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The Carnivalized Text: Transgeneric Interactions and the Literature of Becoming in Carole Maso's *The Art Lover*

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Abstract: With reference to *The Art Lover*, a novel by the Italian American writer Carole Maso, the main aim of this paper is to discuss Maso's 'transgeneric' text in relation to Bakhtin's theory of the 'becoming of the text'. Bakhtin's dialogic perspective highlights the multiplicity of voices and valorizes the continuous transformation and reproduction of the text through interactions. The paper argues that *The Art Lover* is an anti-genre work that mirrors a carnival spirit; it is a polyphony that transgresses generic boundaries by tolerating interruptions and including selected verses from poems, extracts from essays, a chapter from the author's journal, recipes, details of paintings by Giotto, da Vinci, Vermeer, Matisse and Van Gogh, photographs taken by the author, selected artwork by the artist Gary Falk (the writer's friend), and pictures and posters from newspapers and magazines. By analysing selected fragments from *The Art Lover*, the paper tries to demonstrate that the becoming of the text occurs through the carnivalization of the genre, the subject, and the canon.

Keywords: dialogism, the carnival, the fragment, polyphony

The dissemination of Whitehead's process philosophy that emphasizes the interconnectedness and the 'becoming' of the universe has inspired new insights into theological, feminist, cultural, and literary studies. In his studies on the novel, Bakhtin emphasizes the infinite becoming of the genre through dialogic encounters; Bakhtin's dialogic perspective highlights the multiplicity of voices and valorizes the continuous transformation and reproduction of the text through interactions. Thus, the novel is celebrated because it is essentially an 'expression' of the carnival that translates a need to go beyond the boundaries and overcome the limitations of cultural hegemony which usually finds expression in literature.

The subversion of literary hegemony has been the concern of US ethnic writers who tend to emphasize the connection between religious, political, social, cultural and literary

expressions of hegemony. Carole Maso is an Italian American writer who, in works such as *Ghost Dance* (1986), *AVA* (1993), *The American Woman in the Chinese Hat* (1994), *Defiance* (1996), *Beauty is Convulsive: the Passion of Frida Kahlo* (2002), and *Mother and Child* (2012), attempts to liberate the novel from 'authority'; her works, thus, convey a need for an all-inclusive approach that acknowledges a multiplicity of voices, worldviews, and experiences. In *Break Every Rule: Essays on Language, Longing, and Moments of Desire (BER)*, Maso recognizes the influence of Virginia Woolf's ideas on her writing experience, which explains her conviction that writers should recognize their writings as "notebooks rather than masterpieces" (36); nevertheless, Maso goes beyond Woolf's 'literature of her own' to suggest a literature of becoming; she does not try to escape to a space where she can create her literature, she rather creates spaces through her literature to allow for interactions, dialogues, and negotiations.

Maso's stories are without authority since they are open to dialogic exchanges. Her second work, *The Art Lover*, first published in 1990, is a polyphony where stories and voices overlap: there is the author, Carole Maso, who in an autobiographical chapter tells of the traumatic experience resulted from the death of her friend Gary Falk, which affected the writing process of her second book *The Art Lover*, a novel about Caroline, an artist who also tells about her life of an artist, how she tried to cope with the deaths of her friend Steven and her father and how their deaths influenced the writing of her second book about Maggie and her two daughters, Alison and Candace. In addition to these female characters who encounter Jesus Christ and experience through him a conversation with the divine, art, and nature, *The Art Lover* includes voices of different artists and theorists who comment on works of art.

With reference to *The Art Lover*, a novel by the Italian American writer Carole Maso, the main aim of this paper is to discuss Maso's 'carnivalized' text in relation to Bakhtin's theory of the 'becoming of the text'. The paper argues that *The Art Lover* is an anti-genre work that mirrors a carnival spirit; hence, by examining selected fragments from Maso's work, it tries to demonstrate that the becoming of the text occurs through the carnivalization of the genre, the subject, and the canon. Maso's *The Art Lover* is a polyphony that transgresses generic boundaries by tolerating interruptions and including selected verses from poems, extracts from essays, a chapter from the author's journal, recipes, details of paintings by Giotto, da Vinci, Vermeer, Matisse and Van Gogh, photographs taken by the author, selected artwork by the artist Gary Falk (the writer's friend), and pictures and posters from newspapers and magazines. Thus, the paper attempts to clarify the role of 'transgeneric' interactions in transforming and 'recreating' the text; it also shows how the fragmentation of the subject and the canon are necessary to allow for the multiplicity of voices. Moreover, the paper tries to assess Bakhtin's theory of the carnival, maintaining that the carnival should not reproduce the Nietzschean dualism of the Apolline and the Dionysiac and affirming that *The Art Lover* succeeds in overcoming the limitations of the theory itself by reconciling the novel with poetry.

Bakhtin and the Novel:

In *The Dialogic Imagination (DI)*, Bakhtin celebrates the novel as a genre that destroys genre; in his historical account on the prehistory of the novel, he argues that the novel is anti-genre in its essence, unlike other fixed genres such as epic poetry (3). Fixed genres are imprisoned in the past inasmuch as they "fix and monologize the word" (Dentith 47); it is

for this reason that they need to have a 'centre'; this centre is intended to protect the supremacy of a 'dominant voice'; the centre is always the focus while what lies outside of its borders is marginalized. In epic poetry, for example, the 'centre' is occupied by a 'hero' with a "national authority" (Dentith 47) and, hence, the supremacy of this hero results in a hierarchy; the hierarchy of voices in epic poetry serves to protect the 'hero' as a national symbol, which explains the hierarchy of genre since epic poetry had been the dominant genre for hundreds of years because it centres around a "heroic national past" (Dentith 47).

Bakhtin traces the generic origins of the novel to prehistorical roots, notably to "untraceable folkloric roots" (Dentith 48; Bakhtin, *Rabelais* 434). Accordingly, the hierarchy of genre in history is connected to the hierarchy of history; in other words, epic poetry had been the dominant genre because it is historic whereas the novel had been invisible as a genre because of its prehistoric origins; it existed for a long time as a marginalized genre because it was "outside of writing". Hence, unlike the elite, that is, the "ruling social groups" (Bakhtin, *DI* 4), who wrote their 'history' and celebrated certain genres because they protected their authority, the 'folk genre' of the people was transferred as an oral tradition and, for a long time, elements of this tradition had been appropriated to be included in fixed genres. The fixed genres constitute a whole, what Bakhtin terms as "high literature" because it is the literature of the ruling elite and despite the variety of these genres, they actually "reinforce each other" to preserve unity, harmony, and a hierarchical order (Bakhtin, *DI* 4). The novel, on the other hand, has developed in the margins of 'high literature' and, according to Bakhtin, the word 'novel' was not the right choice to designate this genre for it was not a 'novel' genre, but it had an "unofficial existence" throughout history; Bakhtin, therefore, emphasizes the historical dominance of the novel as a genre (*DI* 4).

The labelling of the genre might have resulted in fixing it, which led to the appearance of what Bakhtin terms the 'monologic novel'. A polyphonic novel does not establish a hierarchy of voices, including the narrator's voice; it is marked by the absence of 'authority' since it tolerates the plurality of voices and, ergo, it is dialogic. Moreover, a novel is polyphonic when it does not achieve a resolution because the narrator relinquishes the final word and does not provide a closure; the novel is thus liberated in the sense that it becomes a process, not fixed in the past, but "opens on to the future" (Dentith 42); it is also liberating in the sense that the absence of closure allows for the continuation of the process and extends its dialogism by engaging the reader in the process of its becoming. However, the novel is monologic when it recreates the 'centre', either through an authoritarian narrator or a central character; the novel can also be monologized when interpretations attempt to create a centre; this occurs for instance when readers and critics see or interpret the novel as reflecting the "history that surrounds and produces it" (Dentith 59).

The historicizing accounts of the novel limit the genre; one might explain such an attitude from the part of a reader by the influence of the authoritative discourse that hinders the process of becoming. Bakhtin refers to religious dogma as an example of a dogmatic discourse because it is a discourse that refuses to be challenged or questioned and withdraws from dialogue, unlike the internally persuasive discourse of the polyphonic novel that is open to negotiation (Bakhtin, *DI* 342-46). Therefore, an individual's ideological becoming affects the way s/he engages with the novel, becoming necessitates that s/he learns to distrust the authoritative discourse and revolt against it (Dentith 53-4).

Bakhtin maintains that in ancient times, people used to express their rebellion through the carnival which constituted an integral element in festive occasions (Bakhtin, *Rabelais* 4-7); he celebrates the carnival as an ‘epochal force’ (Dentith 57) that is transferred through the power of the people in defiance of the power of the elite and their authoritative discourse which was transferred through writing since writing back then was monopolized by the elite. Thus, the reason why the carnivalesque existed till the Middle Ages and the Renaissance is its anti-authoritarian spirit that allowed the public to express their rebellion (Bakhtin, *Rabelais* 10). In his attempt to explain the historical dominance of the novel as a genre, Bakhtin argues that the novel “has taken the carnival spirit into itself” (Dentith 63) and, hence, within the context of this genre, carnivalized writing, just like the carnival, allows for the deconstruction of the authoritative discourse. The carnival spirit declined starting from the sixteenth-century because it found a ‘novel’ expression for that was also the period that witnessed the rise of the novel (Dentith 82).

Carnivalizing the Genre:

The reason why the novel has been the dominant genre since the 18th century is its ability to develop; it is, as Bakhtin argues, a “developing genre,” (*DI* 4), always ‘becoming’ in order to avoid canonization. There are “individual examples” of the novel that attempt to canonize the genre, but none of them succeeded in fixing it (Bakhtin, *DI* 3-4). The novel, therefore, cannot be canonized; the canon, however, can be “novelized” (Bakhtin, *DI* 5) through parody. Ironically, the first attempts at fixing the novel relied on parodies of genres, more specifically of high genres; these travesties aimed at challenging high literature in hopes of recognizing the novel’s potential to be recognized as part of the canon. However, the novel does not allow fixation and, thus, parodies have become the trend since the novelistic era, and “all literature was flooded with parodies” (Bakhtin, *DI* 6); in other words, all literature started to be novelized.

The novel transforms other genres by exposing their conventionality and destroying the harmony; the sense of wholeness that characterizes the canon is replaced by the chaos that results from the interaction of different elements. It is a genre that does not aim at reaching unity and, indeed, it does not seek the finished, but favours openness. *The Art Lover* defies harmony and unification through disrupting the canonical; it is a carnival of genres and of voices. Selected works are included in the novel such as paintings and details of paintings, photographs, selected extracts from critical essays, poems, posters, cards, etc.; these texts interact with each other and the different voices engage in a conversation.

The mixing of genres complicates the task of categorization; Blanchot announces the beginning of a new epoch marked by the end of genre inasmuch as genre blending results in the “disintegration of categories” (Maso, *BER* 182). Accordingly, Maso defends the “desire of the novel to be a poem. [. . .] the desire of the poem to be an essay. The essay’s desire, its reach towards fiction” (*BER* 23). As Laporte clarifies, the ‘novelistic’ no longer exists according to Blanchot; it is the ‘fictional’ that takes its place (qtd. in Blanchot vi) and since Blanchot’s supposedly theoretical texts include elements of fiction (Blanchot vi-vii); the blurred boundaries between fictional and non-fictional genres explain the pervasiveness of the fragmentary.

With genre blending, it becomes possible to talk of a ‘cross genre’ or a ‘hybrid genre’, Blanchot’s vision is about fragmenting genre since “all has been said,” writing is exhausted and accomplished through the genres; it is because of this accomplishment that

fragmentary writing is “re-marked” (42). Therefore, building on Blanchot’s idea of the fragmentary, a text or a writing becomes ‘transgeneric’ in the sense that it cannot be categorized and tolerates the fragments of different genres for the fragmentary is the “dissociation of limit and limitation” (Blanchot 44); Laporte dispenses with the word ‘writing’ and suggests ‘literature’ instead (qtd. in Blanchot vi) because all writing becomes literature through transgeneric interactions. It is literature because it “coexist[s] with all forms of existence, of speech, of thought” and “excludes the consideration of a pure form” (Blanchot 42).

Maso’s *The Art Lover* is a transgeneric work since it is musically, visually, and linguistically conceived; it is a heterogeneous “[c]ontainer of the uncontainable. Weird, gorgeous vessel. Voluptuous vessel” (Maso, *BER* 24). Maso celebrates the “[r]estlessness of the form”; hence, *The Art Lover* is an “odd amalgam-- taken from painting, sculpture, theory, film, music, poetry” (*BER* 26); to use Bakhtin’s words, it reflects the evolving of heteroglossia. Perfected genres exist in an environment “of closed and deaf monoglossia” (*DI* 12) characterized by the dominance of a single language and, ergo, the literary language in a monoglossia is bound to the language of the dominant discourse since “linguistic dominance [is connected to] ideological dominance” (Coates 106), unlike heteroglossia that reflects the multiple expressions of a culture, a people and an epoch (Bakhtin, *DI* 60). The novel brings language to life through tolerating the dialogic interactions between various genres; it becomes with an “extraliterary” language (Bakhtin, *DI* 67).

Musical techniques such as call and response and counterpoint (Maso, *BER* 34), are integrated into *The Art Lover*. Counterpoint means literally “point against point”; during the middle ages in Europe, counterpoint was the equivalent of polyphony and was contrasted to homophony, i.e., harmony. In music theory, there are two aspects of music: the vertical aspect is related to the harmonious structure of the whole and is called ‘homophony’; the horizontal aspect, on the other hand, covers the smaller elements in the structure and is referred to as polyphony (Jeppesen 21-22). Therefore, to counterpoint is to combine voices that are horizontally interdependent, though vertically independent. This strategy culminates in the fragmentation of the subject in *The Art Lover* which is replaced by voices that intersect and interrelate.

Besides, call-and-response is an African musical pattern used in choral music whereby a voice or a tune ‘calls’ and waits for the community to ‘respond’; as the Ghanaian composer Nketia elucidates, music making is a communal practice in tribal African societies and, thus, music breaks the boundaries between the community members during the collective activity, be it a ritual, a ceremony, or a festival, as individual voices and different textual and instrumental expressions join together to create a harmonious rhythmic whole (189-205). The call-and-response pattern in *The Art Lover* is related to the dialogic relationships between voices, texts, and genres; it is the call-and-response that connects the canonical and the marginal, the novel and other genres, literature and the other arts, and the subject and its others.

Other musical strategies such as repetition reflect a cinematic influence. There are textual interpretations of non-diegetic sound techniques; for example, the references to Liszt’s *Transcendental Etudes* (44), Prokofiev’s *Five Sarcasms* (46) and *Love for Three Oranges* (117), Mozart’s *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik* (48), Saint-Saëns’ *Six Etudes for the Left Hand* (61), Verdi’s *Requiem* (107) and other works by Mahler, Brahms, Bach, Sibelius,

Bartok, Talking Heads, and Bush-Tetras accompany themes and characters and might serve as mood music. The voice of God that haunts *The Art Lover* is another example of a textual interpretation of a non-diegetic sound effect and it takes usually the call-and-response form between God and a character.

As previously stated, the multiplicity of voices that characterize a polyphony results in the fragmentation of the 'subject'; in *The Art Lover*, the subject is fragmented through 'destructuring' the narrative. Maso rejoices at defying those who "legislate the literary experience" and "wonder where the hero went," require a plot, and seek the conflict, the resolution, and the dénouement (*BER* 161). The plot contains characters and exhausts them; it impels the protagonist to fulfill completion (Bakhtin, *DI* 35). *The Art Lover* has no clear plot; a seasonal pattern is evident though: the chapters are organized according to the four seasons of the year (Spring, Summer, Fall, Winter, and Spring again); each character has his or her 'seasons' and because voices overlap, there are no clear-cut boundaries between the changing seasons/stories. As Maso clarifies, the novel's design should be "an abstract relationship between parts," and patterns and relationships are recognized only to be destroyed and deviated from (*BER* 25). *The Art Lover* is a chaotic ordering of fragments of stories and speeches and does not "take for granted: the line, the paragraph, the chapter, the story, the storyteller, character" (Maso, *BER* 24). It is dialogic to the point that it tolerates the absence of a hero or a protagonist and, more importantly, characters are not exhausted by a plot.

Furthermore, the fragmentary necessitates the absence of a 'centre'; and in Blanchot's vision, the centre is represented by a subject; thus, the fragmentary is "without subject" (49); the 'I', 'she' and 'he' disappear; the subject "extinguishes itself" (69) and with this disappearance, there is a loss of place, a loss of the presence, and a loss of trace. The 'neuter' "und[oes] [the] me" (66) by challenging "unity" (67) to replace the subject; the neuter changes and "[does] not cease to change places" (51). In *The Art Lover*, the first person 'I' is the third person 'she'; the intersections of the voices of the female characters, Carole, Caroline, Veronica, Maggie, Alison and Candace, blur the boundaries between the 'I' and the 'other.' However, first-person and third-person plurals cannot be used to refer to this 'neuter' for the neuter does not refer to a plurality of 'I', but to a multiple subjectivity; this sense of a multiple subjectivity was lost due to the "historical development of self-awareness" according to Bakhtin, yet it is possible to deconstruct this autonomous, rational and complete Cartesian 'I' through composing a heterogeneous image of the "Not-I," that is, a "neutral image" of "something larger than me in me" (*Speech Genres* 146-47).

More importantly, *The Art Lover* embraces the second subject; it not only tolerates the meetings of texts, but invites also the reader to participate in the "architecture" of the novel (Maso, *BER* 38-9). The second subject, or the textological subject, reproduces the original text, his is a "framing text" (Bakhtin, *Speech Genres* 104). The novel, according to Maso, is "continuous" (*BER* 48); *The Art Lover* is a becoming text through the "dialogic relationships among texts and within the text" (Bakhtin, *Speech Genres* 105). Therefore, it is a polyphony inasmuch as "a bouquet of voices" interact and overlap within and outside the text; the text is limitless: it is "a kind of eternity. A kind of infinity. Inevitable progressions of beauty--with room and time enough for it all" (Maso, *BER* 25). Thus, the humanistic subject of the Enlightenment is overthrown by the multiple subjectivity that results from the *The Art*

Lover's great time, i.e, the infinite interactions that enrich the work with new relationships, new meanings and interpretations (Bakhtin, *Speech Genres* 4-5).

Carnivalizing the Canon:

In addition to the transgeneric interactions and the fragmentation of the 'subject', the carnivalization of *The Art Lover* is conveyed through the subversion of the canon. The first canonical work that opens the 'conversation' is that of Giotto; details from his fresco, entitled *Noli me tangere*, or 'Touch me Not,' reappear in the novel. He is referred to as a 'master' and his work is canonical because it is "an abbreviation of the self" (Blanchot 4) that excludes its 'other'; because he is the 'master' of art, he represents an 'authority' that can impose the "supremacy of the 'Same'" (Blanchot 4) since his 'masterpiece' wants to occupy the 'centre': it becomes a model to imitate. A canonical work establishes a hierarchy because in order to be perceived as a masterpiece, its imitations are excluded as 'minor art'.

In addition to occupying the centre, a canonical work has a 'centre': by focusing on a dominant voice or a dominant character, or empowering a dominant discourse or ideology, or valuing a dominant tradition. In *Noli me tangere*, the centre is Jesus Christ; he is the focus in this fresco and all eyes are set on the resurrected hero. Therefore, the canonical work reinforces the hierarchy as it serves to preserve the order of the 'authority'. As noticed by *The Art Lover's* viewer(s), the work emphasizes the "pyramidal form" (17): there is, first, a man (Jesus Christ), a woman (the Magdalene), and the viewer(s); this hierarchy is also reflected through the landscape: mountain/hill, light/darkness, greenness/barren vegetation, life/death (tomb), and motion/stillness. The Magdalene is near the tomb, kneeling motionless as a statue; her background is darker and with barren vegetation, unlike Jesus Christ who is moving away from her in an attempt to avoid her 'touch' for he is 'ascending to his father'; with his resurrection, plants resurge and the light surrounds him. Thus, Giotto's masterpiece reinforces hierarchical relationships; Jesus Christ is superior by virtue of his otherworldliness for he is a heavenly creature while the Magdalene is 'othered' because she is a woman, she represents earthly life.

In *The Art Lover*, Giotto's masterpiece is fragmented into details and this fragmentation aims at deconstructing the hierarchy. While the first detail highlights the 'pyramidal form' (17), the second one shifts the focus to the Magdalene (24). The third detail tries to move 'out of focus', it gets rid of the 'centre' and zooms in the void, the space between their hands (49). A second fragmentation of the canonical occurs through the 'interaction' between Vermeer's masterpiece, *Head of a Young Girl* (57; 58) and Matisse's drawings such as *Head of a Woman* (168; 178). Just like Giotto, Vermeer is obsessed with "exactness and precision" (17), they seek the finished and pursue perfection. Matisse, on the other hand, defies the influence of the canon by voicing the wild, the ugly, the sketchy through his charcoal drawings, announcing the beginning of a new era of art. Along with Matisse, Picasso's disruptive style is celebrated through his *Self-Portrait* (217) that interrupts the narrative of Giotto's hero who is resurrected to 'save' the world; as the extract from Michael Brenson's essay on "Picasso Survey, the Late Paintings" clarifies, Picasso's last portrait is shocking as it announces the death of the hero (qtd. in *The Art Lover* 215).

