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Language, Discourse & Society is an international peer reviewed journal published twice annually (June and December) in electronic form. The journal publishes high-quality articles dedicated to all aspects of sociological analyses of language, discourse and representation.
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Hugo Yu-Hsiu LEE

Language & Society
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MESSAGE FROM THE EDITOR

I am delighted to introduce the fifth issue of *Language, Discourse & Society*. This issue inaugurates the third year of the journal, which has now established itself as a forum for academic debate at the intersection of language and society. Let me express my gratitude to RC25 executive board, who has been supporting the journal since it was proposed at the 2010 ISA World Congress in Gothenburg.

This issue includes six articles. The first article "Language and communication in a structuralist society," by Wincharles Coker, discusses the potential of using a strucuturalist paradigm to study hegemonic discourse, particularly in the context of contemporary African societies. The second article, "Young adults' attitudes to standard and nonstandard English in an English-Creole speaking country: the case of the Bahamas", written by Raymond Oenbring and Willliam Fielding, offers us the first longitudinal empirical study on the attitudes of Bahamians people towards the use of Bahamian Creole English and Standard English. The article analyses the ambiguous status of Creole English, which oscillates between leading to stigmatization and being an element of identity-marking.

The third article comes from Moussa Traore. This article, entitled "European modernity's representation of Africa, Africans, African Americans and Asians in its imperialistic explorations and colonization", offers a critical review of discourse strategies used in modern Europe to legitimize domination and exploitation of non-european societies. The fourth article, "'Our democracy has been tested to the utmost limit'. An exploration of the use of assertives in Ghanaian presidential inaugural addresses" is a study of rhetorical elements in political speeches from Ghana presidents conducted by Stephen Jantuah Boakye. Rooted in Searle's taxonomy on speech acts, the article investigates the use of assertives in public speeches to inspire the confidence of the populace in governments.

The fifth article, entitled "Sex, city, and the blogging of desire: a multi-layered textual analysis of the mother of Chinese blogs", is from Jianxin Liu and it is concerned with the analysis of one of the earliest Chinese personal blogs, Muzi Mei's blog. The article argues how textual resources including content, organizations, and attitudinal representations are used and often manipulated for expressing identities, gender, relationships, and contentions. The sixth

and final article, Hugo Yu-Hsiu Lee's "Speaking like a love entrepreneur: language choices and ideologies of social mobility among daughters of peasants in Thailand's tourist sites" discusses how language choices between dominant, standard and international codes are conditioned by increasingly globalized industries and social models that accompany them and are created by them. In particular, the article focuses on the social meanings of language choices, shifts and the ideologies of differentiation that emerged from the migration of young peasant women and men from Isaan to central Thailand, where they were engaged in the love industry.

Language, Discourse & Society has its ISSN code and it's going to be listed in the most important databases of Open Access Journals. I would like to highlight that all published articles in *Language, Discourse & Society* are eligible for the two RC25 awards, the "Language & Society Graduate Student Award" and the "Language & Society Academic Award". More details are included in the present issue. If you are interested in proposing an article, you may find the call for papers for *Language, Discourse & Society* and author's guideline before and after the collection of articles.

Federico Farini, Editor
Language, Discourse and Society

Middlesex University in London
United Kingdom

f.farini@mdx.ac.uk
journal@language-and-society.org

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION IN A STRUCTURALIST SOCIETY

Wincharles COKER

Department of Humanities

Michigan Technological University, Houghton, MI, USA

wcoker@mtu.edu

Abstract

In what ways does the structuralist paradigm of language speak to the underlying constructs of human communication and modern society? How the dynamics of a postmodern society can be understood, while these dynamics remain largely structuralist? In order to answer these two broad questions, I consider in my analysis that language is both a system, and an abstraction of the social structure . By considering the nexus among language, communication, and society, I reflect on how communication is a form of social and symbolic action, which calls up issues of ideology, power and dominance; thus, communication is not just considered as a linear cybernetic transfer of information. As the global society, the African society faces challenges and constraints because of these constructs The contribution of this article lies in the emphasis of the links which exist between these challenges and these contraints. The paper concludes that studying societies through the structuralist paradigm allows us to see in great detail the position of the self in relation to hegemonic and power dominance. In a word, when we communicate we must be political; our communicative acts are in themselves, mutatis mutandis, partisan and ideologically motivated.

