru putere, beţia puterii, a domina.

ROMANIAN CULTURAL DOMINANCE IN HABSBURG BUKOVINA

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Abstract:
Arbitrarily incorporated into the Empire, Bukovina was forced to exist in a foreign cultural environment and the people from Bukovina had to fight in order to preserve everything they had acquired and was being systematically damaged at that moment: language, customs, traditions, folklore, laws and common laws. Deliberately mixed up with Germans and Ruthenians – who were given rights the natives did not even dream of enjoying, in order to be more easily integrated – the natives had to bear their identity being erased and thus become „universal citizens of the Empire".

Key words:
Bukovina, Austro-Hungarian Empire, culture, resistance.

Contrary to all the recorded advances and material achievements of this world, only those pertaining to spirituality remain perennial. All others are temporary. They are common things and belong to society; they are, therefore, rules created by the community itself, made according to the cultural level of society at a given moment. It is culture that unites the community and gives its specific identity. When a nation has the misfortune of being isolated from its native territory and language, when it is arbitrarily integrated into another state organization, different to the one it has participated in building, according to some „objective" laws – then that society regresses. This is the case of Upper Moldavia, essentially changed after Bukovina was artificially incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Placed into another social background, subjected to different rules from those of its natural evolution, the new artificially mixed society had to fight, first of all, for its social liberties, resorting, obviously, to their traditional and cultural liberties.

„*This is explained by the fact that, against the background of the unfavourable historical conditions of the second half of the nineteenth century, the objectives of the national movement of the Romanian people in Bukovina could not be openly presented in all their complexity, but rather be covertly continued under a cultural disguise so as to avoid attracting the hostility of the imperial authorities. The times imposed solutions of cultural solidarity first, before issuing political answers. But culture always preceded politics, suggesting solutions to it*"[40].

The men of culture from Bukovina had to join their efforts in order to regain their own rights, lost once the organization in the new state took effect. As a whole, the society of Bukovina was of a rural type, which preserved its traditions, customs and myths.

„*The Romanian language generally meets all the conditions for becoming a cultural language in time, equal to Italian provided skilled people work with it*"[41].

Due to the special case of its territory after the incorporation into the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Bukovina cultural phenomenon had particular features in terms of literature, theatre, music, fine arts and media. Through its culture, Bukovina made efforts to attain the aims of its struggle – to detach itself from Galicia and then achieve the union with Romania.

On account of the new rules of property registration, issued by the new rulers, the nobility fled across the border, together with the free peasants, who felt that a good situation under a foreign domination is not to be expected. In this way, another part of the category of cultured and educated people was lost. Those remaining were unaware of what was happening, being used to the fact that a territory is conquered or lost only by struggle. So, the majority of the people were absolutely dumbfounded and confused at that time.

The policy of inveiglement was that of announcing a policy of continuity, reassuring the people that the old laws of the country will never be changed, which made them hope for the better. Obviously, that did not happen. Immediately after the first years of domination, the real intentions

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[40] Petru Rusşindilar, 1995, *Hurmuzăcheştii în viaţa culturală şi politică a Bucovinei*, Academia Română, Centrul de Istorie şi Civilizaţie Europeană, Editura Glasul Bucovinei: Iaşi, p. 150.
[41] Ion Nistor, 1991, *Istoria Bucovinei*, Ediţie şi studiu bio-bibliografic de Stelian Neagoe, Editura Humanitas: Bucureşti, p. 80.

of the Austro-Hungarian Empire started to be seen even by the most benighted or blinkered ones. The first protests were those of the nobles, namely of the most enlightened of the few; otherwise,

„*…the whole administrative body was imported from the centre. The officials were almost exclusively Germans. The nature of the administration was also German and its purpose was to Germanize"*[42].

It would be improper to speak about a class of intellectuals, because the only ones who could read were the priests in the villages. Only the monks in the traditional monasteries and in the clerical hermitages could be included in this category. But they were very few compared to the majority, too isolated to say what they thought, and, not long after the conquest, they themselves were robbed of their territory and thus forced to flee Bukovina and hide in Moldavia.

Bukovina – says Ion Budai–Deleanu:

„*seems to have the fate of seeing itself under the leadership of everybody who is incapable, immoral and selfish in the whole monarchy*",

while the officials, having got rich at the expense of the native population

„*had continuously mocked this poor nation, the reason of their temporary happiness, calling them barbarian, half-people etc."*[43] Magistrates, in turn, are described by the author to be

„*worthless persons, vagabond good-for-nothings, barbers, journeymen and even lackeys, who were sent to and appointed in Bukovina as leaders, assessors, chancellors"*[44].

The church fared no better. Having such a traitorous leader as the bishop Dosoftei Herăscu, the Metropolitan episcopacy was forced to move from Rădăuţi, where it belonged, to Czernowitz, thus becoming detached from the Church of Iaşi and submitted to the Serb Carlova Church. Herăscu's successor, Daniil Vlahovici, was meant to Slavicize the clergy, in order to divest it of its entire identity.

„*The petty politics weakened the foundation of our Orthodox Church, intimidated the weak characters and bent the strongest ones under*

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[42] Constantin Loghin, 1926, *Istoria literaturii române din Bucovina (1775–1918) (în legătură cu evoluţia culturală şi politică), cu 32 de clişee*, Tipografia Mitropolit Silvestru: Cernăuţi, p. 2.
[43] *Ibidem.*
[44] *Ibidem.*

the charms of titles and promotions, divided the brothers of the same nation, shattered the strength of our faith in our past, covered our inheritance under the veil of contempt and darkened our confidence in the bright future of our nation"[45].

The education in schools shared the fate of the other social and cultural institutions. The humiliation of children and teachers is evident in the testimony of a contemporary:

„… under such circumstances, within more than a half a century, the Romanian from Bukovina had no possibility of learning in his native language in the public schools in his country; he acquired all culture only in foreign languages, on account of the frequently repeated observation that the Romanian language was a rustic one, unsuited for the teaching of science and education! Thus, it was not surprising that almost all Romanians educated in this way became separated from those without education and felt ashamed to spend time with them and to talk to them in their Romanian language. Many of them hesitated to confess that they were Romanians. In their own families, the German, Polish and even Russian languages were preferred and spoken instead of Romanian"[46].

However, it is difficult to ignore the language of a nation, even in such conditions:

„The Romanian language and culture, excluded from the curriculum of Bukovina public schools, found their place elsewhere, where they were scrupulously cultivated. Following the Moldavian custom, itinerant teachers and monks scoured the villages and gathered together children of noblemen, yeomanry or perhaps wealthier peasants in spacious rooms, introducing them to the mysteries of writing and reading, following some old book, to the holiness of religious books and to the world of figures"[47].

One of the Hurmuzachi brothers speaks on behalf of this society opening towards the national culture about the importance of the national language:

„A nation never rose to a significant cultural level by trying to use a foreign language instead of its native language. [...] The right to preserve and cultivate one's nationality, which has its corollary in the native

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[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 7.
[46] I. G. Sbiera, *Familia Sbiera*, p. 146.
[47] Constantin Loghin, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

language, is a holy law of the nature, the triumphant principle of modern civilization"[48].

The same Gh. Hurmuzachi emphatically supported the importance of folk culture:

„Many of these productions of the poetic spirit of the Romanian people can match the literature of the most developed nations"[49].

A significant role in the advancement of Bukovina's culture was played, without doubt, by the new partition of 1775, which helped relatives and old friends to remain close together. Some of them succeeded not only in keeping the national conscience awake, but also in protecting the language against oblivion. Of course, obstacles were everywhere because, soon after annexation, Austria resorted, as a means of precaution, to a separation barrier at the border (called *cordon sanitaire*) – rather a kind of incipient Berlin Wall – meant to separate the Moldavians from their brothers who had fled Bukovina to the other side, to free Moldavia. However, for the main part, the area along the border was uninhabited and hard to guard, being protected by mountains familiar to the locals and unknown to the border guards, which explains why, for years, skilled guides helped all interested persons across the border in both directions.

After the Eterists' revolt, many well-off people from Moldavia took refuge in Bukovina, striking long-lasting friendships there, as it was to happen later with the Moldavian revolutionaries of 1848. The defining role belonged to the courts of the high nobility, which hosted the refugees and preserved the Moldavian documents and books. Churches and monasteries were in themselves true heritage libraries, in which manuscripts and books were part of the monastery or church wealth. But where the Austro – Hungarian Empire failed, the Soviet Empire succeeded in the aftermath of 1944, when it started the systematic destruction of these precious archives of Romanian identity.

Therefore, all the cultural contributions of Bukovina were mainly «underprivileged». We can speak about a scientific literature only in the area concerning the elaboration of the rules of the Romanian language, or the investigation of internal and external sources regarding the origin of the

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[48] Gheorghe Hurmuzachi, 1886, în: *Foaia Societăţii pentru Literatura şi Cultura Română în Bucovina*, Anul II, nr. 3/1 March, p. 67-68.
[49] *Foaia Societăţii...* anul I, 1865, p. 86.

Romanians. The main contribution to the latter is owed to the Hurmuzachi brothers, who discovered in the Viennese archives significant documents attesting the Romanian people's continuity throughout history. Our history would have been infinitely poorer without those documents.

We can speak about a literature in Romanian only in relation to the writings coming from the Romanian writers in Moldavia, Transylvania and Walachia, mostly published at the same time with the publications before the Revolution of 1848. But the role of Aron Pumnul and I.G. Sbiera in the realms of philology and history or of Simion Florea-Marian in that of folklore cannot be disregarded. Starting with the first popular calendars, the importance of folklore, of practical learning and later of the dictionaries and grammar books compensated for the lack of literary productions, satisfying the taste of the population and their level of acceptance.

The fruitful cooperation between Moldavia and Transylvania had begun before the revolution of 1848. The future exchange of ideas and literary works would mark a qualitative step forward in literature, which progressed from religious to moralizing and didactic forms, while the alphabet evolved by undergoing a so-called «simplification», represented by the sole fact that «*half of the letters were Latin*»[50]. But the factor that led to the development of the quality of the culture in Bukovina was the persecution of the tyrannical regimes of the Moldavian rulers, who were supported by the Russian consuls. Under these circumstances, the difficulties of some people were mitigated by the hospitality of others. The relationships between the families of landowners that had been separated since 1775 were rekindled. The friendships started to work again because the rich young people who went to study in Paris returned to Czernowitz, where the enlightening ideas they imparted were welcomed as benefiting the public good. The hospitality of the Hurmuzachi family at Cernauca, Dulceşti or Czernowitz, where they owned properties, has remained proverbial over time. Generously hosted, the ideas of the Revolution and of the Union were born there. The leading politicians and the most creative people took refuge there, drawing up their political programs or writing their creations, as in the case of Mihail Kogălniceanu, Vasile Alecsandri, Dimitrie Ralet, Anastasie Panu, the prince Gr. Cantacuzino, Alecu Russo,

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[50] *Ibidem*, p. 34.

Al. Ioan Cuza, the Goleşti brothers, Gheorghe Bariţ and Aron Pumnul. An effervescent atmosphere of creativity joined the Romanians in the two divided countries. All these led to one of the most fruitful cultural cooperation and to common political programs. From this point of view, the Hurmuzachi family was right to consider that „*at the base of cultural policy we must place the schooling policy, which, in its turn, has to have a national character*"[51].

Understanding that the moment was auspicious for issuing a propaganda publication, the Hurmuzachi family set up the „*Bukovina*" newspaper, subtitled the „*Romanian Gazette for Politics, Religion and Literature*", and intended to be the mirror of Romanian intellectual life. Iraclie Porumbescu, the father of the composer Ciprian Porumbescu, started his activity there with patriotic poems and fables. „*Some of them contain significant moments from Bukovina's past*"[52]. Alecsandri published much of his work there. Andrei Mureşanu, Dimitrie Bolintineanu, Eliade Rădulescu, Grigore Alexanderescu also contributed to it by their writing, so the newspaper set a special direction for the literary movement in Bukovina and Romanian literature in general.

A coherent program was established for publications such as „*The Paper of the Society for Romanian Literature and Culture in Bukovina*" and „*Dacia literară*" of Iaşi:

„*First of all, our paper will deal with national literature in its various branches, contributing through original and special works to its enrichment*"[53].

Alecsandri himself honestly noted in 1866:

„*Here* [at Czernowitz n.n] *my theatre plays produce a great effect; everyone sing the songs of «Florin and Florica» and especially the poem that I addressed to Bukovina and which is printed in the «Society» has become the national poem here, despite the Germans*"[54].

Negruzzi, Alecu Russo, Miron Pompiliu, Dimitrie Petrino also published there. The paper's rich harvest of literature consisted of works „*published as circulated among the people, without being affected by the*

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[51] Petru Russindilar, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
[52] Ion Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 169.
[53] Constantin Loghin, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
[54] Ion Nistor, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

rage of rectifying, as was the trend of that time"[55]. Its merit is that the authors were united by the same cause of furthering the Romanian spirit.

Things worked in the other direction as well. Later on, writers from Bukovina published their works in „*Convorbiri Literare*" of Moldavia, furthering the collaboration between the Romanians in the two regions of the same country. It is worth noting that the teacher Aron Pumnul, coming from Transylvania, assisted young people from Bukovina with their applications for the high schools in Transylvania. That was the case of Vasile Bumbac, Ioan Buliga and Vasile Burlă.

A special role in Bukovina's cultural development is attributable to the setting up of the National Library. On June 1851, at the initiative of a Committee including Doxachi Hurmuzachi, together with Carol Miculi, Alexandru Costin and others, was launched a „*Call of gifts for the Library of Bukovina country*". Their undertaking was supported by their personal financial efforts, since otherwise all applications for setting up such institutions and corporations were refused under various reasons. The Empire cut from the root any initiative that was likely to awaken the consciousness of the nation. Thus, starting with 1850, the great owner Mihai Zotta gave 1.000 florins for setting up the library. In the same spirit of brotherhood, the Romanians living outside Bukovina made their contribution, and we refer to Nicolae Cantacuzino Paşcanu, the prince Mihai Sturdza, Constantin and Scarlat Vârnav. But „*Eudoxiu Hurmuzachi, the son, filled the shelves of the new library with books acquired by him from the publishers of Vienna*"[56]. Catalogues containing all the volumes in the Romanian language were exchanged between this new library and the Central Library in Iaşi. In 1861 the library was taken into the care of the Executive Committee of the Diet, and, starting with 1870, Ioan G. Sbiera, Eminescu's teacher, was appointed director of the library. Unfortunately, the initiative of the monks at Putna or Dragomirna to restart the printing activity was rejected by the Austrian authorities, who knew that Romanian nationalism would surely have acquired an even greater magnitude.

