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The editorial board will consider proposed articles based on clear methodological and theoretical commitment to studies of language. Articles must substantially engage theory and/or methods for analyzing language, discourse, representation, or situated talk.

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Language & Society
Research Committee 25 of the
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Message from the Editor

Anna Odrowąż-Coates¹

Dear Readers, Contributors and Reviewers,

Welcome to the December 2022 Volume 10, Number 2 of *Language Discourse and Society*, published by ISA since 2011 and indexed in SCOPUS since 2021.

This volume is non-thematic, yet fits perfectly within our language and discourse discussions, linked also to culture and education. For the last two issues we received a high volume of contributions, and the rejection rate was quite high, ranging from 30-40% at the initial desk evaluation by the Board members and a further 30% after the external expert peer reviews. There is a significant number of submissions still being processed as the availability of reviewers dropped dramatically in the last 3 years and often 10-12 requests are sent before a suitable expert reviewer is found and accepts the task. Therefore, I would like to express our sincere gratitude to the reviewers, who did not decline our request and who dedicated their time to assessing and improving the papers we received. The list of reviewers for year 2022 is enclosed at the end of this issue.

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As you know all the editorial processes and reviews are done on a pro bono basis, which makes our journal quite unique in the competitive market of ‘knowledge production’. It relies on voluntary contributions of our community yet allows us to operate for free and in the fully open access model, fostering inclusion and inclusive knowledge sharing. These are the principles that ISA supports and the RC25 embodies. ISA was first established under UNESCO in 1949 and the current UNESCO guidelines for research and education are fully reflected in our operations and aspirations. Inspired by the vision of the 2030 Agenda and the delivery of the Sustainable Development Goals, especially SDG 4 aimed at ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education for all, we seek to stimulate and promote an interdisciplinary dialogue focused on the

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role of language and discourse in local and global communities, building a structural and cultural scaffolding for the social norms and customs. We hope to create a safe, open, and critically aware space for revealing social practices based on language and reinforced through it. We encourage critical discourse analysis and semantic analysis as basic tools for gaining knowledge about political and ideological agendas, transmitted in verbal and written communication. Power relations, inclusive or exclusive language, assigning value and positioning through language practices are of great interest to our community. We invite linguists, sociologists, political analyst and educators to look at language, to look through the language lens and to create new discussions about our social worlds.

In this volume, you will find articles from Algeria, Zimbabwe, Egypt, Indonesia, Phillipines, Iraq, Poland and USA. We added some visual aids to help readers picture our diverse authorship and the diversity of our reviewers. This is a better representation of the balanced science, taking into consideration the symbolic horizontal divide into South and North. The balanced science is also reflected in the journal's policy and our membership community to promote missing discourses dominated by the global powers. Our authors reflect on tribal law, peacebuilding, language and religion, gendered language, language shift in traditional indigenous communities, linguistic plurality, political speeches, media discourses, literary classes, and finally recently published books that may be of interest to our community. The editors and the editorial board hope that the issue will be interesting to readers and engaging for scholars from interdisciplinary fields.

With regards,

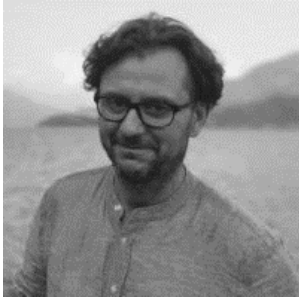
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Tribute to the past Editors in Chief

Prof. Federico Farini (2011 - 2015 December)



Dr Stéphanie Cassilde (2016 June - 2019 June)



Prof. Natalie Byfield (2019 December - 2020 December)



Prof. Anna Odrowaz-Coates (2021 June – currently)



Original Articles

Non-Thematic

The Impact of Intercultural Legal Discourse upon Anglo-American versus Navajo Criminal Legal Theory

Janet Brewer[1]²

Abstract

Despite the desire for clarity, legal discourse is often unclear, leading to controversial interpretation. Moreover, the cultural dimension of legal discourse is rarely addressed, despite its importance in the interpretation of laws. This study examines the impact of legal culture on how legal principles are perceived and executed. Disparities emerge from long-standing cultural norms that influence the meaning of fundamental legal terminology. These legal phrases and concepts defy straightforward English understanding. Examples include the Latin word *mens rea*, which underpins both criminal and penal theory in Anglo-American law. Another example is the Navajo term *hózhó* from which all conceptualizations of social order emanate. Through an examination of conflict of laws as to U.S. federal courts and tribal law, this study aims to highlight the impact that legal culture has on the way legal concepts are understood and implemented. This case reveals an overlooked intimate relationship between law and culture.

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Keywords

legal discourse, legal anthropology, punishment theory, *mens rea*, Navajo tribal law, *hózhó*

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Background

Legal discourse refers to communicative acts utilized in the practice of law. Communication is critical in law because it bridges the gaps among society, the judiciary and lawyers. As a result, certain terminologies are frequently employed. There are two kinds of legal discourse: written, which has proven more enduring and accessible, and spoken, oral legal discourse which is recorded in the memory of persons and can be more transient in nature. The correctness, ambiguity, specialist language, complexity, and other qualities of legal discourse make it difficult to translate, interpret, and apply to legal documents. This level of complexity and unpredictability is greatly influenced by the beliefs, moral standards, philosophical systems, and cultural practices of a country (Northcott & Brown, 2006; Swales, 2000).

Despite its linguistic appearance, legal discourse is not limited to language approaches, as its primary foundation is legal theory. Definitions and the proper understanding of what words imply are essential to the efficient and successful practice of law, as any jurist will confirm. Numerous pieces of evidence suggest that an understanding of background history and culture is essential when it comes to interpreting legal verbiage (Bhatia & Bhatia, 2011; Cheng, Gong & Li, 2017). To fully comprehend what the law intends, however, it is important to look beyond linguistic techniques; meanings are not just found in words themselves but also in values, beliefs, social ties, and various systems (Duranti, 1997; Cheng, 2012).

In this paper we will examine how pure linguistic interpretation embedded in cultural mores fuels conflict of laws in comparative legal discourse. Conflict of laws most often centers on jurisdictional controversies. Legal conflicts also arise from jurisprudential differences. Still, others revolve around linguistic interpretation. In this paper, we will examine how word usage and meaning underpin the legal philosophy that differing cultures seek to further within their respective rules of social order. Specifically, we will look at a conflict of laws seemingly based on a jurisdictional controversy—U.S. and Navajo tribal jurisdictions—but actually stemming from culturally-based jurisprudential differences as to punishment theory. This case study involves the recent application by the federal government of the death penalty to a Navajo man convicted of double homicide within tribal territory.

1. Intercultural Legal Discourse in Criminal Law

Jurists agree that legal documents are laden with ancient heritage, and that it is impossible to overestimate the importance of cultural context in the interpretation of legal discourse. In legal practice, many disregard the idea that the law is influenced by culture. Scholars, however, emphasize that there is a strong connection between law and culture and that legal writings are replete with cultural allusions (Cheng, 2012).

This is most visible within mixed legal systems when a Western legal system co-occurs in parallel with some type of indigenous law. The translation of specific phrases or legal concepts can be particularly problematic in this context. Words or concepts such as the Navajo *hózhó* is an example of an indigenous system of social order. These customary legal concepts, as this paper will illustrate, have no English equivalents under the Western common law legal system (Wilson, 1997).

Nonetheless, the key aim of cross-cultural translation is to generate a set of similar interpretations of the law that are legally equivalent to the source language. Still, even though they have been used for centuries, many Western legal phrases defy ready English translation, particularly Latin terms and phrases. In current common law, one instance is the Latin term *mens rea*, which literally means “guilty mind” but is more broadly construed as “requisite intent.” Despite the fact that the term has survived centuries of legal precedent, most jurists and legal scholars will openly acknowledge that *mens rea* is nearly impossible to translate into contemporary English (Dressler, 2012; Ginther, 2014). Finally, in juxtaposition to the origin, the phrase may take on a somewhat specific connotation and/or fulfill a wholly new function within a current cultural context. Legal systems are cultural expressions, and disparities in legal systems are more noticeable in varied civilizations or nations with diverse cultural histories.

2. Intercultural Legal Discourse: Terms That Resist English Interpretation

2.1. Latin Origins of Anglo-American Legal Discourse

The very foundation of Anglo-American law is the idea of free will, or the capacity of a person to choose their own behavior and follow the rules of the law. In order to conform one’s activities to the requirements of the law, a person must possess the necessary rationality, restraint, and self-regulation. Those who do not adhere to this requirement will suffer punitive consequences. In essence, our grasp of the human mind, including its limitations in terms of its faculties, capability for making deliberate decisions, and potential for malevolent resolution, is crucial to comprehending Anglo-American punishment philosophy (Dressler, 2012; von Hirsch and Ashworth, 2005). Because of this, the idea of *mens rea* has persisted for almost a thousand years. Many Latin expressions such as these that defy modern English meaning have persisted in American common law, creating ambiguity since they are susceptible to questionable translation.

Indeed, the goal of translating this Latin word into English has not been fully achieved despite repeated attempts by jurists to define *mens rea*, including attempts made within the common law, through the Model Penal Code, and finally by statute. The Model Penal Code is unquestionably evidence that the Latin phrase *mens rea* is not self-explanatory. It establishes a logical framework for defining offenses and a uniform set of general rules on subjects like criminal intent. The lengthy code represents an effort to clarify criminal law in light of contemporary culture. *Mens rea*, the legal phrase for criminal intent, is divided into four categories: deliberate, aware, reckless, and negligent (American Law Institute, 1985). In other words, there must be some level of guilt-related intent, a reason for the act, or at least awareness that the act’s consequences were likely to be negative (Robinson, 2002).

In Anglo-American criminal law, the degree of intent establishes the appropriate level of punishment (Dressler, 2012; von Hirsch and Ashworth, 2005). The fundamental premise of crime and punishment holds that for a crime to qualify as possessing *mens rea*, it must be possible for the unlawful conduct to be planned out and carried out mentally. The fundamental ideas of crime and punishment, as well as the concept of law itself, include the mental and emotional characteristics that distinguish a person as a citizen subject to the rule of law (Noyes, 1945; Smith, 2009). Guilt depends on mental state, which depends on free will. The idea that the severity of criminal punishments should be proportionate to the seriousness of the offense being punished is one of the most widely accepted theories of punishment. The significance of

this legal principle is emphasized by the Eighth Amendment to the United States Constitution (Sabine & Thorson, 1973; Smith, 2009; Weinreb, 1987). When assessing proportionality, one must take into account legal or normative principles, which necessitates a benchmark. Retributivists believe that punishment ought to be proportionate to the degree of the offender's guilt in the crime. The proportionality of a punitive policy in relation to the anticipated advantages of its enforcement is also examined using a number of consequentialist (utilitarian) criteria (Russell, 1967). The concept of suitable punishment, based on free will and supported by the ancient concept of “*mens rea*,” has been in effect for centuries, according to Anglo-American law (Dressler, 2012; Smith, 2009). Those who violate the law are penalized, and normally, those who commit crimes against the person are put to prison. But, those considered to have acted recklessly are exempt from the harsher punitive measures. And one cannot uphold the law's requirements if one's mental capacity is insufficient, as indicated by the Latin phrase *non compos mentis*, which means “no thinking capability,” if one's brain is damaged, or if one is legally insane.

Although this idea of punishment has broad acceptance, there are situations in which merely threatening to punish someone else has the same deterrent effect on the perpetrator as actually punishing him. Essentially, this does not apply to people who are unable to grasp or predict the consequences of their actions. As a result, the threat of punishment has little effect on these individuals. Thus, because of these factors, it is impossible to utilize punishment as a deterrence. Punishment has little influence on the willingness of this societal subgroup to commit crimes, hence it is futile. Persons who commit offenses in this group are not obliged to be penalized since they don't have the mental capacity to appreciate the consequences of their conduct (Waelder, 1952). When it comes to criminal culpability, some psychiatrists believe that free will should be ignored. Some argue that this tenet should not be applied to some persons (Katz, 1955; Focquaert, Glenn, & Raine, 2013). How this group should be classified and by what criteria has been and continues to be a source of contention throughout history (Platt & Diamond, 1966; Focquaert, Glenn, & Raine, 2013).

On the other hand, it is also maintained that the punishment doled out to this specific mentally incapacitated group is ethically wrong, because the offenders in this group are not regarded “guilty” in the ordinary meaning of the word. However, throughout Anglo-American legal history and today's culture, it is widely acknowledged that the great majority of individuals should be treated as if their actions were the result of their own free will (Katz, 1955). Thus, the term *mens rea*, which maps not only to the presence or absence of requisite intent to commit a given crime, but also to the degree of intentionality, has endured. And *mens rea*, in turn, determines the proportionality of punishment.

2.2. Navajo Social Custom in Legal Discourse: Concepts of Order and Conscience

The Navajo concept of *hózhó* plays an essential role in the Navajo system of social order and justice. The Navajo philosophical principle of *hózhó* is not only one of the most difficult to explain in English, but it is also one of the most important to understand. Due to the breadth of its applicability, the philosophy of *hózhó* is difficult to articulate in English. The Navajo Nation Courts believe that there is no need to explain the logic behind their judgements in writing form since doing so would be an exercise in futility (Kluckhohn, 1949; Kahn-John, Badger, McEwen, Koithan, Arnault, & Chico-Jarillo, 2021; Witherspoon, 1975; Zion, 2002). The term “beautiful environment” is what linguists working in the field of anthropology have interpreted the phrase to mean (Farella, 1984). The end result is a condition that may be roughly defined as one of peace, harmony, and balance on a higher level. This occurs when everything is in its

appropriate location and is functioning together in a harmonic manner. According to the *Diné* philosophy of *hózhó*, the “perfect condition” is an ideal scenario that is impossible to comprehend, or, to put it in the language of Navajo philosophy, a reality that transcends human experience (Farella, 1984; Kahn-John, Badger, McEwen, Koithan, Arnault, & Chico-Jarillo, 2021; Witherspoon, 1977; Zion, 2002). The expression “everything in the universe” is a metaphor that conveys the idea that everything is connected, interconnected, and dependent on one another in a manner that is similar to the way a web looks (i.e. air, water, animals, birds, heavenly bodies, and so on). In the larger scheme of things, legality is not the primary goal of *hózhó* as much as the Navajo spiritual philosophy and ceremonial practice that it codifies. When it comes to matters of the law, Navajos are primarily concerned with how *hózhó* plays a role in the day-to-day decisions of Navajos, particularly those decisions that include justness (Kahn-John, Badger, McEwen, Koithan, Arnault, & Chico-Jarillo, 2021; Reichard, 1977).

The *hózhó* notion is built on the concepts of balance, harmony, and beauty. In order to grasp the foundation of the concept of *hózhó* as a guiding principle for the Navajo way of life, it is important to investigate the creation myth as well as other Navajo oral traditions. According to the tradition, the rituals of cultivation and healing both impart a linked, interrelated, and refined set of principles that are represented by order, stability, and harmony (Wyman, 1970). It is also claimed that they symbolize the link and connectivity between all of the objects that exist in their immediate environment (Kahn-John, Badger, McEwen, Koithan, Arnault, & Chico-Jarillo, 2021; Witherspoon, 1977; Zolbrod, 1984). The Navajo concept of *hózhó*, which serves as the ultimate guiding principle for Navajo religious practice, philosophy, aesthetics, and social structure, among other things, encapsulates everything that is linked with these goals and describes how they should be accomplished. *Hózhó* is symbolic of a wide variety of ideas and feelings, such as rationality and order, joy and happiness, the ideals of good and fairness, the physiological state of wellness and well-being, and the aesthetic traits of harmony, balance, and beauty. *Hózhó* is also symbolic of the aesthetic qualities of harmony, balance, and beauty. Every facet of Navajo life, from the most ordinary to the most spiritual, is endowed with significance and coherence as a result of the Navajo people's application of this intricate idea (Witherspoon, 1977).

The Four Corners area of the Southwest United States is the location of the traditional Navajo homeland. The Navajo people believe that they entered their country somewhere between the Four Sacred Peaks (Jett, 2001). The origin story builds *hózhó* by placing itself inside this region and therefore establishing its context. The sacredness of the landscape helps to establish a spiritual connection, which is essential for maintaining harmony in all aspects of life (Evers, 1982; McPherson, 1992). In addition, as a result of living in this region for such a long time, the Navajo people have evolved a unique awareness of their environment, which enables them to thrive in spite of the harsh climate of the Southwest. Knowing one's location is essential to developing a greater sense of who one is as a person, as well as one's place in the grand scheme of things, which includes one's own community, and getting a better understanding of one's role in the world. These holy landscapes are necessary for the growth of self-awareness and, as a consequence, for the formation of Navajo identity. Since the beginning, they have been of assistance to the Navajo people in terms of the economy, culture, and spirituality, and they are very necessary for the continuation of *hózhó* (Basso, 1996; Jett, 2001).

It is also thought that all forms of life and movement originate from a single global element, which in Navajo mythology is referred to as “wind.” At the most fundamental level, this belief is held to be true (Bruchac 1991; Witherspoon 1977). The Navajo believe that before they were freed from the underworld, the occupants there were given their breath of life by the wind. This

belief dates back to before their emancipation. The terrain generates wind that blows in one of four directions, each of which corresponds to one of the four sacred mountains. These four directions serve as a channel for life, movement, cognition, and communication—all of which are critical components of the human experience—and they do so in equal measure. The Navajo believe that everyone is born with a moral compass that they refer to as “wind inside one.” This is the most fundamental of their beliefs. Each person is responsible for maintaining a harmonious relationship with the Holy People and the Navajo by listening to and acting upon their own unique inner direction (Witherspoon 1977). Logically speaking, the only individual who might challenge the social rules and order structure of the tribe would be someone who was guided by a “dark wind.” This would suggest that the survival of the tribe, and by extension, the life of the individual, was dependent on preserving social order among the members of the tribe. People who had committed crimes against society were required to participate in a ritual of healing in an effort to reestablish balance, or *hózhó*, in their lives by recalibrating their guiding “wind within,” also known as their social conscience. Someone who was reckless in some way, such as accidentally wounding a member of the tribe, would be expected to restore order by providing a source of nutrition for the family of the wounded man, but only to the degree that their fundamental requirements were satisfied (Bruchac 1991; Henderson 1956). It is only possible to preserve a peaceful relationship with the Navajo and the Holy People if each person pays attention to their own inner voice and acts in accordance with the guidance it provides (Witherspoon 1977). According to logical deduction, the only individual who might challenge the established social mores and hierarchical structure of the tribe would be one who was inspired by a “dark, or evil wind.”

3. Case Examples: *Ex parte Crow Dog* and *U.S. v. Mitchell*

In order to effectively administer and apply law, having clear definitions of terms and an understanding of what words signify are essential. But if we want to understand what the law means, beyond what it says on the page, we need to look beyond linguistic approaches. Broader meanings can be discovered not only in language, but also in social values, beliefs, social relationships, and bigger support systems, such as the structure of the family and the social organization of the community. This broader, deeper, inferred meaning of the law is sometimes referred to as the “spirit” of the law. This larger connotation is especially important when considering comparative legal discourse and situations in which different legal systems are at odds with one another. Within the scope of this article, we will investigate a constitutional dispute that arises between the federal government of the United States and several tribal nations. In this part, the primary focus is on a discussion of the many social, ideological, and cross-cultural elements that play a role in legal interpretation. The case relies on a number of historical occurrences as well as previous judicial decisions.

On August 5, 1881, Chief Spotted Tail of the Lakota Sioux was gunned down by Crow Dog, another member of the Lakota Sioux tribe. As a direct result of the murder, the tribe elders gathered and determined how much money and cattle should be given by Crow Dog’s family to Spotted Tail’s people as a kind of compensation for their loss. Conversely, legislative representatives from the United States were opposed to this method because they thought that adequate punishment was being withheld. As a result, Crow Dog’s conviction from his tribal court was overturned, and he was arrested by state police, charged with murder in federal court, and sentenced to die by hanging in a federal court of appeals. Crow Dog was eventually freed after successfully appealing his conviction to the Supreme Court on the grounds that the lower court lacked the authority to hear the case. The Supreme Court of the United States decided that, in these kinds of cases, the federal government does not have the right to establish jurisdiction unless an act of Congress has been approved beforehand (*Ex Parte Crow Dog*,

1883). The interpretation provided by the Supreme Court was particularly stringent in the sense that the court adhered to both existing law and legal tradition; as a result, the court was swiftly challenged by the legislative authorities. The Major Crimes Act was enacted in 1885 as a direct response to the *Ex Parte Crow Dog* case. It gave the federal government the ability to investigate, prosecute, and punish major criminal crimes that occurred on Native American reservations located all throughout the country (Major Crimes Act, 1885). In spite of this, the federal government acknowledged the sovereignty of Indian tribes with regard to the application of the death penalty and made it explicitly illegal for federal prosecutors to seek the death penalty for major crimes committed in Indian territories unless they first obtained the consent of the tribes involved. This was accomplished through the implementation of the Indian Child Welfare Act (Federal Death Penalty Act, 1994).

Regarding the 1885 Major Crimes Act, the Mitchell case recalls the legal issues raised by *Ex Parte Crow Dog*. On the basis of case circumstances that served as indicators that the killings were conducted with malice aforethought (*mens rea*) and that they were exceptionally cruel, federal prosecutors in the United States ruled that the death sentence was commensurate to the crime committed. For instance, one of the victims was an old Navajo woman who had driven Mitchell and one of his teenage accomplices. After Mitchell and the teen accomplice had stabbed the deceased dozens of times, they forced the victim's 9-year-old granddaughter to sit next to her grandmother's corpse before stabbing and pummeling the girl to death. After dismembering and burying the remains, they stole the truck in order to attempt armed robbery later (*United States v. Mitchell*, 2020).

The tribal government should have been allowed to preserve jurisdiction over Mitchell for the double murders in the context of *Ex Parte Crow* and the subsequent federal laws. However, the United States government used a complex legal technicality by prosecuting Mitchell with carjacking resulting in death as opposed to murder (*United States v. Mitchell*, 2020). The Federal Death Sentence Act of 1994 prohibits the use of the death penalty for certain offenses committed on a reservation, such as murder, unless the tribe approves this punishment (Federal Death Penalty Act, 1994). Under this clause, federal prosecutors could not seek the capital sentence for Mitchell's murder convictions due to the Navajo Nation's lack of consent. The Federal Death Penalty Act does not cover the offense of fatal carjacking.

Consequently, in a superseding indictment filed on July 2, 2002, Mitchell and his teenage accomplice were charged with murder, felony murder, robbery, carjacking resulting in death, numerous robbery-related charges, kidnapping, and felony murder. Mitchell was charged with carjacking resulting in death pursuant to 18 U.S.C. 2119 rather than murder, and on September 12, 2002, the U.S. government filed an intent to pursue the death penalty against him. On May 8, 2003, a jury adjudged Mitchell guilty on all charges after separating his trial from that of the teen accomplice (*United States v. Mitchell*, 2020). Since the teen accomplice was a juvenile at the time of the murder, he was not eligible for the death sentence (Budryk, 2020).

The punishment phase swiftly commenced. Prominent in jury instructions was the language mapping to the *mens rea* concept, and degree of knowing and intentionality, and, thus, the degree of culpability. The degree of culpability hinging directly on the mental state of the defendant guided the sentence of death. The Navajo Nation did not condone capital punishment, in general, or for Mitchell's acts in particular, as evidenced by the defense. Capital punishment would not result in order or harmony, or, in other words *hózhó*. Furthermore, Mitchell and his accomplice required rehabilitative measures, as both clearly possessed a maladaptive social conscience. Nonetheless, the jury swiftly considered both the aggravating

and mitigating factors, such as an exemplary high school record, and ultimately recommended the death penalty, which the court then enacted (*United States v. Mitchell*, 2020).

4. Cultural Foundations of Legal Discourse in the Application and Interpretation of Legal Philosophies

Mitchell filed a number of appeals, all of which were denied. On appeal, he first contended that the Federal Death Penalty Act of 1994 does not apply to carjackings committed by an Indian against other Indians in Indian country since such crimes are specifically excluded from the Act. Second, Mitchell argued that the Major Crimes Act is the only basis on which the federal government can exercise criminal jurisdiction over intra-Indian offenses, and that Mitchell cannot be punished in federal court for a carjacking that resulted in death because such a crime is not specifically mentioned in the Act. Mitchell argued that the federal statute on carjacking does not specifically allow for jurisdiction over offenses that occur within India (*United States v. Mitchell*, 2020).

The court did not agree with these arguments and stated that a federal statute with nationwide application that is otherwise silent on the question of jurisdiction as to Indian tribes will only be ruled unconstitutional if any one of three conditions is met: 1) the law trespasses upon exclusive rights of self-governance in internal matters; 2) the usage of the law upon the tribe would nullify rights assured by Indian treaties; or 3) there is proof by legislative enactment. Mitchell, the court reasoned, does not explain how the court views the federal carjacking act as being inside one of these exemptions. As a consequence of this, Mitchell is deemed to fall under the jurisdiction of the federal legislation (*United States v. Mitchell*, 2020).

Furthermore, Mitchell contended that the Federal Death Penalty Act's applicability in this case was a violation of the First Amendment and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA), which is codified at 42 U.S.C. 1996; Section 2119 should not be applied in this case because doing so would violate tribal sovereignty in light of the Navajo Nation's long-standing aversion to the death sentence for both religious and cultural grounds. He based his argument on some of the words from *United States v. Blue* (a case in which a Chippewa Indian challenged federal jurisdiction on a charge of drug possession) but not on the decision made in that case. After hearing *United States v. Blue*, the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that “where a broad federal criminal statute infringes on a particular Indian right or policy, such law would be found not to apply to Indians on reservations unless explicitly so specified.” That case's verbiage was used in his argument, but not the conclusion (*United States v. Blue*, 1983). After reviewing *Blue* and *Mitchell*, the court concluded that a federal act (drug legislation in this case) does not violate tribal sovereignty or undermine tribal self-government. In ruling on the case, the judge found that the carjacking law did not conflict with any Indian policies or rights. Therefore, the death sentence conviction was upheld (*United States v. Mitchell*, 2020). Consequently, the United States Supreme Court denied a petition to postpone the execution (*Mitchell v. United States*, 2020). In the end, Mitchell was executed at a federal prison (Hymes, 2020).

The differences in how Anglo-American and Navajo criminal jurisprudence differ as illustrated in the case of Lezmond Mitchell are particularly illuminating. The primary consideration is whether it is possible for a Native American to get a just verdict from an Anglo-American court system that adheres to a fundamentally different legal culture. Federal laws requiring tribal permission for the federal government to impose the death penalty presumably extend from the Constitutional concepts of Equal Protection. Furthermore, the First Amendment in the U.S.

Constitution guarantees free exercise of religion, and while there is no Navajo word for “religion” or manner of conceptualizing belief as separate from its legal theory, the Mitchell case raises questions. When the same crime is punishable in different ways depending on the culture in question, which consequences should be applied if the laws of these independent states do not harmonize?

The federal government of the United States overturned a tribal court's verdict in *Ex Parte Crow* by attempting to reframe the crime using the terminology and concept of *mens rea* and proportionality. However, the growing sociopolitical backdrop and a basic misunderstanding of the Navajo idea of *hózhó* led to this decision being overturned. It highlights once again the need of taking into account not merely the literal meanings of words, but also social norms, religious practices, and cultural norms, in order to understand the motivations of others. The “dark wind” concept is crucial because it indicates that, unlike in Anglo-American culture, the mental condition for committing an infraction against society in Navajo custom is dichotomous rather than a question of degree.

Numerous legal scenarios, such as the influence of differing legal cultures with regard to criminal law in the United States, and, here, the death penalty, attest to the prevalence of legal interpretation based on cultural contexts. One major difference between the restitution model of justice in Anglo-American law and a more restorative system of Navajo jurisprudence is the idea of “proportionality in punishment” from the retributionist's perspective. There have been attempts to protect tribal sovereignty and religious beliefs, but there is still overlap between federal and tribal authority, especially in criminal law. Legal disputes have persisted for centuries because of the repercussions of divergent assumptions resulting from different sources of law and its interpretation. Few studies have compared the common law with the Navajo social system to see if there are any significant cultural differences in criminal legal reasoning. But the two legal systems reflect cultural variations in the fundamental meaning of terms and concepts. Both systems of law rely on conceptions that predate the English language by several hundred years and defy modern interpretation. Furthermore, tribal law language is more rational since traditions are articulated and implemented in a straightforward manner, whereas common law discourse emphasizes precedent and relies on direct previous case reasoning to give a more all-encompassing overview of the law.

Discussion and Conclusion

In Anglo-American law, the concept of intent as measured by the undefinable “*mens rea*” maps directly to proportionality in punishment which is primarily retributionist in nature. Legislators have attempted to infuse contemporary meaning to the age-old concept of “guilty mind” via statutory definition—requisite intent. Most criminal sanctions do not have a clear purpose of retribution, yet it is still present in varied degrees as an unintended side effect. Generally, the harsher the punishment, the more it is justified by retributive principles. The death sentence is deeply anchored in retributive ideology.

Anglo-American courts take seriously their role in ensuring that the punishment fits the crime, and this duty harkens back to early Roman and English law. The requirement of a guilty mental state for all crimes is the means by which this objective is achieved. The necessity of specific intent in many crimes encourages the proportionality of punishment to the culpability of the activity that led to the offense. In these instances, *mens rea* determines whether the level of blameworthiness associated with the offense is commensurate with the level of severity of

the punishment that has been allowed by the legislative body. This helps to reduce the likelihood that a punishment that is disproportionate to the wrongdoing in question—that is, a punishment that is either too harsh or excessively lenient—will be applied for the behavior in question.

Homicides provide as a critical example. Whether or not the homicide was committed deliberately with “malice aforethought, i.e. the mental state,” is needed by the traditional definition of murder. The explicit intent of “malice aforethought” is how the law distinguishes murder from the less serious crime of manslaughter. The presence or absence of malice has significant punitive consequences: in the federal system, murder is theoretically punishable by death or life imprisonment, whereas the maximum penalty for manslaughter, a killing without malice aforethought, is ten years in jail. Murder, as a specific-intent crime, requires defining the crime in terms of a certain mental state, not to free blameless action from punishment, but rather to accomplish commensurate punishment for blameworthy acts. In summary, Anglo-American law embraces the punishment theory of retribution, and no other theory of punishment accords the same level of significance to the concept of *mens rea*, or guilty state of mind.

In contrast, the concepts of social order and social conscience are absent from Navajo stated aims, written statutes, and Navajo Nation common law. Rather, they are implied via Navajo custom of declining to impose or consent to the death penalty in capital cases. It is crucial to understand the history of tribal criminal jurisdiction and the tribe’s connection with the U.S. government in order to comprehend why Mitchell was condemned to death despite being a tribal member. The majority of tribal law is founded on traditional legal procedures, which are typically buttressed by values and duties that are strongly intertwined with spiritual beliefs. These spiritual ideas served as a framework for dealing with tribal members’ negative behaviors. Criminal behavior was founded on societal evils. If a tribal member was murdered, for example, the victim's family would be given peace presents first, and if those gifts were insufficient to compensate the family, the murderer would be expelled from the tribe, which was the greatest punishment available. The “shame that the crime of murder inflicted upon the killer and his family as well as the entire tribe” was seen by many Native Americans as a destiny worse than death. Crime was rare in Native cultures because life revolved around family and social order and wrongdoing was, therefore, counter to the individuals’ interests. Tribes were more concerned with restoring peace and harmony to the group than with punishing individuals (Gunther, 2010).

Even though Western culture has impacted the Navajo people and they have adopted the Anglo system of justice, they are still very connected to their spiritual roots and sense of who they are. Navajo creation stories teach that everything is connected and that people must live in harmony with each other and the universe. The Navajo people keep in touch with their past and religion through prayer songs, stories, and ceremonies. For the Navajo, law is the most important thing in life, and the spiritual plane and common law are one and the same.

The Navajo court system is similar to the American court system in that both civil and criminal cases are heard there. However, the Navajo utilize a more community-oriented system of restitution in righting wrongs, especially criminal wrong-doing. Inclusive decision-making is giving the victim, offender, and community members the opportunity to express what happened and explain the consequences of a specific action or incident. In Anglo-American penal systems, criminals are separated from their crime and simply stand by as a judge or jury renders their verdicts. Active accountability, on the other hand, invites offenders to accept

responsibility for their acts and places the onus on the offender to explore ways to remedy the harm he or she created.

The concept of *hózhó* readily encompasses all of this jurisprudential thinking. However, the concept is not written into the statutory or common law. Rather, the idea is perpetuated through custom, including restitution practices. Importantly, the concept defies exact English translation. Similarly, the Latin term *mens rea* underpins Anglo-American criminal and penal theory. In conclusion, legal discourse is often ambiguous, leading to contentious interpretation. Despite its relevance in law interpretation, the cultural dimension of legal discourse is rarely discussed. This study analyzed how legal culture affects perception and application of legal ideas. Cultural norms affect the interpretation of legal terms, causing disparities. These legal terms challenge English comprehension. This conflict of laws between U.S. federal courts and tribal law show how legal culture affects understanding and application of key legal principles, underscoring the link between law and culture.

The purpose of this article was to examine the impact of legal culture on the translation, interpretation, and application of legal norms. Despite lawmakers' best efforts to provide clear and proper texts, their confusion is compounded when legal cultures and systems drastically differ (for example, when a country's political structure, legal system, historical and cultural values change over time). While the richness and variety of the world's languages is something to celebrate, when it comes to the law it can be a barrier to communication.

Though all forms of legal discourse—spoken and written—are contextual, many studies have focused on its formation, interpretation, and usage with an emphasis on language or legal substance. However, context—both sociopolitical and cross-cultural—has received relatively little attention. This essay argues that the interpretation of legal discourse is heavily influenced by socio-political and cross-cultural factors since it is dependent on the context of socio-pragmatic realities to which a specific instance of legal discourse corresponds.

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Religion and language as a panacea to peacebuilding and development in Zimbabwe: A Critical Discourse Analysis approach

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Abstract

For over two decades now, Zimbabwe has been rocked by socio-political and economic crises, which, together, project a troubling scenario of state failure. The solution to these multiple crises, which have retarded peacebuilding and development, is not yet in sight since the country is still struggling to recover and reclaim its glory of yester-year within Southern Africa. Religion is a bedrock of principles, values and norms that can be used in nation-building in Zimbabwe. The essential notions from religious belief systems of honesty, transparency, accountability and forgiveness, can be utilised to reconfigure and reconceptualise Zimbabwean humanity. Similarly, communication is one of the main pillars of nation-building; hence, the fundamental role of language in peacebuilding and development cannot be relegated or overstated. The key purpose of this study hinges on the imperative to rethink the role of both religion and language in nation-building discourse in Zimbabwe. This study is informed by insights from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which views discourse as socio-political and cultural practice. Thus, the study takes cognisance of the complex nature of language and discourse as sites of struggle, contradictions and projection of socio-political power relations hence, contextual factors that inform Zimbabwe's present political realm are useful in debating the present subject. Although language and religion have always been contested and considered divisive aspects, if accorded careful attention, these two can be instrumental in bringing peace, unity and nation-building. Religion and language are of paramount importance in the discourses of peacebuilding, unity and development in contemporary Zimbabwe.