Keywords: Language, Communication, Society, Structure, Asymmetry

1. Introduction

The nexus between language and communication is particularly fascinating. There is a sense in which one is privileged over and above the other in scholarly circles, although such a medley of intellectual clamors is out of place here. Broadly construed, language is a social

currency by which humans trade to meet their communicative ends. Among other means, language is a material medium for communicating thoughts and feelings. Language is, therefore, the exclusive property of humans, given that it distinguishes us from animals (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Yule, 1996; Aitchison, 2001). In all media of communication, whether spoken, written, or computer-mediated, language is employed as a mean of communication (Dewey, 1992). In this article I intend to demonstrate how the underlying constructs of structuralism in language and communication reflect and condition the postmodern society. I hope to situate my exegesis in the frameworks set by social and critical theories as expressed in the works of members of the Frankfurt School, as well as in postcolonial discourses. In what follows I provide a fine overview of language both as a system that is strongly rooted in a discernible structure, and as an abstraction of the social structure; moreover, I consider alsothat language primarily "serves the means of communication" (Levi Strauss, 1958: 5). I would like to think about communication as a form of social and symbolic action, which calls up issues of power and dominance; thus communication is not just a cybernetic transfer of information (see also Carey (1982) and Mattlelart (1996)). Or so I believe.

2. Language and Structuralism

Although the Russian phonologist Nikolai Troubetskoy is thought to be "the illustrious founder of structural linguistics" (Levi-Strauss, 1958: 2), a well-informed reading of structural linguistics can hardly ignore the Swiss French linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. In his posthumous *Course in General Linguistics,* Saussure (1916) links up the study of language with structuralism, the dominant thinking of his epoch, Elliott, 2009: 55 as "an attempt to apply linguistics to the study of the impersonal effects of social structures and political systems". In this light, structuralism is a shaping principle: It orders, influences, and determines the lives of individuals within the ebb and flow of social, political, historical, and linguistic factors, which in turn determine, and further constrain individual choices, decisions and values.

For Saussure a meaningful inquiry into the structure of the language of a culture must proceed with an inquiry into the *signs* of that language. For Saussure, the linguistic sign evokes an arbitrary association between a *signifier* (a sound or image) and a *signified* (a mental image,

or its denotatum) of a *langue* (the abstract collective structure of a given language) distinct from a *parole* (idiosyncratic individualized utterances of langue) (Saussure, 1916:). There is neither such intrinsic value, for instance, in the English word *mother* to refer to the idea it denotes, nor in the case of the French *mère* or for its Latin equivalent *mater*. Saussure insists that this association ought to be seen as arbitrary. So, if I enunciate the nominal *fish,* what is there in the internal structure of this word to link it to the ideation of the scaly piscine specie? Do the letters f+i+s+h in themselves constitute this concept? Is it not true that we have come to accept it as the sign, or as the linguistic value, or, better still, as the mental representation of the element? So I argue, along with the American social behaviorist George H. Mead, that "language is not ever arbitrary in the sense of simply denoting a bare state of consciousness by a word" (Mead, 1934: 75).

But *langue* becomes the locus of Saussure's object of study in, at least, two respects. First, *langue*, in his thought, is the universal principle that binds a homogeneous ethno linguistic society. A study of the signs of the language of a speech community, say French, then, is the study of its internal linguistic structures in terms of its meaning making processes, Saussure may argue. Second, a focus on *langue*, according to Saussure, is appropriate inasmuch as it lends itself to the discovery of universal linguistic principles and laws governing the linguistics of cultures, especially when pursued from a *synchronic* perspective; "By studying the properties of natural languages, their structure, and use, we may hope to gain some understanding of the specific characteristics of human intelligence" (Chomsky, 1975: 5). However, if the language of a people might be considered as structured instead of inchoate, why the same cannot be said for their society? In a way, Saussure's goal, I am inclined to think, was to understand the universal principles of language; he aimed at discovering the science of human communication in society: *semiology*.