The Celebrations at Putna in 1871, occasioned by the anniversary of four hundred years since the church had been consecrated undoubtedly had

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[55] Constantin Loghin, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
[56] Ion Nistor, 1991, *Istoria Bucovinei*, Ediţie şi studiu bio–bibliografic de Stelian Neagoe, Editura Humanitas: Bucureşti, p. 150.

particular importance for the cultural history of the Romanians, but also struck a blow at the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Governor of Bukovina „*permitted a religious and not a national characteristic of the celebration*"[57]. Yet, this celebration succeeded in reviving the national consciousness of the masses and in awakening the national spirit, against the will of the rulers: both the Austrian and local authorities in Czernowitz. Despite all these, the Congress of All Romanian Students was organized at Eminescu's insistence. Ciprian Porumbescu's performance of his composition named „*Hora detrunchiaţilor*" to the „*whole Dacia*" remained emblematic.

Thus, the music, performed in the same ardent patriotic spirit, further inflamed the Romanian spirit in Austrian Bukovina. Until its occupation by the Austrians, in the Upper Country of Moldavia the tradition of religious choirs was natural; being closely linked to ecclesiastical practice, the choral movement „*was indissolubly linked to the beginnings of Christianity and to the new churches that were built*"[58], very numerous in that part of the country. An important step in the development of religious choral music was made by the Musical School in Putna. The monks of Putna church used to copy musical manuscripts and also composed music. That school „*had become, in only two decades of existence, one of the most important centres of culture in Moldavia and even in Southern-Eastern Europe, with wide resonance in the Southern Balkans and as far as Moscow*"[59].

At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, Austrian Bukovina relinquished that tradition for a while, advancing instead in cultivating classical music, introduced by the aristocratic families in imitation of the fashion in Vienna. However, the local fiddlers' music developed in parallel, being performed not only at popular events such as communal merry-making and dances, but also in the great aristocratic houses. It so happened that in 1847 the Romanian fiddler Nicolae Picu, who performed in the house of the Hurmuzachi family, was appreciated by the composer Franz Liszt, who was so enthusiastic about his true talent that he

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[57] *Ibidem*, p. 206.
[58] Alis Niculică, 2009, *Din istoria vieţii culturale a Bucovinei: Teatrul şi Muzica (1775–1940)*. Casa editorială „Floare Albastră": Bucureşti, p. 142.
[59] *Ibidem*, p. 143.

put down some of his popular songs, songs that were later to be adapted in the compositions of the great artist.

Grigore Vindereu, welcomed with great enthusiasm by the Romanians gathered at Putna in August 1871, was Picu's disciple. He perfected the interpretative art of his master, enjoying the unanimous appreciation of the peasants and the great landowners. At the beginning of the 19th, following the model of Frederic Chopin, looking for inspiration in popular creations and reworking them in classical music were becoming a fashion. His student, Carol Miculi, was the first musician from Bukovina who was significantly inspired by Romanian folkloric music, shown by his composing a collection entitled „*Quarante-huit airs nationaux roumaines*", collection that contains adapted shepherds' folk songs.

„*Many of the songs collected by Miculi are to be found today in Romanian folklore and some of the dances are still preserved by tradition only in Bukovina*"[60].

Great composers from Bukovina followed Miculi's example: Ciprian Porumbescu, Tudor Flondor, Alexandru Voievidca. „*Crai nou*" was the first Romanian composition of this kind. „*If there is any composer I have studied and I'm continuing to study with great care*" – says Ciprian Porumbescu – „*than I dare say this composer is our people itself*"[61].

The representative of „popular" themes in the fine arts was, undoubtedly, the painter Epaminonda Bucevschi. Like other artists of his time, he explored relevant and enlivening popular themes from the present and the historical past, illustrating, for example, the anthem *Deşteaptă-te române,* and the well-known folk ballad *Dochia*. Through his work*, „Epaminonda Bucevschi raised artistic Bukovina to the rank of a «Venice» where art and culture were born and matured, and famous patronages watched for their honour and cause*"[62].

In this way, the painter and his contemporary painting shared the common creative attitude of the others, inspired by social life in its entire, natural reality, in representing the prevalent patriotic theme of that time. In fact, the painter was the continuator of the religious painting tradition started at Putna long before.

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[60] Alis Niculică, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
[61] Ilie Luceac, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
[62] Ilie Luceac, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

The cultural societies from Bukovina had become, in turn, true effective barriers against foreignism, claiming to receive answers in the Romanian language for the petitions officially submitted. The members of those societies were elected from all Romanian provinces and the honorary members of the „*Society for Romanian culture and literature in Bukovina*" were elected from Romania. Guided by the principle that „culture is life itself", the intuition of the leaders was auspicious, because they knew how to fuel political events which did not often have a favourable result, to cherish culture and, through it, Romanian national unity. „*We believe –* writes Gh. Hurmuzachi in the *Paper of Society –, that not the sterile political battles, not the fierce fighting of the parties,* [...] *but* [...] *only culture will save us*"[63]. The Department of National History, ardently promoted by the Hurmuzachi brothers and by society at large, was one of the greatest achievements.

„*Being a way of protest and resistance against the Austrian policy, the organization of societies was at the same time a good school, where generations of Romanian intellectuals were formed, thus playing an important role for the national and cultural unity of Romanians, culminating with the moment of the Great Union of 1918*"[64].

The theatre, in its turn, was a strong source of Romanian spirituality. It was an educational forum available to all, especially as the plays were mostly chosen from the Romanian repertoire and were performed in the Romanian language, fact that aroused an unexpected enthusiasm. Performed in the native language, the plays had a great role in discouraging other theatres (German, Polish, Hebrew, etc), simply because the representations were qualitatively superior to them. Due to the acting companies of Ştefania Tardini, Vlădicescu, Mihai Pascaly and then to the representations of Matei Millo, „*the Moldavian artists were the first messengers of Romanian culture who came to recapture what the Romanian people had lost*"[65]. After such a theatrical show, even a German newspaper had to appreciate the

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[63] *Foaia Societăţii pentru Literatura şi Cultura Română în Bucovina*, An III, nr. 7 şi 8/1867, p. 179.
[64] Ilie Luceac, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
[65] Alexandru Hurmuzachi, 1865, *Teatrul naţional*, în: *Foaia Societăţii...*, nr. 1, 1 March, p. 68.

outstanding art of the performance: „*We owe both art and ourselves to bring our homage to this brilliant artist*"[66].

With regard to all these actions, which paved the way for the union of Romanians from everywhere, Eminescu himself concluded:

„*If* [...] *«Lepturariul» exaggerated in eulogizing some people no longer living nowadays, at least many of them were the persevering pioneers of the nationality and of the Romanian spirit – pawns, gregarious soldiers, whose big hearts were maybe worth more than their minds, it is true! – who, if they were no geniuses, were at least people possessed of a vast erudition*"[67].

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[66] *Bukowina*, 13 May 1864.
[67] Mihai Eminescu, 1980, *Opere IX. Publicistică,* Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România: Bucureşti, p. 82.

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Rezumat:

Dominarea culturii româneşti în Bucovina habsburgică
Încorporată arbitrar în imperiul habsburgic, Bucovina a fost silită să fiinţeze într-un mediu cultural străin, iar locuitorii ei s-au văzut nevoiţi să lupte pentru a-şi păstra valorile care acum erau distruse sistematic: limba, obiceiurile, tradiţiile, folclorul, legile. În mod deliberat amestecaţi cu germanii şi rutenii – care se bucurau de drepturi la care localnicii nici nu puteau visa, pentru a fi mai uşor integraţi – oamenii locului au suferit să vadă cum identitatea lor era ştearsă cu scopul de a face din ei „cetăţeni universali ai Imperiului".
Cuvinte cheie:
Bucovina, Imperiul austro-ungar, cultură, rezistenţă.

THE HEALTH MEDIATORS AND THE NEED FOR AN INTERCULTURAL APPROACH TO HEALTH WITHIN ROMA COMMUNITIES

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Abstract:
Romania has a network of health mediators, meant to facilitate the communication between Roma communities and the medical staff. In this qualitative study, using data collected from three focus-groups with health mediators from Iaşi and Cluj counties, we provide significant information about the problematic issues related to the Roma population. The main challenges are the barriers affecting access to healthcare and the peculiarities of this ethnic group. Access to and healthcare provision would be improved with the development of the health professionals` cultural competences. Health mediators are the key elements in this process, all the more so as they are able to render innovative, collaborative care and program building with family physicians and hospitals, committed to the comprehensive and preventive treatment of the Roma population.

Key words:
Cultural competence, health mediator, Roma community, healthcare.

Introduction

The quality of the healthcare provided to the ethnic minority populations is not at the same level as that provided to majority group patients[68]. Discrimination experiences exist even within the health system.

The Roma [Gypsies, Romani] constitute the largest ethnic minority in the South-East of Europe. Their situation has been analysed in many

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[68] J.G. Ponterotto, J.M. Casas, L.A. Suzuki & C.M. Alexander (eds.), 1995; C. Seeleman, J. Suurmond, K. Stronks, 2009, pp. 229-237.

documents of the European Union, focused on protecting minorities and providing them with opportunities to improve the current situation. Recent research have repeatedly identified a major decline of the socioeconomic status of the Roma in south-eastern Europe, marked by social exclusion, poverty, poor living conditions, unemployment, low education levels, discrimination and racism, that lead to major disparities between the status of the Roma and the majority[69].

The restricted access to healthcare services and the precariousness of the health status amongst the Romanian Roma, by comparison to the majority population, has been documented by numerous sociological studies[70]. These studies have found that, despite the high degree to which the Roma population has been included in the public healthcare system and the growth in number of the national health programmes over the past ten years, important factors of latent discrimination linger in the Romanian healthcare system.

Zhang and Verhoef[71] have proven that a main determinant of the health status among minorities is the relationship they have with the medical staff. Cultural differences between care providers and patients belonging to other ethnic groups may create barriers to effective communication and treatment, through the misinterpretation of patients' symptoms and the difficulty in transmitting medical knowledge to members of traditional ethnic communities. The concept of *cultural competence* has been extensively debated upon as a strategy for improving the quality of healthcare and eliminating ethnic disparities in the health system[72]. Culture refers to the integrated patterns of human behaviour that include language, thoughts, communication, actions, customs, beliefs, values and institutions of racial, ethnic, religious or social groups. In turn, cultural competence has been broadly defined as „a set of congruent behaviours, attitudes, and

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[69] Á. Molnár, R. Ádány, B. Ádám, G. Gulis, K. Kása, 2010, pp. 1240-1247; D. Ringold, M.A. Orenstein, E. Wilkens, 2005; A. Revenga, D. Ringold, W.M. Tracy, 2002; S. Hajioff & M. McKee, 2000, pp. 864-869.
[70] V. Astărăstoae, C. Gavrilovici, M.C. Vicol, D. Gergely, S. Ion, 2011; S. Cace & C. Vlădescu, 2004.
[71] J. Zhang & M.J. Verhoef, 2002, pp. 1795-1802.
[72] M. Leininger, 2002, pp. 189-192.

policies that come together in a system, agency or among professionals that enable effective work in cross-cultural situations"[73].

An efficient model that directly addresses the linguistic and cultural problems of such groups accessing healthcare services is based on using a *team of cultural support*, which works with both medical staff and community members. The members of such a team, called *intercultural mediators*, often originating from the ethnic community, are appointed as community health workers. They facilitate the border crossing of another person or group of people from one culture to another culture. Following the practice of other countries, Romania has also created a network of health mediators (HM), persons recruited from among Roma women. The aim of their activity is to facilitate the Roma's access to the healthcare system and to encourage a non-discriminatory attitude and equal treatment from healthcare providers when working with Roma patients, and, ultimately, to facilitate communication between community and medical staff[74].

HM have been trained by an NGO, Romani CRISS. The Romanian Government Order no. 619/14.08.2002 regulates the activity of HMs and includes the technical framework for the organization, functioning and financing of their activity. The HM's job is considered as an interface between the community and local partners (family physicians, local authorities, etc.)

The objectives of this study are to determine the role of HMs as intercultural factors contributing to healthcare quality among Romanian Roma patients and to point out their cultural competence in the community where they work.

2. Methodology

We have chosen the focus group technique, because it is an interactive one that creates the opportunities for an easier communication and free discussions. At the same time, it offers a more relaxed atmosphere for discussing more sensitive subjects[75].

Participants and recruitment

We have organised three focus groups (fg) with 30 HMs from the counties of Iaşi and Cluj (Romania), the research being conducted between

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[73] T. Cross, B.Bazron, K. Dennis, & M. Isaacs, 1989.
[74] *** *European Network Sastipen. Annual Report 2005-2006*, 2007.
[75] C. J. Kitzinger, 1995, pp. 299-302.

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January and March 2012. We gathered the contact information of some HMs from the Department of Public Health. In Iaşi, the participants were contacted on the phone with the support of the counsellor of the prefect of Iaşi, who provided the research team with the contact details of the HMs. They made efforts to come to the Prefectures in both cities, where the focus groups were conducted. Others expressed their regret for not being able to respond positively to the request. The communities served by the participants in focus groups were either traditional or Roma communities with „Romanianized" members (as the respondents defined themselves) or mixed communities. The traditional communities investigated were spoon makers, musicians, bears tamers, wood crafters, coppersmiths and tinsmiths who preserve ethnic traditions regarding the perception of illness and patient care.

Group interview guide

During our research we have used a semi-structured guide for the focus group, aiming at facilitating discussion about the determinants of the quality of life of a chronic patient in the Roma community. The guide covered aspects concerning illness and the attitude towards the patients (in community and family), the attitude of Roma towards the health system and health in general (preventive attitudes, health insurance, etc.), respect for the patient during all medical interventions, misbehaviour or mistakes in the attitude of Roma who seek health care, customs and traditions related to death and funerals in the Roma community, etc.