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Keywords

Critical Discourse Analysis, development, language, peacebuilding, religion

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Introduction

The attainment of independence in Zimbabwe, after a prolonged struggle for political power, brought an end to the British rule. Ironically, the end of the colonial regime plunged the Southern African nation into a new type of war that erupted within Zimbabwe. From as early as 1982, Zimbabwe began to emerge as a troubled land due to the conflict between the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and the Patriotic Front Zimbabwe African People Union (PF ZAPU) (Ndakaripa, 2014 and Ndlovu, 2019). The nation witnessed a tumultuous era defined by an orgy of politically motivated violence in the Midlands and Matebeleland provinces. The atrocious violence was code-named *Gukurahundi*, a Shona term that equates the political violence to a summer storm that takes away chaff (Sithole and Makumbe, 1997). The period, described as the “moment of madness”, according to the late President Mugabe, took place between 1982 and 1987, and an estimated 20 000 civilians lost their lives (Ncube and Siziba, 2015). As a result of this conflict, postcolonial Zimbabwe had only few years of visible economic growth, political tranquility and national development. From this national history, it can be argued that the grammar or semantics of violence and hate speech were part of the *modus operandi* of the ruling party during Mugabe’s tenure. Roger (2017) notes that the conflict for power took an ugly turn and plunged the nation into a battlefield and thousands of people lost their lives. The nation had its peak of political and economic crises around 2008, which only stabilised with the formation of the Government of National Unity (GNU). It is against this background that the present study seeks to explore the present-day political landscape in Zimbabwe. The study is located within the interdisciplinary realm of linguistics, politics and religion. The interface is necessitated by the salient issues framed around language / communication, power and religion. These provide discursive terrains for the interrogation of Zimbabwe’s present-day transitional politics in an attempt to generate new political pragmatism. The study focuses on the role of language and religion in peace-building and national development in contemporary Zimbabwe. The study is guided by the following research questions:

- How can language be utilised as a political discursive strategy to enact power relations that foster peace, unity and promote development in Zimbabwe today?
- How relevant are insights from Critical Discourse Analysis to the discourses of peace-building and national development in present-day Zimbabwe? and
- What is the significance of religion in Zimbabwe’s efforts towards peace-building and national development?

1. Critical Discourse Analysis

The study is informed by insights from Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), used to frame intricate arguments around issues of power, political relations, languaging in political communication and the function of religion in the context of peace-building and national development in Zimbabwe. Language is instrumental in discourse and enactment of socio-political relations. The main focus of CDA analytical enquiry is on power relations and how they are enacted in language use or discourse. The CDA theoretical framework is used to uncover embedded power relations in language choice and discourse strategies in the complex era of socio-political change in Zimbabwe. Van Leeuwen (2009:277) opines that “CDA is based on the idea that text and talk play a key role in maintaining and legitimising inequalities, injustices and oppression in society.” In this study, primary attention is accorded to linguistic choices in languaging politics of change and the function of religion in the present-day political sphere in Zimbabwe in order to produce critical dialectics of power struggle. CDA treats discourse as a social practice, which shows the influences of social, political and cultural contexts on discourse (Van Leeuwen, 2001, Carreon

and Svetanant, 2017). Political discourse or communication is produced by political actors in Zimbabwe. Political speeches and religious discourses perform diverse functions and these are reflected mainly in the language employed by language users, such as politicians and religious figures. It is imperative to locate this study at the interface of linguistics, politics and religion. The term politics is defined by Chilton (2004:4) as a “struggle for power between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it”. One of the key tenets in CDA is that discourse is socio-historically situated. In other words, discourses are shaped by the socio-political and religio-cultural milieu in which communicative events take place (Fairclough, 2001). Thoughts, attitudes and beliefs about political power relations are (re)produced, legitimated, concealed and conveyed through language. This study seeks to interrogate the political discursive practices in order to suggest alternative political communicative strategies in line with the idea to foster new political culture in post-Mugabe Zimbabwe that promotes peace-building and national development. In this sense, the adopted CDA analytical lens is also meant to examine the interface of discourse discursive strategies and semantic effects in political communication constructed by those in positions of power or politicians. The article interrogates the representation of shifting power relations expressed through the portrayal of multiple socio-religious actors and political institutions in an interactive political realm. Thus, this study contributes to contemporary conversations about politics of change and shifting semantics of power in Zimbabwe. According to Wodak (2013), discourses are sites of struggle, contradictions and ambiguities. This implies that discourse/language is never neutral but rather, utilised for communicative purposes. It is thus, appropriate to argue that language in both political and religious facets, can be consciously deployed in the process of socio-political transformations by contesting the existing logics of power in order to generate alternative political perspectives that privilege nation-building and development.

2. Zimbabwe and the glory days of yester-year

The section above located the study within the CDA theoretical sensibilities while the current segment seeks to explore the glory days of yester-year, which Zimbabwe experienced during her hey days, immediately after independence in 1980. Her infant days are memorable! (Lessing, 2003; Eicher, Taonezvi and Rukuni, 2006). Yet, the disquieting questions posed by many people today are: what actually happened to Zimbabwe, the “bread basket of Africa” or the “jewel of Africa?” How did the Sunshine City lose its glitter? What eroded the value of the strongest currency in Africa? Why did the highest literacy population in Africa turn out to be scavengers, nonentities and globe trotters in search of a place to call a home? Who transformed the (un)educated and (un)employed into the Wretched of the Earth in Fanonian language and blurred social class demarcations? These questions speak about the level of astonishment experienced by many when they try to grasp the realities of the troubled Zimbabwean nation today. To date, Zimbabweans await the much-anticipated cessation of their suffering generated by economic and political stability. Zimbabwe was one of the major exporters of tobacco, minerals, maize, corn and wheat to African countries as well as to the broader world. Yet, currently, Zimbabwe is a major importer of foodstuffs from Africa and Western countries.

Soon after the ascendancy of Robert Mugabe to power in Zimbabwe, he and his cronies started to loot major resources, especially in the agricultural and mining sectors. Lessing (2003) points out that the agricultural sector, before Mugabe, was well managed as evident in the notions of bread basket and jewel of Africa. The violent removal of white farmers from their farms was miscalculated, especially when we take cognisance of the fact that most of the new land occupants were under-resourced and had no farming skills, inputs and equipment (Mkodzongi and Lawrence, 2019). Although land redistribution was a noble idea to address a historical anomaly, the poor implementation of the programme impoverished the generality of Zimbabweans. According to Chung (2006), the British government had signed an agreement at the Lancaster

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House to compensate white farmers on ‘willing buyer willing seller’ basis in December 1979. This took place during the tenure of Margaret Thatcher (Gregory, 1980). However, Tony Blair (1997-2007) breached the agreement, did not honour the Lancaster House Agreement and did not compensate white farmers as initially agreed. This resulted in the fast-track land redistribution, which was done in a disorderly manner. Many white farmers lost their lives and properties when war veterans led in repossessing land. The title of “the bread basket of Africa” was soon lost because there were no longer competent and dedicated professional farmers.

According to Lessing (2003), another explanation for the fall of Zimbabwe from grace to grass, is that the former President Mugabe, overstayed in power to the extent that he ruined the country’s economy through poor economic and political decisions. The education system in Zimbabwe became one of the best under Mugabe’s tenure. Despite the fact that the local currency was the strongest in the region, it tumbled down through hyperinflation (Madimu, 2009). Harare was known as the Sunshine City because of its neatness. The health delivery system was admired across the Southern African region. Credit should be given to Mugabe because soon after independence, he did very well to improve the lives of Zimbabweans. Diplomatic relations were also good, and several local and international donors contributed towards the national development of Zimbabwe. The problem came in the early 1990s when the Zimbabwean dollar began to lose its value against other currencies (Madimu, 2009). The Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (Kanyenze, 2004), the Fast Track Resettlement Programme (Mkodzongi and Lawrence, 2019), the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Nest, 2001) and the war veterans’ gratuities of 1997 (Chung, 2006), gave birth to hyperinflation, brain drain, increased poverty, unemployment, shortage of basic commodities among other problematics, which culminated into the “Zimbabwe Crisis” (Mavengano, 2020 and Marevesa, 2019). During this period, all the gains of independence that were accumulated were no longer visible.

3. The troubling scenario of state failure

This section focuses on the intricacies of circumstances that resulted in the Zimbabwe crisis or a scenario of state failure in Zimbabwe. Some of the questions asked in the paper are as follows: Can Zimbabwe be referred to as a failed state? Is Zimbabwe exhibiting attributes of a failed state? If so, what can be done to revert to the Zimbabwe of yester-year? The definition of a failed state is difficult to underpin because of its contestation. The subjective nature of the definition of the term failed state, attracts multiple interpretations in various political contexts. The definitional problematics of the term could resemble the conception of beauty, which is in the eyes of the beholder. Yet, a state is generally perceived to have “failed” “when it is no longer able to consistently and legitimately enforce its laws or provide its citizens with basic goods and services” (Call, 2010:306). The definition from Call (1990), which is one of the commonly recognised by majority of scholars, rebuts the subjective understanding of the failed state and advocates a more objective definition, referred to as the “gap framework”. According to Call (2010), state failure is revealed through gaps in service delivery that is when the state cannot effectively deliver basic goods and services to its citizens, when the state is unable to offer protection from armed invasion to its population and last but not the least, when a state loses legitimacy. Most important, state failure is generated by those in political power positions hence, it is a man-made phenomenon. Poor governance policies, impunity, tyranny, corruption, and impermeable bureaucracy, ethnicity, structural flaws, incompetent judicial systems, interference of the military in politics, leadership errors, mutiny, among others, lead to state failure (*Lambach, Johais and Bayer, 2015*). Though Zimbabwe during Mugabe’s era did not experience mutiny and military attacks, which are some defining features of a failed state, the failing of the state took place in rampant corrupt cases by high profile government and public officials, the collapse of service delivery systems in education, public health and the economy. The government’s inability to provide elementary functions of a state, such as a stable economy and food security, speak to the phenomenon of state

failure. However, the notion of state failure is troubled and contested when used to refer to military invasions by other countries, acts of terrorism and mutiny, which were uncharacteristic of the Zimbabwean experience.

3.1 Hiccups and stumbling blocks in the pathway to rebuild the nation

The foregoing discussion provided a cursory glance at the national trajectory that led to the Zimbabwean crisis that escalated in 2008 and, ultimately, leading to the forceful removal of the former President, Mugabe. Yet, it is imperative to further explore the genesis of political conflict. A historical gaze at Zimbabwe's political trajectory since the attainment of independence, is critical since this provides moments of reflections on the ugly historical events. This is essential in an attempt to heal what Caruth (1995:3) describes as "the wound of the mind". In other words, dialoguing with the past is not about reopening the wound but rather, helps to bring closure and re-imagine or re-construct alternative futures of the nation. This is in line with Ndakaripa's (2014) observation about the historical event of *Gukurahundi* in Zimbabwe. Ndakaripa explicates that memorisation, which is a backward gaze, "gives people the opportunity to think deeply about how to prevent a repetition of past atrocities and enables people to connect the past, present and future in a positive way" (ibid, 2014:38). This underlines the idea that there is need to confront historical realities and the undesirable effects of toxic politics in order to chart a new political culture in Zimbabwe.

Electoral conduct is one of the main aspects that generated political conflict in Zimbabwe. Since the advent of the new millennium, Zimbabwe has been known for contested elections, claims of vote-rigging, political violence and hegemonic tendencies, hate speech, media polarisation, intimidation and political suppression, among other socio-political despicable ills (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011). For Roger (2017), electoral conduct is an area that requires urgent political will to address issues of concern and, possibly, reach an amicable consensus about how to handle the process in the context of democratising the political space that promotes meaningful contestation for power in Zimbabwe. Accusations of electoral fraud taint the electoral processes, generate political disgruntlement and, ultimately, cause legitimacy crisis. This disturbing scenario has caused a perpetual battle of power between inter parties (Marevesa, 2019).

Another important issue that has promoted political conflict in Zimbabwe is media polarisation, which is arguably caused by the state's stringent laws and effort to muffle the voices that speak truth to power (Roger, 2017). The media in Zimbabwe is extremely polarised and has been at the centre of political conflict. It cannot be contested that media is a powerful institution in every society across the globe and plays a fundamental function in representation of political communication. Levitsky and Way (2002) posit that the media are usually state-owned, and heavily censored or systematically repressed in most autocracies. Zimbabwe, under Mugabe's leadership, is cited by these scholars as an example of a vexed media landscape, a situation that led to persecutions of some media personnel during Mugabe's battle for power and legitimacy. Mugabe's rule had tight grip or stringent control over dissemination of information to an extent that state-owned media became an appendage of the ruling party and the government. According to McQuail (1992), the media has social responsibilities that include providing information to the public and state, stir debate on public matters, safeguard human rights and guard against violations of rights among other roles. The watchdog role usually causes truce between the media and the government in an autocratic political environment. Yet, it cannot be denied that a free press is critical in exposing ineptitude, corruption and mismanagement of public resources by those in positions of responsibility (Ugangu, 2012).

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The media landscape also exacerbates the political situation in Zimbabwe because state-owned media houses, such as the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation (ZBC) and The Chronicles, among others, support the status quo, while, private media houses, such as The Standard, Daily News, write anti-government narratives (ibid). The media should not be captured by the state or private investors in order to report cases of corruption, nepotism and violation of human rights without favour. The functions of the media include increasing public awareness on human rights issues, exposing cases of corruption and forcing those in positions of power to be accountable to the citizens. Thus, media empowerment is one of the important aspects towards nurturing democracy, accountability, good governance, trust and respect for the rule of law in the conduct of public affairs.

The narrativisation of the Second Republic and New Dispensation, which speak about politics of periodisation since the notions allude to historical existence of a First Republic, need to underscore the importance of observing human rights. The present government strives to distance itself from the Mugabe leadership (Moyo and Mavengano, 2021), yet, it appears that there is continuity of human infringements. The traits of the previous Republic are condemned by politicians from the ruling party, who were part of the same regime. The discourse of the New Dispensation speaks about the ruling party’s quest to redefine and recreate itself. The success of this endeavour hinges on a number of aspects, such as a concerted effort to immediately desist from ill-fated political practices, such as hate speech directed at members of the opposition, stop corruption within government ministries that gave birth to poor service delivery and economic stagnation, and nepotism, among other ills. Pertinently, the current government should respect human rights. Corruption and nepotism are some of the pitfalls that took the country into economic doldrums. In other words, the rhetoric of a New Dispensation is public admission by the ruling party and the government that impoverishment, decades of economic stagnation, unemployment and violence were generated in the corridors of power by the previous regime. The terms Second Republic and New Dispensation evoke the idea of change in political ideologies and practices (Mavengano and Marevesa, 2021). Yet, Hove (2021: 167) claims that “ZANU-PF under Mnangagwa’s rule, has not shown any paradigm shift from authoritarianism and violence to democracy and tolerance of opposition, repressive traits that were perfected under Mugabe”. This argument conveys the problematics of change in Zimbabwe. Surely, the idea of newness should transcend mere rhetoric or a well-crafted “choreographed distortions of history” according to Hove (2021:157), meant to sanitise some government officials, including Mnangagwa, who were part of the Mugabe regime. Mugabe is solely blamed for the ills encountered by the nation. Mugabe worked with the same people who are currently in positions of political power. Hove (2021: 169) argues that “Mnangagwa was party to Mugabe’s securocratic arsenal and looting kleptocracy since 1980.” What then has changed in the present political order, which has the same players at the helm of power? The post-Mugabe society is still struggling with political violence, poor performing economy, poor economic policies, contested elections results, legitimacy crisis, scapegoating, corruption and divisive language. This is an alarming development that conveys the endurance of Mugabe’s legacy, at the same time, exposes contradictions and ambivalences entrenched in the state narrative of change, which serves as mere “strategies of distancing” (Hove, 2021:159). The rhetoric of the New Dispensation, together with the current President Mnangagwa’s re-engagement drive and ‘Zimbabwe is open for business’ mantra, suggest a new trajectory towards economic recovery, nation-building and reconciliation process (Moyo and Mavengano, 2021). The post-Mugabe Zimbabwe has to deal with what Hove (2021: 158) calls “the haunting legacies of terror”. The new dispensation is born out of new ways of thinking about and practising politics.

4. Religion as a panacea for peacebuilding and development

4.1 Peace building and development

Zimbabwe has been rocked by conflict for quite a long time. When Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, this did not change but violence continued, which was epitomised by rampant political state sanctioned violence, coupled with gross violation of human rights. After independence, there was a relatively peaceful environment where there was no violence. Dube (2021) is of the view that religion plays a pivotal role in enhancing personal, political associates across ethnic, class, national, religious and cultural borders. Religion should be instrumental in dealing with injustice in a peaceful manner. Religion and politics are necessary ingredients in fostering peace and national development. It is important at this juncture to give a brief trajectory of the religious milieu in Zimbabwe since 1980. At independence, Robert Mugabe became the first Prime Minister of Zimbabwe. As a seemingly democratic state, religious freedom and tolerance became the features of democracy where the majority of people belonged to Christianity (Dube, 2021), while other people were adherents of African indigenous religion and Islam. Zimbabwe became a pluralistic society because of the peaceful co-existence of various religious beliefs. Within the Christian faith, there are different categories, such as, mainline churches, Evangelical churches, Pentecostal churches, and African initiated churches, among others. The mainline churches, Evangelical churches and some Pentecostal churches had their roots in the West and were perceived as nurturing a regime change agenda, while indigenous churches supported government initiatives during harmonised elections (Manyeruke and Hamauswa, 2013). Foreign and indigenous churches were characterised by contestations, which were perceived as motivated by political agendas. The contestations and tensions between the two cascaded to political conflict thereby affecting democratic space. African indigenous religion was aligned with the government of Zimbabwe soon after elections because it was used in the liberation struggle (Chung, 2006). The value system of African indigenous religion has remained paramount within the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) party because they bring memories of the *Chimurenga* war (Chung, 2006). It can be observed that African indigenous religion and the Christian faith have their own clashes when it comes to political affiliations. This study concurs with Ferrari (2012:356) in that “to prevent the danger of a clash and to ensure the equal treatment of all religions, it is essential to ground the public sphere on a principle that is universal and neutral, and, therefore, capable of being acceptable by all people, regardless of their religion: this principle is human reason”.

It is against this background that we locate Zimbabwe in its current form of political and religious polarisation that has paralysed national development. According to Dube (2021), it is important for Zimbabwe in the context of crisis and repression that, religious leaders and politicians come together and promote peace, accountability, and social justice in order to facilitate development. A case in point is the communique, which was written by the Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops, published on 14 August 2020, referred to as ‘The march is not ended’ to the government. The letter reprimanded the government to avoid the repression of dissenting voices, extreme levels of corruption in government and society, and government’s failure to address the dwindling economic and political environment (ZCBC, 2020, online). The letter went on to implore the government that “the repression of people’s anger can only serve to deepen the crisis and take the nation into deeper crisis” (ZCBC, 2020, online). On corruption, the Catholic bishops argue that it (corruption) is evident in every section of society and in government structures as well. The communique argued ZCBC (2020), that “the corruption in the country has reached alarming levels ... there hasn’t been equally a serious demonstration by government to rid the country of this scourge”. The implication is that when the new dispensation

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ascended to the helm of power, one of their promises to Zimbabweans was to eradicate corruption that had affected the country for decades. There is need to deal with corruption decisively. Thus, religion should continue to point out ills in society, preach justice and equity. This will foster peacebuilding and development in Zimbabwe if both politicians and citizens heed to the call. It has emerged in this section that citizens, religious leaders and politicians should work together in a bid to bring peace, justice and economic development of the country. Yet, the disturbing question is, which religious and political voices are being listened to in Zimbabwe? In addition, if religious activities continue to be regulated by government, how would their leaders be able to promote peace and nation-building since it is likely that if they do not toe the line, they will be banned? Clearly, there is need for collective efforts to bring sanity in Zimbabwe. As was noted by the Catholic bishops that for Zimbabwe to achieve its full potential, dissenting voices should be allowed to prevail, this study also endorses this observation. Religious pluralism is a noble idea that seeks to guarantee democracy, diversity thinking and tolerance, which are important traits to promote the national-rebuilding process in present-day Zimbabwe.

4.2 Reclaiming the glory of yester-year through new languaging strategies

This section focuses on politics of language and languaging practices in the present context of political change in Zimbabwe. Political communication in this context needs to be regarded as both social and political actions (Van Dijk, 1985). This section brings to attention the politics of languaging in political discourse. Van Dijk (1997) explains that politics is the struggle for power and language is at the centre of political activities. Political discourse, according to Van Dijk (1997), is a conspicuous way of doing politics. Language is an essential instrument in politics utilised by politicians to actualise their communicative functions. The end of the Mugabe rule ushered in Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa, who is known as the late president’s right-hand man. The ascendancy of Mnangagwa to the helm of power took place amidst the state constructed narratives of change from the predecessor’s regime. The media were awash with the discourses of change enmeshed in notions of a “New Dispensation” and “Second Republic” (Moyo and Mavengano, 2021). Yet, recent scholarship on the post-2017 era in Zimbabwe conveys contradictions and ambivalences in the semantics of newness and allusions of a fresh start after the departure of Mugabe (Hove, 2021). The transitional period at the close of 2017, generated euphoria and the song ‘*Kutonga Kwaro Gamba*’ by Mukudzei Mukombe, famously known as Jah Prayzah in Zimbabwe, took the nation into ecstasy, as people celebrated the fall of Mugabe from power. The song assumed new relevance as it was re-contextualised by the audience in the emerging politics in Zimbabwe. The prophetic song *Kutonga Kwaro Gamba* became a tribute to both the military’s intervention in the 2017 coup and metaphoric articulation of the forceful entrance of the ‘Croc’ *Ngwena* or *Garwe* into power (Roger, 2017). The military and the Lacoste faction were revered like the biblical Moses, saving the Israelites (Zimbabweans) from Pharaoh’s iron fisted rule.

The president, in his national addresses, repeatedly tells Zimbabweans that ‘together we will build Zimbabwe, brick by brick, we will re-build Zimbabwe because *nyika inovakwa nevene vayo*, which means a country is built by its citizenry (Ruzvidzo, 2021). The use of future simple tense and imperative, testify the need to encourage all Zimbabweans to participate in the rebuilding process. In his address, President Mnangagwa acknowledges the plight of the nation and encourages all citizens to work towards changing the country’s destiny. Through the persuasive aesthetics encoded in this statement, the Mnangagwa government conveys aspirations of the democratic principle of opening space for free, just and active citizen participation. This call is important but should be complemented by political practice rather than mere rhetoric. By using persuasive language in both collective and possessive pronouns, President Mnangagwa should be currently applauded for using ‘My fellow Zimbabweans’ in his state of the nation addresses, which is a remarkable departure from the grammar of violence engrained in his discourse of ‘*Pasi ne Mhandu*’, which literally means ‘Down with sell outs or betrayers, that previously characterised his political campaigns

(veritaszim.net/taxonomy/term/69). Katea (2018), commenting on Barak Obama's political speeches, posits that the phrase 'my fellow citizens', conveys aspects of unity, solidarity and equality that prevail between the president and his people. In addition, collective noun phrases, imperative constructions and possessive adjectives, such as 'our nation,' 'our economy,' 'together let's build our nation' and 'our beloved country', evoke a sense of entitlement and responsibility. This is also an indication that the president, as one of Zimbabweans, shares their plight and frustration. The well-

being of the nation is a collective and national responsibility. These linguistic strategies are pertinent in fostering unity of purpose that ultimately promotes the national re-building process. Hall's (1997) notion of representation is useful when analysing languaging strategies employed by politicians. Language is used to create constructs, ideologies, images and meanings.

The discourse of 'Second Republic' or 'New Dispensation' is a deliberate effort by the present government in its political metanarrative of promises to separate the current regime with the previous one led by Mugabe. Yet, there is a profound dissonance between the enunciations in discourse of newness and the unfolding sad realities in post-Mugabe Zimbabwe. The political realities speak about the continuities in Mugabeism (that is, the political culture, practices and ideologies used during Mugabe's reign in Zimbabwe). Language is instrumental in articulating the views and ideological stance of speakers as well as making emotional appeal to the audience (van Leeuwen, 2007). In addition, language is used for positive self-presentation and politicians, sometimes, employ language just for the sake of creating images that are appealing to the electorate without serious commitment to make such images a reality (Chilton, 2004). Similarly, politicians in Zimbabwe should avoid using narratives about New Dispensation and Second Republic for mere scapegoating, positive self-representation and as a detachment strategy that portrays the late President Mugabe as solely responsible for all the political ills that took place during his reign (Mavengano and Marevesa, 2021). Certainly, words, especially from politicians, are usually subject to different interpretations as citizens usually feel such words are used to win over votes and cheap talk. No commitment or return to the people after elections to ensure what was committed is done and services provided to the people.

Wodak and Resigl (2005) argue about the significance of collectivisation strategy, which privileges the plural pronominal lexical items, such as 'we/us', which take referents of the entire nation, politicians and ordinary Zimbabweans. By adopting the strategy of collectivisation, politicians share the vision to develop or re-build the nation with ordinary citizens (Katea, 2018). In other words, the collectivisation strategy creates a sense of consensus between the government and citizens. The possessive adjective 'our', promotes fraternity and national reconciliation because there are no perceived Other or out-groups. Though these languaging strategies and pathos are encouraged at the present historical moment of political transition in Zimbabwe, it is also imperative to guard against mere construction of the negative picture of Mugabe and his leadership style (Moyo and Mavengano, 2021). The government should 'walk the talk'; it is not about lurid speeches void of semantic significance. It is imperative to note that ordinary Zimbabweans, who have been exposed to prolonged suffering, want genuine commitment to create a peaceful national space conducive for national development and economic recovery.

The statement 'Together we re-build Zimbabwe', conveys an orientation towards inclusion of the entire populace. This is an important shift from the usual construct of the political Other. Mugabe's regime used othering discourses that generated socio-political exclusions of some citizens. However, Fairclough (2000) argues that the representational choice of one nation's politics can result in covert control and silencing of dissent voices. The current government needs to move away from Mugabe's type of toxic leadership that left the nation fragmented. The government should also go beyond mere construction of embellished tropes and nascent power aesthetics that suggest change deeply enmeshed in notions of new dispensation and second republic. The ambivalence of these tropes is evident in

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linguaging and political practices that expose baffling economic and political stagnation as well as illusionary disjuncture between the pre-2017 and post-2017 eras.

Conclusion

Mindful of the above discussion, there is need for the present political leadership in Zimbabwe to make concerted efforts towards shifting from the legacy of authoritarianism to more democratic style of leadership, where the people are given space to participate in political activities of the country. Zimbabwe’ culture of political conflict has come a long way and has only produced harmful effects, such as crippling the economy of the previously bread basket turned to an empty basket story. The end of Mugabe’s rule offered a change for the country to embrace new political thinking and languaging. Different political players can have a clash of ideas but what is important, is to learn to disagree in peace and with the purpose to rebuild the nation. The re-birth of the nation should take place in the domains of language and religion. Thus, language and religion are fundamental to the turnaround process. The country experienced acute economic decline for nearly two decades, which hampered national development and clearly, citizens do not want a repeat of the traumatic history. The article has highlighted that language and religion are fundamental aspects for peace-building and national development in post-Mugabe society. Zimbabwe’s recent past speaks about a troubled socio-economic and political national space. The post-coup nation needs to deal with the urgency of now, by creating an environment that promotes articulation and audibility of dissident voices, which force accountability and responsibility. The study also underlined the idea that bringing the past and the present into dialogue is significant as the country journeys into the future. The article set forth the reflective approach to language use and religion, which are essential aspects in both reclaiming the lost glorious past and reconstructing an alternative nation space aligned to developmental priorities. It is agreeable that the process of transformation is arduous and, sometimes, faces resistance from certain sections of society. Yet, Zimbabweans should focus on the imperatives of nation-building and fostering a peaceful nation.

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The Representation of Gender Roles in Indonesian National English Textbooks for Senior High Schools

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Abstract

Learners internalize some values behind the materials and instruction provided in their textbooks. The values have a pivotal role in changing learners' beliefs, behaviors, and attitudes, however; numerous textbooks investigated embedded gender inequality values. This study explores gender representation in Senior High Schools textbooks published by the government of Indonesia. Three different textbooks for grades X, XI, and XII were used as a corpus in this study. A mixed content analysis was applied to analyze the data. Five categories namely visibility, firstness, social role, domestic roles, and masculine generic forms were counted, tabulated, and analyzed. The research results show that gender imbalance representation exists in the textbooks which showed by the males' illustrations, names, and pronouns men's representations have much more than women's representations. Plenty of images, symbols, and signs were illustrated by males' domination. Almost all pictures selected at the beginning of the chapter are men revealing men's power and domination in everyday life. While, women were described in domestic roles to be child caring, house cleaning, and sexual service, men are portrayed as soldiers, hunters, and breadwinners leading to power. Thus, it is concluded that gender inequality still exists in the textbooks although written by women, and the senior high school English textbooks still perpetuate of the gender inequality values in Indonesia.

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Keywords

Gender values, English textbooks, Senior High Schools, gender representations, gender inequality

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Introduction

Textbooks, modules, or other learning materials have a pivotal role in the teaching and learning process including learning English. The English language as an international language and global lingua franca is used widely in various cultural contexts, thus it is used to facilitate the teaching and learning process in classrooms (Liu et al., 2022) and textbooks developed to refer to world Englishes that have varieties of English spoken throughout the world (Mostafaei Alaei & Parsazadeh, 2021). Over the years, the textbooks and values embedded in the materials have undergone various transformations in response to the government and educational policy (Rahim & Daghigh, 2020). This situation has impacted the materials used in English Language Teaching (ELT) (Nguyen et al., 2021).

English has been dominant throughout the world in learning a foreign language in the education system for many years (Joo et al., 2020) because “it is advocated as a language of social prestige and economic value” (Nguyen et al., 2021, p.11). As a result, plenty of people learned it for many purposes, such as trade, politics, health, economics, and educational sectors. In response to the educational environment, materials and textbooks have critical elements in English Language Teaching. It is because the materials play crucial factors in shaping ideologies, perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes of the learners, in the other words “Language and ideology are inseparable from discourse” (Botelho & Marion, p.3, 2020). According to Orfan (2021) foreign language textbooks, e.g. English, has an essential role in teaching and learning the language that is not only to convey the language contents but also to transfer values, ideologies, and norms. Moreover, as an illustration, in Afghanistan, textbooks have a critical role in educational sectors to influence the learners’ perspectives so that the textbook developers use common language and use certain pictures in the texts to communicate (Sarvarzade & Wotipka, 2017). Textbooks are one of the cores of the teaching and learning process because they consist of materials, activities, and instructions for learning. However, numerous gender inequality frequently were identified in the textbooks (Barton & Sakwa, 2012; Lee, 2018; Lee & Collins, 2010; Orfan, 2021, Vu & Pham, 2021).

Gender stereotypes and patriarchy have an essential role in incorporating the values in the materials. Mai & Brundrett (2020) reveal that gender stereotypes and patriarchal attitudes have a big influence on the way people act and perceive society. It also includes influencing the learners’ how they treat people in their workplaces, Verge (2021, p.1) believes that “unawareness about how gender inequalities are (re)produced will inevitably lead the learners to become gender-blind doctors, teachers, engineers, policymakers, and other jobs”. Then this condition limit understanding of gender equality and the ways of the social construction of gender identities and has a close correlation to conflict (Durrani & Halai, 2018).

Textbooks have a significant element in changing pupils’ perspectives and attitudes in which one of the main goals in education is to pursue the learners to be better persons, to have open-minded perspectives, to have equal treatment (gender equality), and lead both females and males have the same opportunity to gain the brighter future. Consequently, it is important to analyse and scrutinize the materials related to the appropriateness of the contents and the pictures to the intended users (Bansiong, 2019). This research topic in Indonesia is scarce; therefore, this study aims to fill the gap by concerning textbooks of senior high schools for grades X, XI, and XII.

1. Literature Review

Textbooks are materials authority in which the ideas, values, and perspectives incorporated in the materials are influential to the readers or learners (Vu & Pham, 2021). Almost all written texts such

as textbooks or other materials have different purposes which are depended on the developers or writers' interests or goals. For instance, the English language used in the textbooks is consumerism, one of neoliberalism's main manifestation, so the ideology embedded in the textbooks is the neoliberalism values through the sentences (word choices) written (Daghigh & Rahim, 2021). As an example, they wrote (p.6) "It's very easy to buy things if you go into a shopping mall or a street full of shops (*Think* 1, 24). Learning language for learners pointed out the significance of language learning so that it is needed to be more aware of the role of language learning in educational contexts or other sectors (Chang et al., 2020). It means that both learning language and language learning are inseparable and have a close relationship. Therefore, the textbooks developed need to be considered with the values embedded in the learning materials because word choices and images used in the materials affect the interpretation which is internalized by the readers.

Textbooks have crucial aspects in education because they are used by teachers in managing the teaching and learning process in classrooms. Setyono & Widodo (2019) stated that teachers can manage teaching materials and utilize the textbooks in *in-class* and *out-class* activities as guiding for them. Even though the instructional materials are neither nor uniform since the change over the years; the word choices used account of feminist language reform and the materials developed could be based on the domain or different settings (Selvi & Kocaman, 2021). Textbooks that have bias orientation may lead to biased worldwide and individuals' perspectives (Baleghizadeh & Amiri Shayesteh, 2020). In terms of the issue, language textbooks are well-designed and well-developed to support engagement with culture and global science and values before those are distributed to the learners (Davidson & Liu, 2020) involving gender equality values.

The textbooks need to deliver a fair reflection of the world even though a few researchers or policymakers put their attention or paid to gender inequality in instructional materials used by schools and universities or other educational institutions in which the places are a core in shaping, reshaping, polishing the learners' ideas, beliefs, perspectives, attitudes, and behaviours (Orfan, 2021). Pictures and word choices put in the text form discourse that creates understanding and interpretation to the readers involving gender inequality contexts. Adriany (2019) supported that discourse has a close correlation to power that could marginalize anyone or anything different, for instance women are discredited because of their gender. Equal opportunity or fair treatment both for males and females is crucial to making a better life and a better world. Afterward, one of the best ways to support equality is through education by incorporating gender equality contexts in the textbooks.

