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# LOGOS & LITTERA
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ORIGINAL RESEARCH PAPERS

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# ON PATTERNS OF INTERSUBJECTIVE COGNITION IN DIDACTIC POETRY

**Abstract**: *The theoretical reception of didactic poetry has displayed two tendencies in the past few decades. Firstly, the emphasis has been on what is taught in the works of art instead of how the teaching process is structured. Therefore rhetorical and philological approaches dominate theory and interpretation. Secondly, the status of didactic poetry as a poetic genre is often questioned despite the fact that its ancient Aristotelian critique has been revised. The aim of the paper is to reconsider both aspects from the viewpoint of cognitive genre theory. I examine what kinds of cognitive patterns organise the teaching process in three texts: in De rerum natura (On Nature) by Titus Lucretius Carus, in A méltóság keserve (The Lament of Dignity) by the Hungarian poet György Bessenyei, and in Die Metamorphose der Pflanzen (The Metamorphosis of Plants) by Johann Wolfgang Goethe. In the demonstration of how the teacher-pupil interaction serves as the basis of the complex didactic process I apply the evolutionary model of teaching behaviour. The main results of the investigation are (i) drawing attention to the indirect adaptations of teaching behaviour (e.g. social tolerance, local enhancement, evaluative feedback) represented in didactic poetry; (ii) demonstrating the importance of poetic imagery in didactic poetry, emphasising the close relation between poetic and didactic configurations; (iii) rethinking the notion of genre as a specific pattern of cognition mediating between particular sociocultural contexts.*
**Key words**: *didactic poetry, intersubjectivity, indirect teaching, poeticity, genre*

## Introduction

Literary theory has a strong and old presupposition about poetry, namely the equation of poetry with subjectivity (Bahti, 1996). However, the genre-specific patterns of subject formation have not yet come into the focus of attention. From this point of view the poetic subject is neither a prerequisite for lyrical diction, nor the result of the reader's activity (ranging from being listener through her role in the figure of prosopopeia to assuming the deictic vantage point of the speaker, Schlaffer, 2004: 11). There

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are linguistic structures in a poem which make it possible for a subject to get in a word. These structures are the targets of poetic analysis. In the case of identifying specific and recurrent patterns of poetic structure that correlate with the development of a subject in the discourse world, the central question of the analysis becomes a genre theoretical issue.

According to new tendencies of genre theory (Fowler, 2003; Busse, 2014), genre is the field of a discursive situation in which the participants (the author and the reader, as well as the poetic subject and her/his addressee) communicate. Consequently, investigating subjectivity in a lyrical text presupposes paying attention to other participants in the text world. In other words, genre can be considered the intersubjective context of the development of subjectivity.

I scrutinise in this paper how an intersubjective context (i.e. an interaction between minds) leads the participants of a situation to become subjects, and whether there are any genre-specific patterns of this interaction. The literary texts analysed here belong to the genre of didactic poetry. I have chosen this genre since its poetic status has become unstable in modernity (it is a common argument that didacticity eliminates poeticity). However, the approach proposed here results in re-evaluating the poetic quality of the genre through reconceptualisation of the notion of genre itself.

The study is structured as follows: first I explicate the theoretical framework of the investigation, and formulate a hypothesis about the role of intersubjectivity in the didactic process. Then I describe the texts and the methodology of the analysis. After that the results will be detailed and discussed. The paper ends with concluding remarks.

## "Perspectives" on didactic poetry

For reinterpreting the notion of genre, we need to bring different theoretical viewpoints into discourse. On the one hand, we have to revise what genre is, as well as the characteristics which define didactic poetry as a genre. On the other, however, we have to reflect on the notion of subjectivity too, since the aim of the investigation is to redefine metrical didactic texts as a kind of poetry. Moreover, it is important to harmonise these reflections on didactic poetry itself and on the poetic nature of it in order to reconsider genre as a factor of subject formation.

Therefore, it is worth starting the theoretical grounding from the viewpoint of post-structuralism, focusing on the process of designification. As Carol Armstrong (2003: 223) remarkes, the formation of a female nude body in a painting can resist the abstracting process of signification. The gaze of the viewer dwells on the shape of the body, therefore, the viewer does not sink into finding a transcendent, symbolic meaning in the shape, s/he does not interpret the painted body as a sign with an obscure meaning. The shape directs the viewer's attention onto itself, the process of formation is foregrounded, and the body reveals itself as an object. Thus the genre of a female act correlates with the process of cognition (gaze, attention, metaphorical touch), and figurativity evolves in this process. The recurrent motifs of a genre (let it be a genre of painting or a literary one) gain their significance in the (re)constructive process of cognition, they are not the mere devices of decoration. It is not the motifs that make a genre recognizable, but rather each genre as a structure of cognition directs the viewer/reader's attention to its motifs. On the other hand, the genre of the female act – through foregrounding the process of formation – demonstrates the figure of a person as a body in the performative experience of the presence. From these it follows that female act as a genre offers the vantage point of the performative formation of a subject, of a presented other (and not of a pure form or of a spatial configuration), through experiencing her body as an object.

In order to relate the performative process of the development of a subject to the notion of genre (and to the specific genre of didactic poetry), we need an epistemological frame in which subjectivity is not the starting point of cognition but rather the endpoint of it. In order to recognise that a subject emerges also in didactic poetry, it has to be interpreted as a result of cognition, not as its prerequisite. With the exclusion of signification form cognition, the post-structuralist theory of the female act initiates the revision of subjectivity as an epistemological (rather than ontological) concept, but it has not elaborated a new epistemological perspective. The phenol-menology of Husserl and Merleau-Ponty provides a new model not only for cognition but also for subjectivity. In contrast with the traditional interpretation of intersubjectivity (defining it as a mere coordination and cooperation of pre-given subjects), Husserl regards it as the context of encountering the world.

Husserl (1982: 91) suggests that „I *experience* the world (including others) – and according to its experiential sense, *not* as (so to speak) my *private* synthetic formation but as other than mine alone [*mir fremde*], as an *intersubjective world*, actually there for everyone, accessible in respect of its Objects to everyone". When we experience the phenomena of the world, it becomes also a shared world which is able to be experienced by others too. The intentional consciousness of the other forms one part of the epistemic horizon of individual consciousness, otherwise we should disclaim the existence of a shared world, and we would run into the problem of solipsism.

Merleau-Ponty directs our attention to the significance of intersubjectivity (1992: 351–359): it does not only surround the individual thinking as a field of consciousness (i.e. it is not restricted to taking over the viewpoint of others), but it is also an important factor of perception itself. The individual cannot experience the world independently of the consciousness of the other: "there is given the tension of my experience towards another whose existence of the horizon of my life is beyond doubt, even when my knowledge of him is imperfect". According to phenomenology the notion of intersubjectivity is the ground of cognising the phenomenal world: we have to refuse both the epistemological dominance of the individual (which would lead to solipsism) and the early modern (romantic) notion of the subject as a quality of interiority.[2] As a consequence, the intersubjective interaction of teaching is not narrowed in my paper to verbal signification (reference) to the other, since every observation, perception and experience are *a priori* intersubjective acts of cognition. They presuppose the shared horizon of the teacher and the pupil. The subjectivity of participants can evolve on the ground of this shared horizon, without excluding the other, and without turning away from her/him. Sharing knowledge about the world requires performative acts, and these acts result in the evolving of subjectivity in the intersubjective context of the discourse.

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[2] The anthroposemiotic approach to literature also emphasizes the dialogic relations of the self with the world and with the other. The self is irreducible to a single referent. Instead of preserving the uniqueness of the individual, the anthroposemiotic theory considers the subjective identity as the product of a dialogue between the self and the world of the other, according to the Bakhtinian view (Taha, 2016: 440–441).

The investigation of genre as a performative construction becomes highly productive if the notion itself can be revised in a similar way. A traditional view of genre considers it (i) a device for categorising works of art, being secondary to them (Croce 1921); (ii) a result of the literary tradition, a device of generalisation in literary studies; (iii) a device of interpretation which is identifiable only at the end of a reading process (Fowler, 1982: 37–44). Following Alastair Fowler, I use the term "retroactive" for this traditional conception of genre, since it is secondary in the process of literary communication: secondary to the work of art, secondary to the tradition and secondary to the comprehension of a text. But in recent genre theory, a need has emerged for a "proactive" conception of genre (Fowler, 2003: 190), whithin which genre becomes the associative domain of sharing meanings, thus it can be seen as a possibility of construing new meanings in a discourse. Moreover genre is regarded as a virtual category (re)emerging in the process of text formation and text comprehension, thus it is a specific medium for the re-creation of literariness (Dimock, 2007: 1377–1380). In contemporary genre theory both the status and the function of genre are going through revision: genre theoretical studies emphasise the interaction between the reader and the work of art instead of the process of interpretation, and the notion of genre gains its importance in reconstructing our knowledge about the world, or at least in reorganising it.

In this paper I try to map the proactive aspect of genre through analysing the teaching process in didactic poetry. There are several criticisms about the poeticity of the genre (see Dalzell, 1996: 11–17, Volk, 2002: 2–40). In Antiquity – dating back to Aristotle – it was not recognised as poetry because of its non-mimetic character. In addition, a didactic poem communicates true facts about the world instead of imagination; therefore it was not regarded as art. In the romantic era the genre did not fit well in the triadic system of epic poetry, lyric poetry and drama, moreover it was regarded as communicating scientific facts, and not subjective emotions or states, thus its status as lyrical poetry became very peripheral. However, recent approaches no longer regard its mimetic nature or the interiority of the subject as defining features of the genre (see Volk, 2002). Rather, they highlight the role and the maintenance of a didactic persona and the need for constant interaction with the pupil, communicating a

didactic intention, as central to its functioning (Hardie, 2014). New tendencies in the reception of the genre focus on the interaction between teacher and pupil, consequently they foreground the intersubjective context of the didactic process.

From this interdisciplinary viewpoint I make an attempt to redefine the genre of didactic poetry through analyzing the teaching process as a dynamic configuration of cognition, the interaction between the participants of this process, and the verbal-poetic figuration of it. My central hypothesis is that the teaching processes in the analyzed poems arise through the pupil's involvement in the sharing of knowledge, i.e. through performative (experience-based) acts, and not through direct knowledge transmission. The process is based on the intersubjective horizon of cognition and not on the dominant position of the teacher. Since the acts of teaching are instantiated in linguistic structures, the figurative/poetic conventions of the genre can be considered the linguistic context of poeticising the didactic process. Consequently I assume that the genre-specific conventions of didactic poetry are related to the intersubjective acts of teaching, and they are explainable as the figuration of didaxis. The performative transmission of knowledge makes it possible for the didactic persona and for the pupil to form a shared world, to reflect on their position in it, hence to become subjects. However the development of subjects is based on the joint activity of teaching and learning, and not on the conscious process of narration, as the term of "didactic plot" (Fowler, 2000) would suggest.

## From Lucretius to Bessenyei – the matter and the method of the investigation

I analysed the structure and the process of didactic interaction in three texts. The first is the poem De rerum natura by Titus Lucretius Carus (On Nature, 55/49 B. C., cf. Lucretius, 1886; for the English translation, see Lucretius, 1903)[i], the classical model of the genre. I have chosen the ancient text with the expectation that if the proposed approach is relevant to the central member of the genre category, it will be extendable to other works. I have carried out the extension in two directions. On the one hand I have tried to widen the analysis in the historical time of literature, analysing verbal patterns of the didactic process in a modern text, namely in Die Metamorphose

der Pflanzen by Johann Wolfgang Goethe (The Metamorphosis of Plants, 1790, cf. Goethe, 1965; for an English translation, see Goethe, 2009)[ii]. On the other hand I have attempted to map the cultural diversity of the genre with the analysis of a Hungarian text, A Méltóság keserve (The Lament of Dignity, 1796, Bessenyei 1999)[iii] by György Bessenyei, which is a moralising didactic poem. The aim of the threefold analysis is to explore recurrent patterns of the didactic process in historically and culturally different poems, and to redefine the generic configuration on the basis of these patterns.

I performed a qualitative analysis for mapping and categorising the ways of teaching in the texts. For categorising the didactic acts I adopted the cognitive evolutionary model of teaching behaviour (Kline, 2015). This model defines teaching activity as a universal human behaviour, a social cognitive process with plural methodological repertoire. In the Western culture there is a formal model of teaching which emphasises the unidirectionality of the process, the hierarchical configuration of the interaction (in which the teacher is the source of the knowledge, and the pupil is a passive recipient). The formal model focuses on the verbal transmission of knowledge (through direct explanations) and on explicit instructions; whereas from a wider socio-cultural and cognitive perspective teaching activity is much more an adaptation evolved to facilitate learning in others. Therefore the evolutionary cognitive framework of teaching highlights the informal nature of teaching (which involves indirect, non-instructing methods), its action-based character and its functional orientation. The didactic process emerges from the interaction of minds, with the purpose of solving a problem together (e.g. performing a practical activity, or filling gaps in the knowledge system of the pupil). This approach thus directs our attention to the plurality of teaching: the applied social cognitive tasks and acts depend on and are adjusted to the problem waiting for solution.

The evolutionary cognitive model of teaching activity includes five different methods for knowledge transmission. These are presented in the table below.

| The name of the act | Motivation (adaptive problem) | Joint activity | Teachers contribution |
|---|---|---|---|
| Direct teaching | There are no relevant stimuli and the pupil lacks attention. | verbal instruction, direct and explicit transmission of knowledge | Active teaching<br>.<br>. |
| Evaluative feedback | The pupil may not attend to possible consequences. | positive feedback, reinforcement of appropriate behaviour, rejection of non-appropriate behaviour | .<br>.<br>.<br>.<br>.<br>.<br>. |
| Local enhancement | The pupil may not attend to the relevant stimulus. | pointing out the relevant stimuli, leading to discover or skill development | .<br>.<br>.<br>.<br>. |
| Opportunity provisioning | The pupil lacks the opportunity to undertake a task because it is too difficult or dangerous to explore independently. | creating opportunities for the pupil for practice, implementing a task together | .<br>.<br>Passive teaching |
| Social tolerance | The relevant stimuli are accessible, but the pupil does not have the knowledge or skill to undertake a task, s/he needs observing a model behaviour. | undertaking a task independently from the pupil, but not stopping the pupil's observation | |

Table 1 – Taxonomy of teaching adaptations (based on Kline, 2015: 6–8)

The socio-cognitive approach to teaching aligns knowledge transmitting acts along a multi-level scale. The main factor is the directness of teaching: in the process of direct active teaching the aim of the behaviour is to convey knowledge, whereas through more or less indirect teaching methods the purpose of the teacher is to carry out a task, which can facilitate learning in an indirect way. The activity of the teacher – i.e. her/his contribution to learning – varies in intensity and in quality: while in the case of direct teaching the didactic persona contributes actively to the explicit (verbal) formation of knowledge, teaching by social tolerance does not require a pupil-oriented activity, it is a problem solving act in the presence of the pupil. Thus in the latter

case the didactic persona is active, but not as a traditional teacher. We can observe the opposite from the pupil's point of view: by direct teaching the pupil is the passive receiver of the verbalised knowledge, while in the process of teaching by social tolerance the pupil is a passive actor, although an active observer, who reconstructs the solution of a problem for her/himself. Between the two endpoints of the scale there are different degrees of intensity in the participants' behaviour, regarding knowledge transmission or the problem solving activity.

The taxonomy makes it possible to throw new light upon the didactic process in the poems. I explored with the qualitative analysis what kinds of teaching adaptation have a significant role in didactic poetry, and how they are figured in language. In other words how the didactic process is poeticised, and how we can reconceptualise the notion of the genre on the grounds of the results. I hypothesised that in the analysed poems there would be both direct and indirect ways of teaching, making the didactic process an intersubjective interaction with joint actions.

## "[I] have resolved to set forth to you our doctrine in sweet-toned Pierian verse" – results of the analysis

Investigating the didactic interactions it attracts our attention immediately that the pupil's presence is explicated in the texts. By Lucretius the didactic persona makes this clear already in the first book: "I essay the pen on the nature of things for our son of the Memmii" ("ego de rerum natura pangere / conor Memmiadae nostro", I. 25–26)[iv]. By Goethe the didactic persona addresses his teaching to "my love" ("Geliebte", 1). The "Dignity" of the Hungarian author, György Bessenyei speaks in the foreword of the poem to the teachers and pupils of the country, then in the text the second person singular verb forms refer to the implicit presence of a pupil, e.g. "You must believe it; fortune reaches you at random" ("Hid el; a szerencse hozzád vaktában kap", XII. 1614). The social context of the didactic activity is obvious: the pupil is not mentioned with a proper name in all cases, but her / his physical and mental presence serves as the immediate context of the teacher's utterances. With the terms of Merleau-Ponty the presence of the pupil is beyond doubt, though the linguistic expression of this presence is subject to variation.

Moreover there are reflections on the joint activity as well as on the teaching-learning process in the poems. By Lucretius both of the subprocesses (i.e. teaching and learning) are foregrounded, for example: "Now mark and I will explain" ("expediam: tut e dictis praebere memento", II. 66). In Goethe's poem the teacher reflects on the joint attention scene of observing the plants: "Gaze on them as they grow, see how the plant / Burgeons by stages into flower and fruit" ("Werdend betrachte sie nun, wie nach und nach sich die Pflanze, / Stufenweise geführt, bildet zu Blüten und Frucht", 9–10). By Bessenyei the didactic persona explicates the joint activity with first person plural verbal forms: "Let us examine the era of men only in the nature, / how much power it can have in life?" ("Lássuk az Emberkort, tsak a Természetben / Mennyi hatalommal birhat az életben?", I. 133–134). Thus the didactic persona directs our attention in all three texts to the activity carried out jointly. The success of knowledge transmission is not ensured exclusively by the teacher; it requires the contribution of the pupil as well.

In what follows, each of the teaching adaptations occurred in the poems is demonstrated along the directness–indirectness scale, from the most direct ways of teaching to the most indirect ones.

### *Direct active teaching*

There are only a few examples of direct teaching by Lucretius and by Goethe. The teacher of the ancient text refers to his active teaching occasionally, and he gives instructions to the pupil: "That you may know how this comes to pass, first of all you must remember what we have said before" ("ut quibus id fiat rebus cognoscere possis, / principio meminisse decet quae diximus ante", IV. 642–643). In Goethe's poem there are direct explanations only at the end of the text, they serve as a summary or a conclusion of the interpretation of observed phenomena: "Think how our tender sentiments, unfolding, / Took now this form, now that, in swift succession!" ("Denke, wie mannigfach bald die, bald jene Gestalten, / Still entfaltend, Natur unser Gefühlen geliehn!", 75–76).

Compared to these two texts, the direct moral instructions are relatively frequent in the Hungarian poem, e.g.: "When nature says: it hurts, / regard it; and forego it in time, if it is possible. /

Evaluate the affairs of people fairly" ("A hol a Természet ezt sugdossa: hogy fáj, / Rá gondoly; s ha lehet jókor elibe álj.  /A köz Népnek ügyét, mérjed igazsággal", IV. 582–585).  It is remarkable that while in the ancient and in the modern poem the direct verbal instructions occur occasionally, in the Hungarian text there are several examples of it. One possible explanation is the topic of the didactic process: nature is observable, thus didactic poems about nature urge directing (joint) attention to it, and use direct explanation only for drawing conclusions. In contrast to nature, morality cannot be observed directly, it comes to light only through contemplation, consequently in a moral didactic poem, direct verbal instruction and explanation are presumably more frequent and elaborated in greater detail. As we can see, the central problem around which teaching activity is organised (and which waits for solution in the world of a poem) determines which teaching methods will be applied in the didactic process.

### Evaluative feedback

This adaptation is also an intended teaching activity of the didactic persona, but with it the teacher reflects not on the knowledge being transmitted but on the way of its transmission or the solution of a problem. Evaluative feedback is important in a didactic poem, for two reasons. On the one hand it presupposes the presence and the participation of the pupil (since this participation is evaluated in the teacher's feedback), hence it is based on the intersubjective configuration of teaching, and it refers to the mental context of the didactic process. On the other hand it presupposes the independent activity of the pupil, even if this activity is not foregrounded in the poems. Consequently the linguistic structures of evaluative feedback demonstrate that a didactic poem is not a self-sufficient utterance of a didactic persona, but it is a polyphonic or rather a multiperspectival representation of a complex and intersubjective didactic process.

We can find examples of evaluative feedback both in Lucretius's and in Goethe's poem. The teacher of the ancient text refers first of all to the negative attitude of Memmius towards exploring the truth from the observation of nature: "Then again what is that which strikes your mind, affects that mind and constrains it to give utterance to many different thoughts, to save you from believing that the sensible is begotten out of senseless things?" ("Tum porro quid id est, animum quod percutit, ipsum /

quod movet et varios sensus expromere cogit, / ex insensilibus ne credas sensile gigni?", II. 886–888). In contrast with this situation, Goethe's teacher encourages the independent observations and thinking of the pupil. He describes the successful learning process as follows: "And, once deciphered, the eternal law / Opens to thee, no matter what the guise" ("Aber entzifferst du hier der Göttin heilige Lettern, / Überall siehst du sie dann, auch in verändertem Zug.", 67–68).

Again, there is a considerable difference between the first two texts and the Hungarian poem: whereas direct instructions are frequent in the latter, there is no example of evaluative feedback. Maybe the reason for it is that the lack of an explicit addressee (remember that only the foreword mentions the addressee of the poem, in the text only the verbal inflections refer to other persons and to the pupil). Another reason may be the topic of the text: transmitting moral principles does not require special tasks undertaken independently by the disciple. The appropriate acts of ethical learning are silent contemplations; the success of such acts is not reflected upon or explicated by the teacher/Dignity in the poem.