Moreover, Giotto's work gains recognition as major art inasmuch as it serves the ruling elite; as Bakhtin maintains, the artistic canon seeks reinforcement through embracing the authoritative discourse such as the religious discourse. Giotto's panels are inspired by the Biblical themes of the Virgin Mary's life (first panel), Jesus's life (second panel), and the

Passion of Christ, i.e., his suffering, death, resurrection and ascension (third panel). The *Noli me tangere* fresco depicts a scene from the resurrection from *The Bible*: “Jesus said to her, Do not touch me, for I have not yet ascended to the Father” (John 20:17). The religious discourse emphasizes the perfection of Christ; his body is deified and becomes sacred and, ergo, the Magdalene cannot touch him because of her earthly body. It is for this reason that the depictions of Christ highlight the classical body because it is ‘perfected’ and *Noli me tangere* accentuates the deification of Jesus Christ. In *The Art Lover*, the influence of the authoritative discourse, whether religious or artistic, is discontinued by reimagining the ‘grotesque body’. By tolerating the ugly and the monstrous, Matisse and Picasso inspire the female voices to ‘humanize’ Jesus; *The Art Lover’s* Jesus is becoming, he is regaining his earthly body.

Bakhtin’s distinction between the classical body and the grotesque body recalls Nietzsche’s conception of the Apolline and the Dionysiac in his *The Birth of Tragedy*. The Apolline according to Nietzsche describes an art that values perfection such as Greek sculptures, unlike the Dionysiac which is celebrated as a liberating force; these artistic powers are the products of a dual cultural system that privileges an Apolline culture and, hence, the Dionysiac finds expressions in the margins such as festivals (14-21). This dualism should be subverted, according to Bakhtin. In his study of the “The Rabelaisian Chronotope,” Bakhtin argues that Rabelais destroys the traditional picture of a world built on dualities and hierarchies and replaces it with a “positive construction”; for example, the deconstruction of the classical body occurs through liberating it from the classical mould and, hence, the human body in Rabelais is flawed, deformed, ugly, decaying, and grotesque (*DI* 169-70).

Christ, in Giotto or the Bible, is a prisoner of abstractions and his earthly body is sacrificed to emphasize an abstract picture of a divine being; *The Art Lover’s* Jesus regains his “concrete human corporeality,” and in the process “the entire remaining world also takes on new meaning and concrete reality, a new materiality, it enters into a contact with human beings that is no longer symbolic but material” (Bakhtin, *DI* 170). The eroticization of Jesus’s body aims at humanizing him for the liberation of Christ depends on the liberation of his body. Jesus in *The Art Lover* desires a woman; he bleeds, sweats, weeps, touches, smells, cooks, eats, plants gardens, dances and listens to Verdi’s music (56; 59; 98; 107; 167; 176; 213; 224); he rejoices at the reawakening of his senses.

Jesus experiences his body as an organism; the focus on the erotic bodily experience of Jesus is an expression of the carnival and serves as a “popular corrective to individual idealistic and spiritual pretense” (*Rabelais* 22-23). The artistic canon as empowered by the authoritative discourse of the Bible appropriated the body of Jesus by portraying it as a “strictly completed, finished product”; it becomes the “individual body” (Bakhtin, *Rabelais* 29). In *Noli me tangere*, Christ’s individual body is ‘sacred’ and, hence, inaccessible and “isolated” (Bakhtin, *Rabelais* 29); resurrected, it becomes ageless and perfect, “as far removed from the mother’s womb as from the grave” (Bakhtin, *Rabelais* 29), unlike the Magdalene’s body that retains its close proximity to earth. For this reason, the liberation of Christ’s body occurs through a return to the Mother, represented as the Virgin Mary, the Magdalene, and nature; for the mother’s womb symbolizes the “ancestral body of the people” (Bakhtin, *Rabelais* 29).

In addition to the grotesque realism, the crowning and uncrowning of kings is another aspect of the carnival since, as Bakhtin argues, during the ancient festivals, a subversion of authority is enacted through uncrowning the king; thus, while the people wear masks, the king is 'unmasked'. Deprived of his crown, he becomes fragile and exposed to humiliation as the crowd abuses his body (Bakhtin, *Rabelais* 197-99). In Giotto's fresco, the otherworldliness of Jesus is highlighted by the golden halo surrounding his head; *The Art Lover's* Christ is uncrowned, the golden halo is replaced by a wreath of rosemary, as a "remembrance" of his "Mother" (176). Christ's subversion of the patriarchal order is communicated through a return to the Mother; thus, the monologic world of the Father, represented by God, the female characters' fathers, and the masters of art, falls apart to be replaced by a carnivalized world.

The Carnivalized Text: Beyond Theory

Though Maso's *The Art Lover* represents the prototypical carnivalized text as glorified by Bakhtin, the adopted lyrical style might be challenging Bakhtin's theory. Bakhtin, as already clarified, regards poetry as a manifestation of the authoritative discourse of the elite because of its homogenizing power; thus, one might wonder whether *The Art Lover* is betraying its own genre in this attempt to "prolong the lyric moment" (Maso, *BER*, 26). Maso has recognized the "desire of the novel to become a poem" (*BER* 23); indeed, she confesses that she "[has loved poetry most, but at the same time she felt the need for a larger canvas" (*BER* 26). She introduces herself as "the daughter of Williams," reference to the American poet William Carlos Williams, who "combined poetry, fiction, fact, criticism, bits of this and that in his work" (*BER* 3). In addition to the lyrical style and the power of images, *The Art Lover* includes poems and selected verses, one of them is by William Carlos Williams (34).

The carnival is celebrated in Bakhtin's writings as a form of transgression of authority by the crowd/people; however, it is important to notice that the elite is not excluded from the carnival. In his assessment of Bakhtin's conception of the carnival and the carnivalesque, Dentith questions whether the carnival can be a liberating anti-authoritarian force; he refers to findings by modern historians and critics which prove that "popular festive forms were not only the cultural property of the 'people'" since "there is evidence of widespread participation by the noble élite in carnival, including well-known and powerful people," concluding that such evidence might have changed Bakhtin's view of the carnival, but these evidence were "obviously unavailable to Bakhtin" (71). However, Bakhtin has already underlined in his book on *Rabelais* the participation of kings in these festivals and their willingness to enact the uncrowning ceremonies (*Rabelais* 195-99; 212-19; 234-47; 372-88), which means that he was cognizant of the involvement and engagement of the elite in carnival. Indeed, the carnival is liberating because its anti-authoritarian force does not seek to exclude the elite or to confirm the division between the elite and the crowd; the carnival goes beyond the limitations of divisions to tolerate differences and diversity.

Bakhtin's view of the carnival should not be confused with Nietzsche's conception of the Apolline and the Dionysiac; these forces are in conflict from the point of view of Nietzsche and though the Dionysiac has elements of the carnival, it is different from Bakhtin's vision of the carnival that includes both the Apolline and the Dionysiac. Nietzsche's Dionysiac is traceable for it is pre-Socratic, whereas Bakhtin's carnival is untraceable since it is not only prehistoric, but also ahistorical; there are traces of the Dionysiac and the Apolline, but the carnival erases the traces because "all traces disappear in the fragmentary space" (Blanchot

50). It is ahistorical as it grants space for those who are outside history, i.e., the people, and is itself a break from history as it challenges the dominant culture (the official culture of Church and State) by offering the elite the space to liberate themselves from the burden of 'authority' through participating in the acts of subversions such as the un-crowning of kings, the symbolic death of the king, intoxication, curses and verbal abuse. The carnival is an interval, a gap: it is, thus, a fragmentary space that does not only include the people, but also the elite since the elite used to participate in carnival.

However, it is in his theorization of the novelistic discourse that Bakhtin falls into contradiction with his own idea of the carnival as a liberating anti-authoritarian force. In his attempt to prove the historical dominance of the novel by depreciating poetry, Bakhtin might have foregrounded a dualistic view that contradicts his own vision of the carnival. He excludes poetry as an expression of the authoritative discourse that is in opposition with the novelistic discourse. But the carnivalesque in the novel is supposed to allow for dialogic exchanges and tolerate the multiplicity of voices, including those of the elite/the canon. Bakhtin praises the novel's ability to 'novelize' other genres and, ergo, poetry is no exception for it should be liberated through the novel. Therefore, it is in defying Bakhtin's theorization about the novel that *The Art Lover* reveals its polyphony; it has to betray the theory in order to confirm it; in other words, it is by reconciling the novel with poetry that *The Art Lover* succeeds in carnivalizing the canon and, hence, subverting the authoritative discourse; as argued, the carnival is all-inclusive and does not reproduce the Nietzschean dualism between the Apolline and the Dionysiac.

The carnivalization of literature results in the toleration of space, the text becomes "enlarged by a generosity of space" (Blanchot 49). The fragmentations of the subject, the canon, and the genre makes of *The Art Lover* a carnivalized work par excellence; it is an anti-genre work that goes beyond its own limitations as a 'novel': it is an "expansive" "spacious form," and a "huge, shifting, unstable, unmanageable canvas" that allows "a certain spaciousness" and tolerates the inclusion of a multiplicity of voices and worldviews (Maso, *BER* 23-32). As a fragmentary space, it is open to negotiation between conflicting voices and, ergo, *The Art Lover* is "unfinished and left that way. Unfinished, not abandoned. Unfinished, not because of death or indifference or loss of faith, or nerve, just unfinished" in order to "allow everyone to write, to thrive, to live" (Maso, *BER* 188); it is a becoming text.

This paper has demonstrated that Maso's *The Art Lover* can be regarded as an anti-genre work not only because it defies the monologic discourse of fixed genres, but, more importantly, it succeeds in overcoming the limitations of its own genre, i.e., the novel, through the carnivalesque. Besides, the article has shown that by tolerating transgeneric interactions, fragmenting the 'subject', and subverting the canon, *The Art Lover* 'becomes,' that is, it is a developing text that seeks to include a multiplicity of voices through dialogic exchanges. Furthermore, the paper has argued that the carnival in Maso's work defies Bakhtin's theorization which, though it started by rejecting dualism as an expression of the monologic patriarchal order, has fallen into reproducing a dualistic view that privileges the novel over poetry. The paper has explained that *The Art Lover's* carnival is in no way a recreation of the division between the Apolline and the Dionysiac in art; the carnival exists in between these forces as an all-inclusive space that carnivalizes the genres, the canon, and

voices and, ergo, escapes monologization. Therefore, Maso's literature of becoming is one that overcomes the boundaries which limit the interactions of and between texts.

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Potential Inclusion of Multiple Intelligences in Jordanian Action Pack Five: A Content Analysis

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Abstract

This study examines the inclusion of the types of the Multiple Intelligences Theory (MIT) in Jordanian Action Pack textbook for fifth grade by means of content analysis. The researcher used a content analysis sheet to determine the potential inclusion of Gardner's intelligences in the activities of the Action Pack textbook for fifth grade. Frequencies and percentages are used to report this analysis. The findings reveal that verbal/linguistic, spatial/visual and interpersonal intelligences are better represented than other intelligences in the activities of the textbook. Furthermore, the distribution of multiple intelligences is fairly unbalanced throughout the eighteen units of Action Pack Five.

Key words: Content analysis, Multiple Intelligences Theory (MIT), Action Pack textbook

Introduction

Howard Gardner's Multiple Intelligence Theory (MIT) was first published in Howard Gardner's book, *Frames of Mind* (1983) to examine many aspects of human intelligence, learning style, personality and behavior. Gardner initially developed his theory on multiple intelligences as a contribution to psychology. However, his theory was soon adopted by education and teaching communities.

Gardner's MIT challenged traditional beliefs in the fields of education and cognitive science. According to a traditional definition, intelligence is a cognitive capacity that people are born with. This capacity can be easily measured by short-answer tests. Howard Gardner viewed intelligence as "the capacity to solve problems or to fashion products that are valued in one or more cultural setting" (Gardner & Hatch, 1989, 5).

One of the main impetuses for the current movement towards intelligence has been Howard Gardner's work. He has been, in Smith and Smith's (1994) terms, a paradigm

shifter. Howard Gardner has questioned the idea that intelligence is a single entity, that it results from a single factor, and that it can be measured simply via IQ tests. He has also challenged the cognitive development work of Piaget. Bringing forward evidence to show that at any one time a child may be at very different stages for example, in number development and spatial/visual maturation, Howard Gardner has successfully undermined the idea that knowledge at any one particular developmental stage hangs together in a structured whole (Gardner, 1996).

Gardner (2004, p. xxxii) further posits that there is “a multitude of intelligences which are quite independent of each other and that each intelligence has its own strengths and constraints”. Gardner’s original MIT started out with seven intelligences: verbal/linguistic, logical/mathematical, spatial/visual, bodily/ kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal, and intrapersonal. Then more intelligences, such as spiritual, moral, existential and naturalist, were added.

The verbal/linguistic intelligence involves sensitivity to the sounds and meanings of words whereas the logical/mathematical intelligence is realized in the ability to think conceptually and abstractly. The musical intelligence involves skill in the performance, composition, and appreciation of musical patterns. The bodily/kinesthetic intelligence entails the potential of using one’s body movements while spatial/visual intelligence involves the potential to recognize images and pictures. The interpersonal intelligence involves the ability to understand other people's intentions, motivations and desires while the intrapersonal intelligence entails the capacity to understand oneself and to appreciate one's feelings, fears and motivations (Gardner, 1989)

Table 1 below summarizes the capabilities and perceptions involved in each of the original seven intelligences.

Table 1: Capabilities and Perceptions of the Original Seven Components of MIT*

Type of Intelligence	Type of Intelligence Capability and Perception
Verbal/Linguistic	words
Logical/Mathematical	logic and numbers
Musical	music, sound, and rhythm
Bodily/Kinesthetic	body movement control
Spatial/Visual	images and space
Interpersonal	other people's feelings
Intrapersonal	self-awareness

* adapted from Chapman (2009)

Gardner (1999) presented four additional intelligences (spiritual, moral, existential, and naturalist) .Existential intelligence relates to the ability to contemplate phenomena or questions beyond sensory data whereas naturalist intelligence involves nurturing and relating information to one’s natural surroundings. Spiritual intelligence involves one's capacity to grasp cosmic and transcendent truths while moral intelligence relates to the ability to differentiate right from wrong as defined by universal principles, as shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Capabilities and Perceptions of the Additional Four Components of MIT*

Type of Intelligence	Type of Intelligence Capability and Perception
Existential	'ultimate issues'
Naturalist	natural environment
Spiritual	Religion
Moral	ethics, humanity, and value of life

* adapted from Chapman (2009)

MIT has recently been considered in TEFL. Berman (2005), who claims that MIT can profoundly affect how teachers view their pupils, illustrates a variety of exercises, activities and tasks which can be used in the EFL classroom. MIT posits that students would learn better when teachers use different methods, exercises, and activities to reach all students, not only those who excel at linguistic and logical intelligence.

According to Berman (2005), it is clear that unless we teach multi-modally and cater for all the intelligence types in each of our lessons, we will fail to reach all the learners in the group, whatever approach to teaching we adopt. It is also apparent that if we impose learning styles on our students, they will prove to be ineffective. Learners with highly developed spatial intelligence, for example, will respond to the use of diagrams to record new vocabulary whereas this technique may have little or no impact on the rest of us.

Armstrong (2001) suggests that MIT is remarkable in its provision of different potential pathways to learning, which is further corroborated by Nolen (2003) who maintains that the presentation of EFL materials should engage all or most of the intelligences as each one is potentially present in every learner. If a teacher is having difficulty reaching a student through more traditional methods of instruction, MIT puts forth several instructional alternatives to facilitate learning.

The researcher located some content analysis studies on the inclusion of MI principles in EFL textbooks. Palmberg (2002) examined the intelligence profile of Bricks 1 textbook used at the lower level in Finland. The analysis revealed that 97% of the 300 exercises of the textbook were categorized as verbal/linguistic, 76% intrapersonal, 25% interpersonal, 8% logical/mathematical, 5% bodily/kinesthetic, 5% spatial/visual, 3% naturalistic, 2% musical, and 0% existentialist.

Along the same lines, Botelho (2003) content analyzed six textbooks to determine how their activities help enhance Brazilian EFL learners' intelligences. She found that 75% of the activities mainly cater for the verbal/linguistic, intrapersonal, spatial/visual, and interpersonal intelligences. The logical/mathematical, bodily/kinesthetic, musical/rhythmic, naturalist, and existential intelligences were observed in less than 40% of the activities of the six books.

Razmjoo and Jozaghi (2010) conducted a study to evaluate Top-Notch series through a checklist based on Multiple Intelligences (MI) theory. This study examined the frequency of the nine intelligences in each book of the series. The results confirm that Top Notch is rich in addressing verbal intelligence followed by the visual, logical, musical, interpersonal, bodily, and intrapersonal one while to some extent poor in representing natural and existential intelligences. The comparison of the results with that of Interchange series evaluation illustrated that Top Notch is more representative of the intelligences and that it is a suitable alternative to the Interchange in terms of addressing the elements of MI principles.

Masoomeh and Mahdieh(2014) investigated the extent to which young learners' textbooks in Iran reflect multiple intelligences (MI).The study considered the frequency with which each type of intelligences was presented in young learners' textbooks at four different levels. To this end, a multiple intelligences checklist was developed, based on the framework of the Theory of Multiple Intelligences. Accordingly, eight textbooks which are currently taught at a language institute young learners' department have been analyzed according to the MI checklist. Careful analysis of the selected textbooks revealed that the intelligence profile of these textbooks is primarily verbal/ linguistic. Naturalistic intelligence is recognized as the least intelligence type provided only at intermediate and advanced levels textbooks, and no example of spiritual and existential intelligences was found. Pedagogically, the findings of the study suggested that policy makers and materials developers should take into account all intelligence types in designing young EFL learners' textbooks.

Al-Omari, Bataineh and Smadi (2015) examined the potential incorporation of the principles of the Multiple Intelligences Theory in the Jordanian Action Pack textbook for the first-, fourth-, eighth- and eleventh-grades by means of content analysis. The findings reveal that unlike the moral, existential and spiritual intelligences, which are not incorporated at all, the verbal/linguistic, intrapersonal and spatial/visual intelligences are better represented than other intelligences in the activities of the textbook. The findings further reveal that the incorporation of multiple intelligences is fairly unbalanced among the four levels of the textbook.

Mardani and Soleimani (2016) analyzed Interchange Third Edition English learning course book in light of the Theory of Multiple Intelligences (MI) proposed by Howard Gardner (1983). These series of course books are commonly used in private schools in the Iranian context. The conversations, grammar and reading comprehension activities of the above series were analyzed based on MI checklist prepared and used by Christison et al. (1996) to examine the inclusion of multiple intelligences. The most common types of intelligences engaged in students in Interchange Third edition were seen to be verbal/linguistic, logical/mathematical, spatial/ visual, interpersonal, and intrapersonal which means engaging five types of intelligences. The results of the study can be applied in the instruction of the mentioned course books to engage MI.

Therefore, research has reported that MI potentially enhances students' learning and increases students' achievement in English classes. MI theory opens the door to a wide range of teaching strategies that can be easily implemented in the classroom. In many cases, they are strategies that have been used for decades by good teachers. In other cases, the theory of multiple intelligences offers teachers an opportunity to develop innovative teaching strategies that are relatively new to the educational scene. MI theory suggests that no one set of teaching strategies will work best for all students at all times.

Questions of the Study

This study attempts to answer the following questions:

- 1) To what extent does Action Pack Five include multiple intelligences in its content?
- 1) To what extent is there a balance in the distribution of multiple intelligences throughout the eighteen units of Action Pack Five?

Significance of the Study

The significance of the study emerges from the point that it may assist teachers and curricula designers to prepare and design appropriate activities and tasks that cater for multiple intelligences. Besides, policymakers can structure curricula according to the intelligences and design classrooms and even whole schools to reflect the theory that Howard Gardner develops. Moreover, it can enhance students' abilities to comprehend the message accurately. The study also may motivate teachers to come up with more effective activities that meet students' needs and interests.

Definition of the Terms

Inclusion: In this study it means whether the content under analysis includes the principles of multiple intelligences. It can also determine whether this inclusion has significant influence, and the extent of its inclusion (is it essentially or marginally included)?

Balance: In this study it means whether the content concentrates on multiple intelligences more than others, or whether it presents all multiple intelligences fully and in a balanced manner.

Action Pack Series: Action pack is a twelve-level course for Jordanian students, leading them from the Basic to the Secondary stage. It is based on the most modern methods of teaching language, combining a topic-based approach with functional language practice, careful attention to grammar and vocabulary and a comprehensive skills syllabus.

