ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES

Slovak
Academy
of Sciences

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

THREE MODERN TAIWANESE POETESSES (RONGZI, XIA YU AND SIREN) ON THREE WISDOM BOOKS OF THE *BIBLE**

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The aim of this article is to point out the impact of the wisdom books of the *Bible* on three modern Taiwanese women poets and their different response against the background of the Chinese religious and philosophical tradition, their personal upbringing, ideological position and their poetic nature.

In the second half of the 1980s more attention began to be paid to the reception and survival of the biblical literature among the foreign Sinologists and Chinese scholars. Especially the modern Chinese fiction of the post-May Fourth 1919 era and of Taiwan was studied at first,[1] followed by the PRC literature of the post-"Cultural Revolution" time in the 1990s.[2] To a much smaller extent, the drama and poetry started to attract the consideration of the scholars.[3]

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[1] ROBINSON, L.S.: *Double-Edged Sword. Christianity & 20th Century Chinese Fiction.* Hong Kong, Tao Fong Shan Ecumenical Centre 1986.

[2] GÁLIK, M.: *Mythopoetische Vision von Golgatha und* Apokalypse *bei Wang Meng.* Minima sinica (Bonn), 2, 1991, pp. 52–82 and its English version *Wang Meng's Mythopoeic Vision of Golgotha and* Apocalypse. Annali (Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli), 52, 1992, 1, pp. 61–82. See also his *Parody and Absurd Laughter in Wang Meng's* Apocalypse. *Musings Over the Metamorphosis of the Biblical Vision in Contemporary Chinese Literature.* In: SCHMIDT-GLINTZER, H. (ed.): *Das andere China. Festschrift für Wolfgang Bauer zum 65. Geburtstag.* Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag 1995, pp. 449–461 and *Gu Cheng's Novel* Ying'er *and the* Bible, Asian and African Studies (Bratislava), 5, 1996, 1, pp. 83–97.

As to the poetry, as far as I know, not much had been done, except for Bing Xin [4] (1900–), and a few remarks concerned with Rongzi [5] and Siren [6].[4] The most influential book in world literature made its way into the Chinese world and became quite a decisive element in shaping the conciousness of a part of the Chinese intelligentsia, and we see its influence quite clearly. It is interesting, and even surprising, to see the impact of the biblical message against the background created by the prolonged effectiveness of Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and the indigenous Chinese literature, mythological and other ideas.

1

Bing Xin, with real name Xie Wanying [17], was the first Chinese woman poet, who after reading of the first chapter of *Genesis* and especially after pondering over the *Psalm 19* by King David (reigned approximately 1000–961 or 965 B.C.) wrote her two well-known volumes of poetry: *Fanxing* [18] *A Maze of Stars* and *Chunshui* [18] *Spring Waters*. We know that she was entralled by the words:

> The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handywork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge. *There is* no speech nor language, *where* their voice is not heard. Their line is gone through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.

Bing Xin's *opus* at the beginning of the 1920s, by using very plain words, expresses the greatness of God's creation represented by Milky Way and the universe of myriad stars.

Bing Xin found her best student and follower in Rongzi (Yung-tzu) (1928–). Rongzi's real name is Katherine Wang Rongzhi [20]. She was born on May 4,[5] exactly nine years after the May Fourth Movement, the starting point of modern

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Chinese literature, in a small place called Jiguan, Chiangsu Prov. Her father was a Presbyterian minister. Since her childhood Rongzi read passages from the *Bible* every day as a part of her evening prayers. When reading the different biblical books she often underlined for herself the weighty or impressive passages.

During my stay in Taipei, Rongzi kindly allowed me to make photocopies of her "personal" *Bible* entitled: *Jiu xin yue quanshu* [21] *The Old and New Testament of the Bible*, "Shangti", ed. 2154, The Bible Societies in Hong Kong & Taiwan 1964. Now I am able to follow her readings and study passages she underlined during the last more than thirty years. I observed very quickly that most her underlinings can be found in the *Psalms,* nearly half of which are ascribed to King David, where we may find the connecting line between Rongzi and Bing Xin. After having in mind, what has been said up to now, it is not strange, that the first underlined verse in Rongzi's personal *Bible* was *Genesis, 1,* 14:

> And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years.

From the lines of the *Psalm 19* Rongzi did not follow Bing Xin fully, but stressed the last line of King David's poem:

> Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight, O LORD my strength, my redeemer.

From here we may deduce Rongzi's special use of biblical texts. For her the most important was the ethical, religious message of biblical poetry, pious and humble conversation with God, whether in poetic language or in prose. For her reading of the *Bible* was usually a substitute for prayer, a source of meditation. The books of the *Bible* are always a source of meditation, but it cannot be said that they contain only prayers as we shall see presently.

In the nineteen or more volumes of Rongzi's books of poetry published so far,[6] we do not find many poems which would be directly inspired by the texts of the *Bible.* She told me in the interview on January 3, 1996, that she seldom wrote religious poetry as such, although religious feelings and beliefs may be found in her secular and civil poetry. A few days after this interview she sent me a photocopy of the so-called *Zongjiao shi liu shou* [22] Six Religious Poems, from different already published volumes. As she told me on the phone, these were not all, since she did not even include the two poems which I would like to analyse in this contribution.

In spite of the fact that David's *Psalms* were Rongzi's most beloved biblical poetry, we do not find easily its direct traces in her works. She did not protest to my assertion concerning David's impact on her during the discussion after my

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6 Ibid., p. 552.

lecture on Bing Xin's poetry on December 22, 1995, in the National Central Library, Taipei, and she also acknowledged it openly.

It was not the works of King David, probably the greatest poet among the ancient Hebrews, but one of the books traditionally attributed to his son King Solomon (reigned approximately 961–922 or 965–931 B.C.), which helped to create two of Rongzi's small, but impressive poetic works. This book entitled *The Ecclesiastes, or The Preacher*, or *Qoheleth* in Hebrew, is certainly not the work of King Solomon. According to James G. Williams, the author's "style and outlook were probably influenced to some extent by the Hellenistic culture of the third century B.C.E. He was acquainted with a notion that resembles the Greek idea of the immortality of the soul (see 3:21), and his writing may have been affected by Greek literary forms, such as *parainesis* (exhortation). But all in all, it is best to see Ecclesiastes as a work composed of ancient Hebrew literary forms, which the author employs in both conventional and unconventional ways."[7] According to another author, S. H. Blank, "no direct influence of Greek philosophers or philosophic systems – Stoics, Epicureans, Cynics, Cyrenaics – upon Ecclesiastes is demonstrable," although "a Socratic spirit of untrammeled inquiry and of autonomy of the human mind breathes through" this book, a spirit "as might well have been current in the mildly Hellenized Jerusalem of the century following the division of Alexander's empire."[8] The state of things was probably more complex. The "wisdom literature" of the *Bible* to which *The Ecclesiastes* together with the *Book of Job* and partly also with *Song of Songs* belongs, was connected with by its umbilical cord with the Egyptian and Near Eastern wisdom literature. The Judaic filter was here most important. Around the third century B.C., in the time when *The Ecclesiastes* was written or at least edited as known to us, Hellenism as a very complex systemo-structural entity connecting together the elements of Greek, Egyptian and Near Eastern culture, also infused the world of the Hebrews "all areas of life: political, social, economic, technological, cultural, and religious."[9] Against this background is interesting how one modern Chinese woman poet as an inheritor of classical Chinese religious, philosophical and literary values, looks at one of the most sophisticated books of Hebrew heritage.

I shall probably not bother my readers too much, if I quote verses of *The Ecclesiastes* one after another as they are underlined in Rongzi's copy of *the Bible* and later analyse them within the framework of her own understanding, the Chinese and Judeo-Christian tradition. In the case that Rongzi by her underlining stressed only a part of the verse, I shall point this out by bold script:

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[7] WILLIAMS, J.G.: *Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.* In: ALTER, R. and KERMODE, F. (eds.): *The Literary Guide to the Bible.* Cambridge (Mass.). The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 1987, p. 277.

[8] BLANK, S.H.: *Ecclesiastes.* In: *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible.* New York, Abingdon Press 1962, p. 9.

[9] SIGAL, Ph.: *Judaism. The Evolution of a Faith.* Rev. and ed. by L. Sigal. Grand Rapids (Michigan), William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company 1988, p. 44.

The thing that has been, it *is that* which shall be; and that which is done *is* that which shall be done: and *there is* no new *thing* under the sun (*1, 9*)

And I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all *things* that are done under heaven: **this sore travail hath God given to the sons of man to be exercised therewith** (*1,* 13)

For in much wisdom *is* much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow (*1,* 18)

He hath made every *thing* beautiful in his time: also he hath set the world in their heart, **so that no man can find out the work that God maketh from the beginning to the end** (*3,* 11)

Yea, better *is he* than both they (i.e. the dead or living, M.G.), which hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun (*4,* 3)

For a dream comes through the multitude of business, and a fool's voice *is known* by multitude of words (*5,* 3)

And this also *is* a sore evil, *that* in all points as he came, so shall he go, and **what profit hath he that hath laboured for the wind** (*5,* 16)

Behold that which I have seen: *it is* good and comely *for one* to eat and to drink, **and to enjoy the good of all his labour that he taketh under the sun all the days of his life,** which God -giveth him: for it *is* his portion (*5,* 18)

For who knoweth what *is* good for man in *this* life, all the days of his vain life which he spendeth as a shadow? for who can tell the man what shall be after him under the sun? (*6,* 12)

Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do *it* with thy might; for *there is* no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest (*9,* 10)

Dead flies cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour: **so doth a little folly him that is in reputation and honour** (*10,* 1)

If the clouds be full of rain, they empty themselves upon the earth: and if the tree falls toward the south, or toward the north, in the place where the tree falleth, there it shall be (*11,* 3)

Now we shall proceed with the prosaic translation of Rongzi's two poems into English. The first entitled *Shijian de xuanlu* [23] *Cyclical Recurrence* was written in 1984.

> Time has certain rhythm
> time has certain recurrent law
> — always appears and reappears
> the sun ascends the sun declines
> winter goes and spring comes...

"The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be
and that which is done is that which shall be done
and there is no new thing under the sun"
O thus spake philosopher some thousand years ago.[10]

This philosopher allegedly was nobody else but King Solomon (it seems that Rongzi believed in this traditional assertion), famous for his wisdom, who allegedly had a conversation with God in his dream after ascending the throne of Israel and Judah, and prayed: "Give me now wisdom and knowledge that I may go out and come before this people, *that is* so great." And Lord said to him: "Wisdom and knowledge *is* granted unto thee, and I shall give thee riches and wealth, and honour, such as none of the kings have had that *have been* before thee, neither there any after thee have the like."[11]

The second poem *Jin, xi* [25] *Of Old and Now* was written about twenty years earlier in the first half of the 1960s.

Every day is clear and bright
every day is to be availed of
this is the time of young years
under the light of the sun beyond the silky veil
under the sunny rays there are flowers
under the sunny rays there are many wonders
– endless beautiful overspreading melodies
this world is the Kingdom of Heaven, Kingdom of Heaven
every day is full of clouds and mist
every day is full of troubles and melancholy
when the flower disappear dreams fall into the hearts

and much work piles up in poor houses
under the sun there is only sore travail *(laoku)* [26]
and there is no new thing under the sun
– golden days transform into the grey moments
a peak of heavy burden[12]

The first poem shows clearly that *poematis persona*, probably Rongzi herself, was interested only in the verse *1, 9* of the *Ecclesiastes* and its cyclical understanding of time which was typical for the Hebrews of that time, as well as for the Greeks, especially Aristotelians (Peripatetics), and later Neo-Platonists,

[10] *Qianquzhi sheng. Rongzi shizuo jingxuan* [24] The Voice of a Thousand Tunes. The Best Poems by Rongzi. Taipei, Literature, History and Philosophy Publishers 1995, p. 184.

[11] See ibid., p. 185 and *Chronicles II, 1*, 10 and 12.

[12] *Rongzi zixuan ji* [27] Rongzi's Self-selected Works. Liming wenhua [28] Chinese Culture Publishers 1978, pp. 145–146.

and in China for the ancient Taoists. Joseph Needham wrote in his excellent treatise called *Time and Eastern Man*:

"Nothing could be more striking than the appreciation of cyclical change, the cycle-mindedness, of the Taoists.[13] 'Returning is the characteristic movement of the Tao (the order of Nature)' say the *Tao Te Ching*. 'Time's typical virtue', wrote Granet, 'is to proceed by revolution.' Indeed time (*shih*) [29] is itself generated, some thought, by this uncreated and spontaneous (*tzu-jan*) [30] never-ceasing circulation (*yün*) [31]. The whole of Nature (*thien*) [32], the Taoists felt, could be analogized with the life-cycles of living organisms. 'A time to be born and a time to die,' a time for the founding of a dynasty and a time for its suppression. This was the meaning of destiny (*ming*) [33], hence the expression *shih-yün* [34] and *shih-ming* [35]. The sage accepts; he knows not only how to come forward but also how to retire."[14] Most Chinese thinkers believed in the recurrence within time.[15]

The modern Taiwanese poetess accepted the teaching of the Preacher, although not *in toto*. Her Christian consciousness told her to care for her soul and she followed this call, as we shall see presently. Ecclesiastes is most sceptical among all contributors to the *Holy Scriptures*. God for its author "is somewhat withdrawn and not very communicative", he is not only "remote and silent: he is inflexible".[16] This God is like a marble statue. Since the God of Ecclesiastes is not a "very communicative" entity, the discussion with him is more a kind of observation, self-reflection but not of prayer and meditation.

Derek Kidner, author of the book *Wisdom to Live By. An Introduction to the Old Testament's Wisdom Books of Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes*, begins the Chapter 6 with the affirmation that the author of *The Ecclesiastes* had even more audacity before the face of God than that of *The Book of Job*. Here with "no Job-like prologue to let us into any secrets, no dialogue to balance one point of view against another, and no answering voice from heaven, we take the full force of the opening salvo, 'Vanity of vanities...! All is vanity', and finally receive it again as Quoheleth's parting shot (12:8). But while the word 'vanity' is heard more than thirty times in these twelve chapters, and finds echoes of its dark mood in such a cry as: "Who knows what is good for man?' (6:12) or, more desperately, 'I thought the dead... more fortunate than the living' – and the stillborn more fortunate than either (4:2–3; 6:3b–5), this is not the whole story."[17]

Yes, that is true. It is not the whole story. Rongzi underlined, as we read above, the verse *4, 3* about the not yet born as more happy than those living or dead but she did not try to get even with the most important assertion of the

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[13] Cf. NEEDHAM, J.: *Time and Eastern Man*. In: *The Grand Titration. Science and Society in East and West*. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1969, pp. 224 and 286.

[14] Ibid., p. 227.

[15] Ibid., p. 231.

[16] BLANK, S.H.: op. cit., p. 13.

[17] Leicester, Inter-Varsity Press 1985, p. 90.

whole book: with "vanity of vanities" as the most basic characteristics of *conditio humana,* the world and God's creation. Who knows whether she was aware of the original meaning of the Hebrew word *hebel* translated into English as "vanity". As Rongzi read *The Ecclesiastes* in Chinese translation without commentaries, probably not. *Xukong* [36] in Chinese means hollow, empty, and the original Hebrew word, used also in the *Psalm 39,* is a "mere breath, a vapour, *i.e.* transcience, emptiness, hence futility",[18] or "if everything is vapor, then the round of generations and the turnings of sun and wind and waters are but the recycling of a mist or a breath whose reality is this: it disappears."[19] When in a letter to Rongzi I expressed my astonishment that she did not take any view on this particular point, she answered on April 10, 1996, that the verses *1,* 1–8, including "'Vanity of vanities ... all is vanity' is a very deep view of King Solomon's wisdom into the basic substance of human world" and when underlining the other verses she "stood on the platform of a Christian." Behind the futile phenomena of the human world there are hidden very important reasons for God's redemption of mankind.

As a devout Christian, Rongzi escaped the challenge of the Buddhist, especially Mahayanist teaching of *sunyata,* i.e. *xukong,* as this word is translated into Rongzi's *Bible,* and probably in other Chinese versions of the *Bible,* too. In Buddhist teachings, "all phenomena are transient and lacking in objective reality. They are the result of a process of cause and effect which leads to an endless succession of births and deaths for all those who continued to be deluded by desire, aversion and ignorance. Only by cultivating complete detachment from all objects of the six senses (including that of condition) can the chain of life and death be broken and Nirvana, the state wherein there is no birth, decay, death, sorrow or impurity attained,"[20] and the "impermanence leads naturally to the doctrine of the voidness of sensual phenomena",[21] although the various Buddhist teachings differ in their interpretations concerning the character and framework of this void. If we compare the short note by Kidner and more comprehensive explanation of Buddhist concept of voidness, we observe similar words but their connotation is different in Judeo-Christian and Buddhist understanding. If the comprehension and implementation of the claims put by the voidness is the target of Buddhist strains, in Judeo-Christian framework, the Hebrew *hebel* and Christian vanity is a consequence of the "sinful fall" or "original sin" by Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.

The second poem depicts Rongzi's Christian vision of *hebel,* vanity or *xukong.* It has lost the Preacher's scepticism, it is the world sometimes full of light, flowers, wonders, but also of clouds, mist, troubles and melancholy. The

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[18] Loc. cit.

[19] WILLIAMS, J.G.: op. cit., p. 278.

[20] BLOFELD, J.: *The Jewel in the Lotus. An Outline of Present Buddhism in China.* London, Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd. 1948, p. 31.

[21] Ibid., p. 43.

greyish (not explicitly) dark aspects prevail in the human world. In its second stanza, the second line "under the sun there is only sore travail", is a slightly changed second part of the Ecclesiastes' verse *1*, 13, i.e. "this sore travail hath God given to the sons of man to be exercised therewith", and the third line, "and there is no new thing under the sun", is a quotation of the end of the verse *1*, 9.

Derek Kidner was right that the "opening salvo" and all the echoes of its dark mood was not the whole story. There are really "enough crosscurrents of joy and of orthodox wisdom and piety."[22] In *The Ecclesiastes* we may read:

> Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with merry heart; for God accepeth thy works... Live joyfully with thy wife whom thou lovest all the days of the life of thy vanity, which he hath given thee under the sun, all the days of thy vanity; for that *is* thy portion in *this* life, and in thy labour which thou takest under the sun (*9*, 7–9)

On the other hand we have to see that in some places *The Ecclesiastes* is not only sceptical, but also cynical, as we see in the verses *3*, 18–19:

> I said in mine heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; so that a man hath no preeminence above a beast: for all *is* vanity.

For Rongzi all the sceptical and cynical ideas were irrelevant. She understood this world as the Kingdom of Heaven in its Christian apprehension, as was revealed especially in the parables of Jesus Christ, as that of a "precious treasure hidden in a field", or "a merchant man seeking goodly pearls", or like "a net that was cast into the sea" (*St. Matthew*, *14*, 44–50) with all its moral and other consequences. This world, with its good and evil, beauty and ugliness, truth and lie, with all "vanity of vanities" was given to us as a preparation for the future abode for those who are following the will of God (cf. *St. Matthew*, *7*, 211).

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Xia Yu [37] (1956–), the second Taiwanese poeteses under consideration, published three volumes of poetry so far,[23] and she is one of the most promising. Nothing, as far as I may judge, is known about her in the relation to Christianity

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[22] KIDNER, D.: op. cit., p. 90.

[23] These are as follows: *Beiwang lu* [38] Memoranda. Samizdat. Taipei 1984, *Fuyushu* [39] Ventriloquy. Taipei, Xiandaishi jikan [40] Modern Poetry Quarterly Publishers 1991 and *Moca. Wuyi mingzhuang* [41] Frictional. Undescribable. N.p., n.y. (1995?)

or the *Bible*. She is quite well-known and popular for her feminist attitudes. Michelle Yeh, probably the best expert on modern Chinese poetry in the West, dedicated one of her long essays to Xia Yu.[24] Her poetry was quite often studied by her Taiwanese compatriots.[25] At least in one case, the *Bible*, specifically the *Song of Songs*, was among many incentives for her provocative and expressive poetry. Xia Yu is very different from Rongzi. For Rongzi the poetry of the *Bible* is not only the work of human hearts, brains and hands, but was written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, as she told me during our conversation on Dec. 21, 1995 in her flat and in the presence of her husband Luomen [49] (1928–). For Xia Yu the *Song of Songs*, also traditionally attributed to Solomon, was very probably only a wonderful poetic text of ancient times with which it is necessary to cope in our postmodern age and with its feminist ideology. In our days it is much in vogue to do this in the form of parody.

Now it is necessary to proceed in this way as in the case of Rongzi. Since it is not known what passages of the *Song of Songs* made the deepest impression, or provoked her critical aversion, the best would be to quote the relevant passages which probably led Xia Yu to writing her short poem entitled *Wo suo qin-aide* [50] *My Love* from the year 1980.

The *Song of Songs* is composed from a group of love songs the number of which varies from one to another author. Since its eight chapters do not care about the proper division, we shall proceed according to one in many following *Stuttgarter Erklärungsbibel*, Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft 1992, but with King James' version:

> His left hand *is* under my head, and his right hand does embrace me.
>
> I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes, and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up, nor awake *my* love, till he please.
>
> The voice of my beloved! behold, he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills.
>
> My beloved is like a roe or a young hart: behold, he standeth behind our wall, he looketh forth at the windows, shewing himself through the lattice.
>
> My beloved spake, and said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away.
>
> For, lo, the winter is past, the rain *is* over *and* gone.

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[24] YEH, M.: *The Feminist Poetic of Xia Yu*. Modern Chinese Literature, 7, 1993, pp. 33–59.

[25] ZHONG LING (LING CHUNG) [42]: *Xia Yu de shidai jingshen* [43] Xia Yu and the Spirit of Time. Modern Poetry Quarterly, 13, 1988, pp. 7–11 and LIAO XIANHAO [44]: *Wushizhuyi de banbian. Cong wenxueshi, nuxinghua, houxiandaizhi mege kan Xia Yu de "yinxing shi"* [45] Betrayal of Materialism. From Literary History, Feminization and Postmodern Systems Look at Xia Yu's "Poetry of Dark Gender". In: ZHENG MINGLI [46] (ed.): *Dangdai Taiwan nuxing wenxue lun* [47] Women and Contemporary Taiwanese Literature. Taipei, Shibao wenhua [48] The China Times Publishers 1993, pp. 236–272.

The flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing *of birds* is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land;

The fig tree putteth forth her green figs, and the wines *with* the tender grape give a *good* smell. Arise, my love, my fair one, and come away.

O my dove, *that art* in the clefts of the rock, in the secret *places* of the stairs, let me see thy countenance, let me hear thy voice; for sweet *is* thy voice, and thy countenance *is* comely.

Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines: for our vines *have* tender grapes.

My beloved *is* mine, and I *am* his: he feedeth among the lilies.

Until the day break, and the shadows flee away, turn, my beloved, and be thou like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Bether (*2*, 6–17).

The second sequence which Xia Yu might have in mind is the following:

...I found him whom my soul loveth; I held him, and I would not let him go, until I had brought him into my mother's house, and into the chamber of her that conceived me.

I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes and by the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up, nor awake *my* love, till he please.

Who *is* this that cometh out of the wilderness like pillars of smoke, perfumed with myrh and frankincense, with all powders of merchant?

Behold his bed, which *is* Solomon's; threescore of valiant men *are* about it, of the valiant of Israel

They all hold swords, *being* experts in war: every man *hath* his sword upon his thigh because of fear in the night.

King Solomon made himself a chariot of the wood of Lebanon.

He made the pillars thereof *of* silver, the bottom thereof *of* gold, the covering of it *of* purple, the midst thereof being paved *with* love, for the daughters of Jerusalem.

Go forth, O ye daughters of Zion, and behold king Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals, and in the day of the gladness of his heart (*3*, 4–11).

The third sequence is certainly most philosophical and maybe Rabbi Akiba (50–135) had in mind precisely these verses when he affirmed that: "all the writings are holy, and the Song of Songs is the holy of holies":[26]

His left hand *should be* under my head, and his right hand should embrace me.

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[26] Quoted according to D.A.H.: *Song of Solomon. Song of Songs (Šir hašširim)*. In: DOUGLAS, J.D. (ed.): *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary*. Sydney and Auckland. Tyndale House Publishers 1980, p. 1472.

I charge you, O daughters of Jerusalem, that ye stir not up, nor awake *my* love, until he please.

Who *is* this that cometh up from the wilderness, leaning upon her beloved? I raised thee up under the apple tree: there thy mother brought thee forth; there she brought thee forth *that* bare thee.

Set me as a seal upon thine heart, as a seal upon thine arm: for love *is* strong as death; jealousy *is* cruel as the grave: the coals thereof *are* coal of fire, *which hath* a most vehement flame.

Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it: if a man would give all substance of his house for love, it would utterly be contemned (*8*, 3–7).

Here follows my prosaic translation of Xia Yu's poem:

My Love
"I charge you
O ye daughters of Jerusalem
by the roes and by the hinds of the field
that ye stir not up nor awake my love
till he please..."

On the third day
O ye daughters of Jerusalem
early morning
I had to bind tightly my voice
and take the precautions against the burst of soft substance

There is no greater malice
than beauty
On the sixth day
my love
at last did to his heart desire

On the sixth day
my love
clipped off his finger nails
all other bad habits continued
my love
his finger nails
sharp and abhorent
became the signifiers of our six days love.[27]

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[27] XIA YU: Memoranda, pp. 36–38.

Parodia sacra would probably be the appropriate term for this kind of poetic discourse, if this poem was the product of the Middle Ages. If we follow the researches of the German scholar Paul Lehmann *Die Parodie in Mittelalter* of 1922, we find that in the compendium entitled *Monumenta Germaniae* there is a story *Cena Cypriani* about a certain King Johel who wanted to recreate the famous wedding feast at Cana of Galilee. In it Adam seated at the centre, Eve on an enormous fig-leaf, Cain on a plough, Abel on a milk pail, Noah got drunk and King David played on his harp. Even Pontius Pilate brought there water for the guests to wash their hands and Jesus Christ a lamb as a gift. At the end Agar, concubine of Abraham, was killed for the redemption of all.[28] The works of this genre should have comical effects and the Russian scholar Mikhail Bakhtin remarked that the whole *Bible* including *The Four Gospels*: "as it were cut up into little scraps, and these scraps were arranged in such a way that a picture emerged of a grand feast at which all the personages of sacred history from Adam and Eve to Christ and his Apostles eat, drink and make merry. In this work a correspondence of all details to Sacred Writ is transformed into carnival, or more correctly into Saturnalia."[29]

Nothing of this sort would be acceptable for postmodern and feminist Xia Yu. She is not interested in comic imitation, she does not want to make absurd the original, to produce laughter, and if she does, then only the bitter smile of despair. Xia Yu demythologizes the text of the "holy of holies", desacralizes the songs which hundreds and thousands of years before the *Song of Songs* were common property of Egypt and Mesopotamia. We have to realize that as in many other books of the *Bible,* the old Hebrews also by creating the *Song of Songs* followed to some extent the great literary works of their Near Eastern predecessors and models. Certainly that this should be regarded as the product of Hebrew genius, but without some earlier works would never reach such a high degree of literary and philosophico-ethical perfection. As a student of interliterary process I dare to judge the extent of value of the works as Michael V. Fox's *The Song of Songs and Ancient Egyptian Love Poetry*[30] or the recent work by Gwendolyn Leick entitled *Sex and Eroticism in Mesopotamian Literature*[31] for the *Song of Songs*, although in the last mentioned, the problems concerned with the jewel of the Hebrew love literature were not in the focus of attention. The poetic treatment of goddesses as Inanna, Ishtar, or Hathor is similar to that of Shulamite, or Dumuzi or Tammuz to that of Solomon or the unnamed shepherd in the *Song of Songs*. There are, of course, differences. The authors (or the editors) of the *Song of Songs* were less sexually liberal than their older Egyptian, Sumerian, Babylonian and other models.

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[28] See the exposition in Rose, M.A.: *Parody, Ancient, Modern and Post-Modern.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press 1993, p. 148.

[29] Ibid., p. 151.

[30] Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press 1985, esp. pp. 269– 280 and 283–286.

[31] London and New York, Routledge 1994, pp. 69, 72 and 238.

From three sequences quoted above, two begin with the image of a girl embraced by a boy sitting or lying and preparing for the declaration of love of some kind proper for the heterosexual love or for sleep. If in the first of these sequences, the description of the beautiful shepherd in the wonderful natural surroundings took place and in the second another one followed depicting King Solomon's wedding day, his bed "paved with love", and in the last, impressive and most deep similes concerning the axiological equality of love and death, jealousy and grave are presented, for Xia Yu, consumation of love is nothing more than nausea connected with the lover's ejaculation. Love between girl and boy, man and woman at the end of the second millennium A.D., could not be looked at with the same eyes and delineated with the same devices as during the last two millennia B.C. Sharp and abhorrent finger nails, the bursts of soft substance as *partes pro toto* of the man, "canned fishes submerged in tomato souce"[32] as a parable of love between man and woman, or "empty (and aching) hole"[33] after the extraction of a teeth, as metaphor for love in the poem of the same title, i.e. *Aiqing* [52] Love, and many other examples for Xia Yu's poetry, are proofs of her search for the phenomena she herself called "profanities".[34] She mentioned in her interview that "she will devote herself to an investigation of female profanities" and she is probably doing it. But in her poetry mostly male profanities predominate. It would probably be better for her poetry if more equilibrium, regarding this matter, could be achieved. Even if we give the greatest plausible space for the justified feminist demands and creative freedom, we may also say a few words asking for more justice for the opposite sex or gender.[35]

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Siren (1951–), whose real name is Xie Shude [54] published only one volume of poetry so far, and she is probably the deepest among all Taiwanese poetesses. Immediately after publishing of the book entitled *Qiangwei huashi* [16] The Rose Chronicles, five poems in translation John Balcom appeared in the prestigious jornal The Chinese PEN, 4, 1995 and for Siren it was an honour that Professor Yu Guangzhong (1928–), a *maestro* of modern Taiwanese poets,[36]

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[32] XIA YU: *Yu guantou* [51] *A Can of Fish* In: Memoranda, p. 150. English translation see in: YEH, M.: *Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press 1992, pp. 227–228.

[33] XIA YU: Memoranda, pp. 22–23.

[34] YEH, M.: *The Feminist Poetic of Xia Yu*, p. 33.

[35] Very good example of this kind of poetry is her *Kaoguxue* [53] *Archeoloy*, Memoranda, pp. 90–93. Its English translation see in YEH, M.: *Anthology of Modern Chinese Poetry*, pp. 223–224.

[36] Professor Qi Bangyuan (Pang-yuan Chi) [55], who wrote *Editor's Note* to this issue, pointed out that Siren is "a most talented woman poet" and she highlighted her also during our meeting on January 3, 1996.

wrote a long preface to her volume.[37] From it we may guess that she was a Buddhist who converted to Christianity. Her first poem *Danding* [56] *Dante* was published in 1973. Dante, probably the greatest religious poet of the Western world, was her first literary love among the Christian poets. If we look after her poems with biblical themes, then we see that more weighty religious and ethical questions began to interest her in the year 1985 and later.

Siren is similar to Rongzi in looking at the *Bible* as the source of meditation and prayer. At the end of her poem *Wandao* [57] *Evening Prayer* from the year 1985 we read:

> Goodness and evil did not part their way up to this time.
> Except of the truth in my heart, bittered and shrunk
> in darkness, I perceive *(ganzhi)* [58] you,
> O God, terrible existence crushes me[38]

One of the contributors to the volume *The Problem of Evil,* Terence Penclhum in the essay entitled *Divine Goodness and the Problem of Evil* wrote the following sentence just at the beginning: "The purpose of this paper is not to offer any solution to the problem of evil, or to declare it insoluble." Hence, it may probably be soluble, but the Christian theologians do not know exactly how. And in summing up, the author asserted that theist is pressed to acknowledge that any evils in the world "be allowed by God because their presence is at least compatible with futherance of those ends which classes the evils *as* evils, as being supremely good."[39]

Goodness and evil will never part in this world. *The Book of Job*, probably the deepest from the philosophical point of view in the whole *Bible*, is about evil and scepticism. Heinrich Heine called it "das Hohelied der Skepsis"[40] (Song of Song of scepticism) in the year 1844, a few months before Friedrich Nietzsche was born.

Siren did not understand the personality of Job and the whole book in this way. She certainly did not pay attention to the sceptical aspects of *The Book of Job*. During her reading of it, she was interested mainly in the character of Job and in the portrait of the *poematis personae* which is probably mirroring of Siren herself, she tried to show mainly her sorrows on the background of Job's suffering. In her poem *Du Yebo ji* [59] *Notes After Reading the Book of Job* fom the year 1986, the following lines are most important:

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[37] See Note 4.

[38] SIREN: The Rose Chronicles, p. 192.

[39] In: ADAMS, M.M. and ADAMS, R.M. (eds): *The Problem of Evil.* Don Mills (ON), Oxford University Press Canada, pp. 69 and 81.