### Local enhancement/teaching by stimuli

Obtaining knowledge depends to a great extent on the accessibility of stimuli from which the pupil can infer deeper relations. From a phenomenological perspective the horizon of intersubjectivity is not a mere virtuality or potentiality in the course of making the stimuli accessible: the didactic persona trying to build a shared phenomenal world on this horizon with her/his acts of local enhancement. Developing a shared world requires not only approaching the individual point of view to another one, but rather a common perspective from which the phenomena become accessible and comprehensible as parts of a shared world.

In the analysed texts the didactic personae use different linguistic structures to make the relevant stimuli accessible to the pupil. First of all explicit ostension, i.e. direct pointing to the phenomenon with linguistic (mainly deictic) structures, directs the pupil's attention. In the text world of the ancient poem the relevant stimuli are all around the participants of the discourse: "Of this truth, which I am telling, we have a representation and picture always going on before our eyes and present to us"

("cuius, uti memoro, rei simulacrum et imago/ante oculos semper nois versatur et instat", II. 113–114). The modern German text shows examples of the prototypical  pronominal deixis as verbal ostension: "Artless the shape that first bursts into lights – / The plant-child, like unto the human kind –" ("Aber einfach bleibt die Gestalt der ersten Erscheinung; / Und <u>so</u> bezeichnet sich auch unter der Pflanzen das Kind", 21–22); "In intimacy they stand, the tender pairs," ("Traulich stehen sie <u>nun</u>, di holden Paare, beisammen", 53)[3]. By Bessenyei neither the reflected present, nor the pronominal deictic structures occur as ostensions, however the nominal structures function as pointing out the important phenomena of the world. Thus there are nominal ostensions in the Hungarian text, which make the phenomena brought to mind observable in the present: "Awkward Memories! Oh the field of Pharsal, / where the force of this world combatted with itself, / thousands of people died <u>here</u> in a change!" ("Kinos Emlékezet! Ó Fársál mezeje / Hol magával küszdöt e Világ ereje, / Tiz, husz ezer hullot <u>it</u> egy fordulással!", II. 305–308; also the proximal demonstrative pronoun shows the presence of the recalled phenomena).

Besides pointing out the physical context of the didactic situation there are some other traditional rhetorical figures in the texts, such as detailed parables, declarations and rhetorical questions. These figures were interpreted in the theoretical reception of the genre as properties of the epic (see Dalzell, 1996: 22). However, they can be regarded as techniques of the adaptation of local enhancement. An example from Lucretius is the following: "Throughout moreover these very verses of ours you see many elements common to many words, one with another are different and composed of different elements" ("quin etiam passim nostris in versibus ipsis/multa elementa vides multis communia verbis, / cum tamen inter se versus ac verba necesse est/confiteare alia ex aliis constare elementis", II. 687–690). Bessenyei uses the second person singular declarations (in present tense) to demonstrate the relevant stimuli for the pupil: "You cook the pieces of the venison, / and you suck the blood of animals." ("A vadaknak egybe darabolt testeket, / Sütöd, fözöd szitán belöllök véreket.", II. 225–226). In

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[3] It is worth mentioning that the English translation does not convey the original linguistic structures, i.e. the pronominal deictic ones. I have marked the relevant pieces of the original text with underlining in the citation.

the Hungarian poem also the traditional figures of contradiction and rhetorical question serve as indicating important phenomena for inference: "Royal Reason: Freedom of the Nation; / Smart Minds: Natural Barbarity" ("Királyi Értelem: Nemzeti Szabadság; / Tekervényes Elmék: természeti vadság", IV. 744–745), and "Where did you see a crow, which had left / and lost its chicks in its nest", VIII. 1088–1089).

### *Opportunity provisioning*

The parabolic sentences have more than one function in the didactic process: the teacher can use them not only to focus on the relevant phenomena, but also to initiate an independent action of the pupil. As an example, the didactic persona of Lucretius details in the first thirteen lines of the second book the perspective of a viewer who witnesses a sea accident, but without becoming a victim of it. Imagining this situation can lead the pupil to the experience of ataraxy (the state of serene calmness), which cannot be explained directly and successfully by the teacher. We can encounter such parables by Bessenyei too which make the individual inference and the contemplation of the pupil possible. e.g.: "But man is born in his morality, / like a tree yields sour and sweet fruits. / Two children descend from / the same mother and father, /one of them is honest, but the other is cruel" ("De az Ember tsak ugy terem erköltsében, / Mint a fa savanyu; 's édes gyümöltsében. / Két gyermek egy édes anyának méhébül, / Származik egy atya; és anya vérébül. / E' szeléd, és igaz; de amaz kegyetlen", VIII. 994–998). Thus parables as rhetorical figures stimulate not only the perception and the attention of the pupil, but also her/his independent and self-executed activities of inference, contemplation, decision and gaining experience from them.

We can also find explicit verbal encouragements in the analysed texts. In the ancient poem the didactic persona believes in the success of the disciple exploring the relations of nature him/herself: "these slight footprints are enough for a keen-searching mind to enable you by yourself to find out all the rest" ("verum animo satis haec vestigia parva sagaci / sunt per quae possis cognoscere cetera tute", I. 401–403). This pattern of belief can also be found in Goethe's poem: "None but must marvel as the blossom stirs / Above the slender framework of its leaves" ("Immer <u>staunst du </u>aufs neue, sobald sich am Stengel die Blume /

Über dem Schlanken Gerüst wechselnder  Blätter bewegt",
47–48).

As examples of evaluative feedback are absent from the
Hungarian text, there are no explicit forms of opportunity
provisioning. In Bessenyei's poem the didactic persona does not
reflect on the independent learning activity of the pupil (though
his teaching obviously assumes it). Nevertheless the rhetorical
questions (e.g. "Can she give shelter for her crying child? / Can
she be an instrument for help?", "Adhat é védelmet siró
gyermekének? / Lehet é eszköze már segedelmének?", I. 35–36),
the question-answer pairs (e.g. "What you  like is right, isn't it? /
Always the others are coward and weak", "Ami néked tettzik, ugy
é, hejes dolog? / Gyávaság, gyengeség, mind másokon forog", IX.
1190–1191), moreover the constructions containing a general
subject (e.g. "Thus man can sometimes see in the darkness / by
reasoning deeply  and seeing blindly!... / Like the astronomer,
who judges from the stars / the destiny of mankind", "Igy az
Ember néha méjjen okoskodván / Jól néz a setétben, látva
vakoskodván!.. / Mint az Ég visgáló, ki tsillagból nézi, / Hogy az
Ember sorsát mely felé intézi", V. 726–729) are used for initiating
the independent thinking of the pupil about the phenomena of
the world, and for evaluating the morality of the examples on
her/his own.

At this point I have to add two considerations to the
analysis. As we come close to the indirect endpoint of the didactic
repertoire, the categories become blurred at the edges. In other
words, the more indirect a teaching method (i.e. the more it
stimulates the learning process of the pupil), the more
multifunctional it is. For instance we can analyze a detailed
parable as a device of directing joint attention to a stimulus, but it
can also be interpreted as prompting the pupil to make an
inference or to reach an experience. My assumption is that
teaching by stimuli aims at establishing a shared world of
phenomena, whereas opportunity provisioning has the purpose
of having this shared world interiorised by the pupil. In the
former case it is the intersubjective horizon of cognition which
extends to more and more situations and experiences. In the
latter a new individual horizon develops on the basis of shared
"reality", resulting in an enhanced level of subject formation.

On the other hand the indirect methods of teaching seem to
correlate with the epic features of the genre. These epic poetic

devices (parables, similes, digression and so on) are the chain-links which bind didactic poetry to the heroic poem in the process of canonisation. Approaching the genre from the perspective of cognition (exploring the verbal patterns of teaching and learning behavior) opens up new possibilities in explaining genre-specific poetic structures without pressing the genre into an evaluation system with the epic poem in its centre.

### Social tolerance

There is an obvious correlation between indirectness of teaching and poeticity in the category of teaching by social tolerance. It is the most indirect kind of teaching behaviour, in which verbal activity is carried out by the teacher alone. However, the teacher does not separate his words formally from the intersubjective process engaging the pupil, consequently we can assume that the didactic persona acts in the presence of the pupil, tolerating that presence, as it were, and offering a model for successful action. Identifying acts of social tolerance in didactic poems is based on the assumption that there is no rigid line between jointly executed acts and individual acts of the pupil and the teacher.

The most archetypal instantiation of social tolerance in didactic poetry is invocation: the learned person asks a personified higher force for help, s/he apostrophises it with the aim of letting the disciple into the sources of knowledge. There are several invocations in the ancient poem on nature: to Venus (I. 1–24), to the gods (II. 1089–1100), to Epicurus (III. 1–30), and as we can see, they occur at different points in the text, from which it follows that the teacher continuously makes an effort to serve as a model in gaining support from the higher forces, which is the key to successful learning. Similar invocations can be observed in the Hungarian poem, where social tolerance is manifested verbally with first person plural verb forms: "Law, Truth! Human Reason! / Incomprehensible Force! Weak Help! / When can we see your secret paths, / when will disperse the fog covering the world! / God, I sink into your eternal depth" ("Ó törvény; Igazság! Emberi Értelem! / Érthetetlen erő!. gyenge segedelem! / Titkos ösvényidet mikor láthattyuk meg / Mely it borit mikor oszlik el a felleg! / Isten el süllyedek örök mélységedben", II. 335–339).

The act of social tolerance also has a specific but frequent verbal manifestation in the analysed poems: it is the teacher's independent train of thought. It seems to be a sort of implicit argumentation on the didactic persona's behalf. An example from Lucretius: "This question therefore should be asked of this speaker, what there is in it so passing bitter, if it come in the end to sleep and rest, that any one should pine in never-ending sorrow" ("illud ab hoc igitur quarendum est, quid sit amari / tanto opere, ad somnum si res redit atque quietem, cur quisquam aeterno possit tabescere luctu", III. 909–911). It is the observation of nature which dominates the didactic situation in the poem by Goethe; therefore the expressions of the teacher's subjective perceptions, comments and reflections can be regarded as models for speaking authentically about nature: "The wealth of shape and structure shown in succulent surface" ("Viel gerippt und gezackt, auf mastig strotzender Fläche", 31), or another example: "A wondrous growth. Enchanted is the eye" ("ein Wundergebild zieht den Betrachtenden an", 40). In Bessenyei's text we can find interesting examples for an apostrophic turn to the whole community, and not to one personified figure. The didactic persona talks to the citizens of the country, and serves as a model for forming correct moral judgments and critique: "You are human bugs: foolish monkeys, / What is the true reason of  hunting each other? / You are headed for death ever and ever, / You toss and tumble in the waves of emotion." ("Ti Ember bogarak: nevetséges majmok,/Mi hát üldözésre bennetek igaz ok?/Egyre, másra mentek, a halálra vakon,/Egy formán hánkódtok, az indulatokon.", IX. 1262–1265).

The functional perspective on teaching behavior, which foregrounds the intersubjective coordination of minds, provides a productive framework for analysing didactic poetry. It regards the didactic process as including rich and various acts of facilitating learning. Moreover the applied cognitive model directs attention to the linguistic manifestation of teaching activity, explaining genre-specific poetic features as special (and artistic) devices of knowledge transmission. Hence the cognitive point of view makes the poeticisation of the didactic process visible and analysable. In the following section I propose a new model of the genre of didactic poetry on these grounds.

**"All this I will tell in sweetly worded rather than in many verses" – The poeticity of didactic poetry**

Although I have not yet embarked on quantitative investigations about the frequency of teaching adaptations, the qualitative study has an important result already in the present phase: the indirectness of knowledge transmission obviously dominates the didactic process in the poems. It has varied patterns of verbalisation, it displays more diversity than direct (instruction based) teaching. As a consequence it is not the continuous presence of the didactic persona which makes a poem didactic, but the continuous (re)construing of a didactic situation through the acts of teaching. It is based both on the activity of the teacher and on the contribution of the pupil (ranging from mere presence and attention to the implied or reflected-upon and evaluated exploring activity). Thus the cognitive architecture of teaching is the core structure of the genre, and poeticisation of the didactic process seems to be essential in the analysed poems. It cannot be narrowed either to the textual presence of one or two persons (though this presence is highly important in developing a common, intersubjectively shared world of phenomena), or to the figurative linguistic structures (regarded as the elements of the epic or of the rhetorical tradition).

The latter conventions are the devices of poeticising everyday knowledge transmission: apostrophic invocations serve as acts of social tolerance; epic digressions, parables provide opportunity to the pupil for carrying out a mental act alone (or for following the initiated thoughts independently); similes, figures, rhetorical questions make access to the relevant stimuli possible. And metaphorical, allegorical structures "sweeten the pill" of difficult learning material (like honey on the rim of the glass symbolising the poetic mode of explanation by Lucretius [I. 930–944], or the motif of light symbolising the disciple's initiation into the Epicurean explanation of nature [I. 130–139, see Volk, 2002: 92]; the cyclic renewal of nature to the observing gaze in Goethe's poem [59–62, 77–80]; or the firm morality which helps the pupil escape from "the Labyrinth of the Mind" as Ariadne's thread in Bessenyei's text [in the Foreword]). These all reflect on the development of the didactic process, and are clear indications of a conscious and intended poeticisation of teaching. If we approach the texts from an interdisciplinary point of view (adopting the cognitive model of teaching behaviour), and

attempt to explain the linguistic patterns of the didactic process not as specific realisations of a narrative structure, but as the verbal configuration of intersubjective knowledge transmission, we can recognise that the poeticisation of teaching is not governed only by the demand of conforming to a set of epic conventions. More important is the motivation to increase the effectiveness of the didactic process, making the coordination of minds more productive and successful, and stimulating the joint conceptualisation of a shared world of phenomena. Thus the genre represents conscious teaching and conscious poetry as well, with the purpose of performing the intersubjective act of establishing a shared knowledge of the world in the indirect, temporally and spatially distant discourse of literature.

It is obvious from the results and their discussion that didacticity and poeticity presuppose each other in didactic poetry, and the former does not degrade the latter. The context of teaching grounds the figuration of the actual knowledge transmission (the development of a didactic process through poetic structures) as a cognitive situation. If we consider the type of knowledge transmitted in the analysed poems (atomic philosophy, the secret laws of nature, the moral responsibility of a statesman) it can be recognised that the didactic personae of the works do not want to transmit factual information. Instead, and contrary to the Aristotelian critique on the non-fictional and non-mimetic nature of the genre, they try to establish an ability (tekhné) with which the disciple comes to be able to understand and interpret the new (not yet seen) phenomena of the world. The teachers of the poems would like to share a worldview, a new perspective with the active contribution of the pupil. As a consequence of the proposed theoretical reorientation, it is worth questioning the rhetorical point of view in the analysis of didactic poetry (Marković, 2008: 9–10), which considers the teacher and the pupil as static rhetorical positions (with an act of persuasion in the centre of attention). In a cognitive framework, the didactic persona and the disciple are both participants of the didactic process construed dynamically in the development of the situation. They continually create and re-create their roles and positions in relation to each other. Hence the didactic process is not equal to the passive takeover of knowledge: according to Don Fowler it is the active "hunting down the truth in the following in the teacher's footsteps" (Fowler, 2000: 210).

Thus the aforementioned stability of the didactic persona as a genre-specific feature of the poems is rooted in the didactic process. Maintenance of the figure of the didactic persona is the superficial result of the dynamic development of teaching activity. Insofar as we model the process as a narrative plot (according to Don Fowler, 2000), we can argue that the teacher is a narrating subject who gains her/his figure and stability in the course of narrating the secret laws. Nonetheless, the narrative approach to didactic poetry (according to which the genre belongs to the epic poetry) does not take the figure of the disciple into consideration. Moreover it cannot face up to the intersubjectivity of the didactic process. While the narrative model of the genre implies the presence of the pupil (since, whether explicitly or not, it is the pupil for whom the narration proceeds), the vantage point of the formation of a subject as a narrative self is not the intersubjectivity of cognition but the individual and mentalistic process of it. Interpreting the didactic process as a plot presupposes an *a priori* knowledge: from this perspective the teaching activity seems to be the verbalisation of this knowledge for others, and not the joint construal of a shared world.

Therefore on the grounds of the analyses I propose that the essential characteristic of the genre is the active development of a knowledge or a skill and the involvement of the disciple in it. In this approach the pupil moves into the centre of attention: s/he is faced with an unfamiliar or strange experience of the world, and reorganises her/his knowledge as a result of that experience. In the process of learning, the impressions which seem chaotic at first give rise to an arranged pattern of phenomena, which causes the development of a cognising subject in the intersubjectively shared horizon of cognition.[4] It is not accidental that the analysed

[4] Psychoanalysis and the phenomenological theory of the subject use the notion of traumatic (or traumatised) subjectivity to refer to those structures of identity which are based on the event of encountering the alterity, an event that is at once proper and inproper (Bernet, 2000, Jarosi 2008). In didactic poetry the disciple recognizes a new worldview and new phenomena of the world, s/he creates a new vantage point of cognition, which can be a traumatising experience for her/him. We can find for example several reflections in the ancient poem on the negative attitude of Memmius toward the tenets of atomism. These reflections are not only the evaluative feedbacks of the didactic persona. They refer to the ongoing process of the formation of a trauamtic subject. It follows from these remarks that the cognitive approach to

poems refer to the state of knowing with the metaphors of seeing and with the verbal acts of ordering, since the didactic persona also rearranges (and not only expresses) his own knowledge during teaching. Thus we can assume another formation of a subject, namely that of the teacher, which goes hand in hand with the progress of the pupil in learning. The two processes of developing a cognising subject are not only parallel but also interrelated: the transmission of knowledge results not only in the intersubjectively shared world of phenomena, but also in the subjective perspectives being authentic in the shared world.

## Conclusion

In this paper I attempted to reinterpret the notion of genre as the context of human cognition through analyzing the reoccurring patterns of teaching in didactic poems. It seems to be characteristic of the investigated genre that the participants of the didactic process are engaged in reconstructing the relationship between the world and in cognising through coordinating their vantage points in the intersubjective context of cognition. The linguistic and poetic structures (e.g. pronominal deixis, expressions of intentionality directed at another mind, the apostrophic acts and the rhetorical, figurative devices) gain their significance in the didactic process: they are tools for poeticising teaching, making it not only enjoyable, but also more effective. The traditional approach to the poetic form of teaching regards genre-specific conventions as the apparatus for making learning easier. For instance it is a quite widespread argumentation (see Marković, 2008: 26–27) that the hexametric form of a didactic poem helps the pupil memorise the body of knowledge explained by the didactic persona. However, beside the direct techniques of explanation (imagination) and memorisation (rhythm) of important knowledge, the main purpose of the poetic formation is to provide opportunity for the pupil's activity and to involve her/him (and the reader as well) into the didactic process.

Thus the genre of didactic poetry is neither a categorising device, nor the peripheral instantiation of epic poetry, but a specific niche for human cognition (Spolsky, 2015: xxi–xxiii) which calls the writer and the reader to reconstruct their

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the genre, which emphasizes the intersubjectivity of teaching and learning, can adopt the concept of traumatic subject instead of the narrative self.

knowledge of the world.[5] The new, proactive theory of genre should build on the conception of genre as the culturally created context of human cognition. This cognition presupposes the horizon of intersubjectivity as the ground of establishing a subjective attitude toward the world. And didactic poetry draws on both the human evolutionary skill to facilitate learning in others (teaching adaptations) and the human-specific cultural artefact of literature to improving the mental construal of the world.

## Acknowledgements

## Notes

[i] For citing the ancient poem I used an early English edition and an early English (prosaic) translation, since the latter renders the meaning of the Latin expressions more accurately.

[ii] For citing Goethe's work I used a German edition and a recent English translation of it.

[iii] For citing the poem by Bessenyei I used a Hungarian edition. The English translations are mine.

[iv] The Roman numerals refer to the book/chapter of the poem. The Arabic numerals refer to the line in the book/chapter. As Goethe's poem is not divided into books/chapters, in this case I use only Arabic numerals.

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[5] As Ibrahim Taha makes it clear (Taha, 2016: 442), the main process of literature is reconstructing (or with his term: remodeling) the norms: „Literature is a new way of texting the existing texts." Genre has a central singificance in the remodeling processes of literature, consequently a proactive genre theory can contribute to inderdisciplinary dialogue between the evolutionary study of literature, the anthroposemiotical view of meaning creation and cognitive poetics.

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# WHEN THE PERSONAL BECOMES COLLECTIVE:
## A STUDY OF AN ACTIVIST'S MEMOIR

*Abstract:* This paper examines the posthumous memoir of a notable Egyptian woman, Inji Aflatoun (1924-1989), a nationally and internationally recognised painter, a feminist and a political activist, who lived during a time of turbulence and change in the history of modern Egypt. The paper takes advantage of the liberty and skepticism offered by the school of New Historicism to present an alternative reading of rich and debatable periods in Egypt's modern history by critically examining Aflatoun's documentation of her role in the political and artistic life of Egypt and the Egyptian feminist movement. Thus it presents a reading of her memoir as a sub-text that highlights and at times deconstructs the official discourse regarding certain known, unknown or ignored events and characters. In examining Aflatoun's memoir, the focus is on three interrelated and parallel parts: her political activism through her role in the national resistance and the Marxist underworld, her social activism through her involvement in the feminist movement, and finally her art as a form of both social and political resistance.

*Keywords*: memoir, New Historicism, Inji Aflatoun, Egyptian modern history, Egyptian feminist movement, political activism.