Procedure

At the beginning of the focus groups, the participants signed agreements for personal data processing and provided, in a table, demographic data: name, age, education level, the Roma group they belong to. With their permission, discussions were audio recorded and then transcribed. Confidentiality was guaranteed and they were assured that in the studies based on the data gathered during the focus groups their identity would not be disclosed. Each focus group lasted for 60 to 80 minutes.

Analysis strategy

The analysis of the discussions was conducted using the interpretative phenomenology analysis[76], a method that allows the researcher to identify topics and generate a coherent interpretation of these topics.

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[76] J. A. Smith, 1996, pp. 261-271.

The transcripts were analysed according to the frequency of the topics. Related topics were grouped. The interpretation of the topics is illustrated by excerpts from the transcripts.

Qualitative analysis revealed the experience of Roma seeking medical services. The health mediators told us about their experience related to the direct contact with Roma ethnics and their living environment, living conditions and the problems they encounter. The responses integrated personal experiences, information about the social context, aspects of the local history, etc. The three focus groups facilitated a better understanding of how health mediators work and the difficulties they encounter.

3. Results

Access to and providing healthcare are problematic issues related to the Roma population. The main challenges are the barriers affecting access to healthcare and the peculiarities of these ethnic groups.

Barriers Hindering Access to Healthcare for Roma Patients: A Two-Faceted Coin

Lack of financial resources and health insurance coverage

The Roma are often faced with *economic problems* and poverty[77]. The patients and their families fully experience financial difficulties[78]:

There are persons suffering of cancer and they believe that treating cancer requires large sums of money so that they prefer not to go to the doctor anymore. (fg. 3)

The availability and appropriate use of healthcare services by the Roma are often hampered by the lack of financial resources.

In the Romanian healthcare system, patients are registered to one family physician of their choice, which provides the necessary basic care and is the gatekeeper to the next echelons of medical care. One of the conditions to be registered is to have health insurance coverage. Because of unemployment and the low educational level, sometimes because of the refusal to work[79], numerous Roma ethnics cannot afford paying for a health insurance, thus not having access to medical services. Although during focus groups respondents pointed to the lack of jobs for Roma, some HMs stated that:

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[77] A. Revenga, D. Ringold, W. M. Tracy, 2002.
[78] E. J. Emanuel, D. L. Fairclough, J. Slutsman, L. L. Emanuel, 2000, pp. 451-459.
[79] G. Duminică & M. Preda, 2003.

Some guys don't want to work. There have been courses: plumbers, carpenters, welders. We've registered them. They came for a few hours on the first and second day. I told them: "Dude, at the end of the course you'll get a certificate and ten million lei." Transport was covered. They came at the beginnin' and at the end. They wanted only the certificate and the money. There was no way to make them learn, no! They're used to being given and receiving. (fg. 2)

Under such conditions, one of the participants raises a question: "What is to be done by the HM? Can s/he pay the beneficiaries salaries or the insurance?" (fg. 1)

In other situations, the wealthy Roma voluntarily evade the payment of health insurance. As 55% of the Romanian citizens do not pay a health insurance[80], these answers suggest that even the Roma with a high economic level evade the payment of health insurance. Although they express their intention to benefit from the available medical services, evading the payment of health insurance is common practice, both among the Roma facing financial difficulties and among those with financial means.

Lack of cognitive resources

The lack of *cognitive resources* represented by limited education and language barriers hamper the provision of care to patients from different cultures in several aspects[81]. Some Roma patients in Romanian society are relatively poorly educated and have poor language proficiency[82]. When accessing medical services, the Roma may have difficulty in communicating symptoms or tend to misunderstand instructions given by the medical team.

The linguistic barriers between doctor and patient that affect the healthcare process[83] have been highlighted by the HMs:

Some of our folk can't talk properly when going to the doctor. If they keep talking Romani, people don't get what they're sayin'. (fg. 1)

Besides the linguistic factor, there are other differences between the Roma and the Romanian culture when it comes to describing and understanding medical symptoms. The interventions of the HMs in the discussions have highlighted this aspect:

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[80] M. Lucan, 2012.

[81] J.A.M. Harmsen, R.M.D. Bernsen, M.A. Bruijnzeels, & L. Meeuwesen, 2008, pp. 155-162.

[82] C. Masseria, P. Mladovsky, & C. Hernández-Quevedo, 2010, pp. 549-554; P. Mladovsky, 2007.

[83] W.J. Ferguson & L.M. Candib, 2002; pp. 353-361; G. Flores, 2005, pp. 255-299.

HM: They don't talk directly. We, when present there, talk differently with the doctor.

HM: Most didn't go to school. The doctor explains something, they understand somethin' else.

Interviewer: Do you have to go with them?

HM: I sometimes go, but as I am alone in P., there is a lot of struggle with them. (fg. 2)

Poor communication due to language barriers has a negative impact on many aspects of patient care, including patient comprehension and satisfaction[84]. Conversely, clear communication between patient and physician is an essential part of their relationship, leading to a better health status, greater, functional patient satisfaction, and an increased quality of care, which increases health care-seeking behaviour[85].

A first step toward facilitating communication between physicians and Roma patients and thus toward improving care for these patients is the provision of a HM as an interpreter:

The leech advises them, provides them with everything they need, but tells me to communicate. (fg. 1)

The HMs adjusts their way of communication according to the cultural norms of the patient. This is the best option because the HMs, as professional interpreters[86], have knowledge about medical terminology and may facilitate the exchange of information between the patient and the clinicians. The HMs can act both as translators and as cultural facilitators to get the best results in communicating with patients. They are able to pre-emptively inform the physician about the patient's cultural background.

As another study has proved before[87], involving the HM as professional interpreter in the process of communication between patient and physician has beneficial effects on the utilization of healthcare services, on clinical outcomes and the patients' satisfaction with the medical care received. Without the help of an HM, patients with limited Romanian proficiency and misunderstanding of medical terminology would receive lower-quality health care, and would have a greater chance of experiencing

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[84] Y. Schenker, F. Wang, S.J. Selig, R. Ng, & A. Fernandez, 2007, pp. 294-299.

[85] C. Brach, I. Fraser, 2000, pp. 181-217.

[86] Y. Schenker et ali, 2007, pp. 294-299.

[87] R. Patridge & L. Proano, 2010, pp. 77-78.

negative health outcomes. Given the clear benefits of their activity, the HMs should be included in the medical teams within the Roma communities.

Lack of personal hygiene

One of the defects of a part of the Roma population who seek medical services is the lack of personal hygiene:

There are people who go to the doctor without washing properly, so they smell. They're dirty... Added to that, personal hygiene is poor. (fg. 1)

In the relationship with doctors, the patient is the one to blame, as it was unanimously acknowledged, when "they don't display the proper behaviour, as the doctor expects, and which is proper" (fg. 1).

We know they are poor, others are on the threshold of poverty, but for us, in the village, we don't have running water. Roma women should wash. You can't go to the doctor, you can't go there lacking personal hygiene. (fg. 2)

HMs agree that the Roma's mentality should change, because at the moment they call the doctor "they should be clean, have hygiene, to show respect to the doctor" (fg. 1).

The participants in our research made us understand their efforts in fighting some customs and traditions deeply rooted in the behaviour of the communities. HMs work hard to convince people to change their behaviour, working carefully so that they do not offend or quarrel with the members of the Roma community:

It's difficult to tell a woman: Go and have a shower! One has to use diplomacy... Romani Criss taught me like this: You attend meetings with the women. I call 2, 3 women. The others are reluctant. Next week I'm calling Mrs. Violeta. They do the housework until I come. It's not easy as they are dirty, that's it. (fg. 1)

The discussions with the HMs indicate that the efficiency of health policies is strongly influenced by the involvement of the Roma[88]. During the focus groups, the HMs suggested that most of the Roma are not involved in implementing initiatives that directly concern them. A challenge for the HM is the way they could determine Roma men and women to be directly preoccupied with solving issues related to their health, a situation they could benefit from. Active involvement could improve the quality of life, according to their needs.

Patients' cultural values and preferences

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[88] G. Fésüs, 2012; G. Fésüs, P. Östlin, M. McKee, R. Ádány, 2012, pp. 25-32; Council of the European Union, 2011.

Understanding cultural values is crucial in providing adequate medical care to populations of diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. In order to understand the cultural norms and values of their patients, healthcare professionals should make a careful assessment of the patients' cultural features.

Cultural variations in health care beliefs were illustrated with examples from multiple Roma groups. These issues are crucial to preventive counselling, diagnosis, treatment, and the management of illness because culture shapes health-related beliefs, values, and hence, behaviours[89].

The shame of being ill

The perception and acceptance or rejection of certain diseases in the Roma community impact on how an individual suffering from a certain disease is seen by the others and may affect his/her willingness to seek medical help or support from family or the community. Cultural factors can lead to the stigmatization and marginalization of people who suffer from a disease that is considered to bring shame. For this reason, patients from Roma culture may avoid contacting a doctor, fearing that they will be judged for suffering from a certain disease.

They're ashamed. For example, in our village, if one suffers of cancer, people say it's contagious. And the others laugh at him. That's why they keep it secret. As an HM I approach them differently, I communicate more. And when I call the doctor I tell him the problem we have. (fg. 1)

In close communities, the differences between people on health status criteria are profound. The community rejects those having physical disabilities, infectious diseases or cancer, because people, inexplicably, fear transmissibility. Discrediting the patient as a member of the community alters his self-esteem[90].

Each case has its particularities. Some are ashamed, some fear that the neighbours find out or their kindred will reject them. (fg. 3)

The main concern about the disclosure of their condition in the family and community was related to the risk of stigmatization. According to Roma culture it is not appropriate to disclose personal failures or illness. When the family members learn the diagnosis they may try to keep it a

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[89] A. Kleinman, L. Eisenberg, & B. Good, 1978, pp. 251-258.
[90] M. Pădurariu, A. Ciobîcă, C. Persson, & C. Ştefănescu, 2011, pp. 16-23.

family secret, because, according to Roma social values, family shame should not be exposed.

Some patients may decide not to disclose certain medical symptoms that could be essential for establishing the correct diagnosis and treatment in order to avoid being judged by the physician or because of beliefs about what is appropriate to discuss with the doctor.

Not all communities share the same attitudes to illness or displaying symptoms. For this reason, the physician must avoid stereotyping and recognize that there are differences within each cultural group.

I have not encountered cases in my community when people hide their illness. So, people know he has diabetes... he is a terminally ill. They don't hide this. (fg. 2)

The doctor should be very careful and respect cultural the peculiarities of the community so that s/he can avoid conflicts with the family of his/her patient. HMs are the most recommended to prevent conflicts, as they know the community and understand traditions, filtering them through their own experience, shaped by prolonged contact with the majority's lifestyle and mentalities.

Family ties

Roma may live together in extended families, often under the same roof or close to each other. They value family harmony, and therefore personal identity is not viewed independently, but in the context of its relation to the family. When a member of the family falls ill and hospitalization is urgent, the others accompany him/her to the hospital, thus engaging the whole group:

I have a girl, in her twenties, who was operated for colon cancer and I can tell they were there, by her bed, at the hospital. (fg. 2)

A serious illness represents a social crisis that gathers the Roma close to the patient. This display of care for the patient represents one of the most important values in the Roma community. Fulfilling family duties is very important and prevails over individual interests.

The Roma patients or family may exhibit behaviours that do not conform to Romanian standards of behaviour. The participants in the focus group mentioned as a negative factor the large numbers of those accompanying the Roma patient, creating disruption and inconveniencies in the hospital. The HMs are convinced that these Roma, sharing the same values and traditions related to accompanying the patient in the hospital, encourage negative stereotypes about the Roma. They even reject this type of behaviour displayed by some members of this ethnic group that lead to the

generalization of negative attitudes towards the Roma. Among such inappropriate behaviours they mention the lack of respect for medical professionals:

They are discriminated against because they don't always talk nice. If one speaks nice, doors open. (fg. 2)

When seeking medical care, some Roma ethnics consider themselves entitled to claim certain treatments and benefit from their rights as citizens. Their firmness in demanding these services often leads to conflicts with the medical professionals. These conflicts cannot be justified by ethnic differences between the medical staff and the patient, but by the latter's insolent attitude. When asked to say if it would be appropriate to have a doctor only for the Roma community, one of the HMs answered:

There are more issues. He'd say: "You, V., give me some medecine!" He's more problems. He'd come having courage, determination. (fg. 1)

Personal experience confirmed the HM's conviction. And yet, situations when Roma patients are respectful and compliant with the recommended treatment indicate the possibility of an effective partnership between doctors and Roma patients:

If I can behave, I can talk respectfully, first of all, to accept the idea that he is right...

Interviewer: Have you ever felt discriminated against?

HM: No, and I've got my kids. There are persons who share experience with me about doctors. "And what did you do? What did you say?" "Well, to prescribe that treatment!" "So, you'd better listen to him first, to tell you about your illness, don't tell him what to do, you're no doctor." (fg. 2)

While performing his activity, the doctor should use the authority of his profession and the status he has in the community:

He should be able to get respect, even using his authority. The bad thing is he doesn't have time for counselling. This is the part of the HM, at home, in the community. (fg. 1)

The HMs prove to have a good knowledge of the realities in the field, being able to evaluate situations: when the doctor is held responsible for the discontent of the Roma community that considers s/he does not make every effort to provide quality medical services or, conversely, when patients insistently demand certain services impolitely. Knowing the cultural environment of the Roma and the majority, HMs are helpful in a physician's activity and can mediate tense situations, guiding and advising the Roma patients to comply with the rules they should follow when seeking medical services.

Disclosure of medical information to the patient

Individual autonomy represents the right of a person to decide for herself / himself, independently of any influence from other people. While the prevailing attitude of Western doctors is mostly patient-centred and focused on shared decision-making[91], in the Roma community, disclosure to the patient of a severe diagnosis is not common, for fear that it may harm the patient. The focus is placed especially on the principles of non-harm and benefit[92]. Most of the Roma consider that the family members should make decisions for them.