[40] DELL, K.J.: *The Book of Job as Sceptical Literature.* Berlin, New York, Walter de Gruyter 1991, p. 4. Originally taken from ELLERMEIER, F.: *Randbemerkung zur Kunst des Zitierens: Welches Buch nannte Heinrich Heine "das Hohelied der Skepsis"?.* Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, 77 (neue Folge), 36, 1965, pp. 93–94.

My roots grow to the edge of water,
dew moistens my brains all night long.
Drop after drop dripping on my heart,
there is no other way
God's wisdom still descends
The one who loves me most, but who tortures me most
Only wishes my heart will survive this ordeal to the end[41]

Siren starts out of the premise that "God is Love", which is Christian under-standing of God and had its origin in St. John's teaching.[42] We may find the proofs of God's love in the *Old Testament* as well, but never of this kind. God in *The Book of Job* is not a loving but a testing God, and Job in one verse even asserts: "He teareth *me* in his wrath, who hateth me, who gnasheth upon me with his teeth..." (*16*, 10). Job's "God is arbitrary",[43] according to Katherine J. Dell, since "he destroyeth the perfect and the wicked" (*9*, 22). Innocent Job (cf. "Thou knowest that I am not wicked" *10*, 7), is obliged to say on the address of his Creator: "Thou huntest me as a fierce lion", but at the same time to express his wonder "and again thou shewest thyself marvellous upon me" (*10*, 6). In these words a manifestation of most deep love could hardly be seen, but a cer-tain irony.[44] Although Job loved God and believed in him, he was tortured nearly to death and hoped the death would be his delivery. But Job was also a rebel: "Though he slays me, yet will I trust in him: but I will maintain mine own ways before him" (*13*, 15). Job needed vindication, but it was difficult: God is the highest judge: "Neither is there any daysman (i.e. umpire) betwixt us, that might lay his hand upon us both" (*9*, 33). There is a speech of God from the whirlwind in Chapters 38– 42. Here, as remarked very briefly by M.H. Pope "no explana-tion is given of Job's suffering", i.e. no God's view concerned with the arbitrary suffering as a mode of physical evil for no committed sins (ethical evil). More extensive remark: "Yahweh's evasion of the question of Job's innocence may be the poet's oblique way of saying that no answer is available to man. God cannot be hauled into court or compelled to testify against himself. Ignorant and impo-tent man cannot presume to tell God how to order universe. No amount or de-gree of suffering could give a mere man, with his finite intelligence, licence to question God's justice as Job has done." And lastly: "Job gets no apology and no explanation from God for having wrongly afflicted him, but an absence of any charge of guilt is a tantamount to vindication."[45] If Job has not sinned, why

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[41] Cf. SIREN: The Rose Chronicles, pp. 189–190 and John BALCOM's translation in The Chinese PEN, 4, 1995, pp. 15–16.

[42] *St. John, 4*, 8.

[43] DELL, K.J.: op. cit., p. 174.

[44] Ibid., p. 175.

[45] POPE, M.H.: *Book of Job*. In: *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, p. 45.

was he so tortured? Is love, the greatest possible love, compatible with most horrible tortures both of a physical and a spiritual nature?

In another her poem *Yage* [60] *The Song of Songs* from the year 1987, Siren goes more further. She is questioning herself and God about His ways to humankind.

> I sleep, but my heart waketh,
> it is the voice of my beloved, hear it, hear it.
> My head is filled with dew,
> look at my locks moistened with the drops of night.
> How beautiful, exciting love, full of tantalizing torment it is!
> I charge you, O ye daughters of Jerusalem,
> I love Job afflicted with loathsome sores
> and scraping them with potsherd.
> St. Teresa de Ávila suffers from mad paralysis.
> God has handed His most beloved saints to Satan.
> Why? Why then?
> Greatness lies just in this mystery.[46]

Siren is a doubter or sceptic only for a while. Later in the poem she repeats the opinion from the *Genesis* that "God saw everything that he had made, and behold, *it was* very good" (*1*, 31). After she kisses the hands of the crucified Jesus, in the rainy night of early spring she hears the hymn *Gloria in excelsis.*

Here Siren connects in few lines of her poem more than two millenia of the history of love and pain, of good and evil in our Judeo-Christian civilization. Her *poematis persona* strives after the love and torment of mythopoeic Shulamite and her King Solomon or the unnamed shepherd, although Siren's own lot seems to be that of afflicted Job with his terrible physical wounds and spiritual suffering. The crucified Son of God is a paradigm. Satan, in the times of writing of *The Book of Job* and earlier, God's adversary, but also a member of his heavenly *suite,* became later, starting with the *New Testament*, God's archenemy, and humankind received him as a part of its life. Christ has seen falling him as lightning from heaven (*St. Luke, 10,* 18).

All those who know well *Song of Songs* see at first glance that the first lines in the quoted passage are a full or adequate quotations of *5*, 2 and that one about the "daughters of Jerusalem" we mentioned already above. Siren is very fond of literary pastiche and heavy allusiveness as has been pointed out by Yu Guangzhong.[47] The objects of her poetry via quotation or partial creative imitation are not only biblical subjects but also Chinese and foreign classical works. E.g. in the first line of the poem *Hanye yin* [61] Cold Nights Song from the year 1990, she mentions that she read the whole winter The Inferno from Dante's *The*

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[46] SIREN: The Rose Chronicles, pp. 193–194.

[47] YU GUANGZHONG: op. cit., p. 25.

Divine Comedy, but in the second she nearly word after word quotes the first two and half lines from it: "Midway in our life's journey, I went astray/from the straight road and woke myself/alone in a dark wood",[48] which in her rendering reads as follows: "Midway in my life's journey, I missed the right way and became very sad",[49] of course, without indicating the source. The same could be said about the begining of the fourth line which is the first line of the poem *Yue chu* [62] *Moon Arises* from *Shijing* [63] *Book of Songs*, i.e. "The moon comes forth in her brightness",[50] allegedly a bit sensual and not fully in accordance with the demands of the ethically strict Confucianist criticism. But is the moon anywhere brighter than during the cool winter nights in Venice? Another quotation comes from Marcel Proust who visited this city more than once, loved to sit down and eat the honeycombed ice called *granita* at the Caffè Florian, the oldest and most expensive café in the Piazza San Marco.[51]

Siren used the imagery of the *Song of Songs* once again in the long poem entitled *A Mading* [64] *To Marcin Karolak* from the year 1991, dedicated to a young Polish boy.[52] Here she depicted a story of her platonic love in Cambridge, England. This time Chinese "Shulamite" falls in love not with Job scraping his itching and aching ulcers, but with a handsome youth with eyes of a dove. She tries to evoke the atmosphere of the Chapter 2 and mentions "lily among thorns" (*2*, 2) and the "apple tree among the trees of the wood" (*2*, 3). Just like Shulamite, she is also "sick of love" (*2*, 5), but asks her friend not to look at her for the reasons we may only guess or imagine. At the end she does not curse or blame him when she had to taste the bitterness of last and definite parting.

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Three prominent Taiwanese poetesses understood three wisdom books of the *Bible* in three different ways. This was connected with their upbringing, ideological background and their poetic nature. Whereas Rongzi followed orthodox Christian interpretation, Xia Yu parodied the mythopoeic understanding of love and the whole poetic context. According to my view, Siren went further than the other two. She questioned at least goodness and evil, love and suffering, God, Satan and human beings in the terrible existence of our world.

Is Siren one of the possible Chinese translations of Pontius Pilate words: *Ecce homo* (*St. John*, *19*, 5)?

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[48] Cf. The Rose Chronicles, p. 195 and YU GUANGZHONG: op. cit., p. 25.

[49] *The Divine Comedy*. Trans. by John CIARDI, New York–London, W.W. Norton & Comp. 1990 (quoted according to authorized Taiwan Reprint Bookman Books Ltd 1991), p. 3.

[50] LEGGE, J. *The Chinese Classics*. Vol. . Taipei reprint 1969, p. 212.

[51] Cf. The Rose Chronicles, p. 197, YU GUANGZHONG: op. cit., p. 24 and HIBBERT, Chr.: *Venice. The Biography of a City*. London, Grafton Books 1990, p. 285.

[52] The Rose Chronicles, pp. 199–203.

NATURE METAPHORS FOR EMOTIONS IN MAORI CONFRONTED WITH OTHER LANGUAGES*

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The employment of natural elements in metaphorizing feelings does not have only an ornamental function. Rather we are confronted here with a parallelism the role of which seems to lie in emphasizing the spontaneity of the feelings and their experiencers' helplessness toward them. Upon the grammatical level it is the dative that corresponds to this function more than any other nominal case.

Our cognitive approach to reality is often characterized as anthropomorphic and anthropocentric. The latter characteristic is undoubtedly true and we view ourselves as the fictitious or pragmatic centre of the milieu in which we are acting. Viewed diachronically, all cognitive probes dispatched by our minds into either closer or farther surroundings generally tend to employ and lean on knowledge acquired in the vicinity of subsequent interpretation of more distant phenomena. This, however, holds only relatively; our cognitive centre does not coincide with the geometrical centre of our body. This innermost inside of our being is far from readily accessible not only to the naive mind but also to modern medicine.

As mentioned above, human knowledge is shaped not only by anthropocentrism but also by anthropomorphism. We accumulate information through interacting with practice and this interaction inevitably takes place where we come into immediate contact with our surroundings, in a kind of interface between the cognizing human being and the cognized world. In other words, phenomena located along the thus comprehended interface are more familiar to us than anything outside it and this is where many cognitive patterns are taken when trying to grasp more distant terrains. However, *terrae incognitae* exist not only somewhere in a distance but also deep in ourselves – as witnessed by language, our inside is one of those realms of which the naive human mind had had only a very vague understanding. Traces of the activity of the archaic mind are abundantly present in both grammatical categories and in lexical semantics.

One of those realms that comprise phenomena not perceivable by our senses is our mind and in particular our emotions, psychic and mental states, etc. What

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could the naive philosopher of language do when he felt the need to describe what is going on in his heart (or mind)? He could only observe the effects of the mental states (Kövecses 1986: 12) but also some actions resulting directly or indirectly from these states. He reached out and tried to find some perceivable parallels in his surroundings. And there are phenomena that are reminiscent of mental processes and states through their dynamism, mobility, energy, etc. It is the natural elements and atmospheric phenomena such as wind, atmosphere in general, water, especially sea or stream, fire, light and darkness. In addition to what has been said above, they share another feature with our emotions – they are or at least seem to be highly spontaneous, that is, independent of our will. Most of these phenomena were inherent in the religious beliefs and myths of the Maori (just as in those of so many other peoples) and have become part and parcel of commonsense knowledge. In traditional poetry especially, parallels between the state of the human mind on the one hand and atmospheric phenomena on the other are quite common. The human being lives in harmony with nature. Therefore it comes as no surprise that metaphors of darkness and night often have sorrowful, cheerless and pitiful connotations while those of day and light tend to be associated with a cheerful and bright mood. The evening is the time when people begin to remember their sorrows (Orbell 1985) and thus the contrast of dark night and daylight could serve to model human moods fluctuating between joy and anguish.

The regular alternation of daylight and night darkness could provoke acute awareness of the presence of life and death. However, overcast or foggy sky could also be associated with negative moods such as sorrow. A spiritual quality might be ascribed to the movements of air that could be both strong or slow.

The Maori word for wind *hau* also delivers the meaning described as "breath" or the "vitality principle". "A light breeze might indicate the presence of a spirit; and a person pining for an absent lover or relative would yearn for a wind from the direction in which he was living, feeling that this would establish a kind of contact between them" (Orbell 1985: 74–75).

A list of selected lexical metaphors used to symbolize mental states or phenomena in Maori follows:

ATMOSPHERE (WIND)
– *aawangawanga*	/*awanga* SW wind/
	uneasy in mind, disturbed,
	undecided, distress

WATER: SEA and WIND
+ *huene*	swell of the sea
	to desire

WATER IN VARIOUS FORMS
– *huka*	foam, froth, frost, snow, cold
	trouble, agitation

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CHEMICAL PROCESS IN COOKING
- *ii*
to ferment, turn sour
to be stirred (of the feelings)

WATER and WIND
+ *kare*
ripple; lash of a whip
object of passionate affection to
long for, desire ardently

WATER and WIND
- *kakare*
agitated, stirred, emotion,
agitation

WATER and WIND ?
- *komingo*
to swirl, eddy
to be disturbed, be in a whirl,
agitate

WIND
- *koohengi(hengi)*
breeze, light wind
yearning, feeling (for absent
friends)

WATER
- *koomingomingo*
whirlpool
to be violently agitated

ATMOSPHERE and WATER
- *koorehu*
haze, mist, fog
regret, disappointment

WIND
- *kootonga*
cold south wind
misery

WATER and WIND ?
- *maapuna*
to well up, ripple, sway,
undulate, form a pool
to grieve, sigh

WIND
+ *mumu*
baffling, boisterous wind
valiant warrior

WIND
– *muri*

breeze
to sigh, grieve

FIRE
+ *nawe*

to be set on fire
to be kindled or excited (feelings)

FIRE
– *paahunu*

fire, to burn
anxiety, apprehension

FIRE and AIR
– *paoa*

smoke, gall
bitterness (e.g. *Tupu te paoa
ki tona ngakau*)

AIR ?
– *pari kaarangaranga*

echoing cliff, echo
uncertain, deceptive talk

ATMOSPHERE
– *whakapoo*

to darken
to grieve

FIRE
– *poko*

to go out, be extinguished
to be beaten, defeated

ATMOSPHERE
– *pouri*

dark
sorrowful, sad, distressed

SKY – CELESTIAL BODY
– *roku*

to wane (of the moon)
to grow weak, decline

SEA and WIND ?
– *taahurihuri*

to rock (as a canoe at sea)
to be perturbed, be at a loss

SEA (INHERENT MOVEMENT)
– *tai*

sea
anger, rage, violence

WIND
– *tarakaka*   southwestern wind
                                      fierce, boisterous

SEA (INHERENT MOVEMENT)
– *taawhati*   to ebb
                                      to die

FIRE
– *tore*   to burn
                                      to be erect, inflamed

SEA and WIND
– *toretore*   rough sea
                                      rough, bad, unpleasant

SEA and WIND
– *tuarangaranga*   rough, boisterous (of sea),
                                      broken, rough (of country)
                                      unsettled, perplexed

Even where the transfer is routed into a sphere other than the psychical (for example, vital function: to die; to grow weak; or social sphere: valiant warrior; misery), there is always an emotional (modal) evaluation present.

We might ask why are most of these metaphors emotionally negative. Perhaps this is due to the fact that negative emotions and conditions tend to be concealed or at least disguised with the aim of somehow rendering them more tolerable. Above, negative attitude has been marked /–/ and positive /+/.

The elements operate either singly or in combinations. The salient qualities of the elements are: mobility, unpredictability, obscurity of the source of their movements, changeability. Both air and water are inherently mobile but their combination may boost this property of theirs. Changes in the intensity of light are likewise salient (implying the contrast of day and night but also that of clear or overcast sky), just as well the heat of fire and especially its destructive effect.

The description of human feelings and moods via nature metaphors has also an interesting hidden aspect that rises to the surface when it comes to evaluating them. This aspect is their spontaneity and involuntativeness. As a consequence, people are considered not (entirely) responsible for the manifestation of their feelings or even for their consequences. There are languages in which the independence of emotions and moods upon the will of the person involved has infiltrated the grammatical structure. The experiencer of the feelings may be placed in an oblique case, usually in the dative aptly characterized as a both "objective and subjective case" (Filin 1979: 65), as in Slavic languages, cf. Slovak *Protiví sa mi* "I feel disgusted", *Páči sa mi* "I like", Russian *Mne ne chočetsa* "I do not feel like...", *Mne skučno* "I am sad", German *Es gefällt mir* "I like it". On the

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other hand, the widespread use of the English nominative in these situations seems to underline the experiencer's responsibility even for his emotional motions. However, there is yet another possibility, namely, when a particular feeling is viewed as something objectively existing, cf. Hawaiian *pono* "fair, necessary, should, ought, must" (Pukui – Elbert 1957: 314) or Japanese predicates of the type *kowai* "is dreadful", *kirai* "dislike, distaste". Perhaps we could set up a scale at the one end of which we should place entirely non-individualized constructions like Japanese *Kowai* "It is awful" (as an equivalent of "I am afraid" or "You are afraid", etc.), or Polynesian *He pono* "It is right" (equivalent of "One should"), followed by generally or indefinitely non-individualized constructions like Russian *Nado* "Is necessary", *Možno* "Is possible" and Slovak *Treba*, *Možno* that can be individualized via dative (while remaining of involuntary nature), cf. Russian *Mne nado* "Is necessary to me", Slovak *Treba mi* "Is necessary to me", further by obligatorily individualized involuntary constructions like Slovak *Mne sa protiví* "To me is disgusting" or German *Es gefällt mir* and closed at the opposite end by fully individualized constructions of voluntary nature as in English *I like it, I hate it*, etc.

It is tempting to correlate this sequence with the advancing individualization upon the mental level observed diachronically within the Slavic subfamily (cf. Russian and Slovak) or within the Germanic subfamily (cf. German and English).

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PRESTIGIOUS ORAL ARABIC STRUCTURALLY CLASSIFIED*

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Prestigious Oral Arabic, the oral medium of the present-day Arab intellectual elite, is an unstable and highly variable linguistic entity. The following inquiry aims at providing a tentative clue to the identification and classification of its main varieties by means of formal criteria restricted to the category of case and verbal mood (*'i'rāb*).

> *It seems that providing the word ends with vowels* [1] *was one of distinguishing marks of junction in the speech, both in poetry and in prose. Whenever a speaker makes a pause or concludes his sentence, he has no need of those vowels, he stops at the last word of his utterance with what is known as* sukūn.[2] *It may be inferred from this premise that the basic rule for all inflective words is to end in this* sukūn *and the speaker has to resort to the voweling of words* [3] *but in (the case of) a phonetic necessity called forth by the (word) junction.* Ibrāhīm Anīs: *The Vowel-Based 'i'rāb* [4] *Reconsidered.* In: *Maǧallat Maǧma'* *al-luġa al-'arabiyya,* vol.10, Cairo 1958, 55.

1. The introductory quotation (given also in Arabic at the end of this paper), has to demonstrate, at the very beginning, the Arab attitude towards fundamental synthetic indicators of Arabic, namely those related to the (vowel-based) case and verbal mood inflection, as formulated by Ibrāhīm Anīs (* 1906), a prominent Egyptian linguist and phonetician, closely associated with the Cairo Academy of the Arabic Language. Standard Arabic, irrespective of whether Modern Written or true Classical, is of a predominantly synthetic type, in contrast to the prevailingly analytic colloquial varieties, and the *'i'rāb* constitues the structural basis of its

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[1] i.e., vocalic inflectional endings.

[2] i.e., vowelles state of a consonant or its formal mark.

[3] i.e., providing them with vocalic inflectional endings.

[4] i.e., the system of case and verbal mood inflections, the nucleus of the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic, no matter whether Modern Written or true Classical; for particulars see further on in the text.

synthetism. Moreover, from a methodological point of view, it represents one of the basic organizing elements of the native Arabic grammar and since about the 8th century A.D. has been and still remains the main point of interest of the Arab grammarians. The evolutional process of analytic reconstruction of the synthetic structures of Arabic, which is thought to have started around the time of the Islamic conquest in the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. (J. Fück, 1950, 2-3, 5-6; J. Blau, 1965, 8), led to the constitution of modern Arabic dialects. The process of analytic reconstruction affected first of all vocalic indicators of case and verbal mood owing to the relatively low degree of their functional load or, alternatively, to the high degree of their redundancy.[5]

The dichotomy of pausal and contextual forms, as well as the quite obvious possibility of dropping the word-final short-vowel markers (and, with no noticeable loss of grammatical information, also the word-final short-vowel constituents of consonantal markers) in pausal positions, made it possible to assume that these elided elements play only a marginal and easily dispensable role in the communication process. Furthermore, the latter assumption made it apparently possible to transfer this pausal phenomenon to the context, in tune with the general evolutional trend of Arabic, and, with no acceptable argumentation, to interpret the bulk of the *'i'rāb*-related indicators in terms of mere cluster-preventing and word-connecting elements, as done by Ibrāhīm Anīs.

2. Despite a rather great variety of names, given to the elusive linguistic entity of what we call Prestigious Oral Arabic (POA in what follows),[6] none of them, not even the present one, seems to cover all the vital attributes of what is now becoming the prestigious oral medium of the Arab cultural and intellectual elite. This promising linguistic medium - prestigious, though substandard; oral, though not colloquial - has so far no definitive name, nor exact place in the present-day Arabic diglossia. And yet, as it seems, it has a good chance to become a sort of a tacitly accepted analytic standard, if it is possible to say so.

Standard Arabic (often referred to as Modern Standard or Modern Written Arabic), knowledge of which is limited to a very limited group of Arab intellectuals, is almost exclusively used for writing and, less ordinarily, in culturally high-ranking acts of oral communication. In this sense, it is opposed to the regionally differentiated local colloquials, the true mother tongues of the Arabic-speaking population throughout the Arab world, that are almost exclusively used orally in covering the everyday needs of interlocutors of whatever cultural background.

3. POA, as an in-between linguistic element of the Arabic diglossia (T.F. Mitchell's Educated Spoken Arabic /ESA/, 1984: 8; 1986: 9 ff.), seems to be the most problematic and, so far, the most neglected part of this linguistic complex. Its place within this communicative system is reflected in terms, like *luġa wusṭā*, an intermediate form of the language (C.A. Ferguson 1959/1971: 10), or *mixed Arabic*, T.F. Mitchell's attribute for what he calles ESA (1986: 7-32). For some authors the

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[5] Cf., my paper: *Arabic Script as a Linguistic Factor.* In: *Asian and African Studies,* 4, 1995, 1, 15-23.

[6] See note 5 above.

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term *diglossia* seems to be too narrow to fit the Arab linguistic reality and they propose, so far tentatively, the term *triglossia*. For S.M. Suleiman (1986), the third element of the traditional diglossic space is, surprisingly enough, Modern Standard Arabic, as distinct from the true Classical language (cf., J.-M. Tarrier 1991: 6).

Regardless of various, often controversial attempts to define the place of POA in the typological space of diglossia and to provide it with an appropriate label, its steadily growing importance cannot be denied. Neither can the crystallizing linguistic awareness of an *'i'rāb*-less Arabic and its tacit or even explicit acceptance by cultivated language users themselves be ignored. Ibrāhīm Anīs's attitude (see above), no doubt rejected by many of his learned colleagues, may bear witness of this growing awareness.

3.1. Structural variations of POA will be defined in terms of two structural maximum states that delimit, at the same time, the typological space of diglossia: (1) maximum of synthetism, represented by the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic, and (2) maximum of analytism, represented by the analytic structures of the local colloquials. From a structural point of view, any linguistic variety of Arabic may be defined in terms of its relation to these structural maxima. POA, as approached to in the present inquiry, will be treated as a linguistic continuum, consisting of a set of relatively diffuse and permeable structural states that oscillate between these structural maxima without being fully identifiable with any of them. The structural domain of POA, delimited this way, presents a rather chaotic alternation of synthetic and analytic structures. Since the synthetic norm of Standard Arabic is the unique stable point in the whole typological space of diglossia, all structural manifestations of POA will primarily be classified from the point of view of their deviations from this synthetic norm, formally represented by various types of synthetic indicators. The most powerful classificatory criterion of synthetic indicators of Standard Arabic and, in fact, the only one really relevant to the matter, is the degree of their structural stability. By the latter their capability to resist the ongoing process of an overall analytic restructuring of Arabic will be understood.

From this point of view, the synthetic indicators of Standard Arabic may be subdivided into two distinct classes:

(1) relatively stable indicators, represented by alphabetic symbols of the Arabic graphical system (shortly, *alphabetic indicators*, in what follows), and:

(2) relatively unstable indicators, graphically unrepresented (*nonalphabetic indicators*, henceforward).

The dividing line between the two will be called *the graphical limit*.

4. Alphabetic indicators of Standard Arabic:

4.1. Case:

(1) as a portmanteau of case: nominative, oblique; gender: masculine; number: (plural): -*ūn(a)*[7] (nominative); -*īn(a)*(oblique); construct forms: -*ū, -ī*, respectively;[8]

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[7] Vocalic constituents of alphabetic indicators, elided in pausal positions, are enclosed in round brackets.

[8] The alphabetic feminine-plural portmanteau -*āt*(viz., sound feminine plural) stands, strictly speaking, beyond the narrow structural domain of *'i'rāb*.

(2) as a portmanteau of case (nominative, oblique); gender (masculine); number (dual): *-ān(i)* (nominative); *-ayn(i)* (oblique); construct: *-ā, -ay,* respectively; the feminine is formed by an agglutinative link-up of the feminine morpheme *-at-* with the dual indicators: *-atān(i), -atayn(i)* ; construct: *-atā, -atay,* respectively;

(3) indefinite accusative of triptotic masculine singular nouns and adjectives, as well as broken plural nouns without the feminine ending (*tā' marbūṭa*) : *-an* ;

4.2. Verbal mood:

Alphabetic indicators of verbal mood operate as portmanteaux of number and gender; the person and, in part, also the gender distinction is secured by prefixes, enclosed in slant lines. The structural domain of verbal mood will be limited to indicative, subjunctive and jussive paradigms. The paradigm of *modus energicus*, as atypical of POA, will not be taken into account.

4.2.1. Indicative: *-īn(a), -ūn(a), -na, -ān(i)* :

(1) singular: */ta-/ -īn(a)* : 2PF;[9]

(2) plural: */ya-/ -ūn(a):* 3PM; */ta-/ -ūn(a)* : 2PM; */ya-/ -na* : 3PF; */ta-/ -na* : 2PF;

(3) dual : */ya-/ -ān(i)* : 3PM; */ta-/ -ān(i)* : 3PF; 2PMF;

4.2.2. Subjunctive and jussive: *-ī, -ū, -na, -ā* :[10]

(1) singular: */ta-/ -ī* : 2PF ;

(2) plural: */ya-/ -ū* : 3PM ; */ta-/ -ū* : 2PM ; */ya-/ -na* : 3PF ; */ta-/ -na* : 2PM ;

(3) dual: */ya-/ -ā* : 3PM ; */ta-/ -ā* : 3PF; 2PMF ;

4.2.2.1. Imperative (derived from the jussive paradigm with no recourse to prefixes, consonantal clusters, whenever emerging, are prevented by prothetic vowels): *-ī, -ū, -na, -ā:*

(1) singular: *-ī* : 2PF; (2) plural: *-ū* : 2PM; *-na* : 2PF; (3) dual: *-ā* : 2PMF.

5. Nonalphabetic indicators of Standard Arabic (in pausal positions elided):

5.1. Case:

5.1.1. with triptota (and triptotized diptota): (1) definite. *-u* (nominative); *-i* (genitive); *-a* (accusative); (2) indefinite: *-un; -in; -an* (the latter after the feminine suffix *-at*) resp.;

5.1.1.1. with feminine plurals in *-āt:*[11] (1) definite: *-u* (nominative); *-i* (oblique);

(2) indefinite: *-un; -in,* resp.;

5.1.2. with diptota: *-u* (nominative); *-a* (oblique).

5.2. Verbal mood (for paradigmatic restrictions see 4.2. above):

5.2.1. Indicative: *-u:*

(1) singular: */ya-/ -u:* 3PM; */ta-/ -u:* 3PF; 2PM; */'a-/ -u:* 1PMF; (2) plural: */na-/ -u:* 1PMF;

5.2.2. Subjunctive: *-a* (substituted for the indicative *-u*);

5.2.3. Jussive: *-0 (zero-*marker, substituted for the indicative and subjunctive modal indicators);

5.2.3.1. Imperative: *-0* : 2PM of the singular.

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[9] For the sake of economy, the following symbols will be used: P (with the respective serial number): person; M: masculine; F: feminine; MF: both genders.

[10] Long vowels are expressed by alphabetic symbols in the Arabic script.

[11] Cf., note 8 above.

6. Alphabetic indicators common to linguistic varieties of Arabic at both poles of the typological space of diglossia: maximum of synthetism (ms) and maximum of analytism (ma).[12]

In presenting a set of synthetic markers as common to the whole ms - ma diglossic space, the attribute of commonness has to be understood in a formal sense only and even here some restrictive conventions should be adopted. The ms-ma suffix -*īn*, for instance, as a portmanteau of case, gender and number, in Standard Arabic (see 4.1. above), operates, at the ma-pole of the typological space, as a portmanteau of gender and number in the morphological domain of caseless nouns (see further on). Despite this evolutionally motivated functional discrepancy, both ms- and ma-indicators will be treated as belonging to the same formal class. Another convention refers to the formal side of alphabetic indicators. The ms-dual suffix -*ayn(i)* (see ibid.), that assumes the form -*ēn*, at the ma-pole of diglossia (see below), will be treated, all the same, as belonging to the same formal class as the latter, since the phonologically motivated formal divergencies will be tolerated. The same attitude will be adopted towards the ms-ma divergencies in the domain of vowel quantity. Modal divergences of the mutually corresponding paradigmatic units will also be classified as belonging to the same formal class.

The inventory of the ms-ma indicators, reflecting the loss of a number of synthetic categories in the process of analytic reconstruction of Arabic is deprived of the whole set of nonalphabetic indicators as well as of a part of alphabetic ones (case, verbal mood, dual in verbal paradigms, etc.).

6.1. Noun-related ms - ma indicators:

(1) -*īn*,[13] as a ms-indicator: portmanteau of case, number and gender (see above); as a ma-indicator: portmanteau of number (plural) and gender (masculine with nouns, masculine or feminine with adjectives and related attributive modifiers, as in: *muʿallimīn maṣriyyīn*[14] "Egyptian teachers" or *banāt ḥilwīn* "pretty girls");

(2) -*ayn*, ms: portmanteau of case, number and gender (see above); ma: -*ēn* : portmanteau of number (dual) and gender (masculine); ms-feminine: -*atayn* (see above), ma-feminine: -*(i)tēn*, as in: *saʿtēn* "two weeks" or *naḥlitēn* "two bees".

6.2. Verb-related ms - ma indicators:

(1) /ta-/ -*ī*, ms: portmanteau of number and gender[15] in the subjunctive and jussive paradigms (see above); ma: /ti-, tu-/ -*i:* portmanteau of number (singular) and gender (feminine) in a unique moodless verbal paradigm;

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[12] All ma-related part of this study (structural units listed, examples, descriptive and analytic comments, etc.) will refer, without further notice, to the Cairo Arabic, as a colloquial variety sufficiently representative of the whole analytic domain of Arabic. A number of inter-regional divergencies that necessarily occur between particular colloquial varieties of Arabic, are of no relevance to the main issues of the present inquiry.

[13] ms-indicators, in the ms-ma structural interval, will be quoted without their pausal (viz., omissible) elements.

[14] Cf., note 12 above; only a limited number of ma-data will be illustrated by examples.

[15] For the participation of prefixes in marking the person and partly also the gender distinction, see § 4.2. above.

(2) /ya-/-ū, ms: portmantaeu of number (plural) and gender (masculine) in the subjunctive and jussive paradigms (see above); ma: /yi-, yu-/-u: portmanteau of number (plural) and gender (masculine and feminine) in a unique verbal paradigm;

(3) /ta-/-ū, ms: portmanteau of number (plural) and gender (masculine) in the subjunctive and jussive paradigms (see above) ma: /ti-, tu-/-u : portmanteau of number (plural) and gender (masculine and feminine) in a unique verbal paradigm.

(4) -ī, -ū, imperative, ms: (see § 4.2.2.1); ma: -i (2PF, singular); -u (2PMF, plural).

7. Alphabetic indicators peculiar to the ms-Arabic (Standard Arabic: Classical and Modern Standard), as opposed to all other varieties of the diglossic space, may be obtained by removing the ms-ma units, listed in §6, from the inventory of the ms-indicators, given in §4. Accordingly, this class will include the following units (quoted in pausal forms): noun-related: -an; -ūn (for the -ūn / -īn distinction see § 10 (2.3) in what follows); -ān (atān), as well as the corresponding constructs; verb-related: /ya-/-na, /ta-/-na; /ya-/-ān, /ta-/-ān, as well as related subjunctive and jussive forms. Nevertheless, this abstraction will only be used for taxonomic purposes.

8. 'i'rāb-substituting elements in the ma-varieties of Arabic.

8.1. The general evolutional trend toward structural analytism is sometimes said to follow a *pulsatory* course, being counteracted by a newly reactivated synthetizing process (renovation of ancient and creating new forms) without thereby surpassing the predominant analytic trend (A. Czapkiewicz 1975: 211). Despite the fact that in the structural domain, restricted to the 'i'rāb-categories, no renovated synthetic counteraction may be detected, a number of newly created analytic and otherwise classifiable 'i'rāb-substituting operators do occur. From this set two conspicuous elements have been selected as representative of the ma-varieties of Arabic:

8.1.1. The verb-related prefix *bi-* operating as an *aktionsart*-marker (continuative or habitual action) and as an indicativizer of the imperfect (T.F. Mitchell 1960: 36). The latter tends to function, in the 2PM and 2PF (sing.) and 2PMF (plur.), as an imperative side by side with the etymological imperative (see 6.2.(4)) which did not cease to form part of the morphological system of the ma-varieties of Arabic, as in: 'inta tiktib ilgawāab dilwaqti[16] "you will write the letter now" (said emphatically to someone unwilling to do as he is told), in contrast to e.g. *biyiktib ilgawaab dilwaqti* "he is writing the letter now" (continuative or habitual) (see ibid.).[17]

8.1.2. The analytic exponent *bitāᶜ (bitāᶜit, bitūᶜ)* is another 'i'rāb-substituing element which makes up for the loss of the synthetic genitive,[18] as in the following

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[16] The original transcription of the source quoted is maintained.