## Introduction

A memoir is a personal record of certain experiences, touchstone events or turning points, whether public or private, in its writer's life and the way he/she remembers and reflects on them. Hence, unlike biographies or autobiographies which tell the whole life story of a person, memoirs tend to be more selective. Judith Barrington remarks, "Rather than simply telling a story from her life, the memoirist both tells the story and muses upon it, trying to unravel what it means in the light of her current knowledge" (20). When the reflected upon story includes unknown events or figures that contribute to our understating of our past and present, and offers other versions of history; here the personal becomes collective and deserves a critical analysis. In a postmodern world, we are encouraged to examine such

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stories even when they are written by the Other, the marginalised, or those who have been in conflict with, and as such disapproved of, by the powerful. This seems in line with Terry Eagleton's summing up of postmodernism as "a style of thought which is suspicious of classical notions of truth, reason, identity and objectivity, of single frameworks, grand narratives or ultimate grounds of explanation" (vii.).

This suspiciousness of classical and unified notions of truth and grand narratives, especially when related to historical narratives, can be no better practised than through the school of New Historicism, which in light of Eagleton's statement, can be seen as a form of postmodernist thought. For in interpreting history, it refuses a totalising explanation and denies the objectivity and factualness of writing and analysing it, thus differing from old or "earlier historicism [which] tends to be monological; that is, it is concerned with discovering a single political vision, usually identical to that said to be held by the entire literate class or indeed the entire population...." (Greenblatt 2253) Consequently, through the lens of New Historicism, we have a plurality of historical voices, giving us other versions and interpretations of history. So instead of reading solely the official records of the victorious and the powerful or what may be termed a master-narrative, we have alternative histories or hidden and disturbing sub-texts that often fill the gap of the unrecorded and the untold.

From this perspective, this paper examines the memoir of a notable Egyptian woman, Inji Aflatoun (1924-1989), a nationally and internationally recognised painter, a feminist and a political activist. She lived during a time of turbulence and change in the history of modern Egypt, stood on the side of the opposition, was never favored by the existing regimes and paid a high price when imprisoned for four years, from June 1959 until July 1963. Aflatoun's posthumous memoir, Min al Tefoula Ila al Sijn or From Childhood to Prison, came out first in 1993 and then in a revised edition in 2014[1].

In analysing Aflatoun's work, this paper will discuss briefly her rebellious character and the elements shaping it. It will not present a New Historicist study of her text, but rather take advantage of the liberty and skepticism offered by New Historicism to read this valuable document as a sub-text that highlights and at times deconstructs the official discourse

regarding certain known, unknown or ignored events and characters; thus presenting an alternative reading of very rich and debatable periods in Egypt's modern history. To do so, the paper will highlight some of these events and critically examine Aflatoun's documentation of her role in the political and artistic life of Egypt and the feminist movement in the forties and fifties as a way of reading them from a different perspective. She was intensely involved in all these fields and fully committed to them. Said Khaial, Aflatoun's friend and the editor of her memoir, notes: "Her memoir does not simply tell a life story. When the I or rather the ego melts in the society and the person sides totally with the masses, then the life story becomes patriotic, social, popular and humanistic; and that was Inji Aflatoun" (27)[2].

## From Childhood to Prison

We can see in this memoir three interrelated and parallel parts: Aflatoun's political activism through her role in the national resistance and the Marxist underworld, her social activism through her involvement in the feminist movement, and finally her art as a form of both social and political resistance[3]. She lived through two different eras and regimes. From 1944 (the beginning of her activism) to 1952, Egypt was a kingdom under British occupation and from 1952 until 1963, where her memoir stops, the country had turned into a republic and achieved independence. The text shows her life as one of endless struggle, a life,

> "...marked with phases of colour, agony and rebellion that contributed to her groundbreaking artwork. Passing from a privileged upbringing to socialist activism, to fighting for women's rights, and to surrealist artwork that relayed her dreams and fears, to compelling expressionist masterpieces painted in prison, to colourful depictions of workers, Efflatoun's life and art were all about change – all about revolution" (Elkamel).

This rebellious character was created and shaped by different elements. One is Aflatoun's strong mother who was only 19 years old when she insisted on getting a divorce from her husband, and then had a life and a home of her own when she achieved financial independence by becoming the first Egyptian fashion designer. The Sacré-Cœur School, famous for its rigidity, contributed to Aflatoun's rebelliousness. It not only shaped her

feminist character, but also made her indignant of injustice and segregation and aware of her national identity. Hence, she resisted the list of forbidden things, including reading a novel banned by the school administration, as it celebrates freedom, and criticised the girls' bragging of speaking in French while disdaining their own language. Contemplating on her experience at this school, she writes: "I realised … at the age of twelve that rebellion is a must to stand up against the injustice inflicted on me, and I decided to start. Here I can … say that rebellion will be the feature that will characterise the rest of my life" (40). Aflatoun was victorious in her first battle and moved to the Lycée Français, where, she studied and was deeply influenced by the writings of the great pre French Revolution thinkers, Rousseau, Voltaire and others.

One more influence was art; she reflects on a turning point in her life, meeting with the untraditional painter and filmmaker Kamel el-Tilmisani (1917-1972). He introduced her to "Art and Freedom," a group of surrealist and experimental artists founded in 1939 by the writer George Henein (1914-1973). They held different exhibitions and discussed many causes in literature, art and politics. She describes El-Tilmisani as "one of the most notable artists of the generation of the forties and the most daring;" his "bewitching" tutorials opened: "a magic window on life and the true Egypt. …. For painting is but a true expression of the society and the self. …. He asked me to forget all the rigid academic rules. His lessons were open lectures about the history of art and humanity across the ages, highlighting the struggle of man for progress" (44).  Meanwhile, Aflatoun got hold of Marxist books and pamphlets which raised such issues as poverty, class division, woman abuse under Capitalism, colonisation and liberation. They made her "consciously choose to move from the rich's camp to the poor's" (47). Later, she refused to join any of the famous studios or art colleges abroad and would rather work hard on rooting herself into the Egyptian soil and society, which she refers to as "a long and hard process of Egyptianising myself" (47-8), or, to quote Anneka Lenssen "a lifelong struggle to forsake the haute bourgeoisie of her upbringing in solidarity with Egypt's dispossessed classes" (85).

Having decided to adopt Marxism, she wholeheartedly got involved in public work and the secret political underworld, joining different Marxist parties, Askra in 1944, then Hedetu and

finally the Egyptian Communist Party. Aflatoun recounts personal stories regarding her moving from one party to the other and her ascension to leading positions in the Central Communist Committee. She also reveals hers and her husband's suspicion of Hedetu's blind support of what she calls the Officers' Movement in July 1952, which deposed the king and assumed leadership of Egypt, even after the execution of Khamis and Al-Baqary, two workers who led the strike of Kafr Al-Dawar factories. One wonders is she hinting at possible ulterior motives? She also speaks of some unknown Marxist parties, refers to their secret publications (such as "Al-Raya," the Flag, which condemned Nasser's bloody regime), and mentions some unheard of incidents like the one related to the true identity of the Secretary of the Communist Party, whose fake name was Comrade Khaled. For years the secret police could not know his real name, which Aflatoun reveals as Fouad Morsi. They knew about him only in 1958 when, she remarks, unfortunately the communist parties united (134).

Aflatoun's memoir reveals her busy life during the two different regimes she witnessed. It abounds with a great number of political and social incidents and events (often intertwined), of national and international conferences she took part in, demonstrations she organised, and committees she formed and participated in. Holding or attending such functions was never an easy job, as they were always resisted by the authority. Besides, she always had some kind of an inside story with almost each of these events, some of which are unknown or hardly highlighted in official records and other documents; whereas some deconstruct and contradict the "master-narratives". However, one needs to read her story or sub text with caution and a critical eye; for Aflatoun's Marxist beliefs and biases are evident in the language she uses and the judgment she makes of the people she met or worked with. She praises and highlights the role played by her comrades, often speaks of their progressive ideas implying a hidden contrast with the regressive ones of other groups. Most of the characters praised are socialists, communists or radicals. Once she refers to the communists as "the most active and honest elements of the patriotic elements," a biased overstatement (136).

**Conferences, committees and demonstrations**

The memoir introduces us to numerous conferences, like the first International Student Conference in 1946 and the International Youth Festival in Prague in 1947, their recommendations and the Egyptian authority's "stupid" action of sending the conference committee a letter warning them against the Egyptians attending it and giving their description as if they were outlawed. Two other conferences were held in Vienna and Rome in November 1951 for the cause of world peace, which she and the Egyptian delegation associated with the Egyptian cause of independence. Attending these conferences was due to her forming, along with the notable feminist, Siza Nabrawy (1897-1985), and other activists and feminists, the Egyptian Peace Committee in 1951. She speaks of the magazine they issued, The Writer and the statement they signed with a number of intellectuals calling for world peace. They were arrested, interrogated and a newspaper campaign started against them both at home and abroad, accusing them of a hidden Marxist agenda. She attended the same conferences in 1956, during the Nasser Regime to explain to the world his decision to confiscate the Suez Canal. On her return to Egypt, she sent Nasser a copy of the proceeding of a press conference in Rome and he answered back with a thank you letter! Ironically, when she wanted to go to the 1958 Vienna conference, the regime would not allow her since her help was not needed anymore.

The text also gives its documentation of different committees, like the National Committee of the Workers and Students, founded in 1946 and often regarded as "the most prominent of the student committees" in Egypt (Abdalla 66 & Aflatoun 74-6). It was an excellent example of the cooperation of nationalists with different ideologies and, for the first time, women managed to earn leading positions through election. Latifa Al-Zayyat (1923-1996), a leading member in this committee, speaks about it in her autobiography The Search (1992). Like Aflatoun, she mentions the tragic Abbas Bridge incident of 1946, but where Al-Zayyat speaks of a number of people killed in it, Aflatoun speaks only of the wounded. In fact, this is one of the debated historical incidents in modern Egypt since other activists and historians deny any killed number of people and mention that eighty-four were injured (see Abdalla 64)[4].

During the two different historical eras she lived through, Aflatoun supported, and thus her text partly documents, the popular militant resistance first against the British troops in 1951, and then during the Tripartite Aggression of England, France and Israel in 1956. Formal records do not mention the Popular Committees of Women Resistance she formed with Nabrawy in Cairo and different parts of Egypt. Aflatoun particularly highlights the successful role played by her Al-Jamaleya committee and other ones such as Giza's and Shebeen Al-Kom's presided by another famous activist, Wedad Mitry[5]. Another important committee, though temporary, was the one created during the 1956 election to make the women aware of their rights to vote (148).

She also speaks of different demonstrations, some of which are known such as the above mentioned Abbas Bridge, and others are hardly mentioned in history books and records. A notable demonstration was organised on 14 November 1951, known as the Martyrs' Day. It was made up of thousands of women of different generations, classes, education and ideologies. An artistic group, "The Voice of Art" contributed with paintings and posters. The outcome of this demonstration and its strong emotional impact on Aflatoun, the artist, was a painting she titled, "No, we will not forget" (118-9). She also has the courage to speak of, and not be discouraged by, the failure of a demonstration she organised with some leftist women on 21 February 1948. She thought they would attract the public and the police would not attack them for being women. But she was wrong in her two assumptions, and the police hit brutally some women demonstrators. Aflatoun's memoir also deconstructs the official narrative regarding another demonstration, which was a protest against the execution verdict issued against the icon of Algerian resistance, Djamila Bouhired. The demo started from Al-Tahrir Square in Cairo and was supposed to reach the UN office, located in a nearby district. Yet, the police violently dispersed them. Ironically, the official discourse represented by the government's newspaper, Al-Ahram, was a headline hailing this demonstration and claiming that it marched to the UN office, making no reference to police brutality (162-3).

She also gives her own analysis of certain debatable historical incidents, such as the Cairo Fire on 26 January 1952, which still remains a mystery. She believes that the strong

popular awakening – evident in the successful Martyrs' Day demonstration and the militant resistance in the Canal area - was so threatening to the colonial forces and the ruling regime that they led to the Fire. For Aflatoun's memoir suggests that the secret (political) police and the Palace might be behind it because the King did not listen to the appeal of his Minister of Interior Affairs to ask the army to go down to the street until it was too late. This was followed by a huge police campaign ( never mentioned in official records or known to many); it arrested hundreds of Feda'yeen (militant resistants) and "progressive leftists," thus the Fire of Cairo led to breaking the resistance in the Canal area and clipping the wings of the national and popular movement (121). Aflatoun also sums up in one paragraph the Nasser regime. She described it as inflicted with "a chronic and dangerous disease, lacking trust in the people and fearing any form of independence by the popular associations and professional syndicates" (168). She believed that this disease caused the regime's gradual disintegration, leading later to further serious blows, possibly hinting at the 1967 defeat of the Egyptian army by Israel, known as Nakba.

**The Feminist Movement**

Documenting the political scene in Egypt and her role in it during the forties and fifties, Aflatoun reveals in her memoir the intertwining of the political and social acts as well as the initiatives and leadership assumed by her and other women. Thus alongside her political struggle, Aflatoun's text documents part of the Egyptian feminist movement. She expresses her indignation at the humiliating position of the Egyptian woman, being abused both at home and work, and gives her own survey and testimony of the existing feminist parties at that time. She shows how the activities of the first Egyptian feminist association, the EFU (Egyptian Feminist Union) declined, especially after the death of its founder, Huda Sha'rawy in 1947 and speaks particularly about the Feminist Party, established by Fatma Nemat Rashed in 1942, and Bent Al-Nil, Daughter of the Nile, founded by Doreya Shafiq. She finds the program of the former the most progressive, as it called for the full political and social rights of women. Yet, colored by her leftist ideologies, Aflatoun was not satisfied with the existing feminist parties. Hence, she joined a woman's committee that comprised of female

Marxists such as Soraya Adham and Latifa Al-Zayyat whose autobiography never mentions any of the details discussed by Aflatoun, which makes the latter's book important in shedding the light on unknown aspects of other Egyptian activists' lives.

These same women later founded the Association of the Girls of the Egyptian University and Institutes in 1945, and Aflatoun documents their first important activity, participating in the first international feminist conference held in Paris after World War II. It resulted in the formation of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF),"the largest and probably most influential international women's organisation of the post-1945 era" though "still relatively unknown [even] among Western feminist historians" (de Haan). That Federation, we learn from the memoir, would play an important role in supporting Egypt during and after the Tripartite Aggression and create world awareness of the destruction resulting from it (142-3)[6]. Aflatoun presents an inside story of an international event, hardly mentioned when documenting the Egyptian feminist movement. We only read of the post-World War I conferences attended by Sah'rawy and other feminists. Aflatoun and her colleagues were the only Egyptian representatives since the EFU refused to participate due to the conference's political agenda; for one of its goals was "resisting fascism and any form of oppression" (65). Hence, Aflatoun's talk joined the liberation of women with political independence from Britain. Therefore she was arrested upon arrival at the port of Alexandria, and since December 1945, her name was on the government's black list.

After the authority's dissolving their Egyptian University Association, she was not deterred and formed the Patriotic Woman Association, which was short lived. Aflatoun documents an incident that had hardly been mentioned before, when 8-10 female members of this new association joined the huge public reception organised by the government in September 1949 to welcome Prime Minister Al-Noqrahsi, on his return from New York. He was supposed to discuss the Egyptian cause at the UN Security Council, but the meeting failed due to the influence of western countries. But these few women turned the reception into a demonstration against the government and its stance towards colonisation (83-85). Aflatoun's story of this incident once more deconstructs the public record represented by an Egyptian magazine, which published a picture of Esmat Galal, a

member of the association and a Marxist demonstrator, claiming that she was cheering for the government!

## The antithesis, filling the gap

Aflatoun's recording of the above political and social events and others reveals many facts, some of which are shocking. For example, we see in the two eras she lived through a police state that was intolerant of the Marxists, though the repressive atmosphere interestingly got worse in a socialist regime, Nasser's, which should have supported her and her comrades. The two regimes launched campaigns against them. She spoke for example of the 10 July, 1946 Ismail Sidqy campaign, closing down many newspapers and organisations, and arresting 300 intellectual figures from all classes and professions. Another anti-Marxist campaign started with the outbreak of the Palestine War in 1948, resulting in the arrest of hundreds of Marxist and Wafdian opponents.

Indeed, Aflatoun's memoir presents an antithesis of the thesis, or rather the image that some Egyptians have of their country during the forties. Some, especially in comparison with the military dictatorship ruling Egypt from 1954 onward, look nostalgically back at those days, seeing them as vibrant with political and intellectual freedom as well as radical ideologies. Even if this atmosphere did exist, the police always tried to destroy the resistance; hence under any pretext they suspended the constitution, resorted to emergency laws, opened the prison gates for the opponents, forbade their meetings and closed the syndicates (49). We learn that in 1947 the Egyptian secret police formed a new section, the Newspaper Prosecution, to trace the progressive writers (93).

As is the case with any opposition group, regardless of their ideology, the regime did its best to scare the public of them. She speaks of the "Ogre of Marxism" propagated by the colonial forces and those allying with them (59). This forced the Marxists to work secretly because "despite a constitution supporting freedom, forming a Marxist party was a crime punishable by one to ten years labor sentence" (49). Besides, she mentions the problem of having women working side by side with men in clandestine activity. Thus, ironically, we have regressive beliefs and mentalities among the progressive Marxists; for even the "comrades" were uncomfortable about the co-working of the two

sexes as well as the society which was willing to disrepute these women. This eventually forced them to create a woman's committee within the party to separate the sexes (51).

After July 1952 when the Free Officers rose to power, the same repressive campaigns continued and even became severer. In November 1954, her husband was arrested and remained behind bars for two years. She speaks for the first time of heavy torture in the prisons and cites a personal example, that of her brother-in-law, who disappeared for a few days and finally it turned out that he was in the Military Prison, known for its horrible means of torture, which was adapted from Hitler's Nazi prisons (134).

She also speaks in detail about the 1959 campaign against the leftists, known as the Massacre of the Communists. It became more brutal following Nasser's harsh speech which attacked what he labelled as the communist agents. Almost all male Marxists were arrested and sent to Prison. Besides, for the first time in the history of modern Egypt 25 woman activists including Aflatoun herself were arrested, but the authority did its best to keep their arrest unknown to the outer world. Interestingly, her text also reveals part of the American CIA's war against communists. Aflatoun was on their post-World War II black list; hence banned from entering many countries like France from 1951 until 1966.

Other forms of repression included banning her from traveling abroad unless her trips helped the regime. If prior to 1952 she could sue the government (as when they took out of the market her first booklet), she would not dare do so during Nasser's time. Forming popular committees was possible only to support his regime during the Tripartite Aggression, but later on she and other activists would be forbidden from spreading any social or political awareness among the people: "we found ourselves in the street with no organisation" (145). Bloody reactions to scare the people were taken such as the execution of Khamis and Al-Baqary, two workers who dared to rebel.

Elections were also forged and thugs were employed to help the government's supporters, techniques that would continue to be used by the successive dictatorial regimes. She documents a striking incident when Siza Nabrawy decided to run for the 1956 Parliament election in Old Cairo. Despite her popularity, her rival, Ahmad Said, the famous Radio commentator and the

government's man, won, obviously because of the government's dishonest interference not even allowing the lawyers to investigate the forgery that took place. Another example was what happened to the leftist candidate Dr. Abdel Azzim Anis, whose popularity and strong chances for winning the election were threatening to the regime. Hence, the police interfered by beating his supporters and arresting them with Anis himself!

Similarly, her documentation of the Egyptian feminist movement does not present the expected image of women solidarity, reminiscent of this glorious time in the history of the Egyptian woman's liberation. Contrary to the expectation of many, including the writer of this paper, we see those great feminists, fighting and distrusting one another. Cooperation despite differences took place on a few occasions.  A rare example is the relationship between Aflatoun and Nabraway, the leader of the EFU. Interestingly, they only met by chance at a reception in 1950, meaning that there was no planned common work between them earlier. Apart from that, Aflatoun, colored by her ideologies, attacks almost all the existing feminist parties making clear "they were afraid of the new active elements, especially the leftists" (59). She speaks ironically of their leaders, calling them "the respectable ladies," comparing them to the regressive forces and accusing them of excluding her and the Marxists from their organisations so as to please the regime and ensure their positions (59).

We also see her harsh attack on Doreya Shafiq, a prominent feminist, and her shocking description of the latter's hunger strike in 1957 against Nasser's dictatorial regime, as a "performance". Aflatoun took the initiative with Nabrawy and Jacqueline Khory to write a statement denouncing Shafiq's act and had a great number of feminist association leaders and other independent figures sign it and then distributed it on a wide scale inside and outside Egypt. I learnt from Hoda Elsadda, a renowned Egyptian feminist scholar, that Wedad Mitry was the only leading figure who refused to sign it[7].  Aflatoun attributed Shafiq's strike to her belief that Nasser's regime was about to fall and she wanted to make a heroine of herself (147). Ironically, Aflatoun and her colleagues would pay a high price two years later. One wonders if Shafiq's strike had taken place in 1959, would they have reacted in the same way?

Another example of distrust took place when Aflatoun worked under the leadership of Nabrawy in the Popular Committee of National Resistance supporting the militants' struggle in the Canal cities. The committee, which included women of different ideologies, would not coordinate with Doreya Shafiq's. Later, Fatma Rashed, who was among them, withdrew and joined Shafiq's committee claiming that Nabrawy's included women of leftist tendencies. Aflatoun ironically speaks of the Front of Egypt's Women founded by Shafiq and Rashed claiming that the only thing they did was taking part in the huge demonstration of 14 November 1951. This unfair summing up of their work contradicts other documents showing Shafiq and her colleagues actively supporting the militant resistance in the Canal area. Moreover, we see how Mounira Thabet (1906- 1967), another notable Egyptian feminist, attacked Aflatoun by writing an article against her booklet, "80 Million Women with Us", claiming that Aflatoun under "the innocent" claim of liberating women was encouraging them to rebel against the principles of Islam and propagating her destructive Communist beliefs (Thabet & Aflatoun 104). However, a scholar from Al-Azhar defended Aflatoun, but he too was attacked by another fellow scholar, Ahmed Al- Sharbasy, who echoed Thabet's words accusing Aflatoun of being anti-Islam since she asked for gender equality[8].