Methodology and Procedures

This study uses content analysis to determine the potential inclusion of Gardner's verbal/linguistic, logical/mathematical, spatial/visual, bodily/kinesthetic, musical/rhythmic, interpersonal, intrapersonal, naturalistic, moral, spiritual and existential intelligences in the activities of the Action Pack textbook for fifth grade. All the activities are closely examined to identify the potential inclusion of each of the eleven intelligences.

Study Instrument

In order to help answering the questions of the study, the researcher used content analysis sheet. It is designed to examine the inclusion of multiple intelligences in Action Pack Five. Frequencies and percentages are used to report this analysis.

Content under Analysis

All the activities in Action Pack Five from unit one to unit eighteen.

Criteria of Analysis

The analysis is conducted along the criteria of inclusion and balance of the various intelligences in the activities of Action Pack Five.

Categories of Analysis

The categories of analysis are the types of intelligences in the activities of Action Pack Five.

Units of Analysis

The units of the present analysis are the Activities in Action Pack Five from unit one to unit eighteen.

Limitations of the Study

This study is restricted to the eleventh intelligences in Action Pack five.

Validity and Reliability

To establish the validity of the list of activities used in the analysis, it is given to a jury of three English teachers to ascertain its appropriateness for the purposes of the research. The jury's feedback, which constitutes of suggestions to rephrase, add or delete items, is used to modify the list prior to the analysis.

Intra-rater reliability of the content analysis is also ascertained through test-retest. The activities are initially analyzed and reanalyzed a week later according to the categories of the analysis by the same researcher. The reliability co-efficient between the two analyses is calculated and found to amount to 0.99.

Findings and Discussion

To answer the research questions, the researcher analyzed the content of Action Pack Five in light of MIT principles. All units (1-18) in Action Pack 5 are content analyzed. The analysis is conducted along the criteria of inclusion and balance of the various intelligences in the activities of Action Pack Five. The researcher used a content analysis sheet for this purpose. The frequencies and percentages of multiple intelligence in all activities in Action Pack Five are calculated, as shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Frequencies and percentages of the activities which include MI in Action Pack Five from unit one to unit eighteen.

No.	Multiple intelligences	Frequencies of activities	Percentages Of activities
1-	Verbal/linguistic	120	97.5
2-	Spatial/visual	95	77.2
3-	Interpersonal	60	48.7
4-	Intrapersonal	25	20.3
5-	Naturalist	19	15.4
6-	Bodily/kinesthetic	18	14.6
7-	Logical/mathematical	14	11.3
8-	Musical	5	4.06
9-	Moral	1	.81
10-	Existential	0	0
11-	Spiritual	0	0
Total number of activities		123	

Table 3 shows unlike the existential and spiritual intelligences which have a zero frequency of incorporation in the activities of Action Pack five, the verbal/linguistic, spatial/visual, interpersonal intelligences are heavily included with 97.5%, 77.2%, and 48.7%, respectively. On the other hand, the intrapersonal, the naturalist, bodily/kinesthetic, logical/mathematical, and musical/rhythmic intelligences are moderately included with 20.3%, 15.4%, 14.6%, 11.3%, and 4.06% respectively.

The intelligences in this book are presented in a descending order of frequency as verbal/linguistic, spatial/visual, interpersonal, intrapersonal, naturalist, bodily/kinesthetic, logical/mathematical, musical, moral, existential, and spiritual. More specifically, the verbal/linguistic and spatial/visual intelligences are the most dominant, with percentages of 97.5 and 77.2 respectively, as opposed to all other intelligences whose percentages of inclusion ranged between just under one and 48.7. Such focus on verbal/linguistic highlights the significance of building the linguistic as well as the communicative competence of the students. This attention can be attributed to the fact that Specific Grade Outcomes in the General Guidelines and General and Specific Outcomes for English Language in Jordan of 2006 (GSO) is based on the communicative approach where "communicative competence, with an emphasis on fluency and acceptable language use, is the goal of instruction" (Omaggio, 2001, p. 117).

Surprisingly, GSO does not make any reference to MIT despite the attempts to include various recent teaching and learning theories. However, the inclusion of MIT in Action Pack textbooks is incidental and implicit. In other words, Multiple Intelligences are incorporated in the activities of the textbooks probably because GSO (MoE, 2006, p. 11) posits that

"English language teaching should be interactively attempted in light of the basic principles of communicative language teaching". Besides, it is stated in the core subject outcomes that students will "communicate information, ideas, opinions and feelings effectively for a variety of purposes in written, spoken and visual forms to interact and collaborate with others to accomplish goals"(MoE, 2006, p. 10)

Obviously, two intelligences (spiritual and existential) are not included in the activities of Action Pack five, which may be readily attributed to the fact that textbook writers are not acquainted with new intelligences. Moreover, *Action Pack* series is written by non-Jordanian authors who may not have been keen enough to represent the Arab/Islamic ideals in the English curricula. It is worth noting in this regard that GSO stresses as core subject outcomes that students will "explore and respond creatively to Arabic and world literature as a way of knowing, developing personal values, understanding our cultural heritage and appreciating other cultures in light of the Arabic-Islamic culture"(MoE, 2006, p. 10) However, these outcomes could hardly be achieved without exposing students to learning material that pertains to such issues. So, Jordanian students need to be exposed to activities that cater for these intelligences, which are lacking in the textbook under study.

The *verbal/ linguistic* intelligence is apparent throughout the activities of Action Pack five. For example, students are asked to **listen and read** pp. 4, 8, 12, 16 and 20 and, at a later point, to **look and say** pp. 5, 9, 17, 23 and 29, **ask and answer** pp. 7,15,19,21, and 25 and to **talk about you** pp. 5, 11, 13, 15, 18 and 29. Moreover, there are certain activities about **listen and say** or **read and say** pp.27, 31, 43, 49 and 71. An excellent example of the latter one is in unit 6, p. 27, exercise 7 through which students are asked to read and complete the sentences with a time phrase. E.g. "I was in Grade three two years ago."

It is worth noting that the same activity may cater for more than just one intelligence. For example, in the **sing** activity, unit 17, p.71 students are asked to describe the photos (a mountain, a sea), then listen and read the words of the song. Thus, this activity engages the verbal/linguistic, naturalist, spatial/visual and intrapersonal intelligences. Another example is the **look and say** activity, unit 2, p.9 in which students are asked to look at the three shapes (square, rectangle and triangle) and work in pairs to describe the shape and guess which shape is being described. So this activity combines verbal/linguistic, spatial/visual, logical/mathematical, and interpersonal intelligences.

The results also reveal that the *spatial/visual* intelligence is well represented in Action Pack five with a percentage of 77.2. Each activity is accompanied by illustrative pictures to the extent that the number of activities equals the number of pictures. The reason behind the dominance of the spatial/visual intelligence is that foreign language textbooks rely heavily on pictures and illustrations to support content such as dialogues, reading texts, listening activities and vocabulary items especially at early stages and young ages. So pictures, tables, graphs, maps and charts are evident at this stage in order to catch students' attention and engage them in the activity because they easily lose interest after a short time.

For example, in unit 5, pictures of transport vehicles such as planes, cars, buses and bikes appear on pages 20,21, 22, and 23 whereas, in unit 10 pictures of various types of food such as lentils, herbs, spices, onions, butter, bananas and flour appear on pages 40, 41, 42 and 43 respectively. Tables, graphs, maps and charts are also evident in this textbook. For example, tables are presented on pages 5 and 39 while a map of Jordan is presented on page 68.

Learning through interaction with others can be achieved by activating the *interpersonal* intelligence. Students at this early stage need to interact with peers to develop their linguistic and communicative skills. The importance given to the interpersonal intelligence is in line with GSO which posits that ELT should be interactively attempted and evaluated in light of communicative language teaching (CLT). One of the major principles of CLT is to encourage learners to communicate and interact with others (Omaggio, 2001).

For example, in **ask and answer** activity, pp.7, 15, 19, 21, 25,33and 37, students work in pairs to ask and answer questions about different topics such as animals in activity4, p.37"A: Are horses, lions and deer fast animals? B: Yes, they are". Moreover, the reading texts(**listen and read** activities) are written in the form of dialogues between Kareem and Samira , Grandma and Samira or Kareem and Mum throughout units from one to eighteen, pp. 8, 12, 20, 24, 28, 32, 40,...68.

The results also reveal that the *intrapersonal* intelligence is fairly well represented in Action Pack five. The rationale behind using intrapersonal intelligence is probably because students need to express themselves, their opinions, desires and needs. It is stated in GSO that students "need to be able to express oneself in English" (MoE, 2006, p. 9). The activities require tasks that have to do with individual elements such as doing things by oneself, reflecting and talking about oneself.

For example, students are asked to do some activities individually such as **listen and choose** activity 6, p.27 and **right or wrong**, activity 4, p. 26. Besides, they are asked to talk about oneself at the end of each unit. For example, in **talk about you** activity in unit 2, p.11, students are asked to talk about themselves in the past and nowadays. E.g. "I was in Grade four, but now I am in Grade five."In addition, in the **project** activity students are asked to write about their own experiences. An excellent example is activity 2,p.75 through which students are going to write about their life in future when they grow up.

Naturalist intelligences are relatively less represented in Action Pack Five. They are evident in some units. For example in **read and match** activity, in unit 7, p.30 students are asked to match animals with their descriptions. In **read and answer** activity in unit 11, p. 46 students are asked to read the text about Jordan Valley and answer questions about it. Unit 12 includes different activities that cater for naturalist intelligence since it is directed towards the theme of Shaumari Nature Reserve and the sub theme of the national bird, flower, animal and tree.

The *bodily/kinesthetic* intelligences are also less represented throughout the textbook which is consistent with research findings that the younger the learners, the more physical

activities they tend to need (See, for example, Bas, 2008). When learners grow up, they tend to rely less on physical activities. Students learn best if they learn by doing. They are encouraged to develop their ability to use their body to express ideas and feelings.

For example, in unit 12, **talk about you** activity, p.51 students express their feelings (happy, sad, cold, tired) using body language. In unit 14, **match and say** activity, p.59 students are asked to use should/shouldn't to express certain actions. Another example is in unit 16, **look and say** activity, p.67 through which students are going to describe certain jobs.

With regard to **logical/mathematical** intelligences, there are few activities that cater for this intelligence because it needs higher order thinking skills that few of our students can master. So students need to guess, reason, predict, analyze and think critically. For example, in unit 2 there are different activities about shapes (square, rectangle, triangle and circle). Another example is in unit 5, **look and say** and **listen and match** activities, p.23 in which students are going to express the time on each clock.

It seems that the **musical** intelligences are relatively very few in Action Pack five. There are just five songs with a percentage of 4.06. This is consistent with other research findings (see, for example, Botelho, 2003) who found that the musical/rhythmic intelligence was among the less common intelligences in language textbooks. It seems that the authors of *Action Pack* believe that songs are more appropriate for younger learners. However, songs can be used both as a teaching aid and an entertainment tool to enhance the teaching-learning process. For example, in the **song** activities, pp.11, 31, 47, 63 and 71 students are going to listen and sing a song about shapes, baby, food, mountain and Independence Day.

As can be seen in Table 3, the **moral** intelligence is represented only once in Action Pack Five. In unit eighteen, **project** activity, p.75, students express different morals when writing about their life in future such as helping people or helping those in need. The other two intelligences (**existential and spiritual**) are not included in Action Pack five for the reasons previously mentioned.

Therefore, the results show that the nine multiple intelligences under study are included in the activities of Action Pack five with an acceptable proportion whereas the other two intelligences (existential and spiritual) are not included at all.

With regard to balance, it seems that there is no balance in the distribution of multiple intelligences. Some of them are highly addressed such as verbal/ linguistic, spatial/visual and intrapersonal. Others are moderately incorporated such as intrapersonal, naturalist, bodily/kinesthetic, logical /mathematical. The other two intelligences that are less represented are musical and moral. The rest which are not included at all are existential and spiritual.

Implications

The findings of the analysis reveal that the curriculum lacks systematic attention to multiple intelligences especially the moral, existential and spiritual. Further empirical research is recommended not only on the relationship among the various intelligences but also on the pedagogical implications for these intelligences and their effect on language learning. Therefore, the exposure to multiple intelligences will motivate students and encourage them to practice the language effectively.

In the light of the findings of the present study, certain pedagogical implications may be put forth:

- 1- Policymakers and curricula designers can structure curricula according to Gardner's intelligences.
- 2- Teachers can prepare and design appropriate activities and tasks that cater for multiple intelligences.
- 3- Teachers can come up with more effective activities that meet students' needs and interests.
- 4- Using multiple intelligences can motivate students and encourage them to practice the language effectively.

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Appendix
Content Analysis sheet
of the Multiple Intelligences in Action Pack Five

The book: Action Pack
Authors: Caroline Seymour
Number of activities: 123

Class: Fifth Grade
Number of units: 18

Table 3: Frequencies and percentages of the Activities which include MI in Action Pack Five from unit one to unit eighteen.

No.	Multiple intelligences	Frequencies of activities	Percentages Of activities
1-	Verbal/linguistic		
2-	Spatial/visual		
3-	Interpersonal		
4-	Intrapersonal		
5-	Naturalist		
6-	Bodily/kinesthetic		
7-	Logical/mathematical		
8-	Musical		
9-	Moral		
10-	Existential		
11-	Spiritual		
Total number of activities			

Heritage Language Maintenance in Tunisia: The Case of Berber in Zrawa”

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Abstract

Berber is the indigenous language of Tunisia. Nevertheless, it is neither the official nor the majority language of the country. In being so, it acquires the status of an indigenous heritage language. It is still spoken today in scattered areas, amongst which is the village of Zrawa in the southeast of Tunisia. This paper reports the results of my previous sociolinguistic study of the Berbers of Zrawa (Bouhdima, 2017). The context of the study represents a setting where the Berber language is used in all informal settings. The study aimed at investigating the factors underpinning the Berber language maintenance among the Berbers of Zrawa. To get a complete understanding of the phenomenon, a mixed methods approach was adopted. This involved collecting data by means of one quantitative technique, namely a questionnaire, and two qualitative instruments, precisely semistructured interview and participant observation. Results from the study indicate that the factors contributing to Berber language maintenance in Zrawa are: (a) the geographic concentration of the Berber community, (b) the essential role of the Berber families, (c) the Berbers' positive attitudes towards the Berber language, and (d) the perceived close link between Berber language and identity. Results imply that Berber language is unlikely to disappear from Zrawa.

Introduction

Berber language and culture have been ignored not only by Tunisian officials but also by researchers. The 2014 Tunisian Constitution makes no reference to Berber language. Conversely, it makes of Arabic the official language of the country by stipulating that “Tunisia is a free, independent, sovereign state; its religion is Islam, its language Arabic, and its system is republican” (UNDP, 2014, p. 4). Berber have always been spoken by a tiny minority that does not exceed one percent of the population (Pencheon, 1968 ; Garmadi, 1968 ; Maamouri, 1983a ; Battenburg, 1999 ; Daoud, 2001 ; Daoud, 2011), which may imply that there have been no official initiatives to support the language. The 2014 Constitution

also makes no reference to Berber culture. The official ignorance of this culture is explicated by three phrases from the preamble of the constitution, namely “the foundations of our Islamic-Arab identity,” “consolidating our cultural and civilizational affiliation to the Arab and Muslim nation,” and “committed to strengthening Maghreb unity as a step towards achieving Arab unity” (p. 3). Officially ignoring Berber language and culture implies the government's belief that Tunisian society is monolingual and monocultural. Therefore, carrying out research on any topic related to Berber language and culture may be seen as a challenge to this belief. In the words of Battenburg (1999), “conducting research on Berbers in Tunisia is a daunting activity because one is questioning a fundamental tenet of the republic-linguistic and ethnic homogeneity” (p. 148). This may explain the little attention that Berber language and culture have received from researchers. Little research has been carried out on the Berber language and much more less on the Berber language in Tunisia (Battenburg, 1999). Almost all doctoral dissertations, journal articles, and book-length studies on Berber language and culture have focussed on Morocco and Algeria (Battenburg, 1999).

Even though the Berber language has been officially ignored, it is still spoken in nine villages in the southeast of Tunisia (Battenburg, 1999 ; Gabsi, 2003), amongst which is the village of Zrawa. Basset (1950) and Pencheon (1968) reported that Zrawa was completely Berberphone. The study I conducted in 2017 aimed at knowing whether Zrawa is still entirely Berberphone and, therefore, investigating the factors contributing to Berber language maintenance in this village. I anticipated that Berber is still maintained in Zrawa thanks to four factors: geographic concentration, family, language attitudes, and language-identity link. Accordingly, the study sought to answer these research questions:

- To what extent does the geographic concentration of the Zrawa Berber community help maintain Berber, if at all?
- What do Zrawa Berber families do to maintain Berber, if at all?
- What influence do Zrawa Berbers’ attitudes towards Berber have on its maintenance, if at all?
- Whether and to what extent does the perceived language-identity link affect Berber language maintenance?

The paper comprises seven sections: first, the introduction ; second, the construction of Berber as a heritage language ; third, the village of Zrawa ; fourth, the decline of Berber language in Tunisia ; fifth, a description of the research site and the target population ; sixth, the methodology; seventh, the results and their discussion; and finally, the conclusion.

Constructing Berber as a Heritage Language

Berber is the indigenous language of Tunisia (Maamouri, 1983a ; Daoud, 2001). Despite its indigeneity, Berber is neither the official nor the majority language of the country. Actually, Tunisian Arabic (henceforth TA) is the dominant language of Tunisia (Maamouri, 1983a) and Modern Standard Arabic (Maamouri, 1983b) or Written Arabic (Daoud, 2001) is the official one. Berber, however, is a marginalized minority language (Maamouri, 1983a). Battenburg (1999) and Daoud (2001, 2011) go far as to state that Berber in Tunisia is a dying language.

Being a minority language implies that Berber has a number of characteristics. Indeed, Simpson (2001, pp.579-580) lists 13 characteristics of a minority language, amongst which four are the most relevant to the plight of Berber in Tunisia. First, a minority language lives in the shadow of a culturally predominant language. Actually, Arabic, to use the general term, is the official and majority language of Tunisia, which implies that it is culturally more powerful than Berber. Second, a minority language is not used in formal settings such as administration, education, and mass media; but rather, confined to such domains as the home. In effect, Arabic is used in key domains such as education, politics, mass media, and religion (Maamouri, 1983a); however, Berber is not used in such domains (Battenburg, 1999). Berber is used within Berber families (Maamouri, 1983a; Battenburg, 1999), among Berber friends (Battenburg, 1999), and among Berber workmates from the same Berber village (Battenburg, 1999). Third, bilingualism is common among the speakers of a minority language. Battenburg (1999) and Gabsi (2011) point out that bi-/multi-lingualism is the norm among the Tunisian speakers of Berber. Particularly speaking, in my 2017 study I found that Berber-TA bilingualism is the norm among the Berbers of Zrawa and Berber monolingualism is limited to preschool children and some elderly women. Finally, a minority language may have no standardized form. As Ennaji (2005, p. 73) acknowledges, Berber is neither standardized nor codified.

It appears that not being the official or majority language of the Tunisia gives Berber the aspect of a heritage language (hereafter HL). As Cummins (2001) asserts, “in a general sense, the term [*heritage languages*] refers to languages other than the official or majority languages of a country” (p.619). In the same vein, Rothman (2009) states that a heritage language “is not a dominant language of the larger (national) society” (p. 156). Cummins' general definition undoubtedly covers the three types of HLs identified by Fishman (2001, pp. 81-87), namely indigenous, colonial, and immigrant heritage languages. In this respect, Berber pertains to the first type, that is, indigenous heritage languages. It should be mentioned that the term *heritage language* has been criticized for its reference to the past rather than the future. For instance, Baker and Jones (1998) note that “the danger of the term ‘heritage language’ is that, relative to powerful majority languages, it points more to the past and less to the future, to traditions rather than to the contemporary. The danger is that the heritage language becomes associated with ancient cultures, past traditions and more ‘primitive’ times.” (p.509).

As far as HL speakers are concerned, Valdés (2000) states that the “term ‘heritage speaker’ is used to refer to a student who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understand the HL, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language” (p. 1). Even though this definition is initially meant to describe HL speakers in the United States of America where English is the dominant language, it can be applicable to HL speakers in any country where a language other than English is predominant. Undoubtedly, Valdés' definition is relevant to Tunisian speakers of Berber. In Zrawa, for example, Berbers are raised in households where Berber is spoken, they speak Berber, and most of them are bilingual in Arabic and Berber (Bouhdima, 2017). It is noteworthy that Berber is not used in education (Battenburg, 1999), which denotes that it is not learnt at school but rather naturally acquired within Berber families through the interaction between newly-born children and the other family members, especially

parents. As Rothman (2009) points out, “the heritage language is acquired on the basis of an interaction with naturalistic input” (p. 156).