[17] The behaviour of the *bi-*prefix (H. Grotzfeld's *b-Imperfekt* (1964: 58)) may display, in an inter-regional space, some peculiar features, such as its assimilation in Damascus Arabic: *byəšrab – mnəšrab* "he is (we are) drinking" (ibid.).

[18] For a full-scale inter-regional statement, see K.E. Harning (1980).

structural pairs: *beet ilmudiir / 'ilbeet bita^c ilmudiir* "the manager's house" (T.F. Mitchell 1960, 18) or *ginent ilbeet / 'ilgineena-bta^c t ilbeet* "the garden of the house" (ibid., 20), etc.

9. As already stated, the present analysis merely aims at creating frame of reference as simple and transparent as possible, based on a strongly limited set of structural phenomena. POA, as after all, any linguistic variety of Arabic, can be identified and classified on the ground of formal evidence provided by the representative sets of inflectional indicators involved. The exclusively inflectional nature of criterial elements results from the synthetic categories of *'i^crāb* adopted as the basis for the present structural classification of POA.

9.1.Symbolic representation of the criterial elements adopted:

9.1.1. *'i^crāb*-related inflectional indicators:

(1) A : alphabetic indicators: an alphabetic indicator involves, by definition, at least one phonemic constituent graphically represented by autonomous alphabetic symbols of the Arabic script (*scriptio defectiva*), i.e., consonant and/or long vowel;

(1.1) Ams : alphabetic indicators related to varieties of Arabic at the ms-pole of the Arabic diglossia (§ 4); as an alternative element, it also occurs in the structural domain of the ms-ma Arabic (see further on); for classificatory purposes, however, the set of Ams-indicators will be restricted to indicators peculiar to the ms-Arabic, as distinct from those belonging to the Ams-ma class (§ 6; cf. § 7; see also below);

(1.2) Ams-ma : alphabetic indicators common to varieties of Arabic at both poles of the diglossia (§ 6) or, in other words, alphabetic indicators common to all varieties of Arabic, irrespective of whether as stable or alternative elements (isolated structural features possibly occurring in some colloquial varieties, such as remnants of the gender distinction in the imperfect plural paradigm, in some Bedouin and Bedouin-type dialects, are here disregarded).

(2) N : nonalphabetic indicators, consisting of short vowels alone or in combination with graphically unexpressed consonantal constituents, as e.g. the indefiniteness markers (*tanwīn*) of the nominative and genitive, after the feminine suffix -*at* even accusative (triptotic singular and broken plural nouns and adjectives) (§ 5), are related to the structural domain of the ms-Arabic, as stable, and to the ms-ma Arabic, as alternative elements, here often in a pseudo-correct (PC) featuring (for the latter see the text analysed in Appendix (ii)). Since the ms/ma distinction has no corresponding non-*zero* counterpart,[19] the whole set of the N-type indicators will be treated as a unique integral body.

9.1.2. IS : *'i^crāb*-substituting elements, illustrated on Cairo Arabic (§ 8), are related to the ma-Arabic and, as alternative elements, to some varieties of the ms-ma Arabic (see further on).

10. Varieties of Arabic classified in terms of the criterial elements listed in § 9:

(1) ms-Arabic : Standard Arabic (Classical and Modern Standard), the unique codified variety of Arabic in the typological space of the Arabic diglossia. Structural

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[19] All N-type indicators, except those related to the ms-Arabic (§5), are replaced by *zeroes* in result of the analytic restructuring of Arabic.

pattern (SP): (+)Ams & (+)Ams-ma & (+) N.[20] For the place, occupied by Standard Arabic in the typological space of diglossia, see W. Diem (1974).

(2) ms-ma Arabic:

(2.1) POA (i) : SP: (+) Ams & (+) Ams-ma & (+ -) N, possibly in a PC representation, especially in the N-domain (see the text analysed in Appendix (ii)), mainly used in an oral reproduction (reading) of a Standard Arabic text, less ordinarily, in culturally high-ranking acts of oral communication.

The best description of POA (i), so far available, is R.S. Harrell's ERA analysis (1960).

(2.2) POA (ii) : SP: (+-) Ams & (+-) Ams-ma & (+-) N & (+-) IS, the ms-featured elements possibly in a PC representation; mainly used in spontaneous communication at various levels of cultural significance. In view of the alternative character of most of its structural constituents, the only meaningful study of this variety seems to be a separate analysis of individual acts of oral communication, typically embedded in dialogue situations (as against the typical monologue nature of oral manifestations of the ms-Arabic).[21]

(2.3) POA (iii): SP: (+) Ams-ma ; a pedagogically-minded, highly idealized structural abstraction of POA, sometimes differentiated between a culturally higher ms- and a culturally lower ma-featuring of the Ams-ma indicators. A rarely consistent Ams-ma presentation of POA, in a ma- (i.e., truly colloquial and yet prestigious) featuring, may be found in K.C. Ryding (1990). Most other practical manuals for the study of POA offer structurally hybrid forms typical of what we classify as POA (ii) (see Appendix (i) in what follows).

The ms-featuring of ms-ma POA structures almost invariably involves the -ūn / -īn case distinction in the masculine external plural, by adopting the nominative marker -ūn as a unique really living element of the cultivated POA Ams inventory. In view of its uniqueness and, in a sense, incidentalness, it is not included in the POA (iii) structural pattern. Some authors extend the list of POA Ams elements even further by including plural feminine forms in a unique verbal paradigm and the case distinction of the dual .

(3) ma-Arabic: (+) Ams-ma & (+) IS : the Ams-ma inventory typically in a ma-, less ordinarily, in a ms-featuring, the latter as an incidental phenomenon; frequent PC elements of very various types. The structural domain of the ma-Arabic lies beyond the scope of the present study.

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[20] In the presentation of structural patterns (SP) the following operators are used:
(+) : occurrence; (+-) alternative occurrence or nonoccurrence; & : co-occurrence.

[21] For a realistic and linguistically highly relevant presentation of monologue and dialogue situations in the diglossic space, see W. DIEM (1974: 55 ff.). For other studies relevant to the linguistic structure of POA, and quite particularly to that of POA (ii), see H. BLANC (1960); G. MEISELES (1980); T.F. MITCHELL (1984, 1986); etc.

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Appendix (i)

In view of the steadily growing importance of a prestigious form of oral Arabic, presented in a somewhat idealized classification in the preceding paragraphs, POA, in the most general sense, has found its place in a number of practical manuals. Taking into account their importance in propagating the knowledge of this oral medium of cultivated Arab interlocutors, rapidly gaining ground all over the Arab world, a short structural survey survey of three rather differently conceived practical devices will be given in what follows. The type and number of the alphabetic indicators included considerably vary from one author to another:

(1) J.R. Smart (1986): noun-related: indefinite accusative *-an (88)*; plural: *-ūn, -īn*; dual: *-ān, -ayn, (-atān, -atayn)*, with a passing hint at the use of *-ayn* ("pronounced as in *cane*": 108) in the whole dual paradigm; verb-related: */ta-/ -īn; /ya-/ -ūn; /ya-/ -na; /ta-/ -ūn; /ta-/ -na* (114) in a unique imperfect paradigm, with a hint at "variations of the present tense" (i.e., verbal moods); the unique modal inflection noted without being incorporated, however, in the grammatical system presented, is the subjunctive/jussive transformation of the indicative *-ūn* into *-ū* (118); the dual paradigm is omitted.

(2) M. Jumaili (1987: 30-31): noun-related: plural: *-ūn, -īn;* dual: *-ān, -ayn (-atān, -atayn)*; verb-related: */ta-/ -īn; /ya-/ -ūn; /ta-/ -ūn,* feminine plurals and the whole dual paradigm are omitted in a unique imperfect paradigm.

(3) Karin C. Ryding (1990), in strictly alphabetic Arabic writing; noun-related: plural: *-īn*, as a unique external marker in caseless masculine nouns and adjectives (54-55); verb-related: */ta-/ -ī; /ya-/ -ū; /ta-/ -ū* (184); feminine plural markers and the dual paradigm are omitted.

Appendix (ii)

X: professional BBC announcer, apparently of a Syrian or Palestinian origin;
Y: Palestinian student, Arabic high-school leaver, Slovak language university graduate, journalist: first reading of the rewritten broadcast text;

X: *fa-qad māta 'aḥadu 'aṭibbā'i-l-'aṭfāli-l-bārizīna bi-r-raṣāṣ | wa-min ǧānibihi saqaṭa-l- mudīru-l-ʿāmm| 'as-sābiq| li-t-telefizyōn\ al-ǧazā'irī| qatīlan yawma-l-ḫamīsi-l-māḍī| ' ayḍan | bi-r-raṣāṣ | . . .*
Y: *fa-qad māta 'aḥada 'aṭibbā'i-l-'aṭfāli-l-bārizīna bi-r-raṣāṣi | wa min ǧānibihi saqaṭa-l-mudīru-l-ʿāmm \ as-sābiqi li-t-tilivizyōni-l-ǧazā'irī| qatīlan yawma-l-ḫamīsi-l-māḍī| 'ayḍan bi-r-raṣāṣi | . . .*

One of the prominent pediatrists was shot to death and side by side with him was killed, the last Thursday, the late general director of the Algerian television, as a victim of shooting, as well . . .

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X: *wa-qad talaqqā-l-kaṯīrūna ġayruhum tahdīdātin bi-l-qatl| wa-fi-l-'usbūᶜi-l-māḍī saqaṭa ḥawālay ṯalāṯata-ᶜašara šaḥṣan| ḥasaba-l-'iḥṣā'iyyāti-r-rasmiyya\ faqaṭ | wa-min bayni hā'ulā'| 'aḥadu-l-'a'imma|*

Y: *wa-qad talaqqā-l-kaṯīrūna ġayrahum| tahdīdātun bi-l-qatl | wa-fi-l-'usbūᶜi-l-māḍī saqaṭa ḥawālī ṯalāṯata-ᶜašara šaḥṣan| ḥasaba-l-'iḥṣā'iyyāti-r-rasmiyyati faqaṭ | wa-min bayna hā'ulā'| 'aḥadi-l-'a'imma|*

And many others were threatened with death. The last week about thirteen persons were killed, according to the official statistics only, and among them one imām.

X: 12 P: 9PF/P; 3NF/P; (2PF/C); A and N, unless pausalized, are correctly represented;

Y: 10 P: 4PF/P; 3NF/P; 3CF/P· (1PF/C); A: correctly represented; N: 6PC.

Symbols used:

A: alphabetic indicator (§ 4); feminine markers, unrepresented in the inflectional domain of *'iᶜrāb*, are not taken into account;

C: context;

CF: contextual form; CF in P (CF/P) is marked by an unitalicized type;

N: nonalphabetic indicator (§ 5);

NF: neutral form, unaffected by the P-C distinction;

P: pause, marked by an upright stroke: | ; unless invalidated by symbols indicating deviations from the regular pausal process (viz., CF/P or PF/C), this symbol will simultaneously mark the regular PF/P situation;

PC: pseudo-classical or, simply, incorrectly applied ms-indicators, marked by bold types;

PF: pausal form; PF in C (PF/C) is marked by a reverted slant: \ .

Symbols used (thematically arranged):

Arabic diglossia:　　ms ————————— gl ——————————— ma

　　　　　　　　　　　synthetic interval　　　　analytic interval

ms: maximum of synthetism (represented by the synthetic norm of ms-Arabic);

ma: maximum of analytism (represented by analytic structures of ma-Arabic);

gl: graphical limit: graphically marked limit of expressibility of synthetic indicators of ms-Arabic by alphabetic symbols of the Arabic graphical system (*scriptio defectiva*) that signalize, at the same time, a minimum rate of redundancy;

ms-ma: typological space of Arabic diglossia which is substantially coextensive with that of POA excluding, however, the full identifiability of the latter with any of the two structural maxima;

ms-gl: synthetic interval of the typological space; it tolerates deviations from the synthetic norm of ms-Arabic in the domain of N-type indicators only (all varieties of Arabic within this interval are invariably marked by a (+)Ams element in their structural patterns: Standard Arabic and POA(i)); the term reflects the typical predominance of synthetic structures;

ma-gl: analytic interval of the typological space; deviations from the synthetic norm of ms-Arabic possibly include A-type indicators as well (all varieties of Arabic within this interval, display a (+-)Ams element, or its absence, in their structural patterns: POA(ii) and POA(iii), as varieties of ms-ma-Arabic, and the whole structural domain of ma-Arabic; for a somewhat special status of what we classify as POA(iii) see § 10 (2.3); the term reflects typical predominance of analytic structures;

Arabic in the typological space of diglossia:

ms-Arabic: Standard Arabic (Classical and Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), often referred to as Modern Written Arabic (MWA)). SP: (+)Ams & (+)Ams-ma & (+)N; (§ 10 (1);

ms-ma-Arabic: all varieties of Arabic summarily referred to as POA, marked by two different structural patterns: SP(i): (+)Ams (+)Ams-ma & (+-)N, for POA(i), and SP(ii): (+-)Ams & (+-) Ams-ma & (+-)N & (+-)IS, for POA (ii); (§ 10 (2.1) and § 10 (2.2) resp.)); POA(iii), as an idealized structural abstraction, has to be classified apart (§ 10 (2.3);

ma-Arabic: all colloquial varieties of Arabic (beyond the scope of the present study); SP: (+)Ams-ma & (+)IS; (§ 10 (3));

POA: Prestigious Oral Arabic, linguistic continuum, the set of relatively diffuse structural states that oscillate between *ms* and *ma* without being fully identifiable with any of these structural maxima; classificatorily presented as ms-ma-Arabic;

SP: structural pattern;

Inflectional indicators of the *'i'rāb* system:

A: alphabetic indicators (§ 4; § 9.1.1 (1));

Ams: alphabetic indicators of ms-Arabic (§ 4; §7; § 9.1.1 (1.1)); as alternative elements operating also in the domain of ms-ma-Arabic: POA (I) and POA (ii) (see ms-ma-Arabic above);

Ams-ma: alphabetic indicators common to all linguistic varieties of Arabic (§ 6; § 9.1.1 (1.2));

N: nonalphabetic indicators (§ 5; § 9.1.1 (2));

'i'rāb : synthetic system of case and verbal-mood inflections in ms-Arabic, reflected, in variously reduced extent, in all linguistic varieties of Arabic;

IS: *'i'rāb*-substituting elements in ms-ma- (POA(ii)) and ma-Arabic (§ 10 (2.2)) and (§ 10 (3)) resp.;

Operators : (+) : occurrence; (+-) : alternative occurrence or nonoccurrence; & : co-occurrence;

Textual analysis: P, C, PF, CF, PF/P, PF/C, CF/P, NF; PC (see Appendix (i)).

ARABIC IN THE TYPOLOGICAL SPACE OF DIGLOSSIA

ms ————————————— gl ————————————————— ma

ms-Arabic	ms-ma-Arabic			ma-Arabic
Standard Arabic	POA (i)	POA (ii)	[POA (iii)]	Colloquial Arabic
(+)Ams & (+)Ams-ma & (+)N	(+)Ams & (+)Ams-ma & (+-)N	(+-)Ams & (+-)Ams-ma & (+-)N & (+-) IS	(+)Ams-ma	(+)Ams-ma & (+) IS

يظهر أن تحريك أواخر الكلمات كان صفة من صفات الوصل في الكلام شعرا أو نثرا، فإذا وقف المتكلم أو اختتم جملته لم يحتج إلى تلك الحركات، بل يقف على الكلمة الأخيرة من قوله بما يسمى السكون. و يترتب على هذا الفرض أن الأصل في كل الكلمات المعربة أن تنتهي بهذا السكون، وأن المتكلم لا يلجأ إلى تحريك الكلمات إلا لضرورة صوتية يتطلبها الوصل

رأى فى الإعراب بالحركات للدكتور ابراهيم أنيس الخبير بالمجمع.

Re: Appendix (ii):

فقد مات أحد أطباء الأطفال البارزين بالرصاص ومن جانبه سقط المدير العام السابق للتلفزيون الجزائري قتيلا يوم الخميس الماضي، أيضا بالرصاص . . . .

وقد تلقى الكثيرون غيرهم تهديدات بالقتل وفي الأسبوع الماضي سقط حوالي ثلاثة عشر شخصا حسب الإحصائيات الرسمية فقط ومن بين هؤلاء أحد الأئمة.

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COMPARISON OF KOREAN, SLOVAK AND CZECH PHONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS FROM THE EDUCATIONAL POINT OF VIEW

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The aim of the article is to provide a basic comparison of the Korean with the Slovak and Czech phonological systems from the educational point of view and identify possible problems that the Korean students of Slovak and Czech languages may be confronted with while learning the correct pronunciation of their sounds. It is stated that the absence of certain Slovak and Czech phonemes in Korean phonological system is only of little difficulty for students. More problematic is the case of several independent phonemes in Slovak and Czech which are only phonological variants in Korean and their realization is positionally dependent. There are also difficulties arising from the different character and function of word stress in these three languages.

Korean studies in former Czechoslovakia have been conducted systematically since the Second World War and have produced considerable results. At the Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague the study of Korean language was first introduced in 1950. Since then, many students have had the opportunity to study the Korean language, literature, philosophy and history.

The introduction of the Czech and Slovak languages and literatures together with other Central and East European studies to Korea began just a few years ago. One of its main reasons may have been the globalization process which has been present in Korean society for the last few years. The Department of Czech was established at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies in March 1988. In 1993 it was complemented by the Slovak language and the name of the department was changed to Department of Czech and Slovak Studies. Every year forty students start study in the first grade.

Already in the beginning of their study they come across the first difficulties arising from the differences between the Czech and Slovak languages on one hand and their mother tongue on the other. These languages are different from the point of view of both typological as well as genealogical classification. The differences can be found on all levels of the language system. Since a detailed

comparative analysis of the three languages would require much greater space we decided to concentrate our attention only on the sound level of the language system. We also refrain from a detailed theoretical study of all, even the slightest differences. The aim of our article is to look at the vocalic and consonantal system of these languages from the educational point of view and identify possible problems that the Korean students of the Czech and Slovak languages may be confronted with while learning the correct pronunciation of their sounds.

Although we will base our comparison on the inventory of phonemes in these three languages, it will be most of all their phonetic realization that we will be interested in. Due to this, we divided especially the consonantal part into sections based more on phonetic than phonological criteria. Moreover, we used combination of various phonetic criteria in order to get specific groups of consonants. As a basis we take Standard Korean, Slovak and Czech.

1. VOCALIC SYSTEM

1.1. Monophthongs

Generally speaking, the Korean vocalic system is much richer than both the Slovak and Czech vocalic systems. This can be an advantage for Korean students who actually have only to narrow the inventory of vocalic sounds which they use in Korean. Due to the aim of this article as well as to what we mentioned above we will refrain from the classification of Slovak short vowels as neutral while the Czech vowels are open in comparison to cardinal vowels (on this topic see Hála 1962 and Wodarz 1970). Standard Slovak and Czech have identical phonemes *a, e, i, o, u, á, é, í, ó, ú*. In Slovak the *a [ae]* vowel is pronounced only in so-called high style. In the neutral style of Standard Slovak it corresponds to *e [e]*. In Korean there are 10 short monophthongs: *a, e, i, o, u, ä, ǝ, ɔ, ü, ö*. Although the quantity of vowels does exist in Korean, it is not as important as in Slovak and Czech and it has the ability to differentiate the meaning, only to a limited extent, e.g. the meaning of 'eye' /nun/ from 'snow' /nu:n/ (see Kwon – Bytel 1996). The quantity of the vowel is not graphically marked in writing. In Slovak and Czech the quantity has a full phonological-distinctive function enabling differentiation of the meaning and is always explicitly marked in writing. Since the Slovak and Czech short monophthongs *a, e, i, o, u* roughly correspond to their Korean counterparts and since besides the difference in length there is no difference in quality between a short and long *a, e, i, o, u* it seems, that the Korean students should acquire the pronunciation of all Slovak and Czech monophthongs without greater effort. This has been confirmed by our everyday experience.

1.2. Diphthongs

As with the monophthongs, there are more diphthongs in Korean than in Slovak and Czech. In Slovak, there are four rising *(ia, ie, iu, ô)* diphthongs. In Czech, there are three falling diphthongs, namely *au, ou, eu*. In Korean, there are eleven diphthongs: *ia, ie, iu, io, iɔ, iä, ǝi, uɔ, ua, uä, ue*. Again, the students

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usually do not have bigger problems when learning the proper pronunciation of Slovak and Czech diphthongs.

2. CONSONANTAL SYSTEM

In contrast to the vocalic system, there are fewer consonants in Korean than in the Slovak and Czech languages. As in the previous section, we will not go into the details discussing all possible phonetic realizations of certain phonemes (e.g. different allophones of Slovak *m* and *n*), neither their phonematic character (on phonological character of *dz, dž, g* in Czech see Pauliny 1974).

2.1. Sonorants
2.1.1. Nasals
In Slovak and Czech, there are three nasal phonemes: *m, n, ň*. Their phonetic realization includes besides the main variants *m, n, ň* and also a velar *ŋ*. Being just an allophone in these two languages, it is an independent phoneme in Korean. The similar quality of Korean and Slovak and Czech *m, n*, and *ŋ* sounds secures their rather problemless articulation. Besides its nonexistence as an independent phoneme in Korean, the rather problematic character of *ň* is enhanced by the fact that its "soft" or palatalized pronunciation (in comparison to *n*) is in writing sometimes determined by the *i, í, e* and *ě* which it precedes. Although not having any single equivalent in the Korean graphic system, once acquired by a student it represents no big difficulties.

2.1.2. Liquids
In both languages, there are *r* and *l* phonemes which can also form a core of a syllable instead of a vowel. Besides that, in Slovak there are also long phonemes *ŕ* and *ĺ* and in Czech there is the *ř* phoneme. In contrast to all these phonemes, there is just one phoneme with two positional variants in Korean. And it is exactly this positional dependence of *r* and *l* variants that causes problems to Korean students while learning Slovak and Czech. As with the situation of *ň* that we have mentioned earlier, there is the *ľ* phoneme in Slovak which does not have any counterpart in the Korean phonological system nor is it represented by a special sign or combination of signs. Still, once having acquired it, the students can pronounce and use it on a satisfactory level.

2.1.3. J
This Slovak and Czech phoneme does not exist in the Korean phonological system but this does not imply any extraordinary problems which the students have with its acquisition. The students know very similar sound to the phonetic realization of *j* since although it does not occur independently in Korean, it exists as the first semivocalic part of several Korean diphthongs. Moreover, there is a similar semivowel *ĭ* in Slovak pronounced in Slovak diphthongs *ia, ie, iu* as well as instead of *j* when this occupies a final position in a syllable.

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2.2. Plosives

Standard Slovak and Czech share the following phonemes: *p, b, t, d, t', d', k, g.* These phonemes create pairs in which the two phonemes differ only in the presence or absence of a distinctive feature of voice. In Korean, the distinctive feature of voice is not important. Due to this, the pairs of phonemes are reduced to single voiceless Korean phonemes *p, t, k* with voiced variants *b, d,* and *g.* Their pronunciation is usually positionally dependent. This often results in problems with proper distinguishing and following pronunciation of corresponding consonants.

In Korean there is a group of intensive consonants which are always "voiceless" and in writing they are represented by double graphemes: *pp, tt, kk, čč, ss.* Another group which has no counterpart either in Slovak or Czech is the group of aspirated *p', t', k', č'* consonants. However, there is almost no influence of these consonants on the pronunciation of Slovak and Czech words.

There are no *t'* and *d'* phonemes in Korean phonological system, neither are they represented by a special sign or combination of signs. Like with the *ň* and *ľ* phonemes, the Korean students do not have problems to pronounce them once they learned the correct pronunciation. It is a bigger problem for them to identify these phonemes and their "soft" or palatalized character (in comparison to *t* and *d*) in writing when this is not shown by the diacritical mark " ˇ " but only by the *i, í, e* or *ě* which immediately follow it.

2.3. Affricates and Fricatives

Neither following Slovak and Czech phonemes, nor their phonetic representations exist in Standard Korean: *c, dz, z, ž.* Still, their absence in the students mother tongue does not cause any difficulty and their acquisition by students is usually quite rapid. Although there is no *š* phoneme either, the *š* sound occurs in Korean when *s* is followed by a *i* vowel or by some diphthongs. Again, due to its positional dependence in Korean, the interference usually plays an important role here, making the students mispronounce all Slovak and Czech combinations of *si* and *ši.* This needs lots of practice and pronunciation exercises.

Slovak and Czech *v* and *f* phonemes form a minimal pair with a phonological distinction of voice. In Korean they are not independent phonemes.

In comparison to the independent phonological status of Slovak and Czech *č* and *dž* phonemes, these represent in Korean just one phoneme with two variants, the phonetic realization (voiced/voiceless) of which depends on the position in a syllable or word.

Due to its presence in the Korean phonological system, the *h* phoneme and its phonetic realization usually does not cause any problems, although in Korean (in contrast to Slovak and Czech) its realization is usually voiceless either as a laryngal *h* or velar *ch.* Only sometimes when it occurs between two vowels it may become voiced. In several cases it is not realized in pronunciation. The proximity of Slovak and Czech *ch* phoneme secures its relatively easy acquisition by Korean students in spite of the absence of a special sign for graphical representation of *ch* in the Korean alphabet.

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3. WORD STRESS

To make the picture complete, it is necessary to mention the problem of word stress which the Korean students encounter. In both the Slovak and Czech languages the main stress is always on the first syllable which means it does not have a phonological-distinctive function (as in languages where its position is free) but rather phonological-delimitative function signalling the first syllable of a word and through this the probable word boundaries. The Korean stress is a melodic one. The difference between the nature of these two kinds of stress causes many problems to Korean students.

CONCLUSIONS

1. While the Korean vocalic system is richer than both the Slovak and Czech, the situation with corresponding consonantal system is just opposite. This has certain effects that influence the educational process.

2. Due to the richer vocalic system of their language, the Korean students studying the Slovak and Czech languages usually have no problems to learn and acquire a proper articulation of Slovak and Czech vowels.

3. Several Slovak and Czech consonantal phonemes do not exist in Korea, e.g. *t', d', ň, ľ, f, v, ř, z, ž, c, dz*. In spite of this absence, the Korean students can usually acquire them quite rapidly. They also use them without having any major problems with the exception of *t', d', ň* and *ľ* when their palatalized articulation is not marked in Slovak and Czech by a diacritical mark but is signalled by following *i, e, í* or *ě*.

4. In contrast to Slovak and Czech, the phonological distinctive feature of voice does not play an important role in the Korean phonological system. Due to this, in comparison to Slovak and Czech voiced and voiceless pairs of phonemes *p, b, t, d, k, g, č, dž* there are just single voiceless consonants *p, t, k, č* with voiced variants *b, d, g* and *dž*. It is this positional dependence from the Korean language that often interferes with their proper realization in Slovak and Czech and thus makes it difficult for Korean students to pronounce them.

5. In both Slovak and Czech *s* and *š* are two independent phonemes with their corresponding phonetic realization. In Korean, there is just *s* phoneme although on the phonetic level the *š* sound also exists. It is mostly when *s* is followed by *i* or some diphthongs. Again, because of its exclusively positional dependence in Korean, the interference usually plays an important role here, making students mispronunce the Slovak and Czech combinations of *si* and *ši*.

6. The Korean students usually have no problems with acquisition and correct pronunciation of Slovak and Czech *m, n* and *ň* phonemes. The same is also true with the velar *ŋ* which being just an allophone in Slovak and Czech is an independent phoneme in Korean. We mentioned the problems concerning the palatalized articulation of *ň* when not explicitly marked, in the third paragraph.

7. In comparison to the group of Slovak and Czech liquids *r, l, ŕ, ĺ, ř, ľ* there is just one phoneme with two (*r* and *l*) positional variants, the pronunciation of which depends on their position in the syllable. As with the *s/š* situation that we mentioned above, the correct use and pronunciation of either *r* or *l* is difficult for Korean students and requires lots of effort.

8. In Slovak and Czech, the word stress is fixed on the first syllable and it has the phonological-delimitative funcion signalling the word boundaries. In Korean, the stress is melodic. The different character of these two frequently results in mispronunciation of Slovak and Czech words and needs special attention from the students.

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SWAHILI AND THE DILEMMA OF UGANDAN LANGUAGE POLICY*

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The language situation in East Africa is characterized by the widespread use of Swahili. While both in Tanzania and Kenya Swahili has been systematically promoted in all spheres of everyday life, Uganda has lacked a coherent government policy on language development and the position of Swahili in Uganda has always been very ambiguous. The continued vacillation over language policy and the Luganda/Swahili opposition threatening to carve the country into two major camps of language choice which is characteristic of the Ugandan language situation suggests that the language issue is not likely to be solved in the near future.

Africa probably has the most complex and varied language situation in the world. It is a well known fact that the national boundaries of African countries drawn arbitrarily by the colonial powers at conferences in Europe during the time of the imperial partition of the African continent, pay little regard to the historical, cultural and linguistic affinity of the Africans. Few African states are known for their linguistic homogeneity.[1] Given a very complex language situation in Africa south of the Sahara with African languages co-existing and competing with European languages as well as with various lingua francas, Pidgins and Creoles, multilingualism and hence multilingualism is a feature of most African countries and it seems that it will remain the norm for a long time to come. Much has been written about the role of multilingualism in an era of state con-

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[1] There are some countries in Africa south of the Sahara with more than 90 per cent homogeneity of population, where one African language is spoken by the majority of the population as a mother tongue, namely Somalia (Somali), Swaziland (Seswati), Botswana (Setswana), Burundi (Kirundi), Lesotho (Sesotho) and Rwanda (Kinyarwanda). In some other countries one African language is spoken by the vast majority of the population as a lingua franca.

struction in Africa.[2] Despite the need for linguistic homogenization, the emergence of a single, dominant language in each state understood by most citizens, which would become the official language for administration, education and cultural life is unlikely to be the typical pattern of African national development. The continued dependence of most African governments on ex-colonial metropolitan languages has led some African scholars to speak of "linguistic imperialism".[3] Facility in the language of the former metropolis has been a key to élite positions throughout the continent. The notion of a "repertoire" has been introduced to analyse the number of languages an individual needs in everyday life. A repertoire in Africa usually includes:

1. the vernacular or primary language
2. the African lingua franca, and/or
3. the language of colonial contact[4]

Thus Africans seeking middle-class urban opportunities and occupational mobility need to have facility in 3 plus or minus 1 languages.

On the other hand, official communication with the rural masses is impeded and ineffectual. Multilingualism and the dominance of ex-colonial languages in official use and in education has been seen by many African politicians and intellectuals as a major impediment to national integration and development of nation-states demanding too much of the human and material resources. Some African scholars even argue that "the continuous use of English or French or Portuguese as lingua franca impedes the development of African unity culturally, economically and politically".[5] To quote one African scholar, "The dominance of the metro-languages deprives the majority of Africans of access to knowledge, and hinders them from participating in national politics and the decision-making process. It slows down national integration and development of a nation-state, with a national culture, creates insecurity and feeling of inferiority among those who have to operate in the foreign language of the ruling élite. This has led to ethnic unrest, political instability and brutal violence from time to time in sev-

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[2] See e.g. ALEXANDRE, Pierre: *Langue et langage en Afrique Noire*. Paris 1967, WHITELEY, W.H. (Ed.): *Language Use and Social Change. Problems of Multilingualism with Special Reference to Eastern Africa*. Oxford University Press 1971, LAITIN, David D.: *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa*. Cambridge University Press 1992.

[3] See e.g. LODHI, Abdulaziz Y.: *The Language Situation in Africa Today*. In: Nordic Journal of African Studies, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1993, pp. 79-86, esp. 82. Also MHINA, George A.: *Problems Being Faced in the Process of Developing African Languages with Special Reference to Kiswahili*. In: Kiswahili, vol. 42, 1, 1972, pp. 43-57 and INDAKWA, John: *A 'Lingua Franca' for Africa. A Study of the Need for a Common African Language*. In: Kiswahili, vol. 48, 1, 1978, pp. 57-73. Indakwa speaks rather of cultural imperialism. Cf. with RUBONGYA, L.T.: *The Language and Culture of a People*. In: Présence Africaine, No. 94, 1975, pp. 13-30 and some other contributions in the same volume dealing with African languages and their role in fostering African cultural identity.

[4] LAITIN, David D.: *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa*. Cambridge University Press 1992, op.cit.