Despite one's skeptical reading and reservation regarding some of Aflatoun's views, one cannot but respect this relentless fighter, this multitalented woman who used her various gifts to defend and propagate the causes she believed in despite the high price she paid. Her house was more than once searched and once sealed with wax. She was arrested, interrogated and released many times during the two regimes. Her books and passport were taken. Besides, if one association was dissolved, she would form another under a different name and never gave up. She came out even stronger after every failed experience (Nabraway's forged election is one example). Her husband's arrest was a tough experience; yet, she never regretted the life they chose and continued to support him during imprisonment. The most difficult part remains to be her decision to hide from the authority in 1959. She speaks in detail about the feeling of stress and fear, about her moving from one house and one city to another until she was arrested while disguised as a peasant. Life

in prison was not an easy one from all different aspects: meeting a different world of criminals and lesbians, living in almost solitary imprisonment and low everyday life conditions, and undergoing what she calls a slow death and a "psychological torture" by being totally secluded from the outer world (190).

## Art and Creativity as Resistance

In all these conditions, which could have killed her physically and psychologically, she resorted to all means to fight injustice; the pen (particularly during the Royal regime) and the brush were among them, proving how they could be threatening to a police state. For example, she wrote three booklets and contributed to many newspapers, becoming once a regular columnist and editor of a page in the Egyptian newspaper, Al Masry.Yet one day she was fired because her page angered the then Minster of Interior Affairs Fouad Serag al –Deen (109). Regarding painting, she remarks, on different occasions, that she used it as a means to express her rebelliousness, alleviate her pain, especially after the sudden death of her husband, and document her "revolutionary ideologies" and political and social activism.

In her first stage, she adopted Surrealism and that phase was one of rebellion and self-expression. Hence her paintings were always about a girl in an attempt to escape flames of fire with snakes trying to devour her, or running in a scary way on the rocks while being surrounded by tossing waves and chased by a wild bird (45). Lenssen describes the paintings of that phase as "expressing the interior subjects of gendered, classed anxieties: dream imagery of vengeful trees, creeping vegetation and serpents that grasp at other beings including – frightened young women" (86).  Later, as her activism grew, she had to do away with the surrealistic stage, and choose:

> ...a new pathway in art that would be apt to this drastic change in my thoughts, feelings and life. My main desire was to express the Egyptian character, the reality and dreams of the simple downtrodden man who works hard all day in horrible circumstances without enjoying lawful rights or having a law to protect him. I wanted to reveal to people the abuse of man by man and the deteriorating situation of women in the Egyptian society, especially the working women and the female peasants. (99)

Hence, in 1952, following the Cairo Fire, her main form of resistance was through holding an exhibition in March, which was so successful that she describes it as "a political and artistic demonstration" (122). The subject of her paintings focused on the simple Egyptian people, particularly the women. Aflatoun held other art exhibitions in the coming years; her subjects would extend to the peasants, men and women, and the fishermen, which gave her the chance to tour all of Egypt to know better her subjects. Yet, her main school remained to be her small village, Kafr Shokr.

She refers to the power of the brush when she mentions that her painting "We will not forget," depicting the funeral of twelve martyrs from the Canal, was given as a gift to the City University of Cairo. Interestingly, the students photographed it and distributed the photos as a political manifesto; so the police removed it. It was brought back to its place, only to be removed again and disappear for good. This happened with other paintings which were classified as dangerous. A prominent example is "The beggar of Alexandria," which was not included in an exhibition because the selecting committee found "the eyes of the beggar dangerous and the painting inciting to revolt" (127). Even internationally, the American CIA black list banned her paintings from entering many countries including Brazil.

Still, nowhere were her paintings a means of resistance and survival as during her incarceration. She did her best to get the needed materials and interestingly, that period was one of her richest and long lasting. She painted more than once the only tree she could see through her window cell; it became a famous symbol of freedom afterwards. Latifa Al-Zayyat records that, when imprisoned at al-Qanater in 1981, she would look from her window cell at Inji's famous tree, giving her hope. In that sense her paintings bring to mind the famous graffiti and art work that resulted from the Egyptian 25th January 2011 Revolution.

The value of Aflatoun's text also lies in the way it highlights, in certain parts, the amazing role of the simple and poor Egyptians, who are always discarded from the official records of their history. The text gives many examples; a strong one is Aflatoun's close work with the people in many poor areas during the Tripartite War: "We were thrilled to discover the hidden treasure in the Egyptian woman who was under the yoke of

extremely difficult social and economic conditions and backward traditions. We knew how to awaken her and win her to the national Egyptian feminist movement...." (145) This inherent strength would keep coming up in different phases of the Egyptian history, the most notable of which was during the two Revolutions of 25 January, 2011 and 30 June, 2013.

## Conclusion

Reading *From Childhood to Prison* proves that the personal can become collective when involved and closely tied with the masses and one's society. It shows the power and threat that courageous and common people represent to any oppressive regime, which always resorts to the same means of violence, forgery, and ready-made accusations of treason. Similarly, it reveals how liberal feminists, since the beginning of their struggle more than a century ago, have been easily labeled as westernised and anti-religion. Hence, Aflatoun's life and courage should act as a source of inspiration regardless of her ideological stances and beliefs. This text and similar ones bring to mind Plato's allegory of the cave, which I see as foreshadowing New Historicism's argument regarding reading history. The allegory explains his theory of forms, representation and reality. It describes some people who are imprisoned in a cave and bound in a way that allows them to look in only a single direction to a wall. Behind them a fire is burning and their captors project shadow figures on that wall. Thus, the only reality they are exposed to is the shadows on the wall. If some prisoners manage to break free from the cave, they go out to the world and the sunlight only to realise how limited their vision in the cave was. If they were to go back to the cave, they would have a hard time adjusting to its darkness and explaining to their fellow prisoners the reality outside the cave.

Most of us are like those imprisoned in the cave, we only see the shadow of the truth or a single version of history when we solely read the official records or what those in power allow us to see. People like Aflatoun (interestingly her family name in English is Plato) have managed to escape from the cave and seen things in a different light. Though we can remain skeptical about their versions, they at least fill the gap and shed light on many unknown or ignored names and incidents. Such texts need to be circulated on a wider scale so that people would learn of the

unrecorded part of their history[9]. Feminist, history and politics scholars are in need of these works to somehow see a fuller picture and think of how such lives can help us understand our present, a time that is as turbulent as Aflatoun's. Can we learn from the mistakes of previous regimes? Can we dream of a true acceptance of other ideologies and a cooperation regardless of differences? Questions that unfortunately need yet to be answered.

## Notes

[1] Any quotation from Aflatoun's memoir is from the 2nd edition and the translation is mine.

[2] This remark brings to mind another remarkable Egyptian activist and writer, Latifa Al-Zayyat (1923-1996) who shared a great deal of Aflatoun's political activism. Al-Zayyat too, did not see herself, except when melted with the masses. Many reviewers of Aflatoun's memoir such as Ahmed Alsherif, agree that her personal history is indeed Egypt's history, its consciousness and rebellion from the twenties until the sixties of the previous century. He supports his belief with the fact that her memoir ends with the end of her public work after her release from the prison.

[3] For a critical reading of the interrelation of Aflatoun's different activities see Betty La Duke,"The Merging of Art, Feminism and Politics" in National Women Studies Association. Vol.1, No. 3 (Spring 1989): 474-485.

[4] For a detailed and well researched documentation of this period which may fill the gaps left by Aflatoun and others, see Ahmed Abdalla who refers to the thorough investigation of the famous historian Abd al- Rahman al-Rafi, and dedicates a whole chapter to the year 1946 in Egypt's history, calling it "The Climax" in *The Student Movement and National Politics*,62-79.

[5] Khaial, the editor of Aflatoun's memoir, enriches the text by adding a footnote that elaborates on the activities of Metry in one of the Egyptian governorates (141).

[6] Aflatoun speaks in detail about the Paris conference, and mentions many of the famous women attending it, such as the Spanish Dolores Ibarruri known as the Passionarta, the Romanina Anna Poker, the French Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, the Indian Andira Ghandy, the Russian Nina Popova, and others (63-72).For further reference to this conference and other primary resources on women's international activism see the extremely valuable site "Women and Social Movements – International (WASMI) which provides access to more than 150,000 pages of primary sources related to this topic since 1840.

[7] "Wedad Mitry has been a lifelong journalist. A student activist, she was the only woman elected to the Student Union at Cairo University in 1951. That same year she joined the Women's Popular Resistance Committee (founded by the feminist Saiza Nabarawi)" (Badran).

[8] I owe the access to these pieces by Thabet and Sharbasy and many unavailable and extremely valuable materials by Aflatoun and on her and her art to Mr. Hasan Galal Al-Deen, Aflatoun's nephew, who generously provided

me with copies of these references. But due to limitation of space, this paper could not make full use of them.

[9] I first gave this paper as a presentation at the Women and Memory Forum in Cairo in September 2015. Another activist's text was examined, that of Arwa Saleh. The audience included many young women who said that they had never heard of Aflatoun, Saleh or any of the other female activists included in the presentation. These women remain to be labelled as dangerous, which somehow explains the refusal of the Egyptian TV to dramatise the life of Aflatoun or to include her and other women like Latifa Al- Zayyat in our school curricula whether in history or reading books.

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# SCALING DEONTIC MODALITY
# IN PARLIAMENTARY DISCOURSE

**Abstract**: *In the paper we apply the scalarity principle to deontic modality and classify it into strong, medium and weak, with the ends of the spectrum suggesting the highest and the lowest degrees of imposition and necessity. We study the two extremes, the strong and the weak deontic modalities, in two parliaments – that of the UK and of Montenegro. We identify the linguistic devices used to express these types of deontic modality in both parliaments, measure their frequencies and then, having normalised these to 1,000 words of the corpus, we compare them in the two parliaments. We also discuss the functions of the individual devices in their context and seek patterns regarding their use. The results point to a substantial use of deontic modality in the genre of parliamentary debate and its significantly larger presence in the UK parliament. In addition, this type of modality was mostly expressed via verbs, commonly conjoined with the we-subject, so as to reduce the speaker's responsibility in the imposition of obligation and save "face".*

**Keywords**: *strong deontic modality, weak deontic modality, scalarity, parliamentary debate*

## Introduction

Among the most pervading discourse strategies employed in parliamentary discourse are those of intensification and deinten-sification – two discourse strategies used for the purpose of either strengthening, assuring and convincing, on the one hand, or hedging, assuaging and defending, on the other. An array of linguistic means are involved and exploited in these strategies – among them, deontic modality expressing various degrees of obligation and necessity which it entails, belongs to the commonly used instruments and modes. At the same time, this aspect of parliamentary discourse has been substaintially underexplored and merits much more additional investigation across genres.

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## 1. Theoretical background

Our theoretical overview starts by defining deontic modality within the system of modality and the degrees thereof, whereas the second part of the paper is devoted to the investigation of deontic modality in political discourse. The last part of this overview presents a brief look at parliamentary discourse in general.

### 1.1. Deontic modality and its degrees

Modality is one of the few slippery notions employed in linguistics that resists any satisfactory formal definition. Nevertheless, we shall adhere to the account provided by Bybee and Fleischman (1995: 2) in an effort to provide a framework for the endeavour we aim to undertake:

> „Modality ... is a semantic domain pertaining to elements of meaning that languages express. It covers a broad range of semantic nuances – jussive, desiderative, intentive, hypothetical, potential, obligative, dubitative, hortatory, exclamative, etc. – whose common denominator is the addition of a supplement or overlay of meaning to the most neutral semantic value of the proposition of an utterance, namely factual and declarative."

Many divisions of modality have been proposed, but bearing in mind that the purpose of this paper is not to add to the theoretical argumentation on the type of modality in question, we shall simply employ a common and straightforward division following Palmer (1988), who defines three types of modality – namely, apart from epistemic modality (dealing with a speaker's evaluation of, degree of confidence in, or belief of the knowledge upon which an utterance is based), there are two additional types of non-epistemic modality: deontic modality (expressing obligations and necessity or indicating how the world should be according to certain norms, expectations or speaker's desire) and dynamic modality (expressing capability and competency, a factual possibility or necessity). Evidentiality (concluding based on evidence) is often considered part of epistemic modality.

Deontic modality has commonly been defined in terms of the concepts of obligation and permission, whereby it is usually noted that verbs with deontic meanings are often also polysemous in the modal domain, with dynamic and epistemic meanings in addition to the deontic ones (van Linden and Verstraete, 2011: 151). Much attention in all types of modality has been devoted to verbs in English, whereas other parts of speech have been neglected modality-wise. Nyuts warns that there is virtually no functional linguistic literature specifically devoted to deontic modality and that what has been written about it, is

nearly exclusively a 'by-product' in the context of analyses of the formal category of modal auxiliaries (Nuyts et al., 2010: 16). Additionally, the account of its realisation and functions in discourse is next to non-existent.

A distinction must be made between 'kinds' of modality (referred to above) and 'degrees' of modality (Palmer, 1988: 97). Scalarity in the domain of modality has first been specifically referred to by Horn (1972). Following Horn, the terms *strong* and *weak* have customarily been applied in the epistemic realm, but very rarely in the deontic one, which the authors do not tend to quantify. Verstaete (2005: 1401) argues that, while scalarity may be applied to deontic modality, the scale cannot be 'perfect', as the expressions of permission and obligations differ in two dimensions – commitment to desirability on the part of some authority and presuppositions about the willingness of the modal agent to carry out the action in question, which "disrupts the implicature mechanism that works well for the weaker and stronger degrees of epistemic modality". However, the imperfection of deontic scalarity has not stopped authors from applying it – thus, Finetel and Iatridou (2008) use the following terms: *strong necessity modals*, which imply that the underlying proposition is true in all of the favoured worlds, and *weak necessity modals*, which imply that the underlying proposition is true in all of the very best (by some additional measure) among the favoured worlds (Fintel and Iatridou, 2008: 4). Strong and weak deontic modality are the terms used by most authors (among others de Haan, 1997; de Haan, 2002; Jankowski, 2004; Haskell, 2013; Nicholas and Leech, 2013). What is common to all the studies is that the English verb *must* is used as a prototypical strong deontic modal, whereas opinions differ when it comes to weak modality. Namely, this depends on how many degrees are seen on the deontic scale – in this paper, we adhere to the scale containing three degrees and therefore involving the medium degree, following Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 175-177).

## 1.2. Deontic modality in political discourse

Deontic modality may be of particular interest in the study of political text as it "seeks human action, but also seeks commitment to bringing that action about" (McKenna and Waddell, 2007: 394) – the key concepts underlying and making politics. However, as stated above, it has not been explored much at the level of discourse. Still, papers which do deal with the subject suggest a significant presence of deontic modality throughout political genres and especially in comparison to other genres (see for example Maks and Vossen, 2010 – the case of Dutch election manifestos).

A study which merits special mention here refers to the paper authored by Dona Lillian (2008), in which mainstream conservative

and far right conservative political texts were compared in terms of the modality employed, whereby a huge difference was found when it came to the distribution of deontic modality. Namely, obligation was far more frequent in the far right conservative discourse. Based on the examples and findings from her corpus, Lillian argues that the more frequent expression of obligation is the result of the intention of the author to make the reader adopt his/her stance and that this is a feature of propaganda texts. A fair degree of obligation is expected in a persuasive text, however, its overuse is frequently associated with manipulation (Lillian, 2008: 12-13).

A similar conclusion was drawn by Dontcheva-Navratilova (2009) in her study of deontic modality in political speeches. The author notes that within political discourse, morality and legality, which are commonly expressed through deontic modality, are inevitably related to an ideological point of view which correlates with institutional beliefs and norms of conduct and a biased representation of a constructed discourse world in terms of 'right' and 'wrong' (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2009: 17).

In most papers dealing with political discourse, however, the study of modality, including the deontic one, has been a sporadically used assisting methodology used to point to "ideological differences and expectations" (Bhatia, 2006: 187) and not more than that. Systematic overviews are absent from the literature on political discourse, including the literature on parliamentary debates.

## 1.3. Parliamentary discourse

Parliamentary debate is said to be a prototypical instance of deliberative genre, whose aim is to persuade the addressee to take action, although it is mixed with forensic genres (asserting guilt or innocence) and, to a somewhat lesser extent, epideictic genres (ceremonial discourse) (Ilie, 2004: 46). The genre is considered to be "an influential and authoritative genre" (van der Valk, 2003: 315) and its research is becoming ever more abundant (Gelabert-Desnoyer, 2008: 410), in the context of the increasingly significant role that politics plays in society.

In the research conducted so far, most of the attention has been devoted to the UK House of Commons (Ilie, 2003b: 73); however, more national parliaments have received attention as of late (among others – Ensink, 1997; Frumuselu and Ilie, 2010; Sauer, 1997; Elspass, 2002; Bijeikiene and Utke, 2007), whereby various aspects have been analysed, such as the use of key words (for example, Bayley, Bevitori and Zoni, 2004), various argumentation discourse strategies (for example, Van Dijk, 2000; van der Valk, 2003), and pragmatic aspects including politeness (for example, Ilie, 2004; 2005; David et al., 2009),

interruptions (for example Bevitori, 2004; Carbo, 2004), metadiscourse (Ilie, 2000; 2003), etc.

Deontic modality has not been studied directly within the context of parliamentary discourse, which is why this paper aims to provide a modest contribution to the study of the topic.

## 2. Data and methodology

The corpus for this study comprises the transcripts of first and the second day of the budget debate held in the Parliament of Montenegro in December 2009 and the transcripts of the first day of the budget debate conducted in the House of Commons in March 2010.

The phonographic transcripts of the parliamentary sessions in Montenegro are published online and are very true to their oral original. This is why we did not additionally edit the transcripts, having in mind that additional editing would have no bearing on the investigation on deontic modality.

The details of the corpus follow:

| | |
|---|---|
| **Parliamentary session** | Sixth sitting of the second regular session |
| **Debate** | Budget debate for 2010 |
| **Corpus source** | Authorised phonographic transcripts[2] |
| **Date** | 15/12/2009 and 16/12/2009 |
| **Word count** | 45,435 |

Table 1 The Montenegrin corpus

However, editing on the basis of the video available on the website of the UK parliament was needed in the case of the House of Commons budget debate. The details of this part of the corpus follow:

| | |
|---|---|
| **Parliamentary session** | Session 2009-2010 |
| **Debate** | Budget debate for2010 |
| **Corpus source** | Hansard[3] |
| **Date** | 24/03/2010 |
| **Word count** | 61,255 |

Table 2 The UK corpus

The method we applied consisted of the following:

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[2] Taken from: http://www.skupstina.me/cms/site_data/AKTI%202010-1/FONOGRAFSKI%20ZAPIS%206_sj_2_red_zas_15,16_i%2017_12_2009_.pdf
[3] Taken from:
http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200910/cmhansrd/cm100324/debindx/100324-x.htm

- identification of deontic modality tokens in a subsample of the corpus on the basis of the words and phrases that were found to convey deontic modality in the relevant literature (including modal verbs, modal adjectives, modal adverbs and modal nouns);

- determining the frequency of the tokens concerned, using the software AntConc 3.2.1® (Anthony, 2007);

- normalising the frequency, i.e. calculating the frequency per 1,000 words of the corpus so as to allow a precise comparison of the Montenegrin and the UK corpus;

- analysis of the tokens in the context, so as to determine whether they convey strong, medium or weak deontic modality. The problems and issues encountered at this point will be discussed in the analysis;

- comparing the results for strong and weak deontic modality in the two corpora;

- qualitative analysis of the most frequent tokens in the co-text they were used in.

The overall aim of the investigation was to determine whether more strong or weak deontic modality was employed in general, whether the Montenegrin or the UK MP's used more deontic modality of a certain type and what the reasons for that might be, as well as to identify the most frequent deontic modality markers (words and phrases) which the MP's from both countries used.

## 3. Analysis

The analysis section of the paper consists of three parts – strong and weak deontic modality in the Montenegrin part of the corpus, strong and weak deontic modality in the UK corpus, and the discussion section with the contrastive analysis of the results.