The Decline of Berber Language in Tunisia

The Berber language in Tunisia has declined due to a variety of factors. Both the general spread of mass media where there is use of Modern Standard Arabic and the rapid development of the educational system which employed Modern Standard Arabic and French as means of instruction have contributed to the decline of Berber language (Maamouri, 1983a). Another factor which has promoted Berber language decline is the geographic dispersal of Berber villages (Pencheon, 1968). The decline of Berber has also been the result of Berberphones' migration from their homelands to big cities in search of work (Pencheon, 1968 ; Gabsi, 2003). Besides, the access of Berber women, who are the remaining guardians of the Berber language, to education since independence has had a negative influence on Berber language decline (Pencheon, 1968). Another negative influence on Berber language comes from the lack of solidarity between Berbers villages, including the proximate ones like Douiret and Chenini (Pencheon, 1968 ; Battenburg, 1999). Language attitudes, that is, the low value that Berbers attach to their Berber mother tongue (Gabsi, 2003) and Berbers' view of Arabic as a favorable in-group language of communication, a tool to gain access to education and a vehicle for social mobility (Hamza, 2006) have fostered language shift from Berber to Arabic, hence Berber language decline. Additionally, the decline of Berber has been facilitated by the modernization of Berbers' way of life (Battenburg, 1999; Gabsi, 2003). Finally, intermarriage between Berbers and Arabs has its own negative impact on Berber language (Battenburg, 1999).

The decline of Berber is suggested by the decrease in the number of the villages where Berber was still spoken from 14 in 1950 to 12 in 1968 to 9 in 1983. In 1950, Basset reported that Berber was still used in 14 villages; 10 amongst them were entirely-Berberphone and four were partially-Berberphone. The entirely-Berberphone villages were: Tamezret, Taoujout, and Zrawa (west of Matamata); Chenini and Douiret (south of Tataouine); Sakkiet and Sened (east of Gafsa); and Ajim, Guellala, Sedouikech (on the Island of Djerba). The villages of Majoura (east of Gafsa) and El-Mai, Mahboubin, Sedriyan (in Djerba), on the other hand, were partially Berberphone. In 1968, Berber was still used only in 12 out of the 14 villages mentioned earlier. In effect, Pencheon (1968) found that Berber had disappeared from Mahboubin and Sederian. Pencheon (1968) also found that Tamazret, Taoujout, Zrawa, Guellala, Douiret, and Chenini were still entirely Berberphone, only the elderly people in Sened, Sakkiet, and Majoura could speak the language, one third of Ajim and less than half of Sedouikech were Berberphone, and some 200 or 300 people in El-Mai seemed to speak Berber. In 1983, the number of Berber-speech zones decreased from 12 to 9 villages. As Maamouri (1983a, p.14) stated, Berber was no longer spoken in the regions of Sened, Majoura, and Sakkiet but it was still spoken in the other nine villages, namely Tamazret, Taoujout, Zrawa, Ajim, Guellala, Sedouikech, El-Mai, Chenini, and Douiret. It is noteworthy that Maamouri (1983a) did not state which among these nine villages were entirely Berberphone and which were not. Maamouri (1983a) also stated that Berber was occasionally spoken in Tunis and other big cities by the doughnut vendors (ftayriyya), central market porters, and newspaper vendors who had come from different Berber villages in search for work.

Berber is still spoken in nine villages and in Tunis. Battenburg (1999) and Gabsi (2003) state that Berber is still used in the villages of Douiret, Chenini, Zrawa, Tamazret, and Taoujout, Guellala, Ajim, Sedouikech, and El-Mai, but they have made no reference to the number of speakers in each of these villages. Battenburg (1999) reports that Berber is still spoken in Tunis by newspaper vendors from Chenini, porters at the market and train Station from Douiret, and Berber grocers from Jerba. But, Daoud (2001) suggests that these Berbers have undergone an entire linguistic assimilation in the Arabic-speaking community. According to Gabsi (2011) and Hamza (2006), language shift is underway in some of the villages mentioned . points out that language is happening in Douiret and Chenini. Likewise, Hamza (2006) notes that the shift from Berber to Arabic is occurring in Guellala and Tamazret.

The Village of Zawa

The study was conducted in Zrawa. This village is officially a part of New Matmata which itself is a district of Gabes, a governorate in the south-east of Tunisia (see Appendix A). Zrawa is located approximately 47 kilometers from Gabes City and 24 kilometers from New Matmata. It is isolated from the Arabic-speaking neighboring communities. Zrawa is divided into Old Zrawa and New Zrawa. Old Zrawa is a cluster of abandoned old buildings located on top of the mountain with a population reduced to one Amazigh family. New Zrawa, on the other hand, is a small modern village where modern commodities are available, namely running water, electricity, telephones, and the internet. A Berber teacher of history informed me that New Zrawa was created in 1978.

There is a territorial problem concerning Zrawa. According to informants, the road that links Zrawa to New Matmata divides New Zrawa into two territories. Thus, the one to the north-west of the road is part of El-Hamma district (west of Gabes) and is officially called "Farhat Hachad". The one to the south-east of the road, on the other hand, is part of New Matmata district (west of Gabes) and is officially designated "Zrawa".

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the number of Zrawi Berbers. Based on the Municipal Vote Register issued by the Tunisian Ministry of Local Affairs in May 2016, the population of Zrawa was 1328 inhabitants. This number does not include the Berbers living in El-Hamma part of Zrawa neither does it include Zrawi Berberphones who have migrated to other regions or abroad. An informant claimed that there are about 5000 Berbers residing in Zrawa, with its two parts mentioned earlier, and thousands of Zrawi Berber families and individuals living in Tunis and abroad.

Berbers form the majority of Zrawa inhabitants. In addition to Berbers, there is a small number of Arabs. As an informant stated, there are about 50 Arab-speaking inhabitants made up of families and individuals from Dhiba (the governorate of Tataouine) and a six-member family from El-Hamma (the governorate of Gabis). This implies that Berber is predominantly spoken in Zrawa. Actually, what is interesting about Zrawa is the impact that the contact between Berberphones and Arabophones has on Arabic-speaking children and adults. Indeed, Arabophone children learn Berber in the neighborhoods when mixing with Berberphone children. Personally, I witnessed the use of Berber by two Arabic-speaking children from El-Hamma when they were conversing with their Berberphone peers. As to adults, three of my informants told me that some Arab adults can speak Berber while others can only understand it. For those who can speak Berber they do not use it. Indeed, a

carpenter told me that his employee can speak Berber; however, I noticed that they do converse in TA. For those adults who can only understand the language they reply in TA whenever addressed in Berber.

Bilingualism, as suggested by the findings of the study, is the norm among the Zrawi Berbers whose linguistic behavior consists in alternating between Berber and TA. In effect, 51 out of the 53 participants in the study reported that they are bilingual in Berber and TA, a 90-year-old female participant said that she knows some Arabic words, and a 66-year-old female stated that she is monolingual in Berber. To be precise, Zrawi Berbers are sequential bilinguals. They acquire Berber from birth within the family and acquire TA later as a result of schooling, migration, and contact with the media (e.g. watching Tunisian-Arabic-speaking series on TV), all of which involve contact, whether direct or indirect, with Arabic-speaking people. Monolingual Zrawi Berberphones, on the other hand, consist of those aging women who have had little or no contact with Arabic-speaking people and of young children who are not of school age. Focusing on Berberphone children, once they attend school follow the national education curriculum and as a result learn Modern Standard Arabic, French, and English. As indicated by a female graduate, the majority of teachers at the primary school of Zrawa are Arabophone and only four among these, including the headmaster, are Zrawi Berberphones. This makes the direct contact between Berberphone children and Arabophone teachers something inevitable. A related point, the fact that Berber is essentially a spoken language acquired within the Berber families through child-parent interactions explains the widespread illiteracy in Berber among Zrawi Berbers. In fact, among the many Berbers I communicated with (more than 20 individuals) only three claimed that they can write Berber.

From an economic point of view, the Zrawi Berbers are famous for being bakers. They own many bakeries not only in Tunisia but also in France. Indeed, a male informant told me that there are 25 bakeries in France owned by Zrawi Berbers. He also gave me the example of a Zrawi Berber family which owns five bakeries in Tunis. Some of Zrawi bakers move out of Zrawa without their families while others migrate to other cities with their families. Unfortunately, there is a scarcity of job opportunities in Zrawa, which promotes migration to other cities. As a female informant pointed out, the lack of job opportunities in Zrawa leads young people move to big cities such as Tunis in search for a better life. She said that there are only two job opportunities available to Zrawi youth, which themselves are scarce: to work in bakeries or in construction fields.

Socially speaking, members of the Zrawa Berber community are inter-related by means of endogamy and kinship; by sharing the same economic activities mentioned earlier; and by being geographically concentrated. Zrawi Berbers, especially men, have frequent contact with each other. The typical places where Berber men meet are the street, the cafés, the souk (rural market), and the mosque.

As to religious affiliations, Zrawi Berbers, as an informant asserted, are Maliki Moslems. That is, they are followers of the Maliki school. It should be mentioned that the Friday sermon (Khotbat al-Joumou'a) is delivered in Arabic, which implies that Berber is not used in religion.

Methodology

In this study, I used the mixed methods research. Creswell (2008) defines it as a "research in which the inquirer or investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or a program of study" (p. 526). In fact, I employed quantitative and qualitative techniques of data collection and analysis in order to have a complete understanding of the phenomenon under investigation. Then, I combined both qualitative and quantitative data to form one interpretation.

Participants

Participants in the study will be selected by means of two sampling techniques : convenient sampling which, according to Saumure and Given (2008), means that the most ready, willing, and able to participate in the study are "individuals who are the ones who are selected to participate" (p.124) and snowball sampling which, as Morgan (2008) states, "uses a small pool of initial informants to nominate other participants who meet the eligibility criteria for a study" (p.815). The respondents to the questionnaire were recruited by means of convenient sampling and snowball sampling. Indeed, convenient sampling resulted in having 14 participants. Snowball sampling, on the other hand, had to do with asking six participants (four males and two females) to recruit other people to take part in the study. As a consequence, the number of participants reached a total of 53 Berbers. As to the respondents to the interview questions, they were drawn on the basis of convenient sampling from the ones who filled out the questionnaire. Eleven individuals accepted to be interviewed, namely three single young adults (two males and one female), five male parents, and three grandparents (one female and two males). Generally speaking, participants represented various age groups, various occupations, and both genders (see Appendix. B).

Due to the difficulty in having access to Berber women, it was necessary to ask participants to administer the questionnaire to women from their social networks. Actually, two participants, namely a male and a female, hand- distributed the questionnaire to 19 females. I had direct access only to five female participants. The uneasiness to have access to women explains the small number of females with whom semi-structured interviews were conducted. Also, 16 Berbers, including two females, refused to take part in the study.

Data Collection Instruments

Data were collected using one quantitative technique, namely a questionnaire, and two qualitative methods: participant observation and semi-structured interview. There a reason behind employing each of these methods. To start with, the main purpose behind using the questionnaire, made up of 15 items, was the collection of Berbes' self- reports about language background (e.g. "What is your first language?"), language use (e.g. Who do you use Berber with?"), language attitudes (e.g. " I am proud of being a speaker of Berber"), and language-identity link (e.g. "Would the loss of Berber language result in the loss of Berber identity?"). As to the semi-structured interview, it included ten questions designed to gather in-depth data about language use (e.g. " Do you speak only Berber with your children?"), language attitudes (e.g. "How important is the Berber language for you?"), and language-identity link (e.g. " How do you see the link between the Berber language and identity?"). Finally, participant observation was essentially meant to get data concerning

the actual language use within, and the geographic concentration of, the Zrawa Berber community.

Data Collection Procedures

This section explains the way the three data collection instruments, mentioned above, were employed. To start with, participant observation took place during my ten visits to Zrawa. It involved the direct observation of the linguistic behavior within the Berber community, the informal interviewing of available Imazighen, visits to public places such as cafés, and strolls down the streets. Data from participant observation were recorded in the form of field notes written up in a research log. As for the questionnaire, it was administered to 53 Berbers. Twenty-seven questionnaire forms were filled out in my presence while the rest were hand-administered by two Berbers to people from their social networks. The questionnaire was initially written in English then translated into Standard Arabic. As to the semi-structured interview, it was conducted with 11 out of the 53 respondents to the questionnaire, namely three single young adults (one female and two males), five parents with children (all of them were male), and three grandparents (two males and one female). These Berbers were interviewed during six days at different points of time and in different settings. Like the questionnaire, the interview questions were initially written in English then translated into Arabic. Nevertheless, I conducted the interviews in TA in order to make the interviewees feel at ease. These interviews were audio-recorded then transcribed verbatim.

Data Analysis Techniques

Data were analyzed using quantitative and qualitative methods. Actually, I analyzed the data generated by participant observation and semi-structured interviews by means of latent content analysis (Julien, 2008). On the basis of this technique, field notes and interview transcripts were analyzed for content related to theme set beforehand. As to the questionnaire data, I analyzed them using three techniques: data screening, data coding, and data description. Thus, data screening included making sure that responses are understandable and complete. Data coding, on the other hand, involved the transformation of responses into numerical codes to be calculated. As to data description, it has to do with the use of descriptive statistics, that is, the calculation of percentages for responses to the questionnaire items. Results from the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data were combined to form one interpretation. This leads us to the next section.

Results and Discussion

Data, collected for the study, indicate that the factors underpinning Berber language maintenance in Zrawa are: geographic concentration, family, language attitudes, and language-identity link.

Geographic Concentration

Results reveal that the use of Berber in the streets by most people indicates that the Zrawa Berber community is geographically concentrated. Indeed, when I visited Zrawa for the first time, I felt as if I were in a foreign country because I heard people speaking a language I am not accustomed with. Making many rounds in the village, I noticed that buildings, and more specifically households, are geographically concentrated. Imazighen, according to informants, constitute most of Zrawa inhabitants, which implies that Berber families are geographically concentrated. It is worth noting that these informants told me

that while the total number of Zrawa Berber population ranges from 3000 to 5000 people, the number of “Arabs”, who have moved from Al-Hamma and Dhiba to reside or work in Zrawa, does not exceed 56 persons. This denotes that Imazighen are the indigenous inhabitants of Zrawa. All this makes of Berber the majority/dominant and the indigenous language of Zrawa. This favorable condition has led a parent to state that:

Migration to cities and marrying outside the Berber community can lead to the loss of the Berber language. But as long as we live in this village it won't. This village is the secret behind the survival of this language. The existence of the village of Zrawa has helped us maintain the language.

Being geographically concentrated, the Zrawi Berbers have the chance to meet on a daily basis and, as I learnt from participant observation, this is what they actually do. Men are likely to meet each other in the streets, in shops, at the post office, at the mosque, at the local hospital, at the workplace (e.g., construction fields), at souks, including the souk of Zrawa, and in the cafés. As for the women, they may meet in the streets, at shops, at the post office, at the nursery and primary schools (when accompanying their children), at the local hospital, and at the souk of Zrawa, as well as other souks. As to children (from three to eighteen years), the males among them may meet each other in the street, at the youth club (for teenagers) and at schools (nursery, primary, preparatory or secondary) while the females are likely to meet in the street and at schools. It should be noted here that there is no mixing between males and females due to the conservative aspect of the village. During all these ingroup encounters between Zrawi Berbers, the only language used is Berber.

All the respondents to the questionnaire reported that they use Amazigh with anyone who speaks it other than the family members. It is also supported by data from the interview with Alaa a parent. Indeed, this parent asserted that “within ... the Berber community, like the village of Zrawa, the language of communication is the Berber language”. He even went far as to claim that “the language of communication between Berbers in Tunisia is exclusively the Berber language.”

In a nutshell, the geographic concentration of Zrawa Berber community facilitates Berber language maintenance as it allows the community members to meet on a daily basis and to use Berber as the language of communication in such frequent encounters. As Giles et al. (1977) indicate, the concentration of a minority ethnic group in a given geographic area, whether it is a region, a territory, or a country, fosters the maintenance of the group's language by virtue of the fact that the group members have the opportunity to use their language as a means of daily communication. In the same vein, Holmes (2013) argues that the geographic concentration of the speakers of a minority language contributes to the maintenance of that language through its daily use. Findings from Li's (1982), Al-Khatib and Al-Ali's (2010), and Laleko's (2013) studies confirm the role of geographic concentration in the maintenance of minority languages. We have just seen that the geographic concentration of the Zrawa Amazigh community is a crucial factor in Berber language maintenance in the sense that it promotes its use as a means of daily communication within the community. Given the fact that the Amazigh families represent the cornerstone for the Zrawa Berber community, it is necessary to deal with the efforts of these families, if ever, to maintain Amazigh.

Family

Data from questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation suggest that Zrawa Berber families play a key role in Berber language maintenance. To begin with, in response to the questionnaire item "Whom do you use Berber with?" all of the participants reported that they use it with their family members, including parents, children, grandparents, siblings, aunts, uncles, cousins, nephews, and nieces. Besides, two participants did speak Berber to members of their families in my presence. Also, when strolling down the village streets, I often encountered women speaking to their children in Amazigh. Furthermore, answers to the interview question "Do you speak only Berber to your children/ parents/ grandchildren?" reveal that Berber is the usual language of communication among the members of Berber families, especially between parents and children. Still with details from the semi-structured interviews, all respondents reported that Berber is spoken intuitively and naturally not only within the Berber families but also within the Berber community. For example, in response to the interview question "Do you ask your children to speak Berber at home or around Berber people?" a parent said: the long quote page 53. This denotes that there is no overt language policy within Berber families. Interestingly, one interviewee, namely a grandmother, reported that she deliberately uses Berber with one of her grandchildren who does not understand the language.

She said :
One of my daughters is married with an Arab man from Skhira [a region in the governorate of Sfax]. When she and her two children come from Skhira to visit me, I usually address my two granddaughters in Amazigh. The one who understands Berber does reply and the one who does not keeps staring at me. I speak in Berber whether she understands it or not.

This grandmother's persistence to use Berber with her grandchild, who does not understand it, is an implicit message that she should learn the language. A further point, the extract indicates a case of language loss and suggests its cause. That is, the grandchildren's inability to understand Berber is likely to be due to her being the offspring of a mixed marriage between an Arabophone man and a Berberphone woman and to her contact with the majority language, the language of her father's family. It should be mentioned here that only one female out of the 22 participants, 11 males and 11 females, who reported that they are married, cited that her spouse is not Berber. This suggests that endogamy is the norm within the Zrawa Berber community. Endogamy can foster Berber language maintenance. As, Giles et al. (1977) indicate, minority groups are likely to maintain their language when the rate of inter-marriages is low. Exogamy, however, can lead to language shift. Demos (1988, p. 170) points out that intermarriage causes a decline in the use of the mother tongue. In the same vein, Paulston (1987, p. 35) indicates that in cases of intermarriage, there is a shift of one partner to the language of the more socio-economically favorable group.

Additionally, Zrawa Berber families are not only a domain of Berber language use but also a setting of Berber language acquisition. Actually, all the interviewees, in answer to the question "How and where did you acquire the Berber language?", asserted that they had acquired Berber at home. For instance, a parent explained :
I acquired it [Berber] at home. When the Amazigh child is born, the first speech he hears is in the Berber language. He hears it from his

father, his uncle [father's brother], his grandfathers, his grandmothers, his uncles [mother's brothers] and from all the family. This means that the language of communication between Imazig exclusively the Berber language.

Finally, there is a common belief among the interviewees that the Amazigh family is responsible for Berber language maintenance. Nevertheless, some of them thought that school and government are also responsible.

In brief, the results mentioned above indicate that the Berber family is a domain of Berber language acquisition and use, which contributes to Berber language maintenance. As Sridhar (1988) indicates, parents can maintain their mother tongue by speaking it at home. Additionally, the effect of parents' language choice on language maintenance and language shift is emphasized by Lieberman and Curry (1971). Clyne and Kipp (1997) point out that "intergenerational transmission is heavily dependent on home language use" and that "the home language question does enable predictions of future use of the languages concerned" (p. 451). In the same vein, Okamura-Bichard (1985) indicates that mother tongue transmission is unlikely to happen if parents do not teach it to their children their mother tongue. Fishman (1991) summarizes all this by stating that the family is "the most common and inescapable basis of mother tongue transmission, bonding, use and stabilization" (p. 94). The role of the family in LM, emphasized in the current study, is confirmed by findings from research carried by other researchers such as Renz (1987), Nesturik (2010), Al-Sahafi (2015), Gomaa (2011), Tatar (2015), Becker (2013), and Abdelhadi (2017).

In contrast, the family can be a factor of language shift. This happens when parents from minority ethnic group do not transmit their languages to their children by not teaching and using these languages at home. The results from Bentahila and Davies' (1992) and Galindo's (1991) studies support this idea.

Language Attitudes

Quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative (interview) data indicate that the participants have positive attitudes towards their language, namely Berber. For example, responses to the questionnaire item "I am proud of being a speaker of Berber" indicate that 98% of the participants are proud of being speakers of Berber. This implies that Berber is highly valued among its speakers and is a source of pride for them. Being a source of pride denotes the historicity and the prestige value of Berber for its speakers. The historicity of Berber has to do with the fact that it is the indigenous language of Tunisia (Maamouri, 1983a). In addition, 99% of the participants agreed with the questionnaire item "It is necessary to maintain the Berber language?". The reasons behind such response are revealed in the semi-structured interviews. In fact, one parent and the three young single adults saw Berber as a language of heritage and identity. Three parents believed that Berber language represents Berber identity. Another parent thought of Berber language as a component of the Tunisian culture.