Somebody's dying. An illness that terminates him in a month, as it was the case with somebody in our community. He used morphine. He couldn't stand this. He didn't even know he was using morphine. And it was his family and the doctor who made this decision. (fg. 2)

Family members are typically involved in important decisions. The principle of individual autonomy is not universally accepted. Most of the Roma do not accept the individualistic model of decision making, but prefer the model of informed consent based on the inclusion of the family ("family-facilitated approach")[93]. The family-centred model for decision making is considered more appropriate, based on the idea that the patient is part of a network of family relationships and the smooth functioning of the family is more valuable than individual autonomy.

Often, however, it is difficult for physicians to evaluate the dynamics of the patient's family. When a HM is present in the community, the doctor can be informed about the values of the culture from which the patient originates. Although specific cultural values may be characteristic of various Roma groups, and health professionals should be aware of these features to provide patient-centred and culturally sensitive care, they must also recognize that not all Roma from a particular community adhere to the community's characteristic practices and values. Healthcare professionals should not assume *a priori* that, if the patient belongs to a certain community, s/he shares the values and beliefs of that community[94]:

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[91] A Edwards, R Evans, G. Elwyn, 2003, pp. 33-38; J Harmsen, 2003; L. T. Beauchamp & F. J. Childress, 2001; LM. Pachter, 1994, pp. 690-694.
[92] S. C. Berkman & E. Ko, 2009, pp. 351-357.
[93] A. Ho, 2006, pp. 26-28.
[94] L. T. Beauchamp & F. J. Childress, 2001.

In a community, not everybody agrees with each other. If they have a good relationship with the HM, they will know about the Roma's traditions, everything about us, they will be able to satisfy everybody's needs. (fg. 1)

Although the decision-making model is largely influenced by cultural values, the preferences of patients from the same culture can vary depending on income, education, religious affiliation, etc. Benefitting from the activity of HMs, healthcare professionals must determine, on the one hand, what, how, and when patients wish to be informed, and on the other hand, what, how, and when they wish to disclose their diagnosis to the family members. It is therefore not correct for the medical staff to assume that if a patient comes from a culture where the focus is on family and close family relationships, s/he would prefer family involvement in her/his healthcare decision. The disclosure of information and informed consent process must be flexible and adapted to each patient, rather than based on a rigidly individualistic or family-centred decision-making model[95], and should not violate patient autonomy.

4. Discussion

In an increasingly diverse society, physicians encounter more patients of different ethnic extraction and cultural backgrounds. The literature recognizes that minority group persons experience more difficulties in accessing and receiving adequate care in the health system and thus tend to underutilize it. These difficulties are even more relevant if we consider the fact that these populations are exposed to a higher level of risk factors for physical and mental health problems, such as encounters with discrimination and prejudice.

More than ever, there is a need for cultural competence, defined as the ability to transform knowledge and cultural awareness in medical interventions that support the normal functioning of the patient-system relationship in an appropriate cultural context[96]. Culturally sensitive practices are ways of professional intervention based on respect for the patient so that each patient receives similar and equal treatment, regardless of her/his cultural background, nationality, race or ethnicity, language proficiency, and socioeconomic status. This creates equality in access to healthcare and outcomes[97].

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[95] S.C. Berkman & E. Ko, 2009, pp. 351-357; A. Ho, 2006, pp. 26-28.
[96] S. Maiter, 2009, pp. 267-276.
[97] E. Wu & M. Martinez, 2006.

Several cultural competence models have been proposed in the literature. Campinha-Bacote[98] postulates that such competence includes: (1) learning to value and understand other cultures, in part through awareness of personal biases hindering this process (cultural awareness), (2) acquiring a basic educational foundation about other cultures (cultural knowledge), (3) the ability to apply cultural information in patient healthcare assessments (cultural skills), (4) gaining experience through cross-cultural interactions (cultural encounters) and (5) having the motivation to pursue all of the above (cultural desire). Campinha-Bacote's model thus has a strong focus on the individual provider. In their broad review of the literature, Brach and Fraser[99] formulate a comprehensive framework that includes both organizational and individual factors. Individual strategies include personal initiatives such as participating in relevant formal training and immersing oneself in other cultures. Organizational initiatives include the recruitment and retention of a culturally diverse staff and providing training opportunities as well as interpretive services.

Healthcare professionals must take into account cultural factors that might influence the Roma`s help-seeking behaviour. In Romania, during the communist period, the policy concerning this ethnic and cultural minority was to integrate it into the lifestyle of the dominant culture. After 1990, following the disastrous results of this approach, the Roma began to be considered from the cultural diversity perspective.

In providing health care to Roma patients it is necessary that health professionals be familiar with their specific health problems and social characteristics, that they understand there are many important cultural, religious and social factors that may arise in the negotiation and implementation of a therapeutic plan.

Professionals should give more importance to culture and its influence on identifying and defining health problems in order to solve them. Most care providers now recognize the importance of respecting the values and experiences of all members of society, starting from the premise that diversity and difference means that views, experiences and different perspectives deserve to be heard and valued[100].

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[98] J. Campinha-Bacote, 1999, pp. 203-207.
[99] C. Brach, & I. Fraser, 2000, pp. 181-217.
[100] S. Maiter, 2009, pp. 267-276.

A solution for the improvement of the quality of medical services provided to Roma patients is the involvement of HMs as *cultural brokers*. They are consultants who may provide information regarding beliefs about health, appropriate methods of communicating with members of certain communities, and problematic aspects in the interaction between the medical system and the Roma community. The continuous training of HMs is essential to responding effectively to the socio-cultural needs of the Roma communities, to facilitating access to the healthcare system and to adequately addressing the linguistic, cultural, social, and health status differences which affect the ability of Roma patients to properly use the formal Romanian healthcare system.

A key factor in improving Roma patients' access to the healthcare system is the community's involvement in the health policies aimed at the Roma population. In this way, healthcare services could be provided efficiently, leading to increased patient satisfaction and improvement in the quality of care. In addition, good relationships between the community and healthcare facility support the healthcare services provided to the community[101].

5. Conclusion

Despite the limitations of the study, our findings indicate that taking care of cultural specificity in healthcare is an ethical obligation. Patient characteristics such as ethnic origin, education, language proficiency and cultural views are important for developing a physician-patient relationship. A Roma patient`s obstacles to medical care include biases (e.g. racial/ethnic prejudices, social problems), limited language proficiency, low health education (the management of acute and chronic illness), lack of resources (e.g. insurance, funds for out-of-pocket expenses), fears (e.g. mistreatment, avoidance of stigmatization or serious diagnoses) or beliefs that pre-empt treatment (e.g. mistrust, aversion to medications and preventive care).

The findings of this study show that the physicians working with HMs in their medical team are more likely to have culturally sensitive attitudes and behaviours. This suggests that the existence of an HM in each Roma community is enhancing physicians' cultural competence, which may be synergistic strategies for reducing healthcare disparities. Physicians that have adopted more culturally competent practices may influence Roma

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[101] E. Wu & M. Martinez, 2006.

patients and carers to develop more civilised attitudes and behaviours in meeting their healthcare needs.

Because language proficiency is so important for a good evaluation of healthcare needs, it is recommended that we bridge the language barrier by making use of health or cultural mediators. They may advise the patients how to make use of the health services. In the light of our study results, it may be suggested that with guidance from the HM, the relationships between physicians and Roma patients would definitely improve. Similar studies point to the positive effects on communication, patient satisfaction and outcomes in the case of professional interpreters or bilingual providers[102].

The role of HMs in providing much needed counselling exemplifies one way of developing innovative, collaborative care and program building involving family physicians and hospitals, projects committed to the comprehensive and preventative treatment of the Roma population in Romania. Furthermore, this study shows that cultural differences between patients should not be neglected no matter how well-integrated the patient may appear to be. Physicians and other health care providers should be educated to be continuously aware of and sensitive to cultural diversity among patients.

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Rezumat:

Mediatorii din sănătate şi necesitatea unei abordări interculturale în cadrul comunităţilor de romi

România are o reţea de mediatori sanitari, meniţi să faciliteze comunicarea dintre comunităţile rome şi corpul medical. În acest studiu calitativ, folosind date colectate de la trei grupuri-ţintă cu mediatori sanitari din judeţele Iaşi şi Cluj, furnizăm informaţii semnificative despre aspectele problematice referitoare la populaţia romă. Principalele provocări sunt legate de barierele care afectează accesul lor la sistemul de sănătate şi de particularităţile acestui grup etnic. Accesul acestora la serviciile de sănătate pot fi îmbunătăţite prin dezvoltarea competenţelor culturale ale profesioniştilor din sănătate. Mediatorii sanitari sunt elemente-cheie în acest proces, cu atât mai mult cu cât ei pot realiza programe inovatoare de colaborare cu medicii de familie şi spitalele angajate în administrarea tratamentului şi acţiunilor preventive destinate populaţiei rome.

Cuvinte cheie:
Competenţă culturală, mediator sanitar, comunitatea romă, sistem medical.

PLURILINGUISME ET LANGAGES SPECIALISES

METHODS FOR SPEECH CONTACT ANALYSIS: THE CASE OF THE 'UBIQUITY OF RHETORIC'. PROOFING THE CONCEPTUAL CONSISTENCY OF SPEECH AS LINGUISTIC MACRO-SETTING

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Abstract:

In this article we will apply a method of proof for conceptual consistency in a long historical range taking the example of rhetoric and persuasion. We will analyze the evidentially present linguistic features of this concept within three linguistic areas: The Indo-European languages, the Semitic languages, and the Afro-Asiatic languages. We have chosen the case of the concept 'rhetoric' / 'persuasion' as a paradigm for this study. With the phenomenon of 'linguistic dispersion' we can explain the development of language as undirected, but with linguistic consistency across the borders of language families. We will prove that the Semitic and Indo-European languages are related. As a consequence, the strict differentiation between the Semitic and the Indo-European language families is outdated following the research positions of Starostin. In contrast to this, we will propose a theory of cultural exchange between the two language families.

Key words:

Conceptual coherence, rhetorics, persuasion, linguistical dispersion, cultural exchange.

1. Introduction: The Concepts of 'Rhetoric' and 'Persuasion'

Persuasion is the process of convincing someone of one's own position or standpoint. Traditionally, in Western culture, persuasion is placed within the area of rhetoric. Its history can be traced back to ancient Greek rhetoric. But, of course, persuasion has always and in all cultures been used for the aim of making sure that someone adopts the standpoint of someone who intends to do so. While rhetoric is the artificial way of

persuasion, there are also *ad hoc* created and never codified ways of persuasion. Persuasion can be applied to all issues. The term 'ubiquity of rhetoric' expresses this statement and the omnipresence of rhetoric. The state it arises from is the option to choose deliberately. Persuasion is assumed to be practiced by using the spoken or written word, but this is just the most commonly considered way of persuasion; the image and the various media, and actually all demonstrating processes aiming at taking over a standpoint, have always functioned as tools of persuasion. Persuasion is a ubiquitous phenomenon for rhetoricians. The main aim of this discipline is the use of the human faculty to teach; though also a natural, unlearned faculty of the use of persuasion is inherent in the human species. The 'art of rhetoric' has developed in Greek antiquity a nomenclature for the description of rhetorical phenomena and areas of reach; its general approach is that rhetoric is ubiquitous. So it also transcends the medium of the human voice and can be found in media and image. We are interested in the concept of rhetoric / persuasion and its linguistic representations. A concept is the carrier of knowledge in a representative form for the inherent meaning. This knowledge will never be released as a real issue or object. It stays as an imaginative representation in the sphere of the mind and is applicable to the issues of the real world. Quintilian described this mental function in his *Institutio Oratoria*. The conceptualization as the state of mind of the rhetorical proof by the artificial proof of the *epicheirema* is recognized by classical rhetoric. Quintilian, in his *Institutio Oratoria*, describes the artificial proof by the conceived argument, which is identical with the *res* as *epicheirema*. Quintilian writes: "Celsus autem iudicat, non nostrum administrationem, sed ipsam rem, quam aggredimur, id est, argumentum, quo aliquid probaturi, sumus, etiamsi nondum explanatum, iam tamen mente conceptum, epicherema dici." (Quintilian. *Institutio Oratoria*. V, 10, 4) For example, we can add and detract items or count them using the rules of mathematical concepts. Concepts can be 'created', they can be traced via means that serve as their applications, and they can be learned through the applications. We can also say that concepts are applied unconsciously or consciously. Also the awareness of a concept within a society or the non-existence of a concept depends on the state of the awareness regarding the concept. The concept of 'concept' is present in scholarly writings and its existence was in use in the early sciences such as

rhetoric. Here we are in the area of questioning the relation between knowledge and the awareness of knowledge. Relying on Quintilian's discourse on the concept and its 'unreal' appearance in the human mind, we should mention that the concept as a mental state is to be classified as state of the mind of unconsciousness; we can be aware or cannot be aware that a concept is 'working' in the background, when we perform certain actions, which are the linguistic applications of the concept or actions resulting from them.