## 3.1. Strong and weak deontic modality in the Montenegrin parliament

We start the overview of deontic modality in the Parliament of Montenegro by dealing with strong obligations first, which are expressed through a limited set of linguistic devices – words and phrases that imply a full degree of obligation, duty, necessity, commitment, liability, need, etc. These devices can most easily be categorised by the part of speech they belong to, into strong deontic verbs, strong deontic adjectives, strong deontic adverbs and strong deontic nouns. Those found in our corpus are presented in Table 3, along with their raw and normalised frequencies:

| STRONG DEONTIC VERBS | Total | |
|---|---|---|
| | RF | NF |
| morati | 72 | 1.59 |
| smjeti | 2 | 0.04 |
| obavezati | 2 | 0.04 |
| obavezivati | 1 | 0.02 |
| primorati | 1 | 0.02 |
| natjerati | 1 | 0.02 |
| **ukupno** | **79** | **1.74** |
| STRONG DEONTIC ADJECTIVES | Total | |
| | RF | NF |
| neophodan | 13 | 0.29 |
| obavezan | 5 | 0.11 |
| dužan | 4 | 0.09 |
| nužan | 2 | 0.04 |
| **ukupno** | **24** | **0.53** |
| STRONG DEONTIC ADVERBS | Total | |
| | RF | NF |
| neophodno | 8 | 0.18 |
| obavezno | 2 | 0.04 |
| nužno | 1 | 0.02 |
| **ukupno** | **11** | **0.24** |
| STRONG DEONTIC NOUNS | Total | |
| | NF | RF |
| obaveza | 30 | 0.66 |
| neophodnost | 3 | 0.07 |
| dužnost | 1 | 0.02 |
| **ukupno** | **33** | **0.73** |
| **TOTAL STRONG DEONTIC MODALITY** | **147** | **3.24** |

Table 3. Strong deontic modality
in the Parliament of Montenegro

The total frequency of strong deontic modality in our Montenegrin part of the corpus is just 3.24 words per 1,000 words of the corpus. Our earlier research (Vuković, 2014) on the same corpus resulted in the finding that about 12 words per 1,000 words of the same corpus belong to the words expressing strong epistemic modality – which is four times as much. Our first conclusion is that the discourse of the Montenegrin parliament is more about expressing confidence than about imposing.

More than half of these devices fall into the group of strong deontic verbs, which seem to be central to expressing this type of modality. Furthermore, most of these modality rests on just a couple of words: the verb *morati* (have to/must) (NF 1.59), the noun *obaveza* (obligation) (NF 0.66) and the adjective/adverb pair with the same root *neophodan/neohodno* (necessary) (NF 0.47).

A look into the concordances of the most central strong deontic verb in the Parliament of Montenegro – *morati*, discovers the following most frequent collocations: *morati biti/da budem/-o iskren/-i, morati priznati/da priznamo, moram da kažem, morati glasati/da glasamo, morati mijenjati, morati učiniti, morati raditi/da radimo, morati dati*. The conclusion is that one part of these collocations belongs to metadiscourse, whereas the other part refers to collocations inferring that something must be done or changed, i.e. for suggesting policies and course of action.

We now turn to the weak deontic modality in this corpus.

Our investigation showed that weak deontic modality seems to be very little grammaticalised. We have already stated that the modal verb *must* is the prototypical representative of the strong epistemic modality. In the same vein, *should* is here taken to be the central member of the medium epistemic modality. However, when it comes to weak deontic modality, it seems that we are left without a prototypical representative which one could easily come up with. Instead, it appears that weak deontic modality is covered by a wider array of linguistic expressions. Namely, we may take weak deontic modality to be the same as volitive modality, which suggests than it is desirable that something be done, but not in the strong or explicit terms as with *should* or *must*. Volitive modality, thus, does not impose a real obligation, which is the case with strong and medium deontic modality (e.g. *You have to do this!* or *You should do this.*), but expresses desiderative meaning, which can be deconstructed through pragmatic implicatures (e.g. *I want you to do this / I hope you will do this / It would be good if you could do this*, etc.). These expressions contain a hedged instruction, whereby the speaker defends the negative face of the other, giving them an opportunity 'not to recognise' the obligation, if they choose to do so. The understanding of these expressions is contextually conditioned, whereas threat to face is far smaller compared to that expressed by true deontic modality (strong and medium).

Volitive modality is usually considered part of deontic modality (together with commissive and directive deontic modality) – a stance also held by Palmer in his earlier papers (Trbojević-Milošević, 2004: 26-27), however, he later corrected his views in saying that this type of modality is partly deontic and partly epistemic (Palmer, 2001: 13). In the literature there is no consensus – this modality is sometimes taken to be separate and sometimes considered part of deontic modality or even dynamic modality. In this paper, we adopt the stance which considers volitive modality part of deontic modality of the weak degree. The phrases used to expressed may be considered a distant replacement for those expressing strong and medium deontic modality.

Table 4 summarises the results relating to the frequency of the verb *moći* (~may) in its uses of giving counsel and suggestions on

which course of action the colocutor is to take, as well as other volitive expressions with this meaning from our corpus:

| WEAK DEONTIC MODALITY | Total | |
|---|---|---|
| | RF | NF |
| moći | 6 | 0.13 |
| očekujem, očekujemo | 2 | 0.04 |
| nadam se | 2 | 0.04 |
| dobro bi bilo | 2 | 0.04 |
| bolje bi bilo | 2 | 0.04 |
| korektno bi bilo | 2 | 0.04 |
| poželjno je | 2 | 0.04 |
| predlažem da | 2 | 0.04 |
| volio bih, voljeli bi* | 1 | 0.02 |
| ne bih željela | 1 | 0.02 |
| bio bih najzadovoljniji | 1 | 0.02 |
| bilo bi kvalitetnije | 1 | 0.02 |
| najbolje je | 1 | 0.02 |
| pametnije bi bilo | 1 | 0.02 |
| **Total** | **26** | **0.61** |

Table 4 Weak deontic modality
in the Parliament of Montenegro

The only real modal verb on the list is *moći*; however, its frequency when it carries deontic meaning (giving advice, suggestions, recommendations and permissions) is very low. In our corpus, this verb was primarily used in its dynamic meaning and could therefore be rephrased with *be able to* or *have the possibility to*, pointing to the fact that something is dynamically possible. Thus, the dynamic meaning of the verb *may*, which is neutral when it comes to grading modality, seems to pervade the parliamentary discourse.

Another conclusion drawn from table 4 is that the list of volitive phrases is long, but that they measure very low frequencies.

In the phrases presented in the table, we find a few volitive verbs used in the first person (*očekivati* (expect), *voljeti* (love/like), *nadati se* (hope)), as well as copulative impersonal constructions featuring the verb *biti* (to be) and adjectives and adverbs mostly pointing to what is preferrable, i.e. having positive meaning. It is no coincidence that the dominant verb form is the potential, which is distancing and hedging on its own, thus adding to weak modality. All of them have obvious modal meaning as they function as a sentence-frame, followed by declarative da-clauses (*that*-clauses):

(1)  DAMJANOVIĆ: ... Dobro bi bilo da to građani znaju... (It would be good that people know this...)

(2) KONJEVIĆ: ... nadam se da će Vlada dodatno povesti računa... (I hope that the Government will additionally take care...)

(3) PEKOVIĆ: ... Očekujem od predstavnika predlagača da nam posebno obrazloži... (I expect that the representatives of the petitioner additionally explain...)

(4) SEKULIĆ: ... mislim da bi bilo korektno da možda i oni sami predlože... (I think it would be right that perhaps they themselves propose...)

An interesting finding is that strong deontic modality (NF=3.24) is three times more present than its weak counterpart (NF=0.97) in the Parliament of Montenegro. Such results are in accordance with the ratio found for strong and weak epistemic modality in the same parliament, which is about 4:1 (Vuković, 2014).

The modal verb *trebati* (~should/need) is rarely used epistemically in this part of the corpus. Unlike *morati* (~must), which suggests that the obligation must be fulfilled in all possible scenarioes, the verb *trebati* implies that the best scenarioes are those in which it is fulfilled (Fintel and Iatridou, 2008: 119). Actually, sometimes this verbs implies that the obligation will not be fulfilled at all (e.g. *Trebalo bi da se stidiš / You should be ashamed of yourself*). In relation to *morati* (NF=1.59), *trebati* is used twice as much (NF=3.3). Therefore, the MP's use more frequently neutral than strong obligations, stating what is desirable to be done, but not completely mandatory. In this way, they protect each other's face, i.e. face-threat is much smaller than it would be with the verb *morati* and *smjeti* (~*can*) used with a negation:

(5) LUKŠIĆ: ... smatram da direktori agencija treba da budu tu ... (I think that the directors of the agencies should be there...)

(6) DAMJANOVIĆ: ... ministar finansija... treba da zavede red u politici zarada... (the Minister of Finance... should bring order into the wage policy...)

(7) LUBURIĆ: ... Država treba da nastavi poboljšanje sveukupnog infrastrukturnog ambijenta... (The Government should keep improving the total infrastructural environment...)

The low frequency of weak deontic modality suggests that the MP's do not like to hedge the demands they present, i.e. if it is necessary to demand, they would rather present the demand as an obligation, either strong or medium, than as a possibility, desire or hope.

## 3.2. Strong and weak deontic modality in the UK parliament

Our analysis of deontic modality in the UK parliament starts with Table 5, which presents a list of the words found to convey strong deontic modality in our corpus, along with their raw and normalised frequencies.

| STRONG DEONTIC VERBS | Total | |
|---|---|---|
| | RF | NF |
| need | 127 | 2.07 |
| have (got) to | 101 | 1.65 |
| must | 43 | 0.70 |
| cannot | 38 | 0.62 |
| be allowed | 2 | 0.03 |
| impose | 4 | 0.07 |
| force | 1 | 0.02 |
| **total** | 316 | **5.16** |
| STRONG DEONTIC ADJECTIVES | Total | |
| | RF | NF |
| necessary | 13 | 0.21 |
| needed | 3 | 0.05 |
| compulsory | 2 | 0.03 |
| bound | 1 | 0.02 |
| **total** | 19 | **0.31** |
| STRONG DEONTIC ADVERBS | Total | |
| | RF | NF |
| necessarily | 3 | 0.05 |
| **total** | 3 | **0.05** |
| STRONG DEONTIC NOUNS | Total | |
| | RF | NF |
| obligation | 7 | 0.11 |
| need | 10 | 0.16 |
| necessity | 4 | 0.07 |
| duty | 2 | 0.03 |
| **total** | 23 | **0.38** |
| **TOTAL STRONG DEONTIC MODALITY** | **361** | **5.89** |

Table 5 Strong deontic modality
in the UK parliament

The presence of this type of deontic modality is fairly greater in the UK parliament (5.89 vs. 3.24). Much of the difference can be accounted for by the use of verbs, whereas the differences in the use of

nouns and adjectives seem to be slight. The most frequent strong deontic verbs in the UK parliament are *need, have (got) to, must* and *cannot*, which alone account for 5.04 of the words per 1,000 words of the corpus.

We will also compare our findings with the results presented in the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al., 1999: 489) (Table 6):

### Distribution of modal verbs across registers; occurrences per million words

each ■ marks c. 200     ▢ marks less than 100

| | CONV | FICT | NEWS | ACAD |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **permission/possibility/ability:** | | | | |
| can | ■■■■■■ ■■■■■■ ■■■■■■ ■ | ■■■■■■ ■ | ■■■■■ | ■■■■■■ ■■■■■■ ■ |
| could | ■■■■■■■ ■■■ | ■■■■■■ ■■■■■■ | ■■■■■■ | ■■■■ |
| may | ■ | ■■ | ■■■ | ■■■■■■ ■■■■■■ |
| might | ■■■■ | ■■■■ | ■■ | ■■■ |
| **obligation/necessity:** | | | | |
| must | ■■■■ | ■■■■■ | ■■ | ■■■■■■ |
| should | ■■■■■ | ■■■■■ | ■■■■■ | ■■■■■■ |
| have to | ■■■■■■■ ■■ | ■■■■■ | ■■■■ | ■■ |
| (had) better | ■■■■ | ■ | ▢ | ▢ |
| (have) got to | ■■■■ | ▢ | ▢ | ▢ |
| need to | ■ | ▢ | ■ | ■ |
| (be) supposed to | ■ | ▢ | ▢ | ▢ |
| ought to | ▢ | ■ | ▢ | ▢ |

Table 6 Use of deontic verbs in English
(taken from: Biber et al., 1999: 489)

In table (7) we will normalise the frequencies per 1,000 words, so as to obtain comparable results. We had to exempt the verbal form *cannot* as the results from the *Longman Grammar* cummulatively present the results for *can* (which is not deontically strong) and *cannot* (which is deontically strong). The values are given in approximations.

Generally speaking, we can note that there is much more deontic modality in the UK parliament than in general English, and in the English as used in literature, media and academic discourse, for instance (twice as much or even three times as much). This speaks for the language of parliament as being highly argumentative and strongly convincing.

| Strong deontic verb | NF$_{UKparliament}$ | NF$_{LGspoken}$ | NF$_{LGliterature}$ | NF$_{LGmedia}$ | NF$_{LGacademic}$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| need | 2.07 | 0.2 | 0 | 0.2 | 0.2 |
| have to | 1.65 | 0.9 | 1.00 | 0.8 | 0.4 |
| must[4] | 0.70 | 0.80 | 1.00 | 0.4 | 1.2 |
| **Total** | **1.47** | **0.63** | **0.66** | **0.46** | **0.66** |

Table 7. Strong deontic verbs in the UK parliament and in various registers

Smaller differences can be noted in the use of the modal *must*, whereas the greatest differences are found in the use of *need* and *have to*.

*Need* is mostly found with the subject *we*, which is used inclusively (designating the political party and the state as one category), and that it is most often followed by the infinitive or *that*-clauses (in our debate to project the UK's needs and plans):

(1)  GARDINER: … It is important because we need to see is young people getting training, skills and qualifications in those sectors, which are going to represent the jobs of the future…

(2)  TAYLOR: … And we need to encourage more people to take those scientific subjects, which means offering better teaching in the schools that are the feedstock of our higher education institutions…

(3)  DARLING: … Secondly, we need to identify savings across every part of the public sector by delivering services more efficiently…

(4)  McFALL: … At the moment, basic bank accounts for such people are meaningless, and that's why we need to do more work – so simply having a basic account is not just the answer…

On the other hand, have to is also frequently used with the subject *we*, but also with the subject *I*, almost always in the metadiscoursal phrase *I have to say*:

(5)  HEATH: … I hope we are coming out of the recession, but I have to say I see the scars left behind…

(6)  MARRIS: … But I have to say, I was somewhat heartened by the Chancellor's predictions today…

(7)  GARDINER: … I have to say that for the first time ever I agreed with some of the things that the right hon. Member for Hitchin and Harpenden (Mr. Lilley) said, as well…

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[4] *Must* which expresses obligations and necessity.

An obvious pattern is that the strongest deontic modality is found with the subject *we* – probably to deflect from personal responsibility in the obligations and impositions expressed.

As implied before, deontic modality can be represented as having three degrees on the scale of strength of the obligation/necessity it implies – the strong, the medium and the weak. Whereas must is prototypically representative of the strong, should would represent the medium one, which is more neutral as it allows more space for the obligation not to be met, and can would be prototypical of the weak modality, as it is used to give suggestions, advice and permissions. Of course, the weak deontic modality would also include the volitive modality, as explained above. What follows is Table 8, which gives an overview of the phrases and words found to convey weak deontic modality in our corpus:

| WEAK DEONTIC MODALITY | Ukupno | |
|---|---|---|
| | SF | NF |
| can | 11 | 0.18 |
| I hope | 8 | 0.13 |
| could | 7 | 0.11 |
| may | 5 | 0.08 |
| I would like | 2 | 0.03 |
| I/we want | 2 | 0.03 |
| I would be grateful if | 1 | 0.02 |
| I suggest | 1 | 0.02 |
| I would suggest | 1 | 0.02 |
| I am suggesting | 1 | 0.02 |
| What I have suggested is | 1 | 0.02 |
| **Total** | **39** | **0.63** |

Table 8. Weak deontic modality
in the UK parliament

The frequency of the weak deontic modality in the UK parliament is more or less at the same level as in the Montenegrin parliament, i.e. it is very low. We find a limited number of linguistic devices used to these purposes, even though it is a well-known fact that English has a very developed system of indirect commands (phrases such as: *why don't we, If I were you, I would, don't you think, I recommend/advise* etc.). Here we must add that with the indirect commands, only the locution is weak, whereas the illocution, depending on the context, may be even the most direct command. Any division in terms of scalarity does not mean much outside the context, as the same linguistic devices may be used to entirely different purposes in different contexts. In our uniform parliamentary context, the weaker locution was generally chosen as it

reduced the chances for it to be attacked or countered by the other MP's.

Another reason for the low frequency of weak deontic phrases was the fact that many of these expressions are commonly used with the subject *you*, and the direct addressing of other MP's in the UK parliament is not very common as a matter of convention.

Three modal English verbs can be used in this meaning – *can*, *could* and *might*, i.e. two, if *could* is considered as part of the paradigm of *can*. These verbs are generally used to give advice and suggestions or ask for a permission. What follows are examples of the use of these verbs with the weak deontic meaning:

(8) BELL: ... If we really want to understand Conservative party philosophy, we can look across to the United States and the Republican party in America, which has fought tooth and nail to prevent a national health service of some description from entering their country and economy...
... But, if I may use a phrase used by a Conservative Chancellor in another capacity, a "price well worth paying" to save the nation from what would have been a very, very serious depression...

(9) TODD: Perhaps he could develop this point a little further and set out his view of our obligations to the shareholders who are not the taxpayer in the two institutions he is suggesting a direction for.

A few *verba voluntatis*, i.e. verbs of will, are also found on our list (*I hope, I would like, I/we want, I would be grateful*), mainly coupled with the subject *I*. In the table we also find the verb *suggest*, with the same subject:

(10) TYRIE: ... I very much hope that in the next few weeks, when we have, I hope, a new Government, we will get back to calling the salaries of teachers and doctors, for example, expenditure rather than investment...

(11) JONES: ... I am sorry that the Chancellor did not mention the launch of a people's bank, as the press suggested he would. I very much welcomed the nationalisation of Northern Rock; it was the right thing to do, and was opposed by the party opposite. It should be used as way to relaunch the mutual sector in financial services, and I would like a people's bank developed in the Post Office...

(12) REDWOOD: ... What I would suggest is that instead of mouthing the words "countercyclical regulation" but doing the opposite, they should try some countercyclical regulation...

We end the paper with the conclusion which summarises our main findings.

## 4. Discussion and conclusion

The scalarity principle seems to be applicable to deontic modality. Although it is much more associated with epistemic modality, deontic modality also seems gradable. Strong deontic modality seems to be more easily distinguished, whereas the latter end of the deontic spectrum, the end belonging to weak deontic modality, is more of a gray area. Our analysis of the corpus pointed to the need to include volitive modality as part of the weak deontic modality.

In terms of the parts of speech used to express deontic modality, we find that in both languages it was mostly expressed via the verbs. Particularly interesting was the observation that strong modality was more frequently associated with the plural *we* subject, so as to deflect responsibility onto the group rather than attach it to an individual, which would be the case with the *I* subject.

As noted above, there was much more deontic modality in the UK parliament than in the Montenegrin. At this point, given the limitation of our study, we cannot account for the reasons why, but the answer might have to do with the cultural scripts (Goddard and Wierzbicka, 2007), present in the UK and Montenegro. Previous studies showed that very present deontic modality could be indicative of manipulation, as the receiver of the message is "compelled" to adopt the view of the sender, which is common in propaganda. Given the fact that parliamentary debates are a political genre, argumentative in nature, the high presence of deontic modality in our two parliaments did not surprise.

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Mona Ahmed Eid[1]

# INTERVENTIONS IN THE EGYPTIAN INTERNSHIP PROGRAMME FOR TEACHERS OF ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

**Abstract:** *This research paper diagnostically measures the teaching proficiency level of ten interns, teaching English as a foreign language at Zahran Secondary School (Alexandria, Egypt), in order to identify their competencies, as well as their weaknesses. It also develops a six-session workshop to upgrade the teaching skills of the ten interns, focusing primarily on the six teaching skills the interns found most challenging. At the same time, the six-session workshop aims at providing the interns with the overview of the most recent and up-to-date pedagogical and methodological trends, which are not taught as part of their undergraduate courses. The results of the evaluation procedures and the 6-session workshop indicate that the interns' overall teaching proficiency increased at a rate of 19.22 after the workshop. Consequently, we recommend that undergraduate studies be supplemented with such internship workshops so as to overcome the issues interns often encounter. Additionally, the Egyptian internship programme, in other governorates in Egypt, should be modified so as to include similar workshop sessions, which should enhance the teaching skills of the interns and provide solutions for their teaching impediments.*

**Keywords**: *teacher's education, teachers evaluation; active learning; learning theories, differentiation, MALL (mobile-assisted language learning), learners' attitudes*

At both the national and the international levels, there is a growing demand to produce EFL (English as a foreign language) teachers who have the qualifications and skills required for 21st century teachers. Accordingly, this research investigates the teaching proficiency level of 10 interns at Zahran Secondary School for Girls in Alexandria, Egypt, and develops a 6-session workshop with the aim to improve their teaching proficiency skills.

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## Theoretical background: Education of Teachers and the Societal, Political and Economic Welfare of Nations

Education of teachers has consistently been classified by the national and presidential authorities as a fundamental factor necessary for the welfare of societies. In the USA, President Obama and his office have attached priority to the development of teacher education in all their educational reform strategies, such as the *American Recovery and Reinvestment Act*, award of *Race to the Top* grants, approval of waivers from NCLB regulations and plans for the replacement of NCLB (Chubb, 2012: 50). From a more national scope and under the presidency of Sisi, the *Ministry of Education* in Egypt has launched two reform programmes: the first programme is the full-time appointment of 30,000 teachers in all governmental schools in Egypt with a 100% raise in their salaries, while the second is a restructuring programme and refers to the construction of more schools in an attempt to reduce the number of students in each classroom. Another off-spring of the second programme is the usufruct land grant system which offers free land to individuals and corporations to build schools. According to Egyptian civil jurisdictions, the candidates offered the grants will not pay the price of the land to the Ministry of Education, but they will pay all the expenses of construction, furnishing, administration, and teachers' salaries for 20 years; subsequently, the land remains governmental property.

The recognition of the directly proportional correlation between the economic, political and societal progress, and the quality of education and proficiency of teachers, has always been indisputable for the national and international decision-makers, who are aware of the "the importance of schooling for the civilised quality of societies and for the success of national economies", and who share the "assumption that the quality of schooling is heavily dependent, primarily dependent, on the quality of its teachers and their teaching" (Hagger and McIntyre, 2006: 3).