3. Communicating in a Structuralist Society

A global view of the semiology of human communication, to borrow from Saussure, calls to mind the constitutive processes by which communication manifests in society. According to John Dewey, communication is structural because it is the basis of communitarian societies

(Dewey, 1992). In the thinking of Jŭrgen Habermas, a structured society creates "a network for communicating information and points of view" (Habermas, 1996: 360). And though Habermas writes within the context of public sphere, it is important to note that such points of view could consider inter alia issues of ideology, hegemony, class struggle, and power relationships. For this reason the works of Michel Foucault will remain seminal to the study of structuralism in modern society. With Foucault originates the concept of power, which creates an asymmetrical core/periphery structure. In his emblematic article where he developed the social theory of *Panopticism* (1975) Foucault argues that society has been ordered in a manner that privileges an omnipresent surveillance of the periphery by the capitalist, upper class; The Panopticon machine constantly keeps it gaze on everyone unbeknown to them that they are being watched. Foucault writes: "He is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information, never a subject in communication…The Panopticon is a machine for dissociating the see/being seen dyad" (Foucault, 1975: 182); Such an apparatus, then, results in dissymmetry, disequilibrium, and difference in a consciously hierarchized society. This system "constitutes a compact model of the disciplinary mechanism" (id.: 180). It is that which identifies, individuates, and determines the individual's station: No trespass.

For Foucault there are two basic ways of communicating with individuals in society to constantly exercise power over them. This can be achieved either by controlling their relationships, or by separating out the potentially dangerous elements amongst them. Segregation and differentiation are the main processes. Both means are implemented through a subtle coercion by which all authorities, the school, the prison, and the hospital exercise control over the individual by creating what Foucault calls a "binary division and branding" (ibid.: 181). According to this anti-rhizomatic (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980), one is either brilliant or dull (as in the case of the school), mad or insane (if one happens to be incarcerated in the four walls of the prison), normal or abnormal (so long as one happens to be a patient). So conceived, authorities reduce humans just to atomic particles so they could measure, supervise and correct them in an effort to maintain conformity, law, and order (In this way, all members of a society has been structured to so behave, and to act accordingly so that discipline becomes a component of our schemata. It is this hierarchization that, for instance:

creates disparities that continue to increase between the core and the periphery of the capitalist system, which led the economist Immanuel Wallerstein to say, in a dialogue with Braudel, that capitalism is "a creation of the inequality of the world" and that it   can only be conceived in a vast and"universalist" " space (Mattelart, 1996: 164).

With advances in science and technology, Foucault's Panoptism reverberates all the more. Our helpless detachment from the Internet, the cellular phone, and new communication technologies such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube further intensify the surveillance project so that it is difficult, if not impossible, to act unnoticed. I argue that such presence is itself destructive because it wrongfully interferes with the privacy of the masses. But what is there to be weary of if one is right before the law? Why should the hardened criminals not feel that they are under constant surveillance? Why should the guilty citizen, who just sped off pass the traffic light, feel relieved? Does it not make sense to feel under pressure and insecure under such circumstances?

As if this capitalist project does not suffice, the masses have been further plunged in the abyss of excessive consumerism, of mass culture, and of neo-hedonism. Humanity's incessant but often bogus obsession with materialism attracts the attention of two of the Frankfurt School's influential thinkers: Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer (1944); the German authors focus on the sociopathologies that belie the structure of postmodern society vis-à-vis individual self-consciousness. In their critical theory of society, Adorno and Horkheimer argue that the belief that the fundamental structure of modern societies is reason needs reconsideration because it is "nothing but sheer illusion" against the backdrop of two seemingly senseless world wars (cited in Elliot, 2009: 21). The point is made that mass culture and the commercialization of almost every single atom of production in society have brought with them a kind of brainwashing and dependence on the media, Hollywood and the capitalist ideas of entrepreneurs. So construed, humans have become so consumed in the things they amass that they are shaped, defined and identified by them. In a consumerist culture, reason is the interpretation of what the individual possesses, rather than in terms of what they think about, or in terms of how that thinking is processed. In a sense then, the Cartesian maxim "cogito ergu sum" in today's rationality is less appealing than "consumo ergu sum". Adorno writes:

Today the culture industry has taken over the civilizing inheritance of the entrepreneurial and frontier democracy – whose appreciation of intellectual deviations was never very finely attuned. All are free to dance and enjoy themselves, just as they have been free, since the historical neutralization of religion, to join any of the innumerable sects. But freedom to choose an ideology – since ideology always reflects economic coercion – everywhere proves to be freedom to choose what is always the same." (Adorno, 1991: np)

At this point it is instructive to stress that the workings of capitalism through the instrumentality of the mass culture, and the mass media, coupled with the desire to consume en masse in modern society, leads to one thing, and yet dreadful: domination. Domination, in this scheme of things, also operates at least at two strata: the self and the socio-political. When the individual's self is dominated, and consequently subjugated, under the claws of a capitalist project, s/he is reduced to what Adorno describes as *psychological de-individualized social atoms* (Adorno, 1967). In this state, the individual mainly and regrettably develops a fetish for a high culture, the reality of which is illusory. This domination of the human sense of rationality, of the "human intelligence" (Chomsky, 1975), is what Adorno and Horkheimer point to as the lot of an enlightened system. At the realm of politics, individuals are in a like manner conditioned through the presentation of the stimuli of the mass media to elicit responses of compliance, patriotism, and social order. However, is that how helpless the masses are, and have no control over the Id, to sound a bit Freudian? If the masses are so incapable of making rational, and sound judgment concerning matters of the polis (Lippman, 1922), what then is the basis of democratic states?

4. Selfhood, the Public, and the Mass Media in a Structuralist Society

Perhaps we could trace the roots of this problematic to the diminished authority of the father, head in the family system. In *Eros and Civilization* (1956), Herbert Marcuse reads political undertones into the cathartic nature of individual consciousness resulting from humankind's rationality outside the horde. Marcuse argues that the role of the father as the leader who instils ego in and represses the Id of the son is no longer functional in the current dispensation due to the father's latent and incapacitated roles in his household. His position as

father is severely threatened as his children no longer look up to him for socialization and education, and rather turn to other agents such as peers, the school, the church, and of course the mass media. But there would have arisen no harm if there had been a positive impact on the rational mind. The point is made then that, when the instinctual drives of collective Ids do assemble in the public sphere or society, they are, in the process of time, given directions by the ego of a leader, although this leadership or these directions may not be as objectively conscientious to separate the good from the bad (Marcuse, 1956). In Marcuse's view, this kind of leadership results in the kind of fascist, communist, oligarchic, or totalitarian societies that have plagued the progress and the development of an ego-conscious civilized humanity. Marcuse regrets that this instinctual drive has conquered the reason-part of our being through the conscious manipulation of capitalist projects chief among which is the mass media, rather than having suppressed and sublime the Id of our human selves.

But if individuals tend to be driven more by passion than by reason, how do we then participate in rational public deliberations? For Jürgen Habermas, the public sphere is an institution that mediates social life and the State (Habermas, 1964). He insists that there can hardly be any public opinion without the public sphere, because it is the public sphere that guarantees access to all citizens. However, there can be no such thing at the public sphere without the public. Habermas believes that the public constitutes an assembly of rational private individuals with the rights of freedom of assembly and of freedom of association; they are capable of expressing diverse opinions concerning both private and, for the most part, public affairs. Recent studies in the culture of self-expression in the electronic media in Ghana show that the right to free speech is sometimes, however, abused (Coker, 2011, 2012a, and 2012b). Habermas makes a clear distinction between the media of the public sphere and the one of the political sphere. Although both could be said to play a complementary role in a liberal democracy, the former mainly refers to the various media, newspapers, radio, television and lately new communication technologies, by which information is transmitted to and influenced by target audiences in the large public body. Habermas also notes that the role of the press has undergone a serious transformation: it shifted from a role of forming public opinion to a role of expressing private sentiments. The political sphere, on the other hand, has to do with public discussions relatable to matters of the polis, or its administration. In a word, a study of the public

sphere is a study of how the rational views of the masses are coordinated, regulated and dealt with within the atmosphere of democracy and of freedom of expression.