2. Research
2.1. Introduction: 'Language Contacts' and 'Speech Contacts'

Mendenhall (2006: 17) discussed the problematic differentiations of the Semitic languages in the research and the 19th century theory of a common Semitic or *Ursemitisch* delivered in waves from Arabia to other areas. Standard theories see Arabic as one of the South Semitic languages; Mendenhall here appeals to scholars critically re-consider alternatives. Zack (2012) has made recently a contribution to the state of Arabic as a diachronic and synchronic linguistic phenomenon. Afro-Asiatic languages are contemporary Berber languages, Chadic languages, Cushitic languages, and Semitic languages. Vernet (2011) states, in *Semitic Root Incompatibilities and Historical Linguistics*, with regard to root incompatibilities in Proto-Semitic for historical root reconstruction, that "these rules can only be applied to verbal roots, not to derivative forms and affixed forms. The importance of these structural incompatibilities consists, then, in the fact that they reduce the possible number of combinations of the triconsonantal bases. Excluding onomatopoeic roots and loan words, these laws of incompatibility are fully regular in the verbal roots (but not in the nominal ones) and, therefore, do not have exceptions, as in all phonological laws. The structure of the Semitic verbal roots is, then, absolutely conditioned by these restrictions of incompatibility. These rules are universal in character and apply also to the different families of the Afro-Asiatic and Indo-European languages. The restrictions of incompatibility are a tool of great importance in the historical reconstruction of the roots (especially, of the verbal roots in Semitic)." (Vernet) Agmon writes in *Materials and Language: Pre-Semitic Root Structure Change. Concomitant with Transition to Agriculture*: "Materials and language have evolved together. Thus the archaeological dating of materials possibly also dates the

words which name them. Analysis of Proto-Semitic (PS) material terms reveals that materials discovered during the Neolithic are uniquely triconsonantal (3c) whereas biconsonantal (2c) names were utilized for materials of the Old Stone-Age. This establishes a major transition in pre-Semitic language structure, concomitant with the transition to agriculture. Associations of material names with other words in the PS lexicon reveal the original context of material utilization. In particular, monosyllabic 2c names are associated with a pre-Natufian cultural background, more than 16,500 years ago. Various augments introduced during the Natufian, and perhaps even more intensively during the Early Neolithic, were absorbed into the roots, tilting the equilibrium from 2c toward 3c roots, and culminating in an agricultural society with strictly triconsonantal language morphology." (Agmon) When we look at the ancient Egyptian language, we can say that it is extensively build upon words with two radicals. Hallen writes in *A Description of the Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic) Language Family:* "In contrast to the Indo-European Language Family, about which much research has been done over the past two centuries, relatively little is known about the former Hamito-Semitic Language Family, now known as the Afro-Asiatic Family. (While much research has been accomplished with the Semitic Languages because of Arabic and Hebraic religious ties, little has been done with the Afro-Asiatic family as a whole.)" (Hallen) Proto-Semitic is the hypothetical proto-language for historical Semitic languages of the Middle East. Potential locations are Mesopotamia, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Levant. Proto-Sinaitic is an existing script from the Middle Bronze Age attested in rock inscriptions at *Serabit el-Khadim* in the Sinai with syllabic representations representing signs for an alphabet assumed to be the origin of the north-western Semitic alphabets with 22 signs, which was developed around 1700 BC. The ancient Egyptian language is *de facto* among the Afro-Asiatic languages an early and a recorded language. It shows that – at least partly – it contains linguistic elements which are similar to the other Semitic languages. Also, here a differentiation is hard to be sustained without considering the Semitic languages as a part of the Afro-Asiatic languages, thus extending the area of the Afro-Asiatic language family. The Proto-Indo-European language is the reconstructed common ancestor of the Indo-European languages. The reconstruction of this language is an ongoing field of research. According to

the most popular assumption about its origin, the *Kurgan hypothesis* is to be mentioned as claiming the origin in the Pontic-Caspian steppe of Eastern Europe and Western Asia. Mainstream linguistic estimates of the time between Proto-Indo-European and the earliest attested texts, the *Kültepe Texts* from 1900 BC in contemporary Turkey, range from 1500 to 2500 years. These texts contain Hittite loanwords and names in an Assyrian document.

2.2. Migration Around 3700 BC

The synchronic approach to the comparative linguistics of different languages can be traced back to the discipline of 'comparative grammar' in the 19th century. At the level of word semantics, similarities between the Arabic and the Afro-Asiatic languages were known. The state of the research in the diachronic perspective must be described from a cultural perspective, taking into account the language contact situations within a long historical perspective. The diachronic approach starts actually in prehistoric times; its speculative character is best expressed in the assumption of Proto-Semitic and Proto-Indo-European languages. During the Chalcolithic (Copper Age), around 3700 BC cuneiform writing appears in Sumer. Mesopotamian writing was a tool for records, independent from the spoken language used. The Egyptian hieroglyphs also developed around that time. In Mesopotamia, as center of development, we note the *Uruk Period* (ca. 4400–3100 BC), the *Jemdet Nasr Period* (ca. 3100–2900 BC). As for the Early Bronze Age civilizations, the *Early Dynastic Period* (ca. 2900–2350 BC), the *Akkadian Empire* (ca. 2350–2100 BC), the *Ur III Period* (2112–2004 BC), and the *Early Assyrian Kingdom* (24th to 18th century BC) dominated the area. Mesopotamia, as part of the Fertile Crescent, might have had a strong influence on migration and communication. Archaeological findings in Mesopotamia, Bahrain, and Oman show that products with an origin in the Indus Valley civilization are known and trade was done in ports of the Persian Gulf. James writes in his *Prehistoric Religion. A Study in Prehistoric Archaeology*: "Although the transition from food/gathering to food/ production was a very gradual process localized in certain regions, notably in the Fertile Crescent in the Ancient Middle East, where it became an accomplished fact it had a marked effect upon the disposal of the dead in more elaborate tombs and with a more complex mortuary ritual." (James) The main question for the comparison of Semitic and Indo-European roots is, if an influence between

the Indo-European languages and the Semitic languages exists and if the answer is 'yes', another question opens: 'At which time was an exchange between them happening?' The Indian languages, categorized as part of the Indo-Germanic languages, e.g. Sanskrit, have, according to today's knowledge, no influence on the Semitic languages at an earlier state and time of language exchange. So we have no indication that the Semitic languages might have been influenced by the Indo-European languages on the Indian subcontinent, at an earlier stage during the time of proto-language configuration and existence of the languages now considered to be part of the Indo-European languages. It is a speculative approach to assume that a linguistic exchange between the languages of the territory now related to the Semitic languages and the languages of India and the mainland of Europe existed, in which the Semitic territories of the Arabian Peninsula and the Levant were touched and contacted by the linguistic material of the Indo-European languages. But this would provide an explanation why the lexical and semantic material of both language families is so similar, as can be seen from the following analysis of the concept 'rhetoric / persuasion'.

2.3. The Problems of the Theory of 'Language Contacts' and its Assumptions.

A History of Research in Contrastive Linguistics

Sankoff writes in his *Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact* that "language contacts have, historically, taken place in large part under conditions of social inequality resulting from wars, conquests, colonialism, slavery, and migrations – forced and otherwise." (Sankoff) Sankoff notes that "this schema neatly brings together the macro level of the language and the micro level of the individual speaker. Its tacit assumptions are that (a) individual speakers can be characterized in terms of native and second languages, and (b) that groups or communities, as collectivities of such individual speakers, are relatively homogeneous in this regard – or at least, that one can abstract away from differences internal to the speech community." (Sankoff) While we can speak about the phenomenon of language contacts in clearly distinguishable settings of languages, we have no testimony of the earliest languages in this regard, with the exception of the Egyptian language. Theoretically, semantically and morphologically similar elements of the thesaurus of three languages can be shared between the three languages, which have different grammars and are distinguishable

as three independent languages. But is such an assumption applicable to the scenario of the third millennium BC? Is the distinction between languages as separate units at that point the suitable assumption? We doubt its suitability. But we know that the ancient Egyptian language, which considered itself as the 'speech of the country Egypt', without any mentioning of the concept language, possessed words to distinguish the Egyptian language from other foreign contemporary languages; it was a pejorative expression, similar to the connotation of describing other non-Greek languages as 'barbarian'. But even when the awareness of the 'otherness' of speakers of other languages existed, we cannot conclude that it was *de facto* another language, in the contemporary definition of a rule-based, separable linguistic macro-unit.

The assumption of language exchange between the Indo-European languages and the Semitic languages is discussed here in order to find an implementing solution to the question and phenomenon researched, which would show that Indo-European and Semitic languages are related. This kind of research is found in Western research since the second half of the 19th century; this line of research is argumentatively and evidentially supported by the use of the comparative method of 'comparative grammar', which was later continued within the field of 'comparative linguistics'. Brunner (1969) published *Gemeinsamen Wurzeln des semitischen und indogermanischen Wortschatzes. Versuch einer Etymologie*, advancing an etymological claim of the relationship between Indo-Germanic and Semitic languages. Fellman (1978: 51-53) discussed Semitic and Indo-European languages, in an approach based on comparative and historical grammar. Dundes (1992: 257-312) compared the Indo-European and Semitic worldviews. Daube (2000: 15-17) made a contrastive linguistic study of word-formation in Indo-European and Semitic. Bomhard (2011) discussed in *Indo-European and the Nostratic Hypothesis* the idea of the Nostratic language family. Levin, in such works as *The Indo-European and Semitic Languages* (1971), *Studies in Comparative Grammar: III. "Snow", an Early Indo-European Loan-word in Semitic* (1994: 77-84), *Studies in Comparative Grammar: II. The Prehistory of the Indo-European Thematic Declension, in View of the Semitic Cognates* (1992: 111-144), *Semitic Evidence on Some Problems of Indo-European Prehistory* (1992: 249-265), and *Comparative Grammar of Indo-European and Semitic: Is this the Right*

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Time? (1990: 152-164) also contributed to the contrastive linguistic studies on the Indo-Germanic and the Semitic languages. Rundgren (2003: 585-599) research was published in *Semitic and Indoeuropean: A Linguistic Study in Comparative Aspectology.* Vennemann's (2003) claims, presented in *Europa Vasconica, Europa Semitica* were refuted by the scholarly community. The hypothesis of the pre-historical Semitic influence on the Indo-European language is connected to the distribution of Semitic vocabulary into the languages of the Indo-European language family. This hypothesis is not accepted as a standard assumption in linguistics. Vennemann argues that in Europe, after the Ice Ages, 'Semitidic' and 'Atlantic' people had settled that imported the Semitic heritage to Europe. This *Vasconic hypothesis* has been rejected by the absolute majority of linguists, historians, and archaeologists. On the other hand, we have evidence that at least one Semitic language in Europe existed, which is now extinct. So, Indo-European languages could also have entered the territory of the traditional Semitic languages. Also, the proto-language reconstruction is a hypothetical construct of one language per language family. This research conception still relies on the assumption that languages and not speech is the macro-unit of the linguistic exchange at that time. For the time of the prehistoric ages within cultures until the beginning of the historic time there are no criteria of evidence as to the existence of languages in the modern / postmodern sense. For example, in ancient Egypt the concept 'language' did not exist, 'speech' was used as the concept for linguistic communication. The dispersion, a phenomenon we describe later below, between the contemporarily assumed Indo-European and the Semitic languages or their ancestors, should not be considered as an event, when 'one language meets another language'. Speech contact was, besides upcoming images as means of documentation, the only communication tool. Speech contact was not recorded and not literally fixed; it developed as 'word of mouth' from one generation to another, more or less equally shared among the participating persons.

2.4. The Theory of the 'Urheimat' of the Indo-Europeans vs. 'Dispersion for Equity'

Elst observes in *Linguistic Aspects of the Indo-European Urheimat Question* that "when evidence from archaeology and Sanskrit text studies seems to contradict the theory of the entry of the Indo-Aryan branch of the

Indo-European (IE) language family in India through the so-called 'Aryan Invasion' (*Aryan Invasion Theory*, AIT), we are usually reassured that 'there is of course the linguistic evidence' for this invasion, or at least for the non-Indian origin of the IE family." (Elst) In *Linguistic Aspects of the Indo-European Urheimat Question*, the author notes that "in the 18th century, when comparative IE linguistics started, the majority opinion was that the original homeland (or Urheimat) of the IE language family had to be India. This had an ideological reason, viz. that Enlightenment philosophers such as Voltaire were eager to replace Biblical tradition with a more distant Oriental source of inspiration for European culture. China was a popular candidate, but India had the advantage of being linguistically and even racially more akin to Europe; making it the homeland of the European languages or even of the European peoples, would be helpful in the dethronement of Biblical authority, but by no means far-fetched." (Elst) Recently, the Black Sea Area was considered to be the 'Urheimat' of the Proto-Indo-European language. Elst writes in *Linguistic Aspects of the Indo-European Urheimat Question* that "the contact between Tokharic and Chinese adds little to our knowledge of the Urheimat but merely confirms that the Tokharic people lived that far east. The adoption of almost the whole range of domesticated cattle-names from Tokharic into Chinese also emphasizes a fact insufficiently realized, viz. how innovative the cattle-breeding culture of the early IE tribes really was. They ranked as powerful and capable, and their prestige helped them to assimilate large populations culturally and linguistically. But for Urheimat-related trails, we must look elsewhere." (Elst) For us, the question of the *Urheimat* is not so important, since the framing question of our study is how the speech contacts between the speakers of languages related to those we classify as Semitic languages and the speakers of languages now classified as Indo-European languages existed. The border between Semitic Afro-Asiatic languages and Indo-European languages is a construct. We can replace this construct by arguing that the speech units in the area of the Semitic and Indo-European languages described languages existing in permanent exchange with each other. At the time, the examples discussed below came from linguistic material which was not distinguishable as part of a language family. In our proposed theory of 'dispersion for equity', within the use of linguistic tools for the sharing of speech and making communication possible among

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participating entities, the aim of linguistic communication via speech was to communicate. The grammatical features of distinct languages are a linguistic feature, which came up with the existence of power and the centralized domination of territories. Grammatical features are a criterion of the macro unit 'language', which is a linguistic macro unit coming up later, after the macro unit 'speech'.