Massive research is currently investigating the mandatory requirements for 21st century teachers and teachers' education reform programmes centralising in "(1) teacher education, (2) certification, (3) recruitment and hiring, (4) professional development, (5) teacher evaluation, and (6) compensation and career advancement" (Akiba, 2013: xxi). One influential study

was conducted by Hagger and McIntyre's (2006) – *Learning Teaching from Teachers: Realising the Potential of School-based Teacher Education.* The authors studied the discrepancies in initial teacher education and the deficiency of valid standardised models to be followed, as they claimed that "internationally, there are as yet no satisfactory models of teacher education practice which meet the needs of the education systems in which they are embedded" (2006: 3). As a result of the substantial impact of education on the social, political and economic welfare of nations, many governments have dedicated financial, academic and administrative support to the reform of their educational systems and, in particular, to upgrading the professional skills of teachers and their education. On the one hand, in the 1990s, England shifted the authority for initial teacher education from universities to schools, to allow for the capitalisation of apprenticeship and practical hands-on experience of the teachers (Hagger and McIntyre, 2006: 4). On the other hand, France adopted a contradictory school of thought relocating the responsibility of initial teacher education to the premises of universities when it founded the *Instituts Universitaires de Formation des Maîtres* (IUFM), which was also given the task of enhancing the practical experience of the teachers as an integral dimension of their initial education (Hagger and McIntyre, 2006: 4). However, one of the contemporary governmental trends of teacher education in the new millennium calls for "the partnerships being formed between universities and schools within the new dispensation" (Hagger and McIntyre, 2006: 15), as it particularly promotes the blending of the administrative, academic and professional supervision of universities together with the professional expertise of schools, so as to maximise the benefits received by student teachers in their initial teacher education.

**Theories of Learning**

In the teaching competence of EFL teachers, the knowledge and implementation of the theories of learning play an important role. These have undergone massive development from the age of Socrates and Plato to the present era, in which neuro-linguistics proposes the hemo-dynamic neuro-imaging techniques in order to examine the neurological processes performed during the process of acquisition. A tremendous number of philosophers,

mathematicians and educators have attempted at compiling definitions for the process of thinking and learning. Plato and Socrates were the original source of the thinking skills (which have recently been classified as critical and creative thinking skills). These two philosophers explained that the thinking and learning processes take place when learners are provided with intricate questions concerning morality, life or even "commonly held beliefs" (McGregor, 2007: 8). With the emergence of constructivism or cognitivism, on the one hand, and social constructivism, on the other, Skinner's behaviorism has been refuted and Piaget rationalised the cognitive potentials in the learning process through his schema theory (McGregor, 2007: 10, 48). The development of the linguistic and communicative competencies of learners through a more socially oriented paradigm started with Vygotsky and has developed to reach socio-cultural constructivism, which highlights the cultural competence, as well as the linguistic and communicative potentials of learners (McGregor, 2007: 10, 48). Another major consequence of the development of the social constructivist theories of learning, is the transfer from teacher-centered approaches to learner-centered paradigms. These have paved the way for the emergence of the theory of autonomy, where the responsibility of the learners towards the learning process is maximised (Fekri, Hamidi and Montazeri: 2015).

## CALL (Computer-Assisted Language Learning) and MALL (Mobile-Assisted Language Learning)

Computer-assisted language learning has always been highly recommended in the literature as a substantially fundamental component of the 21st century teacher (Hagger and McIntyr, 2006: 23-24). This paradigm has been further extended into mobile-assisted language learning, as digitised applications are installed on mobile devices such as *iPods*, *iPads*, laptops and mobile phones. In the overview of the benefits of the pedagogical implementation of mobile-assisted language learning, Diaz-Vera (2012: xi-xii) explains that it enhances learners' autonomy and collaboration skills and that it extends the duration of concentration of learners, bearing in mind that they "remain more focused for longer periods". In addition, it fosters cultural awareness, "bridging social and cultural gaps" (Diaz-Vera, 2012: xvii).

Due to the consistent rise in the integration of mobile-assisted language learning, pedagogical theorists have attempted at formulating theories for the use of such new techniques. Kukulska-Hulme (2012: 5-7) introduces a theory founded on the concept of any-time and any-place paradigms, originally developed by Microsoft and Toshiba, as part of their campaigns to promote their laptops in the new millennium. On the other hand, other theories focus on mobile blogging and argue that mobile blogging can be explained through the implementation of the multimodality theory, which comprises the multimodality of texts and tasks, as well as an early theoretical interpretation (Comas-Quinn and Mardomingo, 2012: 48). The scarcity of compiling specifically tailored theories for MALL is not only due to the novelty of the field and instantly developing digitised techniques, but also to the changes witnessed in the available second language acquisition theories. These theories are currently shifting from the cognitive dimension in various directions – to the social perspectives, interactionist theories, social cultural ideologies, modifications in the input theory, and, finally, to learners' autonomy (Chapelle, 2010: 540-541).

As for the digitised tools of MALL, they are not only restricted to off-line computer software and applications, but they increasingly transcend to mobile-phone applications, such as *WhatsApp* and *Viber*, and online virtual options, such as www.edmodo.com. Automated essay evaluation tools have also come a long way since they started with *The Writer's Workbench*, which is fundamentally based on the identification of errors in spelling and punctuation. It also performs a limited stylistic analysis including "readability measures, percentage of passives, and nominalisation" (Burstein and Chodorow, 2010: 530). However, this early attempt at automated essay scoring underwent significant changes until it reached the contemporary evaluation system in the form of "Education Testing Services' e-rater and Pearson's Education's Intelligence Essay Assessor (IEA)" (Burstein and Chodorow, 2010: 530), both of which digitally and statistically compare the vocabulary in the target essay to the vocabulary in essays which are graded by human markers.

Off-line tools such as sound-recorder, *NetMeeting Sessions* and *Windows Movie Maker*, as well as online applications such as video making and video editing tools available at

www.wevideo.com and www.youtube.com and speech recognition tools in www.voki.com and www.fotobabble.com, represent just some of the many options accessible to the EFL teachers and learners in the digitised world.

**Active Learning**

Fossilised inefficient paradigms have consistently been part of the EFL classes in Egyptian schools, in spite of the growing evidence of their inadequacy. Thus, the 10 interns who have been the subjects in this study, have been guided to avoid relying solely on "reading out loud, vocabulary tests and copying from the board/book" (Bartram, 2010: 47). Such activities have wrongly been regarded as tasks which promote active participation of the students in the EFL classes in Egypt. "What worked in the classroom a decade (or two or three) ago, however, will no longer suffice, for the simple reason that past approaches fail to develop the full battery of skills and abilities desired" in a 21st century school graduate (Allen, Duch and Groh, 2001b: 4).

Group work and pair work are activities which promote active participation of learners, as well as collaboration. These activities "promote a good atmosphere for collaborative learning" and "are never a waste of classroom time", despite what the traditional teachers and practitioners might believe (Allen, Duch & Groh, 2001a: 60). It seems that contemporary students are not satisfied with the traditional teaching practices as they always show interest in being involved in the class activites. Thus, the higher the rate of students' participation in class activities, the higher the probability of acquisition is to be expected. Techniques for socially and cognitively wiring students in class are not only restricted to group work and pair work, they comprise other techniques such as peer review, discussions, games and role-plays. Active learning techniques could also be implemented in the digitised world of the *world wide web*, such as developing websites which would include their assignments and an e-portfolio, recording their speech via the speech recognition tools, publishing their written or spoken deliveries online, implementing virtual environment tools to communicate with their classmates and teachers and upload their assignments, sharing data through various social media tools such as *Twitter*, *Instagram* and *WhatsApp*, and, finally, browsing the net in order

to find data as part of research. The cognitive assets and pedagogical merits of active and collaborative learning have consistently been confirmed in the literature and highly recommended in teaching/learning milieus (Brophy, 2001: 18).

## Differentiation

Recent research has witnessed interest in the process of differentiation in classroom activities because "individual differences have been one of the most important research topics in language learning" (Motallebzadeh and Sadripour, 2015: 35) milieus. One major criterion differentiating learners is the level of their intelligence as it substantially impacts their linguistic aptitudes. This correlation drawn between linguistic competence and intelligence has been recurrently emphasised in the literature, starting with the traditional perspectives concerning intelligence, which concentrate primarily on "verbal-linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligences" (Motallebzadeh and Sadripour, 2015: 35). However, recent theories of intelligence attached more taxonomies to the definition of intelligence, such as spatial recognition, speed of deduction, comparison and criticism.

In order to develop a system for applying differentiation techniques in the language classroom, teachers should be fully aware of the cognitive and intelligence potentials of their students. Two trends of grouping students are evident in schools; either students with multiple intelligence capabilities are grouped together in regular classes or gifted students are assembled in special classes, whereas students with learning difficulties are collected in different classes. "Both movements call for a differentiated curriculum that acknowledges students' diverse strengths" (Noble, 2004).

However, they can also be differentiated according to their learning styles. Sprenger (2008: 37-40) categorises learners' strategies into 6 major strategies: "visual", "auditory/verbal", "kinesthetic/tactile", "hands-on learners", "whole-body learners" and "doodlers", who primarily depend on graphics and shapes in their learning. In order to maximise the learning process, teachers should create opportunities and activities which enhance the learners' cognitive abilities, as well as the implementation of different learning strategies.

**Enhancing National Identity and Developing Multicultural Awareness**

Efficient teachers of foreign languages perform an eminently controversial task of preserving the national identity of the learners and concurrently expanding their multicultural awareness of the culture of the foreign language/s being taught. "Apart from developing the students' communicative (dialogic) competence in the target language, language teaching ought also as far as possible to enable students to develop into multilingually and multiculturally aware world citizens" (Risager, 2007: 1). Catering for multicultural alertness "is not synonymous with ceasing to take an interest in national and ethnic identities" (Risager, 2007: 1).

Due to "the formation of a pluralistic community of diversity and co-existence created by globalisation and internationalisation", fostering "intercultural competency has been advocated as an essential component in L2 classroom" (Chen and Yang, 2014). Some instructors view culture in terms of facts and, accordingly, they will teach stereotypes, famous people and places. "In contrast, instructors who believe culture is a dynamic, rather than a static, entity would probably view the teaching of culture as a process of discovery and construction and encourage students to construct their own cultural knowledge" (Chen and Yang: 2014). Culture cannot be restricted to the classical heritage or historical background of a nation; it transcends these boundaries to include everyday practices such as cuisines, interior designs of homes and offices, artifacts, language, beliefs, dancing, literature, buildings, hairstyle, clothes, religion and rituals. In an attempt to investigate the influence of language teachers' perception concerning the teaching of culture in the language classroom, Chen and Yang (2014) conducted qualitative research implementing both interviews with teachers and students, on the one hand, and observations, on the other. The interviews conducted in the needs analysis phase in this study indicate that language teachers confirm "that language and culture are closely interconnected" and their inevitable connectedness arises from the fact "that students cannot have a comprehensive grasp of a language without understanding its culture" (Chen and Yang, 2014).

In conclusion, the session concerning enhancing national identity and developing multicultural awareness has been

conducted through two channels: the importance of the national and multinational contextualisation of language and methodlogies implemented to foster these ideologies in the EFL classes.

**Private Tutoring**

For the past five decades, private tutoring in Egypt has been a consistently devastating development for both parents and the Ministry of Education, soaking the salaries of parents, on the one hand, and increasing the rates of absenteeism at schools under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, on the other. The urge for taking private tutoring in the Egyptian community has multi-faceted grounds and consequences. This social and educational phenomenon which originated in the 70s and expanded to become a dogmatised principle in the competence of parents and students in contemporary times, emerged from the following reasons: shortage of proficient and knowledgeable school teachers; weak salaries of school teachers; long working hours of parents leaving no opportunity for assisting their children, if they experience problems in learning at school; disbelief in autonomous learning; poor furnishing and accommodation conditions in public schools; size of the class, which, in public schools, ranged between 50 and 60 students in 2013 (El Sheekh and Tarek, 2013) and reached 80 students in 2015; "Egypt ranked 118th in regards to its quality of primary education according to the *Global Competitiveness Report* – issued by the *World Economic Forum* – for that year, behind Gambia and Nepal" (Abdel Aziz, 2015).

Egypt is not the only country suffering from private tutoring, as this educational phenomenon is witnessed in other countries such as Korea and Taiwan. Although the studies in literature had been restrictive in the past, current practitioners and researchers are exerting more effort in the investigation of such phenomenon, because "private tutoring had become recognised as a world-wide phenomenon that transcended geographic and national boundaries, as well as social class boundaries" (Bray, Mazawi and Sultana, 2013: 2). However, the definition and conception of private tutoring in each societal location immensely varies; to illustrate, private tutoring in Egypt "implies close mimicry of regular lessons in the private sector", (Bray, Mazawi and Sultana, 2013: 6), whereas in France private tutoring has three different taxonomies. First, coaching is

primarily concerned with consultancy regarding students' goals in education where the teacher's role is similar to that of the academic advisor in any educational credit-hour system; second, after school support focuses on the fulfillment of homework assignments and enhancing educational skills, and, finally, private lessons explaining academic content.

National policies combating "shadow education" or private tutoring have been implementing many paradigms (Kassotakis and Verdis, 2013: 18). In Greece, for example, free supplementary tutoring is provided to students and a programme for upgrading the teachers' qualifications and skills is adopted to make the private tutoring redundant and useless (Kassotakis and Verdis, 2013: 18).

## The Internship Programme at Zahran Secondary School, Alexandria, Egypt

This research includes a case study of the Egyptian internship programme for the undergraduate students at the English Department, Faculty of Education, Alexandria University, as part of their education. The internship programme allocates student teachers in various schools in Alexandria, according to the geographical distribution of these schools and the place of residence of the student teachers, who are distributed to the nearest schools in their residential areas. The role of the interns is "defined as an individual working in a temporary position that provides on-the-job training" (Lee, 2011: 10). Adopting the latest theories in initial teacher education, this programme is based on school-based contribution, as well as on university-based management. In the programme, a delegate from the Faculty of Education and a supervisor from the Ministry of Education are hired to work collaboratively in this internship programme. The fact that teachers' education programmes delivered in the different faculties of education in Egypt are neither standardised nor documented, is a predicament which exists in the educational systems of many developing, as well as developed countries, such as the USA, where "much of the innovation of teacher preparation, whether in university-based programmes or in other settings has not been well documented, and… data have not been systematically collected to support firm conclusions about which programs produce effective teachers" (Committee on the Study of Teacher Preparation Programmes in the United States,

and National Research Council, 2010: 15). Lack of documentation and research concerning the validation of teacher preparation programmes offered at the faculties of education in general and lack of reliable data concerning the internship programme in question, in particular, have constituted an inspirational force for the selection of the construct of the current research.

The annual evaluation procedures adopted by the Ministry of Education for measuring the teaching performance of teachers of English in Egyptian schools is mechanical and outdated. One drawback of such a system is the lack of analytical rubrics or a framework to measure the performance of teachers, resulting in unreliable scores. Leaving the evaluation process solely to mentors and supervisors leads to a high level of subjectivity in judgment and the inability to compare the results from different schools, as each mentor has based his/her evaluation on different criteria. Some supervisors would assess the performance of the interns according to whether or not their students have documented what is written on the board in their notebooks; other mentors would evaluate their performance according to their implementation of the computer-assisted language learning paradigms in class.

**The Target Population**

The target population consists of 10 fourth year students from the English Department, Faculty of Education, Alexandria University, Egypt. They are multi-majored in education, English literature, linguistics and translation. "Many states now have a double major as a requirement for secondary teacher certification", because "these requirements may improve teacher effectiveness, as subject matter knowledge is a significant predictor of teacher quality at least in some subjects and at some grade levels" (Chubb, 2012: 68). In addition, high levels of content competency allow teachers to be more creative in creating collaborative and active learning tasks for students. "Teachers who have a wide, deep and confident knowledge of the subject can afford to promote investigations by pupils and wide-ranging discussion among them" (Hagger and McIntyre, 2006: 5). Having a homogeneous population with roughly similar educational, age and residential background, assisted the researcher in developing the content of the 6-session workshop.

As in the United States, in Egypt the EFL "teaching work force remains overwhelmingly females" (Committee on the Study of Teacher Preparation Programs in the United States, and National Research Council, 2010: 14) and the target population consists of two males and eight females.

## Statement of the Problem and Research Objectives

The most crucial problem which was encountered in the first academic semester 2015/2016 during the procedures of evaluating the teaching performance of the target population was the gap between the pedagogical theories that they had studied in their courses at the Faculty of Education, Alexandria University, and the implementation and application of these theories in the classroom. This conflict resulted in the weak and inefficient teaching performance of the target population. To bridge this gap and to identify the topics which should be included in the 6-session workshop, the researcher conducted a comparative study comparing the topics studied in their courses at college and the areas of deficiency in their performance.

This research aims at:

1. Evaluating the teaching performance of the target population using the adapted version of Danielson's framework of teaching (2007: 3), as shown in tables 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

2. Designing and conducting a 6-session workshop for improving and developing the 6 most challenging teaching skills according to the process of assessment conducted prior the implementation of the 6-session workshop.

## Research Methodology

In order to achieve the above mentioned objectives, three different phases were implemented.

### *The Needs Analysis Phase*

The needs analysis process started in the fall 2015/2016, when the researcher was assigned to supervise and evaluate the performance of 10 interns at Zahran Secondary School. After one month of regular observation of the teaching performance of these interns, the researcher found that they demonstrated very weak teaching and classroom management skills. In spite of the consultation sessions held after their teaching, where the pros and cons of their performance were discussed, weak teaching

performance still persisted. Accordingly, the identification of the skills of teaching which needed improvement became one of the objectives of this research. This analytically diagnostic evaluation process was conducted by implementing and adapting Danielson's framework of teaching (2007: 3-5), as shown in tables 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, in the fall 2015/2016.

Although Danielson's framework of teaching is highly inclusive and comprehensive, other sub-skills of teaching are added to cope with 21st century teaching requirements. Boys (2008: 13) recapitulates the teaching process as possessing authentic passion for the language, pursuing and following updated research in the field of teaching, creating a "print-rich learning environment" in the class, formulating a precise list of the needs, expectations and abilities of the students, developing activities which generate an efficient learning environment and finally launching systems to build deferential relations with families.

Since supplementary workshops were selected as a technique for upgrading the teaching performance of the target population concerning the 6 most crucial challenges encountering the target population, the selection and validation of the topics discussed were carried out in the needs analysis stage. Interviews were conducted with the target population concerning the topics that they had studied in different pedagogical courses at the Faculty of Education. These interviews aimed at ensuring high rates of content and construct validity and the elimination of topics that had thoroughly been studied at their college. For further validation of the measures concerning the content and topics studied at the Faculty of Education, the researcher studied the course descriptions of all the subjects and courses studied by the target population at the Faculty of Education, Alexandria University.

Accordingly, the needs analysis process revealed the 6 most challenging hindrances witnessed in the teaching performance of the target population, as well as the topics to be discussed in the 6-session workshop developed to enhance the teaching potentials of the 10 interns.

### The 6-Session Workshop Phase

In the spring semester 2015/2016, which consists of 12 weeks, the researcher conducted a weekly 4-hour workshop for 6

weeks. Each of the following topics was discussed for a week during the 6-week period allocated for the delivery of the workshops:

1. Theories of learning,
2. CALL and MALL,
3. Active learning,
4. Differentiation,
5. Enhancing national identity and developing multicultural awareness,
6. Private tutoring.

The content of the workshops consisted primarily of the review of the literature for each topic. The target population was assigned to read the articles and/or books selected for the sessions of the workshop prior to the sessions. For example, they had to read the selected texts concerning the theories of learning before they attended the workshop session about the theories of learning. The researcher developed a *PowerPoint* presentation for each workshop and downloaded videos to illustrate the topic in question from www.youtube.com. The teaching methodologies implemented in the workshops were primarily discussions, role-play, debates, microteaching, group work, pair work, jigsaw, presentations and hands-on tasks for the session of CALL and MALL.