[5] INDAKWA, J.: op.cit., p. 59.

eral parts of Africa where the main political problems are not really ideological but rather ethno-linguistic. Peace is a pre-requisite for growth and prosperity, and in the African context, peace may be maintained only through some degree of national integration achieved by a reasonable amount of linguistic homogenization. Language development in all forms should therefore be part and parcel of overall development." [6]

Even though the notion that the imposition of a single national language or even the eventual continental adoption of Swahili and/or Hausa could be a key to political, economic and cultural progress in Africa has been recently criticized,[7] there is no doubt that in addition to English, French or Portuguese, any African state needs to cultivate a common language for mass inter-ethnic communication. A wish to impose a single indigenous language in the interest of national unity and development has been repeatedly expressed but rarely implemented.[8] One successful exception has been Tanzania, and to a lesser extent Kenya, where Swahili was declared the national language soon after self-government in 1961.

The language situation in East Africa is characterized by the widespread use of Swahili as a lingua franca and since the 1960s as the official and national language in Tanzania and Kenya. The Swahili language has been considered "unique among the African languages of the modern world for the dynamism of its development".[9] Swahili, which was originally spoken only on the East African coast strip and was a mother tongue to only about a million Swahili people,[10] had long ago acquired the status of an inter-ethnic means of communication facilitating intercourse between different ethnic units and nationalities. In the nineteenth century Swahili spread over large areas of Eastern and Central Africa as a lingua franca indispensable to traders, travellers, missionaries and colonial

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[6] LODHI, A.Y.: op. cit., p. 82.

[7] See LAITIN, D.D.: op. cit.

[8] According Abdulaziz Y. LODHI, op. cit., pp. 80-81, it is difficult to find a comprehensive document in African countries defining language policies. In several African countries an African language has been chosen as the first or second official language together with an ex-colonial European language, e.g. Amharic in Ethiopia or Chichewa in Malawi, together with English.

[9] Swahili as "the only African language in the continent of Africa that owes no allegiance to any particular ethnic group of people among its speakers", is claimed by some scholars to be "the only African language...that can bring together the peoples of Africa to become a people of UNITED STATES OF AFRICA". KOMBO, Salum M.: *The Role of Swahili Language in Tanzania as Both National and Working Language.* In: Kiswahili, Vol. 42, 1, 1972.

[10] It has been argued recently that some form of Proto-standard Swahili was being spoken on the East African Coast before the tenth century. See WHITELEY, W.: *Swahili. The Rise of a National Language.* London, Methuen 1969. At least it is certain that Swahili was a well-established language in the second half of the 15th century when the Portuguese arrived in East Africa. OLSON, Howard S.: *Swahili as an Educational Medium.* In: Kiswahili, Vol. 42, No. 1, March 1972, p. 4.

administrators. In addition to Tanzania and Kenya, Swahili is spoken now in varying degrees in Uganda, Zaire, Rwanda, Burundi, in parts of Ethiopia, Somalia, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique and Madagascar, and the number of Swahili speakers is estimated to run as high as fifty million and is today increasing faster than the number of speakers of any other language.[11]

The pre-colonial roots of the use of Swahili in the East African countries were, however, not identical and the language policy of the colonial administration was an important factor that influenced the language situation in Uganda and the two neighbouring countries of Kenya and Tanzania. Though in Tanzania Swahili had obtained and maintained some sort of official recognition since the times of the German administration and the German policy of using Swahili in the lower levels of administration and in the field of education was continued during British colonial rule, its position in the neighbouring countries has been different, and in the case of Uganda very ambiguous.

About 120 vernacular languages are spoken in Tanzania but diversity is compensated by the very wide spread of Bantu languages and the nearly universal comprehension of Swahili, even in the nineteenth century. After initial hesitation and wavering over the use of Swahili as a lingua franca due to its Islamic connotations, a programme of making Swahili the general lingua franca was adopted in German-dominated Tanganyika. Swahili was made a language of administration and an official medium of communication between the German administration and the local population. Swahili was also introduced into schools as the medium of instruction. As a consequence of such a colonial government language policy, the colonial authorities only supported those schools which held classes in Swahili or in German.[12] The adoption of Swahili as a lingua franca and its introduction in schools and within the lower levels of administration, no doubt contributed greatly to the spread of Swahili in up-country rural areas and to its increasing use among persons of different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. European Christian missions also played an important role in the spread of the Swahili language. Swahili became a rallying factor against the colonial rule during the Maji Maji war of 1905-1907, when it was used by differ-

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[11] OLSON, H.S.: op.cit, p. 5. Olson quotes MWANGOMANGO, J.: *Matumaini ya Kueneza Kiswahili Africa.* In: Kiswahili, Vol. 40, 1, 1970, p. 51, who called Swahili the seventh largest language in the world according to the number of its speakers, and ALLEN. John: *The Case for Developing Swahili.* In: East Africa Journal, May 1965, p. 33, who wrote: "We are... compelled to accept the fact that today more people in East Africa know Swahili than any other language, and that the number of Swahili speakers is today increasing faster than the number of speakers of any other language." Cf. with OHLY, Rajmund: *Swahili to Be a World Language.* In: OHLY, R.: *Swahili Studies,* A Supplement to Kiswahili, vol. 47, 1, March 1977, pp. 119-128.

[12] ALTEHENGER-SMITH, Sherida: Language Planning and Language Policy in Tanzania during the German Colonial Period. In: Kiswahili, Journal of the Institute of Kiswahili Research, vol. 48, No. 2, 1978, pp. 73-80, also WHITELEY, W.H. (Ed.): *Language Use and Social Change,* op. cit.

ent mother-tongue speakers as a common communication medium.[13] The rebellion added a further impetus to the earlier German commitment to the promotion of Swahili, because after its defeat Germans adopted a language policy favouring Swahili more than ever before. The official German language policy which supported the emergence of Swahili as an inter-ethnic medium of communication prepared the ground for expanding and improving the Swahili language and for the eventual promotion of Swahili as the national and the official language of Tanzania in the post independence era. A landmark in the history of the development of Swahili as the official language of Tanzania was President Nyerere's Republic Day speech of 10 December 1962 which he delivered in Swahili. "By declaring Kiswahili the official language ("Lugha ya Taifa") which has to be used in all spheres of economic and political activities, in education, including the functional literacy campaigns, the mass media, army as well as in culture, which gave birth to a new type of Kiswahili literature, and even in religion, a new quality in the spread of that language has been achieved."[14] As a result, Swahili as a lingua franca is spoken in Tanzania by almost 95 per cent of the Tanzanian citizens and used in all spheres of communication.

In Kenya, apart from Swahili, which is estimated to be spoken by 60 to 70 per cent of the population, there are about twenty different languages used. Kenya hesitated for a longer time than Tanzania to adopt a clear position with respect to Swahili. Since, however, a large percentage of the population wants Swahili to be implemented on a large scale, the Kenyan government was forced to adopt Swahili as the official language.[15]

The language situation in East Africa well exemplifies the role of language policy decisions in the process of acquisition and spread of a lingua franca. In four out of the five countries that Uganda shares a border with Swahili is spoken. Still Uganda has been hesitating for a very long time to adopt a clear position with respect to Swahili. While both in Tanzania and Kenya Swahili has been systematically promoted in all spheres of everyday life and adapted to the expansion of its social functions, and its vocabulary has been enriched and systematically developed, much has been argued against Swahili in Uganda which has chosen "to remain a chaotic island of English and 'tribal' languages surrounded by neighbours who opted for Swahili".[16] Unlike Tanzania and Kenya, English remains the national language of Uganda and Swahili has no official status at all.

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[13] Due to its integrative qualities Swahili has ever since served as a trans-ethnic medium of communication and, to quote a Swahili scholar, "all movements of national focus in Tanzania have used Swahili as an instrument for achieving inter-tribal unity and integration". See ABDULAZIZ, M.A.: *Tanzania's National Language Policy and the Rise of Swahili Political Culture.* In: WHITELEY, W.H. (Ed.): *Language Use and Social Change,* op. cit.

[14] BRAUNER, S. – KAPINGA, C. – LEGERE, K.: *Kiswahili and Local Languages in Tanzania. A Sociolinguistic Study.* In: Kiswahili, vol. 48, No. 2, 1978, p. 7.

[15] WHITELEY, W.H. (Ed.): *Language Use and Social Change.* op. cit. and WHITELEY, W.H.: *Swahili. The Rise of a National Language,* op. cit., pp. 67-73.

The language problem in Uganda is an old one. Uganda has thirty different African languages in addition to Swahili, its linguistic diversity is, however, extreme even for Africa. Uganda lies on the crossroads of several main language groups of Africa. The linguistic diversity had been coupled during the colonial period by the diversity of economic, social and political modes among the inhabitants of Uganda creating a conflict-prone situation. The south and west comprising Buganda, Ankole, Kigezi, Tooro and Bunyoro are Bantu-speaking areas, and nearly two-thirds of the population of Uganda speak one of the closely related Bantu languages, the Eastern Bantu languages (Luganda, Lusoga, Lumasaba/Lugisu, Lugwere, Lunyole, Lusamia/Lugwe) are spoken by a third of the country's population, while the Western Bantu languages (Runyankole, Rukiga, Runyarwanda, Rutoro, Runyoro, Rurundi, Rukonjo, Rwamba) are spoken by almost an equal proportion. The largest language - Luganda is, however, spoken as a first language by only sixteen per cent of the population and no other language is spoken by more than half this number. There are a large number of languages spoken by small but approximately equal number of people, and there are four language sub-groups. The North-East can be associated with Eastern Nilotic languages (Akaramojong, Ateso, Kakwa and Sebei), the North with the Western Nilotic languages (Lango, Acholi, Alur, Dhopadhola and Kumam) and the extreme North-west with the Central Sudanic languages (Lugbara and Madi).[17] The continued vacillation over language policy is characteristic of the Ugandan language situation ever since the imposition of colonial rule.

Swahili is not new to Uganda. It was introduced into the country long before the coming of Europeans and used as a trade language and a means of inter-ethnic communication in the kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro as well as other parts of the present-day Uganda. In the first years of the existence of the Uganda Protectorate Swahili was widely used by officials and unofficials alike to suit administrative and educational convenience. English was inevitably introduced as the major language of administration, law and of higher levels of education from an early period, though Swahili held a rival official position for a brief period. Before 1900 it was used by both missions and the colonial administrations and between 1900-1912 it was the Official Local Language.[18] However, the pro-Swahili language policy in Uganda did not last long. The inconsistent language

[16] Weekly Topic, 1.10.1986, quoted in: MUKAMA, Ruth: *The Linguistic Dimension of Ethnic Conflict.* In: RUPESINGHE, Kumar (Ed.): *Conflict Resolution in Uganda.* Oslo, International Peace Research Institute 1989, p. 192.

[17] CRIPER, Clive – LADEFOGED, Peter: *Linguistic Complexity in Uganda.* In: WHITELY, W.H. (Ed.): *Language Use and Social Change,* op. cit, pp. 145-159, also LADEFOGED, Peter – GLICK, Ruth – CRIPER, Clive: *Language in Uganda.* London, Oxford University Press 1972 and DOORNBOS, Martin R.: *Ugandan Society and Politics: A Background,* Chapter 1, pp. 3-16 and DENOON, Donald: *The Historical Setting to 1900,* Chapter 2, pp. 17-56. Both in: UZOIGWE, G.N. (Ed.): *Uganda. The Dilemma of Nationhood.* New York – London – Lagos, NOK Publishers International 1982.

[18] LADEFOGED et al.: *Language in Uganda,* op. cit, pp. 22-24.

policy of the British administration in Uganda was one of the important factors that influenced the language situation in Uganda and the position of Swahili during the colonial period.

The colonial language choice discussion which took place in the early period of the colonial rule concerned itself with the general attitudes towards language use as well as with the policy towards language choice used in mission schools and in administration. A significant group involved in the language discussion was the Church Missionary Society. The missionary factor played a very important role. In Uganda as elsewhere in Africa missionaries were indispensable for the implementation of any language policy because the schools were entirely in their hands. The language policy of Christian missions in Africa varied according to geographical areas and ethnic setting, often within missions of the same denomination or within the same mission. Christianity came to Uganda long before the imposition of colonial rule.[19] Of necessity both the Anglican Church Missionary Society and the Catholic White Fathers had at first used Swahili as a medium of instruction but the position of Swahili in Uganda was from the outset in the eyes of the church jeopardized by its association with Islam, a rival and "inferior" religion and soon both missions strove to introduce local languages arguing that the Christian message would be properly understood only if it were taught in the mother tongue.[20]

Soon after the establishment of the colonial rule there was a drive to make Luganda the lingua franca of the Protectorate. A Buganda syndrome seems to have characterized the missions' language policy. The C.M.S. argued strongly against Swahili and for the use of Luganda as the official language of the Protectorate. Also Catholic White Fathers who in their East African missions used both Swahili and vernaculars, in Uganda eventually turned from Swahili and increasingly favoured the use of Luganda and other vernaculars. The C.M.S. mission's preference for Luganda was made quite clear by its refusal to teach Swahili in the schools.[21]

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[19] The origins of the Church Missionary Society and of the White Fathers Mission date in Uganda from almost exactly the same time. Though the first two members of the C.M.S. mission to Uganda arrived in June 1877, one was murdered south of the Lake and the other withdrew. The C.M.S. mission was thus actually established in November 1878. The White Fathers arrived three months later, in February 1979.

[20] This practice has continued until today. Neither Catholic nor Anglican Church have adopted a nation-wide language to be used in services or church affairs. The language problem in the Uganda Protectorate, the role of the missionary factor and of the Luganda syndrome in the quest for a language policy in Uganda is discussed in detail by HANSEN, H.B.: *Mission, Church and State in a Colonial Setting.* Uganda 1890-1925. London 1984, Chapters 21 and 22, especially pp. 383-395. However, he did not discuss the language policy of the two other Christian missions, namely the two Catholic missions, the White Fathers and the Mill Hill Mission.

[21] Tucker to Sadler, 30 Nov. 1903, E.S.A., A22/1, copy in F.O.2/792, quoted also in Hansen, op. cit.

Luganda was the first local vernacular reduced to writing and was preferred because of the alleged inherent qualities of the Baganda. Initially virtually all contact of the Europeans was with the kingdom of Buganda and from the very beginning and especially after the signing of the 1900 Uganda Agreement, Buganda occupied a central place in the affairs the Uganda Protectorate. The power and influence of the Baganda under the patronage of the British ensured the high status of their language and its position as a language of administration and of church. The appointment of Baganda evangelists and administrative agents to various parts of the Protectorate contributed further to the spread of the Luganda language.[22] However, the missions' policy to translate the Bible into the local vernaculars disqualified Luganda as the universal language in the Protectorate. The missions had gradually committed the various local languages to writing and used them as the medium of instruction in their schools. Another reason was the connection between Luganda and the Buganda influence which was, however, gradually curtailed on a Protectorate-wide level. The Baganda made themselves very unpopular among other ethnic groups during the period they acted as agents of the colonial administration because of the methods they used. The Baganda agents were often seen – as indeed they may have seen themselves – as extending the power and influence of Buganda, and in due course reaction against both language and people set in. Some C.M.S. missionaries supported African pressure for the recognition of other vernaculars, namely Runyoro/Rutoro within the church. This constituted an element of opposition to the Luganda monopoly. The fact that some recognition was given to Runyoro/Rutoro during the days of Bishop Tucker[23] did not mean, however, that the C.M.S. abandoned its language policy and its longer-term aim of promoting Luganda as the primary language of the Protectorate and the mission requested at an early stage the Protectorate government's support for the Luganda alternative.

Despite verbal assurances and a declaration of intent to support the Mission's policy of making Luganda the primary language of the Protectorate, the Administration took a passive line and adopted a wait-and-see policy making in the meantime Swahili obligatory and Luganda and some other Bantu and Nilotic

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[22] PIROUET, M.L.: *Black Evangelists. The spread of Christianity in Uganda 1891-1914*. London, Rex Collings 1978; ROBERTS, A.D.: *The Sub-Imperialism of the Baganda*. In: Journal of African History 3, 3, 1962, pp. 435-450; TWADDLE, M.: *The Bakungu Chiefs of Buganda under British Colonial Rule, 1900-1930*. In: Journal of African History 10, 2,1969, pp. 309-322.

[23] While some missionaries based outside Buganda favoured the use of other vernaculars within the church, a group in the C.M.S., led by Archdeacon Walker, advocated the use of Luganda for the sake of unity within both the church and state. Bishop Tucker took up the position between these two: while he was willing to grant concessions to the vernaculars in deference to the strength of the national feeling in the two Western kingdoms, he upheld the primacy of Luganda at higher levels. The conflict is described in great detail by Hansen, op. cit., pp. 383-386.

languages "bonus languages".[24] The Commissioner explained his policy of up-grading of Swahili and pointed to the practical reasons of this language deci-sion. Swahili proved to be an easier language to learn than Luganda, of more general application and accordingly more suitable to colonial officials. If, how-ever, the mission succeeded in its Luganda alternative, he promised to reinstate Luganda as the obligatory language.

The language policy of the Protectorate Administration was, however, soon re-versed, when Jackson returned to Uganda as Governor in 1911 and recommended Luganda as the new obligatory language. "Jackson's major argument was the sta-tus of the Baganda in the Protectorate, not only numerically, but also qualita-tively."[25] Accordingly Luganda was made the obligatory language for all officials from 1912 onwards. Swahili and a number of other local languages continued to be bonus languages.[26]

The Swahili-Luganda controversy did not end there and then and it was to be raised again in the following years.

There was a new round of discussions on Luganda's status in 1918-1919. Since the language policy met with difficulties outside Buganda, especially in the non-Bantu areas and the Northern Province, colonial officials based there strongly recommended that Swahili should be re-established as a permanent of-ficial language, "especially since it could facilitate communications with the East African Protectorate and German East Africa".[27]

The merits of Swahili from an administrative point of view were frequently voiced between 1912 and 1920. The intervention of the European planter and business community who argued in favour of Swahili for commercial and com-munications reasons, sparked off a new round of talks in 1919-20. During the lat-ter months of 1919 in connection with the work of the Uganda Development Commission, the C.M.S. could for the first time since the days of Bishop Tucker publicly state its views on the language issue.[28] The Government language policy had to be linked to that of the missions, especially the C.M.S.mission, since the missions ran the schools and their recommendations could not have been over-looked. The Protectorate Government gave protagonists on both sides opportuni-ties to state their case and made a number of pronouncements on language policy.

The discussions remained inconclusive. Faced with the opposing and con-flicting views, the question of the official language was not solved by the Ugan-

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[24] Sadler to F.O., 1 December 1903, FO 2/792. Quoted from Hansen, op. cit, p. 384.

[25] Jackson to Secretary of State, 4 July 1912, Copy in SMP 134. Quoted in: HANSEN, H.B.: *Mission, Church and State*, op. cit., p. 387.

[26] Secretary of State to Jackson, 10 August 1912, SMP 134 quoted by Hansen, p. 387.

[27] Ibid., pp. 387-388. The Governor dismissed the argument as invalid and kept Luganda as the official language.

[28] The C.M.S. mission argued against Swahili and for the use of Luganda as the official language of the Protectorate, foreseeing that English would in the future supplant Luganda. See Hansen, op. cit., pp. 388-395.

da Development Commission. Backed by the C.M.S. mission Luganda held its ground against Swahili even though the Provincial Commissioners' conference that took place in November 1920 supported Swahili as the official language and recommended that the missions be asked to teach it in their schools.[29] It was decided that Luganda was to remain the official language of the Protectorate and the obligatory language for government officials,[30] though the long-term aim was to make English the language of the country. Eventually in 1922 the Provincial Commissioners gave up trying to make Swahili the official language.

The C.M.S. had thus succeeded over the years, with the help of the other missions, in combating the forces within the colonial administration who favoured Swahili, but it did not succeed in making Luganda the universal language of the Protectorate. Neither the C.M.S. mission nor the colonial government pursued a uniform language policy. The policy of the toleration of smaller African languages and of linguistic plurality deteriorated the fortunes of both Luganda and Swahili. The mission actually experienced a split within its own ranks between supporters of Luganda and of the various vernaculars, but was largely united in its opposition to Swahili. The Protectorate government was torn between Swahili and Luganda.[31]

The drive for East African Unity in the later 1920s strengthened reasons for the reintroduction of Swahili. Swahili was proposed as the official language of all three East African territories. In 1927 The Governor, Sir W.F. Gowers, wrote a memorandum entitled "The Development of Ki-Swahili as an Educational and Administrative Language in the Uganda Protectorate".[32] Since the 1925 settlement of the language issue did not work in practice, a compromise solution was adopted in 1927, and reaffirmed by the colonial government in 1932. Despite vehement protests by the Baganda, including the Kabaka and some missionaries, Swahili was reintroduced in the mixed language areas, in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, and also in the non-Baganda Bantu areas. The vernaculars re-

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[29] HANSEN: op. cit. pp. 390-391. The newly arrived Protectorate officials usually had some knowledge of Swahili which was an easier language to master than Luganda. According to Hansen, "The characteristic pattern was that officials working outside Buganda tended to support Swahili, while those connected with Buganda were in favour of Luganda." The supporters of Swahili also thought it wiser to adopt the neutral Swahili than the language of any particular national as the official language which could provoke hostility from the others. Ibid., p. 389.

[30] With certain exceptions, Acholi or Gang in the north, Runyoro in Bunyoro and Toro, and Swahili in Kigezi.

[31] However, in education Luganda was not used in the whole Protectorate. Out of respect for the use of the mother tongue in elementary education, it was approved at the end of 1925 that instruction in elementary schools was to be given according to the three main language groups; Luganda was to be the language of instruction in the Bantu areas, Acholi or Gang in parts of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, and Iteso in parts of the Eastern Province. See HANSEN: op. cit., p. 392.

[32] WHITELEY: Swahili. The Rise of a National Language, p. 70.

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mained the medium of instruction, but Swahili was to be taught as an optional subject. It was also to be taught in the Teacher Training Colleges. As for Buganda, it was underlined that the medium of instruction there would always be Luganda.[33]

A turning point came in 1952 when an important language policy decision "that Swahili was no longer a recognized vernacular in Uganda schools" was taken.[34] From that date there was no further question of Swahili participating in Uganda's linguistic planning, though Swahili has continued to be the official language in the police force and in the army.

Even after Uganda became independent, the new Government did not adopt any clear-cut policy towards implementation of Swahili, and ever since the Independence, Uganda has lacked a coherent government policy on language and language development and its successive governments overlooked the language variable in their development programmes and policies. In multilingual countries like Uganda, the language factor represents quite a problem which underlies and effects all developmental programmes. In the whole post-independence era no consistent attempt has been made to deal with language problems and none of the governments has taken practical steps to give the country a common medium of communication.

In 1967 Obote's government found no alternative to English in Uganda present position and adopted English as the official language. However, on being installed as Chancellor of Makerere University in October 1970, shortly before his overthrow in 1971, Dr. Obote promised that "the Government would endeavour to introduce the teaching of Swahili into the schools" and urged the University "to establish a proper school for African languages". The Government never fulfilled its promise.[35]

During Idi Amin's rule Swahili was given a perspective. In 1973 Idi Amin initiated a countrywide national language debate involving the choice between Swahili and Luganda. Twelve districts voted then in favour of Swahili while eight districts voted for Luganda which testified to a persisting cleavage between two ethnic blocs with regard to Swahili. The bloc favouring Luganda was led by Buganda and supported by four of her historical vassals – Busoga, Bugisu and Bukedi in the Eastern region and Ankole in the Western region.[36] After weeks of deliberations, on 7 August 1973 Swahili was declared the national language of Uganda by decree. The decree was, however, never implemented in practice, although it has never been repealed by successive governments.[37]

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[33] HANSEN, op. cit., p. 393.

[34] LADEFOGED et. al., op. cit., p. 91.

[35] MUKAMA, Ruth: *The Linguistic Dimension of Ethnic Conflict*, op. cit., pp. 179-180.

[36] Ibid., p. 181. The position of the Luganda language in the districts that supported the Luganda alternative may be traced to the activities of Baganda catechists and agents of the colonial administration during the early years of our century.

[37] MUKAMA, Ruth: *The Linguistic Dimension of Ethnic Conflict*, op. cit., pp. 181-205.

The Luganda/Swahili opposition has threatened to carve Uganda into two major camps of language choice or two major ethnic blocs: Bantu-versus non-Bantu, the latter being the chief supporters of Swahili alternative, while among the former, the Western Bantu – Bunyoro and Tooro resisted Luganda. While people from the north speaking non-Bantu languages have thought that Uganda should follow the other two East African countries in using Swahili in schools and in public life, people in southern parts of Uganda, especially those from the Luganda speaking area, have seen no useful purpose in introducing Swahili in Uganda and would prefer one Ugandan language, Luganda, to be taken as the national language and lingua franca.[38]

To quote a Ugandan scholar, "The crux of the language issue is still the problem of the position of Luganda *vis-a-vis* the other indigenous languages on the one hand, and Luganda *vis-a-vis* Swahili on the other. The only historical difference is that the Luganda advancement crusade that was originally led by the European missionaries is now solely spearheaded by the Baganda activists themselves.[39] In 1968 Radio Uganda was broadcasting in sixteen Ugandan languages as well as English and Hindustani,[40] by 1989 the number of Ugandan languages on the radio rose to nineteen, bringing the overall total to twenty-one, with English and Swahili, and according to Mukama in the early 1990s the number of languages that were broadcast on radio were twenty-five out of the thirty distinct languages.[41] By 1968, literacy campaigns had been conducted in twenty different languages, but there was hardly any literature in most of these languages for further reading to strengthen and sustain their literacy acquisition. English has been the official language and six Ugandan languages (some of them paired) have been specified as media of instruction in the primary schools: Luganda, Runyoro/Rutooro, Runyankore/Rukiga, Lugbara, Lwo and Akarimojong/Ateso. Since 1973, Swahili has been the national language of Uganda by decree, but there is no official policy on the language and since 1952 Swahili has been taught only to the police and armed forces. The Uganda Swahili Association (Chama cha Kiswahili – Chaku), founded in December 1984, has been recently revived, but Swahili is still in a much less favourable position than Luganda, whose development has been spearheaded by the Luganda Language Society and the Luganda Academy. According to Mukama, Luganda language activity has been booming in publication and research, in mass media and in the performing arts.[42]

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[38] Ibid., pp. 196-198.

[39] MUKAMA, Ruth G.: *Getting Ugandans to Speak a Common Language. Recent developments in the language situation and prospects for the future.* In: HANSEN, Holger Bernt – TWADDLE, Michael (Eds): *Changing Uganda. The Dilemmas of Structural Adjustment & Revolutionary Change.* London, James Currey etc. 1991, pp. 334-351.

[40] LADEFOGED et al.: p. 21.

[41] MUKAMA, Ruth: *Getting Ugandans to Speak a Common Language*, pp. 346-347.

[42] MUKAMA, Ruth: *Getting Ugandans to Speak a Common Language*, op. cit., pp. 337-340.

Recent research into the language situation in Uganda has proved that people living outside Buganda would be most unwilling to have Luganda as a national language.[43] Apparently much of the latent hostility felt towards the Baganda on account of their previous position as agents of the colonial power and as a people having greater access to educational and economic opportunities found its expression in an open rejection of Luganda as either a national language or even as a lingua franca or official language to be used throughout the Bantu-speaking areas.[44] People in the north and west have always feared the privileged position of the Baganda and refused to countenance the use of Luganda, even though it is the sole local indigenous language with a wide-enough base in terms of first and second-language speakers and of published literatures to become the national language.[45]

In Uganda neither Swahili nor Luganda or any other local vernacular is generally accepted by the whole population and it is unlikely that one particular language could be in use throughout the country.

The national language issue in Uganda is not likely to be solved in the near future. Luganda-Swahili opposition is still alive today. English has always been the language of the educated élite and is unlikely to serve as a language of mass communication. The language policy in Uganda must therefore address the problem of the interrelationship between Luganda and other indigenous languages and between Luganda and Swahili. Swahili has always been the language of the police and army. Pidgin Swahili has also continued to be loosely used as an urban and group employees' lingua franca. The advantage of Swahili is that it cuts across all regional and sub-regional, ethnic and linguistic discord. Compared to Luganda, Swahili as a lingua franca in a conflict-prone country like Uganda has a greater potential to transcend ethnic dissention.

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[43] LADEFOGED et al.: *Language in Uganda*, p. 29.

[44] CRIPER – LADEFOGED: *Linguistic Complexity in Uganda*. In: WHITELEY, W.H. (Ed.): *Language Use and Social Change,* op. cit., VII, p. 147.

[45] Ibid., p. 147.

DEVELOPMENT OF INTERPRETATION OF THE WORD UKIYO IN RELATION WITH STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN JAPANESE SOCIETY

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General literature about Japan, as well as specialized works on visual art history, catalogues of Japanese woodcuts exhibitions, references thereof in the press, and literature in Japanese studies often show uncertainty about the translation and interpretation of the designation "ukiyo-e" – overseas the perhaps best-known phenomenon of Japanese visual arts. The question of interpretation of the word ukiyo has not been satisfactorily solved in the circles of Japanese experts, either. That is why the author tries to give an account of the content of this word and causes of the regular change of its content in relation to Japanese society development, based upon the results of the research done on it up to now.

The usual translations "pictures of the changeable world", "pictures of the transitory life" etc. do express the notion. What causes problems, however, is explanation of the term itself. The meaning of the Japanese word ukiyo obviously changes in the course of time and in the Edo period (also Tokugawa, 1603–1867), in the times of flourishing of "ukiyo"-style visual arts and literature, it denotes a worldview and philosophy, in a certain sense contradictory to its original Buddhist content of the Heian period (794–1192).

One of the most important representatives of the linguistic and ideological kokugaku school, Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), whose extensive work belongs to the peak of Japanese traditional philology, refers in his essay collection Bamboo basket (1795–1799) to the origin of the notion of ukiyo and criticizes its "wrong" understanding and use in literature, visual arts and everyday life: "As ukiyo ("uki" written by the character that means distress – auth.) means the world of suffering, this notion can be used to denote a situation characterized by gloom. One can see it when reading classical poetry. But under the influence of the word *fusei* (two characters, meaning "floating, light, cheerful" and "world"), found in Chinese texts of the Tang dynasty (618–907 – auth.) and by its copying (the Chinese character *fu* can also be read uki in Japanese – transl.) the word ukiyo (uki written by the *fu* character, meaning "floating, ...") is used to denote

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the world in general, which is, however, wrong. While reading classical poetry, attention should be paid to the fact that this one is written by the "sad" uki."[1]

Let me now make clear and compare here those readings and meanings of the two above-mentioned characters to which I am going to refer later on:

1. the "sad" uki character:

憂

Sino-Japanese *yuu*
ureeru, uryouru – to worry, grieve, lament, be anxious
urei, uree, usa – worry, distress, sorrow, grief, anxiety, trouble
uki – sad, unhappy, gloomy
ushi – suffering, gloom

2. the "happy" uki character:

浮

Sino-Japanese *fu*
uku – float, rise to the surface, be cheered up
uita – happy, cheerful, frivolous
ukareru – enjoy oneself, be happy, be in high spirits
ukiukito – happily, cheerfully, buoyantly
ukiukisuru – be in high spirits, be pleasantly excited, be in
a cheerful mood

As we can see, the meanings of the two characters are contradictory to each other. The fact that the strongly symptomatic word ukiyo has been written in various periods by these two contradictory characters, cannot be considered purely accidental. The content of the word has apparently gone through a complex development connected not only with ideologies, religions of the respective periods of time, changing worldviews and value systems, but also with changes in the power ratio of the respective social classes in those periods.

The Big Japanese Dictionary[2] states in the entry of ukiyo the chronological order of the word's spelling, viz. the "sad" uki + yo, followed by the "happy" uki + yo (both without the hiragana "ki" in between), and it strictly distinguishes its uses according to the spelling:

In the first case – the "sad" uki + yo – it is life full of suffering, the Buddhist concept of "duhkham" – suffering, "anityatā" – impermanent, transitory character, and "impurity" of this world, spreading from the second half of the Heian period to the beginning of the Edo period and its typical sign was pessimism. The use of ukiyo in this sense is documented in the dictionary by sources from the classical literature and divided into four categories:

a) the world, the life full of suffering and pain: ukiyo no umi (life as a sea of suffering).

b) sufferings caused to one by "man–woman relationships" – love.

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[1] MOTOORI Norinaga: *Tamakatsuma* (Bamboo Basket). Muraoka Tsunetsugu. Kami (Part One). Tokyo, Iwanami shoten 1970, p. 132.

[2] *Kokugo Daijiten* (Big Japanese Dictionary). Tokyo, Shougakkan 1981, pp. 215–216.

c) this vain, impure world as opposed to the world of purity, the Buddhist heaven.

d) transitory, impermanent, ungraspable, worthless human life as a dream, an illusion, a trick of the inscrutable fate: ukiyo no chiri (life as vain dust).