2.5. Research of Language Contacts of the Prehistoric Past

Contemporary Hindu and Urdu are languages that show the difference between an Indo-European language and a language highly marked by Semitic influences, through the medium of Arabic. Sahala remarks in *On the Sumero-Indo-European Language Contacts*: "Albeit the genetic affinity of the Sumerian language is still lacking consensus, some vocabulary related to Sumerian may be found from various language families including Indo-European, Kartvelian, Semitic, Dravidian and Uralic. Where the Semitic contacts are well attested, contacts to other families have often been regarded as controversial." (Sahala) According to Sahala, the "Sumerian language was spoken in ancient Mesopotamia from the 4th millennium BC to the Old Babylonian period (1900 BC), during which the Sumerians were gradually assimilated into Akkadian speaking Babylonians. By the end of the 17th century BC Sumerian was no longer spoken as a first language but it was still studied by Akkadian scholars as a classical language and its literary tradition continued for almost two millennia." (Sahala) So the Sumerian language might have been in contact with the old Indo-European language on the Indian subcontinent and the territories of Central Asia northwards. However, as Sahala states, "regardless of numerous attempts to connect Sumerian with Caucasian, Semitic, Ural-Altaic, (Elamo-) Dravidian, Basque and Indo-European languages, by the vast majority of scholars it is still regarded as a language isolate with no known relatives". (Sahala) Sahala observes that "where the Proto-Indo-European sound system is completely based on reconstruction and thus reflects the pronunciation on an abstract level, also, the exact quality of the Sumerian phonemic inventory is uncertain." (Sahala) Studying the Proto-languages for the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic language branches, we can soon conclude that there are similarities of the branches representing the concept 'speech'. Nevertheless, they will be presented here as a case study of the material for the Proto-Semitic and the

Proto-(Indo-) Germanic language, available in the research database *Tower of Babel* initiated by Starostin. Levin (1995) mentions several examples for etymological relationships between Indo-European and Semitic languages. Levin notes that "long prehistoric experience, in IE and in Semitic, must likewise have weeded out many erstwhile collocations of consonants, and left either language group (or its individual languages) with certain patterns that were readily compatible with the verb-inflections." (Levin 1995: 167) Levin observes that in the Indo-European family the Greek *χρά/ή* is related to the Semitic Hebrew *qar'* for 'call'. The Semitic Arabic *isman* is related to the Indo-European Slavic *im* for 'name' and the Avestan *nām* for 'name'. The Indo-European *(⁻)λε/0χ-* refers to the Semitic Hebrew *-leg-* for 'lie'. (Levin) Etymological relations do exist; examples are the *musara* 'inscription' related to the Indo-Iranian **mudra* for 'seal', and *igi* 'eye' is related to the Proto-Indo-European **h3ekw-* for 'eye' (Sahala). Jagodziński mentions, in *Indo-European and Semitic Languages*, several equivalent forms within the etymology of Indo-European and Semitic languages. The Arabic *lisān* 'tongue' and 'language' is related to *laḥwasa* 'lick', the Hebrew *lāšōn* 'tongue' and 'language' to *lāqaq* 'lick', the English *tongue*, the Gothic *tungo*, the Latin *lingua*, the Old Latin *dingua*, the Sanskrit *juhū-, jihvā-*, the Avestan *hizū, hizvā*, the Polish *język*, the Prussian *insuwis*, the Lithuanian *liežùvis*, the Greek *glõtta, glõssa, glátta*, and maybe also the Latin *gingīva* 'gum of a tooth', the Greek *gamphēlaí* 'muzzle' and 'mouth'; the Polish *lizać* 'lick', the Lithuanian *liẽžti*, the Greek *leíkhō*, the Latin *lingō*, and the English *lick*. The Arabic *qāla* 'speak', the English *call* from the Nordic *kalla*, the Briton *galw* and the Polish *głos* 'voice' are related. (Jagodziński) Jagodziński argues that it is language exchange, or, more precisely, speech exchange, rather than a common ancestor language that lies at the origin of the similarities between Indo-European and Semitic languages. Jagodziński remarks in *Indo-European and Semitic Languages*: "There was a time in the science when it was thought quite seriously that the first proto-language – or the language from which all the others originated – was Hebrew. A specific reminiscence of that view is the opinion that a special close genetic relation exists between Indo-European (IE) and Semitic languages. Such a view can still be found in some works. Newer investigations suggest very strongly that such a view is not correct and that the previously demonstrated similarities of both language families

are the result of the connections between them during thousands of years rather than of their common origin. Nevertheless, those similarities are odd, and the circumstances of their development are not clear in all respects." (Jagodziński) The circumstances of the development of the similarities between the Semitic and Indo-European languages, which, according to Jagodziński, are not clear in research, can be illustrated by our examples. The examples given demonstrate that at the time of the prehistoric age, in the third millennium BC, the semantic and lexical configurations of words from one concept were extremely similar; the configurations were so similar that they bring into discussion the form of the macro-unit of the linguistic representation. On the basis of our examples, we can identify the lexical, morphological, and semantic similarities. But we cannot make statements about the syntactical features of grammatical descriptions of linguistic rules.

2.6. Research of the Theory of the Common Ancestor of the Indo-European and Semitic Languages and the Question of its Chronology
Description of the Speech Contact Situation of the Proto-Language State

We are still evaluating the relations between the Semitic Afro-Asiatic and Indo-European languages. Jagodziński writes in *Indo-European and Semitic Languages* that "if the Indo-European and Semitic languages had a common ancestor, it was only in the very distant past. The IE protolanguage surely existed ca. 4,000 BC. It is supposed that the Nostratic commonwealth must have existed, 11,000–15,000 BP. At the same time, the common ancestor of, among others, the Indo-European and Semitic languages should have existed ca. 25,000 BP. It is not strange that traces which have remained of that distant ancestor until today are very scarce, and the prevailing part of the similarities of both groups should be explained with the parallel development and mutual interactions." (Jagodziński) Jagodziński points out that "it is interesting that in the Semitic languages we can find not only almost all counterparts of the IE ablaut, but also the function of particular alternations seems to be similar in some cases. Qualitative alternations (originally in the shape *a : i : u*) and quantitative alternations (reduction and lengthening) are so frequent in this group of languages that only the consonantal skeleton of words is

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considered to be the root (it consists of 3 consonants as a rule)." (Jagodziński) Armitage and colleagues write in *Pre-historic Arabia Crossroads for Early Humans (and Neanderthal Hybrids?). The Southern Route "Out of Africa": Evidence for an Early Expansion of Modern Humans into Arabia*: "The timing of the dispersal of anatomically modern humans (AMH) out of Africa is a fundamental question in human evolutionary studies. Existing data suggest a rapid coastal exodus via the Indian Ocean rim around 60,000 years ago." (Armitage; Jasim; Marks; Parker; Usik; Uerpmann 2011: 454) Armitage and colleagues mention that "Arabia and its fierce deserts have long been seen more as obstacles than conduits to human migration and most archaeology here has focused on historical times. Recent studies, however, show wetter periods such as the one that began around 130,000 years ago." (Armitage; Jasim; Marks; Parker; Usik; Uerpmann 2011: 455) We must not forget that the oral language was the tool used to communicate by spoken intercourse in prehistoric times; the faculty of speech was not recorded, but shared and communicated from person to person; language(s) was/were not fixed or coded; the language had to serve as a tool for communication. Language as the faculty of speech extended at any point and to any person in prehistoric times. So it is amazing that it stayed stable within a time continuum. The grammatical aspects, as structural elements of language, could only arise at a point when this structural changing of its material, the word which refers to a concept, was applicable to a set of words in a language as a linguistic macro-unit. The language dispersion at that time was different from contemporary language contact situations. In Europe, Maltese is the only contemporary Semitic language spoken. It has been assumed (Toth 2007) that Reatic is a Semitic language now extinct, which had been spoken in Central Europe. No Semitic languages are known on the Indian subcontinent. The Nostratic family tree is a recently built family tree, which consists of the family tree of the Indo-European languages, the Semitic languages, and the Afro—Asiatic languages. The Sanskrit language is an old Indo-European language, which had speech contact situations in contacts with both the Arabic peninsula and the continental area reaching up to northern Europe. Both the maritime route to the Arabic peninsula and the continental route to Europe were open for language contacts, which blurs the line of a strict separation between the Semitic Arabic language and

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Indo-European languages. An impact of the lexicon of Sanskrit on Semitic languages existed during the language states of prehistoric time.

3. Research Methodology

In this article we discuss the concept 'rhetoric / persuasion', on the basis of the scientific history of the comparative and contrastive studies between Indo-European, Afro-Asiatic and Semitic languages, in the specific case of the earliest language levels. We will argue that, besides the separation of the language families, there also existed an exchange between these language families. While this study discusses topics ascribed to the field of 'historical linguistics' and 'language contact studies', we argue that the correct terms for such studies should be linguistic communication studies in speech contacts; the impact of one language on another can only be studied within speech situations. We focus on the semantic aspect and the historical linguistic perspective of language comparison. The language contact study on Indo-European, Afro-Asiatic, and Semitic languages will be conducted within the comparison of the Proto-language levels and ancient Egyptian as a recorded language of the 3rd millennium BC. While we can clearly state that the modern Indo-European and Afro-Asiatic languages belong to different language families, this article focuses on examples of semantic and lexical similarities which allow us to bring into discussion the linguistic communication and language contact situation(s) between the earliest states of these language branches, now differentiated. We can use the term 'concept' in its common use as the mental representation of knowledge in a unit and also in a very specific context. We suggest the use of the term 'concept' as a linguistic term in a linguistic context for the description of the basic unit of a word in order to describe its meaning. For example, we find that the root *B(/BH)-L-Q* as the synthesis between the Indo-European root and the Semitic root has the meanings or concepts REACH, GET, ARRIVE, COME etc. from the Semitic side (see below), plus the meanings from the Indo-European side as its complete meaning-bearing and thus knowledge-bearing unit representing the concept implemented. In the long etymological range, all the entries under one word in an etymological wordbook can also serve as the realizations of a concept. The difference between the approaches to linguistic concepts representing units is that in the research area concerned with the Indo-European

languages, the differentiation between the ten forms of the verb finds its equivalent in the Indo-European roots, but any approaches to systematizing the forms are lacking in research. For instance, Pokorny offers in his list of etyma roots examples that show similarities to be grouped. How the concept as a 'macro-unit' and the concept as the 'linguistically represented unit' refer to each other is the topic of the research. It is placed within the framework of material relating to the concept of 'rhetoric'/'persuasion' since prehistoric times.

4. The Concept of Rhetoric in Indo-European, Semitic, and Asian-Sino-Asiatic Languages

4.1. Case 1: The Linguistic Concept Linguistically Represented in *L-U(/O)-GH(Q)*

This concept can also be found in the Afro-Asiatic language Ancient Egyptian, represented in the verb *rui* for 'to go out' and 'to depart'(Wallis Budge: 420). *L* and *r* are identical in ancient Egyptian. The relationship between this verb and later Semitic forms needs further investigation. The Arabic Proto-Semitic root finds a linguistic representation in the contemporary Arabic noun *lugha* for 'language'. The term *loqui* for 'to say' is the root for the term *eloquentia* ('eloquence'). The etymological history is dubious in the Indo-European languages. The Latin *loqui* comprises 'to speak', 'to say', 'to name' and is traced back to the Indo-European root **tolku̯-* for 'to say' (Pokorny etymon 1088). This derivation is doubtful (Koebler 2005). Pokorny's etymon 1088 *tolku̯-* has the meaning 'to speak'. In Semitic languages, the Proto-Semitic **lVɣ-* within the Afro-Asiatic etymology has the meanings of 'to stammer', 'to speak incoherently', 'to speak', 'to chat', 'to chatter' and 'to speak briskly'. Related to it are the Hebrew *lʕʕ*, the Arabic *lɣw*, and the Tigre *laʕleʕä*. The noun لغــة has the semantic field of 'language', 'tongue', 'speech', and 'talk'. Also لســان for 'tongue' and 'language' exists.

4.2. Case 2: The Linguistic Concept Linguistically Represented in *R-A(/E)-I*

Pokorny's etymon 859-60 of the Indo-European Proto-language *rei-, rē(i)-* with the Indo-European root *reibh-* has the meanings of 'to cry', 'to scream', 'to bellow' and the related expressions. Koebler (2006: 926) lists the Indo-Germanic root **rē-* for 'to calculate' and 'to count' with reference

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to the Pokorny etymon 853 *rē-*, *rə-*, extended *rē-dh* for 'to count', 'to compute'. Pokorny's etymon 860 *rēi-* and *rī-* has the meanings 'to count' and 'to arrange'. The root **rēi*, with the meanings 'to fit', 'to count', 'to arrange', refers to Pokorny's etymon 860 and also has in its linguistic applications meanings such as 'to narrate'. The Arabic root *r-a-I* is used for 'to say'. Its basic meanings are 'to see', 'to behold', 'to descry', 'to perceive', 'to notice', 'to think', 'to have the opinion', 'to express one's opinion'. The noun *rai* is used for 'opinion', 'view', 'idea', 'notion', 'concept', 'conception', 'advice', 'suggestion', and 'proposal'. The noun رأي comprises in present-day Arabic the meanings 'opinion', 'view', 'to say', 'judgment' and 'persuasion'. In Hebrew רָאָה (*raʔah*) means 'to see', 'to look', 'to inspect', 'to consider', and 'to perceive'. The Arabic root رى *also* refers to the concept 'to see', with the semantic meanings 'to see', 'to look', 'to cast one's gaze on', 'to perceive', and 'to comprehend' (*Semitic Root Repository*). This concept can also be found in the Afro-Asiatic language Ancient Egyptian, represented in the noun *ra* for 'sun' and 'day' and *re* with the meaning 'mouth'. (Wallis Budge: 417)

4.3. Case 3: The Linguistic Concept of 'Rhetoric'/'Persuasion' Linguistically Represented in *B(/BH)-L-Q*

Ancient Egyptian *per* means 'to go outside', 'to proceed', 'to grow up (plants), 'to pass a limit', 'to arise' (Wallis Budge: 218). The sign for the sounds *'l'* and *'r'* was identical. The root *b-l-q* (بـــلغ) in Arabic refers 'to reach', 'to get', 'to arrive', 'to come', 'to come to age', and 'to reach a high degree' in the first form I, while form III stands for 'to exaggerate', and form IV *ab-l-q* is used for 'to report'. The noun *balagh* means 'communication', *balagha* (بلاغـــة) means 'eloquence', and rhetoric is the *ilm al-balagha* (Wehr 1976: 73-74). Pokorny's etymon 125-26 *bhelĝh-* has the meanings 'to swell', 'to bulge', 'to billow'. The etymon 155 *bhlegu̯-* has the meanings 'to swell' and 'to become bloated'. The etymon 123-24 *bhel-* has the meanings 'to speak', 'to bell', 'to bellow', and 'to resound'. The etymon 124 *bh(e)lāg-* means 'weak', 'silly', and 'ridiculous'. The etymon 122-23 *bhel-*, *bheləĝ-*, *belə-n-ĝ-*, *beleĝ-,* and *bhl̥k̂-* means 'to balk', 'to beam', and 'to rafter'. The root **bha* (Koebler 2006: 94) has the meaning 'to speak' and refers to Pokorny's etymon 105. The root **bhel-* has the meanings 'to blow up' and 'to swell' and refers to Pokorny's

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etymon 120 (199/32). (Koebler 2006: 115) The root *bhel-* has the meanings 'to bloom' and 'to grow' and is identified as Pokorny'a etymon 122 (200/33). (Koebler 2006: 119) The root *bhel-* refers to Pokorny's etymon 122 (201/34). (Koebler 2006: 120) The root *bhelegh-* also refers to Pokorny's etymon 122. (Koebler 2006: 122) The root *bhelgh-* refers to Pokorny's etymon 125 (207/40). (Koebler 2006: 123) Pokorny's root 120-22 *bhel-*, *bhlē-* refers to 'to grow', 'to spread', 'to swell', and 'to inflate'. Pokorny's root 122 *bhel-*, *bhlē-*, *bhlō-*, and *bhlə-* refers to 'leaf', 'foil', 'blade', and 'bloom'. Pokorny's root 122-23 *bhel-*, chiefly with suffixes as *bheləĝ-*, *bhelə-n-ĝ-*, *bheleĝ-*, and *bhl̥k̂-* refers to the meanings 'to balk', 'to beam', and 'to rafter'. Pokorny's root 123-24 *bhel-* refers to the meanings 'to speak', 'to bell', 'to bellow', and 'to resound'.