### Evaluation Phases and Scoring Validation

The evaluation of the teaching performance of the target population was conducted prior to the 6-session workshop and after the workshop. In other words, the first piloting of the assessment procedure was conducted at the end of the fall semester 2015/2016, whereas the second assessment was conducted at the end of the 2015/2016 spring semester. The adapted version of Daneilson's framework of teaching (2007: 3-5), as shown in tables 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, was integrated to assess the teaching performance of the 10 interns in the two administrations of the assessment process. The scores were statistically analysed using the SPSS (*Statistical Package for Social Sciences*) and the reliability factors were estimated using *Cronbach's Alpha equation,* as shown in Table 1, resulting in a value of 0.987, which confirmed high reliability measures. Test re-test statistical values were calculated in Table 2, proving high rates of validity coefficients of the rubrics, scores and scoring

tasks implemented in the evaluation process prior to the 6-session workshop and the second assessment delivered after the 6-session workshop.

| Domains | No. of Items | Cronbach's Alpha |
|---|---|---|
| Domain 1: Planning and Preparation | 27 | 0.935 |
| Domain 2: The Classroom Environment | 16 | 0.968 |
| Domain 3 Instruction | 22 | 0.979 |
| Domain 4: Professional Responsibilities | 20 | 0.875 |
| Domain 5: Teachers' character | 5 | 0.697 |
| **Overall** | **90** | **0.987** |

Table 1. Reliability statistics

| Domains | r | p |
|---|---|---|
| Domain 1: Planning and Preparation | 0.909* | <0.001* |
| Domain 2: The Classroom Environment | 0.978* | <0.001* |
| Domain 3 Instruction | 0.967* | <0.001* |
| Domain 4: Professional Responsibilities | 0.976* | <0.001* |
| Domain 5: Teachers' character | 0.933* | <0.001* |
| **Overall** | **0.984*** | **<0.001*** |

Table 2. Validity statistics using test-retest

| Domain 1: Planning and Preparation | Pre | | Post | | t | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | ±SD. | Mean | ±SD. | | |
| Component 1 a: Demonstrating Knowledge of Content and Pedagogy | 60.0 | 7.54 | 65.67 | 6.30 | 5.075* | 0.001* |
| Knowledge of content and the structure of the discipline | 72.0 | 4.22 | 72.0 | 4.22 | - | - |
| Knowledge of prerequisite relationships | 58.0 | 12.29 | 58.0 | 12.29 | - | - |
| Knowledge of content related pedagogy | 50.0 | 9.43 | 67.0 | 9.49 | 5.075* | 0.001* |
| Component 1 b.: Demonstrating Knowledge of Students | 47.50 | 2.89 | 62.50 | 3.33 | 14.230* | <0.001* |
| Knowledge of child and adolescent development | 80.0 | 0.0 | 80.0 | 0.0 | - | - |
| Knowledge of students' skills, knowledge, and language proficiency | 42.0 | 4.22 | 58.0 | 4.22 | 9.798* | <0.001* |
| Knowledge of students' interests and cultural heritage | 51.0 | 8.76 | 63.0 | 10.59 | 4.811* | <0.001* |
| Knowledge of students' special needs. | 17.0 | 6.75 | 49.0 | 5.68 | 11.012* | <0.001* |
| Component 1 c: Demonstrating knowledge of CALL & MALL | 24.33 | 22.67 | 75.0 | 5.72 | 8.359* | <0.001* |
| Knowledge of the theories of MALL & CALL | 27.0 | 23.12 | 70.0 | 8.16 | 7.435* | <0.001* |
| Knowledge of online software & | 22.0 | 22.51 | 78.0 | 6.32 | 8.358* | <0.001* |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| applications | | | | | | |
| knowledge of off-line software & applications | 24.0 | 23.19 | 77.0 | 4.83 | 8.368* | <0.001* |
| Component 1 d: Demonstrating knowledge of theories of learning | 31.67 | 5.93 | 69.0 | 5.22 | 17.328* | <0.001* |
| Knowledge of latest theories of learning | 34.0 | 8.43 | 76.0 | 6.99 | 14.453* | <0.001* |
| Knowledge of autonomy | 3.0 | 9.49 | 63.0 | 9.49 | 16.432* | <0.001* |
| Knowledge of various learning strategies | 58.0 | 4.22 | 68.0 | 4.22 | 6.708* | <0.001* |
| Component 1 e. Setting Instructional Outcomes | 42.67 | 3.44 | 63.33 | 4.71 | 17.270* | <0.001* |
| Value, sequence and alignment | 47.0 | 4.83 | 66 | 5.16 | 10.585* | <0.001* |
| Clarity | 48.0 | 4.22 | 65 | 7.07 | 11.129* | <0.001* |
| Balance | 33.0 | 6.75 | 59.0 | 3.16 | 11.759* | <0.001* |
| Component 1f: Demonstrating Knowledge of Resources | 39.33 | 11.42 | 62 | 8.78 | 17.493* | <0.001* |
| Resources for classroom use | 43.0 | 14.94 | 69.0 | 8.76 | 9.750* | <0.001* |
| Resources to extend content knowledge and pedagogy | 43.0 | 14.94 | 62 | 11.35 | 8.143* | <0.001* |
| Resources for students | 32.0 | 6.32 | 55 | 8.50 | 10.776* | <0.001* |
| Component 1 g: Designing Coherent Instruction | 46.25 | 7.66 | 63.0 | 6.95 | 13.521* | <0.001* |
| Learning activities | 40.0 | 10.54 | 64 | 9.66 | 14.697* | 0.019* |
| Instructional materials and resources | 60.0 | 12.47 | 69.0 | 8.76 | 2.862* | <0.001* |
| Instructional groups | 36.0 | 8.43 | 55.0 | 7.07 | 10.585* | <0.001* |
| Lesson and unit structure | 49.0 | 9.94 | 64 | 10.75 | 5.582* | <0.001* |
| Component 1h: Designing Student Assessments | 48.25 | 6.35 | 55.75 | 4.87 | 7.115* | <0.001* |
| Congruence with instructional outcomes | 47.0 | 11.60 | 63.0 | 9.49 | 6.000* | <0.001* |
| Criteria and standards | 52.0 | 6.32 | 58.0 | 6.32 | 3.674* | 0.005* |
| Design of formative assessments | 52.0 | 6.32 | 60.0 | 4.71 | 6.000* | <0.001* |
| Use for planning | 42.0 | 4.22 | 42.0 | 4.22 | 7.115* | <0.001* |
| **Total Domain 1** | **43.04** | **6.84** | **64.07** | **5.13** | **21.789*** | **<0.001*** |

Table 3. Comparison between pre- and postevaluation
according to Domain 1: Planning and Preparation

t: Paired t-test
*: Statistically significant at p ≤ 0.05

Table 3 shows that four sub-skills classified under the first domain, planning and preparation, point to a stagnant performance, as no development was witnessed if we compare the scores accomplished in the pre- and postevaluation stages. The said four sub-skills include:

Component 1 a: Demonstrating Knowledge of Content and Pedagogy:

1. Knowledge of content and the structure of the discipline
2. Knowledge of prerequisite relationships

Component 1 b: Demonstrating Knowledge of Students
3. Knowledge of child and adolescent development

Component 1h: Designing Student Assessments
4. Use for planning

However, Table 3 indicates that the rest of the sub-skills in this domain witnessed high rates of development. The highest rates of progress were achieved in:

Component 1 c: Demonstrating knowledge of CALL & MALL
1. Knowledge of online software & applications
2. Knowledge of off-line software & applications

As far as their competencies in the implementation of online and offline software and applications in their teaching are concerned, it was discovered that the target population's knowledge concerning the digital tools available was substantial and consistently increasing. However, they only used such tools in their teaching after the 6-session workshop. They used the applications such as *WhatsApp*, *Facebook*, *Viber* and *Instagram* in their social communication rather than as pedagogical tools in EFL classes.

On the other hand, domain 2: The Classroom Environment, was statistically analysed in Table 4. The statistical values for the mean of 28.38 in the preevaluation and 50.69 in the postevaluation stage respectively, reflect high rates of progress in the skills of the target population after the execution of the 6-session workshop. The only sub-skill in this domain which did not show any kind of development is *Importance of the Content,* classified under the Component 2b: Establishing a Culture for Learning. On the contrary, best progress was accomplished in the Component 2b: Establishing a Culture for Learning: Students Pride in Work.

| Domain 2: The Classroom Environment | Pre | | Post | | t | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | ±SD. | Mean | ±SD. | | |
| Component 2a: Creating an Environment of Respect and Rapport | 37.67 | 10.43 | 60.33 | 11.91 | 17.493* | <0.001* |
| Creating an Environment of Respect and Rapport | 40.0 | 12.47 | 57.0 | 8.23 | 6.530* | <0.001* |
| Teacher interaction with students | 39.0 | 14.49 | 65.0 | 16.50 | 8.510* | <0.001* |
| Students interaction with other students | 34.0 | 9.66 | 59.0 | 12.87 | 8.135* | <0.001* |
| Component 2b: Establishing a Culture for Learning | 12.0 | 11.78 | 37.33 | 12.84 | 17.804* | <0.001* |
| Importance of the content | 17.0 | 22.14 | 17.0 | 22.14 | - | - |
| Expectations for learning and achievement | 19.0 | 15.95 | 46.0 | 12.65 | 8.060* | <0.001* |
| Students pride in work | 0.0 | 0.0 | 49.0 | 8.76 | 17.697* | <0.001* |
| Component 2c: Managing Classroom Procedures | 29.60 | 14.54 | 48.80 | 13.70 | 18.437* | <0.001* |
| Management of instructional groups | 17.0 | 12.52 | 56.0 | 13.50 | 11.207* | <0.001* |
| Management of transitions | 25.0 | 12.69 | 47.0 | 11.60 | 16.500* | <0.001* |
| Management of materials and supplies | 28.0 | 22.51 | 55.0 | 14.34 | 9.000* | <0.001* |
| Performance of non-instructed duties | 41.0 | 12.87 | 48.0 | 15.49 | 3.280* | 0.010* |
| Supervision of volunteers and paraprofessionals | 37.0 | 16.36 | 38.0 | 17.51 | 1.000 | 0.343 |
| Component 2d: Managing Student Behavior | 25.0 | 14.76 | 49.0 | 10.19 | 7.754* | <0.001* |
| Expectations | 28.0 | 6.32 | 49.0 | 11.01 | 7.584* | <0.001* |
| Monitoring of student behavior | 25.0 | 19.58 | 50.0 | 9.43 | 5.514* | <0.001* |
| Response to student misbehavior | 22.0 | 18.74 | 48.0 | 13.17 | 6.500* | <0.001* |
| Component 2e: Organising Physical Space | 41.0 | 22.71 | 63.50 | 9.44 | 4.644* | 0.002* |
| Safety and accessibility | 40.0 | 22.61 | 57.0 | 14.94 | 4.295* | 0.002* |
| Arrangement of furniture and use of physical resources | 42.0 | 23.0 | 70.0 | 4.71 | 4.452* | 0.001* |
| **Total Domain 2** | **28.38** | **13.44** | **50.69** | **11.28** | **21.000*** | **<0.001*** |

Table 4. Comparison between pre- and postevaluation
according to Domain 2: The Classroom Environment

| Domain 3 Instruction | Pre | | Post | | t | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | ±SD. | Mean | ±SD. | | |
| Component 3a: Communicating with Students | 34.25 | 14.19 | 54.50 | 9.85 | 13.007* | <0.001* |
| Expectations for learning | 27.0 | 18.29 | 59.0 | 9.94 | 9.798* | <0.001* |
| Directions and procedures | 25.0 | 17.16 | 44.0 | 10.75 | 6.862* | <0.001* |
| Explanation of content | 45.0 | 12.69 | 58.0 | 9.19 | 6.091* | <0.001* |
| Use of oral and written language | 40.0 | 11.55 | 57.0 | 11.60 | 11.129* | <0.001* |
| Component 3b: Using Questioning and Discussion Techniques | 29.0 | 12.18 | 52.67 | 11.09 | 16.385* | <0.001* |
| Quality of questions | 29.0 | 11.01 | 52.0 | 13.17 | 10.776* | <0.001* |
| Discussion techniques | 32.0 | 13.98 | 53.0 | 11.60 | 11.699* | <0.001* |
| Student participation | 26.0 | 12.65 | 53.0 | 10.59 | 10.371* | <0.001* |
| Component 3c: Engaging Students in Learning | 24.75 | 13.30 | 56.25 | 9.30 | 18.357* | <0.001* |
| Activities and assignments | 20.0 | 11.55 | 55.0 | 12.69 | 21.000* | <0.001* |
| Grouping of students | 16.0 | 18.38 | 61.0 | 7.38 | 11.211* | <0.001* |
| Instructional materials and resources | 33.0 | 14.18 | 59.0 | 9.94 | 8.510* | <0.001* |
| Structures and pacing | 30.0 | 14.14 | 50.0 | 9.43 | 7.746* | <0.001* |
| Component 3d: Using Assessment in Instruction | 27.75 | 6.29 | 38.0 | 8.23 | 9.462* | <0.001* |
| Assessment criteria | 41.0 | 7.38 | 51.0 | 7.38 | 6.708* | <0.001* |
| Monitoring of student learning | 37.0 | 9.49 | 59.0 | 9.94 | 11.000* | <0.001* |
| Feedback to students | 33.0 | 11.60 | 42.0 | 16.87 | 2.862* | 0.019* |
| Student self-assessment and monitoring of progress | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | - | - |
| Component 3e: Demonstrating Flexibility and Responsiveness | 32.0 | 14.92 | 51.0 | 12.48 | 9.544* | <0.001* |
| Lesson adjustment | 31.0 | 13.70 | 48.0 | 10.33 | 7.965* | <0.001* |
| Response to students | 30.0 | 17.0 | 47.0 | 17.03 | 6.530* | <0.001* |
| Persistence | 35.0 | 15.09 | 58.0 | 10.33 | 10.776* | <0.001* |
| Component 3 f: Implementing CALL & MALL activities | 8.0 | 15.49 | 59.5 | 10.39 | 17.810* | <0.001* |
| Online software & applications | 5.0 | 15.81 | 60.0 | 12.47 | 12.845* | <0.001* |
| Offline software & applications | 11.0 | 16.63 | 59.0 | 12.87 | 14.697* | <0.001* |
| Component 3g: Using differentiation techniques | 0.0 | 0.0 | 37.0 | 20.58 | 5.687* | <0.001* |
| Developing tailored tasks for different cognitive potentials | 0.0 | 0.0 | 37.00 | 20.58 | 5.687* | <0.001* |
| Grouping students according to their cognitive abilities | 0.0 | 0.0 | 37.00 | 20.58 | 5.687* | <0.001* |
| **Total Domain 3** | **24.82** | **10.89** | **49.95** | **10.22** | **28.616*** | **<0.001*** |

Table 5. Comparison between pre- and postevaluation
according to Domain 3 Instruction

Table 5 shows that the sub-skills scoring the highest rates of development as far as the Domain 3: Instruction is concerned, were:

Component 3c: Engaging Students in Learning
Grouping of students

Component 3 f: Implementing CALL & MALL activities
Online software & applications

The only sub-skill which remained stagnant was Student self-assessment and monitoring of progress, under the Component 3d: Using Assessment in Instruction, as the students at Zahran Secondary School were still not used to the fact that they were competent enough to evaluate their own performance. They had a fossilised conception that their teacher was the only one who could perform the task of assessment.

| Domain 4: Professional Responsibilities | Pre | | Post | | t | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | ±SD. | Mean | ±SD. | | |
| Component 4a: Reflecting on teaching | 19.50 | 17.07 | 34.0 | 14.68 | 7.660* | <0.001* |
| Accuracy | 19.0 | 15.95 | 35.0 | 12.69 | 7.236* | <0.001* |
| Use in future teaching | 20.0 | 18.26 | 33.0 | 17.03 | 6.091* | <0.001* |
| Component 4b: Maintaining Accurate Records | 16.0 | 12.65 | 19.33 | 13.31 | 6.708 | <0.001* |
| Student completion of assignments | 24.0 | 18.97 | 33.0 | 18.89 | 9.000 | 0.343 |
| Student progress in learning | 24.0 | 18.97 | 25.0 | 21.21 | 1.000* | <0.001* |
| Non-instructional records | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | - | - |
| Component 4c: Participating in a Professional Community | 30.50 | 3.87 | 45.25 | 3.81 | 12.875 | <0.001* |
| Relationships with colleagues | 70.0 | 0.0 | 78.0 | 6.32 | 4.000* | 0.003* |
| Involvement in a culture of professional inquiry | 30.0 | 0.0 | 42.0 | 10.33 | 3.674* | 0.005* |
| Service to the school | 21.0 | 14.49 | 60.0 | 0.00 | 8.510 | <0.001* |
| Participation in school and district projects | 1.0 | 3.16 | 1.0 | 3.16 | - | - |
| Component 4d: Growing and Developing Professionally | 33.33 | 7.70 | 41.67 | 5.27 | 6.228* | <0.001* |
| Enhancement of content knowledge and pedagogical skill | 30.0 | 23.09 | 54.0 | 13.50 | 5.622* | <0.001* |
| Receptivity to feedback from colleagues | 70.0 | 0.0 | 71.0 | 3.16 | 1.000 | 0.343 |
| Service to the profession | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | - | - |
| Component 4f: Showing Professionalism | 31.0 | 3.56 | 46.40 | 8.73 | 6.899 | <0.001* |
| Integrity and ethical conduct | 70.0 | 0.0 | 70.0 | 0.0 | - | - |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Service to students | 0.0 | 0.0 | 26.0 | 13.50 | 6.091* | <0.001* |
| Advocacy | 15.0 | 17.80 | 44.0 | 18.38 | 5.513* | <0.001* |
| Decision making | 0.0 | 0.0 | 22.0 | 19.32 | 3.601* | 0.006* |
| Compliance with school and district regulations | 70.0 | 0.0 | 70.0 | 0.00 | - | - |
| Component 4g: Combating private tutoring | 0.0 | 0.0 | 10.67 | 7.98 | 4.226* | 0.002* |
| Advice teachers, administration, families & students to boycott private tutoring | 0.0 | 0.0 | 15.0 | 10.80 | 4.392 | 0.089 |
| Penalty for students taking private tutoring | 0.0 | 0.0 | 7.0 | 11.60 | 1.909* | 0.023* |
| Rewarding students boycotting private tutoring | 0.0 | 0.0 | 10.0 | 11.55 | 2.739* | 0.002* |
| **Total Domain 4** | **23.20** | **5.93** | **34.80** | **7.37** | **17.876*** | **<0.001*** |

Table 6. Comparison between pre- and postevaluation
according to Domain 4: Professional Responsibilities

Table 6 shows that maximum scores were achieved in the two sub-skills: Involvement in a culture of professional inquiry and Service to the school, both of which are classified under Component 4c: Participating in a Professional Community. Because of the time constraints of the internship programme and the minimal teaching experience of the target population, this domain reveals marginal or no development in many of its sub-skills.

| Domain 5: Teachers' character | Pre | | Post | | t | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | ±SD. | Mean | ±SD. | | |
| Component 5A: Accessible and admirable | 32.0 | 13.78 | 42.0 | 11.60 | 5.477 | <0.001* |
| Coming down to the level of the students | 40.0 | 13.33 | 47.0 | 9.49 | 3.280* | 0.010* |
| Admiration is the result of teachers' sincerity, integrity and ability | 24.0 | 15.06 | 37.0 | 14.94 | 4.993* | 0.001* |
| Component 5B: Humane and modest | 44.50 | 1.58 | 44.5 | 1.58 | - | - |
| Teachers' humane qualities | 39.0 | 3.16 | 39.0 | 3.16 | - | - |
| Humility | 50.0 | 0.0 | 50.0 | 0.00 | - | - |
| Component 5c: A passion for teaching | 52.0 | 6.32 | 52.0 | 6.32 | - | - |
| **Total Domain 5** | **41.0** | **6.41** | **45.0** | **5.83** | **5.477*** | **<0.001*** |

Table 7. Comparison between pre and post evaluation
according to Domain 5: Teachers' Character

As shown in Table 7, the sub-skills classified under the Domain (5) revealed minimal development, except for the sub-

skill – Admiration. This comes as the result of teachers' sincerity, integrity and ability, categorised under the Component 5A: Accessible and admirable.

When comparing the performance of the target population according to the total mean values and standard deviation for the 5 domains, as shown in tables 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, it is obvious that the Domain (2): The Classroom Environment and the Domain (3): Instruction, achieved the highest rates of progress – 22.31 and 25.13 respectively; whereas the Domain (4): Professional responsibilities and the Domain (5): Teachers' Character scored the least values of development, estimated at 11.6 and 4 respectively.

| | Pre | | Post | | t | p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Mean** | **±SD.** | **Mean** | **±SD.** | | |
| Overall | 31.46 | 8.61 | 50.68 | 7.82 | 36.391* | <0.001* |

Table 8. Comparison between pre and post evaluation according to overall mean and standard deviation values

Table 8 points to a significant development in the teaching performance of the target population with a difference of 19.22 between the preevaluation and the post-evaluation stages.

**Conclusion**

The 6-session workshop assisted the 10 interns in identifying their teaching mistakes and allowed proposing remedies and resolutions for the obstacles they encountered in the 2015/2016 fall semester. This was strongly reflected in the progress the interns accomplished in the discussed teaching skills in general and, in particular, in their skills of creating an efficient and encouraging classroom environment.

Serious efforts have been invested in developing the proficiency levels and competencies of the EFL teachers in Egypt. The joint project between the Ministry of Education and the British Council in Egypt, which aims at developing the teaching proficiency levels of the EFL teachers, is a case in point. However, the Egyptian internship programme would benefit from implementing a framework for assessing the teaching proficiency levels of the EFL teachers, as the subjective evaluation procedures employed by the supervisors have proven to be lacking and inefficient. Accordingly, the discussed modified

version of Danielson's framework of teaching could be used in the assessment process as part of the internship programme.

"The use of CALL in language programs has become a standard and expected part of a curriculum" (Kessler, 2006: 23). Accordingly, installing it into the assessment rubrics within the Egyptian internship programme could be beneficial. Tables 3 and 5 showed the highest rates of development in the target population's knowledge and implementation of CALL (Computer-Assisted Language Learning) and MALL (Mobile-Assisted Language Learning). This progress could partially arise from the (un)availability of the technological devices required. "While there may be many reasons that technology becomes unused or underused, access to resources is most often identified as the reason that technology for instruction remains unutilised" (Kessler, 2006: 27). Many schools in Alexandria, Egypt, do not have access to such digital devices and the integration of CALL (Computer-Assisted Language Learning) and/or MALL (Mobile-Assisted Language Learning) would be unfeasible. Consequently, it is highly recommended that the workshops delivered to the interns comprise a session about fundraising, so that schools can buy technological devices and pay for their maintenance.