Moreover, 81 % of the respondents to the questionnaire reported that their ties with TA are weaker than their ties with Berber. This denotes that the shift from Berber towards TA is unlikely to occur. Indeed, Ennaji (2005) states that "the more a language is liked or appreciated, the more it is used in different domains" (p. 157). Additionally, in response to the questionnaire item "Are you against the abandonment of the Berber language by its speakers?" 100 % of the participants reported that they are

against the abandonment of Berber by its speakers. This reveals the participants' attachment to their language. Such attachment is further emphasized in the responses to the interview questions "How important is the Berber language for you?" In answer to this question respondents from the three groups asserted that Berber is important but they gave different reasons for such importance. In fact, three parents and a single young adult stated Berber equals identity. For example, one of these parent said: "For me as a Berber man, the Berber language is my identity. I won't abandon it". Two other respondents, namely a parent and a single young adult reported that Berber is important because it is the language of ancestors. For the grandparents, the fact that Berber is their mother tongue accounts for importance. Most notably, a parent asserted that the importance of Berber lies in its being both the language of communication within the family and the indigenous language of North Africa. Actually, he said: The Berber language, for us, is the language of communication that we have been accustomed with. We got it from our fathers and mothers as our mother tongue. It represents the indigenous language of the peoples of North Africa (...) and it remains the only connection between the Berbers of North Africa.

What this parent wants to say in this excerpt is that Amazivh is trans-national in the sense that it unites Imazighen from the different countries of North Africa. This explanation emphasizes one of the facets of nationalism, which Sharara (cited in Paulson, 1987) highlights by stating that:

The nation ... is a wider conception than the state, greater than the people, and meaningful than the fatherland. It is not necessary for a nation to have one state or one fatherland, or to be composed of one people, but it must have its own language, its own history, its own ideals, its own shared aspirations, its own shared memories, and its own natural links which bind its members in two respects, the moral and the economic. (p. 39)

It is deduced from what has been mentioned above that participants' attitudes facilitates Berber language maintenance. This confirms Holmes' (2013) observation that positive attitudes towards a minority language contribute to its maintenance. It is also consistent with Becker's (2013), Tatar's (2015), and Gomaa's (2011) studies which reveal that positive attitudes towards one's language play an important role in its maintenance. Conversely, speakers' negative attitudes towards their minority language lead to language shift. In fact, Bentahila and Davies (1992) found that some Amazigh parents encouraged their children to learn Arabic because it was more practical in everyday life than Amazigh, which facilitated the shift from Amazigh to Arabic. In the same vein, Galindo (1991) found that one of the factors causing the regression of Spanish among the Chicano adolescents in Austin, USA, was the parents' unwillingness to teach Spanish to their children.

Language-identity Link

Both questionnaire and interview data reveal that participants believed the there is a close relationship between Berber language and identity. As a matter of fact, 96% of the participants believed that Berber language is the most salient marker of Berber identity. It should be mentioned that, from participant observation, I learnt that there are other markers of Berber ethnic identity such as biological heritage, location of origin (that is being the indigenous inhabitants of Zrawa), the tattoos on the faces of elderly women,

celebration of the Amazigh New Year on 14 January of every year, female traditional clothing, and female names, such as “Yizza”, “Bookha”, “Masyoogha”, and “Sasiyya”. What is interesting about names is that although some Zrawi Imazighen have official Arabic names, their co-ethnics call them by the Amazigh counterparts of these names. For example, people whose names are Khadija (a female name), Belgacem, Mohamed, and Abdullah are often called “Jaja”, “Kissi”, “Hammou”, and “Abali”, respectively. What I noticed is that Berber language is the most salient marker of Berber identity.

In order to get in-depth details about the perceived link between language and ethnic identity, the participants in the semistructured interviews were asked the question: “How do you see the link between Berber language and identity?” Responses showed that there is a disagreement between them on whether or not Berber language is a marker of the Berber identity. The majority, namely seven respondents, thought that the Berber identity is indicated by the use of Berber language. For instance, one parent asserted: “You don’t find a Zrawi Berber who doesn’t speak the Berber language.” Another parent went even further when he stated that anyone who does not speak Berber language is not considered to be Berber. However, four respondents, namely two parents and two single young adults, believed that Berber language is not a marker of Berber identity in the sense that not speaking the language does not deprive a Berber from his ethnicity. For example, the two single young adults stated that there are many Berbers who do not speak Berber. The view held by these four respondents denotes that language use does not necessarily indicate ethnic identity. This view is supported by details from participant observation, which reveal that speaking the Berber language does not mean being Berber. Indeed, it happened that when I was walking in the street with a parent, we encountered four children speaking to each other in Berber. He informed me that two among those children were Arab. Besides, another parent informed me that his “Arab” employee, who has been working for him for 15 years, can speak Berber. Interestingly, when I asked him about the way to differentiate between a native and a non-native speaker of Berber, he informed me that there is a particular Berber sound which is mispronounced by non-native speakers of Berber and only those who acquired Berber at home as their mother tongue, that is Imazighen, can pronounce it correctly. Still another parent who told me about other Arab speakers of Berber but Zrawa Imazighen do not consider such people to have the Berber identity. Additionally, I was told about some Arabs, living in Zrawa, who can understand Berber but cannot speak it. This is the case of an Arab woman who has been working as a nursery school teacher.

Besides, 86 % of the participants thought that speaking Berber language is a prior condition for being Berber. This implies that Amazigh is an essential component of ethnic identity and a criterion for group membership. Such result supports Trudgill’s (2000), Padilla and Borsato’s (2010), and Ennaji’s (2012) observation that language is a criterion for ethnic group membership. Another point, 87 % of the participants believed that the loss of Berber language would result in the loss of Berber identity, which suggests that Berber language maintenance is an important factor in the maintenance of Berber identity. This finding is similar to that of some previous research. As a matter of fact, Hatoss (2005), who investigated language maintenance among the Hungarian community in Brisbane, Australia, found that the maintenance of the Hungarian language is seen as a vehicle for maintaining the Hungarian identity. Similarly Chiung (2001), who used a questionnaire and chi-square

test in his study of the relationship between mother tongue and ethnic identity among 244 Taiwanese students in Taiwan, found that the maintenance of one's ethnic language is a contributing factor to the maintenance of one's identity.

More details about the tight link between Berber language and identity come from responses to the interview question "language?" Indeed, "What do you lose if you were to lose the Berber language?" Indeed, nine out of the 11 respondents, namely two parents and two single young adults, thought that the loss of Berber language would lead to the loss of Berber identity. Besides, three respondents, to be precise one parent and two grandparents went as far as to claim of life. For example, Salwa stated: that AL loss means the end "What it is left for me in this life (...) if I lose Berber? Life is over". is lost. In contrast, Abderrahman said that he would not lose anything in case Amazigh language is lost. Both Salah (a grandparent) and Alaa (a parent) rejected the likeliness of Berber language loss. Salah, for example, argued that Amazigh would not be lost as long as it used at Berber homes and within the Berber community.

The disagreement among the respondents on the existence of a language-identity relationship, mentioned earlier, reflects the contrast between the results from Hatoss's (2005) and Chiung's (2001) studies and those from Ahn's (2008), Kang's (2004), and Bentahila and Davies'(1992) studies. Indeed, studies carried out by Hatoss (2005) and Chiung (2001) indicate that language is tightly linked to ethnic identity. However, research findings from Ahn (2008), Kang (2004), and Bentahila and Davies (1992) suggest that there is no relationship between language and ethnic identity. Bentahila and Davies (1992), for instance, point out that the use of Amazigh does not necessarily means the identification with Imazighen by stating that:

The ability to speak Berber is thus evidently not felt to be a necessary condition for self identification as a Berber; and, indeed, this view was upheld by 83% of the informants, who replied negatively to the question 'Is it necessary to speak Berber to be a Berber?' Moreover, the fact that a majority of those who did speak Berber fluently and habitually chose not to describe themselves as Berbers [Imazighen] at all suggests a striking lack of correspondence between use of the language and identification with the group. (p. 202)

As a concluding remark to this section, the majority of the participants believed that Berber language and identity are closely related in the sense that Berber language is both a marker of ethnic identity and a criterion of ethnic group membership and that its loss would lead to the loss of the Berber identity. Such relationship promotes Amazigh language maintenance. As stated by Holmes (2013), a minority language is likely to be maintained longer in areas where it is considered to be an important symbol of ethnic identity.

Conclusion

The examination and analysis of the data collected for the study have revealed the following key findings. First, the geographic concentration of Zrawa Berber community gives the community members the opportunity to use Berber as a language of communication, which fosters the maintenance of the language. Second, the Berber families contribute to Berber language maintenance by virtue of their being a domain where the language is acquired and used. Third, the Berber participants, in general, reported that they

have positive attitudes towards Berber language, which promotes its use at home and within the community and, hence, its maintenance. Finally, most of the participants believed that there is a close relationship between Berber language and identity. Carrying such belief does contribute to Amazigh language maintenance.

Results from this research have three main implications. The first of these is that, as unprecedented, they have revealed that four factors contribute to Amazigh language maintenance among the Berbers of Zrawa: the Zrawa Berbers' geographic concentration, the key role of the Zrawa Berber families, the Berbers' positive attitudes towards AL, and the perceived close relationship between Berber language and identity. As to the second implication, this research indicates that the chances of maintaining Amazigh in Zrawa in the future are high given the fact that teenagers, as well as single young adults, have positive attitudes towards Berber language and see it as closely related to the Berber identity. Once married, they are likely to transmit it to their children. As for the third implication, this study suggests that Berber would be maintained in Zrawa as long as it is the majority language and as long as it is used as the home and community language of communication.

Let us now turn to the contributions of the study. As Berber language maintenance in the Tunisian context is under-researched, the study contributes to the research on language maintenance in Tunisia and, more generally in the Maghrib, through its investigation into the factors underpinning the maintenance of the Berber language, the indigenous language of Tunisia (Maamouri, 1983a ; Daoud, 2001), in Zrawa which is one of the nine Tunisian villages where Berber is still spoken (Maamouri, 1983a; Battenburg, 1999 ; Gabsi, 2003). Providing evidence that Zrawa Berbers are attached to their (Berber) language, this research may encourage the Tunisian government to pass acts aiming at promoting and preserving Berbers' linguistic rights. Such linguistic rights concern not only individuals but also communities. Also, the researcher's relatively easy access to the Zrawa Berber community may encourage other researchers to carry out further research on Berber language maintenance in Zrawa and in other villages where Berber is still spoken today.

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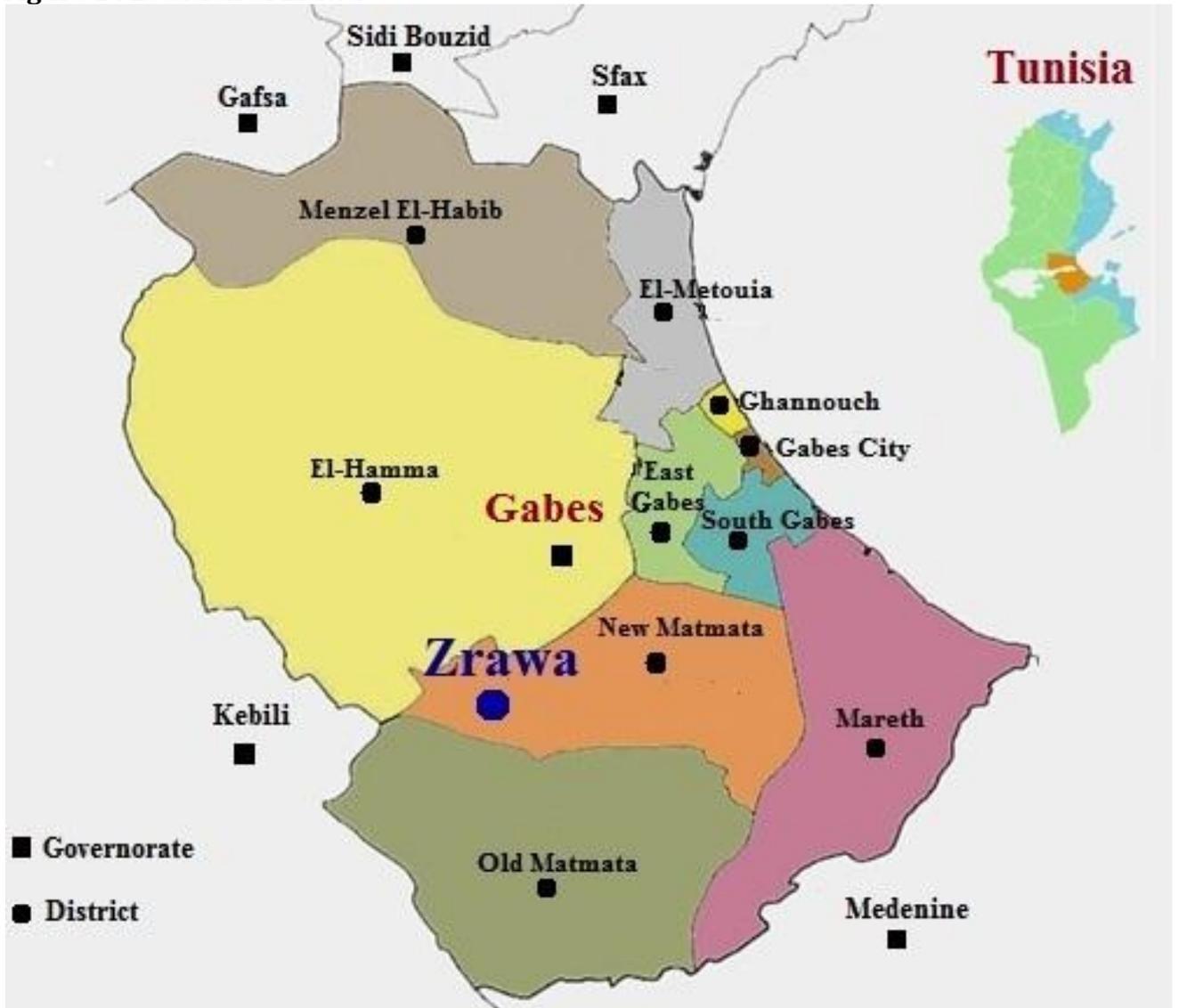
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Appendix. A

Figure 1 : Location of Zrawa



Appendix. B

Table 1 : Distribution of Participants by Age Groups

Age group (years old)	Number of male participants	Number of female participants
13-20	12	5
21-30	3	10
31-40	6	3
41-50	3	3
51-60	2	0
61 and more	3	3

Table 2 : Distribution of Participants by Marital Status

Marital status	Number of male participants	Number of female participants
Single	18	13
Married	11	11

Table 3 : Distribution of Male Participants by Occupation

Occupation	Number of participants
Student	8
Construction field worker	4
Retired	3
Company worker	2
Baker	2
Carpenter	2
Unemployed	2
Waiter	1
Pastry maker	1
Farmer	1
Secondary school teacher	1
Nurse	1
Post office employee	1

Table 4 : Distribution of Female Participants by Occupation

Occupation	Number of participants
Housewife	11
Unemployed	8
Student	4
Shopkeeper	1

Metaphorical language in political discourse: Case study: The American involvement in the Middle East (1967-1975)

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Abstract

The use of metaphors by politicians in political discourse, especially in public discourse, has become part of language, for the end of affecting people's perceptions of politics (Carver and Pikalo, 2008, p.1). Politics is part of social life, in that, "metaphors play a central role in the construction of social and political reality" (Musolff, 2004, p. 1). In political discourse, metaphor is not a linguistic ornament added to the language so as to beautify it; metaphor is fundamentally conceptual. In critical metaphor analysis (Johnson and Lackoff, 1980 ; Lackoff, 1992), the use of metaphorical language in politicians' public discourse embeds an underlying cognitive facet that structures their conceptualisations of politics, a specific reality. In this endeavour, the focus is shed on the political discourses of American Presidents and the policy makers in 1956, 1967 and 1973- 1975. These discourses are basically metaphorical. These political figures want to legitimise the American involvement in the Middle East. These years have been focused on because they signal out three historical wars in the history of the Middle East area. These are the Suez Crisis (1956), The Six-Day war (1967) and the Yom Kipper War (1973) respectively.

1. Background to the study

Traditionally, in the times of the Greek society, metaphor was conceived as a mark of genius used by orators, these were talented and gifted people who used metaphor as a linguistic device in public debates for ornamental purposes in order to beautify their words and ultimately impress the audience (Aristotle, 1991). This traditional theory has recently been shown its limitations by Cognitive Linguistics, especially Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA). It is pioneered by a group of scholars (Johnson, 1980; Lackoff ,1992; Charteris-Black, 2004) who account for a "cognitive model of metaphor" that is used to explain figurative and metaphorical language in political discourse (Charteris-Black, 2004, p. 243).

In this article, I will argue that the linguistic expression of metaphor reflects the politician's view of the world, which emanates from the former's mental space. Fauconnier (1997, p. 11) defines mental spaces as "partial structures that proliferate when we think and talk, allowing a fine-grained partitioning of our discourse and knowledge structure". The aim behind politicians' discourses, in this enterprise, is to reach a high degree of persuasiveness to convince the audience of their conceptualisations, world structurings and objectives pre-set in the American Agenda in the Middle East (ME).

2. Literature review

Before delving deep in the usage of metaphor in political discourse, it is illuminating to know more about this kind of discourse.

2.1. Political Discourse

Political discourse has been approached by a group of scholars (Hartford and Obeng, 2008; Dallmayr, 1989; Chilton, 2004; Fairclough and Fairclough, 2013; Fetzer, 2007; Meyer and Wodak, 2009; Bloor and Bloor, 2013; Cap and Okulska, 2010; Reyes, 2011; Oeser, 2016). . They claim the existence of an inextricable relationship between discourse and politics.

Chilton (2004) assumes that language and Politics are strongly interrelated; language has a fundamental role to play in politics. Defining politics, he considers them as "cooperation", and "the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest over money, influence, liberty and the like" (ibid, p. 3). He adds that political discourse is a discourse genre that reveals political authority through language use. In the same line of thinking, Reyes (2011, p. 783) limits the scope of this discourse type to political figures speaking in public; he states: "Political discourse refers to a genre that involves political actors speaking publically. Those speech events are commonly made in public forums in which politicians attempt to project their political agendas. These speeches "represent official institutional discourse produced by a person who is authorized". Such authority added to the contextual setting of the political discourse, gives validation to the politician's power reflected in his/her discourse to present his/speech as truth.

In the same framework, Fairclough (2002a) contends that in political discourse, politicians "harness" their power from their position. Through the subjective use of language, they tend to "naturalize" their aims for the end of gaining public world opinion and support. In the same vein, Cap (2008) asserts that political discourse is a persuasive discourse genre, having conception as legitimizing political ends; politicians persuade their audiences that these are their goals too. In this context of persuasiveness, Joseph (2006, p. 13) states: "The inspiring orator can also lead a people, or rather mislead them, into believing that the narrow self-interests of the governing party are actually the interest of the people as a whole".

2.2. Metaphor in political discourse

In the cognitive paradigm of critical thought, metaphor is not just an "elevated literary style"

or "poetic diction", it is a "cognitive tool for organizing our experiential data" (Maalej, 2009, p. 12). Lackoff and Johnson (1980, p. 3-211) define metaphor, they state:

Metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish...metaphor is typically viewed as characteristic of language alone ...
metaphor is pervasive in everyday lifemetaphor is one of the most basic

mechanisms we have for understanding our experience. It could create new meaning, create similarities, and thereby define a new reality.

Metaphor is overtly used in political discourse. Cap (ibid) dealt with the framing strategies in political discourse, notably, legitimization. What is it? How does it configure in political discourse?

2.1.1. Legitimization

Previous studies on legitimization have been conducted by scholars (Martin Rojo and Van Dijk, 1997; Van Dijk, 2005; Van Leewen, 2007, 2008; Van Leewen and Wodak, 1999).

Legitimization is a discursive strategy pursued in political discourse. Reyes (2011, p. 782) defines the term legitimation from two perspectives: Etymologically, the term has a Latin origin, the Latin word 'legitimus' means "lawful or legal"; it refers to making something "legal" or "legalized". Theoretically, 'legitimization' is the intentional use of some key strategies by social actors in order to justify their courses of action.

Reyes states: "Legitimization refers to the process by which speakers accredit or license a type of social behavior (mental or physical). Legitimization process is enacted by argumentation that is by providing arguments that explain our social actions, ideas, thoughts, and declarations. The search for approval can be motivated by two reasons: to obtain or maintain power, to achieve social acceptance" (ibid). In the same vein, Cap (2008, p. 39) envisions that legitimization is "a principal discourse goal sought by political actors", for this, it "deserves special attention in political discourse... political leaders justify their political agenda to maintain or alter the direction of a whole nation and, in the case of U.S. leaders, the entire world". These aims can fit into formal settings addressed to a specific nation or to the public world for discursive goals.