Plenty of scholars conducted research on textbook analysis that represent gender inequality values (Sarvarzade & Wotipka, 2017); (Rahim & Daghigh, 2020); (Barton & Sakwa, 2012); (Baleghizadeh & Amiri Shayesteh, 2020); (Nguyen et al., 2021). Whereas, textbooks have a pivotal role in shaping students' perceptions and attitudes because they read the texts, observe the images, and could probably imitate what they read and observe. Every text and sentence or even illustrations developed are instilled in some values including gender inequality values because symbols and signs refer to the meanings. All components in the textbooks such as texts, images, colours, and sentences called semiotics mode (He & van Leeuwen, 2020) can influence the readers' or learners' ideology, beliefs, or attitudes. Textbooks are a stimulus and the reactions are the response of the pupils toward what they learn from the textbooks. Therefore, language choices and dictions used should be opted well to influence a good response to what they read.

Xiong & Peng (2020) note that the textbook developers requires engaging the readers in critically reflecting and negotiating cultural knowledge and meanings in which the meaning tends to empower the readers rather than disempower them. However, texts also could probably disempower the readers because the writers used the imbalance cultural representation contents in the textbooks developed. The imbalanced cultural representation have negative impact in educational sectors and gender

inequalities values including the perpetuation of stereotypes (Davidson & Liu, 2020). For paradigmatically and syntagmatically, the texts are built to the link a power-knowledge regime between writers and readers and built the values in the texts (Chen & Cheung, 2020).

Language and culture cannot be separated from one another because two of them are intertwined. Consequently, the culture is brought to the classroom in the teaching and learning process. The recognition that culture has a pivotal role and crucial aspects in language learning has been debated over the past few decades in the education field (Baleghizadeh & Amiri Shayesteh, 2020). Language can be either motivation or demotivation to the readers. Since language and culture so closely intertwined with a sense of self so that it could affect on confidence and motivation (Abdelhadi et al., 2019). Through those images, it could be self-motivation for men to be more powerful and instil the values to be implemented in their daily life. Certainly, learners particularly children bring in their perspectives and values when reading texts, and sentences and viewing pictures in the textbooks (Sarvarzade & Wotipka, 2017). Even though, they believe that the condition is less for teachers who applied conventional teaching methods that implement teacher-centred teaching methods and also for more malleable younger pupils.

Indonesia and other countries have the same struggle with gender inequality and inequity issues. It has been a long issue throughout the world. Therefore, gender-biased appear in school materials (Barton & Sakwa, 2012); (Lee, 2018); and (Lee & Collins, 2010) including in the textbooks. The textbooks for senior high schools were published by the Educational Ministry and written by a group of women. English textbooks for grade 10 were written by Utami Widiati, Zuliati Rohmah, and Furaidah; for grade 11 written by Mahrukh Bashir; and for grade 12 by Utami Widiati, Zuliati Rohmah, and Furaidah.

2. Method

2.1 Procedures

Senior High School textbooks were chosen to identify as the corpus of this study. The textbooks were published by the Government and disseminated to schools as the main materials to be learned by the students. Those were designed by Educational experts in developing and designing English materials approved by the Ministry of Education in Indonesia. The schoolbooks are the major resources for the learners and teachers in learning English in senior high schools. The materials available focus on four skills namely speaking, reading, listening, and writing that has 17 chapters. The three of primer materials contain the values of supporting the world to reach the targets of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). All the writers are women as proof that the government gave a chance to women to explore their abilities and skills.

There were 17 chapters in senior high school textbooks (Grade X, XI, and XI) selected as samples. The samples selected randomly based on odd and even numbers to generalize the research results. The content was classified into five categories namely visibility, firstness, social role, domestic roles, and masculine generic forms; afterward the data were carried out the systematic recording and tabulation of female and male characters and written in each selected chapter (Orfan, 2021). The data collection procedure was adopted by Orfan (2021). The textbooks analysis has five categories: (1) the number of appearances of both female and male characters in texts and pictures, (2) female and male social roles such as pilots, engineers, doctors, chef, babysitter, (3) female and male's domestic roles namely mother, father, sister, brother, uncle, (4) firstness such as her/him, father/mother, (5) masculine generic constructions such as (mankind, he) when referring to both females and males.

Johansson and Malmsjo (2009); Jones, Kitetu, and Sunderland (1995); Gupta and Yin (1990); Porecca (1984); Poulou (1997) conducted research related to ESL textbooks with a quantitative method in

which they counted the numbers of female and male characters in the textbooks but It is argued by Porecca (1984,713) mentioning that the survey study tends to fail in elaborating how females and males are presented (Barton & Sakwa, 2012). Consequently, this study used mixed research (quantitative and qualitative methods) to investigate the data in more detail so that using CDA was needed to compile this study. This research identifies to answer the following questions:

- (1) What is the frequency or number of men-to-women appearances in the textbooks?
- (2) What are the common activities linked between men and women?
- (3) To what extent are males and females represented portrayed in the textbooks?

2.2 Data analysis

The content analysis was used to analyse the textbooks in this research. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was also applied to this research to complement the content analysis (Barton & Sakwa, 2012). The data gained were cross-checked to ensure the accuracy and the manual analysis was conducted for all the males and females characters and corpus that appear in the written texts (Lee, 2018). The critical discourse analysis elaborates not only on the texts but also on the context of social condition in the place by considering the domain. A primarily qualitative, CDA-informed macro level approach, investigating how power relations and inequalities are discursively perpetuated and maintained in the society (Prendergast & Quinn, 2020).

3. Results

3.1 Visibility and Illustrations

The frequency of illustrations both one-character illustration and multi-character illustrations in the textbooks were counted by identifying and categorizing the pictures based on the category. The female and male pictures are divided into two categories namely one-character illustration and multi-character illustration. The illustrations were calculated for one-character for two sexes and then counted for multi-character pictures as well. The frequency for gender illustrations can be shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Females and Males Illustrations

Category	Gender	Grade X		Grade XI		Grade XII		In Total	
		F	%	F	%	F	%	Total	%
One-character illustration	Female	3	20	3	75	34	74	40	62
	Male	12	80	1	25	12	26	25	38
Total		15	100	4	100	46	100	65	100
Multi-character illustrations	Female	19	40	9	53	40	37	68	40
	Male	28	60	8	47	67	63	103	60
Total		47	100	17	100	107	100	171	100
N.Female character illustration: 108=46%					N.Male character illustration: 128=54%				

Both females and males have different calculation in terms of the number of men and women in the textbooks in which males' picture of one-character have significant differences to females (62% for females and 38% for males). However, in the multi-character illustrations, males' pictures dominated (60%) and female proportion (40%). Moreover, in the total number of females and males illustration reveal that men have higher percentage portrayed in the textbooks than women, 128 and 108 respectively.

In terms of the number of males and females names, male’s names are much more dominant mentioned in the textbook with the total 132 for females and 217 for males. The frequency of male and female’ names can be shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Female and Male’s Names

Textbooks	Female	Male
Grade X	37	173
Grade XI	11	5
Grade XII	84	39
Total	132=21%	217=79%

3.2 Social Role

In terms of the social role, female-monopolised ratio is more than male-monopolised with the average total 10 for females and 7 for males. However, related to male-dominated, men ratios are far more than women, 17 and 4 data respectively. For more detail of the social role is described in Table 3.

Table 3. Frequency of Social Role

Types of social roles	Grade X	Grade XI	Grade XII	Total
Female-monopolised	10			10
Male-monopolised	7			7
Female-dominated		1	1	2
Male-dominated	13	2	2	17

3.3 Domestic Roles

The textbooks have numerous domestic roles representation for both females and males. The findings of data can be seen in Table 4.

Table 4. Domestic Roles

Domestic roles of Females	Grade X	Grade XI	Grade XII	Domestic role of Males	Grade X	Grade XI	Grade XII
Mother	3		4	Father	7	1	4
Daughter	10		3	Son	3	1	9
Sister	28	1	2	Brother	2		
Niece				Nephew			
Housewife	4	4		Husband	1	1	
Grandmother	6		1	Grandfather	3	1	1
Granddaughter				Grandson			
Aunty				Uncle		1	
Total	51	5	10		16	5	14
N.Females of Domestic Roles: 66 =65%				N.Males of Domestic Roles: 35=35%			

The Table 4 illustrates the domestic roles of females and males in the textbooks for grade X, XI, and XII. The frequency of females in the domestic roles is double much more than the counterpart (males), 66 and 35 respectively.

3.4 Gender Firstness

In the textbooks, there are some pronouns identified such as she, he, her, him, hers, his, himself, and herself. The frequency of the pronouns (firstness) is portrayed in Table 5 and 6.

Table 5. Frequency Gender Firstness for Females

Textbooks	She	Her	Hers	Herself	Total
Grade X	41	64	1		106
Grade XI	5	5			10
Grade XII	32	33		2	67
Total	78=43%	102=56%	1=0%	2=1%	182=100%

The Table 5 shows the frequency gender firstness for women, it shows that there are plenty of female pronouns in the textbooks such as *she, her, hers, and herself*. The object pronoun (her) was written more than the subject pronoun with total number 102 and 78. While, there were few of pronoun “hers and herself” portrayed in the textbooks. As a result, the total of female gender firstness in the textbooks is 182. Meanwhile, the frequency of males’ gender firstness can be seen in Table 6.

Table 6. Frequency Gender Firstness for Males

Textbooks	He	Him	His	Himself	Total
Grade X	82	48	44		174
Grade XI	5	1	1		7
Grade XII	33	11	11	1	56
Total	120=51%	60=25%	56=24%	1=0%	237=100%

In terms of males’ gender firstness, the Table 6 illustrates the calculation of male pronouns in the textbooks. There are 120 of subject pronoun “he” mentioned in the textbooks and 60 for object pronoun “him”. Meanwhile, possessive pronouns “his” are written 56 and “himself” only 1 as the datum. Therefore, the total number of the male pronouns tendency is 237. Compared to female gender firstness for women in the Table 5, frequency of males’ firstness are more than women with 237 for males and 182 for females.

3.5 Masculine Generic Construction

Another category related to masculine generic construction is also provided in the textbooks that the result is described in Table 7.

Table 7. Masculine Generic Construction

Masculine Generic Constructions	Grade X	Grade XI	Grade XII	Total
Cavemen	1			1
Policemen	3			3
Mankind	4			4

Table 7 shows that there is no masculine generic construction for grade X and XII. However, there are three masculine generic constructions in the textbook grade X namely cavemen (1), policemen (3), and mankind (4).

4. Discussion

The values embedded in the textbooks have a big role that designs the textbooks because those affect on the texts, the pictures, and the word choices used. Even though all of the textbook developers are women, the images and content tend to gender inequality and inequity contexts. There is a remarkable gap in the textbooks based on the quantitative data identified in which some aspects of the textbooks illustrated gender inequality practices. The textbooks designed to become more unequal between men and women proportion. The frequency and the total number of females are fewer than males in most of the items. The total number of females and males illustration reveal that men have a higher percentage portrayed in the textbooks than women, 108 and 128 respectively and it is the same as the names used in which males' names (217) and females (132). It is supported also by the data of gender firstness frequency where women have 182 data and 237 for their counterpart.

The names of males also are much more than females based in Table 2 and it is supported by the frequency of gender firstness for males (237) and females (182) in Table 5. Even though all the writers of the textbooks are females but some aspects such as pictures, names, and gender firstness are still dominated by men. Many misconceptions of gender roles and occupational pursuits are cultivated through symbol vicarious modelling of stereotypes demonstrated by character models that could be interpreted, followed and implemented by children in their daily lives (Lee, 2020). We realize that our perspectives are different from numerous school curricula where not all texts or other aspects in the textbooks are values equal (Bezemer & Cowan, 2020).

Even though, when females are more mentioned as central characters (Table 3) and (Table 4) but they are often described in stereotypical ways in the textbooks. For instance, women tend to be portrayed in domestic roles such as cleaning the houses (chapter 5, grade 12), shopping (chapter 7, grade 12), getting married (chapter 2, grade 10), and taking care of children (chapter 2, grade 11). Lee (2020, p.2) reinforces that “females were also associated with domestic roles”. It is relevant to the research results of (Lee, 2018) conducting scrutiny investigation in the three textbooks analysed. The number of female domestic roles are double than the counterpart which is 65% and 35%. Therefore, in the materials provided many of inequality dealing with the women stereotypes.

The research results reveal that there is hidden gender stereotyping contained in the textbooks in which men were depicted as more powerful than women such as the father put up the tent or went fishing with his sons while the mother's tasks seem to be domestic roles cooking and childrearing. These findings also are similar to (Lee, 2020) that women are still frequently placed in family roles than men in which there are much more aunts, and grandmothers than their counterparts. The domestic roles lead to where a member of the family work and stays at home to accomplish home duties without any charge. In a patriarchy society, this role tends to do by women. As a result, based on the data, the content of the textbooks are still adopted traditional stereotypes.

The four types of social roles are female-monopolised, male-monopolised, female-dominated, and male-dominated. The data portray that between females and males has a small difference with 10 and 7 data; however, in terms of the dominated in social role, men dominated in social roles eight times than women. The materials in schoolbooks still represented of stereotypes because the trend of male domination seems to be showed by the writers. Consequently, this will affect on the students' beliefs and attitude in the future. If men and women are unequally represented in textbooks, pupils including girls grow up with mentality that men as a dominant group are better and more powerful and capable than those of other groups (Orfan, 2021).

Images, portraits, or landscapes are a pivotal media in shaping people's perspectives and beliefs because every picture has various interpretations and values. As a result, these are crucial to select relevant images in the books because pupils instil the values to what they read and interpret all components in the materials including symbols, signs, and images. In these three textbooks, plenty of images illustrate males' domination. The visual images receive less attention from research investigating gender imbalance in textbooks (Li, 2016). Almost all of the pictures selected at the beginning of the chapter are men revealing men's power and domination in everyday life. For instance, on pages 29, 38, 50, 81, 108, and any other chapters, almost all the pictures are men. The illustrations of the pictures can be seen in Picture 1.

Picture 1: Male domination pictures



In the textbooks, the data show that men are breadwinners and women stay at home as housewives or households that identically with shopping, cooking, and taking care of the children. The pictures represent men are more powerful than women because only men are represented as travellers, announcers, fishers, hunters, soldiers, idols, and others. It is relevant to the patriarchy condition in Indonesia that women as subordinate in society in which women have boundaries to do something because of their gender. Mai & Brundrett (2020, p.3) state that “gender stereotype and patriarchal attitudes have a strong influence on the society, there is still way to go”. Those influence people's perspectives and the perspectives might influence the materials designed. Consequently, it is believed that textbooks have a pivotal role in formal education (Lee, 2014) to drive and control the students' perspectives and behaviours.

In terms of the data reveal that there were no women described in military-related jobs or hunter-hobbies such as fishing or climbing mountains. Soldiers with gun are portrayed with men's illustrations or climbing mountains with men's representation in the books which mean it is believed that only men can do the tasks or activities. It means that males are more dominant in the course books because pictures are dominated by men with big muscular and powerful who are supposed as breadwinners and described in occupations. Kostas (2019) presents the research results of the narratives to reinforce the spatial binary of public normalization that females as homemakers and domesticity or male as breadwinners, protectors, and providers. In terms of occupations, women tend to work in jobs involving nurturing, service, and support but men are illustrated involved in physically-demanding jobs such as farmer, soldier, hunter, climber, and other physical jobs that indicate to be more powerful (Lee & Collins, 2010). This condition also is relevant to (Li, 2016) that

there were no images of women depicted in military-related jobs in both textbooks in the 1980s and 2000s.

Almost in every chapter, male pictures in the textbooks cover are described as men's activities such as a pantomime (p.182), an idol or an artist (p.108), travellers/climbers (p.50), and many others. Then, women were described as very feminine because they tend to go shopping, get married, wear pink, and others characteristics. Nayak & Surendran (2021) mention this linguistics condition as linguistic-based bias in which the writers use masculine words and generic pronouns to exclude the role and the importance of women. In the patriarchal society, women are formed with the ideal behaviour and habit such as women tend to stay at home, become fashionable, serve for her husband, and other stereotyped as women's jobs (Andersson, 2020); in the early 1970s, women are portrayed as an object to sell or buying clothes, to manage the house, to serve family and as sexual partner (Greubel, 2021). It is similar also to a poem of “A Freedom Song” which illustrates an exploitative domestic situation of women (Barton & Sakwa, 2012). With the same condition as the findings of the research (see e.g Lee, 2018 and Gailea & Rasyid, 2015). It means that gender imbalance still exists in the schoolbooks although the writers of the textbooks are women and the government supports the SDGs' targets of gender balance.

In expressing feelings and ideas, it is not only to be expressed through words or sentences but also it could be devoted to symbols, colours, and pictures. Words, phrases, gestures, pictures, and symbols refer to the referential meaning, as Riley (2019, p.3) notes that “The most important feature that distinguishes humans from all other forms of life on the planet is our capacity for evolving referential language”. The meaning of the words, objects, or images refers to the referential meaning which means every object has the meaning that is based on the referee. Swenson & Cipolla (2020) state symbols are more closely to Saussure's semiology where every sign or symbol expresses a meaning which corresponds to convention, tradition and culture of the place.

5. Conclusion

Textbooks have a big impact on students' perspectives and behaviors because they gain some information and obtain the values from the texts and images available. Afterward, the values can be guidance for the students and they might be implemented by the learners in their daily life. Consequently, the content of the schoolbooks is necessary to be considered by all stakeholders, especially for the developers to select the contents and contexts of the textbooks. Based on the research result, the proportion of men's names and pictures in the textbooks for grade X, XI, XII of senior high schools are much more than female names and pictures. Men are more dominant in the social roles portrayed in the texts. The gender stereotype identified in the analysis of the textbooks is that women are put in the domestic roles such as cleaning the house, serving their husbands, taking care of the children, and other domestic roles. Meanwhile, men are illustrated as powerful people who are identical to going for the hunter, becoming an idol, fishing, and becoming breadwinners.

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The Language Shift from the Middle and Upper Middle-Class Families in the Kapampangan Speaking Region

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Abstract

The language shift among middle and upper-middle-class families in Kapampangan-speaking communities was the focus of this study. The tool consists of the following: (a) an interview guide containing items related to the languages they used at home, with friends, and content about their parents' race; (b) a wordlist containing specific words from Kapampangan liturgical prayers to determine whether there is an evolution of words in the Kapampangan language; and (c) data were interpreted using Fishman's Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). The data of the study were taken from the 63 Catholic Kapampangan informants, regardless of sex, must be native of the city or town in the province of Pampanga, and nearby Kapampangan-speaking provinces, with an age bracket of 18-21 years old. Findings reveal that some Kapampangan words are in great danger. Unknowingly, little by little, Kapampangan people are shifting their language to a mixture of Tagalog and English. The attitude of using and choosing English and Tagalog as the languages at home instead of the Kapampangan significantly contributed to the language shift. The established Kapampangan language clashed with westernized trends and modern society. It was also pushed out slowly by intermarriage, technology, globalization, modernization, mass movements, and politics, which added up to losing Kapampangans' unique identity. Finally, some words used in Catholic liturgical prayers should be updated since some words are not familiar anymore to the younger generation.

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Keywords

Families, Kapampangan, language, language shift, middle class.

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Introduction

Knowledge is seen as the source of all power among the villages of north-western New Britain, but as the elderly pass away without passing on what they know, a portion of power is lost with each generation (Thurston, 1992). The abovementioned statement is also true when we talk about the vitality of languages around the world. Like any other knowledge, language is diverse in that it is subject to ups and downs, and they are frequently correlated with those of its speakers (Almurashi, 2017). There are several languages that are being extensively spoken nowadays all over the world, and some of them are dying, and some are on the verge of extinction. Up to 6,000 different languages are thought to be spoken at any given time, yet this cultural variety is decreasing quickly (Kandler, 2017).

It is true that language may change at any time, and that change is susceptible to corruption, even over a short period of time, like a decade or two, and with samples of just a few thousand characters. This is a really interesting discovery even in isolation, and it adds to the list of language researchers that are interested in measuring language evolution and variations (Juola, 2003). The notion that language echoes culture must be known to any linguist who is interested in and concerned with the history of the philosophy of language. Given this knowledge, it is only logical to conclude that a change in culture must impact language, which in turn must reflect the change in the speech community in some manner. A language is a system of interaction that combines sounds and/or gestures in a predetermined way to produce meanings that are understandable to all speakers of that language (Haviland, 2010).

Language maintenance initiatives often give careful thought to what leads a community to switch from one language to another. Before attempting language maintenance, it is essential to gauge how well the community comprehends the reasons for its linguistic change. To enable community members to view language change as something they can affect rather than something beyond their control, there has to be empowerment in the community (Smith, April 2, 2010). In order to explain how the process of language shift starts and gains steam, it is necessary to comprehend the factors that lead adults to decide to incorporate the new language into their communication repertoires in the first place. According to the shift literature, people begin learning dominant languages that are more widely used than their vernacular due to occupation, widespread in-migration of members of the dominant group, incorporation into a political entity where that language is widely used, and/or because they voluntarily do so in order to move up the socioeconomic hierarchy that is run by members of the majority group (Kulick, 1992).

According to Odrowaz-Coates (2019), English has transformed into a sign of social class; in favored socioeconomic groups, their status changes from a second language to a foreign language, signaling a linguistic shift with significant repercussions. In *Socio-Educational Factors and the Soft Power of Language*, the cultural and individual implications of this phenomenon are carefully studied in the field study contexts of Poland and Portugal. In Singapore, there has been a considerable linguistic change over the past 20 years from the use of various dialects of Chinese in the household to English and Mandarin as the official languages of instruction. Grandchildren may not speak the same language as their grandparents due to the rapid shift (Gupta & Yeok, 1995).

It is preferable to think of Indonesia's linguistic transitions as developing multilingualism patterns rather than vast populations abruptly changing their language. Such shifts in language usage are happening all throughout the nation and are putting the survival of many languages in peril, especially in the eastern half of the archipelago, where there are several languages with sparse speaker populations (Musgrave, 2014). The loss of a language is viewed as a tragic and regrettable event. Such a circumstance could be challenging to understand for many speakers of frequently used languages. But cases like these do exist, and they occur everywhere (Almurashi, 2017).

A few of the causes by which languages are endangered are evident: the influences of urbanization, westernization, and global communications rise every day, all the while weakening the identity and self-confidence of smaller and indigenous communities. Oppressive policies and demographic migrations also play their part in languages (The FEL Manifesto, 2022). The Philippines has 187 languages, four of which are extinct, and 11 are dying (Philippines, 2007). The Kapampangan language is one of the major languages in the country, which is found in the central plain of Luzon, with at least a population of 2,437,709 (Pampanga Profile – PhilAtlas - Luzon, 2020), also known as Pampango, Pampangan, and Pampangueno. The province of Pampanga serves as the hub of this linguistic group, but Kapampangan is also widely spoken outside of the region's political limits. There may also be a small number of Kapampangan speakers in the provinces of: Bataan, which is situated in the southern part of Pampanga, specifically the towns of Cabiao, Dinalupihan, Hermosa, Samal, and Abucay; in Bulacan, in San Miguel de Mayumo; and in the northeast of Pampanga, the town in Nueva Ecija, specifically of Cabiao; as well as a significant portion of Tarlac, specifically Tarlac City, Capas, Bamban, and Concepcion (Del Corro, 1985). Many speakers who are fundamentally monolingual can still be found in the Kapampangan speech group. The large majority of them were trilingual, speaking English quite well, or at least to some extent, as well as Tagalog and Kapampangan with great proficiency. There was a definite age gap when it came to the use of the Kapampangan language. While adults can speak Tagalog very well, it does not seem to have the same impact on them as it does on the Kapampangan teenage group. Teenagers, on the other hand, appear to be rather significantly influenced by Tagalog (Forman, 1971).

This study focused on the language shift among the middle and upper middle class families in the Kapampangan speaking region. According to the most recent family income and expenditure survey conducted by the Philippine Statistics Authority (PSA), the majority of Filipinos (58.4%) are from the lower socioeconomic strata, while the middle class makes up around 40% of the population. High earners account for only 1.4 percent of the population (Albert et al., 2018). This paper may hopefully add to the dearth of Kapampangan studies on language shift.

1. Methods

The researcher developed a tool composed of two parts: first, is the interview guide with items related to the languages they used at home, with friends, and content about their parents' race. Second, is the wordlist where the specific words were taken from Kapampangan liturgical prayers. This is to trace whether there is an evolution of words in the Kapampangan language. Data were interpreted through the use of Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) of Fishman (1991). Catholic prayers were utilized because the prayers were used by the Kapampangan since the early 1600's and up to the present time. The 80 words from the list

came from liturgical prayers, namely: *Ibpa Mi* or the "Our Father"; *Ligaya King Ibpa* or the "Glory Be"; *Bapu Maria* or the "Hail Mary"; and *Bapu Reyna* or the "Hail Holy Queen". The selected words were then alphabetized and read aloud to the informants, where they recalled, interpreted, or translated them in English or Tagalog (national language), and were also given a chance to explain in cases word/s could not be translated by the informants. The researcher identified the responses as (a) correct translation/interpretation, (b) wrong translation/interpretation, and (c) no response; meaning the informants had totally no idea of the word/s.

Pertinent documents were also analyzed such as old dictionaries of Bergano (1732), Luther (1905), and Forman (1971) to interpret and check the Kapampangan language transitions and compare it to Kapampangan language use at present time. Also local magazines, and newspapers, flyers, historical books, monographs, and manuscripts to identify the historical significance of the province and its relation to language were utilized.

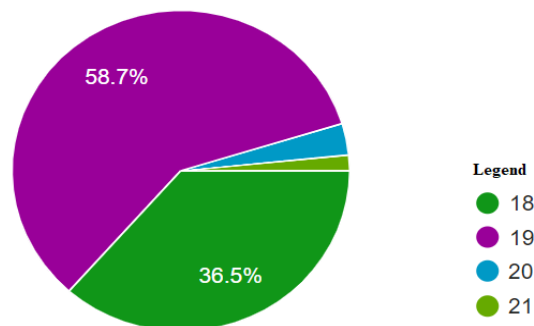
The data for the study came from 63 Catholic Kapampangan informants, regardless of gender, who had to be from a city or town in the province of Pampanga or nearby Kapampangan-speaking provinces, should be between the ages of 18 and 21, and come from a middle or upper middle class family.

Figure 1 presents the age distribution of the informants: 36.5% were 18 years old, 58.7% were 19 years old, 3.2% were 20 years old, and 1.6% were 21 years old.

Figure 1. The Age of the Informants

Age

63 responses



The towns of Pampanga and nearby speaking Kapampangan provinces (see figure 2), specifically from parts of Tarlac, were included in the study; the biggest data were from Angeles City with 14 or 22.2% of informants, followed by 11 or 17.5 from Mabalacat City; there were six or 9.5% of interviewed informants from each locality of the City of San Fernando, town of Magalang, and town of Arayat; the town of Lubao represented 4 or 3.6%; while the towns of Candaba and Guagua represented 2 or 3.2% each. There were one or 1.6% of informants who were interviewed in each town: Bacolor, Macabebe, Masantol, Mexico, Porac, San Simon, Santa Ana, and Santa Rita. In addition, only there were only 4 or 6.3% informants from the Kapampangan-speaking towns in the province of Tarlac.

Figure 2. Kapampangan Speaking Provinces

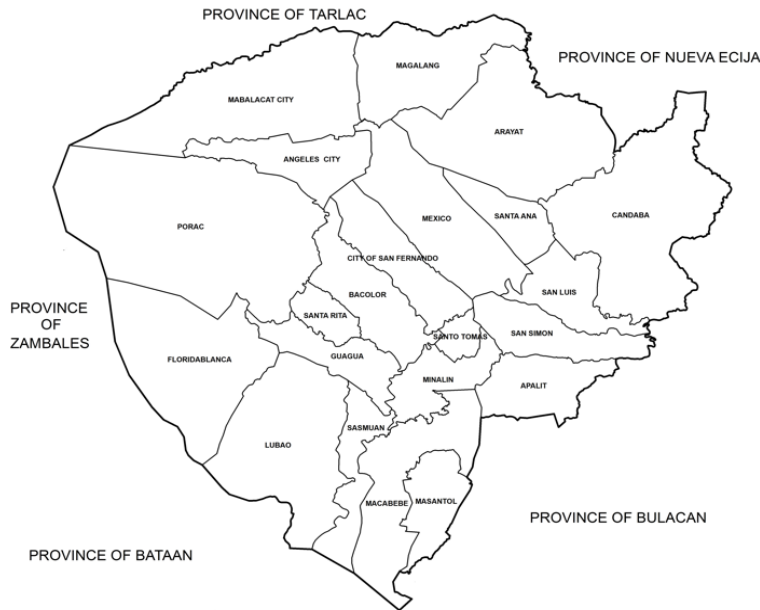


Figure 3. Towns



The study started in May of 2019 and finished in June of 2022. Due to the isolation and restrictions imposed by the local and national governments due to the COVID-19 pandemic, some towns from parts of Bataan, Bulacan, and Nueva Ecija where Kapampangan-speaking individuals can still be found were not included in the data gathering.

2. Results and Discussions

The Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) of Fishman (1991) was utilized in interpreting the data for figures four to six. Figure 4 presents the use of the Kapampangan language for everyday interactions at home. It revealed that a significant number (47.6%) of informants speak Kapampangan at home, followed by 33.3% whose parents and grandparents were the only Kapampangan speakers at home. On the other hand, there were 15.9% who do not use Kapampangan at home but instead use English or Tagalog. Further, there were 2 or 3.2% who claimed that only grandparents speak Kapampangan.

Figure 4. Language Used at Home
63 responses

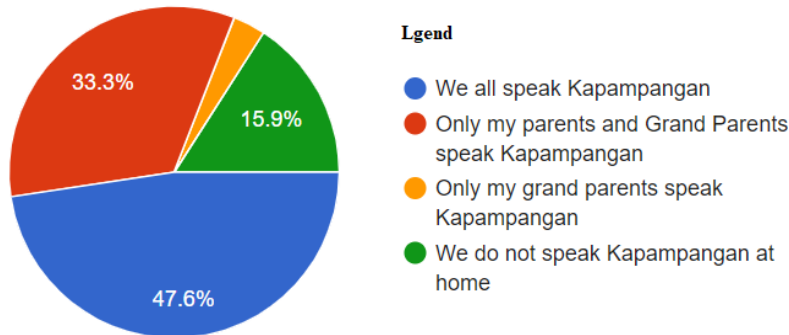
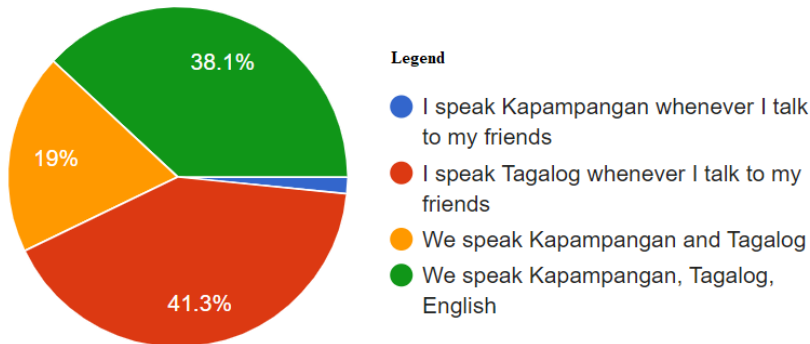


Figure 5 revealed that the majority of the informants (41.3%) stated that they speak Tagalog and only 1.6% use the Kapampangan language whenever they talk with their friends. On the other hand, there were 19% who mentioned that they speak Tagalog and Kapampangan, and 38.1% use three languages; English, Tagalog, and Kapampangan whenever they talk to their friends.

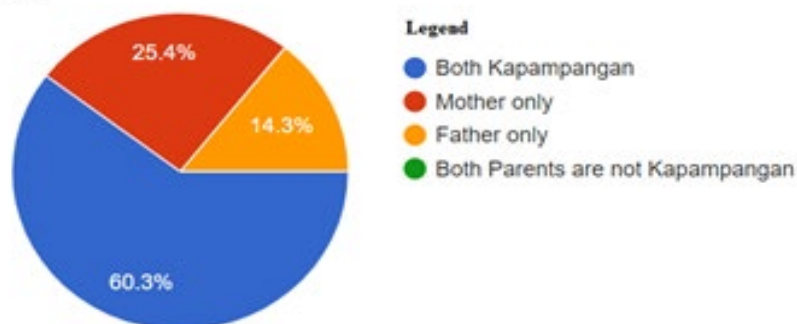
Figure 5. Language Used with Friends
63 responses



The parents' race of the informants were also included in the study. Figure 6 revealed that there were 60.3% whose parents were both Kapampangan, 25.4% represented only their mother being a Kapampangan, and the rest of 14.3% represented only their father being a Kapampangan. A clear manifestation that there were 39.7% among the middle and upper middle class who got into intermarriages which may affect the Kapampangan language vitality

Figure 6. Parents Race

63 responses



Following EGIDS, the Kapampangan language among middle and upper middle class families' falls on level 7, with a label of "shifting", described as "The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children."

1. Kapampangan Language Transition

To check whether the informants understood clearly the Kapampangan language, the researcher developed a word list that contained 80 words (Table 1) which came from Catholic liturgical prayers. The researcher tried to trace as well the evolution of words from Kapampangan Catholic prayers, which were translated from Spanish to Kapampangan during the Spanish occupation in the Philippines, specifically in the province of Pampanga in the early 1600s, and are still used at present by the Kapampangan Catholics. The words were then interpreted and compared to the present language used by the Kapampangan. To check the meaning of the words, old dictionaries were used, specifically those of Bergano (1732), Luther (1905), Parker (1905), and Forman (1971).

Some of the correct word translations and interpretations of the informants taken from the word list used by the researcher were as follows: 63 informants (100%) got the correct translations from the words *awsan*, *ikami*, *lagyu*, *matula*, and *tuknangan*. While there were 62 (98.41%) informants who got the correct translations for the words *kapilan*, *makalukluk*, *malalam*, and *tutu*. The words *datang*, *kakanan*, *patawaran*, and *saup/sawup* got 61 (96.83%), the word *mikasala* has 60 (95.24%), the words *antimo*, *marok*, and *pepalakwan* have 59 (93.65%), the words *king* and *kinuldas* have 58 (92.06%), and the word *wanan* has 56 (88.89%). The mentioned words are still being used by the Kapampangans in their everyday conversations, which is why most of the informants were able to translate them correctly.

Some words with wrong translations and interpretations from 63 informants were: *pakalulu* (34.92%); *ablas*, and *patulunan* (30.16%); *kapamilatan* (25.40%); *indu*, *paysaul*, and *ampat* (22.22%); *kamumulan* (20.63%); *banwa*, *ampon/ampong* (19.5%); *nuan/nwan* (17.46%); *kitkut*, *mayupaya*, *mipamintuan*, *kabatingan* (15.87%); *panaligan*, *sabla* (14.29%); *bapu*, *pagkalam* (12.70%); *tatangis* (11.11%). Clear evidence of language change among Kapampangans was that some of the words in the word list have variations or counterparts with Tagalog meanings.