Reviewing the current state of the educational system in Egypt, private tutoring is consistently regarded as a devastating phenomenon for the schools, the Ministry of Education, parents and teachers, who generally do not believe in the efficiency of private tutoring. As for schools and the Ministry of Education in Egypt, students taking private tutoring do not attend schools relying on their private tutoring sessions. The phenomenon of absenteeism hinders the process of teaching, especially in high schools, where the rate of absenteeism sometimes reaches 100%. Although "a few governments (e.g. Singapore and South Africa) perceive private tutoring to have valuable dimensions which deserve active encouragement" (Bray and Silova, 2006: 100), private tutoring in Egypt constitutes a nightmare to the parents who are obliged to pay substantial amounts of money for private tutoring. This educational phenomenon should be combated by the teachers, the government, parents, school boards as well as students. The techniques of fighting such a destructive phenomenon could be among the topics to be discussed within the workshops for interns. It is highly recommended that such a topic be part of the EFL teacher education. Accordingly, it seems

advisable that such an in-service system of workshops be developed with the aim to upgrade the teaching competencies of the EFL teachers and to come up with the solutions for all the hindrances that such new teachers may encounter.

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## Abbreviations

EFL English as a foreign language
NCLB No Child Left Behind Act
CALL  computer-assisted language learning
MALL mobile-assisted language learning
DfES Department of Education and Skills in the United Kingdom
KS3 Key Stage 3
IGCSE  International General Certificate of Secondary Education
SPSS Statistical Package for Social Sciences
USB Universal Serial Bus
IUFM Instituts Universitaires de Formation des Maîtres

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# JUSTICE DRIVERS: THE SOCIO-COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF YORUBA INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

**Abstract:** *Justice is a widely attested sacrosanct lifeblood of every human society which requires fair-play and impartial judgment and is often represented by a woman holding a balanced pair of scales in one hand and bearing a sword in the other, symbolising carefully weighed evidence and protection of the innocent, as well as punishment for the guilty; at times, justice is blindfolded, indicating impartiality. Though universal, justice is driven differently in different societies, as it is a derivative of the culture and tradition of the people with, often, a blend of some foreign touch, establishing its universality – universal justice – a source of which is expected to be divine or supreme, attesting to a human inborn tendency. If justice is divine, then the source of true justice transcends humans, which translates into the fact that all human societies draw principles from this higher source and apply the principles so drawn in line with the peculiarities of their culture and tradition. Hence, the extent to which justice is manifest or practiced in any society is contingent on how close or far away the society is to applying the divine justice. Since no human society has been able to abide by these principles perfectly, humans can attain no perfect justice. A discussion of perfect justice, as exemplified by a particular society and thus expected to be imitated by another, is beyond the scope of this paper. This paper investigates what drives justice and how justice is driven among the Yoruba. This paper argues that the Yoruba exploit the socio-communicative value of taboos, proverbs and àrokò[3] to sustain justice in the society. The paper presents the issue through the frame of the principle of shared knowledge and socio-cultural competence.*

**Keywords**: *justice, communication, shared knowledge, taboo, àrokò, proverbs*

## Introduction

Injustice is everywhere in the world around us; as the Yoruba would say, *orí yéye ní mògùn, tàìṣẹ̀ lójù* ("so many heads

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[3] *Àrokò* is the Yoruba's non-verbal traditional system of communication which makes use of symbols, objects and signs.

are found at the Ogun shrine; most of these are the heads of the innocent"). For example, an untold number of people have lost their lives to poverty, war, crime and terrorism. In October 2011, the U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon stated: "Our world is one of terrible contradictions. Plenty of food but one billion people goes [sic] hungry. Lavish lifestyles for a few, but poverty for too many others. Huge advances in medicine while mothers die every day in childbirth... Billions spent on weapons to kill people instead of keeping them safe" (Awake! July 7, 2011: 7).

In Nigeria, injustice seems to be the 'staple', the basic, popular, and common 'food' fed to the innocent and hapless souls. To illustrate, here are some common scenarios: in the market, a cup of rice is sold double the amount it was bought, yet the retailer quips, '*it's because you be customer o!*' In the court of law, an impoverished complainant loses the case to a wealthy defendant and loses what rightfully belongs to him; yet, it is claimed '*a fair judgment'*. In the university, a young woman fails a course because she rejected the sexual advances of the male lecturer. In the church, the clergy basks in wealth while the congregation patiently awaits their heavenly rewards for supporting the '*Lord's ministry*' and '*sowing seeds*'. At home, a man exercises his machismo by subjecting his defenseless wife to brutality for not getting his food ready on time or for shirking her sexual responsibility. The proverbs below underscore the ubiquity of injustice from time immemorial:

i. **Ori yeye ni mogun taise lopo**.
[lit] Head many at the shrine the innocent many
Many are executed at the shrine but most of them, innocent of the crime.

ii. **Toba lase**.
[lit] The king's orders are supreme.

iii. **Olowo legbon talaka**.
[lit] The man is superior to the poor man.

iv. **Ole laye ogba; ibi gbogbo logba alagbara**.
[lit] The lazy are deprived, everywhere belongs to the powerful.

v. **Okunrin le laya mefa koburu; oko kan soso loba Oluwa yan fobinrin.**

[lit] Men can be polygamous; a woman is not permitted to be.

Each of the proverbs above underscores a point: oppression and injustice are all-pervasive, even among the traditional Yoruba society. The tears of the oppressed fill both the altar of sacrifice and the land. Such are the grim consequences of misapplication of concepts and casting aspersions on culture and tradition. Does this mean that the Yoruba before the incursion of the Europeans had no sense of justice or justice-inspired principles? We return to this question in another section of this paper.

The paper is structured as follows: the next section defines justice. Thereafter, we discuss the meaning of communicative competence, the theoretical underpinning of this paper. Next, we discuss drivers of justice among the Yoruba – Àrokò, Taboo.

**Justice – what it is**

Justice is a widely attested sacrosanct lifeblood of every human society which requires fair-play and impartial judgment and is often represented universally by a woman holding in one hand a balanced pair of scales and bearing sword in the other, symbolising carefully weighed evidence and protection of the innocent as well as punishment of the guilty; at times, justice is blindfolded, indicating impartiality.

Though universal, justice is driven differently in different societies. Its universality lies in the fact that it is a product of the conscience, a human pre-birth-built-in or inborn faculty that makes humans stand back, look at themselves or at a situation, and make moral judgment. One's sense of justice is often influenced by the environment, society, and experience. Olaoba (2001: 2) observes that the motivation for indigenous law upon which justice is based "derives essentially from customs and traditions" of the people with whom one lives. He adds that "the non-literate know the law through the various segments of the traditions that had over the years, been memorised". This paper hastens to add that justice these days is often a blend of some foreign touch, including associations or organisations and past judgments (precedence) in the community and or around the word establishing its universality. For example, the colonial administration established her first Native Courts as early as 1915, with Grade A court assigned only to Alafin of Oyo. Others

were assigned grades B, C, and D (Atanda, 1970 in Olaoba, 2001: 10).

Interestingly, the ultimate source of universal justice is expected to be divine or supreme. We mentioned earlier that Justice is derived from tradition. One of Yoruba traditions relates to the peopling of Yoruba land. The tradition suggests that the 'prehistoric man lived in parts of Yoruba land' (Ogunremi and Adediran, 1998: 4). This tradition claims that the human race had its origin at Ile-Ife from where all men migrated to other parts of the world. Whether this tradition is true or not, it highlights the fact that man has a common ancestor. If this is so, then the source of true justice is superior to human [sic] and this translates into the fact that all human societies draw principles from this higher source and apply the principles so drawn in consonance with the peculiarities of the people's culture and tradition. Hence, the extent to which justice is manifest or practiced in any society is contingent on how close to or far away from the principles of divine justice such a society has become. Since no human society has been able to keep to or apply these principles perfectly, humans can attain no perfect justice.

Therefore, a discussion of perfect justice, as exemplified by a particular society and thus expected to be imitated by another as a model, is beyond the scope of this paper. To this end then, this paper investigates what drives justice and how justice is driven among the Yoruba, the second largest ethnic group found in the south west part of Nigeria (Alarape and Pelemo, 2014: 641), with about 13 million speakers of Yoruba in the western part of Nigeria alone (Folarin, 1987). Thus, a study of what drives justice and how this is done among these people will be a worthwhile effort, considering their population. It is argued that taboo, proverbs and àrokò are among the major drivers of justice among the Yoruba, and they serve in this capacity because of their socio-communicative roles in society. The theoretical framework of the paper is communicative competence.

## Communicative competence

Communicative Competence is a linguistic theory, which has a larger scope than Chomsky's linguistic competence. Gumperz (1982: 154, 206, 209) says it is the abstract cognitive knowledge which a native speaker of a language possesses. He concludes:

"This means that the ability to use linguistic variables, to shift locally current or styles, to select suitable phonetic variants, or prosodic or formulaic options, must form and integral part of a speaker's communicative competence… Communicative competence can be defined in interactional terms as 'the knowledge of linguistic related communicative conventions that speakers must have to create and sustain conversational,'and thus involves both grammar and contextualisation" (Gumperz, 1982: 206-209).

Saville-Troike defines the term as follows:

"Communicative competence extends to both knowledge and expectation of who may or may not speak in certain settings, when to speak and when to remain silent, whom one may speak to, how one may talk to persons of different statuses and roles, what nonverbal behaviours are appropriate in various contexts, what the routines for turn-taken are in conversation, how to ask for and give information, how to request, how to offer or decline assistance or cooperation, how to give commands, how to enforce discipline, and the like – in short, everything involving the use of language and other communicative dimensions in particular social settings" (Saville-Troike, 1996: 363, in Wardhaugh, 2006: 250).

Observe that communicative competence is not just concerned with Chomsky's linguistic competence, which he distinguishes from performance. Chomsky (1965: 4) makes this significant distinction, "We thus make a fundamental distinction between competence (the speaker-hearer's knowledge of his language) and performance (the actual use of language in concrete situations)". Adejare (1995) rightly observes that such a description is a superhuman, idealised hyper-abstraction of a pre-Babel speech community. Instead, rather, competence in this paper is concerned with contexts, social norms, tradition, custom, appropriateness, and unspoken nonverbal behaviors characteristic of a society, people and situation.

Interestingly, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015: 66) say that communicative competence relates to the "sense of social norms in discourse that speakers within a speech community share, along with ideas about the social group identities indexed by various varieties or features of language used in the community". They add:

"the term communicative competence... is sometimes used to describe the knowledge of how to use language in culturally appropriate ways.'It is the ability to produce and understand utterraces which are socially appropriate in particular contexts, in contrast with linguistic competence" Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015: 230, 400).

Hence communicative competence as a highly complex ability includes grammatical accuracy, intelligibility and acceptability, contextual appropriateness, phonetics and fluency. Thus it includes linguistic, sociolinguistic (understanding of social relations and impact on communication), discourse (knowledge of rules of discourse and well-formedness) and strategic (ability to improvise one's way to a solution when suddenly faced with language problems) competencies. Goodwin (2001) agrees with the above conclusion on the various components of communicative competence. He states that the components include discourse, intonation, pragmatic awareness and non-verbal communication.

Therefore, communicative competence is more akin to our discussion of justice as it seems to be societally conditioned and contextually based. The native speaker's communicative competence informs how successfully he/she applies the justice drivers in a situation.

## Drivers of justice

The traditional Yoruba society can be described and is indeed a community of 'alákọrís', a term which literally means "*eni ti o n ko ori; eni ti o n ko nkan sori*", meaning "he who commits things to memory; he who learns by heart". The traditional woman never went to school but she could commit to memory national history, narratives, panegyrics, family customs and traditions and even pass these on to the next generation. The men could use proverbs, connect actions or inactions with taboo or send àrokò to condemn, praise, and alert to danger. One would be wrong to claim that the traditional Yoruba society was full of monkeys, fools and stack illiterate, in this context. With those alákọrí characteristics, the people could rule, judge and perpetuate customs and tradition, preserving them until the era of the proud alákòwé or 'literate' community of this generation. How did they teach justice and effect it? Olaoba (2001: 3)

answers: "The traditional sources of information on the legal tradition among the Yoruba are numerous. The sources are derivations of oral tradition. They are the proverbs, maxims, precedents, taboos, folktales, etc.: they did so by the use of proverbs, appealing to the potency of taboo or by sending Aroko. We consider each of the following sections.

## Proverbs

Proverbs are groups of words whose meaning, like idioms, cannot be arrived at from the individual words making up the proverbs. They are characteristically metaphorical, fixed and, figurative. Proverbs are neither merely used for decoration in conversation, nor simply play aesthetic roles in it; rather, they are at the fulcrum of acceptable medium of communication or knowledge transmission from generation to generation (Hussein, 2005). Hence, when a true Yoruba man or woman wants to use a proverb, he first of all acknowledges the elders or does so immediately after saying the proverb.

Stone (2006) says of proverbs: "Generally speaking, proverbs are popular sayings that express commonly held truths", with their chief ingredients, according to James Howell, being "sense, shortness, and salt" (Stone, 2006: 2). They are, to quote Lord Russell, "the wit of one and the wisdom of many". And, as Sir Francis Bacon had pointed out, "the genius, wit, and spirit of a nation are discovered in its proverbs". Of course, the English word proverb does not accurately represent the Yoruba òwe. In fact, there exists no single English word that perfectly captures the very essence of the word. Therefore, Owomoyela (2005: 3) defines proverbs from Yoruba's perspective as follows:

> "Reduced to its essence, therefore, owe is a speech form that likens, or compares, one thing or situation to another, highlighting the essential similarities that the two share. In Yoruba usage, it is always at least one complete sentence".

Proverbs among the Yoruba can be regarded as indigenous, since their operation is among the indigenous Yoruba people. By indigenous here, we mean the native or vernacular for transmitting and maintaining continuity in order to refine the moral and ethical behavior of members of a community. Olaoba (2001) explains that among the Yoruba, proverbs have always

been useful sources for legal tradition reconstructing as they are useful and relevant in settling disputes. The elders, by relying on proverbs, have answers to all problems in the society. Okunowo (2012) has this to say about proverbs generally and among the Yoruba in particular:

> "Proverbs are figural and signifying acts of meaning that mediate interpretation and negotiate pragmatic signification at linguistic, philosophical and cultural levels. The depth of proverbs as metaspeech and verbal strategy in Yoruba rhetoric culture".

Yes, proverbs are deep and carry heavy functional loads among the Yoruba.

Folorunso [2006] maintains that the Yoruba people had a way of settling disputes before the arrival of the white men and that many of our African disputes could be resolved in the African way. He observes that the Yoruba people are conversant with value justice; they make use of impartial witness. The Yoruba have a large collection of proverbs, mostly oral. Therefore, to illustrate the legal potency of the Yoruba proverbs, we provide some examples below:

1. **Ole nii mese ole to lórí àpáta**.
It is a thief that can discover the path of another thief on a rock.

The Yoruba's effective system of justice is vivid in the principles contained in this proverb: "Put the round peg in the round hole". Thus, when there is war, warriors, not farmers, must go and fight and, when there is famine, farmers, not carpenters are called upon.

2. **Oko kii je ti baba ati omo ki o maa ni aala.**
There is always a line of demarcation between the farms owned by the father and his son.

This proverb underscores the right to property. It empha-sises that there is no need to claim what does not belong to one. Should one try to do so, the elders should look for the marks which prove ownership. Such marks may be concrete or abstract. If the property is tangible like land, the mark is seen in the form of landmarks. If the property is parenthood, the action and inaction of the so-called parents and child will reveal the truth.

Today, evidences such as the above are called exhibits in the court of law.

> 3. **Omode o jobi, a gba o joye.**
> If you deny the child of the kolanut; then, you deny the elder of a (chieftancy) title.[4]

The proverb above emphasises legal rights, perhaps of the child or someone in an inferior position in comparison to another person. The proverb shows that before the advent of Europeans, the Yoruba had the ideas, concepts and principles about human rights and social responsibilities. If properly applied, this proverb demonstrates the shared rights between the rulers and the ruled; as the ruler has the right to rule by reason of his position, the ruled have the right to benefit from the rule. A ruler whose rulership benefits no one is guilty of gross violation of human rights and is expected to resign.

> **4. Bi a se beru ni a bimo.**
> No birth is greater than the other.

The proverb above establishes the right of every child. There is no place in the law for child abuse on the bases of colour, gender, or status in life.

Below is a proverb which establishes the legal rights of law enforcement agents:

> 5. **Agbe foba kii jebi**.
> The king's representative or emissary is never guilty.

For example, among the Yoruba, the ilaris are the king's representatives who deliver his messages and carry out his orders; as such no one can disobey, arrest, or prosecute them as long as they do what the king requires.

Here is yet another proverb. In Faleti's Bashorun Gaa, Gaa kills king Majeogbe, because of a grievous mistake he committed. Gaa seeks the opinion of his cabinet members on the choice of a new king, but they refuse to talk. Their excuse for not talking is expressed through this proverb rendered by Samu:

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[4] In this context, 'kolanut' refers to a bribe and/or a tip.

**6. Berin ba fon, omo erin o gbodo fon.**
If the elephant blows its trumpet the
Young elephant must not blow its own

This proverb illustrates the Yoruba insistence on respect for the elders whereby the young are expected to remain silent when elders are speaking. Also, that the decision of the elders is final. However, when power and authority are abused, another proverb is used. This is illustrated in Faleti's text just referred to above, in which Gaa becomes high-handed and brutal. He also becomes a murderer when he kills Agbonyin, the only daughter of King Adegoolu. As a result of Gaa's wickedness, Samu, while discussing with Oyaabi, says:

7. **Bata to n ro kolekole ko nii pe ti o fi ya.**
The bata drum that sounds heavily will soon get torn.

In this proverb, Gaa's wickedness is compared to a drum that has become taut which, if beaten profusely, will rupture. The second part of the proverb, that is, the breaking of the drum, refers to the consequences of Gaa's actions. This second part therefore symbolises Judgement. The tearing of the bata drum is synonymous to death, the likely judgment or repercussion of Gaa's wickedness. The proverb also teaches that too much of everything is bad, while at the same time recommending caution, self-control and restraint. The proverb ultimately teaches that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. But when one makes peaceful change impossible, one makes violent change inevitable and, eventually, no man is stronger than the clan. Every power has its elastic limit.

In Faleti's Omo Olokun Esin, Ajayi, because of his thirst for freedom, not only for himself but for the entire village, intentionally misbehaves and is ready to face the consequence. The messengers maltreat him and his mother's word for the tough-looking messengers of Olumoko is this:

8. **Bi a ran ni nise eru a a fi tomo jee**.
If we send a person a slave's job, he should do it like a child.

The proverb recognises the right of the master to direct one to carry out a perilous errand and the wisdom of the messenger to handle the message with care and caution to avoid the after-

effect of the bad or dangerous consequences is necessary. The lesson for all is to apply wisdom in carrying out any assignment we are given. The slave's job is very delicate, but with wisdom, it can be made easier.

We now turn our attention to taboo.

## Taboo

In Yoruba land, taboo is also called *eewo*. It refers to the forbidden. When one goes against or violates a taboo, irrespective of their age, status or gender, the consequences are the same, emphasising that justice is the main feature of taboo. Each person is judged according to their deeds, irrespective of their status in life. In the table below are some taboos among the Yoruba:

| No. | TABOO | CONSEQUENCES OF VIOLATION |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Do not draw water from the well at night. | It is easy to slip and fall into the well due to darkness or other mishaps. |
| 2. | Do not draw water from a well while chewing stick (a form of tooth brush). | The water could be contaminated. |
| 3. | Do not stand at a crossroad or road fork. | Esu, the god of iron gets angry and the offender may be knocked off by a running vehicle. |
| 4. | Do not leave melon peels unswept over night. | It attracts flies which carry diseases. |
| 5. | A pregnant woman must not go out at midday when the sun is at its peak or in the dead of the night. | The woman may soon run temperature, trip and fall in darkness or become injured, or bitten by reptiles. |
| 6. | A king does not open the calabash. | When a king does, he dies. |
| 7. | A friend must not betray another friend. | Betrayer has bad consequences including shame, banishment or death. |
| 8. | One does not greet a king standing. | It shows disrespect and may incur the king's wrath. |
| 9. | A daughter-in-law does not untie her wrapper before the father-in-law. | Immorality may result and the land is desecrated because father and son have had sexual relations with the same woman. |

Again, observe how the Yoruba's sense of justice is seen throughout the various examples of *Aroko* above. Observe that the resultant effects of each *àrokò* are the same in each case. Of course, the highly placed have their own forms of *àrokò* which are restricted. Although there are elaborate forms of *àrokò*, the sense of justice is never compromised, as if the elaborate *àrokò* is stricter and the restricted *àrokò*, by virtue of those involved is relaxed. Indeed, there is cross application of *àrokò* among the Yoruba. The restricted may be from the royal to the ruled and vice-versa in the case of marriage, war and the rest.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, we have seen that justice among the Yoruba is real and the drivers discussed here are among the carriers. Even so, it is important to stress that before a proverb, *àrokò*, or a taboo is used, sent or applied, the socio-communicative roles must be considered and weighed. By socio-communicative roles, we mean that consideration must be given to the social context of use, situation of use and appropriateness. This is because context and situations vary. Thereafter, the communicative effectiveness of the driver selected must be attested *vis-à-vis* the native speaker's communicative competence. The truth is that what is effective in one context or situation may be grossly ineffective in another depending on the status, age, gender, and relationships.

The communicative competence of the user is his succor. One who is communicatively competent as explained earlier knows what to say, how to say it, where to say it and when to say it. Since communicative competence comes with experience in language use, it seems to be the preserve of the experienced language users. As the Yoruba would say, *enu agba lobi ti ngbo*, meaning, "It is the elder's mouth that can determine whether a piece of cola nut is appropriate for an occasion".

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