The second way of spelling – the "happy" uki + yo – is stated by the dictionary as characteristic of its interpretation in the Edo period, where it means, along with the transitory, impermanent world, the inscrutably and abruptly changing one, at the same time also the world of indulgence in sensual pleasures. These values become at this time the sense and fulfilment of man's existence, which leads, in a way, to negation of the previous ideology, worldview, value system and morals. The use of the word ukiyo in this sense is divided in the dictionary into seven categories:

a) life is transitory, no point in worrying about anything, one ought to enjoy it in full: ukiyo-gawa (life as a river), ukiyo no nami (waves of life).
b) indulgence in sexual pleasures: ukiyo-otoko (man of such qualities), ukiyo-onna (woman of such qualities), ukiyo-bikuni (nun of a doubtful reputation), ukiyo-bouzu (monk of doubtful morals), ukiyogi (seductiveness), ukiyo-gokoro (passion for sensual pleasures), ukiyo-gurui (state of having given in to worldly pleasures), ukiyo-banashi (erotically oriented stories).
c) amusement quarters, red-light districts: Ukiyo-shouji (local name in Osaka), ukiyo-kouji (brothel-bordered lane), ukiyo-jaya (brothel), ukiyo-dera (Buddhist monastery of doubtful reputation), ukiyo-buro (public bath with prostitution), ukiyo-kago (vehicle transporting clients to the amusement quarters), ukiyo-kinchaku (small bag worn by maids of courtesans).
d) the real world, man's everyday life in the society with its rules, morals, duties: ukiyobanare (not leading a normal, settled life), ukiyonomane (a kind of amusement, parody of events, customs, people of the time), ukiyo no narai (rules observed by the world, the practical course of the world).
e) contemporary, modern (as an adjective to a noun): of pictures – ukiyo-e, of hats – ukiyo-gasa, of dolls – ukiyo-ningyou, of stories – ukiyo-banashi, of dyed fabric patterns – ukiyo-zome, also: ukiyodango (a kind of cake), ukiyomon (a kind of a tiny pattern on fabrics), ukiyomoteyui (hair string), ukiyogi (sense of fashion).
f) short for ukiyobushi (a kind of songs).
g) short for ukiyo-bukuro (a silk bag for various purposes).

The examples for the individual categories have been excerpted both from the above-mentioned Kokugo dictionary and from the Big Dictionary of Classical Japanese. Many of them are characteristic for their ambiguity: ukiyobito – a modern / sensually indulgent person, ukiyogi – sense of fashion / seductiveness. The same holds for names of fashionable parts of garment, and, indeed, for literary and visual arts genres. The Kokugo big dictionary, for example, ranks the name of the artistic ukiyo-e style to the 2.e category, viz. "pictures of the mod-

ern times". Such a simplified explanation has been, however, strongly opposed by many arts experts, historians and philosophers, as will be referred to below.

The Classical Japanese dictionary gives the spelling of the word ukiyo in the frequency order – first the happy uki, than the sad uki, and on the basis of examples from literature, the process of change in its content is followed. Its interpretation is, however, only divided into seven categories, which is an insufficient and rather superficial classification.[3] E.g. the 1.d category is missing – impermanent, ungraspable life, world as an illusion, considered by many researchers as a very important one (see below). Exactness of the categorization in the Big Japanese (Kokugo) Dictionary has been testified and proved by my study of the major works of Classical and Edo-period literature.

The sad ukiyo is frequently found mainly in some works of the second half of the Heian period. Heian was a flourishing time for the Japanese nation, characterized by its rich cultural activities and prolific production in the field of arts. It is also the time of the spreading of the Buddhist worldview among representatives of the ruling class, hand-in-hand with the ukiyo concept specified above.

The word ukiyo is found in the book Ise Tales (Ise monogatari), a collection of very short, poem-pointed stories, mostly about unfulfilled love.[4] It was compiled between the beginning of the tenth and the half of the eleventh century, the author remaining unknown. In the tale 82 it reads:

> "Tireba koso
> itodo sakura wa
> medetakere.
> Ukiyo ni nani ka
> fisashikarubeki?"

> "'Tis because they fall
> that the cherry-blossoms are
> the more precious to us.
> For what in this gloomy world
> should stay for eternity?"

The ukiyo here translates into modern Japanese as "nayami-ooi kono yo"[5] – this world full of sufferings, and is ranked in both of the mentioned dictionaries into the 1.a category – the sad world. I would, however, prefer the 1.d category, since this is rather the case of impermanence of this world, of the human life, beauty etc.

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[3] NAKADA N., WADA T., KITAHARA J.: *Kogo Daijiten* (Big Dictionary of Classical Japanese). Tokyo, Shougakkan 1983, pp. 185–186.

[4] *Ise Monogatari* (Ise Tales). KATAGIRI J., FUKUI T., MATSUMURA S.: *Kanjaku*. Nihon no koten daizukan 10. Taketori monogatari. Ise monogatari. Tosa nikki. Tokyo, Shougakkan 1983, p. 171.

[5] Ibid., p. 245.

In the Collection of Later Selected Waka-songs (Gosen-waka-shuu), compiled in 951 by Minamoto no Shitagou, in the part Zatsu (Songs of miscellaneous topics), Section 2, the song 1189 reads:

> "Oshikarade
> kanashiki mono wa
> minarikeri,
> ukiyo somukamu
> kata wo shiraneba."[6]

> "Grief should I not feel
> for any of the sad things
> that I have been through,
> how to give up this vain world
> I, however, do not know."

Ukiyo in this sense represents the 1.c definition.

The character for the sad uki is very frequent, both in expressions like kokoro-ushi, urewashigeni, kokoro-uku, uki, kokoro-ukeredo, and the word ukiyo itself, in the work Waking Up in the Middle of the Night (Yowa no Nesame), dating from about 1060 and ascribed to authoress Sugawara no Takasue no musume.[7] This is a love story about the suffering accompanying a profound passion between a man and a woman, and it is in this sense (1.b) that we meet here with the word ukiyo. In Chapter Four, e.g., the heroine Nesame no Ue (a pun – her name homophonous with "waking up"):

> "E zo shiranu
> ukiyo shirasheshi
> kimi narade
> mata wa kokoro no
> kayowuramu juwe..."[8]

> "Oh and if it were
> not to thee, who made me know
> unknown pains of love,
> why should, then, my affection
> turn to anyone at all?"

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[6] *Gosenwakashuu* (A Collection of Later Selected Waka Songs). KATAGIRI Youichi: Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei 6, 1990, p. 357.

[7] This authoress's name has only been preserved in form "daughter of an aristocrat named Sugawara no Takasue", as is often the case with female authors.

[8] *Yoru no Nesame* (Waking Up in the Middle of the Night). SUZUKI K.: Tokyo, Shougakkan, Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshuu 19, 1974, pp. 358–359. Transl. into modern Japanese, p. 392.

The male protagonist of the relation uses, in the same chapter, the word ukiyo in the same sense: "Ukiyo wo shirifajimekereba, kagirinaki kotodomo to iwedo...",[9] "As you have come to know the suffering of love, its infinite forms...".

Another way of conceiving of ukiyo can be found in a work of the kana-zoushi (kana-syllabary written books of tales) genre, viz. Shimizu Kanja of the late Kamakura (1192 – 1333) and early Muromachi (1336 – 1573) period. It is a tragic story of Shimizu Kanja and his wife Oohime from the times of the fights for power between the Taira and the Minamoto clans. "Ukiyo ni majirawan yori wa... yama no naka ni iwori wo musubi..."[10] "(A judicious man) does not care for the world... building up a hut in the mountains". Here, ukiyo is already used in the sense of the everyday, civil life, 2.d, and this meaning is met with more and more frequently from this period onward. Like in the Edo period the ukiyo-zoushi (books of tales of "our days" / of "amusement quarters") genre novel The Greatest Pleasure-Goer Man (Koushoku Ichidai Otoko)[11] dating from 1682, written by the most important prose author of the times, Ihara Saikaku. It is a story of a man called Yonosuke who spends his all life having love affairs. "Tajima no kuni, kane horu sato no hotori ni, ukiyo no koto wo soto ni nashite...", "In the Tajima country, by a mine town, (there lived a man who) completely abandoned his daily duties (and indulged all days in an unheard-of pleasure hunt...)."[12]

Ukiyo in the sense "contemporary", "modern" – 2.e, can be found very often in the Edo period. For instance in Chapter One of another of Saikaku's works The Greatest Pleasure-Goer Woman" from 1692 it reads "ukiyomotoyui" (see above), ukiyo no sharemono[13] (the modern woman of beauty) and others. It is a book of even a somewhat socially critical effect, with an immense documentary value, recording an old woman talking about her life path through all the "ranks" of the prostitution system of the times. In these cases, however, beside the 2.e meaning, another undertone can be felt from the context, something like "characteristic of a woman of the amusement quarters" in the 2.b and 2.c senses. In the same way one finds the above-mentioned expression "ukiyomoyo" in

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[9] Ibid., p. 358. Compounds with the "sad"-uki character can be found almost in every page, vide e.g. 361, 365, 366, 369, 371, 372, 377, 378, 381 etc. P. 382 gives an explanation to the notion of ukiyo: tsurai danjo no naka (sufferings of love).

[10] *Shimizu Monogatari* (Shimizu Kanja). WATANABE Morikuni, WATANABE Kenji: Kana-zoushishuu. Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten, Shin Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei 74, 1991, p. 183.

[11] Ichidai in the book's title, found also in some other Saikaku's works, means both "the biggest", as is usually translated into foreign languages (e.g. by M. Novák into Czech), and "one generation", "a person thereof", as is given in the 2. dictionary, p. 146.

[12] IHARA Saikaku: *Koushoku Ichidai Otoko* (The Greatest Pleasure-Goer Man). Zenchuu-yaku. Joukan. MAEDA Kingorou. Tokyo, Kadokawa Shoten, Nihon Koten Sousho 1980, pp. 14–15.

[13] IHARA Saikaku: *Koushoku Ichidai Onna* (The Greatest Pleasure-Goer Woman). TERUOKA Yasutaka, HIGASHI Akimasa: Ihara Saikaku Shuu 1. Tokyo, Shougakkan, Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshuu 38, 1971–1973, p. 433, 428.

Saikaku's "To Everyone Their Own Judgement"[14] in the very beginning of the
first story. The work is a collection of tragicomically-tuned stories of the last
day of the year, the lunar New Year's Eve, which is, until this day in the
Japanese tradition, the time of repayment and claiming back debts. It is an ex-
cellent probe into the urban society of the time and the heroes of the respective
stories each represent their own stratum of the city's inhabitants.

In "Records of Remarkable Towns on the Toukaidou Road", a documentary
fiction of a monk, written around 1661 by Asai Ryoui, the notion ukiyo is found
in the sense 2a: "Issun saki wa yami. Ashita wo mo shiranu ukiyo naru ni"[15]
"A step forward – darkness. This inscrutable world in which no-one knows what
tomorrow shall bring to us..."

From the beginning of the 17th century the notion ukiyo is used more and
more in the senses 2b, 2c, containing stronger and stronger erotic charge, and is
often found also in the gradually more and more vulgarizing texts of pornogra-
phy-based literary production. In this sense it is found as early as in "Urami no
suke" (the protagonist's name) by an unknown author. It is an account of a scan-
dalous relation between a "debauched" samurai and one of the Emperor's con-
cubines, due to which the man was in 1606 degraded from his hatamoto rank
and excluded from the samurai estate. The time of the book's birth is probably
very close to this event. "Kokoro no nagusami wa ukiyo bakari"[16] "The only
comfort for our hearts is plays of love". The same sense of ukiyo is also seen in
Saikaku's "Twenty Japanese Ungratefuls" (1686), a parody on old Chinese Con-
fucian didactical stories about children's respect to their parents. It is a collec-
tion of often brutal stories about ungratitude and crimes committed, usually be-
cause of property, on parents, brothers or sisters. In the first story we read about
the hero's situation: "Inkyou no takuwae aru ni kiwamarishi, bungen naredomo
mamanarazu, nihaka ni ukiyo mo yamegataku"[17] "Knowing that his parents
keep some savings for the time when they are old, he would have liked to get it
out of them, but they did not yield. Not being able, however, to give up revelling
so abruptly..."

The development and content changes of the notion ukiyo are analysed in de-
tail by Taizou Ehara in his "Reflections on the Notion of Ukiyo".[18] He writes

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[14] IHARA Saikaku: *Seken Muna Zan'you* (To Everyone Their Own Judgement) – (a differ-
ent way of reading the characters). MAEDA Kingorou. Tokyo, Kadokawa Nihon Koten Bunko
1991, p. 17.

[15] *Toukaidou Meishoki* (Records of Remarkable Towns on the Toukaidou Road). ASAKURA
Haruhiko. Tokyo, Heibonsha, Touyou Bunko 346, 1979, p. 31, 37.

[16] *Urami no Suke, jou. Kanazoushishuu.* MAEDA Kingorou, MORITA Takeshi. Tokyo, Iwana-
mi shoten, Nihon Koten Bungaku taikei 90, 1965, p. 51.

[17] *Honchou Nijuu Fukou* (Twenty Japanese Ungratefuls), Ihara Saikaku Shuu. MUNEMASA
Isoo, MATSUDA Osamu, TERUOKA Yasutaka. Tokyo, Shougakkan, Nihon Koten Bungaku
Zenshuu 39, 1973, p. 191.

[18] EHARA Taizou: *"Ukiyo" Meigikou* (Reflections on the Notion of Ukiyo). Ehara Taizou
Chosaku Shuu. Dai 17 Maki. Tokyo, Chuuoukouronsha 1980, 178–195.

that the original meaning of ukiyo – the "comfortless", "vain", "distressful" world, started to be used, as early as the Heian period, in the Buddhist spirit as an equivalent of "this" world, earthly life. The idea of vanity of being is preserved also in the gradual confusion of this meaning with the content of the "happy"-uki character: to flow, to float, found sporadically in the given phrase as early as the Kamakura period. In the Muromachi period literature, the prevailing use of ukiyo in the sense "illusory", vague world is apparently vanishing. In the times between the Muromachi and Edo periods "as a result of conceiving of ukiyo as the world of illusions and delusions", there appears more and more strongly the tendency to let life flow in accordance with the voice of the heart and animal instincts"[19] of man. In the Edo period, instead of "escapes into the past and the faith in a brighter future one endeavours to relish the present reality". In the sphere of city inhabitants' lifestyle, this finds its expression in the extreme escalation of sense of reality and the notion ukiyo acquires new meanings like "this", "real" world, "present times" etc.[20]

From the twenty's of the seventieth century the notion ukiyo is eventually understood exclusively as the world of plays, sensual amusements, love adventures and pleasures, to which Ehata refers as follows: "Notions like ukiyoe or ukiyo-zoushi did not mean simply pictures, or stories, respectively, of "our times", but these words contained a really strong erotic message and unambiguously implied associations with the world of courtesans, prostitutes and underworld men".[21] The same opinion is held by the prominent contemporary sociologist and historian Kin'ya Abe in his work "On Meanings of the Notion Seken": "Ukiyo meant, in the times of the greatest flourishing of cities and townsfolk culture, above all the world of the amusement quarters, the voluptuous, epicurean life philosophy and lifestyle of inhabitants of cities, the world of money and sex, pragmatic morals and shamelessly realistic and materialistic conception of human existence."[22]

In the study of theoretical works of Japanese provenance about the meaning and use of the notion ukiyo I have been interested above all in the reasons of the several centuries prolonged transformation of the original contents of this word into, in a way, its opposite. Why, this is one of the key concepts of the worldview of the times, in the case of which this kind of interpretation is rather difficult to explain. I have not, however, found any satisfactory answer to this question in the materials studied. They all speak about the process, but not the reasons, for this phenomenon. Only in the Big Japanese Dictionary a note can be found that the new meaning of ukiyo in the Edo period is a reaction to the nihilist, pessimist, self-denying and ascetic approach to life in the previous period.

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[19] ABE Kin'ya: *"Seken" to ha nani ka.* Tokyo, Koudansha Gendai Shinsho 1995, p. 148.

[20] Ibid.

[21] EHARA Taizou: op. cit., p. 184.

[22] ABE Kin'ya: op. cit., p. 148.

In order to understand the reason of this surprising shift in the content of the notion ukiyo from its original Heian period meaning, classifying negatively the real world, toward the optimistic, life-affirmative interpretation in the Edo period, it is necessary to analyse the historical and social preconditions of this interesting phenomenon.

In the period of the Tokugawa shogunate, Japan formed into a central state with conspicuously absolutist features. The basic pillars of the state ideology of the times were both Confucianism with its rigid norms of inferiority within the society and the samurai codex, completed in this period, which were complemented in the worldview sphere by the state-controlled Buddhism. The society was divided into four classes, viz. samurais, farmers, artisans and merchants. The farmers were subordinate to samurai princes, to whom they paid taxes in rice and other products. The samurais, a stratum of princes' mercenary troops, materially dependent on their lords, were paid from them in kind again, especially in rice.

The remarkable labour progress, brought about also thanks to the short period of contacts with oversea countries, with Europe at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century, resulted at this time in an irrepressible increase in importance of cities. In them very rapidly developed the strata of artisans and merchants, satisfying the ruling class' increasing life demands and providing goods distribution, respectively. These were, however, regarded as non-productive, or, in the case of merchants, indeed parasitic, from the point of view of the state ideology which considered growing rice the main economic activity.

The central military government put the local military aristocracy under a strong control aimed at enforcing its own policy. The princes had to establish and maintain in the shogun's capital Edo (present-day Tokyo) dignified residences and make immensely expensive journeys to it, accompanied by long service sojourns, which naturally caused their gradual economic weakening. This, as well as the long-lasting peace, were the reasons why the princes were compelled to reduce their troops, which resulted in high unemployment among the samurais – appearance of the rounin social stratum. These samurais without their lords were compelled to look for new ways of subsistence and often found them in cities. Many representatives of this relatively educated class became there an important potential of the further economic and cultural development. The material and cultural riches of the society were gradually overdrawn from military aristocracy's granaries into the dynamically developing towns.

The inferior position of artisans and merchants contrasted sharply with their steeply growing economic power and the importance they actually played in the society. The military government injured them by overbearing economic measures, confiscations, forced finances lending, annulment of samurais' debts etc. The shogunate tried to control strictly, by means of numerous edicts, and limit the way of their social and private life, strongly forbidding them any luxury in the sphere of living (size and arrangement of their dwellings), dress (kinds of fabrics, patterns and colours of cloths), eating, entertainment and culture.

The position of rich city inhabitants was marked on the one hand by growing economic power, on the other, however, by a great social and existential insecurity. "As a means of escape from the system of regulations and limitations, and as an opportunity to develop their own way of social life, making use of their accumulated riches, there grew large in cities amusement quarters of theatres, attractions and brothels, which were also a profitable form of enterprise."[23]

In the amusement quarters – the "places of evil", akusho, the richer city inhabitants found inspiration for forming their new life style that often denied the shogunate-dictated value system and revolted against it. An apparent manifestation of this revolutionary element in the social thinking was also the "teaching" of the newly understood ukiyo. From an analysis of the social situation in the late feudal period[24] one can deduce the fact that the new interpretation of the notion ukiyo was a conscious expression of the city inhabitants' protest against the military regime's oppression and the existing social situation. It can be testified also by study of the cities' cultural production of the times, and by the ukiyoe style.

The arising city culture had a popular and mass character, which was a natural reaction to the ossified, manneristic aristocratic culture, not comprehensible without the classical education, a typical expression of which was e.g. the Noh drama. It developped in a close connection with amusement centres of inhabitants of big cities like Edo, Osaka, Kyoto, Kobe etc, with amusement quarters of brothels, theatres and other attractions that became an ample source of subjects for literary, dramatic and visual arts production. Their unifying element was the new worldview, expressed by the revolutionarily interpreted notion ukiyo, and therefore this word is used in literature e.g. in referring to the popular stories ukiyo-zoushi, and in visual arts for denoting the genre of painting, later woodcut, production – ukiyoe. The most prolific period of city culture was Genroku era (1688–1703) which saw the culmination of the production of the three great masters of word: Ihara Saikaku in prose, Chikamatsu Monzaemon in drama, and Matsuo Bashou in poetry. Along with the vast production of novels, new theatre forms – Kabuki and Joururi, and the impressionist poetic condensation – haiku, developed the visual art of ukiyoe, inseverably connected with them.

Townspeople literature starts with the prose form ukiyo-zoushi, produced from 1682 until the end of the 18th century. They consist of novels produced by townspeople about themselves and for themselves, written in a distinctive style. The word itself appears from the end of the 17th century, but in this period mainly in the sense of erotic-toned to pornographic literature (see above) and comes into use in literary science as late as beginning of the Meiji period (1868–1912). The best-known author of this genre is the already several times quoted Ihara Saikaku (1642–1693). In his works, ukiyo is found in nearly all the phrases mentioned here, and in others as well, really often and in the most various meanings (see given examples).

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[23] Novák, Miroslav: *Japonská literatura I (do roku 1868)*. Praha 1977, p. 93.

[24] Vasiljevová, Zdeňka: *Dějiny Japonska*. Praha, Svoboda 1986, pp. 243–312.

In Saikaku's production the element of protest against the military regime's oppression is apparent. His works depict, often with a great forbearance, sympathy and understanding, heroes according to the contemporary value system utterly negative. Their morals usually openly contradict the established state-prescribed norms and denies them. He likes depicting historically true stories of extramarital love between women and men who set themselves against what is generally considered the basic virtue – preferring obligation (giri) to feelings (ninjou), follow the voice of their hearts until fulfilling their love and accept the fixed punishment – death. His works also include stories about sedulous men of commonfolk who, often by very "ungentle" means or ways, strictly forbidden and punished by the regime, reach material riches and personal happiness, success and acknowledgement. In his work "To everyone their own judgement" (see above) he introduces to the reader witty inventive debtors who try to avoid payment of their debts, achieve understanding and human compassion of the lender. Another of his favourite topics, the most problematic and provocative from the point of view of the established legal and moral norms, is homosexual love. With understanding and in a most humane eye he renders the often tragic stories of love between men that in his rendition does not differ in any way from "normal" heterosexual love. Saikaku's works, depicting phenomena mostly inadmissible and culpable according to the norms of the day, usually do not have a moralistic or didactic effect, just the opposite – a very humanist one. That is why I guess, especially in the case of this author, in whose works the word ukiyo is extraordinarily frequent, that he worked with it quite intentionally, misinterpreted it programmatically, thus rebelling, hiddenly but perseverantly, against the spirit of the tying-down censorship, squeezing oppression and license of the regime.

The new worldview became manifest in the sphere of visual arts in the ukiyoe genre, characteristic with its captivating dynamics and buoyant vitality. There is an end to everything, nothing lasts for ever. The life is short, leaks away like water, it is necessary, therefore, even if at the cost of one's self-destruction, to enjoy the beauty of each moment and everything it offers to one. This transient beauty is captured by ukiyoe masters in their colour-ablaze and charming shots. That is why they are frequent targets of attacks and rights of recovery from the shogunate that reacts to the provocative joy of the "immoral" life denying the lined-up norms, by ever harsher obstructions like limitation of the licensed range of topics, prescription of the number and palette of allowed colours within one picture etc.

The notion ukiyo[25] itself came to general use in Tenna era (1681–1684) when ukiyo was taken both as the present times, and as the world of sensual passions, mundane vice, love. The production of this kind served first as illustration to pieces of literature, but soon found its place in poster production and leaflets about attractions in amusement quarters, about beautiful courtesans, theatre per-

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[25] This notion was apparently used for the first time ever by Ihara Saikaku in his Koushoku Ichidai Otoko (1682) (acc. to: Ehara T., quoted work, p. 190)

formances, actors, sumo wrestlers etc. This production fotmed into a genre at the end of the 17th century, on a larger time scale it is, however, limited to the Edo period. Locally, it is connected to Edo (hence also "Edo-e", Edo pictures), even though works of a similar character were created in other big cities as well. The insatiable market of Edo period townsfolk culture gave rise to whole schools of eminent ukiyoe artists and artisans, out of which world-wide fame was gained most of all perhaps by Katsushika Hokusai and Andou Hiroshige.[26] The richness of the extant jewels of this style today testifies to a failure of the government's endeavour to limit the ukiyoe production and to artists' and consumers' ignoring of shogunal edicts.

The Edo period, characterized by its strong centralism, absolutism and sway of the shogunate, is on the one hand a period of the greatest flourishing of the culture of the increasing city inhabitants' class, and, on the other, one of the cultural impotence of the declining military aristocracy's estate. The artistic production of this period is one of the vital items of Japanese cultural heritage, and also maybe one of the most prominent phenomena whose potential was able to inspire and influence strongly even later artistic prodiction, especially visual arts in Europe. What is extraordinarily important is also its documentary value, as it describes faithfully the lifestyle, worldview, morals and life philosophy of inhabitants of cities in the time of late feudalism in Japan. At the time of its appearance it represents a way of enjoying life through experience of art and amusement by the consumers of the time. Beside this, however, and which is what I have intended to point out by my paper, it also has ambitions and a mission of a different kind, which is not taken into account distinctly enough in study of Japanese culture of this period. It is, as is very well known from artistic production practice in other absolute regimes, the art – state relation, a protest, opposition, refusal of the state's norms limiting the individual, resistance against bondage and lack of freedom. Therefore the "misinterpretation" of the original notion of ukiyo in this period can be considered as designed, purposeful and intentional.

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[26] In spite of the fact that some contemporary scholars like Ehara Taizou consider assigning these artists to the "ukiyoe" category as absolutely wrong: "Ato no Hiroshige no fuukeiga nado ga, keshite ukiyoe no hanchuu ni zokushinai koto ha akiraka de aru (Later Hireshige's landscapes and others apparently do not belong to the "ukiyoe" category), op. cit., p. 191.

MYANMAR'S (BURMA) "ROAD TO SOCIALISM" AND INDONESIA'S "NEW ORDER": A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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In the immediate post Second World War period, political developments in two countries of South East Asia, Indonesia and Myanmar (Burma), proceeded along similar lines. The Western style of parliamentary democracy collapsed in the 1950s and consequently, military dominated political systems emerged in the 1960s in both countries. Gradually, however, it seems that the military regime in Indonesia has been far more successful than that of Burma in achieving political and economic developments. The balance sheet of Burmese regime towards political development has been negative. Economically, it has been declared by the United Nations as the least developed country in the world. The Indonesian regime, on the other hand, through authoritarian in many respects, has operated the political system through constitutional means and has achieved remarkable economic progress.

In view of the similar nature of political developments in the late 1950s and early 1960s the question may be raised: why has Indonesia had success in its quest for political and economic developments while Burma has failed? The answer to this question stems from the obvious differences in the colonial legacies as well as in the role of contemporary governments in managing the political institutions, economic development and ethnic/regional disputes in both countries.

HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

While Burma was a British colony Indonesia was a colony of the Netherlands. There were fundamental differences in the colonial administrative policies of these two European powers. While the British followed the policy of "direct rule" in Burma, the Dutch pursued the policy of "indirect rule". British introduced a new set of criteria for administrative behaviour in Burma. The Dutch, on the other hand, followed a radically different policy in Indonesia. It did not attempt to breakdown the traditional patterns of rule completely in Indonesia,

rather it adopted the policy of "adjustment rule".[1] All these have lasting effects on the performance and skills of subsequent regimes in both Burma and Indonesia.

At no point, the British goverment utilized the traditional institutions of the central government of Burma. The glory of its king and court, its system of *Mythugyis* (circle headmen) and feudatory retainers were swept away and replaced by the British system of administration. In place of Monarchy the British appointed the Governor General, the direct representative of the Viceroy of India. More importantly, Burma was never ruled as a separate state, rather it was treated as a province of India. Thus the British developed among the Burmese a sense that authority is primarily a concern of the trained rulers and not of popular politicians. The rulers must maintain a distance form the common populace. According to a former British official in Burma, it was a "curiously impersonal system".[2] Until the separation of Burma from India in 1937, only ten years before independence, the Burmese were not given any opportunity to participate in politics and administration. Even those who had the opportunity of entering into politics and administration after 1937 did not receive any proper skills of administration. The inadequate skills of the politicians led to their failure to maintain stability in the post-independence period. The Army also did not have any chance to develop their skills as there was no separate Burmese army. However, when the Second World War began the Japanese stressed the importance of developing military skills among the indigenous population of Burma. The "Thirty Comrades" Under Aung San and his deputy, Newin, founded the Burmese Army (BIA) to fight alongside Japan.[3] Thus many of the Burmese got the opportunity of being trained by the Japanese. Although the Japanese rule was very shortlived the Burmese army's important role during the War raised the political importance of the *Tatmadaw* (military). One result of the Japanese rule was that the efficiency, scope, image and therefore, the power of the army were enhanced.

In the post-colonial Burma, the augmented importance of the military led them to take over power from the ineffective civilian government. However, since the proper military skills, knowledge and administrative experience did not develop in the Burmese army, it had failed to efficiently manage the political and economic affairs of the country. The military regime is maintaining a similar distance from the common population as the British did from India during the colonial rule. Thus one scholar comments, "The internal politics (of the Bur-

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[1] Lucian Pye, "The Politics of Southeast Asia", in Gabriel A. Almound and J.S. Coleman (eds.) *The Politics of the Developing Asias,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), p. 87.

[2] Lucian Pye, *Politics, Personality and Nation-building: Burma's Search for Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 82.

[3] Ulf Sundhaussen, "Indonesia's New Order: A Model For Myanmar, *"Asian Survey,* vol. 35, No. 8 (Augut 1995), p. 772.

mese military regime), remarkably similar to those of the earlier British colonial government, stressed the administrativre rule to realize the ideals of 'Law and order' and externally, the approach has become one of self-imposed isolation".[4]

The Dutch administrative policy, on the contrary, was quite different in Indonesia from that of the British in Burma. The initial approach was to work with the assistance of the traditional structure of authority by preserving the position of the Javanese aristocracy – the *Priyayi* and *Santri* families. The rights of the family and the village, or *desa*, were respected, and both the claims of the peasants and aristocrats were protected. Although decisions were taken by the *Resident* and *Regents*, there still remained the traditional Sultan and aristocrats. The Duch felt, on the one hand, the need for the preservation of traditional values and customs, and on the other, the need for an increasing centralized bureaucracy. It developed the institutions of *Landraad* (a council composed of the Resident and two other natives), *Wedanas, mantris,* etc. This was interestingly an authoritarian system by using the indigenous aristocracy.[5]

In the military sector, like the British, the Dutch also did not develop any strong army of native recruits but had an independent Indonesian army – *KNIL*. During the Second World War Japan occupied Indonesia and stressed the development of a separate strong Indonesian Army – *PETA*. When the Dutch returned to the Islands, after the War, it found an independent Indonesian government already established and a trained and organized military, ready to resist the reimposition of Dutch rule. During the protracted and bitter conflict which followed, the military gained both strength and unity. The former officers of *KNIL* and *PETA*, and youth with only rudimentary training merged together to form the Indonesian Armed forces, called the *ABRI*, for the purpose of denying a Dutch return to the Islands.[6] Initially leadership fell into the hands of a *PETA* officer, Sudirman, but after his death, a Dutch trained *KNIL* officer, General Nasution took over the leadership of the armed forces. *Ex-KNIL* officers provided both military expertise and an intellectual input. On the other hand, *PETA* officers had professional training outside the military. Therefore, the Indonesian army included a substantial portion of the Indonesian elite. Thus Indonesia was more fortunate than Burma in having a strong army both physically and intellectually. These inherited qualities have helped the military regime in Indonesia to manage the political and economic affairs of the country in a very effective way in the post coup d'etat decades.

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[4] A. Fenichal and G. Huff, "Colonialism and the Economic System of an Independent Burma, *"Modern Asian Studies* (June,1975), p. 322.

[5] J.W.B. Money, *Java or How to Manage a Colony* (London: 1961), p. 206; see also, V. Singu, "Colonial Background of Indonesian Politics", *International Studies* (January – March, 1976), p. 13.

[6] Alan A. Samson, "Indonesia", in Robert N. Kearney (ed.) *Politics and Modernization in South and Southeast Asia* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975), p. 254.

In the 1960s, after the capture of political power, the military regimes in both Burma and Indonesia attempted to bring back political stability and economic developments but the experiments in developing new instruments and institutions have been so different that they have brought divergent results for both the countries. The ideologies of the two regimes are completely opposite to each other. The policies for managing the ethnic and regional separatisms, the most crucial factor for political instability during the civilian regimes, have also been quite different. Looking from this perspective the performance of the two military regimes can be examined from three angles: institution-building, state-building and Nation-building.

Institution-building

In his article on *"Political Development and Political Decay"* Samuel Huntington wrote that the main crisis of political development in the third world countries is the lack of Political Institutions. Development demands the growth of political institutionalization so that it can absorb a high level of participation.[7] If one looks at the institutional developments in both Burma and Indonesia it appears that while the Burmese regime has failed to institutionalize its political system the Indonesian regime has "Mixed Success"[8] towards the building of its political institutions. After the coup d'etat in Burma in 1962 the Newin regime suspended the constitution, banned all the political parties, and operated the political system through the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC). In conformity with its slogan of "Burmese Road to Socialism" it established a one party state by forming the Burmese Socialist Programme Party (BSPP). General Newin remained the chairman of both the RCC and the BSPP. In order to dominate all levels of administration from the Secretariat in Rangoon down to the villages the regime formed the security and Administration Committees (SACS) with army officers as their chairmen.[9]

By Mid 1971 the BSPP attained its maturity having nearly 74,000 full members. In June 1971 the party took a decision to draft a constitution which was to

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[7] Samuel P. Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay", *World Politics,* vol. 17 (1965), pp. 386–430.