The following words could not interpret or translated by the informants because the words were not familiar to them: *labwad* (92.06%), *karinan* (88.89%), *mukum* (87.30%), *kambe*

(85.71%), *pagkalam*, *pamisamak* (80.95%), *ngamu* (79.37%), *apangaintuliran* (77.78%), *masampat*, *tuldan* (76.19%), *ampat* (74.60%), *nuan/nwan*, *daralung* (73.02%), *sulip* (68.25%) *patulunan* (65.08%), *bapu*, *yanasa* (60.32%), *kabatingan*, *lalang* (58.73%), *ikabus*, *balikdan/baligdan* (55.56%), *kigli* (53.97%), *kapamilatan* (52.38%).

Table 1. The Word List

	Words	Correct Translation/ interpretation	%	Wrong Translation/ interpretation	%	No Answer/ response	%	Total	%
1	<i>Ablas</i>	13	20.63%	19	30.16%	31	49.21%	63	100%
2	<i>Ampat</i>	2	3.17%	14	22.22%	47	74.60%	63	100%
3	<i>Ampon/ Ampong</i>	48	76.19%	12	19.05%	3	4.76%	63	100%
4	<i>Antimo</i>	59	93.65%	0	0.00%	4	6.35%	63	100%
5	<i>Apangaintuliran</i>	9	14.29%	5	7.94%	49	77.78%	63	100%
6	<i>Api</i>	50	79.37%	5	7.94%	8	12.70%	63	100%
7	<i>Asadya</i>	37	58.73%	2	3.17%	24	38.10%	63	100%
8	<i>Awsan</i>	63	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	63	100%
9	<i>Balikdan/ Baligdan</i>	26	41.27%	2	3.17%	35	55.56%	63	100%
10	<i>Banwa</i>	49	77.78%	12	19.05%	2	3.17%	63	100%
11	<i>Bapu</i>	17	26.98%	8	12.70%	38	60.32%	63	100%
12	<i>Daptan</i>	42	66.67%	6	9.52%	15	23.81%	63	100%
13	<i>Daralung</i>	10	15.87%	7	11.11%	46	73.02%	63	100%
14	<i>Datang</i>	61	96.83%	1	1.59%	1	1.59%	63	100%
15	<i>Ibpa</i>	41	65.08%	4	6.35%	18	28.57%	63	100%
16	<i>Ikabus</i>	24	38.10%	4	6.35%	35	55.56%	63	100%
17	<i>Ikami</i>	63	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	63	100%
18	<i>Indu</i>	33	52.38%	14	22.22%	16	25.40%	63	100%
19	<i>Kabatingan</i>	16	25.40%	10	15.87%	37	58.73%	63	100%
20	<i>Kakanan</i>	61	96.83%	0	0.00%	2	3.17%	63	100%
21	<i>Kaladwa</i>	41	65.08%	6	9.52%	16	25.40%	63	100%
22	<i>Kambe</i>	9	14.29%	0	0.00%	54	85.71%	63	100%
23	<i>Kamumulan</i>	26	41.27%	13	20.63%	24	38.10%	63	100%
24	<i>Kapamilatan</i>	14	22.22%	16	25.40%	33	52.38%	63	100%
25	<i>Kapilan</i>	62	98.41%	0	0.00%	1	1.59%	63	100%
26	<i>Karinan</i>	4	6.35%	3	4.76%	56	88.89%	63	100%
27	<i>Karing</i>	48	76.19%	4	6.35%	11	17.46%	63	100%
28	<i>Kigli</i>	29	46.03%	0	0.00%	34	53.97%	63	100%
29	<i>King</i>	58	92.06%	1	1.59%	4	6.35%	63	100%
30	<i>Kinuldas</i>	58	92.06%	1	1.59%	4	6.35%	63	100%
31	<i>Kitkut</i>	45	71.43%	10	15.87%	8	12.70%	63	100%
32	<i>Labwad</i>	0	0.00%	5	7.94%	58	92.06%	63	100%
33	<i>Lagyu</i>	63	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	63	100%
34	<i>Lalang</i>	21	33.33%	5	7.94%	37	58.73%	63	100%
35	<i>Linasa</i>	29	46.03%	6	9.52%	28	44.44%	63	100%
36	<i>Lwa</i>	33	52.38%	6	9.52%	24	38.10%	63	100%

37	<i>Makalukluk</i>	62	98.41%	0	0.00%	1	1.59%	63	100%
38	<i>Malalam</i>	62	98.41%	0	0.00%	1	1.59%	63	100%
39	<i>Mananung</i>	35	55.56%	0	0.00%	28	44.44%	63	100%
40	<i>Mapupus</i>	43	68.25%	3	4.76%	17	26.98%	63	100%
41	<i>Marok</i>	59	93.65%	0	0.00%	4	6.35%	63	100%
42	<i>Masampat</i>	10	15.87%	5	7.94%	48	76.19%	63	100%
43	<i>Matula</i>	63	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	63	100%
44	<i>Mayupaya</i>	37	58.73%	10	15.87%	16	25.40%	63	100%
45	<i>Mengawa</i>	46	73.02%	4	6.35%	13	20.63%	63	100%
46	<i>Mibait</i>	52	82.54%	4	6.35%	7	11.11%	63	100%
47	<i>Mikasala</i>	60	95.24%	1	1.59%	2	3.17%	63	100%
48	<i>Mipamintuan</i>	34	53.97%	10	15.87%	19	30.16%	63	100%
49	<i>Mipangilag</i>	32	50.79%	2	3.17%	29	46.03%	63	100%
50	<i>Mipmu/ Mitmu</i>	32	50.79%	7	11.11%	24	38.10%	63	100%
51	<i>Misamban</i>	41	65.08%	4	6.35%	18	28.57%	63	100%
52	<i>Mukum</i>	5	7.94%	3	4.76%	55	87.30%	63	100%
53	<i>Ngamu</i>	8	12.70%	5	7.94%	50	79.37%	63	100%
54	<i>Nuan/ Nwan</i>	6	9.52%	11	17.46%	46	73.02%	63	100%
55	<i>Pagkalam</i>	4	6.35%	8	12.70%	51	80.95%	63	100%
56	<i>Pakalulu</i>	31	49.21%	22	34.92%	10	15.87%	63	100%
57	<i>Pamigaganakan</i>	53	84.13%	0	0.00%	10	15.87%	63	100%
58	<i>Pamisamak</i>	9	14.29%	3	4.76%	51	80.95%	63	100%
59	<i>Panaligan</i>	30	47.62%	9	14.29%	24	38.10%	63	100%
60	<i>Pangasubli</i>	40	63.49%	4	6.35%	19	30.16%	63	100%
61	<i>Pangisnawa</i>	37	58.73%	5	7.94%	21	33.33%	63	100%
62	<i>Paquit/ pakit</i>	50	79.37%	1	1.59%	12	19.05%	63	100%
63	<i>Patawaran</i>	61	96.83%	0	0.00%	2	3.17%	63	100%
64	<i>Patulunan</i>	3	4.76%	19	30.16%	41	65.08%	63	100%
65	<i>Paysaul</i>	30	47.62%	14	22.22%	19	30.16%	63	100%
66	<i>Pekikitan</i>	49	77.78%	1	1.59%	13	20.63%	63	100%
67	<i>Pepalakwan</i>	59	93.65%	1	1.59%	3	4.76%	63	100%
68	<i>Sabla</i>	23	36.51%	9	14.29%	31	49.21%	63	100%
69	<i>Sadya</i>	40	63.49%	2	3.17%	21	33.33%	63	100%
70	<i>Salpantaya</i>	35	55.56%	2	3.17%	26	41.27%	63	100%
71	<i>Saup/ Sawup</i>	61	96.83%	0	0.00%	2	3.17%	63	100%
72	<i>Sulip</i>	13	20.63%	7	11.11%	43	68.25%	63	100%
73	<i>Tatangis</i>	33	52.38%	7	11.11%	23	36.51%	63	100%
74	<i>Tinipa</i>	54	85.71%	6	9.52%	3	4.76%	63	100%
75	<i>Tuknangan</i>	63	100.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	63	100%
76	<i>Tuldan</i>	10	15.87%	5	7.94%	48	76.19%	63	100%
77	<i>Tutu</i>	62	98.41%	0	0.00%	1	1.59%	63	100%
78	<i>Wanan</i>	56	88.89%	1	1.59%	6	9.52%	63	100%
79	<i>Yanasa</i>	25	39.68%	0	0.00%	38	60.32%	63	100%
80	<i>Yumu</i>	36	57.14%	5	7.94%	22	34.92%	63	100%

2. Factors Affecting Language Shift among Kapampangan

2.1 Kapampangan History of Colonization

There is a province that is rich in culture and art found in the heart of Central Luzon, Philippines, and that is named after a river bank—Pampanga (Castro A. D., 2010). The province is an offspring of the Luzon Empire, which was colloquially known as the Kingdom of Tondo. It is claimed by native Kapampangans and local historians that they are descendants of the Malang Region, a group of migrants from Central Java. After the Manila occupation of the Spaniards in 1571, Martin de Goiti was sent off by the Spanish Conquistador Miguel Lopez de Legaspi to effect the submission of Pampanga (*Balen Ning Apalit: Lalawigan Ning Capampangan*, n.d.). However, in the accounts of the Kapampangan history, the natives refused to submit to the Spanish authority until the coming of de Goiti. During the settlement of the Spaniards, the province was subdivided into *pueblos* (towns) and later subdivided into *barrios* (districts) together with *encomiendas* (royal and private states). It was noted as well that the province was one of the richest places in the Philippines during the Spanish occupation. The invasion and bombing of Clark Air Base in Pampanga by the Japanese in 1941 marked a drastic change in the province's history. From then until 1942, the Japanese armed forces tried to enter the province.

During the Japanese occupation, the military's primary goal was to defeat the communist guerillas known as *Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon* (HukBaLaHap). The natives and the HukBaLaHap fought with both American and Filipino armed forces during the battle of Pampanga and World War II.

2.2 Pampanga as a Former Region

There is an evidence that most of Bulacan and Nueva Ecija, Eastern Bataan, and Tondo were Kapampangan at the beginning of the Spanish conquest (Camaya, n.d.). Historically, the Kapampangan territory included not only the current province, but Pampanga had a much larger land area than it does now (Castro R. I., 1981). The hispanization that saw the heroism of Pampango Prince Soliman and Raja Lacandula in the battle of Tondo led to the disintegration and diminution of the empire, then eventually to its creation as a province in 1752 (Dizon, 1981; Orejas, 2003) with Bacolor as the capital town (Dizon, 1981; Nepomuceno, 2003). The created province was then all four provinces, consisting of Bataan, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, and part of Bulacan (Dizon, 1981; Castro, R.I., 1981).

December 11, 1571 was the day that the great Kapampangan region was reduced to a mere province of the Spanish Empire. For over a hundred years, the territory of Pampanga stretched as far as the mission of Cagayan in the north, which included the towns of Caranglan, Pantabangan, and Puncan in Nueva Ecija. In the west, it included the towns of Dinalupihan, Llana Hermosa, Orani, Samal, Abucay Balanga, Pilar, and Udiong (now Orion) and on the east, it stretched as far as Baler, Tayabas, and the towns of Malolos, Quingua (now Plaridel), Guiguinto, Caluya (Bigaa), Hagunoy, and Calumpit in the south (Dizon, 1981; Henares, 2001; Cabusao, 2006; Nepomuceno, 2003; Camaya, n.d.).

The reduction of the province started when the creation of Bataan absorbed the strip comprising the towns of Abucay, Balanga, Dinalupihan, Hermosa, Orani, Orion, Pilar, and Samal in 1754. In 1848, Pampanga lost the towns of Gapan, Cabiao, San Isidro, San Antonio, and Aliaga to Nueva Ecija. In 1850, its San Miguel Town was given to Bulacan, and in 1860, due to lawlessness caused by the Aeta wars, Pampanga gave up more of its towns. Bamban,

Capas, Concepcion, Victoria, Tarlac, Magalang, Porac, and Florida Blanca were detached and erected into a "commandacia politico-militar," with the last four only having been returned in 1873 (Dizon, 1981; Henares, 2001; Cabusao, 2006). Today, Kapampangan form a minority in the Tagalog-dominated Central Luzon and, unless something is done, will be reduced to insignificance or disappear as a distinct people in a few decades (Camaya, n.d.).

2.3 Effects of Calamities to the Kapampangan

The eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in 1991, which approximately blew 5 cubic kilometers or 1.2 cubic miles of magma into the air, is considered the 2nd largest volcanic eruption in the 20th century (Dela Cruz, 2012) and sent ash clouds, preferably around 35 kilometers, or 22 miles, into the air, which had a far-reaching effect not only on the landscape of the province but more so on people's migration. Residents of Bacolor from various walks of life were relocated to different resettlement sites, including the Bulaon Resettlement in San Fernando, the Madapdap Resettlement in Mabalacat, the Santa Lucia Resettlement in Magalang, and the Pandacaqui Resettlement in Mexico. In addition, there are also resettlements which are intended for people who were affected by the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo: EPZA resettlement at Angeles City; Tokwing resettlement at Porac; Sitio Mainang Resettlement at Bamban; and O'Donel Resettlement at Capas, Tarlac (Yambao et al., 2021, 78).

3. Discussion

Among the Kapampangans who belong to middle and upper class families, some terms from the common language have clearly replaced those from the local tongue. Investigation revealed that this trend is widespread, less pronounced in remote locations, and more pronounced in towns with heavy outside interaction.

The reasons for swapping a local term with one from a neighboring language, specifically of Tagalog, involved the following: (a) when young Kapampangans use a foreign word, even if they are aware of its foreignness. There is a noticeable influence of English and Tagalog words among the responses of the informants, particularly during conversations. Even if there was an appropriate local phrase, these Westernized and Tagalized words were typically used by them.

(b) An ambiguous state in which speakers were unsure which of two words is truly their own. The vocabulary of other languages, particularly Tagalog, is being replaced by that of Kapampangan. For example, the word *ampon*, meaning "and" has a counterpart meaning in Tagalog, which is "adopted", the same with the word *api* meaning "fire" with a Tagalog meaning "maltreated". Kapampangan word variations may also add to the confusion. Examples were as follows: The word *tuknangan* has two meanings: to "stop" and "shelter"; the word *lwa* has variations of "tears" and "disgorge out" having the same sound as the Tagalog word *luha*, which also means "tears". The word *pepalakwan* may be interpreted as the past or present tenses of "stay". The word *banwa* has three Kapampangan word variations, such as "year", "age" and "heaven" and the word *datang*, which means "to come" in English, has a Kapampangan variation of "porma" meaning style. (c) The newly introduced term has been completely assimilated into the language and is recognized as such by speakers. As stated in one study, language change is not just being brought on by youngsters. Instead, linguistic changes happen all throughout a person's life, not only when they are teenagers (Kansas State University, 2016).

Most languages die out gradually as successive generations of speakers become bilingual and then begin to lose proficiency in their traditional languages. This often happens when speakers seek to learn a more prestigious language in order to gain social and economic advantages or to avoid discrimination (Tesch, n.d.).

Conclusion

The study concluded that some Kapampangan words are in great danger. Little by little, the Kapampangan people are losing their language where its history, culture, arts, and tradition are embedded. It is important to note that Kapampangans should understand the significance and role of their language in their way of life and value its safeguarding to ensure that the future generation will be able to enjoy the fullness of experience it can offer. Without acknowledging it, Kapampangans will lose their individuality and identity.

Undeniably, the attitude of using and choosing English and Tagalog as the languages at home instead of the Kapampangan significantly contributed to the language shift. Moreover, some parents' humming, singing, and teaching babies westernized lullabies, nursery rhymes, and fairy tales during bedtime unintentionally made the young ones forget their language. Furthermore, some parents believed that fluency in English and Tagalog will lead to a successful education and a better future career for their children.

Being fragile and invisible to the naked eye, the Kapampangan language makes it vulnerable to dying. Unknowingly, the established Kapampangan language clashed with westernized trends and modern society. It was also pushed out slowly by intermarriage, technology, globalization, modernization, mass movements, and politics, which added up to losing Kapampangans' unique identity. There are some words which only the elderly know, like the names of the local flowers which have corresponding names in their own dialects. The moment these people die, those nouns and verbs will most likely fade into nothingness. To note, some words and terms from prayers could not even be translated efficiently by the young ones, whether literally or figuratively.

Finally, the lack of interest, exposure, and familiarity by the young Kapampangans with their own language gives it a sign that it is slowly dying. The folk songs possessed by the elderly, learned from their childhood which were passed from their parents by their forefathers, together with the games enjoyed by their playmates, are no longer used in their lives. They are slowly forgotten by the young ones. The thoughts are changed and the perspective becomes different. The study recommends making a study for young adults who belong to below average income families and compare it to the present study. And Kapampangan Catholic leaders should update some words used in the liturgical prayers since some words are no longer familiar to the younger generation.

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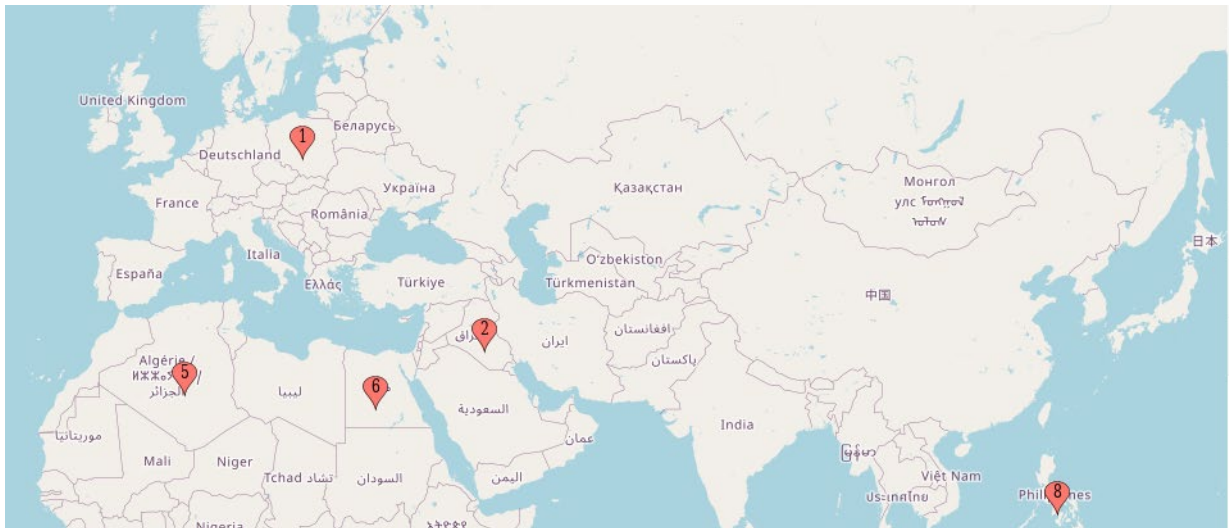
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The Linguistic Diversity Approval: The Inevitable Compromise Policy

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Abstract

Linguistic plurality can be a source of anxiety to some nations especially because of those groups seeking for linguistic dominance at the expense of the rest of dialects to gain political and economic benefits. However, things can be exploited differently. Linguistic diversity can help in enriching the cultural heritage and highlighting the nation's identity. To investigate this possibility, we track the Algerian policy towards the issue of linguistic diversity. This study aims at investigating language diversity and its impact on the social security and stability in Algeria. It also attempts to shed light on the Algerian political decisions to maintain social harmony via implementing effective language planning. Results reveal that the policy adopted by Algeria to manage linguistic differentiation through the recognition of all sorts of linguistic varieties and mainly the re-consideration of the Tamazight language as a national language besides Arabic is a wise decision made by policy makers to prevent external and internal attempts to stir up linguistic –based troubles. This compromise policy maintains the nation's stability and its success is shown through the co-existence of Arabic with its different dialectical varieties, Berber languages, spoken by non-Arab groups besides French with its predominant position imposed by the linguistic imperialism inherited from the colonial period and English with its rising competitive status to French.

Keywords

Linguistic diversity, linguistic imperialism, identity, nation's stability.

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Introduction

The population of Algeria is ethnically and culturally diverse comprising Kabylis, Shawias, Mozabites, and Arabs. Though all Islamized, these ethnic and cultural groups differ in some aspects related to traditions, the way of life, social structure, and language. Algeria was a place of invasion and a crossroad of civilizations that made the linguistic plurality reign among its speakers since the antiquity.

The issue of language diversity and social stability is crucial in multilingual societies, as the case of Algeria. The sociolinguistic situation in Algeria is a complex domain of research because of the coexistence of many languages: the standard Arabic in addition to Tamazight are the official languages of the country. Besides, Algerian colloquial Arabic is the language of everyday life and is the mother tongue of a great proportion of the Algerian community. Berber and its different varieties Mzabi, Chaouia, Touareg, and Kabyle are spoken in the Berber community in addition to French, the heritage of French colonization to Algeria. Bilingualism, switching, mixing, and style shifting are part of common linguistic behavior among Algerians. The significance of this study stems from its attempt to approach the issue of linguistic diversity in Algeria and its impact on social stability from different perspectives: language in use, language in abstraction, and language in the eye of the beholder. The study adopts a qualitative research method.

In this study an attempt is made to shed light on the status of the different languages spoken by Algerians focusing on the following angles: the diachronic study of the linguistic situation in Algeria from the Antiquity to the modern French colonization and its aftermath watching the language with all its features' change, the social structures and domestic organization, and the component of language and the question of identity. The present research work focused on the status of languages used in Algeria. But at the heart of the study, the language contact situation is mainly an interest in order to reveal the linguistic contact of Tamazight with Arabic and French in the Algerian context.

The study has found that there is a high level of language change in the different languages and dialects due to the linguistic contact although each linguistic community attempts to preserve its linguistic identity. The findings of the study also revealed that linguistic compromise accompanied with constructive linguistic policies are inevitable to guarantee social and political security in Algeria.

1. Background of the Linguistic Situation in Algeria

During the colonial era (1830-1962), French was the language of power and prestige; it was limited to the elite. French has never been as widely spoken in Algeria as it has been since independence thanks to the democratization policy of education in addition to advancements in mass communication that make Algerians increasingly exposed to French language and culture through a variety of means previously unavailable.

Historically speaking, Algeria was an important part of the French Empire during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Although Algeria gained independence some fifty (50) years ago (1962 for Algeria), it continues to be closely linked in a variety of ways, and remains important member of the international French-speaking community. The linguistic situation in Algeria is multilingual. Algerians use three (03) major languages: standard or classical Arabic for the

official use, Algerian Arabic which is the native language of the majority, French for the daily use and teaching of science and technology in universities, and Tamazight or Berber, the native language of a considerable minority.

2. Linguistic Landscape of Algeria

Hall (2001), in his definition to the concepts multilingualism and plurilingualism and their uses, asserts that both terms are currently used to refer to people who live in two languages or need to use two or more languages at home and/or at school. Hence, the linguistic landscape of Algeria is multilingual as there are three (03) spoken languages: Tamazight, classical Arabic and Algerian Arabic, and French.

2.1. Tamazight

Algeria was a place of invasion and a crossroad of civilizations that made the linguistic plurality reign among its speakers since the antiquity. The first inhabitants of Algeria were Imazighen or Berber that the Greeks and Romans indicated by the term 'Numidia'. They spoke the Libyc. In this context, Elimam (2004: 32) states: "During the Neolithic Era, the principle elements of the Berber culture were already in place: a Libyc language, means of communication".

Unfortunately, the history of Tamazight is still unclear because of the absence of written elements as Mercier says:

Unfortunately, almost all the past of this Berber language, or, if one wants, Libyc entirely escapes to us. A few hundreds of inscriptions known as libyc; which date from the time of Numidia' s kings and precisely the Roman domination. They are written in an alphabet that presents a narrow resemblance with that of the Tuareg. (1988: 310).

Tamazight belongs to the African branch of the Afro-Asian language family, also referred to as Hamito-Semitic in the literature, along with ancient Egyptian and other African languages such as the ones called Cuchitic and Chadic languages, as opposed to the oriental or Semitic branch constituted of Semitic languages (Achab, 2001: 01). The areas where Tamazight is spoken are not continuous. Rather, they constitute more or less large islands distant from one another, interrupted by large Arabized zones. As a result, Tamazight has survived mostly in somehow naturally 'protected' areas. The zones where it is spoken today are either desartic or mountainous while most of the plain zones were Arabized. The Tamazight-speaking zones in Algeria are less homogenous when compared with the case in Morocco. Starting from the north, Kabylia represents one of the most important areas where the language is still in use. This is also the area where linguistic and cultural awareness has highly developed among the population. The Kabylia region contains four full administrative departments, Tizi-Ouzou, Bejaia, Bouira and Boumerdes, although there are some parts in the two latter departments affected by the Arabization process.

The next important area where the Tamazight language is spoken and which we come across as we are heading southwest from Kabylia is another mountainous region, bordering Tunisia, called Aures (Batna and Khenchla). The variety spoken there is locally referred to as 'Tachawit'.

Other different Tamazight varieties are spoken in many other linguistic islands scattered in different areas such as Ghardaia (Mozabites) and Tauareg in the Algerian Sahara (Tamarasset and Illizi) (Achab, 2001: 01-02).

2.2. The Diaglostic Situation in Arabic: Classical Arabic and Algerian Arabic

The sociolinguistic situation of the Arabic language is featured by the existence of side by side two varieties of the same language (Zughoul, 1985, Elbiad, 1985). This linguistic duality goes back to earlier periods of the Arabic language history.

Throughout the Arabic speaking world, including Algeria, two varieties of Arabic are used. The selection of each variety depends on the context. In formal situations the use of the "high" variety is required (Classical Arabic); the "low" variety (Algerian Arabic), on the other hand, is expected to be used in informal situations as a medium of interaction within a closely personal environment. As Classical Arabic is not spoken in any Arabic speaking country, competence in it is restricted to people who have reached a certain level of education. This implies that Classical Arabic is learned solely through formal education. Hence, illiteracy can mean total ignorance of Classical Arabic.

On the contrary, everyone in Algerian community uses Algerian Arabic as a mean of communication in his/her everyday and ordinary conversation. As a solution for this linguistic situation, almost scholars concerned with Arabic sociolinguistics proposed that the gap between Classical Arabic and Algerian Arabic dialects should be narrowed in favor of Classical Arabic and that people should be encouraged to use the superposed variety (Mustapha, 2013: 202).

2.3. French

French became the official language of the colonial Algeria. Arabic became as a foreign language since 1938, whereas, the rate of illiteracy reached 90% with the independence in 1962. Additionally, certain Algerian acquired a competence in French as was declared by Ben Bella, "we think as Arabs, but we speak French" (Taleb, 2000: 351). During the colonial era, Algerians spoke French in schools, with the colonizer, but still used their dialectal Arabic at home and with friends. Despite all the methods of deculturation, Arabic preserved its prestige as a language of the Holy Koran. But, for the first time since the antiquity, the Tamazight language was influenced by the new foreign language. The French language penetrated the mountains and did what the Roman Legionary failed in (Chami, 2009: 394).

3. The Algerian Policy Towards the Issue of Linguistic Diversity

Aiming at reaching a linguistic compromise policy and strengthening the linguistic and social harmony, Algerian governments initiated three (03) linguistic policies. This part of the research paper presents the language policy pursued in Algeria since independence. The first sub-heading focuses on the language policy of arabization and the different attitudinal reactions towards this

policy. The second traces the locations of languages in different educational plannings and reforms. The third policy is the recognition of Tamazight as official language besides Arabic.

3.1. Arabization Policy

The term Arabization means the extensive use of Arabic in all domains of life: political, social and cultural. It refers to the promotion of Arabic as a medium of interaction in private and public sectors (Dekhir, 2013: 25). According to Al-Abed Al-Hak (1994: 05), Arabicization is a more adequate term that has been coined to refer to the second sense, because it is morphologically derived from the language which is Arabic, therefore refers to the idea of Arabic language planning. However, Arabization refers more adequately to Arabs, that is, the people and their behavior. Nearly all Arabic speaking countries, including Algeria, have become aware of the importance as well as the role of Arabization movement, however, the process has been quite problematic.

After independence in 1962, Algeria has adopted an eradication policy of the French rule and culture. In order to achieve this aim, Algerian government imported hundreds of Arabic teachers from the Middle East for securing Arabization. But, the number of such Arabic teachers could never compare with the thousands of French and Algerian-French teachers who had been sent to secondary schools during the 1960s and 1970s (Coffman, 1992: 59-79). Shortly after the independence, new national universities and some selective high schools were created in independent Algeria. Thus, new administrators in science, industry, university, research related fields worked according to the French standards and usually spoke and wrote in the French language (Naouel, 2013: 911).

It seems quite clear that the reason behind such poor results of the Arabization policy is no doubt the lack of real commitment to this movement. Most of the time Arabization is seen by many people as a plea for retraction and isolation from the rest of the world. In the same way, they regard it as being far away from bringing about a bright future for the country. As far as the deficiencies of Arabic language are concerned, the proponents emphasize this point to the extent that one could single out the Arabic language among all the languages of the world as the sole language to know these setbacks (Mustapha, 2013: 205).

3.2. Educational Reform Policy

In most countries, educational reform is rooted to instill change and increase the efficiency and effectiveness of schooling. Educational reforms are usually reform efforts focus on particular problems or issues, such as developing the low level of teachers through training and improving their socio-economic development, revision of curriculum content, and the status of foreign languages.

Historically speaking, Algerian educational system was changed by a program of Arabization shortly after independence. The government introduced new teaching methods and began training Algerian teachers and bringing in foreign Arabic-speaking teachers. Since 1973, however, the curriculum has been Arabized and the teaching of French has been restricted. In March 2000, the National Commission for the Reform of Education System (CNRSE) was created. This scientific panel comprises of 153 teachers and scholars. In this era, though the use

of Arabic has been enforced in public life, Tamazight was allowed in schools from the year 2003. The shift to the use of English as a medium in the Algerian context seems but a matter of heralding the French power. However, French language still occupies a wide space at the expense of Arabic and Tamazight within the framework of Algerian educational system (Naouel, 2013: 910-911).

3.3. The Berber Language and the Question of Identity: The Recognition of Tamazight Language and Culture

Significant scholars views accompanied the reemergence of the Amazigh movement with the rise of identity politics. The most significant work being Ernest Gellner and Charles Micaud's compendium of scholarly essays entitled *Arabs and Berbers* (1973). While not directly addressing the issue of state interactions with their Amazigh populations, the work is important because it addresses the very existence and identity of the Amazigh people. An inflammatory notion today, *Arabs and Berbers* refuted the idea of the Imazighen as an ethnicity, instead asserting that they were more likely to identify themselves as members of a tribe or region, or as part of the greater Islamic *ummah* or religious community (Yahia and Haizam, 2008).

Reviewing the issue of linguistic and cultural identity of the Berbers from a historical and political perspective, prior to French imperial colonization in the 19th century, Berber culture could best be described as a hybrid variant of the dominant Arab culture. Although they were recognized as a distinct ethnic group, Berbers shared many cultural identifiers with their Arab neighbors. Most important was the fact that the Berbers were Muslims. The high number of inter-ethnic marriages and the full Arabization of some Berber populations certainly suggest that contemporary Berbers and Arabs perceived only a small culture gap between their societies. This is not to say that there were no distinctions between minority Berber and majority Arab populations; certainly, there were key cultural differences between the two groups. This was especially true of rural and mountain-dwelling Berbers, who tended to retain their traditional language, *Tamazight*, and maintain customary social and legal structures. With the advent of French colonialism in 1830, Berber identity was recast to maximize differences with the Arab culture. The organic whole of the Algerian Muslim community was fractured by imperial policies intentionally designed to emphasize Berber distinctions. The French adopted a “divide and conquer” strategy to weaken native resistance to foreign domination. The first independent Algerian government (1962-1965) imposed a centralized, Arabic-only language policy. This authoritarian initiative ignored the country's diverse cultural make-up and polyglot linguistic composition. The emphasis on Arabic language was explicitly designed to assimilate all minority identities into the majority Arab culture.

For the recognition of Tamazight language in recent history Algeria, although the president Bouteflika was always emphasizing the idea that a national referendum about the Tamazight language is the only legitimate option to institutionalize it, he chose the easiest way to make it a national language in 2002, i.e. relying on a parliamentary vote to pass the bill. A nationwide referendum about Tamazight might be disappointing for the Berbers as the important population is Arabophone. For the Berbers, the status "national language" was no other than half recognition.

After a long wait, the onset of the year 2016 brought the good news for the Berbers. During a press conference on January 5th 2016, Ahmed Ouyahia - director of the Presidential Office-

talked about the basic lines of the new constitution. At the linguistic level, article 3 recognizes Tamazight as "joint official" language alongside Arabic (Djennane, 2016: 102-103).

Conclusion

The relation between language and ethnic identity and the role of language in shaping identity have been the focus of hundreds of sociolinguistic studies. Generally speaking, the predominant theoretical trend tends to emphasize the major role of language in shaping identity and in maintaining distinctive collective entities. In this conceptual framework, language is not only a means of communication, but more importantly it is the essence of the culture of the people, the symbol of their cultural survival and continuity (Catherine, 2003: 07).

Since Algeria's independence, standard Arabic has been introduced as the official and national language, sometimes along with the former colonial language, French. Colloquial Arabic and non-Arab vernaculars are denied access to formal institutions and formal recognition.

As language is a foundational and defining socio-cultural characteristic of collective identity, the Tamazight language is a vital and valid ingredient of cultural identity and expression, as well as the locus of Amazigh existence. In the Algerian socio-political context, Tamazight has been recognized as an official national language in addition to Arabic. The Tamazight language has been introduced to some institutional framework of Algeria including mainly the educational system where Tamazight became a subject taught at Algerian schools and specialty at tertiary level.

The present study results reveal that the policy adopted by Algeria to manage linguistic differentiation through the recognition of all sorts of linguistic varieties and mainly the re-consideration of the Amazigh language as a national language besides Arabic is a wise decision made by policy makers to prevent external and internal attempts to stir up linguistic-based troubles.

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A Political Discourse Analysis of the Speeches of Iraqi Designated Prime Ministers

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Abstract

The present paper carries out a political discourse analysis of three Iraqi designation speeches which were delivered respectively by three different designated prime ministers Mohammad Alawi, Adnan Al-Zurfi, and Mustafa Al-Kadhimi in the first half of 2020 after the resignation of the then Prime Minister Adel Abdul Mehdi as a consequence of October 2019 Uprising which broke out as a reaction to corruption, social injustice and bad services. The analysis is based on the categories suggested by Van Dijk (1997) which include topics, superstructure, syntax, lexicon and rhetoric. The results of the analysis have revealed a great similarity in the overall structure of the speeches and some but interesting differences in some parts or aspects of the speeches. The similarity reflects the convergence in the topics as well the circumstances at the time of delivering the speeches while the differences indicate the approach each of the speakers adopts in identifying the problems and suggesting solutions as well his personal style of expressing things.