Hutchby (2001) argues that an important instrument in the legitimization process is the resort to 'personal experience', a construct that legitimizes the speaker's opinion regarding the topic or the event dealt with. In this respect, two types of legitimization are distinguished in political discourse: Legitimization through emotions and legitimization through rationality.

2.1.1.1. Legitimization through emotions

Elster (1994, p. 27) contends that politicians elicit emotional response from their interlocutors because "a crucial fact about emotions is that they have the capacity to alter or distort the cognitive appraisal that triggered them in the first place". Thus, the speakers "skew" the opinions of their interlocutors through emotive words so as to make their interlocutors accept their proposals in the process of constructive strategies.

Chilton (2004) provides analysis of political discourses in relation to strategies of legitimization or de-legitimatization through emotions; Fear is an affective emotion to elicit a response from the interlocutors mainly when demonizing the enemy through linguistically processed attributes and metaphorical descriptions. The emotive effect to express fear of the Soviet 'threat' in the corpus at hand, for instance, is latent. Accordingly, it can be said that emotions are strategic to achieve the objective of policy makers and serve their agenda goals.

2.1.1.2. Legitimization through rationality

Thompson (2004) elaborates on legitimization through rationality manifested in politicians' metaphorical use of language. He envisions that, through the use of figurative language, politicians try to show the audience that their decisions have been attained after a

thoughtful procedure. Legitimization operates through voices of expertise in politicians' discourses.

Legitimization is a key strategy in the political discourse of American policy makers of the U.S. foreign policy in the ME. This strategy was so much developed and pursued to justify their political, strategic practices as well as their course of actions (Halabi, 2009). Legitimization reflects the subjectivity of the American presidents and their responses to the crises, as justifications for the U.S involvement. This is the goal that U.S. policy makers wanted to orient to the world to vindicate the U.S. involvement in the region then. Goal-orientation is dealt with in the following section.

2.1.2. Goal-orientation

The use of metaphors in political discourse is oriented by the speakers to the audience. Leeuwen (2008) defines goal orientation as a discourse construct that is achieved linguistically through reference to selected clues, such as metaphor, that orient the audience attention to the speaker's goals' direction. This is uncovered through political discourse analysis. Balaban (2005) elaborates on the interconnection between ideology, goal orientation and the subjective language use in political discourse. He says: "Political discourse, a recruited narrative is a goal-directed language, a means to an end that is different from its explicit content...Such ideological, make-believe goal-oriented discourse gives the appearance of being informative and straightforward, but this is not what it is about. It is a "manipulative speech" (ibid, p. 3). Leuwen (2008) makes explicit the relationship between manipulation, ideology and goal orientation in language use in political discourse; the speaker presents his action as a means to make it "objectivated" through the absence of the speaker agency. He claims that there are facets to goal-orientation/ implicit and explicit. Goal-orientation is realized when explicit speaker actions are realized through "implicit purpose construction" that reflects the conscious or unconscious goals and intentions of the speaker. In this context, he states: "Social actors whose actions are *explicitly* constructed as purposeful in this way, are discursively empowered as intentional agents... *Implicit* realizations retain the agency but as the intentionality is not explicitly expressed, it can be denied" (ibid).

The survey of goal orientation in political discourse leads one to cast doubt on the objectivity, innocence and reliability of this discourse type. Through language use, politicians orient the attention of the audience or the readers towards their objectives, that were previously and purposefully envisaged (Zghal, 2012, p. 38). Equally, Lackoff (1992) envisions that in political discourse, speakers unconsciously speak metaphorically (ibid). The study of these metaphors helps to deconstruct the speakers' goal orientations: the abstract linguistic expressions are concretized through the use of different metaphor types.

3. Methodology

The methodological guidelines adopted to conduct this research are the quantitative and qualitative research and the framework adopted is Fairclough (2001). In the first part, I will present the corpus and the criteria behind its selection.

3.1. Corpus description

This sub-corpus is a set of 10 speeches and 5 conversations. The speeches were delivered by the then American Presidents: President Eisenhower, President Johnson and President Nixon. The second part in this sub-corpus includes private and the telephone conversations

between the American President Johnson and other American Officials about the events taking place during the crises mentioned. President Eisenhower's speeches were delivered before a joint session in Congress. They mostly addressed the search for a lasting peace in the region through cooperation with the neighboring states in the ME. The President spoke emphatically about the spread of Communism in the world. President Johnson speeches focused on the dedication to freedom and the search for the settlement of a "lasting peace" (speech of 19 June 1967) in the ME region in congruence with the American values of peace, liberty and pursuit of happiness and independence. As for the conversations he had with American officials, they took place during the crises. President Nixon's main concern in his speeches was the strengthening of American-Israeli bonds through finding solutions to the American-Israeli conflicts. The speeches contain 48 pages and 16350 words. For ease of reference, I refer to the speeches delivered by President Eisenhower as sub-corpus 3. The speeches and conversations delivered by President Johnson and the conversations between the officials are referred to as sub-corpus 6 and the presidents delivered by President Nixon are referred to as sub-corpus 9.

Below is a detailed description of the corpus.

Sub-corpus 3:

A 11: It is a 'Radio and Television Report to the American People on the Developments in Eastern Europe and the Middle East'

A 12: 'Special Message to the Congress on the Situation in the Middle East' delivered by President Eisenhower, in person, before a joint Session in the House Chamber of the United States Capitol, on *January 5, 1957*

A 13: It is 'Radio and Television Address to the American People on the Situation in the Middle East' delivered by President Eisenhower from his office on *February 20, 1957*

Sub-corpus 6:

A 24: A private telephone conversation between President Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk at the dawn of 5 June 1967 at 5.09am. It took place on the first day of the Six-Day War.

A 25: It is "Address at the State Department's Foreign Policy Conference for Educators" delivered in in the West Auditorium at the Department of State building in Washington in the morning of 19 June 1967 at 9: 31 a.m

A 26: It involves two extracts of a private conversation between President Johnson and Arkansas senator J. William Fulbright, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

A 27: A telephone conversation between President Johnson and Everett Dirksen, an American politician of the Republican Party and a Senate Minority Leader

A 28: The document presents two extracts of a conversation between President Johnson and President Eisenhower on 25 June 1967 at 9:44p.m.

A 29: It is a two-extract telephone conversation between President Johnson and Arthur Goldberg, the then US Ambassador to the UN. The conversation took place on 15 July, 1967

A 30: Speech on "A Just and Dignified Peace"; it was delivered by President Johnson on September 10, 1968.

Sub-corpus 9

A 41: "Press Conference in Washington on the Middle East, 25 October 1973". It was held by President Nixon days after the breaking out of the Yom Kipper War

A 42:“Remarks on Departure for the Middle East”. President Nixon spoke on the South Lawn of the White House, on 10 June 1974 at 8:37 a.m. about his trip to Israel

A 43: This is a speech delivered by President Nixon at his arrival, in his first visit to Israel June 16, 1974, entitled “Remarks on Arrival at Tel Aviv, Israel”.

A 44: It is an address entitled “Remarks on returning from the Middle East” by President Nixon addressing a welcoming audience on June 19, 1974.

A 45: This is “Kissinger Memorandum: “To Isolate the Palestinians”, a Memorandum of Conversation between Henry Kissinger, the United States Secretary of State and National Security Advisor under the presidential administrations of Richard Nixon and the Jewish Leaders

3.2. Selection Criteria

Selection was conducted at random within the framework of representativity, thematic and temporal relevance, availability and assumptions’ detection.

3.2.1. Corpus Representativity

The number of primary sources was selected according to two-fold considerations: representativity and feasibility for the focus of this research and the objectives stated beforehand. Concerning number, I consider it representative to conduct the study at hand. I have worked on 15 record types: 3 speeches for President Eisenhower , 2 speeches for President Johnson and three conversations between officials with the exception of sub-corpus 3 (3 documents) and sub-corpus 6 (7 documents) due to documents availability consideration. I considered this number feasible for the critical analysis of the document in order to detect the commanding perspectives as well as the assumptions of the politicians from the use of metaphors in their discourses.

Accordingly, I found this corpus sufficiently representative to tentatively advance generalizations and against which hypotheses can be tested, the corpus can be analyzed and the results can be interpreted. Next subsection deals with thematic and temporal relevance.

3.2.2. Thematic and temporal relevance

Thematically, the documents selected deal with the American foreign policy in the ME (1956-1975). Temporally, these records were written in the historical segment under investigation: an interval that included three major crises in the history of the region. Relevantly, the records at hand provide temporal and thematic evidence that is to the heart of my research topic.

The presidential speeches under study were selected because they were delivered by three successive presidents and in times of major crises in the region. They were characterized by the Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Cold War. The presidents focused on the issues that were to influence the US foreign policy in the region: access to oil, supporting Israel and containing Communism in the world.

3.2.3. Availability

Another important consideration for selection is availability. The archives accessed from the National archives include ones that were not only written in the periods of the crises exclusively but also in the periods following them. These documents were selected with conformity to the considerations of thematic and temporal considerations. Also, in terms of political speeches, the addition of telephone conversations to them, has been fulfilled in the framework of availability. I envision that the investigation of the public and the private dimensions in political discourse could pertain to significant conclusions.

3.2.4. Assumptions' Detection

This variety of archival evidence is intended to detect the speakers' assumptions embedded in their texts. The critical study of the corpus has been conducted through reference to the research framework. The aim for this enterprise is to detect the assumptions of successive American presidents and policy makers, through the study of metaphorical language in their discourses. This is carried out through the linguistic investigation of empirical evidence provided by the texts' wordings. Importantly, assumptions' detection, in this endeavour, helps to assert the importance of primary sources as construal source types in history study.

3.3. Research Instruments

To conduct the research at hand, I applied the quantitative and qualitative research paradigms.

3.3.1. Qualitative research instruments

Holliday (2002, p. 1-5) considers qualitative research type a paradigm, "a whole way of thinking about something". Politics, as an area in social life and a research setting, requires qualitative research for its study to address the use of metaphors. Hancock (1998, p. 1) stresses that qualitative research helps to uncover the politicians' world views. Tuckman (1988) elucidates that the focus of qualitative research is not only to describe but also to analyze in order to provide answers to the 'why' not just the 'what' questions. The instruments adopted are the research framework, the analytic angles and the linguistic tools.

3.3.1.1. Research framework

The research framework applied to conduct the investigation is Fairclough (2001). This implies three parts or layers of Description, interpretation and evaluation to critically analyze the use of metaphors in political discourse.

3.3.1.2. Analytic angles

The analytic angle under focus is metaphor in the discourses of American Presidents and officials. Metaphorical language is investigated to recover the way speakers monitor their own ideologies and set their agendas. The study of these angles

3.3.1.3. Linguistic tools

The linguistic tools studied in this research are ontological and orientational metaphors (Lackoff, 1992), the ones that are mostly recurrent across the corpus.

3.3.2. Quantitative research instruments

King, Keohane and Verba (1994, pp. 3-4), account for the scope of this academic research type, they advance that "quantitative research uses numbers and statistical methods. It tends to be based on numerical measurements. The quantitative instruments selected to conduct the quantification of processes are: search categories, frequency distribution and statistics.

3.3.2.1. Search categories

I focused on the category of metaphors. The recurrent reference to this linguistic device is revealing as far as the speakers' ideologies are concerned. The relevance of this instrument to the current research is that it helps apply this quantitative research method to attain findings about the use of this tool.

3.3.2.2. Frequency distribution

Frequency distribution concerns the count of the frequency of occurrence of the linguistic tool under focus. As the corpus at hand is a collection of archives, a part of which are not numerical texts and for the sake of valuating data, I did not feel the necessity to resort to statistical tools, I've opted for manual counting to conduct research on records

3.3.2.3. Statistics

Statistics pertains to a statistical analysis and findings about the linguistic clues in the texts under focus. A text is a unit of language that could be translated into "quantitative data that can be submitted to statistical tests" (Triki&Salleme-Baklouti, 2002, p. 37). Accordingly, statistics is a method for data classification. Such percentages are "empirical evidence" and findings that are interpreted and discussed in the interpretation and the discussion parts.

4. Analysis and Findings

The investigation of metaphor in sub-corpora 3, 6 and 9 has been summarized in this table.

Angle	Corpus	Text	Instances of Metaphor	Frequency
Metaphor	Sub-corpus 3	A11	-“swiftly changing world scene”, “false fears”	17
		A12	-“Soviet promises have sunk”, “callous indifference”	18
		A13	-“pay tribute to the wisdom of this action”	14
			-“turned back the clock of international order”	
	Sub-corpus 6	A24	-“my instincts tell me”, “kicked this off”	4
		A25	-“practical de-escalation”, “narrow our differences”	24
		A26	-“wipe them out”, “America’s conduct”	7
		A27	-“Faïçal laughed them out”	2
		A28	-“get your man by the nape of the neck”	24
		A29	-“a hell of an impressive showing”	11
	A30	-“that war was the third round”, “birth of your faith”	9	
	Sub-corpus 9	A41	-“the outlook is far more hopeful”	2
		A42	-“building a structure of peace”	3
		A43	-“go forward through heights”	2
		A44	-“journey has many pitfalls”	6
		A45	-“something smells wrong”	35

Table 4.1: Frequency of occurrence of Metaphor across the corpus

The following table summarizes the percentages of metaphor frequencies across the corpus.

Corpus	Metaphor Percentages	Frequency
Sub-corpus 3	0,56%	
Sub-corpus 6	0,99%	
Sub-corpus 9	0,52%	

Table 4.2: Metaphor Frequency Percentages across the corpus

The findings attained in the table above are represented graphically in the figure below

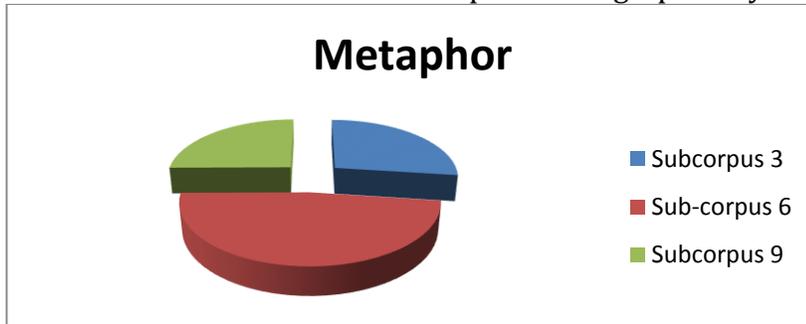


Figure 4.1. Metaphor Percentages Distribution across the corpus

The findings attained in the tabular and graphical forms above have shown that the highest percentage of metaphor frequency has been detected in President Johnson's speeches and the conversations between him and American policy makers. The percentage attained is 0.99%. It is revealing with regard to the figurative language used in political discourse conveyed in the archives at hand. White (1987) adheres to the conventional view of metaphor as decorum to literary language. He considers metaphor a rhetorical device, "a trope of discourse" used for discourse embellishment and that the modality of figuration governs, to a far extent, the historical discourse. This view is challenged by Lackoff (1993) who embraces a cognitive view of metaphor; he envisions that metaphor is fundamentally conceptual; it lies in concretizing the abstract. The investigation of metaphor across the corpus has been pinned down to two types: Ontological and Orientational.

4.1. Ontological metaphor

Ontological metaphor concerns the human experience within which entities are universally conceptualized. According to the findings attained above, the speakers refer to ontological metaphors to structure a specific reality the way that consecrates their views.

In A24, for instance, on the day of the Six-Day War break out, on negotiating with President Johnson about who started the war, Mr Rusk said "**My instincts tell** me that the Israelis probably kicked this off". The highlighted linguistic terms pertain to personification that corresponds to a concretized conceptualization: our instincts speak. Mr Rusk resorts to the stylistic device of personification to pertain to the finding that in American foreign policy it is instincts and not logic that govern their estimations and progress. In this private discourse such metaphor is suggestive in terms of the bases of the American foreign policy.

In A26, a conversation between President Johnson and Mr Fulbright, the former described the Egyptian reaction to the Israelis' attack, he stated: "Nasser said he was going to **wipe them out**". This description conveys an image in which the Israelis are described as down to earth objects or insects that are to be got rid of and swept. President Johnson evoked this image because he addressed himself to the Israelis, he said: "You will not need to go alone it would be highly irresponsible". However, the Israelis went alone, which enraged President Johnson and led him to this image conception.

In A28, a conversation between President Johnson and the Ex-President Eisenhower, he reports what Mr Kosygin said about what was to be done to stop the war, he said: “We’re **referees** in a **fight**, and you’ve got to get your man by **the nape of the neck**, and I got to get our man by **the nape of the neck**, and you’ve got to separate them and **put them back in their corner**”. In these successive metaphorical expressions, the Six-Day war is described as a round in a boxing ring where the two boxing men are fighting. These are the Egyptians and the Israelis. Mr Kosygin was urging that the U.S. pull the Israelis back and that URSS pulls the Egyptians back to in order to put an end to the war. More importantly, this latter admits that the U.S. and the URSS were referees; this is recognition that they, as super powers, had the authority to stop the war. This image is oriented to the American President to remind him of the American responsibility in the war eruption and the situation in the ME.

This image is equally found in A30, a speech delivered by President Johnson on 19 June 1967. In this speech he referred to the war of 1967 as “That war was **the third round** of major hostilities in the Middle East since the United Nations established Israel just 21 years ago-**the third round** and it must be the **last round**”. This description depicts an image where the war was portrayed as a round of boxing where two opponents are fighting. This image reflects the conceptualization of war in the mind of the American Presidents. This has been the third round means that there were rounds i.e. wars that proceeded. Such conceptualization has its prints in the American foreign policy conduct in the ME region.

In A 44, President Nixon claimed that “in the **heat** of the recent **war**”, solidarity was demonstrated with Saudi Arabian compatriots; in this context, he refers to the Yom Kipper War in 1973. The term ‘heat’ refers to a mapping that is structured in the human experience; it paints the intensity of the war. The president wanted to persuade His Majesty King Faiçal that even at the height of the war, the U.S. was standing by Saudi Arabia that it considers a friend. President Nixon’s goal orientation to King Faiçal is that the U.S. is a ‘friend’ to the kingdom. The deconstruction of the figurative language used by President Nixon helps to decipher and reshuffle the goal orientations behind the American agenda set in the ME.

In sun, what has been achieved in terms of ontological metaphors provide answer to the research problematic. What about orientational metaphors?

4.2. Orientational metaphor

The second metaphor type investigated is identified in CMA as orientational (Lackoff, 1993). The use of this metaphor type pertains to mappings that are basic to our mind in terms of pre-structuring; they enable knowledge based on directionality and position and motion. The metaphors detected across the corpus unearth the concepts of verticality, horizontality, progress and forward motion.

In A11, at the beginning of the speech, President Eisenhower described the situation in the ME as “this **swiftly changing world scene**”. In this description, the situation is portrayed by the President as world scene that is being watched by people worldwide. Time speed and change are three schemas conceptually included in this concretization. The three mappings suggest motion and movement forward. Through this linguistic facet, the speaker juxtaposes the three domains to highlight an image oriented to the audience for the aim of reshaping their outlooks regarding the ME situation. Another metaphor suggesting directionality is detected in the President’s words: “To our principles we must **stand fast**”.

Standing is metaphorical; it entails the meaning of verticality that is generally appreciated in our everyday experience. Standing in this context corresponds to holding firm to and commitment to the principles the President speaks about; more importantly, he urged that standing had to be fast. The President wants to direct this image and the implications it entails to American people on radio and television in order to persuade them of his outlook towards developments in the region.

In A12, the President maintains that the objective of the U.S. in the ME is to achieve an “enduring peace” to which all nations participate; he views that promoting this objective needs time, he states: “a **degree of success** crowns our efforts”. This is a metaphorical image suggesting gradability; success is achieved gradually and the path to success has a forward movement and motion. This finding has also been achieved in dealing with another metaphor in A13, a radio and television address to American people on the situation in the ME. At the end of this address, the president mentions that what he said was “**only one step in a long process** calling for patience and diligence”. The president restricts what he said to one step in a process that was in a forward motion. He discursively orients this image to the audience to persuade them of his outlooks spur and stimulate them to hold out. This finding is a confirmation to previous ones deconstructing aspects of American foreign policy in the region, a policy based on a “step-by-step approach” in a long process (A45, p. 3).

Concerning sub-corpus 6, the following orientational metaphors have been detected.

In A24, the metaphor “**kicked off**” (frequency: 4) deconstructs a number of images that are oriented by the speakers (A24, p. 2). Along with suggesting an image of game resumption in the sports domain, this linguistic construct particularizes an important notion: loss and gain. Mr Rusk said: “My instincts tell me that the Israelis probably **kicked this off**” and at the end of the conversation he said: “My guess is the Israelis **kicked this off**”. Such image is expressive; Mr Rusk, through his instincts and guess, claimed advancement to the Israelis. Directionality unearths the American conceptualization of the Six-Day war eruption and the party that stated it; in that, such metaphor is revealing.