4.4. Case 4: The Linguistic Concept of 'Rhetoric'/'Persuasion' Linguistically Represented in *S-U-A-D*

The basic meaning of the Proto-Indo-European root *su̯ād-* is 'sweet'. Pokorny lists under the etymon 1039-40 *su̯ād-* the meanings 'sweet' and 'to enjoy something'. The root *suadys* referring to Pokorny's etymon 1039 has the meaning 'sweet'. (Koebler 2006: 1221) The *Tower of Babel* lists under its entry of the Indo-European root *swād-* , which is related to the Greek *hw-*, the meanings 'sweet' and 'to persuade'. Related to it are the Tokharian A *swār* and B *swāre* for 'sweet'. Old Indian *svādú-* has the meanings 'sweet', 'pleasant', and 'agreeable'; *svádate* and *svádati* mean 'to taste well', 'to enjoy', and 'to like'. The Avestan *xʷāsta-* means 'made ready by cooking'; *xʷanda-kara-* is 'pleasant', and Pashto *xwand* is a 'nice taste' and 'pleasure'. Related are also the Old Greek *hādǘ-* and *wadü-s* for 'sweet' and 'good tasting', 'pleasant', and 'delightful'. *Hā́domai̯* means 'to enjoy' and 'to delight'. Related are the Baltic *sû̂d-î̂-*, the Germanic *swōt-u-*, *swōt-i-*, and *sut-i-*, the Latin *suāvis* for 'sweet', 'delightful', and *suādeō*, *suāsī*, *suāsum*, *suādēre* for 'to give advice'. In the Altaic language family, the Altaic *či̯ā́tu* has the meaning 'sweet'. Related is also the Kartvelian *çatx-*. (*Tower of Babel*) The Greek form *hw-* with the meanings 'sweet' and 'to persuade' is the form that links the Indo-European languages and the Semitic languages. The Proto-Semitic *ḥVlaw-* and *ḥVlaw-* in the Afroasiatic etymology have the meaning 'to be sweet'. Related is the Arabic *ḥlw [-a-]*, which is based on the biconsonantal *ḥal-*.

The Proto-Afro-Asiatic *ḥal-* has the meaning 'be sweet'. Related are the Egyptian *haire*, Semitic *ḫVlaw-* and *ḫVlaw-* for 'to be sweet'. The Western Chadic *ḥall-* means 'sweet juice sucked from the abdomen of a hornet' and the Central Chadic *hal-* means 'sweet'. The contemporary Arabic حلــو means 'sweet'. Ancient Egyptian is covered as an early Afro-Asiatic language in this concept.

4.5. Case 5: The Linguistic Concept of 'Rhetoric'/'Persuasion' Linguistically Represented in *B-H-TH*

The Proto-Indo-European root *bheidh-* has the meanings 'to persuade' and 'to agree'. The root *bheidh* refers to Pokorny's root 117 (194/27), with the meanings 'to force', 'to advise', 'to confide', 'to encourage'. (Koebler 2006: 106) Related are the Old Greek *péi̯thomai̯* for 'to trust', 'to be persuaded', and 'to obey'; *pístis* means 'trust' and *pêi̯sma* is 'persuasion' and 'confidence'. Related are the Slavic *po-bēdĭ́tī* and *ū-bēdĭ́tī* and the Germanic *bīd-a-*. The Latin *fīdō* means 'trust. Related is the Albanian *bint* for 'to persuade' and 'to agree'. The Arabic *bahatha* (بحــث) means 'to search', 'to investigate' in form I. In form VI it means 'to discuss'. The noun *bahth* (بحــث) means 'discussion'. The nouns مناقشــــــة stand for 'discussion', 'debate', 'talk', 'dispute', 'argumentation', بحــث for 'search', 'consideration', 'discussion', 'study', 'seeking', and 'investigation', حـــوار for 'dialogue', 'discussion', and 'interlocutor', محادثــــــة for 'conversation', 'talk', 'dialogue', 'discussion', 'discourse', 'parley', and منـــــاظرة for 'debate', 'discussion', 'controversy', 'dispute', and 'disputation'. The Ancient Egyptian *peht* has the meanings 'strenghth', 'might', 'power', 'bravery', and 'renown'. (Wallis Budge: 218) The sound '*p*' is the equivalent to '*bh*'.

5. The Analysis of the Concepts
5.1. Theoretical Framework and Knowledge

As we could see in other studies about the extension of linguistic contents, the extension of a concept in its linguistic application through dispersion goes across the traditional separation of language families as established in the Christian tradition; Semitic and Indo-European linguistic material is partly identical as shown by Levin (1995); this identity concerns structural, morphological and semantic parallels. So the process we call

'dispersion' must have happened in a prehistoric time. Its extension can only be considered as subject of studies as far as the linguistic documentation is evident. But we have reason to assume (at least for a part of the linguistic thesaurus) that the Indo-European and the Semitic words evincing similarities derived from a common ancestor language, since the linguistic root was equally modified in both languages ('*Common Ancestor Theory*') or both had a common language between them, which is now not known ('*Blank Language Theory*') or served as dialects of one undifferentiated language ('*Theory of one Language – Many Dialects*').

5.2. Discussion of Findings, Contemporary Theories of Language Families
Based on Proto-Language States and Development of Language, and the Speech/Language Distinction

The Nostratic family is proposed to be a super-family with Eurasian Indo-European, Uralic and Altaic and Kartvelian languages and the Afro-Asiatic languages of North Africa, the Horn of Africa, the Arabian Peninsula and the Near East, plus the Dravidian languages of the Indian Subcontinent. Starostin divides Borean languages into the Nostratic and Dene–Daic families. This theory is supported by our findings, even though only for two language families. The *Proto-Human Language Theory* assumes the existence of a common language shared among all humans. Thus, no language was independent and originated on its own. The term 'language contact studies' the most recent used in the field for contacts between languages. But this term implies some problematic assumptions. It implies that languages were in contact with each other; but the term 'languages' is irritating: it implies that languages always existed; it excludes other forms of communicative networks building linguistic systems and ignores the fact that the concept 'language' wasn't consciously known or practiced. On the contrary, speech as the human ability to communicate orally in established, repetitively and redundantly performed speech contents must have existed.

Chomsky is a representative proponent of the '*Discontinuity theory*' of human language, claiming that language developed *ex nihilo* without any previous steps or forms of development. We would agree, since the stability of the linguistic material for the concept 'rhetoric' supports the

reconfiguration of contents of speech at any time. The meaning-bearing units of speech itself show, taking our example, continuity from the assumed time of around 3600 BC to contemporary use that can be an argument for the 'self-establishment' of speech. The issue linguists investigate in the lexical thesaurus, the syntax, the morphology, and the semantics, refers to languages as macro-systematic units for speech performance at specific synchronic and topological positions. But speech as the faculty of oral performance is an expression of the human and as such a faculty similar to hearing, walking, etc. Languages as we find them as linguistic 'macro-units' in our scholarly studies are 'conditionalized frameworks' for the performance of human speech. They are learned and the human individual is supposed to enter these 'conditionalized frameworks' of speech. Speech is thus form and content at the same time in our differentiation, while language is the established framework of ruled applications of speech. But since our linguistic material is much earlier than the beginnings of speech / human language are supposed to be, we are not discussing origins here. Our material indicates that at a specific time in the history of humans the phonetic similarity of speech / human language spoken in Northern Africa, the Arabic peninsula, and Europe was so high, that we can consider them to have a common linguistic 'macro-unit', which was spoken. Why it is problematic to speak about language / languages in this regard will be discussed below. Similarly to Chomsky's assumption that language is an innate faculty of the human, we assume that not language, but the faculty of speech is the innate faculty of human beings, determining all human linguistic communication and other tools of communication, as well as the formation of languages as macro units of human linguistic communication.

The utterly inconvenient theoretical frame of the science is that languages always existed; and this premise brings into play the implication that enclosed, bordered territories of languages framed against each other have always existed. Even historical linguists speak about Proto-languages. But it would be wiser to consider other forms of 'macro-units', better matching the nature of speech and the spoken character of the early performance of human communication; of course we know from Saussure that language is also a human faculty; but in the early stages of human development it was not a stable one. For example, sound shifting and the

non-connotation of vowels as flexible elements in spoken languages are to be found in the ancient Egyptian language. The phenomenon of sound-shifting is also known in the Indo-European languages. In this language family the change of vowels was also used as an indicator for grammatical changes like in the Semitic and the Afro-Asiatic languages.

We can be sure that, in pre-historic times, language was not experienced as a social phenomenon, with diverse languages. Language was experienced as binding and connecting, as well as a given of birth. The option of recording it was not taken into account; at least we have no documents dating from prehistoric time. So the concept 'language' is, in its contemporary sophistication, hardly employable to the human communication via speech at that time. Taking the example of the Ancient Egyptian language, we can see that the documentation of words entailed symbols and images. The ancient Egyptians used for their own language the expressions *metu m r n Kemet* (Wallis Budge: 335) and *r n Kemet* (Wallis Budge: 416), which means 'words in the mouth of Egypt' and 'speech of Egypt'; thus, the concept 'language' was lacking here, and the concept 'speech' was used instead for the communicative action of the land itself in a cognitive metaphorical setting. Language can only be defined here as the human individual's ability to speak. Neither in the Proto-languages do we have any evidence for the concept 'language' as represented in roots. Grammatical and modern/postmodern linguistic features of the speech content of the linguistic 'macro-unit' might have been quite different at the time this material was taken as representative linguistic material. But it is useless to enquire about the separation of features and the characteristics of a language in the modern/postmodern sense in the case of the 'macro-unit' of that time. We can demonstrate the coherence of the smallest units of language, words, across a wide topographical area, but we cannot derive the conclusion that a language / languages existed.

Our material demonstrates that the morphological structure of the roots for the concept 'rhetoric / rhetoric' are similar in the authentically documented ancient Egyptian language and the two hypothetical Proto-languages, Proto-Semitic and Proto-Indo-European. The meanings of the examined roots are identical to or prototypical of generalized meanings from which the concept arose in later languages. Derived words in later languages preserved the concept. Since both the hypothetical languages and

ancient Egyptian fall into the same timeframe of development, around 3600 BC plus/minus 1000 years, we conclude that the synchronic identity of these languages supposed to be spoken in Egypt, the Arabian peninsula and Europe lies within the same lexical inventory equipped when we generalize our findings of the concept 'rhetoric'. We cannot determine if it was one or several languages, dialects, or other linguistic forms, but we can assume that the lexical linguistic inventory was similar. In terms of language contact, or rather better said, speech contact, we conclude that between Europe, Arabia, Africa, and the Indian subcontinent, speech contact existed, with a linguistic inventory of morphologically and semantically slightly different inventory. As mentioned above, we cannot say anything about the linguistic configuration (language or dialects), but at the level of the smallest sense-carrying unit, the word, the unity and similarity of the linguistic material is obvious.

5.3. 'Dispersion' of Physical Communication and the Exchange Process of Languages and Mental Concepts

The dispersion of the linguistic carriers of concepts in concrete languages is undirected. We cannot predict how a concept develops or is realized in the form of its linguistic applications. For instance, a language will spread locally. But we can say that concepts spread across linguistic barriers like different languages; languages permanently work in exchange with each other. In the cases we looked at, the similarities between the Proto-Indo-European and the Semitic language Arabic show that the differentiation between Semitic and Indo-European languages is not needed, and it merely results from the induction of the former hypothetical approach to the distinction between language families, since – at least in the case of the concept 'rhetoric' – this concept finds in both these traditional language branches similar linguistic representations with equal meanings. Historical linguistic studies investigate into this issue using case studies like this one. Surely, physical exchange (e.g. movements of people, trade) enforces dispersion. Dispersion means that a linguistic unit with a conceptual meaning (e.g. a word with semantic representational meaning) extends by any means through reduplication. But language is a conservative means; it rather prefers to modify the old than create the new. We can assume that there is a relation between physical movements of words and

movements of mental conceptions. A concept can be carried in the form of applications across barriers of time and space. Even though dispersion is undirected for us as observing researchers and can only punctually be followed in all of the cases, when an actually existing linguistic representative form is available, it concerns only the grammatical features of a language. On the basis of our findings in the two traditional language families, we can say that similarity between them exists at a conceptual level ignoring grammatical configurations within languages. Limitations are established through linguistic barriers like dialects, languages, and features like synchronic and diachronic change. The dispersion of realized entities in languages still containing the concepts is undirected. Persuasion, in a historical linguistic perspective, is a concept we can use to demonstrate that traditional assumptions about the linguistic barriers of languages cannot be upheld. We can demonstrate that barriers for concepts of rhetoric were, in their linguistic representations, already commonly ready and identical within the Indo-European and the Semitic language family. As examples of this phenomenon we have taken linguistic representations of the concept 'rhetoric' in the Arabic and Indo-European language family.