Keywords

Political discourse analysis, political discourse, designation speeches, designated prime minister, Alawi, Al-Zurfi, Al-Kadhimi.

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Introduction

Designation speeches are speeches which designated primes ministers deliver when they receive the letter of designation from the President of the Republic. Normally, there is only one designated prime minister in a parliamentary term who will start forming the government once he receives the designation letter. After he finishes the task of forming the government, he will go to the Council of Representatives (COR) along with his cabinet ministers to get an approval voting. After the resignation of Adel Abdul Mehdi, in 2020 there was no collective consensus among the political powers on Alawi and Al-Zurfi before they were designated by the president and that is why they could not complete the task, but this consensus was available for Al-Kadhimi who became then the prime minister after he got the approval from the COR.

1. Political Discourse

The criteria used in the definition of political discourse are hardly textual or structural, but rather contextual ones. Accordingly, Van Dijk (2002:225) argues that “political discourse is not primarily defined by topic or style, but rather by who speaks to whom, as what, on what occasion and with what goals.” He maintains “whatever a politician says is a form of political discourse; and whatever anybody says with a political aim (viz., to influence the political process, e.g., decision making, policies) is also a form of political discourse” (Van Dijk, 2002:216). To put it briefly, political discourse is defined by its functions in the political process (Van Dijk,1997a). However, Chilton (2004:201) offers a definition of political discourse that is based on the use of language in ways that humans tend to recognize as ‘political’. He argues that there are aspects of language, structural or lexical, that are frequently or typically associated with what can be interpreted as particular types of political behaviour.

Chilton (2004:14) states that political actors recognize the effects of language use and thus manipulate language and its resources to produce their desired effects. Consequently, Wilson (1990: 410) proposes that “one of the main aims of political discourse analysis is to identify the ways in which language choice is manipulated for specific political effects.” Schaffner (1997:2 cited in Sharhan, 2017:458) suggests that “the most successful linguistic analysis of political discourse in general, and of political speeches in particular, is the one which interprets linguistic features in terms of political behaviour.” This can take two forms: one form is the identification of certain linguistic features (e.g. word choice, a specific syntactic structure) and associating them with the functions they are used to perform. The other form is the reverse, i.e., the analysis begins with the identification of the function of a text and relates that function to the linguistic structures used to fulfil it.

2. Iraq: An overview

Iraq is an Arab country located in Western Asia. It is bordered by Turkey to the north, Iran to the east, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia to the south and Jordan and Syria to the west. The capital of Iraq is Baghdad. The Iraqi state, which was established in 1921 as a monarchy backed by Britain, gained independence in 1932. In 1958 the monarchy was overthrown by a military coup whose leaders sized power and changed the monarchy into a republic. After two successive coups in 1963 and 1968, Iraq came under the rule of the Socialist Arab Ba’ath Party which remained in power until April, 9th 2003 when it was overthrown by the American-led invasion of the country.

Iraq’s population comprises of diverse ethnic groups including Iraqi Arabs, Kurds, Turkmens, Assyrians, Armenians, Yazidis, Mandaeans, Persians and Shabakis . The majority of the country's 40 million citizens are Muslims, and other recognized religions

include Christianity, Yazidism and Mandaism. The official languages of Iraq are Arabic and Kurdish (cf. wiki on Iraq).

Nearly two-thirds of Iraq's people are Arabs, about one-fourth Kurds, and the remainder are small minority groups. Iraq's Arab population consists of Sunni Muslims and the more numerous Shi'i Muslims. Iraq's Kurds are concentrated in the mountains of Iraqi Kurdistan, Followers of other religions include Christians and smaller groups of Yazīdīs, Mandaean, Jews, and Bahā'īs (Woods et al. 2022).

Millions of Iraqis immigrated outside Iraq or were displaced inside the country as a result of 2003 war and terrorism which started with separate incidents and reached its climax with the terrorist group of ISIS taking over three major Iraqi cities of Mosul, Salahuddin and Anbar.

3. Iraqi Political Scene

After the American invasion and removal of Saddam Hussein from power in 2003, Iraq passed through a political governance transitional period starting with the Iraq Governing Council (IGC) established by and served under the United States-led Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). IGC consisted of twenty-five Iraqi politicians representing different Iraqi regions, sects and ethnicities. Twelve of these politicians served as the president of the council for a month (Iraqi Governing Council). Almost a year after that, namely in June 2004 the Americans transformed the authority to the Iraqi politicians who chose a president and a prime minister with his cabinet ministers. There was care to represent as many parties, sects and regions as possible in that interim government.

Among other things, the government had the task of preparing for general elections for electing members of The National Assembly which were held in January 2005. The main job of the National Assembly was to form a transitional government and write a new constitution. The government also prepared for other elections which were held in October 2005 to elect members of the COR whose mandate would be to vote to choose the Council speaker and his deputies as well as the president of the country. According to the constitution the president would designate, by an official letter, the candidate of the biggest parliament group to form the government. This process was repeated every four years, 2010, 2014, 2018.

4. The October 2019 Uprising

Iraq witnessed an uprising in October 2019 against the political system as a whole and the then government as its representatives because of the bad performance of the successive governments from 2006 till that time. People went out to the streets in Baghdad and other governorates demanding the resignation of the government and even the dissolution of the COR because these two institutions, they felt, were behind the failures and corruption the country suffered for almost two decades after the fall of Saddam's regime. The demonstrators were gathering in streets and squares in Baghdad and in central and southern cities using slogans and chants that condemned the political parties who were in power and called for their immediate and unconditional stepping aside. The government responded violently and thousands of demonstrators were injured or killed as a result. There were also casualties among the security forces due to counter violence from some demonstrators.

With time, pressure mounted on the government and the political parties leading to the resignation of the government as announced by its head the then Prime Minister Adel Abdul Mehdi. This resignation prompted the search for a new prime minister who would take the responsibility of forming the government and stand up to the challenges of the day. According to the constitution,

the President of the Republic officially designates a candidate of the biggest group in the parliament as a prospective prime minister. First the President designated Mohamad Alawi, a former minister of telecommunication to form the new government and he delivered a televised speech to the people. He spent a month in selecting the members of his cabinet, but when he went to the COR to present the cabinet for voting, the session was not held due to inadequate presence on the part of the COR members.

After a consensus of some political groups in the COR, a new candidate, Adnan Al-zurfi, a member of the COR and a former governor of the City of Najaf, received the letter of designation from the President of the Republic. He also delivered a televised speech to the people. But during the period of selecting his cabinet members he had to resign. Finally, the major political parties agreed to choose Al-Kadhimi, the then Iraqi intelligence director, as a candidate and he received the letter of designation from the President in the presence of representatives of those parties. He also delivered a televised speech to the people.

5. Methodology

The data of the study consist of three speeches delivered successively in the first half of 2020 by Iraqi designated prime ministers as a replacement of the then Prime Minister Adel Abdul Mehdi who resigned as a consequence of October 2019 Uprising. Alawi gave his speech on February 1st 2020, and it lasted for 6 minutes and 58 seconds. Al-Zurfi delivered his 7 minutes and 8 seconds speech on March 17th 2002, and finally, Al-Kadhimi gave his speech on April 9th 2020, and it lasted 7 minutes and 49 seconds. The extracts used in the analysis and cited as examples have been translated from Arabic into English by the author.

In analyzing the speeches, the paper adopts a mixed research design, i.e., qualitative and quantitative. The analysis is basically qualitative but some quantitative facts are cited to support the qualitative descriptions. The framework of analysis employed in this paper uses tools suggested by van Dijk (1997) especially those related to topics, superstructure, syntax, rhetoric and speech acts. These analytical categories are presented below.

According to Van Dijk (1980), topics are also known as semantic macropropositions. Political discourse has politics as its core theme, although it usually includes in combination topics from other societal domains. “Political topics will be mainly about political actors (politicians, elites, public figures and social institutions and organizations) and their typical actions, in past, present and especially the future” (Van Dijk,1997a:29). The analysis of the superstructure is concerned with the overall organization of the discourse. As far as political discourse is concerned, there is considerable variation because each genre may have its ‘own canonical schematic structure’, as is illustrated in parliamentary debates, political speeches, propaganda leaflets or slogans in demonstrations (Van Dijk,1997a:29). “Some of these categories are obligatory (as in legally binding Openings and Closings of official sessions of parliament), whereas others are merely conventional or strategic, as in political speeches or propaganda” (Van Dijk,1997a:29).

In terms of syntax, political discourse analysis considers a variety of features and structures such as the use of pronouns, the use of specific syntactic categories such as active and passive constructions and nominalizations. Some political functions such as emphasis or mitigation can be fulfilled through more or less prominent placement of words and phrases. “Syntactic topicalization by fronting a word may draw special attention to such a word” (Dijk, 1997a:34). Rhetoric is another tool suggested by van Dijk and will be used in the analysis. It is well-know that rhetorical operations are generally optional. Thus, they are used for persuasive purposes which make them politically significant in a political context of communication (Van Dijk,1997a:34).

In addition to the above-mentioned tools, speech acts are also used in the analysis as a pragmatic tool that investigates the interaction between the politicians and their audience, the people in the case of the present paper. The types of speech acts to be investigated in the data of the study are representatives, expressives, commissives, directives and declarations (Simpson, 1993).

6. Results and Discussion

6.1 Topics

In each of the three speeches being analyzed, the speaker is addressing current problems and challenges of different kinds and promising future actions that he and his government will take to solve or lessen the effect of these problems and challenges. So, the actors are mostly the speaker as a prospective prime minister and his ministerial cabinet; although the identity of the actors is either implicit through the use of nominalization or explicit in which case it takes the form of first-person singular or plural. Other actors refer to the people, or other entities which have created the complexities in the Iraqis' life. The predicates are represented by the actions and events which are promised by the speaker as an essential part of his job as a prime minister.

They are also represented by the actions and events related to the people, or other entities. Below are some illustrating examples,

- (1) I pledge diligent work to prepare for early elections. (Alwai's speech).
- (2) Returning the displaced people to their cities and villages and providing the means of the safe living and the demands of the dignified life. (Alzurfi's speech).
- (3) The government pledges to be on the first defensive line to protect the Iraqis from the danger of coronavirus. (Al-Kadhimi's speech).

6.2 Superstructure or textual schemata

Designation speeches represent a subgenre of political speeches. They bear resemblance to the political speeches in terms of their openings and closings. Whereas the former comprise introductory remarks that prepare the audience for the topic of the speech, the latter consist of concluding remarks that mark the end of the speech.

The designation speeches under investigation can be then divided into three parts which are the introductory remarks, the core of the speech and the concluding remarks. As for the introductory remarks in the three speeches, they seem to be generally similar in terms of content and different in terms of expression. They contain the greeting of the Iraqi people; expressing gratitude to all the relevant participants in the political process. These included politicians, the President for designating the speaker to be the next prime minister, the members of COR, the Religious Institution as well the demonstrators whose uprising caused the resignation of the government and the designation of a prime minister to form a new one.

Alawi cites Quranic verse in which Allah orders people to work and do useful things because He and His messenger as well as believers will see their work. By doing this he alludes to the Holy Book, Qur'an, to give an implied promise that he will work to meet the demands of the people. Al-Kadhimi congratulates the people on the anniversary of the mid-Sha'ban (on the Islamic Calendar) a religious Shi'i celebration and the anniversary of the fall of the Ba'ath's regime on April 9th 2003. He does so to convey solidarity with the Shi'i majority of the population and to remind the whole people of the dramatic change they have experienced from dictatorship to democracy. Al-Zurfi does not use any similar expressions with religious or political implications.

In the core of the speech, the three designated prime ministers seem to have a consensus on the type of problems they need to address in the speech and the promises or pledges they should give to overcome these problems and challenges. However, each has his own way of presenting the problems and suggesting the solutions to these problems. Alawi chooses to begin with pledging to hold accountable the killers of the martyrs from the demonstrators and the security forces and prohibiting the use of weapons against the people. For him this will assure demonstrators and security forces as well as the whole people that their safety is a priority and it is the first step to launch from. The other points he talks about are forming a government free from sharing, the preparation for early elections, the creation of job opportunities, fighting the rampant corruption, achieving safety and security, and confining weapons to the hands of the state and protecting Iraq from any external interference.

Al-zurfi puts forward as a top priority the preparation for free, impartial and transparent elections. He wants to indicate this is the solid base upon which all other steps can reside. Other points come as follows: dedicating the greatest effort to encounter the outbreak of Corona pandemic, sending the 2020 budget to the parliament, confining weapons to the hands of the State, protecting the security of the demonstrators and responding to their demands, adopting external policy based on the principle of Iraq first and not allowing Iraq to be an area for settling accounts, seeking openness with all neighbouring countries with the right of being a sovereign state, returning the displaced to their homes, confronting decisively widespread corruption, investment, seeking solutions for the problems with Kurdistan Province, developing the military and security institutions and confronting the remnants of terrorist ISIS.

Al-Kadhimi puts Coronavirus pandemic at the top of his government agenda. For him the first and most important step is to combat the dangerous threat that the pandemic poses to the people's health. The other tasks in the agenda are sovereignty, prohibiting weapon uncontrolled use by decisive procedures with the help of security forces including Al-Hashad Sha'bi and Pishmirga, economy and its development with investment and varying the sources of public income, responding to the demands of people in the demonstration squares, protecting the rights of the demonstrators, foreign affairs, fighting corruption and corrupts, returning the displaced to their homes.

The concluding remarks in the three speeches are mainly wishes for success in the job undertaken and calls for support from the politicians and the people.

6.3 Syntax

6.3.1 The use of pronouns

Table 1 The distribution of personal pronouns used in the speeches

No	Type of personal pronouns	Alawi's	Al-Zurfi's	Al-Kadhimi
1	First-person singular	29	6	7
2	First-person plural	2	2	16
3	Second person	2	1	9

A close look at table 1 shows clearly the difference with regard to the use of personal pronouns especially the first-person pronouns. Of the three speeches, Alawi's speech is characterized by the overuse of the first-person singular pronoun *I* which occurs twenty-nine times in different contexts and with different verbs, but eleven of these occurrences are with the verb 'pledge'. Other verbs include 'promise', 'emphasize', 'greet', 'will try', 'face', 'indicate', 'call', 'will supervise', 'am wishing'. Alawi chooses to address the Iraqi people mostly through the first-person singular

pronoun with regard to the components of his governmental program which may convey some sort of confidence implicit in the verbs he uses with the pronoun. Also, this may be taken as a sign of assurance to the people that he is wholeheartedly committed to achieve their demands and aspirations. However, this may be something he is criticized for because the responsibility and the execution of the program of any government should be collective, of all the ministers, rather than individual, of the prime minister alone. Below are some examples,

(4) *I* pledge the Almighty Allah and *I* pledge the Iraqi people that *I* will try my best to serve the country.

(5) *I* promise the Iraqi people that the bloods of the demonstrators and the security forces will not go in vain.

(6) *I* emphasize the commitment to create as many job opportunities as possible.

The first- person plural pronoun *we* is used two times, one is exclusive and another is inclusive as the following two examples illustrate respectively,

(7) *We* will pay back the right of the pure bloods.

(8) *We* are still facing an enemy who is lurking on *us*.

Where in (7) *we* denotes the prospective government in (8) *we* means the whole people.

As for the possessive first-person plural, there are three instances in Alawi's speech, two of them are inclusive *our security forces*, *our dear homeland* and one is exclusive, referring to himself,

(9) *Our* wish for the injured to be cured.

The second-person plural occurs twice, once as part of the greeting in the opening and the second occurrence which has some significance is in the following sentence,

(10) I pledge the people not to accept any candidate from the political parties and in case I face pressure I will tell *you* that very explicitly.

Here, Alawi considers the people as a partner in the job he will be doing; he will even tell them about things that may happen behind the scene.

In Al-Zurfi's speech, the occurrences of the first-person singular pronoun are six, five of them are used in the introductory part of the speech in complimentary remarks and gratitude expressions for politicians, demonstrators and armed forces. The sixth one is used in the conclusion,

(11) *I* wish sincerely all the sons of our country and in their advance the protesting youth and brothers and sisters in the and the political forces will help us in executing these tasks.

The small number of the first-person singular pronoun is justified by Al-Zurfi's preferring an impersonal style by using nominalized constructions. There is one occurrence of possessive first-person singular pronoun,

(12)...my sisters and brothers who have garrisoned in the strike and demonstration areas for months

which shows intimacy and solidarity with the demonstrators. The first-person plural pronoun occurs twice,

(13) With *our* care to perform the responsibility assigned to us and *our* confirmation of the duty honour which *we* have been assigned, *we* will show care and give all what can be given to achieve the following....

Here the two uses of *we* are attributed to the designated prime minister which is a style used by Arab speakers either as a sign of modesty to avoid talking about oneself or to give some weight to the position one is holding. The same can be said about the two uses of the possessive form *our* in the same extract. Other uses of *our* as in *our people* are intended to show intimacy with the audience, i.e., the Iraqi people. The remaining instances of *our* are used to indicate the common things that the speaker shares with his audience, e.g., *our armed forces*, *our security forces*, *our country*, *our dear country*, *our Iraqi identity*. The second-person pronoun has only one occurrence in the greeting.

Al-Kadhimi's speech has seven occurrences of the first-person singular pronoun. Three of these are used in the introductory remarks in expressions of gratitude, two are used in hedging expressions and the other two seem to have a significant function in speech as the following examples indicate,

(14) The ministerial cabinet which *I* will submit to the esteemed COR as soon as possible along with the governmental program will be serving the people.

(15).....returning the displaced to their homes is an aim *I* will not give up.

In (14) he refers to his job as a prime minister which is to choose the cabinet and submit it to the COR while in (15) he wants to assure the displaced people that he himself will take care of their returning to their homes.

The first-person plural pronoun occurs sixteen times, nine of which refer to the government to be formed,

(16) *We* will exert the maximum efforts and exploit all the internal and external relations to protect Iraq in encountering this global pandemic.

(17) Yes, *we* will take care of those affected by the curfew and support the health and medical staffs and the security services.

(18) *We* will work to confine weapons by decisive procedures.

This gives Al-Kadhimi's style some impersonal flavour when he views himself as a member in a group or a team who are responsible for implementing the program of the future government. Five occurrences of the first-person plural pronoun refer to Iraqi people, which are inclusive, i.e., they include both the speaker and the audience and the aim is to show solidarity, intimacy and common interests,

(19) Yes, *we* have seen failures at several levels and all are responsible.

(20) *We* have to work together to protect Iraq from the crises, conflicts and useless wars.

(21) *We* have to confirm that we are worthy of Iraq by actions not by words.

(22) Yes, *we* have to cooperate and trust each other and trust the state.

Another instance of the first-person plural refers to Iraqi politicians,

(23) Today *we* must have the duty of review, frankness and direct dialogue with our people and ourselves.

and the last one to Iraq,

(24) *We* are a match to our adversaries and brothers to our neighbours and friends.

The possessive first-person plural pronouns are eight in number. Four appear in the expression *our people* and the other four refer to the country as a whole as in *our external relations*, *our national sovereignty*, *our adversaries* and *our neighbour*.

The second-person plural pronoun occurs nine times, one in the greeting, another in a hedging expression *as you know* and the other seven occurrences are used by the speaker to remind people of their important role in the building and performance of the state,

(25) The state is *you*, *your* unsleeping eyes for the safety and stability.

(26) The state is *your* voices defending sovereignty, rights and national decision.

(27) The state is *your* hands in the field of work.

Another use of the second-person pronoun is also to stress the glorious history of the country and its people in terms of the civilizations which existed in the country a long time ago,

(28) *We* and *you* are the legacy of Sumer, Babylon and Ashur.

6.4 Lexicon

The three designated prime ministers use certain words and expressions to describe the problems and challenges they pledge to address in their governmental program. First of all, Allawi describes his designation as a *great historical responsibility* which indicates the significance of the job he is assigned. In his speech terrorism is referred to as *an enemy lurking on us* which means the

country should be alert. He also talks about restoring Iraq's *positive* and *neutral* role in foreign policy which reassures the world community about the attitude and the stance of the prospective government. Corruption is described as *rampant* which indicates it is challenging. Those who killed demonstrators and security forces are described as *criminals* and *aggressors* which implies they should be sued and sentenced. As for elections, he pledges to stand against any interference that might affect the *solidity*, *impartiality* and *transparency* of their results and *restore the public trust in it*. Here there is an implication that elections before lacked these features, thus had lost the public trust. Politically, he does not want Iraq to be *an area for settling accounts and struggles*, an allusion to what is often said about Iraq being a place for a struggle between America and Iran. With regard to economy, he talks about initiating an *investment renaissance* changing the economy from *rentier* which is mostly dependent on oil to *investment*, which means developing the country through reforms and investment.

In Al-Zurfi's speech, designation is described as a *moral* and *national* responsibility which means that he should be loyal to his morals and nation. As for terrorism, it is *global* and Iraq is a *major* and *effective* partner in fighting it, which indicates terrorism is not targeting Iraq only and the role of Iraq in fighting terrorism should be recognized. In the context of security, he talks about continuing fighting the *remnants* of terrorist ISIS where the word *remnants* implies the remains of the defeated terrorist organization in Iraq. Those who killed the demonstrators and security forces are described as *killers* which means they will be brought to justice. Elections are to be *free*, *fair* and *transparent* to remove any worries and doubts about its results. Corruption is described as *rampant* which means it is widespread and needs a great effort; corrupts are threatened by the expression *cutting off the roots of the corrupts*, which gives an impression that the government will take deterrent actions against them. As for economy the expressions used are an *attractive investment environment* and *moving the wheel of the economy* which both give some hope of developing the economy. As for foreign policy, he is against making Iraq *an area for settling accounts*, which refers to the long-term American and Iranian struggle and its effects on Iraq. Also, he sets the criteria for Iraq's international relations by making the high Iraqi interests the *compass* for the direction of those attitudes and relations.

Al-Kadhimi describes the designation as a *national test* which indicates it is a very difficult job. He considers fighting corruption and corrupts a *national mission*, that is, a highly important mission. As for his government he says it will not be an *isolated government*, or a government of *closed rooms* and *secrets*, an implication of transparent government which is close to its people. In talking about sovereignty, he describes it as a *red line* which means it does not accept any compromise or indulgence. He also says sovereignty will not be a *controversial* issue which implies that no contrasting views are allowed about it. He considers Iraq a *highborn* country which indicates Iraq's long history of existence. He also addresses the problem of *uncontrolled* weapon which means the weapons used by armed groups; he says the government will work to confine by *decisive* procedures, which means procedures that are effective and never give the chance to this problem to happen again. The Iraqi economy is described by him *as exhausted* and job *unwieldiness* has *run down* the state, which means that economy needs reforms. He says the Iraqi is not a *subordinate*, the Iraqi is a *decendent of civilizations* and his strength comes from his *pride of his patriotism* which suggests having civilizations and patriotism would never put one in the subordinate position. We are a *match* to our adversaries, which indicates strength against any aggression and *brothers* to our neighbours and friends, which means love and kindness.

6.5 Rhetoric

6.5.1 Repetition in Alawi's speech

Alawi repeats *demonstrators* six times,

(29) I greet with appreciation and veneration the martyrs from *demonstrators* and I greet with them the martyrs from our security forces who sacrificed their souls defending the right of demonstration and safety of *demonstrators*.

(30) The bloods of martyrs from *demonstrators* and *security forces* will not be in vain ...violence against peaceful demonstrators and against *security forces*.

In the above extract where *demonstrators* are mentioned there is also a mention of *security forces*. This is in fact a strategy used by the speaker to show that he stands at the same distance from both, and also to reduce the tension between them because the security forces were involved in killing and injuring thousands of demonstrators.

Other repeated words and phrases include *the Iraqi people* which is repeated five times in different parts of the speech,

(31) I pledge *the Iraqi people* thatand I promise *the Iraqi people* that

where the adjective *Iraqi* is used just to emphasize the national identity and unity of the audience. In addition, the phrase *the people* is repeated four times as in

(32) Weaponry should not be used against *the people*; it is for protecting *the people*.

Here it is clear that repeating *the people* in the above extract and elsewhere is for the sake of emphasizing the idea that the people are the source of authorities.

Moreover, *all the sons of people* which is mentioned once to emphasize that the government is for all citizens all over the country with no distinction in terms of ethnicity, religion, region or sect,

(33) I pledge to achieve safety and security to *all the sons of people*.

Another important phrase which is repeated three times is *the state* used in different contexts to stress its presence and importance.

(34) ...by starting the building of *the state* of institutions, justice, freedom, prosperity and peace.

(35) ...*the state* actually commences the serious reformative work.

(36) I pledge to to confine weaponry to the hands of *the state* and there is no authority above the authority of law.

Repeating *the state* comes in the speech to address an idea which is circulating in the Iraqi society that the state is weak and cannot exercise its power in the most important issues in the country.

6.5.2 Repetition Al-Zurfi's speech

Al-Zurfi mentions *demonstrators* three times and *activists* once.

(37) I bow with solemnity to the souls of the martyrs and with respect to the bloods of the injured from the *peaceful demonstrators* and *our armed forces*

(38) Protecting the security of the *demonstrators* and the *activists*

(39) Working seriously to sue the killers and reveal the identity of those who were behind the fall of thousands of the injured from the *peaceful demonstrators* and *our armed forces*

In the above extracts, *armed forces* cooccurs with *demonstrators*, a strategy adopted by the speaker to indicate the equal attention and appreciation that he gives to both. Another reference to demonstrators is in “*The sit-in youth* in the squares of demonstration”.

The word *people* is used three times with the possessive first-person plural pronoun to emphasize solidarity and intimacy between the speaker and the people.

(40) ...to protect *our people* from this danger..., our prayers that Allah save *our people* and the human community from this pandemic.

(41) I wish sincerely all ...will help us in executing these tasks to pass together this current and critical circumstance which *our* dear country and generous *people* are experiencing.

Another phrase which occurs repeatedly in Al-Zurfi's speech is *the state* as in,

(42)... for the sake of change and demand of the legitimate rights to build *the state* of institutions.

(43) Working to confine weapon to the hand of *the state* and eliminating all the armed manifestations and extending the authority of *the state* ...

(44) Seeking the openness to all the neighbouring countries, those of the region and all the international community so as to keep the independence of Iraq as a sovereign *state*

(45) Standing up firmly against the rampant corruption in *the ministries of state*...

(46) Let us start rebuilding *the state* on sound bases, *the state* of institutions and citizenship...

In the above extracts the phrase *the state* occurs in different contexts and in all of these there is an implication that the state has not been strong enough so far to carry out its duties effectively at the local level and at the international level. Locally, there are problems like corruption and uncontrolled weaponry and internationally some neighboring and friend countries do not respect Iraq sovereignty. Al-Zurfi repeats the phrase several times to give an indication that in his term the state will be stronger and more effective than ever.

6.5.3 Repetition in Al-Kadhimi's speech

Surprisingly, Al-Kadhimi does not use the terms *demonstrators* and *security forces*, but uses instead *people* or *Iraqis* and lets the linguistic context determine the intended referent as the following extracts show,

(47) Yes, there are demands of the *people who have expressed during the demonstrations*.

(48) The bloods and sacrifices that *Iraqis* gave in the war against ISIS are precious.

(49) The bloods and sacrifices that *Iraqis* gave in the squares of demonstrations and demanding the rights are precious too.

The word *people* occurs frequently in the speech in collocation with the possessive first-person plural pronoun *our* as in,

(50)...but *our people* with great regret have not achieved their aspirations and dreams yet.

(51) We must have the duty of reviewing, frankness and direct dialogue with *our people* and ourselves.

(52)I repeat we are servants to *our people* only.

Needless to say that using *our* with *people* implies intimacy and solidarity and also combines a sense of regret with a desire to work to compensate the people with the services and dignified life they deserve.

In the following extract *people* appears with the definite article and in the context of promising that the government will try the best to serve *the people*.

(53) The ministerial cabinet which I will submit to the esteemed Parliament as soon as possible along with the governmental program will be serving *the people*.....serving *the people* in actions not in words.

(54)...all without exception is responsible for supporting this government and make its steps successful and participating in serving *the people*.

In the following extract, Al-Kadhumi repeats the idea of serving the people but he expresses it in a nominalized construction and follows it with the word *only* because the word *servant* generally has unfavourable denotation, but here it indicates modesty which is only worthy of the people.

(55) We are servants to *the people* only, I repeat we are servants to *our people* only.

The people is also used two times more but in collocation with *Iraq* and *Iraqi* as in the following extracts,

(56)I also would like to congratulate *the Iraqi people* on this day, the anniversary of Sha'ban 15th.

(57)....superiority and honour to *the people of Iraq*.

In the first extract which is part of the introductory remarks, *the Iraqi people* in fact refers to Shia citizens as they only celebrate this anniversary and this in fact indicates his religious background, being a Shi'i Muslim as well as his political background being the candidate of the parties representing the majority of the population, Shi'i Muslims. In the second extract however, *the people of Iraq* which is used in the concluding remarks refers to all Iraqis.

The state is used repeatedly in connection to the most important issues which are security represented by weaponry possession and use, economy and trust in the state. In the extract about weaponry, the phrase is repeated three times as a way highlighting one of the most dangerous problems that Iraq experiences which is uncontrolled weaponry and hence the repetition of *the state*.

(58) Weapon, all weapon, the heavy, intermediate, the light is the affair of *the state*, none other than *the state*, *the state* only, the weapon is not the affair of the individuals.

(59) The Iraqi economy as you know is exhausted and job unwieldiness has run down *the state*.

(60) Yes, we have to cooperate and trust each other and trust *the state*.

In the concluding remarks and as a way of raising patriotism in the people he assigns the tasks of the state in terms of security, sovereignty and economy to the people implying it is their contribution in these fields and spheres of life that gives the state the power it should have.

(61) *The state* is nor a person, a side, a sect, or ethnic group. *The state* is you, your unsleeping eyes for the safety and stability. *The state* is your voices defending sovereignty, rights and the national decision. *The state* is your hands in the fields of work.

Other repeated expressions are,

(62) Iraq is a highborn country having its *sovereign* decision and the government will stay up for the national *sovereignty* and the Iraqis' interests. Yes, the *sovereignty* of Iraq with not be a controversial issue, I repeat and repeat the *sovereignty* of Iraq with not be a controversial issue.

(63) The equivalent relations(with other countries) on the basis of common interests only provide the stability and enhance the economy and more importantly save the Iraqis' *dignity*, yes they save the Iraqis' *dignity*.

In (62) and (63) he uses repetition to stress the issues of *sovereignty* of Iraq and the *dignity* of Iraqis in talking about 'the equivalent relations' between Iraq and the world.

He also uses this repeated expression *a duty on the shoulders of all*, yes, *a task on the shoulders of all* in talking about success in forming and leading a government in an invitation for all the political powers and even people to be an asset to the government in carrying out its obligations. Moreover, he uses the expression *in actions not in words* first in the introductory remarks with reference to the government he is to form as being "in the service of people" which is itself repeated, and second in the concluding remarks by saying,

(64) We have to confirm we deserve Iraq *in actions not in words*.

The first use of the phrase conveys a message of reassurance to the people that the prospective government is determined to keep its promises and respond to the people's demands and the second use of the phrase embeds a call for the people cooperate with the government in the execution of its program and in so doing all will prove their loyalty to their country.

Finally, Al-Kadhimi repeats the following sentence addressing the Iraqi people,

(65) You are Iraq, you are Iraq.

6.6 Speech Acts

Speech acts represent an important element in political speeches. They are classified into representatives, expressives, commissives, directives and declarations.

Table 2 The distribution of types of speech acts used in the speeches

No	Type of Speech Acts	Alawi's speech	Al-Zurfi's speech	Al-Kadhimi speech
1	Representatives	13	7	41
2	Expressives	6	7	3
3	Commissives	20	1	20
4	Directives	3	2	2
5	Declarations	-	-	-

As table 2 indicates Alawi's most used speech acts are commissives due to his introducing most of his sentences with the verb pledge or an equivalent one. Representatives come second in terms of frequency as he sometimes describes or presents some issues that serve the background for explaining his governmental program. Directives have only three occurrences as in, (66)I hereby indicate that the peaceful demonstration supporting the reformation must continue until the legitimate demands are achieved and the state actually commences the serious reformative work.

Al-Zurfi, according to the table, uses seven representatives and seven expressives. Surprisingly, commissives are the least used category. This is due to the impersonal style that he adopts in delivering his governmental program through using nominal constructions rather than the normal subject+ verb (Object) construction.

(67) *Protecting* the security of the demonstrators and the activists, *emphasizing* forbidding encountering them, *responding* to their legitimate demands in achieving social justice and *creating* job opportunities.

Al-Kadhimi uses more representative speech acts than any other speech acts and this is attributed to his mentioning the problems and challenges Iraqis are experiencing in detail and sometimes repeats them for emphasis. The second category of speech acts is commissives which are realized by promises he makes sometimes individually using the first-person singular pronoun or on behalf of the government to be formed using the first-person plural pronoun. What is interesting is the cooccurrence of the representatives and commissives as in,

(68) Sovereignty is a red line, compliment is not possible at the expense of Iraqi sovereignty the government will stay up for the national sovereignty and the Iraqis' interests.

(69) The Iraqi economy ...is exhausted and job unwieldiness has run down the state, we will move the wheel of the economy to expand the investment, vary the income and encourage industry, agriculture and trade.