In A25, President Johnson stated “The world this morning... will look for **signs of movement from..... conflict to the gradual, slow shaping steps** that lead to learning to live together and learning to help **mold** and **shape** peace in the area and in the world” (A25, p.5). In this statement President Johnson summarizes metaphorically his outlook concerning the achievement of peace. He views that the way to peace as not static but dynamic; it is gradually enriched by steps taken in a slow process. Most importantly, President Johnson claims that peace could be ‘moulded’ and ‘shaped’. In this claim, peace is portrayed as a soft material that can be shaped differently and for different objectives. Such image fore-grounds the ideological orientations of President Johnson who discursively orients this portrait of peace to the audience to affect their perspective. This image has helped to reshuffle the conceptualisation of peace in American foreign policy agenda. Peace was implemented manipulatively in congruence with the U.S. agenda imperatives in the region. This is a further confirmation to the strategy framing peace achieving in American foreign policy in the ME.

In A30, President Eisenhower states “The time **has come** for **real peace** in the area. No day has passed since then without our taking **active steps** to try to achieve this end”. The study of the highlighted expressions exposes the manipulation in American foreign policy. Time is an important mental space. Stating that time has come for real peace implies that before

that time, no real peace was envisaged. Most importantly, his statement equally implies that the peace sought before that time was not real. The image disclosed from his statement is that real peace is an objective situated on a long way that is difficult to achieve except through active steps. This metaphor embeds mystification. Through theorizing about peace and time, the president wants to mystify the audience from reality that encompasses the U.S. responsibility evasion in terms of seeking peace. This leads to the finding that time is a domain discursively manipulated by the President to consecrate the American agenda.

Focusing on sub-corpus 9, a set of revealing orientational metaphors have been unearthed. In A41, for instance, President Nixon claimed that as a reaction to the Yom Kipper war 1973, he “**proceeded** on the diplomatic front”. This is a metaphorical description particularizing continuity and motion in the diplomatic process in terms of solutions to the crises in the region. The President’s conception of peace achieving has similarly been detected in his speech delivered before his departure and in his first visit to Israel as a president. He elucidates that his visit was intended “to explore ways in which those nations in the area may **build toward** the permanent and lasting and just and **equitable peace**”. This image is depicted as a structure that is to be compassed and accomplished gradually by nations in the region. This finding is furtherance to previous ones attained about the perspective of responsibility evasion, about peace achievement, that is consecrated from one president to another in the period under study. It has been deconstructed in speeches of Presidents Eisenhower, Johnson and Nixon. The strategy is inherited from one administration to another. This is the aspect of American foreign policy in the ME: a continuum.

This finding is confirmed in what has been achieved in A44. On returning from the ME, his President Nixon did some remarks, claiming that after that trip a journey would come: “a **longer** journey, a journey that will be difficult... has many **pitfalls** potentially in it, but one that is worth taking, a journey on which we are **embarked** and on which we will **continue**, a journey **toward a lasting** peace” (A44, p. 1). President Nixon portrays the journey to peace as one that is a long and thorny process. This image is further concretized by the use of the term “embark” that denotes the initiation of a process that entails difficulties. The President wants to persuade the audience of the heavy burden of peace achieving.

The last document in this sub-corpus is A45; a memorandum by Secretary Kissinger in which he expresses his viewpoint regarding peace in the ME. He said: “my **strategy** would be to **frustrate** the Arab-Soviet **relationship**. Then once the Soviets were frustrated with the Arabs we could **begin a process towards** peace in the Middle East”. The investigation of this statement from a CMA perspective has resulted in the conclusion that peace process was a confinement of the frustration of the Arab-Soviet relationship. This means that till that time, peace process had not begun yet. This is suggestive concerning the conceptualization of peace implementation in the ME region from the perspective of the then Secretary of State, and its impact in U.S. foreign policy agenda in the ME.

Discussion

The findings’ interpretation of ontological and orientational metaphors applying the Fairclough model and CMA (Lackoff, 1993) has shown the non-innocence of the adherence to this linguistic choice and the goal orientation behind it. The findings attained across the corpus, have helped to deconstruct the speakers’ conceptualization of the world in terms of legitimizing the American involvement in the ME (1956-1975). In this respect, Fairclough

(2013, p. 99) envisions that “metaphor is a means of representing one aspect of experience in terms of another, and is by no means restricted to the sort of discourse it tends to be stereotypically associated with poetry and literature discourse”.

It has been found that the most activated schemas in these tropes are: honour, peace, journey and animals; but the most revealing metaphors are the ones that concretize and call to mind images from sport and war. In this framework, Hartford (2002, p. 12) puts forth that “given the keen interest in **sports** and **war**... these constitute the two most common sources of political metaphors”.

The investigation of the metaphorical language across the corpus has foregrounded the responsibility evasion on the part of the American Presidents, at that time, in view of the crises in the ME. To confirm this finding, quoting the American Chargé d’Affaires in Cairo in a report that appeared in the “Baltimore Sun”, he stated: “the **Administration** had not been **fully alive** to the seriousness of the crisis before it erupted into war in the Middle East”. In this depiction, two elementary concepts are aroused: life and duty. Administration refers to work, duty and responsibility; and being alive to one’s responsibility is being watchful, dead earnest, meaningful, accountable and answerable. In this respect, one is entitled to ask: Did these attributes apply to the U.S. Administration and its foreign policy in the ME? The answer is explicit: it “**was not fully alive**”, it was not wholly accountable to the entanglements preceding the break out of the crisis. This senior official divulged the breach of duty that the American Administration was exerting and consecrating in its foreign policy in the ME.

This is further confirmed in President Johnson’s speech A30. Reducing war to a mere round in a boxing match is an image oriented to the ME and to the whole world to evade the seriousness of the situation in the region ; more importantly, it is oriented to the people in the ME to persuade them of the necessity of ending the Arab- Israeli conflict. In fact, the deconstruction of this image unearths the underestimation of the war and the region and complacency in its foreign policy in dealing with entanglements. In this respect, it could be claimed that metaphors chosen to describe wars in the ME “fit the overall constraint of negative-other representation” (Hartford, 2002, p. 7)

Add to that, President Nixon was ‘proud’ of his journey to Israel in June 1974. Throughout his speeches and mainly in A44, the gist of his speech was basically metaphorical. He described the search for peace settlement in the world wide, a journey for hope, for peace. However, he described that journey as one that is difficult, has “heights” and “pitfalls”. Applying for this figurative language, the President wanted to persuade the audience of the trip hardships he was going to encounter and struggle against. The goal orientation behind this stylistic device is to glamorize the American leadership involvement in peace settlement all over the world. Chilton expands on the use of journey metaphors in political discourse, he said: “Political concepts involving leadership and political action (are) conceptualised by movement or journey metaphors” (Chilton, 2004, p. 51-52). In that, it could be said that the stylistic devices serve the speaker’s objectives.

In orientational metaphors, the concept of directionality and the motion forward are a constitutive part of American foreign policy in the ME. Instances as (A41), “journey for peace” (A42), “one step in the long process” (A13), “the height of the crisis” (A25) and “to proceed to the Middle East” reveal the conceptualization of the situation in the region. More importantly, they are discursively selected to persuade people in the region and the public

opinion that peace could not easily be attained and 'in time'; the speakers wanted to influence their conceptualizations that the process to it is lengthy, thorny and demanding. This is the goal orientation behind the inclination towards directionality.

Interestingly, shedding light on the Presidents' discourses, it has been found, that although the three of them refer to the duality of ontological and orientational metaphors for a discursive use of the interface, some differences have been unveiled. In terms of ontological metaphors, while President Eisenhower opts for abstract schemas as freedom, peace and success reflecting a tendency to the abstract, President Johnson conceptualizes issues differently; he identifies with schemas lived and shared in human experience such as sports, war, action movement. Contrary to them, President Nixon was 'fond of' orientational metaphors that predominantly characterize his speeches. This was a journey to the absurd of which the President wanted to persuade people in the ME with. This was his goal orientation; to deviate their attention to the virtual through the framing strategies of persuasion and mystification in his metaphorical language. These differences in conceptualizations reflect fluctuations in American foreign policy in the ME (1956-1975) which led to the three crises. These metaphors are swirling around the journey of peace.

It is true that cognitive metaphor elaborated by Lackoff (1992; 1993), Chilton (2004), Fairclough (1995) is an instrument of conceptualization applied to political discourse; "metaphor is a part of human conceptualisation and not simply a linguistic expression that occurs especially frequently in oratory and literature". However, the study of political discourse across the corpus has shown that the ornamental element could not be discarded in metaphor analysis. The marriage between the cognitive dimension and the traditional embellishing one has resulted in portraits that called for cognitive as well as emotional appeals for the end of the of setting up the speaker's goal orientation. Thus, it could be said that "metaphors are persuasive, suggesting that they are ideologically effective because they are cognitively plausible and evoke an emotional response" (Charteris-Black, 2004).

Conclusion

To sum up, the study of ontological and orientational metaphors across the corpus has resulted in the finding that political discourse is rich with tropes of discourse (White, 1978). Metaphor concretize what is conceptual in policy makers' perspective. The investigation of Presidents' speeches and conversations has put into evidence that political discourse is structured metaphorically. The study of ontological metaphor has revealed the speakers' option for universal schemas that are shared in human experience, to make portraits of their concepts in view of the American agenda and the three crises erupting in the region in seventeen years. As for the investigation of orientational metaphor, it has resulted in the finding that American Presidents and policy makers conceive of the peace process in terms of directionality: vertical and horizontal. Peace settlement, in policy makers' conceptualization, was governed by three mental spaces structured in their minds, these are: time, change and motion: it is a forward movement. The images deconstructed have been found to be directed to American audience, nations in the ME and the world opinion. Behind this goal-orientation lies a pre-set agenda and goals and interests consecrated in the region. Importantly, the legitimization process is a construct that is encapsulated in social parameters that are part and parcel of language, hence the non-innocence of language and discourse.

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Verbal Irony in Media Discourse: Dave Barry's Columns as a Case Study

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Abstract

The underlying assumption of the present paper is that pragmatics is a valuable means of analyzing verbal irony in terms of the discrepancy between the literal meaning of the utterance and the implied one(s). The recourse to a pragmatic analysis of verbal irony basically helps in elucidating the intentions of speakers behind choosing to take a circuitous route and the risk of being misunderstood by hearers. To this effect, the present study investigates the use of verbal irony in newspaper columns. More particularly, based on a corpus of 10 columns, this study examines how the American humorist and columnist Dave Barry benefited from this vibrant form of indirection to poke fun at two political columnists, James Kilpatrick and William Safire, who were supposed to have a high degree of linguistic competence. Relying on Attardo's Irony as Relevant Inappropriateness, it has been shown that verbal irony is a valuable tool at the hand of this columnist to pass his different evaluative judgments of these persons' behaviors. The irony markers applied in the corpus serve different purposes; namely the explanation of the columns' voice and the detection of irony purposes, particularly, retractability, evaluation, rhetorical persuasion, and politeness.

Keywords: Pragmatics, Verbal Irony, Newspaper Columns, Indirection.

1. Introduction

Attempts have been made to display the existing definitions provided in the literature regarding verbal irony and its use across domains. It would be of little benefit for our purposes to review all the definitions offered in the field; this simulates an impossible enterprise chiefly because of the vast amount of work devoted to the subject of verbal irony. I shall, however, restrict myself to some of the different views of it to show how agreement about verbal irony is unthinkable and even impossible.

Towards defining verbal irony

In linguistics, irony has been variously defined as an example of "indirect speech act" (Amante, 1981), a "verbal expression of uncooperative behavior, absurdly violating the Gricean Cooperative Principle and the maxim of quality in particular" (Bollabas, 1981, p. 323). Amante, as well, hints at the arduousness and complexity of deriving rules for

concepts such as irony in the following statement: “it is more complex and harder to state rules for a protean concept like irony because one runs the risk of generalizing too much or creating too limited a scope for the concept” (1981, p. 87). Clearly ironic speech acts are ‘insincere’, ‘counterfactual’, and “intentional” in principle. The essential feature consists in uttering a counterfactual speech act and hoping that the audience will recognize and decode its counterfactual nature. One basic element is the necessity of recognizing the intention to use irony by the speaker on the part of the hearer. Amante (1981, p. 86) states: “it is a method of indirection which draws the audience into making deduction and inferences about the intended meaning”. The reader / hearer must detect the speaker’s ironic signal through his knowledge of the meaning of the words used and through his knowledge of the speech act conventions implied by the illocution used.

Simultaneously, for Grice (1976) verbal irony falls under the category of conversational implicatures which violates the conversational maxim of quality, one of the maxims that govern the Cooperative principle of communication that he developed. This principle states the following “make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice, 1975, p. 78). This principle is based on a mere opposition and it reduces the understanding of verbal irony to a simple substitution of the literal meaning of the utterance by its opposite.

Green (1969, p. 109) advanced the view that verbal irony is mainly based on intention production and recognition between conversational speakers. Indeed, an intention to communicate something to someone is a necessary condition for the performance of any indirect speech act and that the meaning of a linguistic expression must be at least partially explained in terms of such intentions.

Litman and Mey put to the fore the importance of context in processing and understanding verbal irony in the following statement “an ironic statement can only be so in the proper context, taken by itself no utterance is ironic” (Littman and Mey, 1991, p. 134), they argued for the richness of knowledge which makes the understanding and especially the generation of irony so alluring (Littman and Mey, 1991, p. 144).

Levinson (1983) views indirect speech acts, irony as one of them, as operations on context; the ‘discursive community to which each person belongs”, Hutcheon (1995) maintains. Context functions as framing the parameters of the ironic play between the said and the unsaid. It plays both a conditioning and a filtering role for the audience of the irony. The importance of context, referred to as the ‘encyclopaedic knowledge of both speakers and hearers’, is highlighted by Cruse (2006) or as a ‘mutually manifest knowledge’ as put by Sperber and Wilson (1996).

On the other hand, Attardo (2000) places verbal irony at the heart of pragmatics; it is a purely pragmatic phenomenon with no semantic counterpart, and an instance of relevant inappropriateness. The state of being inappropriate in context makes the ironical utterance relevant for Attardo (2000, p. 817).

Consequently, irony is accompanied with ambiguity, misunderstanding, pretense, and allusion and requires that the hearer or its receiver affords a sort of “mental dexterity” to process it (Attardo, 2000).

Newspaper Columns as a genre

Newspaper columns are viewed as having a major significance in the world of journalism. They are regarded as providing the “space for private and emotional expression in newspapers that have always been quintessentially public bringing these two spheres into collision” (Franklin, 2008, p. 99). They are developed as a genre in media discourse and witnessed a growth occupying a compelling place in newspapers. Columns are regarded as an “early form of infotainment in a journalistic market place”, having therefore an informative and entertaining functions (Franklin, 2008, p. 109). They are depicted as “concentrated storytelling” conducive to helping others have a deep understanding of the world around them in the proviso of changing little part of it in a positive way. Columnists as such, are viewed as “key ingredients of the newspaper’s marketing pitch” (Franklin, 2008, p. 111). It is argued that columns have rarely been the subject of serious scrutiny by media scholars. They used to be the ‘butt of jokes’ and no serious considerations were taken to study them. Recently, columns proved to be worthy of consideration for their richness and “parousness” make them a fruitful area of study (Franklin, 2008, p. 7).

Relying on Standring (2008), newspaper columns have a constellation of features constitutive of almost every successful column. **The voice** is “the writer’s personality on the printed page, the style in which a point of view is conveyed”, it is “the expression or the sum of the columnist’s personal experience” and this excludes objectivity and creates an intimate relationship between the columnist and his readers. **The focus** is “the message the columnist wants to convey to his readers”. As such, it necessitates a great deal of concentration and mental effort, for this part is what attracts readers’ attention to the column and wins the columnist trust and loyalty. **The central conflict** is the “column’s overall theme”. **Headlines** work as “handy reminder” to the reader, they keep the columnist focused and in control of his writing. They keep him or her in the “center lane as he drives through a draft. Otherwise the possible danger, as Standring claims, is weaving all over the page with later yelling ‘hey buddy, which way are you going?’” (2008, p. 38). **Endings** are described as “the eternal flames that keep a story alive in a reader’s head and heart” (Standring, 2008, p. 43). The length varies according to the former’s page size. As such, a column’s average size ranges from 250 to 1000 words, its space is “shrinking”. Yet, this fact does not exclude lengthy columns and does not “kick them into the round file”. In fact, knowing when to stop reflects “publication-worthy skills” and is a key to good writing (Standring, 2008, p. 48-50).

Verbal Irony in Newspaper Columns:

Accounts of verbal irony in newspaper columns have started to be taken seriously. It seems that this non-resistant concern with indirect language in general and verbal irony in particular is obvious. Accordingly, it is assumed that verbal irony is made use of in newspaper columns as a bearer of evaluation and criticism Refaie’s (2005). Her approach to verbal irony in this genre is particularly relevant. She considers it a ‘subversive strategy’ allowing the author to “quote and simultaneously distance him or herself from wide-spread opinions or common patterns of language use”. It is used to subvert the dominant pattern of argumentation. Although irony in such a genre is viewed as clearly ‘flagged’ so that it cannot be overlooked by the reader, the journalist tries to provide clues to signal his ironical intentions. These clues are explored and related to the context and to the reader’s expectations. The reader’s background knowledge and the sufficient information he gathers

about the journalist will pave the way for better and easier grasp of the intentions of the ironist (Refaie, 2005, p. 781-782).

2. Methodology

A collection of 10 columns has been made. They deal with one specific issue that of exposing the displeasing use of grammar by persons (political humorists) who are supposed to be proficient in this domain.

Columns	Title
1	A Tall Order, Grammatically
2	With All Due Respect, Yer a Ding Dong
3	Words to the Wise: Synergy is Key
4	Modern English Has Some People Speaking in Tongues
5	Mr. Language Person Takes a Hammer to Grammar
6	The Grammar, it Tends to Slip after Drinking a Giraffe or Two
7	Mr. Language Person Wishes you a Good Wazoo
8	Mr Language Person on Nitches, Yores and Defective Sea Lions
9	Speaking Effectively: "Me Like Sex"
10	Grammar : De Letter of De Law

Table 1. List of the columns

The basis for corpus selection is its meeting a number of criteria that could be synthesized as follows:

1. Why Dave Barry?

Dave Barry is an American columnist and humorist best known for his weekly syndicated columns, which appear in over 500 newspapers. He won the Pulitzer Price for commentary in 1988 for "his consistently effective use of humor as a device for presenting fresh insights into serious concerns" (Sharp, 2006, p. 173). He was elected the class clown by his classmates when in college and this, as Sharp (2006, p. 174) clearly states, was "an indicator of future career paths". In fact, what one is endowed in his youth can reflect or can anticipate one's future success or failure. Additionally, Strandring (2008, p. 88) confirms the view that Dave Barry is one of the best humorists of his time when she says "if laughter brings physical relief, then Erma Bombeck, Art Buchwald, and Dave Barry were a few of the best physicians of our times".

2. Why Newspaper Columns?

Franklin (2008, p. 109) depicts columns as an "outgrowth of traditional essay and a refinement of the genre". They are more a performance than an expression of intellectual argument reacting to contemporary events and shared experiences in which the personality of the writer is a self-referential text along with the subject matter.

Columns are mainly an expression of the self due to the constant presence of subjectivity markers with a special emphasis on the first person pronouns (singular or plural). They have an entertaining function and this explains the celebrity of the humor columns more than any other types of columns. Another equally interesting feature in this

genre is the necessary engagement of the reader to “reflect around the topic under discussion”. This can but build readers’ trust and loyalty and accelerate readership (Franklin, 2008, p. 109).

Contemporary columns cover all aspects of modern life “paralleling the broader category of news” covering the editorial range from “the staples of politics and economics, to sport, culture, and lifestyle” (Franklin, 2008, p. 110). They have a subversive role, functioning as “conduit”, annihilating cultural and social norms (Franklin, 2008, p. 99). As such, the columnist helps shape the discourses of his time through this combination of “experts” and “layperson” (Franklin, 2008, p. 98).

3. Why Humor columns?

Humor columns are said to relieve the anxiety we feel in our world. Erma Bombeck, one of the best advice humorists, claims that we all hide hurts, build walls and don disguises, so laughter is a way to lower our masks (cited in Strandring, 2008, p. 89). As such, humor columns contribute in appeasing the tension readers are burdened with.

One important remark to make within this line of thought is that this type of columns carries the element of surprise; an element basic to the notion of indirection, in general, and verbal irony, in particular. This can but justify the choice of this category to be analyzed in this research paper.

4. Why “Ask Mr. Language Person” column?

What matters is the adroit use of language that this columnist deliberately employs in order to mock the American political humorists James Kilpatrick and William Safire’s questionable use of language.

The selection of “Ask Mister Language Person” columns is influenced by what writers kept repeating on the importance of this category of columns (Sharp, 2006; Strandring, 2008). They are the ones that brought fame to the newspaper and received more mails than any feature in this newspaper, though Dave Barry “lampoons all the hallmarks of modern life: politicians, social trends, relationships, the International Revenue Service, pets and their owners, sports, and health professionals and entertainment” (Sharp, 2006, p. 177).