[8] Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset, et al. *Politics in Developing Countries: Comparing Experiences With Democracy* (Boulder: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 1990), p. 34. In this book the authors categorize demcracy along a six point scale of ideal types. There are 'High Success', 'Progressive Success', 'Mixed Success', 'Partial Mixed Success', 'Failure but Promise', and 'Failure or Absence'. The 'Mixed Success' means democracy is returning following a period of breakdown and authoritarian rule but has not yet been consolidated. There exist formally democratical institutions, such as multi party electoral competition but authoritarian domination continues behind the scene.

[9] B.N. Pandey, *South and Southeast Asia: Problems and Policies* (London: Mac Millan Press, Ltd, 1980), P. 168.

be approved in a national referendum in December 1973. The constitution was written but it confirmed the BSPP as the sole authorized party in the country. The strict authoritarian rule continued by supressing all kinds of protests and movements until 1987. The growing frustration of the people led to an outburst in March 1988 in which nearly 10,000 unarmed protesters were killed. At this point due to the old age Newin resigned in July 1988 and was succeeded by the Army Chief of Staff, General Usein Lwin. He was the most brutal officer who continued mass killings by declaring Martial Law. This provoked further student led riots. In order to cool down the situation General Lwin resigned and the BSPP appointed a civilian President Dr. Maung Maung, the author of Newin's Biography. The President revoked Martial Law and permitted the formation of the All Students Union. He also liberalized the press and called for free elections within three months.[10] However, with the knowledge that the military's dominance was in jeopardy, Army Chief, General Saw Maung ousted the civilian President Dr. Maung Maung and restored the military to power. This military coup d'etat was not against an opposition government but against its own created civilian facade government. The new regime established a new institution called the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) which declared the election to be held in May 1990, and all political parties were asked to register.

Consequently, the law maintaining the BSPP as the sole party was abrogated. It registered under a new name called the National Unity Party (NUP). The opposition political leaders already formed the National United Front, under the leadership of Aung San Sui Kyi, daughter of General Aung San, which registered in a new name, the National League for Democracy (NLD). By December 117 political parties had registered their names for contesting the election of May 1990. It was no surprise that the NLD won 396 seats, out of 485 seats in the *Pyithu Luttaw* (People's Assembly) whereas the NUP won only 10 seats. However, power was not transferred, rather the regime arrested Aung San Sui Kyi and other leaders of the NLD. The government announced that the purpose of the election was not to form a Legislature but a constituent Assembly which was to draft a constitution and subsequently be approved by the SLOR. Until then the SLOR would continue as the *defacto* government. It is a matter of great irony that since then until today the constitution has been transferred to the civilians. It is only recently that Aung San Sui Kyi has been released from the house arrest but there is no sign of handing over power to the civilian. Rather, on August 20, 1996 nearly 200 civilian NLD supporters were arrested by the military junta and 11 of them have already been sentenced to imprisonment for seven years.[11]

On the contrary, if one looks at the institutional development in Indonesia, it appears that after coming to power in 1965, the Suharto regime did not abolish the existing institutions. The political apparatus which the civilian President

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[10] Clark. D. Neher, *Southeast Asia in the New International Era* (Boulder: West View Press, 1994), p. 168.

[11] *The Star* (Kuala Lumpur), August 29, 1994), p. 23.

Sukarno forged was made operative under the new regime.[12] President Suharto introduced a "New Order" i.e., only few changes, e.g. enlargement of DPR (House of Representatives) and MPR (People's Deliberative Assembly). This was done mainly to raise the number of nominated military representatives so that President could have control over these bodies. Further, Sukarno's National Front was turned into *Sekbare Golkar* (joint Secretariat of Functional Group) in 1968 and was brought under government control. Golkar became a Federation of 260 trade, professional and regional organizations, ranging from civil servants, teachers, journalists and students to village chiefs, farmers and fishermen. Though virtually a government party, Golkar is technically not a political party, because civil servants, who are not allowed to join political parties, can be its members. Like Sukarno, President Suharto also insisted on the principle of *Musjawarah mufakat* – and *Gotong rojong* – a traditional method of deliberation consensus with Suharto himself as the ultimate and unchallenged arbiter. The essence of this principle is consensus, unanimity and harmony.[13]

Unlike the Newin regime the Suharto regime neither abolished the constitution nor established a one party state. However, it restricted the activities of political parties through some tactics. First, initially the regime, rather than closing the activities of all political parties, outlawed only its target enemy, the communist party of Indonesia (PKI). A mass slaughter of PKI members and supporters ensued through House Cleaning Operation. Secondly, though the non-communist parties were not banned, they were compelled to dismiss their old executives and include only those who were amenable to Suharto's regime. Even currently, in July–August 1996 the government did not endorse the leadership of Megawati in the Indonesia Democratic Party (PDI) for which a large number of Megawati supporters marched in the streets of Jakarta. Thirdly, based on the competition of all political parties a general election was held in July 1971. In total, ten political parties including Golkar contested the election. Fourth, in order to maintain stability and order in the political system, after the election, the government pressed the opposition parties in 1972 to reduce their numbers and unite into two larger parties. All the nine parties complied with the government order and thus five nationalist and Christian parties formed the PDI and four Muslim parties were united to form the United Development Party (PPP).[14] Since then every subsequent election has been contested by the three political parties; PDI, PPP and Golkar. Fifth, in order to ensure the predomin-

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[12] Neher, *Southeast Asia, op. cit.,* p. 109. See also, Donald Emerson, "The Military and Development in Indonesia" in J.S. Jiwandono and Y.M. Cheong ed. *Soldiers and Stability in Southeast Asia,* (Singapore: Institution of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988), p. 109.

[13] Samson, "Indonesia", *op. cit.,* p. 257. Even on the eve of Indonesia's 51st independence anniversary President Suharto said on August 15, 1966, "Let us all respect the national consensus we have agreed upon with great difficulty", see *The Sar* (Kuala Lumpur), August 17, 1996, p. 23.

[14] Allan A. Samson, "Indonesia in 1972: The Solidification of Military Control", *Asian Survey,* vol. 14, No. 2 (February 1973), p. 127.

ance of the Golkar, the government has introduced the concept of "floating mass",[15] meaning that no political party would be allowed to operate at the village level except during the election campaign. On the other hand, Golkar operated at the village level since the government officers even at the lowest level are its members. Finally, the victory of the President Suharto as a Presidential candidate is almost certain because in the MPR 60 % members are appointed by him. It is thus found that the Suharto regime is also authoritarian but its difference from the Burmese regime is that the Indonesian political system is operating through a constitutional facade. Even, beginning from 1990 the regime has allowed the operation of associations and interest groups. Thus an association of Muslim intellectuals, ICMI, an organization which united a broad spectrum of Islamic interests, was founded in 1990.

In a nutshell, one could see the growth of institutions in Burma has proceeded along unilinear lines. Burma has not allowed any institutions outside the military and its subsidiary organization to develop. Essentially, the plethora of political parties established in 1989 was tailor made for individuals with no institutional structure. The political institutions such as parliament, political parties, and interest groups have no influence over the policy decisions of the state. On the other hand, political inistitutions in Indonesia did not proceed along unilinear lines because the constitutional framework and political institutions, both formal and informal, of the previous civilian regime, have continued to exist. The people in Indonesia have been given the opportunity of limited participation which has been completely denied in Burma.

State-building

It is not only the question of political participation through political institutions where the Burmese government has failed, but also in managing economic development the performance of the regime is very disappointing. The management of the economy by the civilian governments of Burma and Indonesia was not a success story in either case. Both countries were reasonably well endowed with natural resources but lacked the skills and capital to develop them. Both the military regimes blamed the civilian governments for pursuing the wrong ideology, corruption and mismanagement of the economy. In order to rectify the mistakes of the past both the military regimes emphasized new ideologies or plans. But, both followed divergent policies which brought opposite results to Burma and Indonesia.

In Burma the Newin regime adopted a "closed door", "isolationist" policy and declared the philosophy of the "Burmese Road to Socialism". The essence of this socialism is an "exploitation-free society" rather than a "classless society".[16] It says that when the exploitation of all forms is eliminated, society

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[15] Samson, "Indonesia", *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[16] Sheve Lu Maung, *Burma: Nationalism and Ideology* (Dhaka: University Press Ltd, 1989), p. 53.

will be free from all earthly sufferings. Burmese society must be transformed in the socialist way and this transformation must be in the Burmese way. As society advanced towards socialism, the workers, peasants, technologists and intellectuals will eventually but gradually become genuine owners of the state power. This advancement has to be led by the army. Thus the regime established the classic dictatorship of the proletariat in a modified form in which the army, not the workers, is the dictator. The regime justified this with the claim that marxism needed to be modified in order to suit the circumstances of Burma. While some private enterprises were to be allowed, major industries and financial institutions were to be nationalized. By the end of 1995 the nationalization of the entire oil industry, banking, foreign trade, domestic whole sale trade, the timber, tobacco and most of the mining industries was complete.[17] In the agrarian sector land-ownership was allowed but the farmers had to sell all agricultural products to the government at a fixed price.[18]

The end-result of Newin's economic policies has been disastrous for the country. Clark D. Nehr writes, "Burma's economy reached its nadir in 1987 when the UN granted the once prosperous nation the ignoble status of the least developed country."[19] Since the large industries were nationalized the managers and workers did not have to worry for their daily bread. The small enterprises and retailers, on the other hand, suddenly felt the bite of the "Burmese Way to Socialism". Under the "Burmese Way to Socialism" trading and economic institutions were reorganized into 22 "People's Corporations" under the government, but very soon an additional one, Peoples Corporation No. 23, emerged under the supervision of the private entrepreneurs and under the common name of the "Black Market".

Due to the unrealistic market policy the farmers have gradually reduced work on their land so that production has fallen. In 1960 the price of 1 kg of rice was 00.50, but it had risen to kyat 16.00 by 1995. With the price of rice every commodity has become excessive. In Burma, a daily labourer or office clerk can earn maximum from k. 8 to k. 10 per day. As everybody is in need of extra-money all sorts of corruptions are taking place. Every marketable good is black marketed from the factories, godowns and dockyards. If a person wants to see an officer he has to pay the receptionist some 2–5 kyats. The industrial sector is a total failure. For example, in the oil industry the output plunged to 14,000 barrels per day in 1993–94 in contrast to about 30,006 per day in the late 1970s. Investment lags while the state continues to print money. It is estimated that the money supply is around 45 million kyat. Thus while the official exchange rate is for US$ 1 = k. 6 the unofficial rate is US$ 1 = 120–130 kyats.[20] Inflation is very high, the consumer price index has risen over 3 times since 1986.

[17] Pandey, *South and Southeast Asia, op. cit.*, p. 86.

[18] Lu Maung, *Burma, op. cit.*, p. 53.

[19] *ibid*, p. 55.

[20] Nary P. Callahan, "Burma in 1995, Looking Beyond the Release of Aung San Suu Kyi", *Asian Survey*, vol. 36, No. (February 1996), p. 161.

The overall growth rate is very low. The GDP growth rate is average 1.5 per cent less than the population increase of 1.9 per cent. Agriculture has grown only by 0.1 per cent while paddy production has dropped. Manufacturing has declined by 0.4 per cent. By 1995 the short and long term debt was nearly $ 6 billion. When the military took power in 1962 the foreign exchange reserve was US$ 660 million, in 1988 this came down to $33 million and gradually it has come down further.[21] In 1992 the government began to liberalize its economic policy and allowed private investment. But the progress has been exceedingly slow largely because Burmese Generals did not open up completely and foreign investors are still sceptical of the military's role in the system. Even in its foreign Ministerial meeting in Jakarta in July 1996 ASEAN states expressed reluctance to include Burma as a member until the regime liberalizes the politics and economy of the country.

In contrast to the Burmese socialistic policy Indonesia has pursued a free-market economic policy emphasizing private investment, both foreign and local. The regime headed by Suharto proclaimed a "New Order" ending the twenty years post-independence ideological, isolationist and xenophobic economic policy. It began *modernisasi* (modernization) and *pembangunan* (development) oriented policies.[22] While Burma's economic system was skewed to meet the ideological goals rather than the needs of the people, Suharto's "new order" sought to bring order to disorder and rationality to replace irrationality so that economic development becomes the yardstick for the legitimacy of the regime. The means to achieve the ends of the new order were both philosophical and real.[23] From the philosophical point view it emphasized the *pancasila* principles: belief in the supremacy of Allah, humanity and morality, nationalism, democracy by consensus, and social justice.[24] The practical means are a series of five year plans known as *REPELITA* to improve the public welfare, "a financial bonanza from oil resource, the advice of economic technocrats, the repair of the industries, and an emphasis on the private sector for the necessary capital, structural change and productivity."[25] Suharto appointed many technocrats from home and abroad and opened the economy to foreign investors with joint ventures. The policy of import substitution (protectionism) of the former regime was replaced by heavy government intervention in distributing capital. In order to make things easy the government established duty-free zones, liberal investment laws and less bureaucratic redtape.

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[21] Lu Maung, *Burma, op. cit.*, p. 55.

[22] Samson, "Indonesia", *op. cit.*, p. 258.

[23] Neher, *Southeast Asia, op. cit.*, p. 115.

[24] Pancasila or Five Principles, is the Indonesian State Ideology. It draws upon Indian and Javanese motives to provide an ideology which can appeal to all. For details, see Samson, "Indonesia", *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[25] Neher, *Southeast Asia*, p. 115.

On the whole, consequently, since 1965 Indonesia has had a rapidly growing economy. While the growth rate before 1965 was less than 2 per cent per annum, after 1965 this has reached 5.8 per cent level.[26] Deregulation of the Indonesian banking system has resulted in the growth of new banks which in turn have made available credit and funds for investment and a loosening of the interest rate for lending. In general, although widespread income disparity, corruption and regional imbalance in development exist, the results are overall impressive. The growth rate is on average 5.8%, reaching 7 per cent in 1990.[27] The quality of life has improved in numerous ways; life expectancy has increased significantly in just one decade from 50 years in 1980 to 60 years in 1990. Infant mortality rates have also improved; while in 1971 132 of every 1,000 new born babies died before the first birth day in 1992 this declined to 65 deaths in 1,000 births. All these improvements, according to Neher, "are a major factor in explaining the stability of the economy and the polity and the high level of legitimacy accorded the Suharto administration. Accordingly, contemporary Indonesia is a good example of a nation whose economic performance is largely responsible for the legitimacy of the regime. At the same time, its high level of economic development is the most important force moving the country towards a more open political system."[28]

Nation-building

Indonesia has not only allowed the political institutions to grow and pursued an effective economic policy but it has also been able to maintain the unity of the nation by managing successfully the ethnic and regional demands. Nation building demands "the creation of a national political system which supplants or typifies all the regional subsystems". The process of national integration involves five tasks: creation of a sense of territorial nationality; the establishment of a national central authority; the creation of a minimum value consensus; the bridging of the elite-mass gap; and the devising of integrative institutions and behaviour.[29] Both Burma and Indonesia are pluralistic societies and one ethnic group in each country constitutes the majority. In Burma approximately half of a total population of 43 million are ethnic Burman while over 100 different ethnic groups are scattered throughout the country. Thus Rohingyas in Arakan are different from the Burmans on the basis of their religion and race, while the Karens are different on the basis of their religion and culture. The Shans, the largest ethnic minority,

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[26] *ibid,* p. 117.

[27] David Me Kendrick, "Indonesia in 1991", *Asian Survey,* vol. 32, No. 2 (February 1992), p. 103.

[28] Neher, *Southeast Asia, op. cit.,* p. 117. For other recent figures on economic development in Indonesia, see, Rizal Mallarangeng and R.W. Liddle, "Indonesia in 1995", *Asian Survey,* vol. 36, No. 2 (February 1996), pp. 110–112.

[29] Myron Weiner, "The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political Development", *World Politics,* vol. 23, No. 4 (July 1970), p. 668.

are different in their language and ethnic origin. Immediate after independence, the ethnic communities from Shan, Kachins, Karen, Arakan and others demanded a federal constitution with the autonomy of the states. A treaty was signed in 1948 called the *Panglong Treaty;* it was agreed that Burma would be a federal state and the provinces would have the right to secede at the end of a ten years period.[30] However, the constitution which was adopted after Aung San's death was a unitary state with no autonomy for the provinces, though it granted the provision of secession rights to the provinces after ten years. The constitution caused immediate ethnic insurrection and became worst after 1958. The military was virtually invited to control the situation.

After 1962 the Newin regime began to use extreme repressive measures by keeping all powers in the hands of the military. The goal was to spread and increase the power of the state. The use of a control model, known as the Lustik Model,[31] brought disastrous consequences for the country. The Shans, Karens, Arakanese have all demanded independence and organized insurgent movements throughout the country. The six million Karens have established a well organized military and political structure. They have an army of about 20,000 under able military leadership. The worst effected ethnic community is the Rohingyas in Arakan who are Muslims. Since 1989 the Burmese government has begun to settle the Burman Buddhists in the predominantly Muslim areas of Arakan displacing the locals. By a government order of 1982 many of them have been denied citizenship. As a result of the brutal operation of the armed forces they were forced to cross the border into Bangladesh.[32]

In all cases the underlying problem seems to be the attitude of the Burmese army officials which echoes their feelings of superiority over other ethnic minorities. They see themselves as more cultured, a cause of Burman ethnocentrism. The ethnic minorities – Shans, Karens, Kachins, Mons and the Rohingyas – are fighting back. They want the right of self-determination. Their persistence has led to genocide and massacre and many of them becoming refugees in neighbouring Bangladesh and Thailand.

On the contrary, in Indonesia, though there are 13,600 islands, the problem of national integration is not acute as most of the regional/ethnic groups have been gradually integrated into the national political system of Indonesia. The regime, is trying to maintain *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). In Indonesia 45% per cent of the present population of 190 million consists of Javanese with more than 600 other ethnic groups. There are 30 major language groups, and

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[30] Shewe Lu Maung, *Burma, op. cit.*, p. 68.

[31] For critical analysis of the model, see Arend Lijpart, *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977) and Donald L. Harowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985).

[32] A.S. Bahar, "Rohingya of Arakan: The Beginning of the End in Burma," an unpublished paper presented at a seminar organized by New School of Social Research, New York, November, 1992. Also see Julian Burger, *Report From the Frontier: The State of the World's Indigenous Peoples* (London, 2 ed Books Ltd, 1987), p. 120.

numerous religious groups. Initially there existed a serious resentment against the Javanese.[33] However, gradually the government adopted some tactics to instill in the minds of the people a feeling of Indonesian nationalism. First, the Javanese language is not chosen as the national language, rather *bahasa Indonesia*, the *lingua franca* among the traders of the archipelago, is declared the official language of Indonesia.[34] This served as a signal that the Javanese majority would not use its majority to impose its will on the non-Javanese. Secondly, given the diversity, a federal structure of the political system would have been most suitable for Indonesia. The Dutch, after returning with the end of the Second World War, introduced federalism with the intention of playing a "divide and rule" game among the different ethnic and regional groups. The ill-intention of the Dutch created a hatred for federalism among the Indonesians. The nationalists, therefore, opted for a unitary state and the Suharto regime continued to apply the same system which provided him with a mechanism for unifying the nation through a centralized administrative structure. Thirdly, despite the unitary structure of the political system, the military was organized on a regional basis. The rationale behind this policy was that the local population would be more likely to support any military operation if the troops in any given area are "the sons of the soil".[35]

Fourthly, under Suharto's New Order the Javanese officials administering the once rebellious areas were gradually replaced by local administrators. An organization of regional leaders called *potensi daerah* (regional potency) has been formed whose advice is sought by the regime to win over the minorities.[36] The intelligence chief, Ali Mortopo, maintains a close liaison with the regional leaders. Fifth, the security forces avoids harassing the civilian masses. Even in East Timor, the regime has been careful in this regard. In July 1993, a professional officer, Colonel Lumintang who was appointed as military commander in East Timor took action against those soldiers who mistreated civilians. This has resulted in a restoration of confidence in the population.[37] Finally, the Golkar is a unique institution. It has emerged from the Indonesian cultural setting and attempts to provide a coherent response to the country's manifold problems. It addresses itself to the unity of the country without raising the emotional issues of race, ethnicity, regionalism and religion. It seeks to satisfy the aspirations of diverse people by stressing positive accomplishments. The Golkar is an arrangement of heterogeneous forces that cut across ideological frontiers and colonial legacies. Apparently, the basic values and customs of Indonesian society are present in the organization. On the one hand, it is authoritarian, and, on the other hand, it recognizes the interaction of functional groups in a productive and mutu-

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[33] Pandey, *"South and Southeast Asia"*, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[34] Sundhaussen, "Indonesia's New Order", *op. cit.*, p. 774.

[35] *ibid*, p. 775.

[36] *ibid*, p. 776.

[37] John B. Hasmen, "Catalyst For Change in Indonesia: The Dili Incident", *Asian Survey*, vol. 35, No. 8 (August 1995), p. 763.

ally beneficial manner. Consensus is achieved through joint deliberation. It has developed a 7-point *(Saptakrida)*[38] working programme which includes a) political stability, b) economic stability, c) social security, d) development, e) public welfare, f) strengthening state apparatus, and g) general election. Since the Golkar is functioning as an integrative institution the religious and nationalist parties are given opportunities to express their organized voices through their fronts. Thus Indonesia is following a model of assimilation through consensus, not like Burmese process of assimilation through force.

CONCLUSION

The historical as well as the contemporary experiences of Indonesia and Burma indicate that the former is much better off than the latter in all respects. Historically, in Burma both the politicians and the military inherited weak management tactics and skills and, therefore, they have subsequently failed to achieve political and economic developments. Indonesia has, on the other hand, received due to historical circumstances, a strong and skilled army, if not politicians, which has been able to successfully and efficiently manage the socio-political and economic affairs of the country.

In building institutions Burma is a failure in the sense that for the last thirty four years the regime has denied the participation of the civilian masses preventing the growth of a competitive party system. At first, it created the RCC and later, in order to build a mass support base, it formed the BSPP. Both the institutions were abolished only when a mass upheaval occurred in the mid 1980s. But very soon both the RCC and BSPP appeared in new name SLOR and NUP respectively. In other words, the regime strictly limited the participation of the people and prohibited the growth of political institutions outside the governmental structure. On the other hand, Indonesia is relatively successful in the sense that first of all, it did not abolish the existing constitutional and formal institutions. Secondly, it did not outlaw all the political parties, although subsequently it restricted the activities of political parties by asking them to merge into two major parties. However, at least an opposition forum exists for expressing the organized public voices. The government even gives these parties monthly subsidies and pays for party congresses. Finally, the government party, the Golkar, is not really a political party, rather it is a joint secretariat of functional groups.

In the case of state-building also it appears that while Burma has achieved the status of the "least developed country" Indonesia is cited as a case of an emerging developed economy. Today while Burma cannot even produce a motorbike, Indonesia is manufacturing an aeroplane. Burma has pursued a socialist strategy by emphasizing the Burmese road to socialism. The nationalization of industries

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[38] Samson, "Indonesia", *op. cit.,* p. 267.

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and a state controlled economy has provided no incentives to the workers and managers. People also do not feel integrated into the regime's policies since they have no scope for participation in decision-making. The end result is, despite its huge resources, the average annual growth rate is 1.5%. Indonesia has, on the other hand, done fairly well in managing the economy. In the first place, Suharto discarded Sukarno's socialistic pattern of strategy and pursued a liberal economic strategy. Private investors were encouraged and were provided with incentives. It is true that this has brought some negative consequences but the overall achievement surpasses those negative consequences. In fact, even the regime since 1990, is looking seriously for strategies to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor and the imbalance in regional developments. The end result of the regime's policy in Indonesia is the average growth rate at 5.8% per annum.

Finally, in building the nation i.e. maintaining the national integrity Burma has followed a pejorative strategy. The non-Burman ethnic communities have been denied the right of self-determination. No attempts have been made to bridge the gap between the Burmans and non-Burmans, rather a policy of extermination of minority ethnic groups has been pursued by the regime. The Burmese road to socialism has attracted neither the communists nor the noncommunists. The Burmese communist party is quite active and has organized many insurgencies in the hills of Burma. On the contrary, in Indonesia, the regime has successfully eliminated the communists and has initiated various strategies for integrating the diverse religious, ethnic and regional groups into the national political system. The idea of *Pancasila,* and *Sapta Krida* have provided the psychological foundation of Indonesian nationalism.

An overview of the Indonesian and Burmese situations suggests that while the military regime has been a curse for Burma, it has become a blessing for Indonesia. The "Guided Democracy" of Sukarno brought political and economic disasters for Indonesia. The introduction of the "New Order" by Suharto, despite its authoritarian nature, has brought fruitful results. The Burmese government has failed to develop its politics and economy through the "Burmese Road to Socialism". The world inside and outside Burma has no respect for *tatmadaw* and consequently, if it really means the well-being of the country, it must return to the barracks and hand over power to a civilian regime. It will be in the credit rather than in the debit of the armed forces to open up politics and economics. The Burma watchers are eagerly waiting for the transition from authoritarianism to democracy in Myanmar.

THE GENDER-DIFFERENTIATED IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT ON POLITICAL EXPRESSION AND EMPLOYMENT IN ZIMBABWE

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A new consideration has developed in recent years – that women are the key to development. The supposition now is that the poorest nations will never grow out of poverty unless women become a more active part of civil society. No country can develop where half its human resources are undervalued or repressed. Without this, a country cannot succeed at population control, the eradication of epidemic diseases, or the conservation of its natural resources.

Women and Development: Methodological Evolution

Methodology on the role of women in development has evolved over the last two decades. In the late 1970s, researchers began to recognize and document the effects of development projects on women. In an attempt to integrate women into development and to make development projects more effective in assisting women, the women in development (WID) approach emerged. Another integrationist view, the women and development (WAD) position appeared in the second half of the 1970s as a more critical and discriminating version of the WID concept. This perspective recognizes the contribution women already make to development and their important role in the process. Women's productive contribution, however, needs to be acknowledged rather than downplayed or ignored and any inequalities questioned. According to this view, women are disadvantaged because they have been "forgotten" or "left out". When women have been added or integrated to a program or policy, their situations will improve. This approach often analyzes women as a homogeneous group, frequently overlooking important differences of class, race or ethnicity and the significance of the reproductive side of women's lives.

Seeking to address the underlying problems of class and gender inequality, the Gender and Development (GAD) framework arose in the 1980s. This school of thought emphasizes that the basis of the cultural and social assignment of

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gender roles which contribute to the exploitation of women (and men) must first be examined. Gender is used to describe culturally and socially determined characteristics, sex to refer to those characteristics which are biologically determined. In realizing that gender is culturally determined, organizations, programs, and projects recognize it can also be changed. The GAD position is dedicated to issues of equity and looks beyond the roles of women and men in society to examine the relations between them, the significance of these relations for development and the factors that both maintain and change these relations. The GAD approach thus questions traditional views of gender roles and responsibilities and then seeks to advance strategies leading to empowerment. Women are seen as agents of change, rather than passive recipients of development assistance. (Zwart, 1992, 1–3). This agenda setting approach implies the transformation of the existing development agenda with a gender perspective. The participation of women as change agents or decisionmakers, in determining development priorities, is the key strategy. Women participate in all developmental decisions and through this process bring about a fundamental change in the existing development paradigm. Women not only become a part of the mainstream, they also reorient the nature of the mainstream. It is not just women as individuals but women's agenda which gets recognition from the mainstream.

Concern about the negative social costs of the structural adjustment programs supported by international financial institutions has been noted since the mid-1960s. UNICEF's *Adjustment with a Human Face* drew attention on an international scale to the significant deterioration in welfare among the poorest groups in countries undergoing structural adjustment programs. Women and adjustment questions were primarily framed as poverty issues. Women were identified as a vulnerable group, a specific category of the poor and thus at risk of being adversely affected by increased prices, reduced incomes and cutbacks in public expenditures, likely outcomes of stabilization and structural adjustment measures (Cornia, Jolly, Stewart).

In 1989 the Commonwealth Secretariat published a report *Engendering Adjustment* and UNICEF brought out its monograph, *Invisible Adjustment*. These publications emphasized the inequitable gender-based differences, i.e., the gender dimension, in the negative impact of structural adjustment programs on the poor. Countries were seen to be implementing structural adjustment programs but with the human and social cost of extra work and pressure on women within the poorest groups.

Others have criticized these approaches for their focus on welfare costs and argue that structural adjustment programs must be made more efficient by removing pre-existing social constraints which make it difficult for women to enter the productive sector, by recognizing the conceptual male bias of the macroeconomic policies themselves and redefining productive labor to include the productive work involved in the maintenance and reproduction of human resources. Power issues are also seen as important to the conceptualization of inequality in gender relations. Therefore, the perpetuation of male bias is not just a distributional issue of injustice rooted in inadequate information or individual

bias but exists in the economic theories and within the institutional structures of markets and public sector institutions themselves (Gear, 1994).

Even with growing recognition of the important contributions women make to the development process, they continue to face formidable social, economic and political barriers. This paper seeks to analyze their collaboration as subjects, participants, and actors in development by investigating gender dynamics and social change in Zimbabwe, a low income developing country in southern Africa with a population of 10.4 million. Focus on a particular country can be beneficial, as opposed to those involving wider comparisons, since there is no archetypical African women, but on the contrary women immersed in diverse socioeconomical, political and cultural arrangements. To study African women, one must recognize the diversity within the region and within the female population. Women are beginning to redefine their identities, their roles, and the meaning of gender. Although this is a global phenomenon, it is rooted in specific social, geographic and environmental conditions. Gender is not only a woman's affair. It is a social construct by which human beings organize their prerogatives, responsibilities and relationships and which is linked to all macro and micro processes and institutions. Conceptualizing gender is necessary for examining and interpreting information. Understanding gender in specific contexts enables researchers, government and development official to devise more effective and equitable social programs and policies. Promoting gender equality infers a thorough going change in the socioeconomical organization of societies. This involves reorganization not only of the way women work, live and nurture families, but also of the way men do and of the manner in which family, work and community roles are related.

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND ZIMBABWE

Gender and ESAP in Zimbabwe: Methodological Approach
In 1990 Zimbabwe announced the start of its Economic Structural Adjustment Program (ESAP). Access to World Bank and International Monetary Fund financing was made conditional on the adoption of such a program which involved measures such as reduced public expenditures, devaluation of currencies, and export promotion all directed toward debt reduction. The consequences of this program have been painful. Structural adjustment programs involve macroeconomic changes which are likely to have different consequences for men and women. Thus, the level and type of economic development, i.e., a low-income country in economic crisis necessitating the adoption of a structural adjustment program will serve as the independent variable in this analysis and will be examined in terms of its impact on two aspects of a six-dimension framework of women's status adopted from Janet Giele (Giele, 1977, 3–31). The author has analyzed the impact of structural adjustment on the other dimensions of Giele's model in another study. This classification can guide specific investigations of women's position within and across societies. The areas under consideration in this analysis are: political expression; work and mobility.

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Zimbabwe's Position in the International Economic System

Unlike the Western world, Zimbabwe and the developing world appeared to have little to rejoice in with the ending of the cold war. Whether in the areas of political economy, defense or ideology, the space on the agenda for the concerns of develpoing countries has contracted. Their bargaining power and leverage, always quite small, have steadily eroded since the beginning of the debt crises in the early 1980s. With the cold war over, developing countries matter little for the North. Interest, aid and investments were diverted away from the developing world to Eastern Europe. Investors reasoned that the new zeal for the market in Eastern Europe, along with the presence of necessary infrastructure, put it far ahead of most developing regions in regard to investments, potential risks and returns. In fact, the stringent requirements insisted upon for further assistance to developing nations have not been extended to the countries of Eastern Europe. Both attention and technical and financial resources are being transferred from development in the South to economic reconstruction in Eastern Europe. While the world's poorest got poorer in the 1980s, Africa is being marginalized in world affairs in the 1990s both geopolitically and economically. The lost decade of the 1980s may thus be extended.

North-South dialogue suffered a severe blow at the 1981 Cancun Summit of 22 Heads of State and Government. Ideological shifts in western politics reflected a firm commitment to market forces and little sympathy for poorer countries. At UNCTAD VI in Belgrade (1983), developed countries suggested that debt-distressed and crisis-ridden developing nations should approach the IMF and the World Bank to adopt monetarist policies in order to structurally adjust their economies. The majority of developing nations adopted structural adjustment programs to respond to their deepening economic problems.

The position of the developing world in the international trading scheme contributes to the difficulty of achieving consistent economic growth. From the incorporation of these countries into the international economic system during colonialism to the present, their role has been chiefly as suppliers of raw materials and agricultural products. Depending on commodity exports meant that these countries had to cope with fluctuating and frequently declining prices for their exports. At the same time, prices of imports increased. This made development planning difficult and often led to economic stagnation and decline.