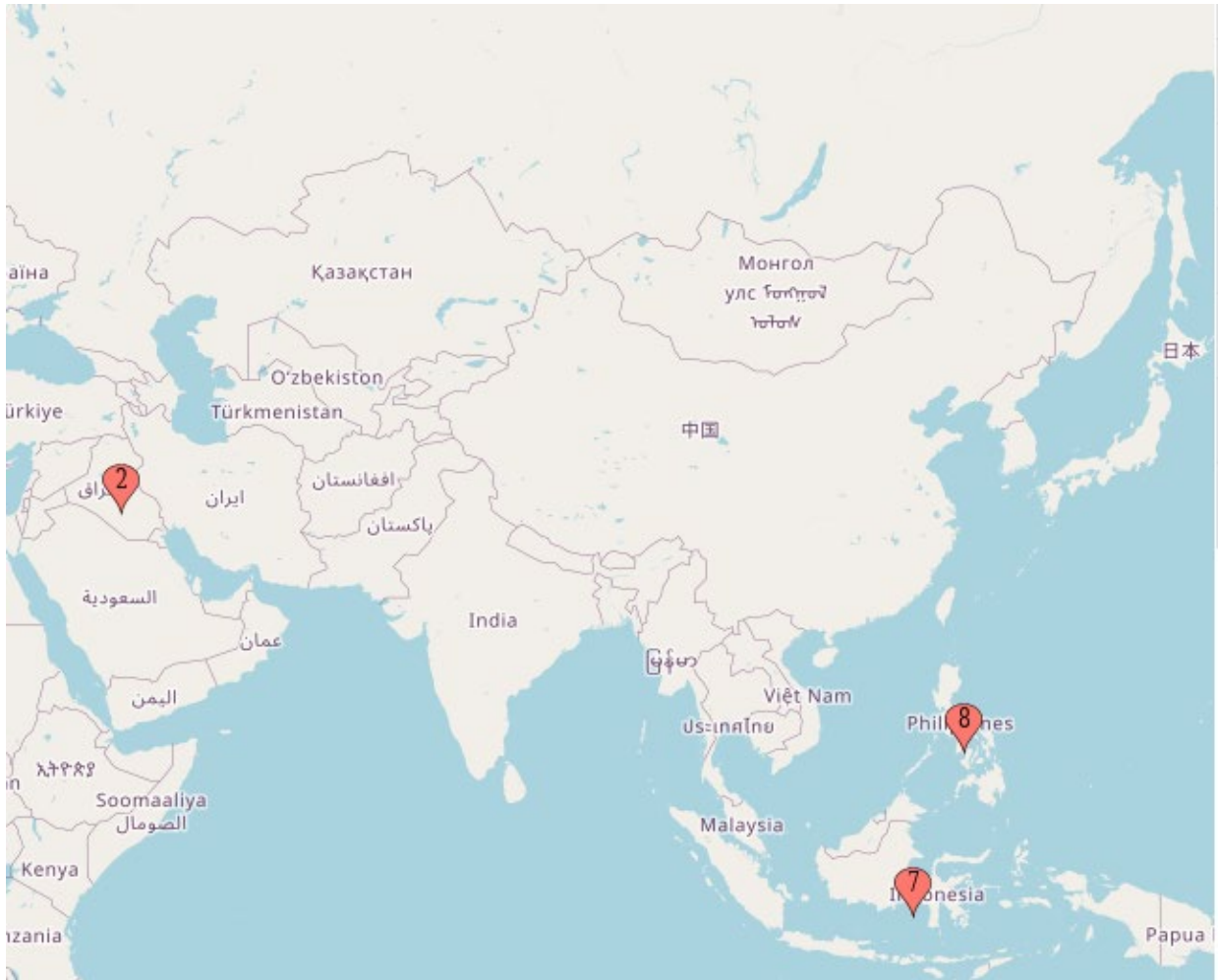
Conclusion

Designation speeches represent a subgenre of political speeches which have a well-defined structure and topics. These are normally given at long intervals of about four years. But the ones being investigated in the paper were delivered within a little than two months due to special political circumstances that prevailed Iraqi political scene after the resignation of the government in 2020 following the uprising that started near the end of the previous year.

The paper has applied the approach of political discourse analysis and used a framework of analysis which is based mostly on the tools of analysis suggested by Van Dijk (1997). The detailed analysis has shown a great deal of similar features regarding the overall organization and the points mentioned in the different parts of the speeches. Differences have been found in terms of the arrangement of some points as well as the ways used in presenting them.

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Talk in Dramatic Interactions: An Examination of Three Discourse-Based Studies In Literacy Classes

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Abstract

Process drama or educational drama, the use of dramatic approaches in literacy class, is not a classroom performance or a skit. It is not a classroom event where students memorize a script and perform a story for other students to watch. For Heathcote and Herbert (1985), Carroll (1986), O'Neill and Lambert (1982), Warner (2013) and Taylor (2006), or Edmiston (2013), it has become the tool to explore social issues, history, or science lessons that have "less emphasis on story and character development and more on problem-solving and living through a particular moment in time" (Wagner, 1999, p.5). Studies on classroom talks during dramatic interactions, unfortunately, are limited. After a systemic online search, three studies are selected for further analysis: Harden (2015), Epstein (2004), and Kao, et al. (2011). These three existing studies explore the discourses in educational drama settings from various contexts, participants, and texts. The three studies are examined for their positions in the extant literature, methodology, and contributions to the field. The examination reveals the predominant perspectives, methodologies, dramatic strategies, and issues frequently discussed within the field.

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Keywords

Process drama, discourse analysis, talk in process drama, literacy

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Introduction

Heathcote emphasizes that the objective of integrating drama into the classroom is to bring out what students already know about the world and to make them see from other people's points of view when responding to an issue (as cited in Wagner, 1998). In a drama-based learning class, this is done by having everyone in the class pretend to be fictional characters who are set to solve a shared problem. In this class, the classroom becomes a temporary imaginary world where students collaborate to find solutions to the problem in a contextualized setting.

When students talk and think together to solve a problem, Howell and Heap (2013) recognize that the teacher simultaneously thinks and acts as a playwright, a director, and an actor. As a playwright, the teacher thinks about helping students to craft the story. As a director, the teacher steers students to perform a dramatic structure; as an actor, the teacher performs as a fictional character trying to influence students' thinking from inside of the story world. As a teacher, he or she makes sure that all of the thinking happens simultaneously and that learning takes place. By taking multiple roles in a drama-based class, the teacher steps out of the traditional stance “to tell” and “to instruct” and takes different stances to set the class mood and to direct the dramatic learning events in the class (Johnson & O'Neill, 1984, p. 589).

A drama-based literacy class could become a forum for students and teachers to talk about texts in which language is the crucial means of sharing. Accompanying the talk in a drama-based literacy class is the juxtaposition of image, movement, and sound (Baldwin, 2004) that promotes students' meaning-making process. Moreover, unlike the regular classroom discussion about texts, the talks about texts in dramatic events offer productive discussion due to interactions and negotiations of meaning among members of the class before, during, and after the dramatic events.

Before the dramatic event takes place, the classroom talk that occurs is mostly about preparing students for dramatic events. It is the time when the teacher sets the structure and scenes before playing in roles with the students. During this talk situation, a teacher elicits creative responses from the group, challenges superficial responses, identifies and supports contributions that have the potential for learning, finds structures that expose students to the issues, and encourages the group to explore what they don't know rather than enact what they do know. The reflection phase of talks in a dramatic event takes place last and is as integral a part of learning in the process drama as it is in the learning in general. Through the back and forth and collaborative nature of meaning negotiation in the three situations/phases, teachers and students are involved in the talk that could change students' understanding and how they think about the problems (Edmiston, 2013).

Teacher's talk during educational drama or a process drama event plays a major role in enhancing students' learning and literacy development at school. Heathcote (1970) notes that drama naturally serves thinking, talking, and writing through role-playing and collaborative work. Similarly, Carroll (1980) believes that the act of role-taking in the classroom is central to the creation of discourses that represent student thinking. For Carroll (1988), drama is a creative force that demands a different sort of discourse from both teacher and students. In his study, he used socio-linguistic frameworks and Halliday's (1973) systemic linguistics to compare the talks that occurred in drama-based approach classes and the talks in non-drama-based classes. As a result, Carroll indicated that the roles that the teachers and students play in a process drama influenced the ways that they thought and talked about an issue. He also found that the

interactions between the teachers and students were open-ended due to the teacher's shifting position from telling to guiding and the reduced talking time.

Since the early work of Carroll, studies of talk in drama have received little attention until the emergence of the works of Kao (1998; 2011) and Freebody (2010; 2011; 2013). In 1998, Kao and O'Neill published a book about the integration of process drama in second language education that was primarily based on the study of university students' discourses during a 14-week drama-oriented English class. Through analysis of the participants' discourse, they discussed the nature of dialogue in drama, the continuum of drama approaches in second language learning, and the planning and evaluation of second language development in the drama-oriented classroom. This work was extensively quoted, especially within the field of Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL). Studies by Anderson and Loughlin (2014) and Anderson and Berry (2015) are two other works within the field that covered the academic language use and the on-task behaviors of ESL students during classroom drama sessions. In 2011, Kao and her colleagues published another discourse-based study to explore the questioning techniques used to promote second language oral proficiency. In this study, they investigated the functions of questioning in two groups of English as Foreign Language (EFL) university students in Taiwan. This study will be further explored in this paper.

Different from Kao's work, Freebody's works (2010; 2011; 2013) were mostly concerned with issues of social justice. For example, in her article published in 2010, she analyzed the discourses of two different groups of students from high and low social-economic statuses (SES) as they provided moral reasoning when interacting in roles. She found that students from various SES interacted differently when they were faced with ethical issues regarding future life, prospects, and pathways.

While considering Carroll's perspectives of the roles of talk in drama, our objective is to explore how current studies portray the roles of talk during dramatic activities in literacy classes. Our definition of talk is built upon the view that talk is a cognitive tool to help students organize thoughts, to reason, to plan, and to reflect on their actions and is also a sociocultural tool for thinking together (Wilkinson, Soter, & Murphy, 2010) as it is often revealed in dramatic classroom interaction. The focus of this paper is to review the studies of Harden (2015), Epstein (2005), and Kao et al. (2011), especially on their locations in the extant literature, methodology, and contributions to the field.

Method

In this paper, process drama is defined as a planned, unscripted drama that is developed episodically or in units of actions to create exchanges of thoughts and ideas among participants (Taylor & Warner, 2006). It is often used interchangeably with Drama in Education (DiE), educational drama, or classroom drama. With this definition, we searched and gathered only studies that explored drama-based learnings in literacy classes.

To gather empirical studies that examined the roles of talks or dialogues during a dramatic interaction in literacy classes, we searched through Google Scholar and our universities' online research databases such as Education Full Text (H.W. Wilson), Education Research Complete, ERIC, and PsycINFO. To gather relevant studies, we utilized the following terms in searching: process drama / drama / educational drama / drama in education; discourse / discourse analysis / talk; texts / literary texts; and literacy / reading/ writing.

The search resulted in nine studies that were published from 1988 to 2015. From the nine studies, I would focus on reviewing three discourse analysis studies because of their study contexts, methodology choices, data analysis methods, and literacy activities. Table 1 consists of the list of the articles gathered during the searching process.

Table 1. Discourse-Based Studies in Drama-Oriented Literacy Classes

Study	
1	Harden, A. (2015). The discourse of drama supporting literacy learning in an early years classroom. <i>The Australian Journal of Language and Literacy</i> , 38(3), 141.
2	Kao, S. M., Carkin, G., & Hsu, L. F. (2011). Questioning techniques for promoting language learning with students of limited L2 oral proficiency in a drama-oriented language classroom. <i>Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance</i> , 16(4), 489-515.
3	Epstein, S. D. (2004). Reimagining literacy practices: Creating living Midrash from ancient texts through tableau. <i>Journal of Jewish Education</i> , 70(1-2), 60-73.
4	Anderson, A., & Loughlin, S. M. (2014). The influence of classroom drama on English learners' academic language use during English language arts lessons. <i>Bilingual Research Journal</i> , 37(3), 263-286.
5	Carroll, J. (1988). Terra incognita: Mapping drama talk. <i>National Association for Drama in Education</i> , 12:2, 13-21.
6	Freebody, K. (2010). Exploring teacher-student interactions and moral reasoning practices in drama classrooms. <i>Research in Drama Education: The Journal of Applied Theatre and Performance</i> , 15(2), 209-225.
7	Wohlwend, K. E. (2009). Damsels in discourse: Girls consuming and producing identity texts through Disney princess play. <i>Reading Research Quarterly</i> , 44(1), 57-83.
8	Anderson, A., & Berry, K. (2015). The influence of classroom drama on teachers' language and students' on-task behavior. <i>Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth</i> , 59(4), 197-206.
9	Dunn, J. (2008). Playing around with improvisation: An analysis of the text creation processes used within the preadolescent dramatic play. <i>Research in Drama Education</i> , 13(1), 55-70.

Findings

After searching for discourse analysis studies that explored students' interactions during dramatic activities, we learned that such studies are limited. The three studies included in this section, Harden (2015), Epstein (2005), and Kao et al. (2011), were selected based on their choice of research methodologies and data analysis, contexts of the studies, locations in the extant literature, and contributions to the field. In this section, I will present the summaries of the three studies and the rationale behind their inclusions.

As part of her dissertation that applied qualitative multiple case study methodology, Harden (2015) used self-study methodology to explore her emergence as a drama and literacy teacher in the early year program. In this self-study, she analyzed her discourse with her students to provide insights on the use of drama as a pedagogy for written literacy. To complement the

study of the discourse, she examined the artifacts that her students produced during and after the drama events.

Harden used Halliday's functional linguistics approach to discourse analysis and replicated Christie's models of descriptors and categories (2005). Another theoretical framework that she adopted was the Kress socio-semiotic lens to examine children's emerging literacy. In addition to the theories mentioned above, she included Lindqvist's concept of 'play world' and Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) concepts to explain her pedagogical guided drama (Harden, 2015) approach. The guided drama concept she incorporated was Heathcote's mantle of the expert (Heathcote & Herbert, 1985) and a drama strategy called tableau. Mantle of the expert is a dramatic approach designed by Heathcote that positions children as experts in a group who are working together to solve some ethical dilemma. Tableau is a dramatic technique that requires students to transform their interpretations of an issue from a text or from elsewhere into a freeze-frame or still life form. In a tableau, the teacher takes a lower status role by asking questions.

The discourse analysis study was guided by the following questions: "Were the children engaged with my language as well as with my actions? Were cognition and memory supported by visual cues and action? How effectively was the scientific investigative process presented and understood?" (Harden, 2015, p. 144).

Like Christie, Harden categorized her verbal and non-verbal interactions with her students under several interpersonal modes of address. She tallied interrogation (questioning) frequency as well as declarative, imperative, affirmative, and contradictory statements and explanations. Within the textual function that she had defined, she looked for evidence of the inclusive "we" and "let's." She tracked the thematic progressions between teacher and students that Christie had related to power and status. Beyond Christie's model, she looked for dramatic features such as tension, pace, adoption of the mantle of experts, and identification with roles and the status assumed in roles.

Harden divided her analysis into two situational features: interpersonal features and textual features. In her description, the interpersonal metafunction represents the status and relationships between the teacher and the students. The textual metafunction deals with how themes are introduced and carried forward by participants, exercising their relative power and responsibility in the learning situation. The interpersonal feature represents the characteristics of the interactions that happened between Harden as the teacher and her students during the role-playing event.

From the discourse, she gathered twenty-seven declarative statements from students in comparison to her twenty-eight declarative statements. With this data, she claimed that her modeling talk was transferred to students' ways of responding to her and other students. She found no contradiction occurring—only affirmation from teacher and students. She revealed no explanatory teacher monologues as her talks were open-ended and mostly modeled, demonstrated, and imitated. As evidence, she emphasized that most students used words such as "let's," "just," and "look" as they talked, following her model.

In the analysis of the textual features, Harden tracked the productions of themes that emerged from the interactions between her and her students. The themes that emerged from the interactions were improvisation that came out seven times at the commencement of the action and twenty-seven times as a feature of the speculative discoveries. She also identified that the

children provided seventeen topical themes that were stimulated by leading questions or offered spontaneously. Their contributions to the interactions actively led and developed the improvisation.

The second study analyzed in this context is a study by Epstein (2004). Epstein (2004) suggested that Jewish educators revisit what have become the characteristics of Jewish study—critical questioning of narratives and reanimating them to push the texts to their boundaries, due to the lack of practices that explore the deeper meaning of the narrative from the Jewish Bible, according to Epstein, this will give students the opportunities to create their own “stories-beyond-the story” (Wolf et al., 1996, as cited in Epstein, 2004, p. 60) or *midrashim*. Furthermore, students might place themselves in *the grand conversation* of textual interpretation within such a context of learning.

This is a “practitioner research,” insiders’ research done by practitioners by using their own site as the focus of their study (Anderson, Herr, & Nihlen, 1994, as cited in Epstein, 2004, p. 60), which was designed to explore how participatory drama enabled students to question the Bible actively and to deal with texts’ complexities within one supplementary school classroom. The study was built upon Street’s (1984, 1995) ideological model of literacy. In this model, Street defines literacy as a series of interactions of the interlocutors that goes beyond finding what is in people’s heads and literacy skills. It also implies that to study a literacy event, one would need to consider the interactions and the resources involved in the ideological acts. Epstein constructed her study upon Gee’s (1998) framework of discourse analysis to explore the social practices of collaborative dramatic explication as students worked “at the edge of text” (Wolf, Edmiston, & Enciso, 1996, p. 494). The study was guided by the following overarching question: “How and what do students negotiate as they build tableau based upon biblical texts?” (Epstein, 2004, p.60).

The discourse data were collected in River Heights Congregational School, a Reconstructionist congregational school located in the Metropolitan New York area, over the course of four months (February-May 2002). Twelve students within a mixed grade-five and grade-six classroom participated in facilitated drama-oriented text study for two hours on Tuesday and Thursday. Epstein videotaped the session and analyzed how students utilized the varied resources of gesture, talk, and images to produce interpretations of the text. Epstein kept field notes of her observations and kept a journal, noting her reflections and impressions of the dramatic and literacy events. She also used the video record or pictures of the tableau as springboards for audiotaped group interviews following the sessions.

Epstein analyzed the language and gestures students used to engage in literacy events to understand the varied resources students brought to their interpretations. To help with the analysis, she incorporated Gee’s (1988) building tasks and tools to analyze interactions. She reviewed the data by repetitively watching the videos, creating narrative descriptions of the literacy events, developing broad categories of social interactions, identifying the ordinary and disruptive social practices, and then selecting the discourse analysis events that represented the patterns and ruptures.

The six-building tasks offered by Gee (1998, in Epstein, 2004) highlighted various aspects of meaning-making built within a social context. The building tasks include questions under the semiotic building, world building, activity building, sociocultural situated identity and relationship building, political building, and connection building. Epstein used these six sets of questions and Gee’s (1998) tools of inquiry—discourse, situated meanings, cultural models,

situated identities, social languages, and conversations—to analyze students' interpretations during two dramatic collaborative activities, tableau and hot seating.

The students in the study were hesitant to question the stories from the Bible but shifted in their perspectives as soon as they picked up the roles for a visual representation (tableau) of the stories of Sarah, Hagar, and Abel. When students were involved in hot seating, they voluntarily asked questions and, as a result, entered the actions and the thinking of the characters from the narrative. During these two drama-based literacy events, she found that the students were engaged in semiotic building, political building, and connection building as they negotiated whose ideas would be heard, accepted, and represented in their interpretation of why Sarah sent Ishmael away (Epstein, 2004). Epstein also found that the students made intertextual links to give ideas validity. Based on her analysis of students' interactions, she found that the intertextual links that students made were not limited to printed texts and images but extended to conversations that were made possible through dramatic techniques such as hot seating and tableau.

As the result of the analysis, Epstein suggested some pedagogical implications. First, she suggested that Discourse of the Bible was to be adopted as a living text. It means that the Discourse of the Bible could be questioned and reinterpreted. Second, she also suggested that Jewish educators find ways to integrate learning that encourages students to verbalize their intertextual links to other written texts or previous verbal conversations during biblical interpretation. Third, she advised students to be involved in the acts of translating meanings from one sign to another for deeper meaning-making. The use of tableau and hot seating encouraged her students to perform reflective thinking and discussion about the meaning of the verses. Finally, she strongly suggested that Jewish educators use drama to engage students in open-ended talk.

The last study analyzed was the study conducted by Kao et al. (2011). For Kao and her colleagues, questioning plays a key role in conducting classroom drama activities. As teachers ask questions in and out of roles during process drama, their questions are aimed to shape the drama, reveal the details, and sequence the scenes. This act of questioning, according to Kao et al. (2011), projects authentic linguistic contexts for the participants to communicate and negotiate. For this reason, Kao and her colleagues used discourse analysis to study the use of process drama and its strategies within two groups of Taiwanese college students who had limited oral proficiency. This study focused on the question formats and functions used by two teachers in organizing their talks in and out of the roles.

The study was built upon Grice's (1989) *maxim of quality* to identify display (DQ) and referential questions (RQ). A display question is a question to which the answer is already known by the initiator. A referential question, on the other hand, is a question aiming to elicit unknown information from the initiator. In addition to the two types of questions, they also referred to six of Tsui's (1992) question functions as a framework for analyzing the different types of responses prospected by the addressees and two other categories added by Weng (2009), making them all eight categories of the analytical framework. These categories are informed, confirm, agree, commit, repeat, clarify, pseudo, and understanding check.

The two teachers in the study incorporated different drama techniques, process drama and readers' theater, to help English as a Foreign Language (EFL) students develop the four skills of English. The participants were 30 university students of low to intermediate English proficiency who had little or no experience in the use of drama to learn English. The primary

objectives of this study were to find out how question functions were used by the teachers and the students in general and by the teachers when they were in-role and out-of-role. The study was divided into three week-long sessions. The first week was devoted to the use of applied dramatic techniques, the second week involved process drama, and the third week was dedicated to readers' theater. Teachers' and students' interactions from the two classes were collected in audio and video form. Selective drama activities were transcribed for the analysis of question functions.

The results of the discourse data analysis were presented in the quantitative description of question functions data and interpretive descriptions of the interactions. Table 2 describes the spread of the question functions between teachers and students. The teacher made use of all eight-question functions, while the students used only two of them, confirm (65%) and inform (35%). Kao and her colleagues suggested that it was an indication that eliciting new information from the students was a primary instructional goal in the classroom. In other words, the teachers designed the framework of drama activities, but the content was built from the contribution of the students and the teachers together.

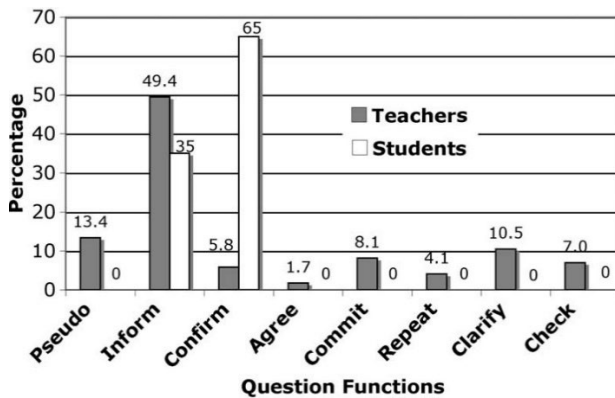


Figure 1. Question Functions Between Teachers and Students During Dramatic Interactions

In Figure 1, Kao et al. (2011) found that the teachers' question functions showed a different pattern. The teachers designated about half of their total questions to seek new information (inform, 49.4%). It was also found that the teachers applied the other seven functions more evenly than the students did, ranking them from high to low as pseudo (13.4%), clarify (10.5%), commit (8.1%), understanding check (7%), confirm (5.8%), repeat (4.1%), and agree (1.7%).

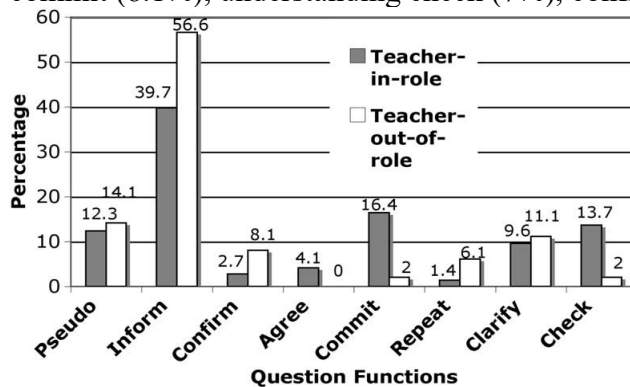


Figure 2. Question Functions of Teachers in and out of Roles

Figure 2 represents the result of comparison between question functions designated by the teachers in-role versus out-of-role. Kao et al. (2011) found that the teachers used pseudo

question functions quite often with this group of students, regardless of their roles in the activities.

The second part of the analysis was the interpretive analysis of the question functions. The researchers of the study presented their interpretation of pieces of interactions based on the eight categories. In the analysis of the *inform* function, the researchers found that the teachers in the study used this questioning technique to encourage the students to speak out and exchange their ideas. As for the students, *inform* questions were mostly used to seek information or explanation of new words that they did not know.

In the study, it was found that the teachers also used pseudo questions but extended their functions beyond evaluating the knowledge of the addressed students toward preparing students for the upcoming scene. It was also reported that the teacher in the role as the chief of police used an understanding check question to 'threaten' the police investigators, the students in the role, into performing their duty with the given authority of their chief. Further in the analysis, it was found that the teachers raised all the committed questions for the purpose of engaging the students with some action. According to Kao, et al. (2011), the analyses show that dramatic roles enabled the teachers to make use of a wider range of question functions with different social registers.

Besides the quantitative and descriptive analysis of the question in the interactions, the researchers also conducted pretests and posttests to measure four language skills. The quantitative element of the study was reported fully in another article (Hsu, Kao, & Carkin, 2009). Kao et al. (2011) found that the students had produced significantly more words and communication units and that the mean length of the communication unit was also significantly longer in the posttest for their oral competencies. The data from the written tests also showed some significant improvement in terms of the number of simple sentences' production and in the quality of their writing. In other words, Kao et al. (2011) claimed that the students had learned to express their ideas more efficiently and precisely.

The study's researchers concluded by offering some pedagogical implications and research suggestions. First, they suggested that the status of the teachers, in-role or out-of-role, could determine how they use and distribute the question functions in the activities. Second, when working with low-level language learners with little drama experience, teachers need to pay special attention to the pace and complexity of drama scenes and need to check their understanding of the roles and assigned tasks. Third, the make-believe moments in dramatic situations enable teachers to bring different social contexts, relationships and registers into an otherwise rather fixed classroom discourse setting.

Discussion

In this section, we review the three studies' location in the extant literature, their research methodology and analysis, and their contribution to the field. To locate the three studies in the extant literature, I am going to review first the development of the field of talk analysis in educational drama and put the selected studies in a timeline to recognize its succession. Then, in the methodology review, we examine the three studies based on their rigor and system of analysis, transparency in analysis, substantiation of claims with evidence, and representation of analysis and results. These four points of analysis are adopted from Greckhamer & Cilesiz

(2014). Lastly, we revisit the studies’ objectives and examine their contribution to the field of talk study in dramatic interactions.

On the Location of the Studies in the Extant Literature

Although educational drama practitioners and researchers have long acknowledged the significance of talk and dialogue in process drama (Heathcote, 1970; Bolton,1979; O’Neill, 1989; O’Neill & Lambert, 1982), it was John Carroll who brought the discussion of talk on a more serious note. Before his dissertation work that compared between talks in drama-based classroom with talks in non-drama-based classrooms in 1986, Carroll had written two academic works addressing the distinction of talk in drama. These two previous studies (1978 and 1980) established his thinking and ideas on language functions and the roles of a teacher in dramatic events.

In 1994, under the supervision of Cecily O’Neill, a Taiwan-based Kao published her dissertation that studied the discourse of university students studying English through process drama. With some modification and addition, the dissertation was then published as a book in 1998. It has now become one of the most cited books about drama in the Teaching of English as a Second Language (TESOL) field. Kao continued to show interest in studying discourse in dramatic events. In 2011, she and her colleagues published an article that focused on questioning and its impacts on student and teacher language use. This work, reviewed in this paper, is followed by studies from Anderson and Berry (2014) and Anderson and Loughlin (2015) that focused on analyzing the language use and the task behavior of the students in EFL classes.

A Jewish educator, Epstein (2004), made an interesting study when she examined the discourse of her students who responded to the stories from the Bible through tableau and hot seating. She made some very valuable suggestions to fellow Jewish educators about the integration of drama and some of its elements in studying, questioning, and materializing the narratives from the Bible. Elsewhere in Australia, Freebody (2010, 2011, 2013) categorized three categories of talk in classroom dramatic events into pedagogical / logistic talk, sociocultural talk, and in role talks to examine issues of social justice in adolescent classrooms. Although her studies are very important in the field, I did not put any of her studies in this focused review due to the differences that we have in topics and contexts of studies.

Another study on the discourse of teachers and students in dramatic events emerged in 2015. Adopting self-study methodology, Harden (2015) analyzed her discourse as a teacher of a group of pre-kindergarten students. She modeled her ways of talking through a mantle of the expert and analyzed the development of the students’ language use and writing through their work while writing in role.

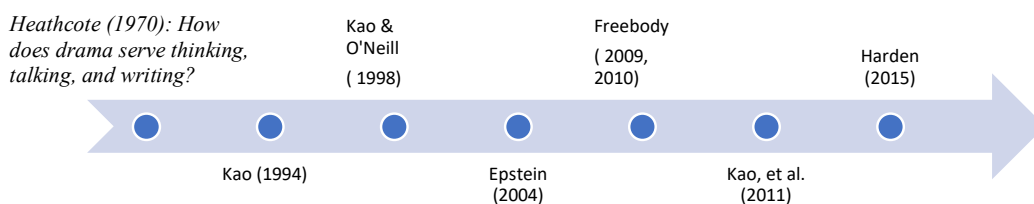


Figure 3. Timeline of Studies of Classroom Talks in Process Drama

Harden (2015), Epstein (2004), and Kao et al. (2011) seem to agree that drama opens space for learning, increases students' participation, and improves the quality of learning and meaning-making. According to Epstein (2004), participation in drama-related activities enables students to engage in open-ended talk that is often unavailable in regular classrooms. Her adoption of Street's ideological model of literacy framed the ways she defined and interpreted students' interactions when transforming stories from religious texts through tableau and hot seating. For example, she understood the context when students hesitated to question the stories from the Bible.

Similarly, Kao et al. (2011) pinpointed that the questioning nature in process drama interactions helps teachers establish the atmosphere, determine the direction, and challenge students' thinking. They found that students were not just the ones who would respond to the teacher's question. Instead, during the hot seating activity, students produced referential questions when they interviewed the characters in the stories.

In the context of Harden's (2015) study, the talk was modeled in an open-ended nature, guiding her pre-kindergarten students to produce similar ways of talking in thinking through a mantle of the expert. The various talk demonstrated and reported by Harden (2015) was of an instructional type that was exemplified, modeled, and done in open-ended nature. In response to her, the pre-kindergarten students in her study exhibited dialogue, action, confidence, and the modeled teacher behavior and talk.

The three studies also rely on dramatic strategies to create a condition in which students talk and think together. Epstein (2004) used tableau and hot seating to interpret and transform their understanding of religious texts. Kao et al. (2011) witnessed that the two teachers they worked with incorporated drama techniques like tableau, the teacher in role, hot seating, and mime for participants to ask questions. Through mantles of the expert and writing in role, Harden (2015) explored the world and the work of paleontologists to give meaning to the reading and writing activities. The three studies discussed in this paper could justify Baldwin's (2004) statement that the drama lesson is a forum for talk and a socially mediated activity within which language is a crucial means of sharing and shaping thinking.

On Methodology

We reviewed the three studies based on their systemic and rigorous analysis, transparency in analysis, substantiation of claims with evidence, and representation of analysis and results. These four points of analysis are adopted from Greckhamer & Cilesiz (2014).

Harden's (2015) article

Harden's objective was to describe the language used by the teacher during one drama event and the oral and literary responses of the children during and after the event. To help her achieve the objective, she framed the study with Halliday's (1973) functional linguistic theory and adopted Christie's discourse analysis methodology and analysis model. Thus, discourse analysis is an appropriate methodology for investigating the case.

Linking Halliday's theory with Christie's is reasonable as they both come from functional grammar perspectives. Harden also incorporated Kress's socio-semiotic theory to examine students' emerging literacy that involved a combination of images and words produced in the dramatic events. She analyzed transcripts of verbal interactions that took place during the mantle of the expert event and interpreted students' emerging writing by using Kress's theory and analysis. With the objective of defining and understanding the dynamic in drama and

dramatic play as pedagogies for written literacy, her analysis and data interpretations seemed coherent with her “epistemological and theoretical assumptions” (Greckhamer & Cilesiz, 2014, p. 13). Unfortunately, despite the coherence in theories and epistemology, Harden only shared a small percentage of data in this article. To understand the study and its scope better, I had to read her published thesis, Harden (2013), to learn more about her robust description and data analysis.

In terms of analysis transparency, we found the analysis procedures were described in a transparent manner because, as a reader, we could clearly visualize the process of the analysis that she reported. In the process, she described that she was using Christie’s model to categorize the dialogue between her and her students under several interpersonal modes of address. In doing so, she tallied the frequency of student and teacher interrogation, declarative, imperative, affirmative, explanations, and contradictory statements.

The analysis of the discourse was reported in two interpersonal metafunction and textual metafunction categories. From here, she looked for textual evidence and thematic progressions. To warrant her claims, she identified, selected, and appropriated evidence of specific language usage (Duran, Eisenhart, Erickson, Grant, Green, Hedges, & Schneider, 2006), such as “we” and “let’s” to find whether students used the language that she modeled during the interactions.

All in all, despite the small scale of the study and analysis, we believe Harden has demonstrated an appropriate representation of the analysis process and results that are accessible as well as interpretable by readers and are sufficiently efficient to comply with expectations of publication outlets (Greckhamer & Cilesiz, 2014).

Kao et al. (2010) article

In this article, Kao and her colleagues aimed to find out how question functions were used by the teachers and the students when they were in-role and out-of-role. Kao et al. (2011) incorporated Tsui (1992) and Wong’s (2009) taxonomy of elicitation functions as their theoretical and analytical frames to analyze the questioning techniques performed by two drama-oriented teachers in two university-level classes that learned English as a second language.

Eight types of question functions were used to identify the functions of the questions students performed—inform, confirm, agree, commit, repeat, clarify, pseudo, and understanding check. The authors were able to identify and locate the functions of the questions used by the teachers in their interactions with the students by using Tsui’s (1992) and Wong’s (2009) taxonomy as a framework for analyzing teacher and student questions. Hence, the decision to use Tsui and Wong’s framework was justified.

A discourse analyst needs to warrant knowledge claims by using two types of evidence: evidence of a systematic and rigorous analysis process and evidence of the substantive basis of results and knowledge claims (Greckhamer & Cilesiz, 2014). The authors of this article provide details about the data collection method and analytical procedures. This includes the background, details of participants, the contexts, descriptions of data collection procedures, and measurement of students’ general proficiency progress.

Regarding the second type of evidence, Kao et al. (2011) warranted their claims by clearly identifying the background of the study and the problems they wished to address, transparently selecting participants and theoretical framework and analytical tools, and systematically presenting their data evidence. However, unlike Harden (2015), Kao et al. (2011) did not

include vast theoretical assumptions and tools to analyze the class' discourse. Instead, they merely focused on Tsui (1992) and Wong's (2009) taxonomy of elicitation functions as their theoretical and analytical frames and used pre-and post-course standardized proficiency tests to evaluate students' English with the interpretations of students and teachers' discourse, especially in using and producing questions in the targeted language. The triangulation of systemic data analysis adds rigor to the study; Harden (2015) Kao et al. (2011) have demonstrated an appropriate representation of the analysis process and results that are accessible, interpretable, and trustworthy (AERA, 2006).