5. Why Verbal Irony in newspaper columns?

The choice of analyzing verbal irony in relation to other forms of indirect speech in the columns is an influence by Dave Barry himself when he instantiates the following view that: “A sense of humor is a measurement of the extent to which you realize you are trapped in a world almost totally devoid of reason. Laughter is how you release the anxiety you feel about it” (Sharp 2006, p. 176).

Moreover, the specific emphasis on verbal irony was mainly motivated by Triki (2007, p. 75), when dealing with the relationship between irony and other types of indirect speech, claims with reliance on Kalbermatten (2006), that irony is a prototype category where other entities retain their membership and similarity as well due to their similarity to the prototype. Additionally, verbal irony is said to offer its user a number of social and rhetorical functions that being ironical affords.

Proposed Framework

Attardo’s Irony as Relevant Inappropriateness

Attardo’s Irony as a Relevant Inappropriateness is an extension of Grice’s Cooperative Principle and his related maxims. In fact, Attardo claims that elements such as appropriateness and other elements are flouted apart from the flouting of the quality

maxim that Grice believes is the generator of irony. It is this state of being inappropriate in context which makes the ironical utterance relevant (Attardo, 2000, p. 817). Attardo defines appropriateness as such “an utterance *u* is appropriate iff all presuppositions of *u* are identical to or compatible with all the presuppositions of the context *C* in which *u* is uttered, except for any feature explicitly thematized and denied in *u*” (2000, p. 818).

Irony Markers

Attardo argues that the detection of verbal irony necessitates the presence of markers in the text to guarantee its understating and processing. Irony markers make the task easier for the hearer who endeavours to uncover the hidden intentions and aims of the ironist, the hearer who avoids being the ‘butt’ of verbal irony; the victim. These markers are enumerated below:

1. **Scare Quotes:** E.g. [...]. They are used to convey certain detachment from a written utterance.

2. **Dots (Attardo 2000):** E.g. (...). They mark a suspended utterance, thus alerting the reader to potential other meanings left unsaid.

3. **Exclamation marks (Attardo, 2000):** E.g.! They are used to express emphasis. In the right context; they can underscore other means to highlight irony (cited in Orecchioni 1976, p. 26).

4. **Linguistic Discrepancy (Haverkate 1990):** E.g. your friend asked me to lend him the nice little sum of \$ 100,000. Linguistic discrepancy has different types:

- Stylistic: dissemblance between literacy and orality.
- Lexical semantic: incompatibility between semantic fields.
- Propositional: incompatibility between ideas.
- Conversational: incompatibility between the question asked and the answer provided.

The intention of the speaker is made explicit by the linguistic context, that is to say, an overt ‘*contradictio interminis*’ is created between ‘\$ 100,000’, on the one hand, and its qualification ‘a nice little sum’, on the other.

5. **Quotation marks (Clift 1999):** E.g. “ ”. Informally quotes or inverted commas, they are used to give meaning to an expression. They can indicate a hesitant introduction of a doubtful or discordant item (Quirk et al, 1985). E.g. Howard opposed racism law “to protect Rushdie” (Clift, 1999). They allow writers to “split (themselves) off from the context of the words” making clear to the reader that they are not to be held responsible for such opinion” (Goffman, 1979).

6. **Rhetorical question (Haverkate 1990; kaufer 1981):** A rhetorical question is similar to an exclamatory question in that it is interrogative in form but not in function. It is used by speakers to assert something without anticipating a response from the listener. E.g. just because you’ve failed the first test, is that any reason to give up? (Cited in Gelge-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman, 1999, p. 265). It is similar to the tag question in its communicative effect, since it essentially seeks confirmation of what the speaker has explicitly assumed (by the preceding declarative) to be agreed truth (Quirk et al 1985, p. 19-63). Rhetorical questions serve to enhance the persuasive force of the implicated

assertion reinforcing the effect of the negative assessments, in particular the criticism of the behavior of the hearer. Haverkate considers rhetorical questions as one of the valuable tools at the hand of the ironist. As a consequence, the combination of irony and rhetorical questions is an adequate device to reinforce the perlocutionary effects of negative assessments, in particular of criticisms of the behavior of the hearer ” (1990, p. 93)

7. **Indirect impositives (Haverkate 1990):** E.g. could you do me the favor of shutting up? Because of their ‘multiple’ characteristics, indirect impositives serve to perform more than one illocutionary act at the same time. In formulating the question, the speaker performs a request, i.e., the question is explicit; the request is implicit (Haverkate, 1990). Haverkate’s obvious claim that “ ironic manipulation of sincerity condition is by no means restricted to the class of impositive speech acts, as it is inherent in the performance of any ironic speech act” is telling (1990, p. 100).

8. **Capitalisation (Kreuz 1996):** E.g. ONLY. It is an emphatic device that expresses graphically the high degree of speaker involvement that prosodic features would have expressed in oral discourse (Atari & Triki, 2000).

3. Findings and Analysis

The application of the proposed framework yielded the following results:

	Squares quotes	Dots	Exclamation marks	Linguistic discrepancies	Quotation marks	Rhetorical questions	Indirect impositives	Capitalization
Column 1	0	2	2	14	37	4	2	16
Column 2	0	0	0	12	39	0	1	4
Column 3	0	0	4	7	29	6	2	8
Column 4	0	0	3	12	28	1	1	11
Column 5	0	1	4	13	19	6	1	13
Column 6	0	0	2	11	23	3	1	8
Column 7	0	0	3	7	25	2	1	8
Column 8	0	0	4	12	33	4	2	16
Column 9	0	0	7	4	32	4	1	20
Column 10	0	0	7	15	32	5	1	6
Totality	0	3	36	107	297	35	13	120

Table 3. Irony markers in the columns

The determining presence of the quotation marks marker is so revealing (297 occurrences). In fact, such a marker has the prime function of allowing the speaker to disconnect from the context of the utterance to avoid responsibility from what can emanate from the very uttering of his words. The following is an example:

1- Q. What is the difference between “advice” and “advise?”

A. Grammatically, “advice” is a platonic deprecation used in exalpatory phrases, as in: “my lawyer advices me that I don’t know nothing about no grenade.” Whereas “advise” is used in all other cases, such as “my advise is, stop taunting them constrictors.”

The grammarian is supposed to provide an accurate explanation of the difference between advice and advise. Once failed, or deliberately appears as if he failed to do so, he puts these words between quotation marks in order not to be held responsible for this failure. On the other hand, he provides inappropriate words, unrelated ones, which cannot be seen as appropriate definitions. More importantly, the columnist provides ungrammatical words as a definition, such as “exalpatory” instead of ‘exculpatory’. As such, he exposes the grammarian’s weakness and failure to answer the reader’s questions. This clash of registers, mixture of formal and informal words, and grammatical and ungrammatical sentences function mainly as defeating readers’ expectations and making their minds roll with no possibility of elucidating one true conclusion from what they are reading.

The quotation mark’s presence at different levels in the columns from the beginning till the end is considerable in the sense that it can be understood as the voice of the columnist that is hiding behind this marker. The columnist’s voice should be conveyed in a way or another because its presence is essential. This voice, which is in a way sharply critical, should be modulated. In our case, the quotation marks function as softening the content of what is put between quotation marks.

The second marker that has a predominant occurrence is the capitalization marker (120 occurrences). It has an emphatic function, for example:

- A TALL ORDER, GRAMMATICALLY

In fact, this heading is capitalized to emphasize its inappropriateness and incongruity, because an order cannot be described as tall, and the insertion of the adverb ‘grammatically’ stresses once again the inappropriateness of the heading; grammatically speaking, an order cannot be grammatically depicted as ‘tall’. This clash of registers and this informal way of presenting serious matters is a way of being ironically humorous.

The third occurring marker in the columns is the linguistic discrepancy with its different types and with 107 occurrences. For example:

E.g. It is with great verisimilitude that we present another installation of “Ask Mister Language Person,” the column that answers your common questions about grammar, punctuation and unwanted body hair.

The discrepancy is a lexical semantic one. It is apparent between lexical words such as grammar, punctuation, and unwanted body hair. Their lexical field is not the same. The inappropriateness basically stems from mixing words from different fields within the same utterance. The reader is first faced with the literal meaning of the utterance; with the help of the context, s/he notices the inappropriateness of the word ‘unwanted body hair’ to the grammatical context. As such, s/he is led to understand that there is an implied meaning as well, where an intention to convey something more than what is said is clear.

The inappropriateness, a notion predominantly occurring all over the columns, which is a focal conception in Attardo’s model, helps understand the content of Dave Barry’s columns as conversational implicatures flouting the maxims of quality and relevance alike. The presence of various features contributes to these considerations; irrelevance

characterizes the columns from the beginning till the end, and utterances cannot be viewed as informative at all.

The rhetorical question marker occupies the fourth position (35 times). It has the aim of confirming the explicit assumption and enhancing the persuasive force of this act, and more eminently, reinforcing the perlocutionary effects of the negative assessment. The following is an example:

E.g. GOT A QUESTION FOR MISTER LANGUAGE PERSON?

Each Column ends with a rhetorical question. This question can be understood as blame directed to the reader, as if the columnist said ‘and after all this, do you still want to acquire knowledge from this source?’ This confirms the negative judgment accompanied with this question. The reader is supposed to stop asking questions to this person after having been exposed to his weaknesses. The columnist considers this rhetorical question to be a piece of valuable advice to the reader. This explains its capitalization. This can also be understood as attracting the reader’s attention, because it is a well-known fact that endings should be funny and should be engraved in readers’ head and heart. Additionally, the strategic use of the rhetorical question at the end of each column serves the function of reinforcing the irony effect.

The exclamation marks occur 36 times. Their occurrence takes place at the level of words, phrases, and sentences, from the beginning till the end of each column, and the indirect impositive marker occurs 13 times principally at the level of the questions. For example:

- 1- Can you give some other examples of powerful language, sent in by alert readers?
- 2- Could you give some examples of notable language usage that you are not making up, sent in by alert readers?
- 3- Could you give some examples of notable language usage that you are not making up, sent in by alert readers?

The indirect impositive marker, which is explicitly a request and implicitly an order, is strengthened by the presence of the pre-verbal *please*. It mostly occurs before the alert readers’ examples or at the level of the readers’ questions. The columnist opts for a polite request instead of a direct order. This strategic use is justified by various reasons. First, the use of indirect impositive at this level, which precedes the part of the “alert readers’ examples”, is telling in the sense that one expects to find examples the way the columnist described them (powerful, notable, etc.). However, these expectations are defeated the moment s/he is faced with the examples, which are seen as funny and irrelevant. This ‘multipie’ feature serves the purpose of indirection, in general, and of verbal irony, in particular.

Finally, there is a weak presence of the dots (3 times). They mark a suspended utterance, thus alerting the reader to potential other meanings left unsaid. It can also be understood as the voice of the columnist that is left unsaid but understood due to the suspended dots. For example:

- 1- It was at this salad bar...
- 2- So I was getting some broccoli...

However, no occurrence for the square quotes marker is found.

The following table illustrates how the presence of the markers at different types of the columns works:

Irony markers	Columns parts					
	Headline	Focus	Central conflict	Alert readers' examples	Grammatical tip	Ending
Square quotes						
Dots		X		X	X	X
Exclamation marks		X	X	X	X	X
Linguistic discrepancy	X	X	X	X	X	X
Quotation marks		X	X	X	X	
Rhetorical question		X	X	X	X	X
Indirect impositives			X			
Capitalization	X	X	X	X	X	X

Table 3. The connection between irony markers and columns parts

Dave Barry's columns are viewed as instances of infelicitous speech acts. This is mainly because some of the categories upon which the act should be judged as felicitous or infelicitous are the execution of the procedure in a correct and complete way, and the conformity of both parties to the procedure, which is not the case in these columns. This is exemplified by the irrelevant utterances that the columnist provides as answers to the reader's questions. Examples are the following :

- 1- Q. At restaurants, I often order the soup du jour. My question is, what is "jour"?
- A. It is a French word meaning "bat spleens."
- 2- We have received some alarming information from very high sources in the federal government.
- Q. how high are they?
- A. they are wearing their underpants on their heads.

In the first example, irrelevance is apparent in providing a wrong definition to the word 'jour' (bat spleen). In the second example, the status of the federal government sources is depicted humorously as 'wearing their underpants on their heads'. The criticism, in this case, is extended to reach other persons than the grammarians, namely the government sources.

Additionally, these columns are instances of indirect speech acts, principally because no direct relationship between a sentence type and an illocutionary force exists; there is no subscription to Levinson's Literal Force Hypothesis - the view that there is a direct structure-function correlation in speech acts and that sentence forms are direct reflexes of their underlying illocutionary force. Interpretation is based on an inferential process. Consider this example:

- 1- Could you give some examples of notable language usage that you are not making up, sent in by alert readers?

This sentence has an interrogative type. It is a question. However, its illocutionary type is that of a request. It is to be considered as a polite request on the part of the reader directed to the grammarian.

The columnist's opting for the linguistic discrepancy marker as one of the major tools to serve his purposes is very telling. The audience, having some background knowledge about the nature of the columns (humor columns) and the type of relationship between the columnist and the persons he is talking about, can work out the implicature and detect the intended meaning of the columnist. The columns are regarded as instances of conversational implicatures because they display the latter's features. They are cancellable in the sense that they can be repaired by recourse to forms of redress, for example:

- It is with great decrepitude that we present another episode of "Ask Mister Language Person", the column that was recently voted "Best American Grammar Column in America".

The example above shows that the use of the pejorative adjective 'decrepitude' is repaired by recourse to the superlative "Best American Grammar Column in America".

Moreover, implicatures are context-dependent. The importance of context is undeniable. It helps in the working out of the intended meaning. Without referring back to the context, the reader cannot understand what is truly meant. They are calculable; the background knowledge that the reader has, the shared context between the reader and the columnist, and knowledge about the world, all can help in the interpretation of the implicature. The following example can illustrate this point:

- It is time once again for Ask Mister Language Person, the advice column written by the world's Number One foremost leading authority on grammar, syntax, podiatry and using big words to physically harm your opponent.

The context helps the reader in suitably understanding the true meaning of the columnist. The reader pertinently knows that it is a grammar column. As such, he is expecting to find grammar-related words. However, his expectations are defeated the moment s/he is faced with words such as, podiatry. In addition, the knowledge about the world that the reader has allows him or her to refuse the claim that a grammatical use does not 'physically' harm one's 'opponent'. This creates a humorous effect to the utterance and leads the reader to understand the implied meaning of the columnist, that of criticizing the expertise of the grammarians. The reader's background knowledge, together with the information s/he gathers about the journalist, pave the way for an easier grasp of the intention of this columnist. It is commonly held that Dave Barry is a one of the best humorists of his time, and this can prove quite helpful in the inferential process that the reader will go through to detect ironical instances.

- Q. can that sentence be diagramed?

A. Not without powerful pharmaceuticals.

The literal meaning of this answer is conversationally inadequate in this context and must be repaired by some inference, because a sentence cannot be diagrammed with pharmaceuticals. In this case, the reader is led to understand that the answer provided for his question is not intended to be a real answer, but rather a form of mockery, and the speech act is understood by the reader as ironic due to his or her background knowledge about the columnist.

Moreover, the joining of the linguistic discrepancy with the quotation marks and capitalization at the level of the focus sub-part creates a humorous effect. The columnist's

use of the inclusive plural personal pronoun 'we' serves the group affiliation purpose. The reader is engaged from the very beginning to reflect on the topic. The strategic mixture of the markers serves the purpose of sophistication; the columnist wants to show off his superiority and his ability to play with language. The use of the discrepancy, together with the quotation marks, serves the purposes of evaluation and retractability. This is mainly because utterances having a positive judgment do not urge the columnist to take a 'non-committal' attitude.

The fact that the columnist exposes the weaknesses of Mister Language Person means that he is being not only ironical but also satirical. He is ridiculing the inability of these grammarians to stand as a valuable source. He strives to show their inferiority. For example:

- Welcome to another episode of "Ask Mister Language Person", the column written by the language expert who recently won the world Wrestling Federation Grammar Smackdown when he kneed William Safire right in the gerund.

The columnist stresses the inappropriateness of the words capitalized. He wants to make sure that the reader will be aware of the imperfections of these experts.

4. Discussion

The interconnection between the irony markers at the columns parts is interesting and paves the way for an updated understanding of the columnist's purposes behind using irony. Indeed, starting with the first part, which is the headline, it is clear that all the headlines are capitalized. They contain two types of linguistic discrepancy; one is stylistic, the other is lexical semantic. The mixture of these two types at the level of the headline attracts the reader's attention and makes him or her believe in the importance of the columns. They also display humorous effects. Consider these examples:

1- A TALL ORDER, GRAMMATICALLY

In this example, an order cannot be described as 'tall', also there is no connection between these three words: tall, order, and grammatically. A lexical semantic discrepancy takes place.

At the level of the focus, there is a clear predominance of both linguistic discrepancy and quotation marks. No occurrence for the other markers except for the slight presence of the capitalization marker. Moreover, the strategic use of the quotation marks is to circumvent any responsibility that might emanate from the utterances. Additionally, the use of the capitalization marker is to emphasize this dissemblance. One of the columns features is the necessary engagement of the reader to win his trust and loyalty. This is demonstrated in the use of the inclusive plural personal pronoun 'we'. Additionally, the joining of the linguistic discrepancy marker with the quotation marks marker and the capitalization marker at the level of the focus creates a humorous effect.

The columnist's use of the inclusive plural personal pronoun 'we' serves the group affiliation purpose. The reader is engaged from the very beginning to reflect on the topic. The strategic mixture of the markers serves the purpose of sophistication; the columnist wants to show his superiority and his ability to play with language. The use of the discrepancy together with the quotation marks serves the purposes of evaluation and retractability. This is mainly because utterances having a positive judgment do not urge the columnist to take a 'non-committal' attitude.

At the central conflict level, there is a prevalent presence of the quotation marks marker followed by capitalization, linguistic discrepancy, rhetorical questions, exclamation marks, and indirect impositives. There is no presence for the square quotes and the dots. In this part, almost all the markers are present. This can explain the paramountcy of this part. It is where the general subject matter is exposed. Not only does the columnist justify the importance of this part, but he also proves to have an exceeding writing skill and an ability to craftily use language to serve his interests and objectives. At this level, the reader puts words between quotation marks that he is looking for their definition or explanation. This hints at their “supposed” importance. Yet, it is shown through the answer he provided that they are not important. This can be illustrated by the fact that the columnist either provides wrong definition manifested by the discrepancy in the context of utterance, or by embedding definitions that he also puts between quotation marks to prove once again that something wrong goes with them.

The central conflict introduces the supposed reader or the person asking the question. In most of the cases, this reader is a person having a high status; sometimes s/he is an author (Joyce Carol Oates), sometimes high sources in the federal government, extremely high federal official, a federal task force, William Shakespeare, Mick Philip of Raleigh, a loyal reader Martha Booth, a concerned reader Larry Miller, police fires, a concerned reader Brian Cameron, actual reader James F Wood of Denver. Then the content of their question is seen to be inappropriate for this status. The status of readers is also revealed during the questions; they are: top business executives, members of the United States House of Representative, medical doctors, and customer service workers, speechwriters, in the business field, a writer, an attorney, and a defense department member.

This part, which provides examples from alert readers, as the columnist depicts them, is interesting. The columnist conjoins different irony markers to serve different purposes. The predominance of the quotation marks marker is once again telling in this part in the sense that it is considered to be of assistance to the retractability purpose and the evaluation purpose. There is a tendency to use incongruent words within these examples, together with capitalizing some of the headlines that follow the examples. As previously mentioned, this part is preceded by an indirect impositive to assist the purpose of politeness because these examples are threatening the face of the grammarian.

The grammatical tip is an important part. It comes directly after answering readers' questions. The supposed grammarian provides a tip. It varies depending on the column's overall theme. Some columns do not provide it, but most of them are accompanied with this part. Each tip is illustrated by two examples; one is depicted as right, the other as wrong. The columnist mixes different irony markers in this part.

The fact that Dave Barry ends almost each column with a rhetorical question might have different interpretations. This question is always capitalized; it is sometimes followed by stylistic or lexical semantic discrepancy. At this stage, the columnist combines three of the major irony markers, which are capitalization, quotation marks, and linguistic discrepancy. For example:

- GOT A QUESTION FOR MISTER LANGUAGE PERSON? Just boom it in a honky-tonk fashion.

The rhetorical question shows the columnist's attitude of surprise towards readers, as if he is blaming them for their continuous willingness to ask questions to these 'supposed'

experts. This confirms his critical stance of these peoples. In other words, the columnist asserts his negative judgment without anticipating response on the part of the reader.

5. Conclusion

The contribution of the present paper has been three-fold. First, at the theoretical level, the paper has propounded the argument that Irony is a multi-faceted phenomenon (Knox, 1972, p. 58) involving a number of markers (Attardo, 2000, p. 16). The paper has pointed out various ways in which this approach to Irony could be fruitfully applied to the language of the media (in this case the genre of “columns”). Secondly, with specific reference to the corpus under investigation, it has been found that Dave Barry resorts to Irony to carry out a more serious critical project. As for the implications of this paper, it is suggested that this approach could be further extended to other (sub) genres.

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