Zimbabwe's economy since independence in 1980 has been marked by fluctuating rates of annual growth and high levels of unemployment. At independence, the socialist-oriented ZANU-PF government inherited a stagnant economy embodying racial inequilities in which 4 percent of the population earned 60 percent of the national income (Tevera, 1995, 80). Frequent droughts since 1982 and the international recession of the mid-1980s have been faulted for the low measure of economic and employment growth and have limited the government's efforts to further development. Yet Zimbabwe's adoption of an economic structural program was not the action of a desperate economy or acute economic crisis but was taken from a position of relative strength. The problem for Zimbabwe was how to manage an economy which was scarcely growing and in great

need of foreign exchange. Unlike other sub-Saharan African countries, Zimbabwe's economy has a relatively large manufacturing sector (26.4% of GDP in 1990). Zimbabwe's relatively high level of industrialization is the legacy of Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1960 leading to the imposition of sanctions and the need to produce many industrial commodities domestically. Zimbabwe's main exports come from the agricultural (tobacco and cotton), mining (gold) and manufacturing (ferro-alloys and nickel) fields (Gear).

The Inefficacy and Gender Inequity of the Social Dimensions of Adjustment Program

The Zimbabwean government conceded possible social and political costs of adjustment by including measures in the reform program for the protection of vulnerable groups. The state acknowledged that there would be certain transitional costs and that not all groups in Zimbabwean society would benefit, or suffer, equally from the reform. The Social Dimensions of Adjustment Program was introduced as a safety net designed to cushion the worst effects of ESAP. Administration of the program has been hindered by its incorporation into the existing government ministries, especially the Ministry of Public Service, Labor and Public Welfare, which were already understaffed and managing the drought relief program. The program was made up of three principal components: the Employment and Training Program, the Social Welfare Program and monitoring and evaluation of the social impact of the economic reforms. A Social Development Fund (SDF) was set up to finance the program. However SDF's impact is insignificant. The Social Development Fund has had a number of weaknesses and limitations comprising the delay in implementation, its small size and the poor targeting approach. One of the major problems with the Social Development Fund has been the delay in implementation. It was not until a full year after the start of ESAP that the government announced its Social Dimensions of Adjustment plans in detail, and it was another 16 months before a full-time SDF Coordinator was appointed within the government. Another major weakness of the SDF has been its small size. The amount of money allocated to the SDF is tiny compared to the annual decline, due to cost cutting, in basic services such as health, education and agriculture.

In a period of massive resource reallocation, the amount of money allocated to the SDF can not begin to cushion vulnerable groups and reflects the government's lack of commitment in doing so. Even with its comparatively minimal resources, the SDF has had few accomplishments because of its poorly designed targeting strategy. First the SDF uses a targeting approach intended mainly to exclude ineligible applicants from gaining benefits, requiring exemption certificates for entitlement to assistance. Barriers to application are so high that most of the eligible population does not find out about the program. Second, the eligibility criteria for the SDF program present problems. The extensive documentation and complexity of the requirements exclude many of the most vulnerable who may not have proof of residence, proof of income or employment, may not have the time to make the several trips usually required, and may live far from

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the Department of Social Welfare, which oversees the program, offices. The level of benefits has been low compared to the cost of applying. Furthermore, for the food money scheme, the money is paid directly to household heads assumed to be male. This may obstruct women's access to assistance from the program as the money may not necessarily be spent on household consumption needs. The requirement of wage slips to gain exemption from health charges has caused difficulties for women's access to help. Husbands may be reluctant to show their wage slips to their wives. The transitional costs provided are confined to retrenchments, due to civil service reform or the restructuring of industry, or to cushion increased cost recovery measures stemming from structural adjustment's adverse effects on social service access. The program has thus failed to reach the majority of female workers who have suffered as a result of the introduction of ESAP. An apparently gender blind policy of the SDA program, which targets formal sector retrenchees is in practice male-biased as most paid women workers are employed in the informal sector (Zimbabwe Women's Resource Center and Network, 1995, 21–25).

Overall, the efficacy of such a compensatory program as SDA is doubtful given administrative problems and the lack of adequate dissemination of public information. In addition, issues of gender differences have not been considered in the program design so few women have received any assistance from the fund. Inattention to interhousehold dynamics is another sign that the SDA program is unlikely to provide sufficient compensation for women and may even contribute to greater gender inequity.

In Zimbabwe, as in other countries of sub-Saharan Africa, the impact of the economic structural adjustment program has been harsh, with investment and growth remaining torpid while living conditions of vulnerable groups have deteriorated notably. Among the most hard-hit groups are women, especially female headed households, whose undependable means of support have been further weakened. It is difficult to disaggregate the effects of ESAP from those of other factors. Most important in this respect is the drought of 1991–92 and the arid years of insufficient rainfall since 1993. However, this paper seeks to provide some evidence that the effects of ESAP may be gendered and that women may have carried the preponderance of the transitional costs of adjustment so far.

POLITICAL EXPRESSION

The Absence of Women's Voices in Decisionmaking

In the process of reformimg its fiscal and monetary policies, the Zimbabwean government gave little thought to the most vulnerable groups in society including women. While the government may have to a certain degree been gender aware, it was not gender sensitive. This is not surprising in a country where women's participation in policy formulation has been limited and gender issues have not been successfully integrated with the framework of economic theorizing on adjustment. The absence of women's voices in decisionmaking results in

a continued marginalization of gender issues in public discourse. Women need to participate not just as passive beneficiaries; their involvement as decision-makers is central to the direction of development.

Women do not encounter the state in the same way as do men, whether one is examining its ideological, legal, political, administrative, or developmental aspects. Women have limited access to the state and few occupy official positions. Laws, norms and ideology shape different meanings for men and women. In addition, the consequence of state action affects men and women differently, conditioned either by the invisibility of women and their interests or male bias. The presence of a patriarchal ideology and the existence of separate women's organizations can provide officials with the opportunity to control women's collective labor for public purposes. Women need to seek ways to redefine expectations at the interface of gender-based obligations and state agencies (Thomas–Slayter, Rocheleau, 1995, 195–196).

Although women make up approximately 52 percent of the total Zimbabwean population, their participation in decision making is insignificant. Immediately after independence, gender ranked high among political priorities. Women played an important role in politics as a sequel to the process that had begun during the liberation struggle. Participation at that time was greater at local levels and growing at upper levels. Currently women are underrepresented at the upper levels of the political structure.

	1988		1993 (Chitsike, 1994, 7)		1995 (*The Herald*, 1995)	
	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total
Cabinet Ministers	3	27	0	24	2	23
Ministers	4	32	2	35		
Deputy Ministers	3	18	3	16	4	16
Judges	1	9	1	18	2	18
Heads of Parastatals	0	28	0	–		
Senators	3	40	–	–	–	–
Ambassadors	1	29	2	–	–	–
Councillors/Governors	80	1,824	–	–	–	–
Resident Ministers	0	8	1	8		
Members of Parliament	13	100	17	150	20	150
			(5 nominated)			

Decision Making Positions in the Civil Service
Permanent Secretaries   8.7%
Deputy Secretaries   9.3%
Under Secretaries   16.8%
Assistant Secretaries   30.1%
Senior Administrative Officers

Considering political appointments, parliamentarians, and women in decision-making positions in the civil service, the total number of women in government constitutes 25.3 percent (*The Herald*).

The Zimbabwean constitution in its Bill of Rights guarantees that everyone has a right to participation and a right to information but omits sex as a ground upon which discrimination is prohibited thus conferring an inferior status of women. In not forbidding discrimination on the ground of sex, the Constitution thereby permits gender related discrimination. Legally there is no barrier to women's participation in public and political life in Zimbabwe. The Legal of Age Majority Act (1982) gave all citizens equal status at the age of eighteen. In addition, Zimbabwe has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights. There are no property or educational requirements to vote but data from recent elections indicate that women vote less than men. Women do not stand for electoral office as frequently as men, although 47 women registered to run in the 1995 primaries. Women's political participation is confined to voting for predominantly male candidates. Males also fill most of the cabinet posts except for the welfare positions such as health, education, and labor and social welfare, reflecting ghettoization and prolonging women's ineligibility for traditionally male preserves.

Transformation of the National Agenda to Include Women's Issues Needed

Every political party recognizes the voting power of women and has included a women's wing or league as an integral part of its organizational structure. As deliberate creations of the political leadership in realization and for the purpose of exploiting of women's importance in securing electoral victories, women's wings probably represent women's interests to a limited extent. The parties themselves are led and controlled by men. Women political leaders must look to male political leaders for cooption into leadership and for continued political survival. The league's loyalty lies principally with the political party not with a women's constituency.

Outside league meetings women are outnumbered by their male counterparts in important political party meetings and in parliament. The ruling Zanu-PF party's whole central committee numbers 33 and of these 3 are women. The other parties are small and women are hardly heard of. The only time women feature is when they appear wearing party symbol t-shirts or cloth and dancing at political rallies. Although debate as a process may be conducted in a democratic manner, the range and content of the debates are largely determined by male members who predominate in leadership positions in both government and party (Chigudu, Tichagwa, 1995, 2–4). The idea of having a separate wing for women in political organizations is a continuation of the male/female dichotomy, where women's issues are assigned to women's institutions instead of being looked at as national issues for serious consideration. A complete and unqualified integration of women and men into the same national institution, without creating others for women alone, would help put women's issues and concerns on the national

agenda. Yet the ultimate goal extends beyond integration to seeing women assume a proactive stance working toward gender equality and women's empowerment while influencing and transforming the national agenda and national structures.

The barriers women confront to participation in public and political life are socially created. Authority over families and property is vested in the male family head and marriages are patrilocal. Thus married women are often required to vote for candidates of the husband's choice. Cultural and moral responsibility to the husband as head of the family is given as grounds for denying a woman her right to vote for candidates of her own choice. A woman seeking to stand for elective office or to apply for a senior post may be asked to show proof of no objection from her husband, even though there is no such legal requirement.

Although President Mugabe has urged the electorate to vote women into parliament, negative social attitudes against associating women with power persist. In traditional society, men owned and controlled the salient resources allocating them to various uses. Although women participated in the liberation struggle of the 1960s and 1970s, it produced no ideology compatible with the principle of gender equity. The benefits of revolution were tempered by the retention of masculinist principles. Legal reforms have been adopted but they favor economically advantaged women in urban areas. Rural women, who make up the majority, largely continue to see themselves as the custodians of African culture. Gender equity, as seen and defined by the educated and primarily urban elite, is viewed by rural women as an anomaly and contrary to their understanding of what is African. Women who aspire to political leadership are depicted in negative stereotypes as prostitutes, malcontents, social misfits, and analogous disparaging terms. Politics is associated with power and control and the popular attitude is that women should not be seen to want this power. Women who are interested in public life are viewed as unfeminine and are not compatible with Shona and Ndebele ideals of a wife and mother. Many women thus remain inactive in politics because of the fear of victimization and loss of family support. Many women in politics in Zimbabwe today are either sisters, nieces or wives of deceased politicians or politicians already in power. Few women ventured into politics in their own right.

Improving Women's Political Literacy and Creating Access
Women voters themselves appear to disdain their politically ambitious members choosing to vote for men. This suggests that women still tend to believe that political leadership is for men, that women accept rather than challenge male authority. This is a projection of decision making at the household level where men are the socially recognized heads of household. This attitude hinders women from acting on their own behalf and keeps party leadership in the hands of men. Allusion to the national leader as "Baba" (father) and other elected politicians as "Vakuru" (elders) is often heard at party rallies. This implies that the party as a whole is one large, extended family in which fathers and elders are not to be challenged regardless of whether they speak for everyone's (women's) interests (Chigudu, Tichagwa).

Female candidates for elective office have a number of factors working against them. First, women do poor or no networking. Women do not easily form strong networks. Generally after work women go home to perform their domestic responsibilities. Men meet other men in bars, clubs and on the golf course. Secondly, women candidates have access to limited or no funding. Economically women are not financially able to fund their own campaigns. This is made more difficult by the fact that already women are not in control of domestic finance in the private arena. Job segregation keeps women in low status jobs and caring occupations such as nursing, domestic workers, teaching, clerical, etc. These professions do not give women the financial resources to campaign for elections and are not jobs from which political candidates are traditionally recruited. Men, on the other hand, have more ways to attain funding. Third, the negative male culture in parliament is one that undermines the contributions of women. Popular culture supports the notion that women do not belong in decision making bodies, and this includes parliament. Some statements made in the Zimbabwean parliament demonstrate that certain parliamentarians do not regard the participation of women in the institution as meaningful. Fourth, women face negative media coverage. The print and electronic media do not have a positive attitude towards women in general and women in politics in particular. Consequently, the media inclines toward capitalizing on the negative views that society has on women entering a male dominated environment. Fifth, general societal discrimination makes it difficult for women to find time and energy to participate in politics. Sexist language is often used to disparage women. Individual women who seek leadership positions must also struggle with their own internalized stereotypes and with the fact that a woman running for public office will be assessed differently than men. Her private life will be probed into. Her marital status, husband's job, stability of her marriage, number of children, political inclination, her style of dress will be examined. It is much easier to become apathetic or withdraw leaving the political sphere to its own machinations. Politics has not traditionally been viewed as a place to find a respectable woman (Kunya, 1995, 7–8).

Women voters in Zimbabwe at present lack a sufficiently strong group consciousness able to serve as a power base for an aspiring politician or capable of selecting and electing its own leaders. Hence, as a constituency women lack political power to impact on the nature and direction of national politics in general and party politics in particular. Improvement in the level of political literacy of women, which is lower than that of men, and active promotion by the government of women's participation in politics, which it is obliged to do as signatory to several human rights conventions and charters, could assist Zimbabwean women in securing a voice in public affairs and policy. Women don't need charity, they need access. Without it, they cannot have input into the implementation of such policies as ESAP. Women's issues remain marginal to the national political agenda. Although numerous women's organizations have emerged (Women and Law and Development in Africa, Women's Action Group, Zimbabwe Women's Resource Center and Network, Women and Law in Southern Africa-Zimbabwe, the Association of Women in Business) since independence, the

undemocratic character of the regime and lack of public awareness prevent women from organizing and participating in decision making at all levels. With little or no opportunity to voice women's concerns within formal political structures, women's issues and their relationship to macroeconomic policies such as ESAP remain marginalized. In 1988 the department of women affairs, part of the Ministry of Community Development and Women's affairs, was moved to the Ministry of Political Affairs. In June 1992, the whole Ministry of Political Affairs was abolished. Thus, even a token gesture that masks the absence of women's issues and women from the policy area has been eliminated. In the current dire economic circumstances brought on by ESAP, the interests of the more vulnerable and invisible societal groups, such as women, are likely to receive even less consideration.

WORK AND MOBILITY

The marginalization of women is both a political and economic phenomenon. As in all times of crisis and adversity, the weakest in society bear the burden. ESAP has resulted in the further economic marginalization of women, especially female-headed households. Historically, employment in all sectors except agriculture was the exclusive preserve of men. Even the poorest-paid factory workers, as well as domestic workers, were predominantly men. In Rhodesia, from the last decades of the nineteenth century through the time of the Great Depression, a geographical division of labor existed in which African men were recruited into wage labor on farms and in mines, while African women remained in the rural areas working the fields and taking care of children and the old. The vitality of village life depended on women's work, which also subsidized migrant workers' substandard wages without cost to the regime. Deteriorating rural conditions and lack of agricultural extension services by the 1930s affected rural livelihoods, compelling more and more women and children to migrate to towns. Since African women were largely excluded from urban wage labor, many provided for themselves by joining men as wives or consorts and/or by trading or marketing. After WW II, the Rhodesian government allowed African male workers to live with wives and dependents and began introducing education for African children. These developments led to the creation of a more stabilized urban African community. Newly created welfare departments began molding African urban notions of leisure and teaching western concepts of domesticity to African urban women. Only gradually just prior to and after independence did the dominant ideology of exclusivity in race and sex begin to erode.

Women in the Formal Employment Sector
Prior to ESAP, a clear gender division of labor existed in the formal employment sector in Zimbabwe with women concentrated in the services sectors of health and education, public administration, and agriculture. The impact of ESAP on formal sector employment can be established by looking at retrench-

ment statistics following enactment of the program. More than 22,000 Zimbabwean workers lost their jobs since market reforms were launched in 1990 through 1993. The unemployment rate increased from 37.2 percent in 1990 to 44.4 percent in 1993 (*The Herald*, 1994). The highest retrenchment figures have been in the mining sector in which women's participation is low (3%). Women are comparatively highly employed in public sector jobs in Zimbabwe; but they have not been negatively affected by the civil service reorganization instituted as part of ESAP. In 1993, out of 4,869 public sector retrenchees, only 43 were women. The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) argues that the actual number of retrenchees is much higher than official statistics indicated (Gear, 28–29).

ESAP policies have brought changes in the Labor Relations Act (1987). These involve the increased role of collective bargaining to supersede statutory minimum wage policy and government intervention in the establishment of fixed terms and conditions of service. The deregulation of unions has fortified these factors introducing a less secure environment for workers in general. Women's participation and representation in the labor movement has been historically weak in Zimbabwe. As workers, however, they will be affected by changes in the degree of job security. Since women rely more heavily on preferential treatment and protaction in employment and employee benefits, such as maternity leave, the new insecure working environment brought on by ESAP augurs ill for the future terms and conditions of women's employment. Another result of change in labor legislation is the increasing casualization of the formal sector workforce. Although affecting both male and female workers, between March 1991 and June 1992, the number of women working full time had dropped by about 30,000 while the number of part-timers had increased by 8,000. This may indicate a trend towards a flexible workforce which often employs many female workers (ZWRCN, 5).

The growth of female employment opportunities for young women in Export Processing Zones given experience with such zones in other countries will lead to appalling working conditions, low wages, and job insecurity. Women in these zones suffer ill-health and ill-treatment by employers.

ESAP has led to a general decline in real wages, employment opportunities and job security affecting both male and female workers. The average monthly income dropped from Z$355.42 in 1991 to Z$155.09 in 1993. Inflation rose sharply from 16.1% in 1990 to 23.3% in 1991 to 42.1% in 1992 and contributed to the erosion in real wages. Given the concentration of women workers in lower paid positions, reductions in the value of real wages may be particularly significant for women. A program of specific measures to bring about the advancement of women into middle and senior management positions within the civil service shows mixed success one year after implementation (1993). A 1991 report had shown that women within the civil service made up about 30% of public service employees at entry level but the proportion of women holding high level positions was inordinately low. The program has been maintained in principle despite civil service reform due to ESAP. However maintaining and increas-

ing the impetus in the depressing economical environment may be difficult (Gear, 31, 34).

The government itself recognizes that real wages have declined radically since the introduction of ESAP, and women are the ones carrying the bulk of the burden. From 1990 to 1992, real wages fell about 30 percent. Although the entire family bears the cost of this loss in purchasing power, women carry a larger share of the load. Women's basic needs may be designated lower priority than those of the male adults. As shoppers, they may be expected to provide the same supplies on a smaller budget (ZWRCN, 7).

Income Earning Opportunities for Women in the Informal Sector

Through the informal sector, a country's poor have managed to create their own employment opportunities in many hostile economic and political environments in developing countries. In Zimbabwe, the informal economy is especially important for providing women's income earning opportunities. The informal sector in Zimbabwe provides steady employment for 1.6 million people. This number is in contrast to 1.25 million in formal sector occupations. In comparison to other sub-Saharan African Countries, Zimbabwe's formal sector is both larger and is concentrated in manufacturing activities (70% of the total). The informal sector in Zimbabwe is important for women's income earning opportunities since two thirds of informal sector micro-enterprises are run by women (Gear, 37).

Some of the trends which have negatively affected women's ability to earn income within this area are decreased demand as actual purchasing power had dropped, increased male competition as more men lose their jobs, and increased costs of production as input prices rise due to price decontrol and currency devaluation. The latter is significant for women producing knitted and crocheted items which require semi-processed materials, wool and thread, since the costs of these items has risen following the introduction of ESAP.

More men are entering the informal sector and this could change previous gender divisions in the type of work women and men undertake. Preceding ESAP, women worked primarily in textile, weaving and apparel production (mostly knitted and crocheted items), as well as in food and beverage enterprises. Men were engaged in wholesale trade, construction and fabricated metal production. The number of men involved in petty trading, which was previously taken up by women, has increased. A growing number of middle class women (and men) are entering the informal sector as middle class incomes are shrinking because of price rises and reduction in the real value of wages. The negative impact of ESAP on women informal sector workers was evident in a survey of 100 households in one of Harare's low income suburbs. The study reported a decline of 34% in the amount earned by women from informal activities.

Changes in women's income earning opportunities also affect the welfare of other household members. Income from female household members, of nominal amounts, is entirely used for basic household expenditures, while men's income was also used for personal expenditures. Moreover, an increase or decrease in a

women's economic status may be influential in strengthening or weakening her room for maneuver, her bargaining power within and outside the household (Gear, 40).

Microenterprises, Gender, and Development

Microenterprises are important to the economy of developing countries. They provide employment and income for many people while supplying needed products and services. This sector has increased in importance as large scale enterprises are unable to expand rapidly and provide large-scale employment in developing countries as employment in agriculture declines, as migration from the countryside swells urban populations and as the effects of structural adjustment programs lead to economic hardship. Women play a major role within small scale enterprises which represent an important means of earning income for them in developing countries. Especially important for women who need to earn income, microenterprises are more flexible and less restrictive than employment in large companies, which may require education, training or experience that women lack. Such jobs may also demand that work be done at times and in places that are culturally unacceptable or difficult for women with family responsibilities. Small scale enterprises can be developed upon knowledge and skills women gain in the family, can be done on a part-time basis and within the household if necessary, and can ease the transition from agricultural employment as it begins to decline. In a country like Zimbabwe where a large portion of the population (70%) is still in the rural areas, and most of it women (50 to 60%), small scale enterprises are an efficient means of securing income given the cost and difficulty in the transport of raw materials and products. Microenterprises are an even more important means of income, products, and services under unfavorable economic conditions. Nonfarm income is especially important for the very poor, the landless, and women who live in rural areas but fail to share in the returns from agricultural development (Dulansey, Austin, 1991, 79–81).

Constrained by their limited job-related skills, burdened with domestic chores and driven to find additional income to compensate for the harsh effects of ESAP, women in Zimbabwe must seek and fill the available lacunae in income generating activities which are often low paying and generally not sought by men. Zimbabwean women represent about two thirds of the informal sector and comprise 67 percent of small scale enterprises (Zhou, 1995, 163). However, whenever a particular venture proved lucrative, men tended to move in. In general, the smaller the size of the business and the more rural or smaller the size of the locality, the larger the proportion of women business owners.

The issue of economic empowerment of women in Zimbabwe has traditionally been dominated by women's income-generating projects. One organization which focuses primarily on this strategy is a nongovernmental organization, the Zimbabwe Woman's Bureau (ZWB), organized prior to independence by white, liberal church women as a welfare organization. Currently it receives funds from donor organizations to empower women through functional literacy courses, seminars on legal rights, bookkeeping, project planning, marketing, and man-

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agement, and the development of microprojects in high density and communal areas. Given Zimbabwe's patriarchal culture and society, the association strives for gender equity and leadership roles for women without alienating male support. Modern notions of western feminism are foreign to rural African women and often seen as antithetical to traditional African culture. Mobilizing women in groups (although men are not excluded) to earn income is viewed as a useful means of empowering women. Empowerment consists not only of income generation but also of making women aware of their role in society's development in general. Women earn revenue and understand the relevance and importance of their contributions to the community. Traditionally, it was unheard of for women to work for economic gain. Any revenue women gained from subsistence plots allotted to them by their husbands was used for the family's welfare. ZWB encourages women to take the initiative in problem solving and in starting cooperatives. The bureau itself does not organize cooperatives but responds to applications and leads an applicant group through a three stage process: 1) the pre-cooperative stage, 2) loan application, 3) cooperative working to become independent commercial ventures. Once a cooperative is formed it must register with the Ministry of National Affairs, Employment Creation and Cooperatives. The ministry has a marketing department which can buy products from ventures and help place them. Microprojects currently in operation include livestock rearing, oil pressing, pottery, tree plantations, catering, poultry raising, piggery, garment making (school uniforms, children's and adult clothes), gardening, carpentry, goat keeping, soap making, fence making, flour making, sewing, bread making, brick molding, small scale irritation, bee keeping, and crocheting. Some of these areas had been the domain of men. The effects of ESAP, however, have prompted women to make money in nontraditional spheres. Where livestock raising was done by men and for status and personal use, not for commercial purposes, now women are raising livestock to sell on the market. Beekeeping in the traditional mode required work at night or dawn and was associated with sorcery and witchcraft if performed by women. With new methods of working bees, women are involved in the activity. Zimbabwe Women's Bureau has thirteen field directors in as many areas plus four trainees assigned by the United Nation helping to establish and provide supervision for projects. Recently, field workers have been learning to ride motorcycles (6 for seventeen field workers) at Silveira House in Harare, as an efficient and inexpensive means of field transportation for project oversight.

The Zimbabwe Women's Bureau conducts functional literacy classes in the 13 areas of its operation. ZWB adheres to the reasoning that for literacy to be successful among the illiterate with whom the organization works these women must embrace learning a functional skill as well, in order to learn directly how they can make use of their literacy. Along with an emphasis on literacy, there must be a stress on vocational skills. These skills should not only consist of traditional women's activities, but more lucrative male-dominated vocations as well. Literacy programs must affirm that what is learned can be made immediately practical and used right away. Continued adult education programs are nec-

essary for women with low levels of literacy who risk sliding back into illiteracy if their skills are not continuously used and strengthened. Literacy and the projects women undertake can become even more meaningful for women, according to ZWB philosophy, when they are linked to making women aware of their oppression, and at the same time to organizing and training them for effective self-reliance activities. The Bureau upholds the idea that learning how to read and write must go hand in hand with emancipation and empowerment. The Bureau, however, advocates a politically sensitive approach designed not to alienate men in Zimbabwe's still strongly patriarchal culture.

Most of the cooperatives have savings clubs to which members contribute monthly and which help the group accumulate funds for new equipment or allow members to withdraw money with interest in time for Christmas. Implementation of ESAP has led to a rise in prices, the retrenchment of husbands, and a rising cost of living. Years of drought have made things even more difficult and left women increasingly responsible for the economic support of the family. Where families were having milk with their tea in the morning, now they are drinking tea with a little sugar. Lunch is usually skipped. Where previously families could purchase two loaves of bread a day, they are now buying only one. School and health fees have also increased. The cooperative movement has given women a means of coping and surviving in times of economic adversity.

Thus, small scale enterprise is a major mode of income generation for women, especially women with limited financial and human capital. Yet these enterprises are criticized for being subsistence rather than maximization strategies. The financial return for the time and energy invested is extremely low. Despite this, microprojects provide women opportunities even if within a narrow range, do furnish some income and are often vital to household survival. As a rule, isolated areas do not offer any more than minimal opportunities for making money. To earn more than a small allowance, a micro-enterprise must offer an unusual product and have access to an outside market. Overall, there is much variation in the operation of these groups, depending upon the skill, energy and resources available to those running them. Small scale enterprises are a vital hedge against poverty and the lack of opportunities for women in formal sector employment. Unlike men, most women are confined to making money through small commercial undertakings. Yet these activities are no universal panacea for poverty. Low cash flows and restricted demand inhibit the activities of women in most remote, rural areas. Even where outside opportunities obtain, they may be seasonal, temporary, and highly vulnerable to interference from official services (Preston–White, Rogerson, 1991, 229–244).

In addition to the more conventional nongovernmental organizations like the Zimbabwe Women's Bureau, there now exist more recently formed organizations like Zimbabwe Women's Finance Trust (ZWIFT) and the Association of Women in Business. These organizations are examining issues of women in big business and how to access credit. They are also providing alternative finance for women's projects.

The difficulties of the economic reform program have forced many women operating small scale businesses from their rented premises in Harare to the backyards of their homes. Many women have been harmed by the reform program and have seen their businesses collapse. Those remaining have eluded rising costs by operating from their homes. Women venturing into businesses are still encountering problems when approaching financial institutions for loans either to start or maintain projects. Women cannot borrow money because they find it difficult to meet the requirements needed by the banks. Women usually submit a house for collateral and given the fact that most houses are jointly owned, the bank will require the husband's approval. Often the husbands refuse to surrender the property as collateral for fear that if the projects fail, they may lose the house. Women are denied access to loans as a result. Another restriction is that banks request a track record as a means of security but most women do not have experience in running businesses (Makunike, 1993).

The Marginalization of Women in Agriculture

As part of ESAP, the Zimbabwean government has been liberalizing agricultural marketing, decontrolling producer and input prices, eliminating agricultural subsidies and continuing with its land resettlement program. Zimbabwe's population stands at 10.4 million, 69% of which lives in rural areas. The agricultural sector has a dualistic economic structure, composed of commercial and peasant sections. Also many engaged in agricultural production also depend on nonfarm income and urban remittances. Seventy percent of the rural population are women, 40% of rural households are female headed, and the majority of agricultural work is undertaken by women. Women work in agriculture, both as casual laborers on large-scale commercial farms and in communal land farming in the cultivation of cash and subsistence crops. Communal areas occupy roughly 50 percent of the country's available land in the worst natural regions. The communal farming system consists of small (less than 12 hectares) family farms under the communal land-tenure system. Under communal tenure, individual families do not own the land as private property; the land belongs to the state representing the nation. Families get long-term, usually intergenerational, user rights to this land. For married people the land is registered in the name of the husband so the man controls the land even though women are the actual farmers in terms of labor. Legally widowed, single and divorced women own land in the communal areas, but experience has shown that these women are seriously disadvantaged in access to land in these areas.

The remaining 50 percent of excellent arable land is primarily owned in the form of large-scale commercial farms (LSCF) under private ownership. LSCF are dominated by the minority white community. In between these two polarities, communal and LSCF, are two small sectors. The first is the small-scale commercial farming sector. This is made up of a number of trained communal farmers who have a certificate of competence in agriculture. These farmers are permitted to purchase small farms in specially designated areas. The second of these other forms of tenure is the resettlement scheme. This scheme was started after inde-

pendence to address the radically unequal land distribution pattern Zimbabwe inherited. Resettlement occurs on former LSCF land which is divided into smaller units. Private ownership is not allowed; tenure is on a contract basis with the husband or senior male of the family.

Research in agriculture has demonstrated that the owners of land also control the produce from that land regardless of who did the real farming. So, women who generally do not own land are seriously deprived of the benefits of this leading economic activity. Since women do not on the whole own land, men take all the money from the produce. Women are also disadvantaged in that they cannot afford their own agricultural support services even if they own their own land. This consequently gives the men authority over checks from the Cotton Company of Zimbabwe or the Grain Marketing Board as they are the provider of all facilities excluding labor. The Cotton Company of Zimbabwe and the Grain Marketing Board are government-owned institutions with a monopoly on the collection and marketing of their respective products. In 1994 they were commercialized and their monopolies ended (Getecha, Chipika, 1995, 52–53).

Women's Bargaining Position in Rural Areas Weak Without Access
to Independent Sources of Income or Access to Land
The Legal Age of Majority Act has allowed women to own property in their own right, to enter into contracts, to sue and to be sued. This is certainly an accomplishment. However, the goals of LAMA are undermined by customary laws which are applicable to the majority of women, especially in rural areas where customary law takes precedence over general law. Women in communal areas still do not have access to land in their own right but through their fathers or through their husbands. Land as a major natural resource and source of security for accessing credit is thus not easily available for women. The land tenure system has negative consequences for women and often results in harvest suicides. These are cases in which women have committed suicide after their husbands have squandered all the money they received after the harvest. Gokwe District where women grow cotton has seen a large number of these cases.

In historical perspective, Zimbabwe's agriculture land distribution stems from a colonial legacy that left a distorted land ownership system which has remained largely unchanged. Most of Zimbabwe's best quality land is held by white settler farmers. LSCF produces three fourths of marketed crops. Tobacco, Zimbabwe's most important agricultural crop, is grown almost completely by the LSCF sector. Of the 70 percent of Zimbabwe's population that lives in the rural areas, the majority resides in communal lands which are overpopulated and concentrated in the areas with the poorest soil. At independence, the government sought to resettle 162,000 families by 1985. By 1991, however, only about one third of this number, or 52,000 families, had benefited from the plan. Since 1980 the government has directed resources to the communal areas building infrastructure and offering price incentives for food and cash crops. Commercial land farmers, therefore, were able to increase their production of marketed maize from 4.7 percent in 1980 to 47 percent in 1985/86 (Gear, 41–42).

There are important differences between and within communal land farm households. The greatest part of the marketed food surplus comes from a minority of relatively prosperous communal households while the majority of smallholders operate at a deficit. In 1987, 40 percent of communal land producers did not market any cereal and the top 10 percent of producers controlled 40 to 60 percent of marketed food. Access to land, credit, drawing power, off-farm income, and urban remittances were important variables in the expansion of crop production.

Women have different access to the production inputs of land, credit, draft power, etc., than men. As farmers, women have encountered a history of ostracism from land ownership through a combination of traditional and colonial practices. The resettlement schemes begun after independence continued the pattern of discrimination against women in regard to land ownership, a system in which land is assigned to male household heads. Access to credit is extremely difficult for women partially due to the lack of land permits which prevents them from getting credit or services in their name. Finally, women make up only eight percent of the 1,800 extension workers (1993) provided by the Department of Agriculture, Technical and Extension Services (Agritex).