Epstein's (2004) article

Borrowing Street's view of literacy as ideological practice, Epstein (2004) framed a discourse analysis study to explore the language used by a group of students when they worked together to construct a tableau and performed a hot seating activity as a response to a story from the Bible. Through Gee's (1988) lens of building tasks and tools of analysis, she identified students' individual and shared identity kits that students drew to understand the texts. It is also through Gee's (1988) perspectives that she saw the knowledge being created among students.

The choice of Street's view of ideological literacy suits the study and the analytical framework, considering the contexts and the religious texts being explored. In the tradition where texts and their narratives are non-questionable, dramatic strategies like tableau and hot seating provide an imaginary context for students to deal with reality (Heathcote, as cited in Wagner, 1998).

Despite only sharing a small amount of data, Epstein (2004) concluded that students engaged in semiotic building, political building, and connection building as intertwined activities as they negotiated whose ideas would be heard, accepted, and represented in their interpretation of why Sarah sent Ishmael (characters from the Bible story) away. One may wonder about the trustworthiness of the claims she made on this. In addition to the previous claim, Epstein (2004) reported that the students used intertextual links as they negotiated meanings. Her interpretation and claim for this were supported by the excerpts of students' interactions and references to theoretical frames.

By and large, Epstein's (2004) choice of theoretical frame and analysis suits the epistemological, the contexts, and the texts being explored. The study may lack robustness in its data description, but it presented a coherent procedure of data collection and analysis. As a reader, we found that the study was accessible and interpretable as we could relate it with our prior knowledge and the contexts of the study. We believe this was a significant contribution to the development of Jewish education, as well as enriching the research in literacy education.

On the Studies' Contributions to the Field

Both Heathcote and O'Neill were aware of the importance of dialogue in drama. For Heathcote, talk or dialogue in drama is the central tool to help students learn (as cited in Wagner, 1999). O'Neill even urges that "the exploration of the possibilities of story's meanings may be best accomplished through ongoing dialogue, movement, and play rather than through static interpretation" (Taylor & Warner, 2006, p. 92).

Carroll's study (1986) laid out an essential foundation for the study of discourse in drama-based literacy events. He signified the differences of talks in the drama-based classes with the talks in regular classes. Then, Kao (1998) expanded the notion of the importance of dialogue in process

drama and conducted a study of the language use of the students and teachers in the context of learning a second language that proved to be a hit in the field of second language learning.

One of Kao's most recent studies in 2011 explored the functions and effects of teacher and student questioning on students' language learning. The study discussed the functions of questioning for language teachers and how its efficient use in dramatic context would improve students' responses, engagement to the activities, and their second language competence. Despite not providing an analysis of students' responses during the talk, this study provides a good model of analysis for a discourse study that focused on the question. Kao et al. (2011) also provided some pedagogical implications for teachers when using questions in a second language class with students of limited spoken English proficiency (details in Summary section). Harden's (2015) study provided exemplary instructional discourse for teachers in using process drama strategy like the mantle of the expert to improve students' literacy and agency in making decisions. The study highlighted the importance of modeling an open-ended talk and scaffolding the writing activity at the pre-kindergarten level through dramatic approaches / strategies. Through her study, Harden (2015) has demonstrated that a teacher's task is to create learning situations for her students (Heathcote, 1970).

The last study reviewed in this paper (Epstein, 2004) is rare because of the context of the study and the sacred texts that her participants used to make meanings together. With the objective of improving the practices of teaching the Bible in Jewish education, she analyzed the discourse of her students, who collaborated with one another to create personal interpretations of stories they read from the Bible. By using dramatic strategies like tableau and hot seating, Epstein made her students inquire about the gaps of the narratives in sacred texts, and by using those drama techniques, she sheds light on the practices of reading and teaching religious texts.

Conclusion

Epstein (2004), Kao et al. (2011), and Harden's (2015) studies analyzed in this paper have left their marks in the extant literature and have contributed significantly to the area of discourse analysis study in drama-based literacy events. The three studies are predominantly occupied by perspectives of functional linguistics such as those of Halliday (1973), Gee (1988), Grice (1989), and Tsui (1992). Despite a small representation of data shared in some of the studies, their methodologies and data analysis are sound and relevant with the epistemological and theoretical frameworks. The studies were carried out with participants from the university level down to upper elementary and pre-kindergarten levels and with different contexts of literacy learning such as second language learning literacy, emergent literacy, and literacy in a faith-based school. They demonstrated that talks in dramatic interactions within literacy classes produce unique discourses marked by an open-mindedness of the interactions and the shifts of roles, potentially leading to the efficient discussion. These studies also demonstrated the roles of class objectives—dramatic techniques, texts, students' background knowledge, and sociocultural contexts—in influencing the meaning-making processes.

Studies on the teacher and student talks during drama interactions in literacy classes are insufficient. Considering the uniqueness of such interactions (Carroll, 1980), we believe studies that examine the language use of the parties involved in dramatic interactions that portray students' thinking and talking about and beyond texts should be undertaken. Talk in process drama, in this case, could be positioned as a cognitive tool to process knowledge, as a socio-cultural tool for sharing the knowledge, and as a pedagogical tool used to provide guidance

(Mercer, Wegerif, & Dawes, 1999; Rifai, 2019; Komala & Rifai, 2021) or as a task-based literacy instruction (Esfandiari, 2014).

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A corpus-assisted discourse study of the media language in the Egyptian revolution

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Abstract

The present study analyses media coverage of the Egyptian revolution (2011-2015). We use the corpus-assisted discourse (CADS) approach to examine how Arabic and English media covered the 2011 protests in Egypt. Adapting corpus techniques and the discursive news values analysis (DNVA) approach, We analyse a bilingual (Arabic and English) corpus of news reports in *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya*, as well as the Western written media in English (BBC and CNN). This method helps to uncover differences and similarities between the three media categories in terms of collocations' categories, frequency distribution, and story content. The results suggest several inconsistencies in the frequency distribution along with many similarities in the collocations categories, story contents and the news values, based mainly on a negative ideology that focuses on the unstable political life and the violent social protests, which manipulates the audience and affects their understanding of the news.

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Keywords

Corpus analysis, critical discourse analysis, news values, ideology, media

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Introduction

The Egyptian revolution of January 25, 2011, inspired by the Tunisian uprising of January 14, 2011, culminated with the resignation of President Hosni Mubarak on February 11, 2011. Massive demonstrations throughout the country attracted enormous media attention worldwide. However, media coverage of these events varied dramatically, suggesting vested interests of the involved parties. Following Ashley and Olson’s (1998, p. 268) argument that the news media play a prominent role in the continuity of social protests through specific choices of sources and framing of social unrest, in the present study, we analyse the language of the media and ideological orientations in the coverage of the 2011 Egyptian revolution. To this end, the news reports published in Arabic and English versions of *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya*, as well as CNN and BBC reports, are analysed using corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis (CADS; Romero-Trillo & Attia, 2016; Attia, 2022), which combines corpus linguistics (CL) (i.e., frequency, keywords, collocation and concordance) and critical discourse analysis (CDA). To enhance the objectivity of my qualitative investigation, We also apply the discursive news values approach (DNVA).

The originality of the present study lies in the innovative use of a combination of CL, CDA, and DNVA approaches to analyse a bilingual media corpus and unveil hidden biases in the media discourse on the outcomes of the 2011 Egyptian revolution during the post-revolution period (2011-2015).

1. Literature review

1.1. Media discourse

While different theories of the relationship between the media discourse and the audience have previously been proposed (Romero-Trillo, 2011; Baker et al, 2013; Yılmaz and Sinanoğlu, 2014) numerous empirical studies have focused on the controversial issue of media ideology concerning the "Arab Spring" events (Hamdy and Gomaa, 2012; Haider, 2016; Haigh and Bruce, 2017). For instance, in an analysis of media coverage of the Libyan revolution, Attia (2022) found that, as the Libyan situation worsened and turned into terrorism, both Arab and Western media persistently reported violent and brutal clashes between different Libyan factions, which promoted the image of Libya’s instability and shaped the audience’s perceptions of the events accordingly. Furthermore, in an analysis of media coverage of the Tunisian revolution (2011–2015), Romero-Trillo & Attia (2016) observed that, while Arabic and English versions of *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya* tended to adopt a violent discourse in reporting the events, the Western media BBC and CNN were more objective. Using CDA, Romero-Trillo & Attia (2016) unveiled the biased ideology of the Arab media and its hatred to political Islamism, which affected readers’ perceptions of the Islamist political parties.

In another relevant study on *Al Jazeera* English and CNN’s coverage of the Egyptian coup of July 2013, Elena (2015) found that, while CNN highlighted the need to fight this dictatorship, *Al Jazeera* English remained faithful to the Islamist approach and defended its legitimacy. Furthermore, several scholars used critical discourse analysis to expose the different standpoints and ideologies behind Western media news coverage of the Arab Spring events. For instance, using critical discourse analysis to analyse the coverage of protesters, Mubarak, and the Muslim Brotherhood by CNN and Fox, Guzman (2016) found that these media tended to implement previous frames mainly related to Muslims and Middle East. These frames reflect the U.S. political ideology that is wary of Islam but encourages democracy over the authoritarian rule.

1.2 Corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis

To start with, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is frequently understood as "an academic movement [...] of doing discourse analysis from a critical perspective, which often focuses on theoretical concepts such as power, ideology and domination" (Baker et al., 2008, p. 273). It focuses on the description of the discourse and the explanation of the reason, and the way specific discourses are generated. Fairclough (2001) states that it particularly crosses the boundaries of "unconscious" ideology that retains "unequal encounters" in both social and political life. For CDA, language is not powerful by definition; instead, an individual's actions give it authority. In fact, Romero Trillo and Attia (2016) introduce CDA as follows: CDA views discourse-language employment in speech and writing as a way of "social practice".

However, corpus linguistics (CL) is considered a branch of linguistics that can be defined as the study of language focused on corpora as a primary source like machine-readable samples representative of authentic language use. It uses quantitative and statistical methods of investigation for the scientific analysis of languages. It is also defined as "the study of language based on examples of real-life language use" (McEnery & Wilson 2001: 1). The primary analytical techniques in CL are frequency, concordance, collocation, and keywords. Following several empirical studies (Orpin, 2005; Baker et al., 2008; Cheng & Lam, 2013; Gabrielatos & Duguid, 2015; Romero-Trillo & Attia, 2016; Attia, 2022), in the present study, we use a combination of CDA and CL.

In the last several decades, a growing body of studies have combined different aspects of CL and CDA, deeming that a combination of these two paradigms would be more fruitful than using them separately (Baker et al., 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2016; Romero-Trillo & Attia, 2016; Haider, 2019; Attia 2022). This synergy of the two approaches has given rise to what is referred to as corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS). According to Partington et al. (2013), CADS are "not tied to any particular school of discourse analysis" and have "no overarching political agenda" (p. 10). Partington (2008) claimed that the main aim of CADS is to uncover non-obvious meanings that are not opened to direct observation (Partington, 2008). In the present study, the CADS approach will be used to expose the implicit bias in the media discourse on the outcomes of the Egyptian revolution. To this end, Bednarek and Caple's (2017) DNVA framework, outlined in further detail in Section 1.3, is used.

1.3 Discursive News Values Framework (DNVA)

According to Caple and Bednarek's (2017) definition, DNVA is an approach that examines how news values are discursively constructed through semiotic resources (language, image, etc.). Defining newsworthiness of an event, i.e. whether it deserves being reported as news, Caple and Bednarek (2017, pp. 55-67) discussed the following ten news values: Consonance, Eliteness, Impact, Negativity, Personalisation, Positivity, Proximity, Superlativeness, Timeliness, and Unexpectedness. Furthermore, it has been argued that the news values are socially and culturally constructed, rather than "natural" (Fowler, 1991, pp. 13, 15), and "reflect ideologies and priorities held in society" (Bell 1991, p.156).

However, while DNVA has been applied to investigate a wide range of topics (Bednarek, 2016; Dahl & Fløttum 2017; Kitano, 2019; Makki, 2019, 2020), only a few studies have integrated DNVA with corpus techniques (Potts et al., 2015; Maklad, 2019). Moreover, this method has only recently started to be used in studies focusing on languages other than English, including Chinese (Caple et al. 2020), Spanish (Fuster-Márquez & Gregori-Signes, 2019), Persian/Farsi

(Makki, 2019), and Arabic (Attia, 2022). In this study, following Attia (2022), we will consider six news values relevant to the Arabic news context: Eliteness, Negativity, Impact, Positivity, Superlativeness, and Personalisation. With a particular focus on Negativity and Positivity, we will analyse a corpus of media reports on the Egyptian revolution and its outcomes in five years after the 2011 events.

2. Methodology

Following Attia’s (2022) analysis of the media discourse on the outcomes of the Libyan revolution, in this study, the CADS approach was used to analyse a total of 232 news articles from Arabic and English versions of *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya*, as well as from BBC and CNN. The overall size of the analysed corpus was 113.013 words. Figures 1 and 2 show the number of the reports and the number of words in each media category.

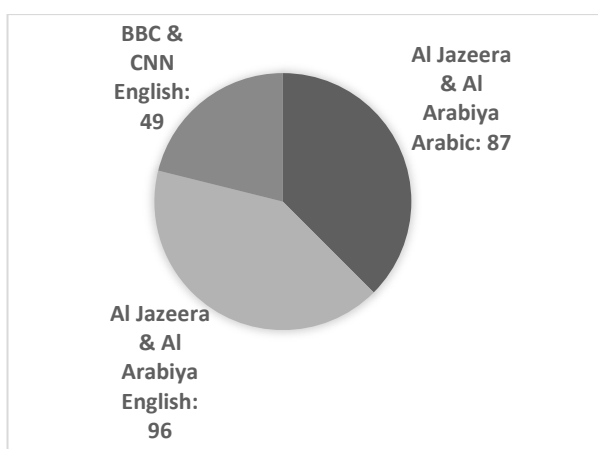


Figure 1: The number of news articles in the corpus

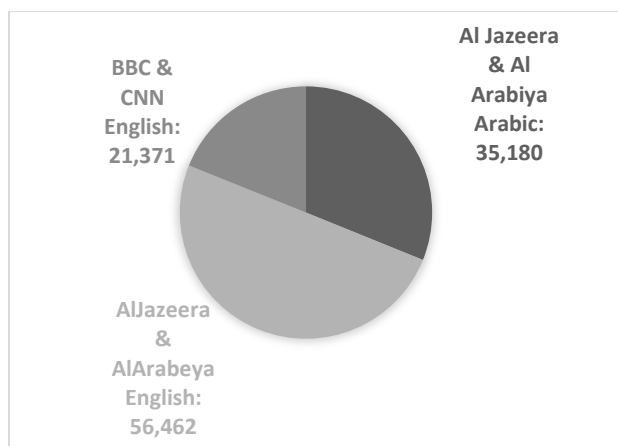


Figure 2: The number of words in the corpus

The corpus was created through compiling the reports published on official websites of each media outlet. The search term was *Egypt*, and the search period was December 2011-2015, i.e. from the first sparks of the Egyptian Revolution onwards. The collected data were then filtered to remove irrelevant articles. Eligible news reports were then extracted, converted to .txt format, and fed into *AntConc* 3.5.8 (Anthony, 2019) for further analysis. Along with DNVA approach, the following corpus techniques were used: keywords, frequency lists, collocations, and concordances.

However, there were some problems when creating concordance lines for Arabic since the software does not fully support right-to-left languages, which led to manual support for putting the words in the proper order.

For the sake of simplicity, the year is considered a discrete period, allowing the corpus to be divided into five parts. Additionally, the first 100 keywords for each year of each sub-corpus were obtained by comparing the data from each year of each sub-corpus against the other five years of all the sub-corpora. Then, they were compared with the top 100 lexical items to extract the words related to each year's revolution in each sub-corpus. The first 100 keywords and lexical items were selected due to their high frequency. Next, all keywords were manually examined and divided into subcategories (politics, economy, social problems, democracy, terrorism, and police violence). Then, the top 10 collocates of each keyword were selected, and only the most significant linguistic elements were chosen for further analysis. After conducting concordance searches, salient patterns were extracted for a closer, qualitative examination using the CDA approach. A span of 7 words on either side of the keyword was used. Collocations and concordances with CDA were used to scrutinise the language of media to reveal any ideological orientation. Finally, the raw data of each subcorpus were normalised per percentage to yield valid comparable results.

3. Results

The data were examined by year, and frequency distribution of the topics was expressed in raw frequencies (RF) and percentages (%).

3.1 The Year 2011

Table 1 summarises the frequencies of three topics (“politics,” “social protests,” and “democracy”) in three media categories—Arabic and English versions of *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya*, as well as BBC and CNN, thereafter, referred to as AL Arab media, EL Arab media, and EL Western media, respectively).

Table 1

Frequency distribution of the topics “politics,” “social protests,” and “democracy” (2011)

Topics	AL Arab media		EL Arab media		EL Western media	
	<i>RF</i>	%	<i>RF</i>	%	<i>RF</i>	%
Politics	116	1.4	100	8.69	12	1.02
Social protests	88	1.06	193	16.77	24	2.04
Democracy	0	0	29	2.52	0	0

As can be seen in Table 1, “politics” had the highest frequency in AL Arab media (1.4%), followed by “social protests” (1.06%). However, in EL Arab media and Western media, the topic “social protests” was far more frequent (16.77% and 2.04%, respectively), followed by “politics” (8.69% and 1.02%, respectively) and “democracy” (2.52% and 0%, respectively). In what follows, we present a detailed linguistic and ideological analysis of each topic within each media category.

Politics

The keyword *elections* appeared in both AL and EL Arab media with a similar frequency (24% and 22%, respectively). Similarly, collocations of this keyword in AL and EL Arab media did not show much variation (Table 2).

Table 2
Frequency and collocations of the keyword elections

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	24	انتلافات (“Coalitions”), أعضاء (“members”), ناشطون (“activists”), مراقبين (“monitors”), تنافسوا (“compete”), النزيفة (“honest”), الشريفة (“fair”), الحرة (“free”), المتنافسة (“competing”), المتنافسين (“competitors”), المتنافسة (“competitive”)
EL Arab media	22	Winner, prosperous, fair, accomplishment, stable, free, transition, democratic, Brotherhood

Both AL Arab and Western media Arab shared the same story regarding the Egyptian elections and the Muslim Brotherhood party, "the Freedom and Justice party." The corresponding collocations (e.g., *competitive, coalition, transition*) suggest a free and fair competition between the political parties in Egypt. Özdemir (2013) described this political competition, with 67 political parties rather than four, as the freest and the most vibrant since Hosni Mubarak’s rule. The results of collocation analysis (see concordances (1)-(4)) suggest the same and construct Positivity as news value.

- (I) [...] accelerated timetable for democratic transition. But **elections**, they insisted, would go ahead and polls [...] (*Al Jazeera* 22/12/2011)
- (II) [...] they did. For them, free and fair **elections** are an accomplishment in themselves and [...] (*Al Jazeera* 22/12/2011)
- (III) [...] the Egyptian people through free and fair **elections**... in a stable environment,” said Mohamed [...] (*Al Jazeera* 23/12/2011)
- (IV) [...] diverted to the first post-revolution legislative **elections** which begun on November 28, in which [...] (*Al Jazeera* 29/12/2011)

The linguistic choices in (1)-(4) enhance the positive discourse on the Muslim Brotherhood through the emphasis on the concepts of “freedom,” “honesty,” “fairness,” “stability,” and so on (see also the results on the keyword *party* in Table 3).

Table 3
Frequency and collocations of the keyword party

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab Media	27	ينضم (“joins”), يمثل (“represents”), الحرية (“freedom”), العدالة, بفعالية (“effectively”), بغالبية (“majority”), الديمقراطية, الإسلام (“Islam”), السلفي (“Salafist”), الديمقراطي (“democratic”)
EL Arab Media	34	Salafi, ultraconservative, Salafist, conservative, coalition, Nour, freedom, Muslim, liberal, Brotherhood, Islamists

Both AL and EL Arab media referred to the emergent political party using the terms such as *Brotherhood, Salafist, Muslim, Islamists, ultraconservative*, etc., thus emphasising its political orientation (Islamist and conservative). The Brotherhood party won the election with astounding 43.4% of the votes, which equalled 216 seats (Özdemir, 2013). However, the

assessment of Positivity news value of this example depended on the target audience, as some people saw this victory as a positive event, while others, like Mubarak supporters, perceived it negatively. In this relation, Bednarek and Caple (2017, p. 61) argued that “[c]ertain target audiences might perceive a particular reported event as [positive], while others would not.” Accordingly, DNVA should always consider the target audience of a news outlet.

Furthermore, collocations of the keyword *Mubarak* in EL Arab and Western media, which highlight the overthrow of President Hosni Mubarak and his regime, construct the Impact news value (Table 4).

Table 4
Frequency and collocations of the keyword *Mubarak*

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
EL Arab Media	44	<i>toppled, shoot, overthrow, crackdowns, bomb, authoritarian</i>
EL Western media	12	<i>corruption, footage, accused, resumed, replaced, abusing, killing</i>

Although the frequencies of corresponding collocations differ between EL Arab and Western media (44 and 12, respectively), both highlight the amount of violence that Mubarak applied to stifle the protests. Interestingly, while these events construct Negativity, their outcomes were termed as positive, as they led to the liberation of Egypt. Yet, these outcomes can be seen as Negative by Hosni Mubarak’s supporters who wanted him to stay in the rule.

Nevertheless, after the overthrow of the president Hosni Mubarak from almost 30 years of rule, the political life in Egypt seems to follow a democratic path. The collocations of politics category in 2011 suggest the success of the free, fair, and democratic elections reported by both Arab media languages. Therefore, the Arab media, in both languages in 2011, reported on the same story content with a positive ideology towards this historic democratic transition in Egypt. Moreover, they have very similar frequency distribution whereas the Western media has a different distribution.

Democracy

Keywords in this topic, which emerged only in EL Arab media (see Table 1) were *democratic* and *democracy*. Corresponding collocations (e.g., *transitions, path, vote, elections, vowed, transition, promote, stability*) construct Positivity of the democratic political transition of the Egyptian government. Of note, however, Positivity news value is generally considered to be uncommon (Harcup & O’Neill, 2001, p. 279; Schulz, 1982, p. 152).

Social protests

Within the topic “social protests,” collocations of keywords *protesters* and *Tahrir Square* in Table 5 establish Negativity, which is referred to as “the basic news value” (Bell, 1991, p. 156).

Table 5
Frequency and collocations of keywords *protesters* and *Tahrir Square*

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab Media	37	اعتقال (“Arrest”), ويرشقون (“throw”), طاردوهم (“chase”), أحرقوا (“burned”), بالاعتداء (“assault”), احتراق (“burning”), حريق (“fire”), بالحجارة (“rocks”), القتلى (“dead”), ميدان (“field”), عنيفة (“violent”), سقطوا (“fallen”), المصادمات (“clashes”), المتظاهرون (“demonstrators”), مطالب (“demands”), مستمرة (“continuous”)

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EL Arab Media	39	dispersing, violently, threw, shoot, fled, troops, stone, clashed, beating, assault
EL Western media	19	violent, uprising, shoot, propaganda, killing, conspiracy, aides, death, killed, shot, hundreds, demonstrations, crowd, condemnation, beating, protesters

The corresponding collocations were frequent in all three media categories (see Table 5), though slightly less frequent in EL Western media. During the 2011 events, Tahrir Square became the site of protests that forced Hosni Mubarak out of power. Hundreds of protesters had to face violence and brutality. Overall, in their coverage of the protests, the media were trying to gain readers’ attentions by focusing on the violent perspective of the uprising, thus introducing some bias through specific lexical choices. Along with other means, such as selection of a news story over another or quoting specific voices while excluding others, lexical choices can be used to create bias in the news (Hamborg et al., 2020).

Similarly, the keywords *military*, *army*, and *police* construct the negativity news value in both AL and EL Arab media (see Table 6).

Table 6
Frequency and collocations of keywords military army and police

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab Media	28	مهاجمة (“attack”), أطلق (“shoot”), أشعل (“burned”), أسلحة, المصادمات (“clashes”), الرصاص (“bullets”), الحجارة (“rocks”)
EL Arab media	111	threw, threat, tensions, shield, rallies, detainees, bloody, bans, abolishes, stripped, sparked, clashed, attacked, deadly, wounded/ vicious, thugs, shut, kicking, brutally, attacks, violently, harsh, beating, aborted/ confiscated, raided, riot, crushed, cracking, Molotov, clashed, stones, demonstrations
EL Western media	5	support, peace, defence, calm

In contrast, EL Western media constructed the Positivity news value through, for instance, relating the keyword *military* with positive items (e.g., *support*, *peace*, *defence*, *calm*; see (5)-(7)) so as to beautify the picture of the National security to the audience.

- (V) [...] Friday- a relatively peaceful sit-in against **military** rule on the edge of Tahrir Square [...] (BBC 19/12/2011)
- (VI) [...] immediate transfer to civilian rule. Yet the **military** is counting on the support of the [...] (BBC 19/12/2011)
- (VII) [...] Cairo for a rally against the ruling **military** council. Earlier this week calm was resto [...] (BBC 23/12/2011)

Yet, the collocations of key terms *clashes* and *people* in AL and EL Arab media constructed the Negativity news value (see Table 7).

Table 7
Collocations of keywords *clashes* and *people*

<i>Clashes</i>	<i>People</i>
AL Arab media	EL Arab media
, الاحتداء (“assault”), محتجين (“Protesters”), لاقتحامه (“to break into”), التعدي, الشرطة (“police”), الجيش, (“Army”)	thousand, tensions, skyrocketed, resisting, protesting, marched, killings, demonstrate, died, bloodshed, killed, injured

In summary, news in news reports published in 2011, all three media categories predominantly emphasised the Negativity news value in their coverage of the events in Tahrir square, with the only exception being that EL Western media somewhat more positively conveyed national security. The three media categories also shared the same story contents and ideology during 2011. Praising the democratic transition in the beginning of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution events, the media then shifted their focus to a negative depiction of protests and violent clashes. In this way, the media sought to construct the news in a specific way to influence their audiences. Similarly, in an analysis of how uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Yemen were covered in *Al Jazeera*, Galanter (2013) argued that "the channel was present in every battle, not only to report, but also to provide a platform for the revolutionaries, to propagate, to uplift morale and, in some cases even, to provide direction for the insurgents" (p. 6).

3.2 The Year 2012

Table 8 summarises the frequency distribution of topics “politics” and “social protests” in the three media categories in 2012.

Table 8
Frequency distribution of topics “politics” and “social protests” (2012)

Categories	AL Arab media		EL Arab media		EL Western media	
	<i>RF</i>	%	<i>RF</i>	%	<i>RF</i>	%
Politics	204	2,72	399	25.7	387	32.03
Social protests	0	0	112	7.21	127	1.05

As can be seen in Table 8, the frequency topics “politics” and “social protests” in AL Arab media was considerably lower than in the other two media categories. The difference is particularly considerable with regard to the “politics” topic: 2.72% in AL Arab media vs. 25.7% and 32.03% in EL Arab and Western media, respectively.

Politics

In 2012, a major political theme in the analysed media was the aftermath of the Egyptian political life after the toppling of President Hosni Mubarak. As suggested by the analysis of the keyword *referendum*, the political life in Egypt at that time was characterised by instability and division between supporters and opponents of a referendum (see Table 9).

Table 9
Frequency and collocations of keyword referendum

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	54	يلغي (“Cancels”) ، يقطع (“interrupts”) ، يعلن (“announces”) ، يؤيد (“participate”) ، يشاركون (“makes”) ، يعقد (“approves”) ، توقف ، (“stop”) ، تعطيل (“delay”) ، الرفضة (“reject”) ، الداعمة (“supportive”) ، (“reject”)
EL Arab media	43	Snap, schedule, preparing, postpones, loser, condemned, Arrest, civilians, postponed, delayed, delay, cancel, sweeping, push
EL Western media	46	Widespread, urge, undermines, sparked, rival, removing, postponing, judge, delays, cancelled, boycotting, boycott, authoritarian, abuses

While the frequencies of collocations of the keyword *referendum* were similar across the three media categories (see Table 9). Furthermore, most of the collocations confirm that the focus was mainly on the members who wanted to *boycott*, *cancel*, *delay*, and *postpone* the new constitution introduced by Morsi, who was elected president in 2012, rather than on his supporters; therefore, the media reports constructed the Impact news value. The three media categories also shared the same story content and projected the same negative evaluation of the referendum.

This negative ideology was also substantiated by the collocations of keywords *Morsi* and *president* (see Table 10).

Table 10
Frequency and collocations of keywords Morsi and president

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	48	مظاهرات (“disagree”) ، يتعارض (“Cancels”) ، يلغي (“demonstrations”) ، يعلن (“confidence”) ، للثقة (“announces”) ، يعاقب (“punishes”) ، يرتضيه (“consents”) ، مناقشة (“discussion”) ، يدعو (“admits”) ، يعترف (“support”) ، دعما (“received”) ، (“confronts”)
EL Arab media	120	Coward, victims, traitors, teargassed, swipe, spurns, signed, shout, shooting, separation, resigns, reluctance, reinstate, reject, rejects, rejecting
EL Western media	172	Removing, murder, allow, withdraws, usurping, unleashed, triggered, threats, threat, stirred, smashed/ Warn, want, urge, unacceptable, sustain, supporting, supported, stripped, spread, sorrow

As can be seen in Table 9, in all three media categories, collocations of the keywords *Morsi* and *president* refer to Morsi’s supporters (e.g., *supports*, *supported*) and opponents (e.g., *removing*, *rejecting*, *conflicts*, *traitors*). Although Morsi was seeking dialogue with protesters, demonstrations against him were still taking place. This could be due to Morsi’s intent to ratify a new constitution. Collocations of the keyword *constitution*, such as *endorses*, *declares*, *scheduled*, among others, construct the Impact news value (Table 11). Indeed, Morsi’s decision to ratify the constitution encountered rejection and refusal from a specific part of the government and the people (e.g., *reject*, *boycott*, *stabbed*, *rejection*, *sparking*, etc.).

Table 11
Frequency and collocations of the keyword *constitution*

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	49	يؤيد (“Endorses”), يعلن (“declares”), التفكك (“dissociation”), ستطعن (“stabbed”), نرفض (“reject”), مقاطعة (“boycott”)
EL Arab media	97	Write, summarised, state, starts, sparking, scheduled, repeating, ratified, release, provisional
EL Western media	84	Votes, violates, undermines, triggered, terrifying, secure, restore, rejection, reject

Despite the opposition's rejection to ratify the constitution, Muslim Brotherhood won the referendum. Accordingly, the new constitution of Egypt was adopted that seeks to enhance the security of the citizens of Egypt, grant them freedom of expression and of religion, stop the military trials of civilians, give observance of women's rights, and allow the compliance of the status of international obligation (Human Rights Watch, 2012).

Of note, however, the adoption of the new constitution was also negatively perceived by a certain target audience, including the opposition and protesters against the Muslim Brotherhood, who accused the government of “falsifying” the referendum results. Specifically, the collocations of the keyword Brotherhood were as follows:

AL Arab media: المتظاهرين, المعارضة (“Opposition”), قيادات (“leaders”), محاصرة (“Trapping”), هدم, (“demolition”), تزوير (“falsify”)

EL Western media: wrote, withdraw, winning, win, pushing, motivated, destroyed.

Social protests

This topic emerged only in EL Arab and Western media. An illustrative example here is the keyword *revolution* that appeared with different frequency in the EL Arab and Western media reports (42% and 12%, respectively). Interestingly, while EL Arab media reports emphasised both positive and negative aspects of the revolution (e.g., *succeeded, successful, democratisation* vs. *standstill, thwarted*), in EL Western media reports, *revolution* had predominantly negative collocates (e.g., *suffering, terror, betrays, thwart, and resistance*; see Table 12).

Table 12
Frequency and collocations of the keyword *revolution*

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
EL Arab media	42	Uphold, thwarted, succeeded, standstill, democratisation, aborted, successful
EL Western media	12	Unseated, underwent, thwart, suffering, safeguarding, resistance, defend, betrays, terror

Similarly, the keyword *protesters* had negative collocations in both EL media (see Table 13).

Table 13
Frequency and collocations of the keyword *protesters*

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
EL Arab media	35	Yelled, worried, traitors, shooting, prevent, penned, mourners, footage, fired, demonstrating, burn, breach, threatened

EL Western media	36	Reoccupying, preserve, powerful, mess, hundred, grounds, dozens, dramatic, chased, broken, failed, tear, pressures, killings, killing, gas, death
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As suggested by collocations listed in Table 13, protesters refused the referendum, and hundreds of people demonstrated against Morsi. On the other hand, supporters were also protesting against opponents. As a result, both protesters and supporters were fighting against each other, and many were killed (see concordances (8)-(10)).

- (VIII) [...] the vote on a controversial new constitution as **clashes** between protesters and Muslim Brotherhood members [...] (*Al Arabiya* 07/12/2012)
- (IX) [...] Brotherhood members took place across the country. **Clashes** between supporters and opponents of Mursi continued [...] (*Al Arabiya* 07/12/2012)
- (X) [...] And more than 600 people were hurt in bloody **clashes** between the duelling camps. The army on Thursday [...] (*Al Arabiya* 07/12/2012)

Similarly, the keyword *clashes* and its collocations in Table 14 represent the events as negative and violent and suggest that the protests between Morsi’s supporters and opponents of Morsi were stopped by the police after many protesters were injured or killed.

Table 14
Frequency and collocations of the keyword clashes

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
EL Arab media	16	Provoked, hurt, detained, bloody, killed, fears, protestors, deadly, violent, violence
EL Western media	6	Armed, injured, fighting, broke, prevent, died, supporters, opponents, police, protests, violence

Similar insights can be derived from EL Western media concordances (11)-(13) below.

- (XI) [...] Five people died and 644 were injured in **clashes** between his opponents and supporters. Mr Morsi [...] (*BBC* 07/12/2012)
- (XII) [...] person died and 66 were injured Saturday in **clashes** at protests, both for and against the [...] (*CNN* 03/12/2012)
- (XIII) [...] since March 2011. Wednesday’s violence followed **clashes** Tuesday outside the palace, which has become [...] (*CNN* 06/12/2012)

Collocates such as *dies, injured, weapons, violence* demonstrate that violent clashes between Morsi’s opponents and supporters eventually went out of control. Accordingly, the corresponding reports construct the Negativity news value for all audiences.

In summary, the topics of “politics” and “social protests” in 2012 focused on violent tensions between Morsi’s opponents and supporters, starting from the referendum and continuing into bloody and violent clashes between the two opposing groups.