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Rezumat:

Metode de analiză a contactelor de limbă: cazul „ubicuității retoricului". Analiza comparativă a coerenţei conceptuale a vorbirii ca macro-cadru

În acest studiu se aplică o metodă comparativ-diacronică în analiza coerenţei conceptuale dintre termeni referitori la retorică şi persuasiune. Sunt vizate trăsăturile lingvistice legate de acest concept în cadrul a trei arii lingvistice: limbile indo-europene, limbile semitice şi limbile afro-asiatice. Am ales cazul conceptului de 'retorică'/'persuasiune' ca paradigmă pentru acest studiu. Prin fenomenul de 'dispersare lingvistică' putem explica dezvoltarea limbii ca fiind nedirecţionată, dar cu coerenţe lingvistice dincolo de graniţele familiilor de limbi. Scopul a fost să dovedim că limbile semitice şi indo-europene sunt înrudite. În consecinţă, diferenţierea strictă dintre familiile de limbi semitice şi indo-europene devine desuetă ca urmare a postulatelor cercetării lui Starostin. Prin contrast cu aceasta, propunem o teorie a schimbului cultural dintre cele două familii lingvistice.

Cuvinte cheie:

Coerenţă conceptuală, retorică, persuasiune, dispersare lingvistică, schimb cultural.

THE EFFECT OF TEACHER, PEER, AND SELF-EDITING ON IMPROVING GRAMMATICAL ACCURACY IN EFL LEARNERS' WRITING

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Abstract

The aim of this study was to explore the effect of teacher, peer, and self-editing on the improvement of grammatical accuracy in writing, using three groups of participants. The first group engaged in teacher-editing, the second group engaged in peer-editing and the third group engaged in self-editing. The results revealed that, compared to the peer-editing and self-editing groups, the teacher-editing group significantly reduced the rule-based errors in the revised drafts. The results revealed that the performance of the teacher-editing group was better than that of the other two groups, while the performance of the peer-editing group was better than that of the self-editing group regarding the correction of specific language errors in the revised drafts. This study contributes to teaching pedagogy by encouraging teachers to use editing, especially teacher-editing in the writing classroom and to focus on the correction of a few language errors so as to bring about language development.

Key-words:

Text editing, performance, correction, specific errors, written expression abilities.

Introduction

With the advent of the process writing approach in second language pedagogy, editing has been considered as an important tool for improving grammatical accuracy in writing. It is known that peer-editing helps students to become successful editors, because peer-editing gives an opportunity for students to learn about their own problems in writing. Different types of editing have been found to have variable effects (Ashwell, 2000; Diab, 2010). Many studies (e.g. Min, 2006) provide support for the effect of peer-editing on the reduction of errors, suggesting that the effect of peer-editing is more significant than that of teacher- and self-editing in the development of grammatical accuracy in writing. Reports by other researchers (Paulus, 1999; Lee, 2008; Ashwell, 2000), however,

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suggest that the effect of teacher-editing is stronger than that of peer-editing and self-editing in the reduction of errors in the students' revised drafts. The findings of a study by Paulus (1998) demonstrated that both teacher-editing and peer-editing affect the revision process, though students preferred teacher-editing to peer-editing. Krashen (1982) believes that peer review provides situations for students to use language meaningfully in class. Mangelsdorf (1989) claims that peer interaction causes learners to improve their L2 knowledge in general and helps students to negotiate with each other and exchange thoughts and ideas.

The present study aims to find out the possible effects of teacher, peer, and self-editing on EFL students' grammatical accuracy in writing. The study is an attempt to explore the effects of teacher, peer, and self-editing in form focused instruction on reducing errors in the use of four grammatical structures under study in the learners' writing (i.e., subject-verb agreement, conditional sentences type 2, should have plus past participle and causative clause). Editing here refers to correcting grammatical errors by teachers, peer, and the students themselves. By addressing the implicit feedback and its effect on grammatical accuracy in students' writing, the research focuses on the four grammatical structures. Therefore, the significance of the study is multifaceted. First, it highlights that editing is an appropriate tool for improving student writing and that the three types of editing have different effects on students' writing. Secondly, this study underlies the importance of form-focused instruction for the improvement of grammatical accuracy in students' writing. Thirdly, an optimal combination of form-focused instruction and teacher, peer, and self-editing is addressed for the reduction of errors in writing.

The studies conducted on teacher, peer, and self-editing show mixed results. A study by Diab (2010), on the effect of peer-editing and self-editing on the reduction of rule-governed and non- rule-governed errors showed that there were differences in the effect of peer-editing and self-editing in the reduction of non-rule-governed errors. Moreover, peer-editing was found to be more useful than self-editing in reducing rule-governed errors. However, Tsui and Maria Ng (2000) reported that students in their study preferred teacher feedback to peer feedback because they had confidence in the teacher's comments, experience, knowledge, and the correctness of teacher feedback. Although the learners in their study

incorporated a relatively high percentage of teacher comments in their writing, the advantages of peer-editing, they suggest, should not be ignored. They believe that peer feedback helped L2 learners to recognize their strengths and weaknesses in their own writing and engaged L2 learners in negotiation and collaboration with each other. Tsui and Ng (2000) consider some roles for peer comments that teacher comments may not be able to fulfill: (a) Engaging learners in the negotiation of form. (b) Helping students to become successful self-editors. (c) Helping students to know their own strengths and weakness in writing.

According to Mendonca and Johnson (1994), teachers should provide L2 students with opportunities to talk about their essay with their peers, as peer reviews seem to allow students to explore and negotiate their ideas, as well as develop a sense of audience. They believe that teachers must give opportunities for students to choose their partners and claim that peer reviews are a good form of feedback in L2 writing instruction.

The findings of a study by Mendonca and Johnson (1994) support the observation that peer reviews engage students in negotiations with their peers and this process develops students' writing skills. Evidence from a number of studies (Tsui & Ng, 2000) suggests that teacher comments and peer comments are different methods for the improvement of student writing, which complement each other and together form a very useful way for improving students' written expression. The teacher's comments increase the students' awareness of the macro-structures of a text and peer comments increase the students' awareness of the strengths and weakness of their own writing.

Truscott (2004) believes that error correction is not useful and should not be considered as a tool for improving students' writing ability and students' knowledge of language. According to Truscott (1996), teacher error correction is not compatible with the smooth flow of acquisition or the sequence of acquisition that learners must go through to acquire a second language.

The current study
Participants

The participants in this study were 18 male MA students majoring in management and computers at the Takab branch of Azad University, who had already passed a standard advanced-level English proficiency test. The

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reason for the selection of these participants was that writing is the most difficult skill to learn and only advanced learners are able to translate their thoughts, ideas, and feelings into readable texts (Richards & Renandya, 2002).

Procedure

The instruments used in this study were two sets of grammar tests likely to elicit the required structures from the participants. The participants' pre-test scores and two paragraph essays that were written by the participants were used to divide the participants into lower and higher level groups. The treatment included the four grammatical structures which required the participants to read the texts and to write a summary. Finally, the learners' writings were edited in three groups.

The pre-test was designed to elicit the required structure from the participants. Then, they were asked to write two paragraphs about their own favorite topic. The teacher provided the learners with form-focused instruction about four grammatical structures, namely subject and verb agreement, causative clauses, conditional sentences type II, and should have plus past participle.

After the form-focused instruction, 18 learners were divided into three groups of 6. The first group received teacher-editing, i.e. the teacher edited the errors in the learners' writing. The second group received peer-editing, i.e., peers edited the errors in each other's writing. The third group used self-editing, i.e., they self-edited their own errors in their writing. This study was conducted in 10 sessions and each session lasted for about 50 minutes.

Moreover, during each session, the participants in the three groups read the teacher-selected texts, which included many instances of the grammatical structures under investigation. Then, the learners were to reconstruct the text and provide a written summary. After the summary was written, editing was done by the teacher in the first group, by peers in the second group, and by the students themselves in the third group. After the editing was done, the learners received their edited writings and reviewed their errors.

The type of feedback used in the teacher and peer-editing groups was coded feedback, which required the students to point out any of the four language errors under investigation, to indicate its line number, and write its code and correct it. One of the important strategies of indirect feedback for error correction was coded feedback (Bitchener, Young, and

Cameron, 2005) which "points to the exact location of an error, and the type of error involved is indicated with a code" (p.193). A follow-up test was administered 35 days after the pre-test.

Results

A one way ANOVA was employed to compare the effects of the three types of editing (i.e., teacher-editing, peer-editing, and self-editing), and two groups on the learners' reduction of errors in the four grammatical structures under investigation.

This study was an attempt to investigate the effect of teacher-editing, peer-editing, and self-editing on the improvement of grammatical accuracy in the learners' writing. The participants were selected through non-random accidental sampling. The Teacher-editing group received editing and implicit coded feedback from the teacher, and the peer-editing group received editing and implicit coded feedback from their peers, while in the self-editing group the participants themselves had to correct and edit their own writing. After ten sessions, the participants were given the post-test with grammatical questions similar in format to the ones in the pre-test and asked to write a three-paragraph summary of the text prepared by the teacher. The data gathered from the pre-test and post-test included accuracy scores for the written production of the four structures, and the average of all accuracy scores of for the four structures. Therefore, each participant had two scores; one score for the grammatical questions and their writing, as well as one average score. The analysis of the data is presented below.

The first question in this study concerned possible differences between the effect of teacher-editing, peer-editing, and self-editing on the improvement of university students' grammatical accuracy in writing. Table 1 shows the adjusted means for the three groups. The average score for the teacher-editing group is 3.83, with a standard deviation of 0.75, higher than that for the peer-editing group, which is 2.50, with a standard deviation of 0.54, as well as for the self-editing group, which is 0.83, with a standard deviation of 0.75.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics for the three groups

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Teacher	6	3.8333	.75277	.30732	3.0433	4.6233
Peer	6	2.5000	.54772	.22361	1.9252	3.0748
Self	6	.8333	.75277	.30732	.0433	1.6233
Total	18	2.3889	1.41998	.33469	1.6828	3.0950

The multiple comparisons in Table 2 show the results for the three groups. The findings revealed important differences between the teacher-editing group and the peer-editing group (F (5,15) = 28.372 p < .012). Moreover, there is a significant average difference of 1.33. According to Table 2 there is a significant difference between the teacher-editing group and the self-editing group (F (5,15) = 28.372 p< .000). There is also a significant average difference for the two groups ((I-J) = -3). This shows that the effect of teacher-editing is greater than that of peer-editing and self-editing in the improvement of grammatical accuracy in the learners' writing.

Table 2: Multiple comparisons

(I) group	(J) group	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
teacher	peer	1.33333	.39907	.012	.2968	2.36999
	self	3.00000	.39907	.000	1.9634	4.0366
peer	teacher	-1.33333	.39907	.012	-2.3699	-.2968
	self	1.66667	.39907	.002	.6301	2.7032
self	teacher	-3.00000	.39907	.000	-4.0366	-1.9634
	peer	-1.6667	.39907	.002	-2.7032	-.6301

As Table 3 shows, there is a significant difference among all the experimental groups, $F(5,15) = 28.372$ p < 0/000. It demonstrates that this difference is not due to chance, but that the effect of treatment yielded group gains.

Table 3: ANOVA results

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	27.111	2	13.556	28.372	.000
Within Groups	7.167	15	.478		
Total	34.278	17			

These findings are compatible with the findings of previous studies, that showed a greater effect for teacher-editing than that of peer-editing and self-editing on the improvement of grammatical accuracy in the learners' writing (Ferris, 2006; Ferris and Roberts, 2001). The results are consistent with those reported by Paulus (1999), who studied the effect of teacher-editing and peer-editing on the reduction of grammatical errors in students' writing and found that students did use teacher-editing more often than peer-editing in their revisions. The findings are also in line with those reported by Diab (2010), who showed the effect of peer-editing was greater than that of self-editing because error feedback provided by peers informed learners about incorrect grammatical structures in their writing. The findings, however, are incompatible with the findings of previous research studies that found a greater effect for peer-editing than that for teacher-editing on the improvement of grammatical accuracy in the learners' writing (Mendonca & Jonson, 1994).

Conclusion

This study investigated three types of editing and found higher gains for teacher-editing, in comparison to peer and self-editing, although peer-editing and self-editing also led to some gains. Therefore, this study lends support for the use of teacher-editing. The outcome of the present study can be interpreted in the light of Ferris and Roberts' (2001) observation that underlining and coding errors are more effective than only underlining errors in revising grammatical errors. The present study can be considered an additional support for teacher-editing.

The present study contributes to teaching pedagogy by encouraging teachers to use teacher-editing in their writing classroom and to focus on the correction of few language errors so as to bring about language development. Since this study was limited in terms of its sample size, structures under investigation and techniques of error correction, it is necessary to carry out further research in this regard. Considering the fact that this study was limited to only one technique of error correction, it is suggested that similar studies be conducted with other techniques of error correction (e.g., implicit versus explicit, coded versus un-coded feedback). Since the present study focused on only four structures in English, similar studies could examine the accuracy gains regarding other structures. Also, similar studies could have participants majoring in other fields of study. Finally, this study can be replicated with learners at higher and lower levels of language proficiency.

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Rezumat:
Editarea efectuată de profesor, colegi sau autorul însuşi şi efectele sale asupra sporirii corectitudinii gramaticale a textelor redactate de studenţii de limba engleză

Acest studiu îşi propune să exploreze efectele activităţii de editare a textului de către profesori, colegi sau studenţii înşişi asupra îmbunătăţirii corectitudinii gramaticale în exprimarea scrisă, analizând trei grupe de participanţi. Primul grup a beneficiat de editarea profesorului, al doilea grup a fost angajat în editarea inter-colegială, iar al treilea grup în auto-corectare. Rezultatele au relevat că, în comparaţie cu grupele de editare inter-colegială şi individuală, la grupul bazat pe editarea de către profesor erorile de limbă din lucrările revizuite au fost diminuate semnificativ. Rezultatele au arătat că performanţa grupului ale cărui texte au fost editate de către profesor a fost mai bună decât a celorlalte două grupe, în timp ce performanţa celor care şi-au editat reciproc lucrările a fost superioară celei a grupei angajate în autocorectare, în ce priveşte greşelile specifice de limbă din textele revizuite. Studiul contribuie la pedagogia dezvoltării deprinderilor de exprimare scrisă, încurajându-i pe profesori să utilizeze activităţi de editare axate pe corectarea greşelilor de limbă şi dezvoltarea abilităţilor lingvistice.
Cuvinte cheie:
Editarea textului, performanţă, corectare, greşeli specifice, deprinderi de exprimare scrisă.