ESAP Means More Economic Pressure and Work for Rural Women

Most rural households do not produce enough food for their own needs. Consequently there is an impetus for household members to earn cash income to meet basic needs. The pressure to earn extra money is especially felt by women who are responsible for family essentials. Yet, the majority of women do not earn income from crop production (orange, tobacco, cotton) but through such activities as market gardening or other non-farm income earning activities, such as crocheting, basket making, pottery or food processing (beer or peanut butter). The Zimbabwe Women's Bureau discovered that in many vicinities women could only make decisions independently in regard to income earned from these activities. Women are also responsible for domestic tasks within the home in addition to their considerable involvement in agricultural work adding another dimension of gender inequity and differentiation.

While higher producer prices due to ESAP have clear benefits for the large scale commercial sector, they are unlikely to benefit the rural farmer much. Increased producer prices have only benefited a minority of farmers not the majority which are deficit households or deficit net purchasers. Reduction in real wages has negatively affected the income of agricultural workers on large scale commercial farms. Thus the livelihoods of households which depend on agricultural wages have been affected both by increased consumer prices and decreased incomes. Urban wages have also declined in real value affecting the amount and regularity of renumerations from urban relatives. Assumptions behind the structural adjustment appear to be misguided given Zimbabwe's highly unequal agricultural sector and are likely to increase inequalities within the sector. Women's bargaining position in rural areas is especially weakened without access to independent sources of income and access to land and other productive inputs. Fur-

thermore, women's time is decidedly constrained in the rural areas where women perform both agricultural tasks, paid and unpaid, and have the responsibility for most domestic chores (ZWRCN, 10–11).

Since the introduction of ESAP, prices of food and basic commodities have risen due to a combination of the gradual removal of food subsidies and price decontrol which have been aggravated by escalating costs of imported goods for manufactured products due to devaluation of the Zimbabwean dollar. Rising energy costs (fuel and electricity) have also contributed to increasing food costs. Hence, higher food prices have not gone up noticeably during the same period. Increases in the cost of maize meal has necessitated changes in the diet of the average urban household. This has meant eating meat less frequently, eating just one meal a day or in higher income households, cutting out luxury foods. The problem of food prices is a matter of anxiety, particularly for women who are given fixed sums for housekeeping and hold the task of feeding the household. Reforms in maize marketing, the result of ESAP, have led to the greater use of small scale hammer milling in urban areas, a process which has a higher extraction rate and is cheaper than the previously subsidized roller mill. Households that switch to straight run meal produced by hammer mills are benefiting nutritionally and economically since hammer mill technology is more labor intensive, less skill-intensive and demands a smaller initial capital outlay than roller milling technology. Most of the hammermills, responding quickly to price driven changes in consumer tastes and to the new regulatory milieu, are located in high density suburbs (57 percent) where the majority of the poor live, or in industrial areas (11 percent) where many of the same population work. However, these gains have to be weighed against the costs in terms of women's (87%) and men's trips on foot to the hammermill to have their maize processed into straight meal. Fifty percent of the time, they spent more than an hour per trip in travelling and waiting as opposed to but ten minutes, (the average time) it takes to purchase a similar quantity of roller meal at the nearest shop (ZWRCN, 12–14).

A looming question is the degree to which women's voices will be heard in the current debate over the Land Acquisition Act (1992). The land issue was the underlying force behind the struggle for independence in Zimbabwe. After independence, the land issue could not adequately be resolved due to constitutional limitations on the acquisition of private property by the state. It is only with passage of the Land Acquisition Act that the question has been seriously addressed at the national level. To facilitate the process, and make it more consultative, the state has set up a Land Tenure Commission to deal with matters pertaining to land tenure. Women's rights and access to land, as well as inheritance rights, are subjects of interest to women which the commission will address (Gumbonzuanda, Win, 1994, 75). The Commercial Farming Union (CFU) which represents the interests of large-scale male commercial farmers is vehemently opposed to the bill. Debates are also taking place over the government's proposal to liberalize the Grain Marketing Board which is opposed by black commercial male farmers. Will the particular needs and interests of women involved in the agricultural sector be heard by policy makers in considering these issues?

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CONCLUSION

Women's Invisibility and the Gender-Differentiated Impact of ESAP

The primary tasks of this study were to make visible women's invisibility and to evaluate the gender-differentiated impact of the monetarist macro-economic policy, the Economic Structural Adjustment Program, adopted by Zimbabwe in 1990 and extended in 1995. Structural adjustment policies, whether proposed by the World Bank or the IMF, are presented in a language that appears to be gender neutral, but that masks an underlying male bias. World Bank/IMF analysis of structural adjustment is written in macro-economic concepts such as GNP, balance of payments, tradables and nontradables, efficiency, and productivity – all of which seem to have no gender implications. Women are not visible in this analysis, but neither are men. It is an impersonal analysis mentioning only abstract suppliers and consumers of resources. Yet, this abstract study has a hidden agenda that excludes the process of the reproduction and maintenance of human resources. Work required for the maintenance and reproduction of labor (cooking, child care, housework, etc.) is omitted because it is unpaid. Since it is unpaid, reproductive labor has no relevance for the macroeconomic variables with which adjustment programs are concerned. This failure to explicitly consider unpaid labor is an example of male bias because it is women who carry most of the burden of financially uncompensated reproduction and maintenance of human resources. It is work that is, above all, considered women's work that is excluded from consideration.

Male bias that excludes the unpaid work that women do in the home leads to bias in terms like productivity and efficiency that are often used in relation to structural adjustment. What economists regard as an increase in productivity or efficiency may instead be a transferring of costs from the paid economy to the unpaid economy. For example, attempts to make hospitals more efficient may lead to earlier discharge of patients who still need convalescent care. This shifts the load of caring for them from paid hospital staff to unpaid female relatives in the home.

The advocates of "adjustment with a human face" in UNICEF do pay attention to the maintenance and reproduction of human resources. Women are visible in this methodology appearing along with children as a vulnerable group. However, the discussion of adjustment at the household level still treats the household as a unit. The male bias lies in not disaggregating the household to examine the different positions of men and women in the household, ignoring the significance of the household as a place for the subordination of women. Studies reveal that the household can be a location of tension and conflict as well as of cooperation – a site of inequality as well as mutuality.

Though women are not in control of household resources, they have the responsibility and obligation to manage household resources so as to feed, clothe, house and educate the rest of the household. This responsibility for the household budget without control over resources is a source of constant problems and

anxiety for poor women. They have to fashion household survival strategies, but it is their husbands who control access to major resources.

These relations of male domination and female subordination which characterize the household as a social institution are significant for conceptualizing household responses to structural adjustment. It cannot be taken for granted that households will react to structural adjustment by reducing expenditures on luxuries in order to uphold expenditures on necessities. In both developed and developing countries across a wide spectrum of class positions and even in poor households, men incline toward maintaining a personal allowance mainly spent on luxuries such as alcohol, cigarettes, gambling and socializing in beer halls and cafes. A wife acting alone has no ability to reduce household consumption of these luxuries so she can make ends meet in the face of higher food prices.

An approach sufficient to meet women's needs requires not merely making women visible and calling for resources to be directed to women. It requires an analysis of how male privilege and power over women can be reduced. Women quite logically focus on their immediate and urgent practical needs, particularly needs for resources to guarantee household survival and a better future for their children. However, the satisfaction of these practical gender needs is not disconnected from strategic gender needs. A meeting of women's practical gender needs implies also some improvement in meeting women's strategic gender needs, that is, a lessening of their subordination to men, for an alternative, more equal and satisfactory organization of society than that which currently exists, in terms of both the structure and nature of relationships between men and women.

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BOOK REVIEWS

ALDRIDGE, A. Owen: *The Dragon and the Eagle. The Presence of China in the American Enlightenment.* Detroit, Wayne State University Press 1993. 287 pp.

A. Owen Aldridge (born 1915), Professor Emeritus at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, well-known among Euro-American and Sino-Japanese literary comparatists, characterized the book under review as "either cross-culturism or mirage study" (p. 9). I think that it is possible fully to agree with this opinion. As "mirage" Aldridge's work reflects images coming from distant China, sometimes in right, sometimes in wrong proportions, as they were noted and observed in America during the period 1706 and 1826. As "cross-culturism", this book tries to bring the cross-culturalist facts of the eighteenth and of the beginning of the nineteenth century to the readers of the multiculturalist society of our time.

This study in reality consists of a quite large unit of different studies, more or less marked off by the sixteen chapters of the book. It is a pioneering work because "no previous scholarship has been devoted to the intellectual relations between China and America during the period of the American Enlightenment" (p. 7). These years, as indicated above, started with the birth of Benjamin Franklin (1706), famous American statesman, scientist and diplomat and ended with the death of Thomas Jefferson (1826), the third President of the United States and author of the Declaration of Independence. As the studies concerned with the "mirage" and "cross-culturism" elsewhere, the majority of Americans who reflected on the state of things in China, its political system, philosophical and cultural niveau, had never been in the country they analysed, did not know its language, whether spoken or written. The situation in America changed after the War of Independence, when Americans visited China and later wrote also about their experiences.

The book under review is a work that took about twenty years to be finished. In 1971 Professor Aldridge was invited to serve as the "chief" reviewer of the First Quadrennial International Comparative Literature Conference, Tamkang University, Taipei, and participated at every subsequent conference taking place there up to now. Aldridge, just as his great mentor and the *Kronzeuge* of this book, Benjamin Franklin, was enthralled by Confucius, and probably knew about the famous maxim concerned with the relation of a teacher with his disciples: "Even when walking in a party of more than three I can always be certain of learning from those I am with. There will be good qualities that I can select for imitation or bad ones that will teach me what requires correction in myself" (*The Analects of Confucius.* Trans. by Arthur Waley. London, George Allen & Unwin LTD 1938, 4th impression 1964, p. 127.) Aldridge helped his Chinese and Japanese students to get through the secrets of Comparative Literature, especially of its methodology, and he learned much from them later, as he acknowledged on p. 11. He broached the topic of early contacts of America with China in his plenary address at the Fifth Quadrennial International Comparative Literature Conference in Taipei in 1987. I do not find this speech in the proceedings, but his *Recapitulation of the Conference* at

the end of the volume. There this topic really at least touched, although nearly the whole of his career had something to do with China. With Franklin he launched his scholarly research in 1950s. In 1957 Aldridge published a book entitled: *Franklin and His French Contemporaries*. Later in 1965 *Benjamin Franklin: Philosopher and Man* appeared, and even before another book about the man influenced by Confucius: *Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine* appeared in 1959. Both Franklin and Paine had a positive attitude to deism and to ethical teaching of the Chinese Sage.

When I first met Aldridge at the Sixth Triennal International Congress of Comparative Literature Association, Bordeaux, 1970, he read there his contribution entitled *The Vogue of Thomas Paine*. Probably it was his Asian students who helped to deepen his interest in the things of the Far East. The book entitled *The Reemergence of World Literature. A Study of Asia and the West*, published in 1986, was the first great fruit of this study. This book dedicated to Etiemble, "scholar, intellectual crusader, dean of East-West comparative studies", divided into two sections: theory and pragmatic applications, is a good introduction to this branch of comparative literature. With the exception of the chapter called *Voltaire and the Mirage of China,* the approach is novel and analyses mostly literature of our times.

In *The Dragon and the Eagle* Aldridge returns to old literary and philosophico-cultural "loves", to old and neglected stories, to published and even unpublished documents, once read, or even never read books, articles and reviews. This required a painstaking study by this old gentleman in his late seventies, who during his stays in different parts of the Far East, his American home and Europe, put together a great amount of useful, but often neglected material concerned with different aspects of Sino-American relations including linguistics, mythology, religion, philosophy, sciences, politics, agriculture, foreign trade, legal system, literature and art, but also popular customs and prostitution.

Due to the "mirage" character of the book, in which most was written by people who were not specialists and often quite sinophobic, I do not think that it will find many who will read it from the beginning to the end, for it appeals to quite disparate groups, scholars of American cultural history and the scholars of East-West literary relationships. It is also not necessary and the author was probably aware of it. The framework of individual reader's interest is usually not so extensive as the scope of Aldridge's book. But some of the passages may bring pleasure to connoisseurs, e.g. the chapters about Franklin and his intellectual companions, about Confucius and Chinese religion, or about the *magnum opus* by the young American Robert Waln, Jr. with a very simply title: *History of China*, but with a long subtitle which reads as follows:

China: Comprehending a view of the origin, antiquity, history, religion, morals, government, laws, population, literature, drama, festivals, games, women, beggars, manners, customs, etc. of that Empire, With Remarks on the European Embassies to China, and the Policy of Sending a Mission from the United States to the Court of Pekin. To which is added a Commercial Appendix, containing a synopsis of the Trade of Portugal, Holland, England, France, Denmark, Ostend, Sweden, Prussia, Trieste, and Spain, in China and India: and a Full Description of the American Trade to Canton, Its Rise, Progress, and Present State: with Mercantile Information, Useful to the Chinese Trader and General Merchant.

Judging only from the subtitle we may have an idea of the broad framework of the project of this young man, who was only twenty-nine when this work was partly published in 1823. This work did not receive an adequate public response; therefore the second volume never appeared. Aldridge regards this book as the herald of the later great

historical works by Francis Parkman (1823–1893) and Herbert Howe Bancroft (1832–1918), as "fascinating reading", although "almost completely neglected to this day" (p. 195). As a study in the history of ideas, this book is extremely valuable, although it should be read with caution, due to the material Waln Jr. used when writing his compendium, and the difficulties connected with the direct study of China, where the foreign visitors were "restricted in their excursions, prohibited from entering cities, and even in many instances, confined to their houses" (p. 196).

If the book under review presents a rich pasture for the researcher in realm of the intellectual history, not much material is there for the literary comparatist. One may see that in Chapter Fifteen entitled *Timid Exoticism: Or China of Imagination*. Not much was known in America about Chinese literature in the period of Enlightenment, with the exception of *Confucian Analects (Lunyu)*, some poems from *The Book of Odes (Shijing)*, the well-known Chinese novel of the Rococco time called *The Fortunate Union*, or *The Pleasing History* according to Aldridge *(Hao qiu zhuan)*, the famous play from the time of the Yuan Dynasty (13th cent.) *Little Orphan of the House of Chao (Zhao shi gu er)* and very delightful short story titled in English *The Inconstancy of Madam Choang (Zhuangzi xiu gu pen cheng da dao)* from Feng Menglong's (died 1645) collection *Popular Words to Admonish World (Jing shi tong yan)*. The Americans of those times had imaginative travellers, philosophers, politicians, economists, but not writers. On the other hand, it was a pleasant surprise to read that Jefferson recommended to read *The Little Orphan of the House of Chao* and *The Pleasing History*, as two books among 200 items in 1771, nine years before the birth of Goethe, who in the year 1827, a few years before his death promulgated his concept of World Literature, among others, also due to his reading the second book just mentioned.

It is necessary to point out that Aldridge's book has some shortcomings, too. The reader finds there "various spellings of Chinese names, as these have multiple spellings in English" (p. 9). It would be better to use Wade-Giles or *pinyin* system, at least for the most complicated ones, e.g. on p. 209 Si-gan-foo (Hsi-an or Xi'an), Shen-see (Shen-hsi or Shaanxi). There are a few mistakes, as Ling who reigned in 551 B.C., was not the Emperor but the King (p. 32), or Emperor K'ang Hai should be K'ang Hsi or Kangxi (p. 149).

In spite of these critical remarks, Professor Aldridge's books makes a great contribution to the study of the Chinese impact on America in the time of the American Enlightenment and it is to be recommended for all interested readers.

Marián Gálik

The present manual is a substantially innovated version of Krahl-Reuschel's *Lehrbuch des modernen Arabisch*, Teil I, VEB Verlag Enzyklpädie, Leipzig 1974 (1976). The original version of Part I forms part of an extensive course of Modern Written Arabic (MWA, in what follows), subsequently completed by Part II/1 (1981) and Part II/ 2 (1981). Part I, the grammatical core of the whole set, is in many respects a quite autonomous and self-sufficient unit that has been successfully used, for more than two decades, in the instruction of MWA.

Despite a neat and precise presentation of the synthetic norm of MWA and highly efficient drills, the original version of Part I had also one serious drawback: a monotonous textual and lexical orientation enforced by the all-pervading totalitarian atmosphere of the late GDR. Practically the whole lexical material included in texts, and even in drills, reflected the political and ideological *ostblock*-atmosphere that had only very few linking points with the Arab everyday reality. Of course, this can in no way be ascribed to the authors of the original version as their free choice.

The new innovated edition of Part I, represented by the book under review, has not merely eliminated this major defect but did something more, too. The newly introduced textual and lexical material is getting closer to the Arab social and cultural reality as well as to the everyday oral usage and to a true-to-life idiomatic ring of the conversational samples included. Lexical innovation of drills was accompanied by a partial rearrangement of particular drill components (lexicon: L, grammar: G, conversation: K, and, finally, summarizing complex drills), more in tune with the overall architecture of the book. The highly conventional subdivision of drill components, closely interwoven with each other, is merely intended as a rough orientation guide for the convenience of the student.

The high-quality grammatical description is substantially that of the original version. Nevertheless, even here some parts have been rearranged in accordance with the experience derived from the pedagogic exploitation of the original version.

In spite of the fact that the *Lehrbuch* is marked by a high-levelled originality and innovation, the impact of the Orientalistic tradition, perpetuated through centuries in the European centres of Arabic studies, may still be felt in some of its paragraphs:

In the phonological part of the book, the treatment of *emphatics* lets suppose that *ḍ (ḍād)*, as well as its non-emphatic counterpart *d (dāl)*, is a voiced dental occlusive (stimmhafter dentaler Verschlußlaut) (pp. 19, 22). The description, no doubt, holds for both phonemes, for *dāl* (19) perfectly, for *ḍād* (22) only partially. An occlusive rendering of *ḍād* occurs only in the urban centres of Egypt and the Syro–Palestinian linguistic area. No hint has been made to the fricative realization of this phoneme, as postulated by the orthoepic standard in the greatest part of the Arab world in both urban and rural areas. (The occlusive featuring of *ḍād* is presented in an even more explicit way by Kästner–Waldmann 1985, p. 15: velarisiert-gepreßter...stimmhafter Verschlußlaut). On the other hand, the regionalized rendering of *ǧīm* (Egyptian *gīm*) has been marked.

Another feature, sanctioned by the tradition, may be found in the description of annexion-type head-modifier constructions (so-called *constructs*). The presentation of these construction, as offered by the *Lehrbuch* in both its original and innovated versions, overtly fails to explain the difference between a syntagmatic and a paradigmatic definiteness value in annexions with an indefinite final term. The nonfinal term(s) of an annexion the final term of which is indefinite should be regarded as *indefinite*, in a syntagmatic context (viz., *baytu rajulin kabīrun, masāǧidu madīnatin kabīratun*) while, from a paradigmatic point of view, it (they) should be regarded as *definite* (viz., triptotizing of diptota: *masāǧid-u, -i, -a madīnatin*). The relation between the latter process and the definiteness state of the underlying noun is firmly established in all grammatical descriptions of Arabic and, so far, no other acceptable explanation has been proposed.

*

In describing these annexion-type head-modifier constructions (Genitivverbindung, p. 98), two quite different structural types thereof have been presented at this very introductory level:

– one involving lexically free constituents: *baytu raǧulin* "a man's house", and

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– another one made up of lexically bound constituents: *baytu-ṭ-ṭalabati, baytu ṭalabatin* "*Studentenheim*"(hall of residence, dormitory).

The former assigns to its constituents a full paradigmatic autonomy which can most convincingly be seen on the number paradigm: *baytu riğālin, baytā rağulin,* etc. (since anything can be lexicalized, even a paradigmatically bound *baytu-r-riğāli* "the men's house" in, say, an Austronesian community is perfectly thinkable).

The latter, as a lexicalized unit, allows of no such freedom: in the singular-plural (S – P) structural pattern of *baytu-ṭ-ṭalabati* only the head is the carrier of an autonomous paradigmatic marker, while that of the modifier is paradigmatically bound. All this may be deduced from the L6, § 1 and § 1.1. Nevertheless, the distinction between the two types could have been supported by formal criteria, at this very place, by confronting quite different number-agreement patterns displayed by each of them:

while, in a non-lexicalized annexion of the type *baytu rağulin* in a (mostly possessively coloured) appurtenance interpretation, i.e. "a man's house", no number agreement is possible (*buyūtu riğālin* or *buyūtu-r-riğāli* is a mere matter of coincidence), in lexicalized annexions of the (S – S) type, unless prevented by semantic factors, a (P – P) plural pattern is obligatory (henceforward, the examples will be pausally presented):

a non-lexicalized (S–S) construction:
ğurfat al-mudīr "the director's room (say, in a winter-resort cottage)"
– all available number combinations in accordance with the actual extra-linguistic situation may occur with a plural head.

a lexicalized (S–S) construction:
ğurfat al-mudīr "the director's office (e.g. the headmaster office in a school)"
– only a (P–P) plural pattern is possible:
ğuraf al-mudarā'. Similarly:
rabbat al-bayt / rabbāt al-buyūt "landlady";
sā'iq as-sayyāra / suwwāq as-sayyārāt "car driver", etc.

If venturing, however, to include this number-agreement addition in the book, a short account of number-agreement restrictors, operating in modifier slots of the lexicalized multicomponental units, would have been at place. Some of them:

– abtractness: (S–S)   *ğurfat an-nawm*   /(P–S) *ğuraf an-nawm* "bedroom(s)";
        sayyārat al-'is'āf   / *sayyārāt al-'is'āf* "ambulance(s)";
        māni' al-ḥaml   / *mawāni' al-ḥaml* "contraceptive(s)";
– mass-noun featuring: *ka's an-nabīḏ*   / *ku'ūs an-nabīḏ* "wine glass(es)";
        nāqilat al-bitrūl   / *nāqilāt al-bitrūl* "tanker(s)";
– notional uniqueness: *ḍarbat aš-šams*   / *ḍarabāt aš-šams* "sunstroke"
        burğ as-samā'   / *burūğ as-samā'* "sign(s) of the zodiac", etc.

The formal relationship between the *ḥāl*-type modifier and its respective nominal head is correctly identified with the gender-and-number concord (471). Somewhat misleadingly, however, the same interpretation of facts is given with the *ḥāl*-verb relationship, too (472). Here, as evident, the formal evidence consists exactly in the invariable accusative pointing to the verb (i.e., in the lack of a case agreement). This interpretation of facts can, of course, be deduced, by a backward oriented reasoning, from that presented in the *Lehrbuch*.

The transitivizing application of *bi-* seems to be mentioned only once and even then in an indirect way only, in Note A5 (p. 76), with the prepositional construction *qāma bi-* "to perform, carry out" (durchführen). With regard to the high frequency of occurrences, the importance of this syntactic transitivizer is nearly matching that of the derivational means of conveying transitivity (mostly bound with causativity). Analytic constructions of the type *ḫarağa bi (hi)* "to get out, take out; to turn out" or *taqaddama bi(hi)* "to present", as in *taqaddama bi-wizāratihi 'ilā al-barlamān* "he presented his cabinet to the Parliament"

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(Schregle 1974, 1355), roughly correspond to the derivationally conveyed *ḥarraǧa/ 'aḥraǧa (hu)* and *qaddama (hu)* respectively.

Of course, all these remarks merely reflect slightly different points of view and personal preferences and they do not impair, in any way, high qualities of the *Lehrbuch* intimately known to the reviewer from his own pedagogical work with the original version. As a highly valuable teaching and learning device, the book offers a neat and precise grammatical description (with a well-balanced first-step introduction into the realistic oral usage of prestigious Arabic), a fresh lexical and textual corpus and a number of quite new methodic procedures backed by a long and fruitful scholarly and pedagogical tradition of the Leipzig University.

Ladislav Drozdík

ZEIDAN, J. T.: *Arab Women Novelists. The Formative Years and Beyond.* Albany, State University of New York Press 1995. XI+365 pp.

Despite the fact that the contribution of Arab women writers to the promotion of modern Arabic literature, especially in the last half of the 20th century, is really impressive, there is no comprehensive account of their work. The scarcity of scholarly works, devoted to the creative work of Arab women writers, was one of the most imperative challenges for writing the present monograph.

The book consists of an Introduction (1–7) and five chapters as follows: 1. Women in Arab Society: A Historical Perspective (9–40); 2. The Pioneering Generation (41–91); 3. The Quest for Personal Identity (93–155); 4. The Quest for National Identity (157–229); 5. Conclusions (231–236). Further, six Appendices are added: (1) Women's Journals in Egypt; (2) ... in Lebanon; (3) ... in Iraq; (4) ... in Syria; (5) ... in the Rest of the Arab World; and, finally, (6) Novels Written by Arab Women (1887–1993). The book is closed by Notes, rich References and an Index.

Chapter One follows the struggle over women's rights in the Arab world, the gradual improvement in women's access to education, as well as the progress achieved in women's political emancipation. The part played by Rifāʿa aṭ-Tahṭāwī (1801–1873) and, first of all, Qāsim Amīn (1863–1908), in women's emancipation process, as well as various controversial attitudes towards veiling, polygamy, divorce and related problems, are briefly surveyed too. Chapter Two discusses nonfiction genres of women's literary activities. Chapter Three surveys the 1950s and 1960s, a period when women novel writers emerged in greater numbers. The literature they produced resembled that of earlier Western feminists. The literary trends of the late sixties, the impact of the military disaster in 1967, as well as a renewed interest in the Palestinian problem and international politics, are outlined in Chapter Four.

Zeidan's monograph is a scholarly work of a first-rate importance. It is designed for students and lovers of Arabic literature and, above all, to those of them who are in search for a serious answer to the intricate question how will the women novel writers change the face of Arabic literature.

Ladislav Drozdík

HEYDEN, Ulrich van der – LIEBAU, Heike (Hrsg): *Missionsgeschichte – Kirchenge-schichte – Weltgeschichte. Christliche Missionen im Kontext nationaler Entwicklungen in Afrika, Asien und Ozeanien.* Stuttgart, Steiner Verlag 1996. 472 pp.

This freshly published book is the first volume which emerged from an international science symposium, held in Berlin 17–20 October 1994. The society, Studien der Berliner Gesellschaft für Missionsgeschichte, with its rich archives of mission histories which has facilitated both the symposium and the publication of this first volume, appears to be another centre, important for alternative sources related to historical researches. As is indicated in the book those sources are more original and not seem to be Euro-centristic. The book, with its chapters written by experts on a particular topic, and unified by the guiding hand of volume editors of senior standing, confirms that the society has set pattern for multi-volume works of history, enhanced by interdisciplinary subjects.

The papers compiled in the volume, were contributed by over thirty prominent au-thors out of about eighty participants and, had been presented to the symposium before they were published, hence, their high scholarly value is greatly appreciated. Most of the collections bound in the book appear in German language and very much smaller part of it is written in English. The whole book is divided into five main sections:

1. Hauptreferate
2. Missionsquellen als Gegenstand interdisziplinärer Forschungen
3. Entstehung und Entwicklung von Nationalkirchen im Kontext regionaler und nationaler Geschichte
4. Interaktion zwischen europäischen Missionen und indegenen Gesellschaften
5. Zur Methodik der Missionsgeschichtsforschung

Each of these sections contain a good number of essays, altogether about thirty-two. The volume is fully devoted to assessing problem of Christian Mission with regard to the pace of National Development in Africa, Asia and the Oceans. All the materials con-tained in the book attempt to portray different aspects of the problem indicated above. They are, therefore, equally worthy to the reader. That part which is of my scholarly in-terest, however, is particularly that which pertains to contributors about Africa. This, in part, despite the fact that this place is not wide enough to comment on all the papers included in the volume.

Wilson B. Niwagila in his paper African Church History and Mission History deeply discusses the advent and growth of Christianity in the continent as well as the fate of African Churches in the future. He analyses the 2000 year persistence of Christianity in Africa and smoothly indicates the faint, fractious and fragile socio-economic and politi-cal situations, as inevitable factors which could lead to the demise of Churches and hope in the continent. The paper belongs to the scholarly sophisticated ones. Most of the Churches in North Africa during the first 6 centuries were not able to survive the blow of counter forces which wiped them out from within and from without and later of course the threat of their new rival Islam. The two exceptions are the Coptic Church in Egypt and the Ethiopian Church which was outside of the Cultural influence of the Ro-man Empire. The weighing reason for the survival being the fact that Christianity be-came inculturized and did not remain an alien religion, unlike the case of North Africa where it failed to be the real faith of the indigenous Berbers but remained part of the foreign domination of the Roman Empire and Hellenistic civilization. When Islam came this type of unassimilated Christianity could not survive, and it disappeared completely. As it is well known to us, the penetration of Islam developed mixed Islamic-African cul-tures from the West African savannas to the Swahili Coast, and penetrated substantially

into areas of traditionally strong African politics such as Bunyoro and Buganda, or the Yoruba and Asante. A wide belt of people by the late 19th century (1877) were brought closer to the Muslim world than the Christian, and represented a bridging culture between Arab and black Africa. An Islamic perspective seems to have been less "external" to Africa than the European one (as I compared it to The Cambridge History of Africa vol. V. C. 1790 – C. 1870, p.2). Especially in the Western savanna Islam could serve as an alternative to ethnicity and as an ideology for the state as was able to do Christianity in Ethiopia, for the existence of the Christian Church there as a single Ethiopian institution; which, in fact, was confined to its cultural territorium, crippled by various situations like the Dark Age of Ethiopia which extended from the advent of Islam (640) to the restoration of the Solomonic dynasty (1270) and even later on, unable to expose itself into the interior of African countries. Regarding the name Eneza which the author indicated as the first Christian King, I doubt if a king known by this name ever existed in Ethiopia. I think it should be corrected to Ezana. In fact the question of the identity of Ezana, the best-known ruler of Axum is a bit controversial. However, the name Eneza has not appeared as his identity, so far (I compared Ézáná (Ézana), Ézanas by Stuart Munro-Hey, Azania vol. XV, Nairobi, 1980, pp. 110–119).

Viera Pawlikova-Vilhanová's work, White Fathers Archives as Sources for the Reconstruction of Ugandan History, offers a brief analysis of the Society of the Missionaries of Africa nicknamed White Fathers, the founder Cardinal Lavigerie, the hardships they overcame, and the sparkling role they played to reconstruct Ugandan History and how well accepted they were by the local people. It examines a particular region and its problems in detail. It lays stress on the awareness of the missionaries that the "Transformation of Africa by Africans themselves" was essential and "the missionaries were simply initiators". Innocent Missionaries such as Lavigerie's society who had stuck to this principle were there just to Christianize, and not to Europeanize nor to Frenchify. This paper too, is of great significance for both its deepness and rich references.

Irving Hexam under the topic Henry Callaway, Religion and Rationalism in Nineteenth Century Mission History discusses how scorned the missionaries were by polite and educated people since the beginning of the modern missionary movement. They were more or less considered as religious fanatics who supported imperialism, designed to force Western religion, culture and views on the rest of the world, to misunderstand the people among whom they live, thus, creating preconditions for imperialism to rule the planet. This bud of hate, from the side of Africa partly sprouted up as a result of explaining away African religions, like all non-Christian religions, as either the remnants of a lost faith of Jewish Christian origin or simply superstition, as most missionaries used to assert in common. The author stresses that Henry Callaway unlike most of the missionaries did not condemn African religions as demonic nor were they for him simply the result of ignorance. The whole paper successfully explains the reasons.

Karla Poewe in the paper From Volk to Apartheid: The dialectic between German and Afrikaner nationalism tells of the most common features and amazing bonds between both types of nationalism in a very informative and fascinating approach.

All the papers compiled in the volume under review, whether written in the English or German languages, deserve acknowledgement for their individual valuable contributions. In them, enough has been said to show the significance of Christian Mission with regard to the pace of National Development of various periods in Africa, Asia and the Oceans. This first volume of an interdisciplinary nature is the essential book for those wanting to understand these mentioned regions and for experts dealing with related issues.

Getnet Tamene

CORRIGENDUM

In Asian and African Studies, *4*, 1995, 2, pp. 199–221, we have published the paper "Egypt 1954–1955: The Search for Orientation" written by Karol Sorby. On p. 202 (1x) and on p. 207 (3x) it reads "Head's agreement" instead of correct "heads of agreement". We apologize to the readers.

<div align="right">The editors</div>

GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Manuscripts submitted for publication in ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES should conform to international standards now generally recognized as regards presentation and format.

If possible, the contributions should be sent on floppy discs, nonformatted, in ASCII (WP, Win-Word, T602). The authors are requested to give their full name and institutional affiliation. The contributors from abroad should submit their papers in English.

References should be used as follows: author's name and year are given in brackets inside the text and the final References are arranged in alphabetical order.

Footnotes should be written on a separate sheet.

Illustrations, Figures, Diagrams, Tables must be numbered in Arabic figures and marked in pencil at the back with the author's name. Relevant notes should be typed on a separate sheet. Illustrations must be drawn neatly on white paper and lettering must be legible after reduction in size for printing. Photographs must be submitted unmounted on white glossy paper. A note in the margin should indicate the approximate place for the illustrations to be inserted.

We would like to inform our readers that since 1992 our periodical ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES is published semi-annually in journal form rather than annually in book form. The conception of our journal, however, has not undergone any major changes.

The Editors