3.3. The Year 2013

Similarly to the reports published in 2012, those published in 2013 also predominantly focused on the topics of “politics” and “social protests”. However, as can be seen in Table 15, both topics were considerably more frequent in EL Arab media (13.9% and 12.2%, respectively) than in the other two media categories.

Table 15
Frequency distribution in 2013

Categories	AL Arab media		EL Arab media		EL Western media	
	RF	%	RF	%	RF	%
Politics	150	1.68	257	13.99	131	2.85
Social protests	141	1.58	224	12.2	73	1.58

Politics category

The “politics” topic in 2013 mostly concerned the Egyptian political life events after the 2013 military coup d'état. The keyword *coup* that frequently appeared in the 2013 news reports refers to the military *coup d'état* that toppled the elected president Morsi, thus shaking the democratic principles enchanted in 2011. As suggested by the collocations of the keyword *coup* in the data, this seizure of power had both opponents (e.g., *opponents*, *oppositions*) and supporters (e.g., *advocate*, *supporters*). This news event had only Negativity and Impact as news values, since it adversely affected the image of the new democratic Egypt and divided the people into supporters and opponents.

The ousting of Mohamed Morsi, the country’s first democratically elected president, was extensively discussed in 2013 reports in all three media categories (see Table 16).

Table 16
Frequency and collocations of keyword Morsi

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	42	و عزل, (“leave”), بالرحيل, (“Prosecute him”), يحاكموه (“accusing”) متهمين, (“and judge”), وأحكام (“isolate”) بمؤيدي, (“supporters”) لأنصار, (“supporters”) مؤيدي, (“supporters”) سلمية, (“peaceful”), الحملات (“campaigns”) احتجاجاتها (“her protests”)
EL Arab media	100	Wreaking, sanctions, insulting, fearful, dictatorial, denies, broken, amassing, strongman, supported, overthrown, ousted
EL Western media	37	Suspension, suspects, stop, sparked, revealed, removal, overthrew, escaped, demonstration, criminal, ousted

While many of the corresponding collocations of *Morsi* in EL Arab and Western media (e.g., *removal*, *ousted*, *suspension*, *sanctions*, *overthrew*,) and AL Arab media (e.g., *prosecute*, *leave*, *judge*, *isolate*) construct the Negativity news value, this event was also constructed positively for Morsi’s opponents. Hence, this event was had the Impact news value.

The Egyptian army chief General Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, who led the coalition to remove the President Morsi from power, was reported and described by EL Arab media with a very biased ideology. For instance, collocations such as *saviour*, *charisma*, *challenger*, and *successor* cultivated Sisi’s image as a patriotic country saviour and spiritual successor, which never occurred in the case of the former Islamist president Mohammed Morsi. This reveals that AL Arab media sought to bias its audience’s opinions and manipulate their beliefs. Similarly, AL Arab media and EL Western media seem to be biased when they reported on the Muslim Brotherhood party (see Table 17).

Table 17
Frequency and collocations of the keyword Brotherhood

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	45	فازت, (“decide”), يقررون, (“Denounce”) يندد , إرهاب, (“jurists”), حقوقيون, (“ratified”), صدقت (“won”) ترسخ, (“condemn”) تنديد, (“jihadist”), جهادية (“terrorism”) بتفجيرها (“acquiesce”) , (“detonated”) بالمسلمين, (“detainee”) المعتقل, (“crime”) بالجريمة, (“Muslims”) البشعة, (“terrorist”) إرهابية (“terrorist”) إرهابيا ,
EL Arab media	114	Wreckage, vow, strikes, smuggling, sanctions, rioters, punishment, preventing, presses, poised, intensifies, declares, deaths, crush, crime, combats, blamed, accused
EL Western media	94	Muslim, violently, demonstrations, declaration, crimes, contested, condemnation, blaming, banned, terrorists, crime, crackdown, Zionists, violent, committed, cracked, blaming, terrorists, Brotherhood

As shown in Table 17, AL Arab and EL Western media reports frequently combined the keyword *Brotherhood* with *terrorists*, *terrorism*, *terrorist*, and *jihadist*. Accordingly, these media reports tended to construe, through the Negativity news value, the Muslim Brotherhood party as a jihadist terrorist movement. The negative perception of the Muslim Brotherhood party is not limited to terrorism, but also included allusions to violence during the protests. In all three media categories, the reports contained the terms such as *crimes*, *wreckage*, *rioters*, *strikes*, *deaths*, and so on. In summary, with regard to the “politics” topic, the 2013 news reports in all three media categories supported Sisi and opposed Morsi and his Muslim Brotherhood party.

Social protests

In the topic “social protests”, most keywords were related to violent protests in 2013. To start with the keyword *police* its frequency was high in the Arab media and low in the Western media.

Table 18
Frequency and collocations of the keyword police

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	52	ومواجهات (“condemned”) وندد, (“arrested”) اعتقلت , قنابل (“practices”) وممارسات (“confrontations”) , انتهاكات (“dispersed”) , تفريق (“killed”) , قتلت (“bombs”) , اعتداء (“assault”) , التحريض (“violations”) , اعتقال (“arrest”) ,
EL Arab media	67	Rallied, threw, tires, sparred, soldiers, shotgun, ripped, repressive, prevent, hurled, fired, clashed, tear, riot, gas
EL Western media	13	Violently, suicide, fire, injured, arrested, attacked, prisons, detained, clashes, bombing, killed

The word *police* generally constructs the Negativity news value (Bednarek & Caple 2014, p. 8). Consistently, the collocations in the three media (e.g., *confrontations*, *bombs*, *killed*, *dispersed*, *violations*, *incitement*, *clashes*) confirm an association between police and violence. In addition, data analysis also suggests that a major group of protesters in the 2013 events was students, as suggested by the high frequency of the corresponding keyword (see Table 19).

Table 19
Frequency and collocations of the keyword *students*

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	54	ينفذون (“execute”), يشاركون (“participate”), وفاة (“death”), معارضي (“injured”), وأصيب (“arrests”), والاعتقالات (“opponents”), للانتهاكات (“violations”), كفر (“disbelief”), باعتمادات (“bullet”), خرطوش (“refusal”), رفضهم (“assaults”), المداهمات (“raids”), الانتهاكات (“Violations”), واعتدت (“dispersed”), تفريق (“confronted”), يواجهه (“assaulted”), تظاهرة (“demonstration”), لا اعتقال (“arrested”),
EL Arab media	30	<i>Hurled, throwing, rocks, fire, clash, injured, arrested, demonstrations, gas, protesting, killed, security, forces</i>

Many of student protesters were *arrested, assaulted, and even killed*, which construct the Negativity and Impact news values. More specifically, while the Negativity value is explicit in collocations that refer to various types of violence used by the police (e.g., *violations, death, throwing, rocks, fire, clash, gas*) the Impact news value is highlighted in collocations related to the outcomes of these violent clashes (e.g., *arrested, killed, dispersed, assaulted, injured, etc.*).

Violent clashes between student supporters of Morsi and the police are also highlighted through the keywords *protest* and *supporters* in EL Arab media. The corresponding collocations of these two terms (e.g., *stifling, rallied, oppression, lobbying* for the keyword *protest* and *mass, widespread, massive, gunned, fractures, carving, protested* for the keyword *supporters*) construct not only Negativity, but also the Superlativeness news value—particularly, through collocations such as *angry, massive, mass, and widespread*.

Interestingly, EL Western media news reports suggest a different story as compared to the one construed in EL Arab media. This is particularly evident from the use of collocations *police officers, Islamists, and Muslim*. Specifically, although EL Western media also reported on clashes, protests, and violence, their story content appears to be different from that in EL Arab media. The collocations found in EL Western media results suggest that there was *a suicide attack* through *bombings* and *explosions* from an *Islamist*, which resulted in *killings* and *injuries* in the protests, which constructs the Negativity news value. Moreover, it is clear that the Western media reports introduce an implicit bias by using the term *Islamist* without further investigation on the attacker.

To conclude, the year 2013 saw many interesting story contents and different news values. The event of the toppling of Morsi by Sisi led to numerous street clashes between the police and Morsi’s supporters. Major news values in the corresponding news reports, in order of their prominence in this period, were Negativity, Impact, and Superlativeness.

3.4 The Year 2014

Similarly to the previous analysed years, major topics in the news reports in the three media categories in 2014 were “politics” and “social protests”. Interestingly, however, “politics” was by far more frequent (27.76%) in EL Western media than in AL and EL Arab media (10.35% and 10/55%, respectively; see Table 20).

Table 20
Frequency distribution of topics “politics” and “social protests” (2014)

Categories	AL Arab media		EL Arab media		EL Western media	
	RF	%	RF	%	RF	%
Politics	73	10.35	38	10.55	55	27.76
Social protests	41	5.81	40	11.10	16	8.07

Politics category

After the violent clashes between the police and the supporters of Morsi in 2013, many protesters were arrested. Table 21 lists major keywords (e.g., court, judge, trial) that refer to trials of the arrested people. In 2014, news reports in the three media categories predominantly focused on how the protesters were sentenced to death or to the *execution* by the court.

Table 21
Frequency and collocations of keywords court, judge, and trial

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	22	طعنا, (“they appealed “), لمحاكمتهم, (“To prosecute them “), بإعدامهم, (“by executing them “), تنفيذًا, (“executed “), المحامون, (“lawyers “), النشطاء, (“activists “), القضاة, (“Judiciary “), واتهامات, (“accusations”), المناهضي, (“opponents “), مستأنف, (“appellant “), سلاح, (“weapon “), دعاوى, (“lawsuits “), رفضت, (“dismissed “), بمعاقبة, (“punishment “), حبس, (“imprisonment “), حكمت, (“by endorsement”), بتأييد بالإعدام (“by death”),
EL Arab media	7	Swift, sign, presided, die, detention, death, judge, crackdown
EL Western media	7	Terrorist, guilty, exclusion, authoritarian, prosecutors, verdict, deaths, Mubarak

While news reports in the three media categories shared the same story content, AL Arab media frequently alluded to *lawyers, lawsuits, activists, accusations*, which suggests that this media resource was trying to give a chance to the protesters to not be executed through lawyers and activists’ defence. However, with frequent allusions to *terrorist, guilty, exclusion, and authoritarian*, BBC and CNN seemed to be more in support of court verdicts. As with other news reports, the media coverage of these events construed both Negativity and Positivity news values (the latter- value---to the opponents of Morsi who encouraged the death of the protesters).

Both EL Arab and Western media characterised the *Brotherhood* movement as terrorist; its frequent collocates in the corpus were negative terms (e.g., *jails, destroyed, blacklisted, banned, violence*), which were used to support court decisions on the execution of the Brotherhood supporters.

Moreover, EL Arab and Western media were obviously accusing the Muslim Brotherhood of taking part in the terrorist acts in Egypt, which clearly suggests a biased media portrayal. In addition, similarly negative collocations were associated in EL Arab and Western media with Morsi, the former president (e.g., *terrorist, stormed, spiked, overthrown, dissidents, demolished, violence, toppled, cracked, accused, ouster, jailed, etc.*). However, the tone and

vocabulary used in the Arab news reports on Sisi, the current president, were very different. On the one hand, the analysed media reports sought to present Sisi as a strong leader. To this end, various action verbs (e.g., *says, calls, presents, intends, seeks, performs*) were extensively used.

Furthermore, EL Western media construal of Mubarak in 2014 was also predominantly negative, with frequent use of violent terms such as *repression, cracked, deaths, corruption, authoritarian*, and so on, all of which suggested that Mubarak has an authoritarian regime. In fact, the EL Western media apparently tried to link the Brotherhood movement regime and Mubarak era. Accordingly, both events were constructed negatively, and both regimes were deemed to be related to violence, terrorism, and corruption.

In contrast, in AL Arab media, Sisi and the coup were evaluated more positively, as demonstrated the collocations such as (“organised “), نظمت (“chanted “), هتفوا (“two demonstrations “), وقفين (“opponents “), مناهضي (“opponents “), معارضي (“demonstration “), باعتقال (“arrested “), بتأييد (“support “), وسجناء (“prisoners “), طلاب (“students “), لمظاهرة (“protesters”).

In summary, news reports in 2014 clearly attempted to compare the political party Muslim Brotherhood with either Sisi or Mubarak, thus clearly highlighting a biased representation of Sisi’s regime.

Social protests

Two important keywords within topic “social protests” in 2014 news reports were *army* and *police*. Frequent collocations of these two key words are listed in Table 22.

Table 22
Frequency and collocations of keywords army and police

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	18	(“Armed people “), مسلحين (“trigger “), شن (“triggered “), إثتن (“injured”), مصابين (“bloody “), دموية (“uprising “), إرهابي, قتلا (“terrorist “), الهجمات, انتفاضة, (“dead”), انفجار (“explosion”)
EL Arab media	12	Stormed, shot, protesters, murder, guns, fleeing, fired, deadly, brigadier, angry, dead, fire, clashes, attacks, wounded, shooting, death, attack
EL Western media	7	Tear, rocks, soldiers, overthrew, gas, fired, curfew, attacks, deadly, army, attack

News reports in all three media categories shared the same story content, focusing on the *attacks* of the police/army on protesters and vice versa (see Table 22). Those attacks were very violent, and many weapons were used (e.g., *guns, gas, and rocks*), which construct the Negativity news value. Violence also led to many *injured, wounded, and dead* people, which highlights the Impact news value. Similar results were found for the keywords *killed, demonstrations, fighters, and protesters* (Table 23).

Table 23

Frequency and collocations of keywords killed, demonstrations, fighters, and protesters

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	32	جرح, (“injured “) سقوط, (“fall “) متسللا (“Crept out”) , (“Egyptians “) مصريين (“Korean “) كوريان, (“two tourists “) رصاص, (“suicide bomber “) سائحان, (“attack “) مسلح, (“armed “) وفاة, (“death “) الانتحاري, (“demonstrators “) إرهابيا, (“terrorist “) الهجوم, (“marches “) إطلاق, (“shoot”) المتظاهرين, (“dispersed “) اعتقالهم, (“arrested “) وفرقت, (“organisation”) للانقلاب, تنظيم
EL Arab media	28	Troops, stormed, soldiers, shootings, policeman, motorbike, shooters, brigadier, bombings, assault, assailants, wounded, fighters, injured, killed, attacks
EL Western media	9	Unemployment, repression, poverty, killings, cracked, death, shot, injured, revolt

The three media categories’ results also suggest that violent attacks between the *protesters* and the *troops* and *soldiers* not only killed and injured many people, but also threatened two Korean tourists who were about to die. These results also highlight Negativity and Impact news values of these reports.

One peculiarity that emerged in the EL Western media news reports is that they additionally highlighted social issues (e.g., *unemployment*, *repression*, *poverty*) that may have led to the demonstrations. These collocations suggest that, after four revolutionary years, the people were exhausted by poverty and unemployment. These social causes are depicted as the impetus to the 2014 protests, which also constructs the Negativity news value. In summary, the 2014 reports differed from those published in previous years in highlighting the causes of social protests.

3.5 The Year 2015

Frequency distributions of the three major topics (“politics,” “social protests,” and “international relations”) that emerged in the analysis of the 2015 data are summarised in Table 24.

Table 24

Frequency distribution of topics “politics,” “social protests,” and “international relations” (2015)

Categories	AL Arab media		EL Arab media		EL Western media	
	RF	%	RF	%	RF	%
Politics	16	4.65	65	8.69	13	8.45
Social protests	10	2.9	43	5.75	17	11.05
International relations	34	9.88	34	4.54	4	2.6

As can be seen in Table 24, the three topics were relatively infrequent in the news reports in all three media categories. However, compared to AL Arab media, EL Arab Western media

reported were more concerned with the topics “politics” and “social protests. At the same time, the topic of “international relations” was somewhat more frequent in the AL Arab media reports in 2015.

Politics

Table 25 lists the collocations of the keyword *Brotherhood* that refer to different kinds of activities and sufferings that the *Brotherhood* protesters were exposed to during the protests.

Table 25
Frequency and collocations of the keyword brotherhood

Media category	Frequency	Collocations
AL Arab media	7	(“Smuggling “) وتهرب, (“promoting “) وترويج, (“imprisonment “) عذبوا, (“torture “) واعتقال, (“arresting “) بحرق, (“by burning “) جموع, (“crowds “) حبس, (“opponents “) المعارضين, (“armed “) المسلحة, (“prisoners “) الإرهابية (“terrorist”) السجناء,
EL Arab media	28	Utilise, Salafi, revolutionary, prisoners, outnumbered, outlawed, ousted, missing, supporters, members

Some of these collocations (e.g., *arresting, torture, imprisonment, burning, armed, prisoners,* and *missing*) highlight that the protests ended in the arresting of many Brotherhood members and their supporters. Moreover, as shown in concordances (14)-(17), many of the arrested protesters were not only sentenced to many years in the jail, but also faced death penalty (e.g. “facing several trials on charges punishable, death sentence, 15-year jail sentences, and jailed”; EL of Arab media).

- (XIV)[...] Morsi and several top leaders of the **Brotherhood** are facing several trials on charges punishable [...] (*Al Jazeera* 03/12/2015)
- (XV) [...] death sentence has been ordered against Muslim **Brotherhood** leaders, including Badie. On Wednesday, a court [...] (*Al Jazeera* 03/12/2015)
- (XVI)[...] court upheld 15-year jail sentences against other **Brotherhood** leaders [...] (*Al Jazeera* 03/12/2015)
- (XVII) [...] mass trials that have left thousands of **Brotherhood** members and supporters jailed, calling them [...] (*Al Jazeera* 03/12/2015)

The collocations and concordances reviewed above construct the Negativity and Impact news values. These events were happening during Sisi’s rule. Furthermore, collocations of the keywords *Parliament* and *authorities* clearly show the tension between the Egyptian parliament and authorities and how they were “scared” by the dissolution of the parliament that still had the old members, including the Muslim Brotherhood. Eventually, the new president Sisi (described in news reports as *authoritarian* and *paranoid*) indeed dissolved the Parliament by the end of 2015 and took full control of it. Frequent verbs (e.g., *lobbied, cracked, expressed, decided*) used in relation to Sisi also highlight his dominating role in the new parliament.

These results construct the Negativity news value, suggesting that Egypt received another authoritarian regime with a new president. However, these events were positively perceived by Sisi’s supporters and those who opposed Morsi and his regime. At the same time, collocations of the keyword *Morsi* (e.g., *forced, removed, toppled, and overthrow*) clearly suggest that Morsi was forcefully removed, which constructs the Negativity news value. In summary, the news reports in 2015 highlighted the idea Egypt got a new dictatorship after celebrating democracy in 2011.

Social protests

In almost five years after the start of the Egyptian revolution, the protests were still taking place. In AL Arab media reports, the keyword “revolution” frequently collocated with “the poor,” “crowd,” “protests,” and so forth, suggesting that the poor were still struggling. Key demands of the protesters were *Aish* “bread,” *huriyya* “freedom,” and *‘adāla iḡtimā‘iyya* “social justice” (Mittermaier, 2014). The protests remained persistently violent (e.g., “tortured,” “felonies,” “vandalism”), thus constructing the Negativity news value. Furthermore, the collocations of the keywords *police* and *security* in EL Arab and Western media highlight the amount of violence and brutality that the protesters had to face (e.g., *suspected, shoot, torture, death, arrested, death, arrested, brutality, accused, violent clashes, pressure, death, violent clashes, military, etc.*).

In summary, the 2015 news reports revealed brutality and cruelty of the Egyptian police, security guards, and, ultimately, the government.

International relations. In 2015, a new topic “international relations” emerged in the data. To start with the keyword *Ibrahim* in EL Arab and Western media, Ibrahim was an *Irish teenager* who was arrested by the Egyptian government and put in *jail* without any *trial*. The corresponding concordances also show that Ibrahim got *depressed* and went on a *hunger strike* to *pressure* the government.

Collocations of the keyword *Ibrahim* in EL Arab media were as follows: *trial, penalty, punishment, depressed, teenager, strike, prison, pressure, hunger, arrested, jailed, Irish*. Similar collocations of this keyword were found in EL Western media: e.g., *Ireland, detention, adjourned, trial*. This negative news event demonstrated that the Egyptian police used violence not only to Egyptian people but also to foreigners, which have caused a political crisis between Egypt and Ireland.

Furthermore, in 2015, AL Arab media reported a political crisis between Egypt and Israel due to gas issues. The keywords *gas* and *Israel* emerged in the data in response to the cancellation of the gas agreement between the two countries, and Egypt decided to stop *exporting* or *supplying* the gas and *electricity* to Israel. This decision *threatened* Israel, which then entered in *negotiations* with Egypt. The situation ended up with the annulment of gas export.

In contrast to the situation with Israel, another international event that was positively construed in the media concerned Ethiopia with which Egypt then signed an important agreement about the Nile River. Accordingly, the keyword *Ethiopia* collocated with positive terms (e.g., *respect, agreed, pledges, sign, deal*).

To conclude, the 2015 news reports in the three media categories share the same story content, with some inconsistencies in ideology. The Negativity news values also can be seen as Positive for another type of audience. This might also be a result of the political system, which was not fixed. Every now and then, there was a very different political system in play.

Summary and Conclusions

This study explored differences and similarities in the media coverage of the Egyptian Revolution events during the post-revolutionary period (2011-2015). The three media categories focused on Arabic and English versions of *Al Jazeera* and *Al Arabiya*, as well as English-speaking BBC and CNN. The results of applying the DNVA approach and corpus techniques of frequency distribution highlighted many similarities between AL Arab and

Western media, with low frequency in all topics, while the EL Arab media was found to have high frequencies in most themes during the five years. Furthermore, the analysis of story content also revealed that, throughout the studied period, the three media categories shared the same events and stories in the prominent topics of politics and social protests, as well as shared the same negative and violent ideology, which demonstrated by the DNVA analysis. Although most of the news values were negative, they could construct the value of Positivity to a specific target audience, as, in 201-2015, Egypt was divided between supporters and opponents of the ruling regime. Accordingly, it cannot be assumed that the events construct one news value. The results also revealed that, in 2011, Egypt succeeded in establishing a democracy with democratic and transparent elections. Soon afterwards, the division of the people started to appear, eventually culminating in violent protests with many injuries and killings. After the police and security guards interfered, the situation worsened and became a total chaos, which led to the coup d'état. Having overthrown the elected president Morsi, Sisi jailed the previous president and his party members, accusing them of terrorism. However, the results also revealed that, unlike in the Libyan case (Attia, 2022), terrorism in Egypt stemmed from within the government and the military. This eventually led to instability of the political system and social life in Egypt, with more power and abuse in the government.

Taken together, the results of the present study contribute to the current knowledge on language and media discourse. The originality of the present study lies in the innovative use of a combination of CL, CADS, and DNVA approaches to analyse a bilingual media corpus and unveil hidden biases in the media discourse on the outcomes of the 2011 Egyptian revolution during the post-revolution period (2011-2015). This method also helped us to uncover the negative and violent ideology promoted by both Arabic and English media. Further research can focus on elucidating the divergent ideological stances of the local networks after Sisi's rule to better understand the role of the government in controlling how local events are framed in local media.

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Book reviews

Book Review of “*Social pedagogy for social inclusion and children's rights discourses*”, edited by A. Odrowaz-Coates,

Warsaw: Maria Grzegorzewska University Press 2022, pp. 130.

Anna Koc [1]¹⁷

Abstract

Book review of “Social pedagogy for social inclusion and children's rights discourses” – edited volume 2022.

Keywords

Social pedagogy, social inclusion, special education, children’s rights, UNESCO

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The *Social pedagogy for social inclusion and children's rights discourses* is another volume continuing the 11-year tradition of the UNESCO Janusz Korczak Chair's publishing series, whose aim is to disseminate inclusive international scientific exchange. The long-term work of so many researchers puts on the pedestal the mission of fostering social integration of children, based on international cooperation and a deep sense of respect for each culture or country. In turn, this international scientific cooperation shows the hegemony of the English language in political discourses, legal and political documents, in related media discourses but is also the medium of communication enabling inclusion, which creates a certain linguistic paradox (c.f. Odrowaz-Coates 2019). It does not come as a surprise as the editor is the proponent of this dual-dialectic perspective on the shared language of global communication.

The main goal of the contributors to the above volume is to get to know about the various social narratives formed around children's rights, their participation, the formation of the idea of childhood, and how they can support or deny the social integration of children and adolescents in socio-environmental contexts. Furthermore, the subject of this volume concerns issues of social pedagogy, education for social inclusion, special educational needs, and human rights, with particular emphasis on children's rights. This book presents national contexts from Canada, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, Nigeria, Poland, Romania, and the USA with the faith to establish common ground for improving education and the social system.

Reconciling the Criticisms and Commendations in Children's Rights Education is the first of thirteen chapters, written by Kathleen Manion, a professor of humanitarian studies, and an associate professor at the Royal Roads University in Canada. She has worked in academia, government, and the not-for-profit sector within several countries. In her research, she has focused on children's rights, participation, education, and youth climate action. What is more, professor Manion's research and policy work have among others included the prevention of violence against children and families, youth justice, and child protection and wellbeing. Her monograph is devoted to children's rights. Professor Manion defines, assumes, and proves that the essence of social pedagogy is precisely children's rights. She describes how important a prudent collocation to balance rights is.

The second part of this book *Education and social vulnerability of students from disadvantaged backgrounds in Romania* is a presentation of the situation of students from vulnerable backgrounds in the Romanian educational context. This unit was written by two authors. The first of them is Doctor of Psychology Julien-Ferencz Kiss from the University of Oradea in Romania, whose lecturer is at the University of Oradea in Romania.

His main fields of research are the history of psychology, educational psychology, interindividual differences, and social vulnerability. The second author is Professor Florica Ortan who is the head of the teaching department at the University of Oradea. They both participated in a collaboration between seven European universities and covers health in 2021, and also have high achievements in their scientific fields. However, in this research, they are looking for the best method to remedy Romanian students' low results in overall educational outcomes. In this part, Dr. Kiss and Prof. Ortan are submitting an analysis of the evolution of school performance and the dropout rate of Romanian youth. They base their conclusion on analyse the data on school performance, which has fallen sharply over the last 10 years, and also at teachers' really important perspective on educational vulnerability. The following part refers to stereotypes and prejudices that affect contemporary society. Dr. Cosmin Blândul Valentin, the Doctor of pedagogy at the University of Oradea, brilliantly analyses here some stereotypes that may have

a negative influence on the life of a person whom we consider to be different from ourselves. He also points to forms of manifestation of these stereotypes, which allows for a closer acquaintance with a given problem.

The next chapter, written by Princewill Chukwuma Abakporo and Doctor of philosophy Stanley Timeyin Ohenhen from Bowen University Iwo in Nigeria, presents the multifaceted nature of the dissertation on the subject of rapid entry into adulthood of Nigerian children from the perspective of sociopsychology and drama.

The author of the subsequent monograph, Doctor Laurențiu Dragoș Mândrea from the University of Oradea in Romania, shows the importance of social pedagogy in the context of restorative justice and resocialization of young people in Romania. The following part is an interesting reflection on personal qualities observed in the development of vocabulary in English, which is a foreign language for hard-of-hearing children from Kazakhstan. To obtain the highest quality of the text, Saidaeva Bayan Mukhtarkyzy and Namazbaeva Zhamilya Idrisovna analyzed the work of scientists who deal with the methods used in language teaching and checked their quality in their practice, examining their strengths and weaknesses. Furthermore, by relying on the pedagogical and psychological profile of 5th-grade students with hearing impairments, the methods of shaping lexical skills in English were established. This led the researchers to an important conclusion. Namely, it has been noticed that the increase in the number of students with hearing loss in a foreign language has a huge impact on the formation of the child's personality.

The seventh part of this book refers to the study of the professional training of a teacher in an inclusive education environment. The authors - Akbota.D. Zhumageldiyeva and prof. Galiya A. Abaeva from Kazakh National Pedagogical University, explain the current state, direction, and content of inclusive education based on foreign and domestic experiences. Researchers postulate the scientifically proven most effective methods of teaching, forms, and methods of shaping teachers' readiness to work with children with disabilities based on their competencies. *Ways to develop moral values of visually impaired students through folk music* is a contribution written by Асия Darkembayeva and Laura Butabayeva from Kazakhstani National Pedagogical University. The main aim of the article is to present the ways and possibilities of using folk music in the educational process of visually impaired students in shaping moral values. In addition to shown above research problem, it was discovered some positive results. This success will be the ability to freely grow up in the surrounding society as adults with the characteristics of their nation.

The chapter by Nurbyk Razukhan focuses on current policy actions toward inclusive education in Mongolia. The implemented activities to improve the legal environment of students with disabilities, activities aimed at improving the policy and strategy for teaching and learning children with disabilities, as well as activities for educating and continuous development of teachers in terms of working with children with disabilities in the inclusive education model are described. In addition, specific recommendations were made to improve the Mongolian Educational System to introduce equal access to quality education, and lifelong learning for every child, paying special attention to children with difficulties.

The following chapter is written by two Kazakhstani scholars, Adirbekova Zhanar Seitovna and Bekmuratova Gulzhanar Togyzbayevna from Abai Kazakh National Pedagogical University. This is another chapter relating to the development of children with hearing impairments - this time students attending primary education in Kazakhstan are discussed.

Chapter Eleven discusses digital citizenship, labelling, and structuring the functional boundaries of an emergent phenomenon that crosses multiple domains of digital privacy. However, it should be strongly emphasized that the article doesn't deal with the use of metadata, as this belongs to a different branch of science. Professor Doctor Mark Juszczak from Collins College of Professional Studies at St. John's University in the USA focuses on the emerging phenomenon of the mandatory metadata regime. It also addresses the topic of how its inherent functional elements and structures exacerbate problems of structural inequality.

The final two parts deal directly with the subject of special educational needs and social inclusion within an educational setting. Researchers Kaipova Zhanat Mamurzhankyzy and Professor Bekmuratova Gulzhanar Togizbaevna, both from the Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology, KazNPU named after Abai in Kazakhstan, recommend special teachers to master new educational technologies and forms of work, due to the new, modernized model of special education. At the same time, great difficulty in working with children with special needs is the poorly developed technology and the lack of specialists in the new formation. Then, the authors of the last chapter, Nursaule Molbayeva and Galiya Abayeva from the Abai Kazakh National Pedagogical University in Kazakhstan, summarize the current trends in Kazakhstani theory and practice of evaluating the learning outcomes of children with disabilities. They also put forward a hypothesis as to the basis for the emergence of threats in evaluation practices and current research areas for improving the educational achievements of students with disabilities.

To sum up, the book contains chapters oscillating in the field of special education, and social integration, with particular attention to students with disabilities or special educational needs. In addition, the issue of children's rights and the phenomena around them were also discussed in many contexts concerning a given country.

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Book review of: Seda Yilmaz Wörfel, “Adverbial Relations in Turkish-German Bilingualism” Münster, New York 2022: Waxmann Verlag GmbH, pp. 265;

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Abstract

Book review of Seda Yilmaz Wörfel, “Adverbial Relations in Turkish-German Bilingualism” Münster, New York 2022: Waxmann.

Keywords

Language, Turkish, German, multilingual, bilingual, diaspora, upbringing, practices, culture

First submission: Submitted November 2022, Revised November 2022, Accepted: December 2022.

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Adverbial Relations in Turkish-German Bilingualism is a book by Seda Yılmaz Wörfel, a doctor of German linguistics at the University of Potsdam and research associate at the Mercator-Institute for Literacy and Language Education at the University of Cologne. It presents the sociolinguistic development of Turkish-German bilinguals and the way it influences the use of adverbial clause-combining constructions.

The book presents an interesting panorama of language learning by bilingual people, especially adverbial clause-combining constructions, and factors which appear in it. Learning is viewed as a dynamic process, that is why it requires a lot of aspects to occur in order to enable progress. *Adverbial Relations in Turkish-German Bilingualism* is a book addressed to a wide audience of readers interested in understanding and developing the process of language acquisition, particularly of German and Turkish. Various groups, especially teachers and students can benefit from reading this study.

The book contains eight chapters. In the first chapter, the author presents the context in which bilingual German-born Turks learn languages they use on a daily basis (L1: Turkish and L2: German). The second chapter is devoted to the dynamics of specificity of learning by bilingual people. Being bilingual is not simply about speaking well two languages, but rather about possessing a specific linguistic pattern which consist of various competences, such as metalinguistic awareness, being creative in language learning strategies or sound knowledge, and cognitive control mechanisms. According to the theory applied by the author, there are more factors which influence a learning process. These are divided into: internal (self-confidence, anxiety, motivation, etc.) and external ones (e.g., parental background). The interaction between these elements is necessary to make an improvement in learning possible.

The following chapter discusses the expression of adverbial relations in Turkish and German, adverbial clause-combining strategies in Turkish forms of adverbial subordination in German, and presents grammatical context for the research. The next chapter presents key differences between orality and literacy acquisition of language, the role of genre (narration or expository) and the importance of information density in expressing adverbial relations. The subsequent two chapters describe previous research on the use of clause-combining constructions by Turkish bilinguals, its implications, and the methodology of the present study.

The author focuses on developmental change in the use of adverbial clause-combining constructions in Turkish (L1) and German (L2) and wants to answer the following questions: 1) How does the use of adverbial clause-combining constructions in Turkish and German change over time in the 7th, 10th and 12th grades in written and spoken contexts? 2) What kinds of cross-linguistic transfer can be identified in the use of adverbial clause-combining constructions in L1 and L2? and 3) What is the role of sociolinguistic factors in the production of adverbial clause-combining constructions in written and spoken contexts?

The study has shown progress in the use of adverbial clause-combining constructions in both L1 and L2 and that the participants use more integrative expressions and various converbal constructions and/or nominalizations in Turkish and numerous types of connectors in German. The influence of extra-linguistic factors on the development of adverbial clause-combining constructions used per sentence was found in Turkish but not in German. These factors are age, parental education, media use, and participation in L1 instruction courses.

The mutual influence between Turkish and German was noticed, for example participants who use adverbial clause-combining constructions in their L2, also use more adverbial constructions

in their L1. However, some differences were indicated, for instance in German more types of adverbial clause-combining constructions were used than in Turkish, but with lower frequencies per type. What is interesting, the use of adverbial clause-combining constructions is rather dynamic, rather than stable and linear. In other words, it is not enough to learn diverse and elaborate constructions at a certain age, to be able to use them in the years that follow. For instance, in German some of these constructions (for example, ‘as long as’) are used in the 10th grade, but do not appear at all in the 12th grade among survey participants.

What is more, competences may be also transferred within one language and across different modes. It was noticed that most of the participants who achieved a higher level in writing also achieved a higher discourse ability level in speech.

To conclude, the analysis has shown that the older bilinguals become, the more integrated constructions they use and the more adverbial clause-combining constructions per sentence they tend to apply in both Turkish and German. It is worth mentioning that the participants use more adverbial clause-combining constructions per sentence in the oral form than in text. I recommend the book to the community of linguists, socio-linguists, sociologists of language, psychologists, educators and policy makers.

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