It is important to note that the term *public sphere* came into prominence not until the eighteenth century because of the functioning of the bourgeois society led by aristocrats, feudal lords, kings, and princes. It means that the act of expressing individual opinions were regulated, if not highly repressed, for it was these privileged few that had the imprimatur to do so, and to act in behalf of the public. There was a climate of repression and of silence because individuals' views and opinions were considered inchoate, prejudiced, and less important. On this note I wonder if Jürgen Habermas had come into contact with the work of Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (1922), in which the latter argued that the views of the public are bogus to the running of the State because their views are steeped in stereotypes and false judgments of the real world. Given the changing function of the media, Habermas criticizes the collapse of the private sphere and public sphere through what he terms "the refeudalization of society" because today there is hardly no distinction between the two (Habermas, 1964). Michel Foucault's concept of *Panopticism* neatly ties in here. For instance, everything one does in the privacy of its home is under the scrutiny of the public eye in this age. Habermas also has a word on the institution "public relations work": he says that they are all propagandists seeking to harmonize public opinion to prevent dissent and affront.

5. Functions of Question in Elicitation Strategies

In all, six main functions that questions perform as an elicitation strategy used by counsels during cross-examination were identified: constraining witness/defendant's responses, discrediting witnesses and their testimonies, luring defendants and witness, confusing defendants and witnesses, stamping counsels' authority and seeking confirmation to propositions by counsels.

In enacting power asymmetry in the courtroom, counsels try to control the type of responses they expect witnesses and defendants to give. In order to put tight reins on witnesses/defendants, counsels expect yes-no or short responses from them. The most potent weapon often used by counsels to achieve this feat includes question tag, yes-no questions and

complex sentences. The use of yes-no questions to constrain the responses of defendants and witnesses is exemplified earlier in this paper, in Example (4). Owing to the coercive nature of this type of question, a narrow range of answers – either yes or n-- is preferred. The following extracts which are follow-ups to Example (4) illustrate counsels' preference for yes-no responses from witness:

(9)   C: *You are a very experienced agent so please tell the truth, now I repeat the question, that area inside the port are you telling this court that that place is earmarked by GHAPOHA for APS alone?*
         R: *It is earmarked for delivery of truck and other moveable vehicles for handover to the respective agent for final delivery.*

(10)   C: *I am putting it to you that your client imported the vehicle because he wants to sell the vehicle?*
         R: *That is correct".*

(11)   C: *Apart from APS are there other stevedore operators in the port?*
         R: *Yes.*

(12)   C: *And these other stevedore companies if they discharge vehicles they also use the same place?*
         R: *Yes.*

(13)   C: *From your experience is it that at any particular point in time you can have vehicles on that area having been discharged by different stevedore operators all put at that same area?*
         W: *Yes.*
                 (Extracts 9 to 12 taken from HC 1; 12-3-2008)

The responses to Examples (5) and (9) flout the maxim of quantity which forbids speakers from giving more information than is required. In the cases under investigation, the witness intentionally opts out of observing the convention of courtroom discourse by indicating his unwillingness to cooperate, a situation that Grice (1975) and Fairclough (2001) refer to as resistance. The response to (10) is closer to what the counsel expects, but he is not yet satisfied and so several follow-up questions are asked until the defendant is coerced into giving "yes"

responses which finally satisfies the counsel. From the interaction between the counsel and the witness, it is clear that by asking a yes-no question in Example (5), the counsel expected a "yes" to his question and since such an answer was not forthcoming, he persisted by repeating the question Similarly, the preferred answer to question (9) was not given and so, the counsel, becoming slightly agitated repeated the question but this time used a stronger wording in Example (10): *"I am putting it to you that your client imported the vehicle because he wants to sell the vehicle?"* And the response is *"That is correct"*. Still hoping to get the preferred answer, the counsel gives a follow-up to the last question to elicit the preferred response. Repetition and reframing of the question several times is an indication of power and dominance. By reframing the question the counsel gets the witness to give the preferred answer, thus confirming Richman's (2002) assertion that the counsel makes the witness go back over some of the terrain covered during direct examination, forcing the witness to concede "facts" inconsistent with the previous narrative.

Question tags were also used to constrain respondents' responses, as shown in Example 14 below.

(14)　Q:　　*She was on her way to the farm when you assaulted her, wasn't she?*
　　　　R:　　*No.　(HC3; 29-10-2009).*

In the example above, the counsel manipulates the witness's response through the statement that preceded the tag; and as can be seen, the response is simply "no". Example (14) shows how the counsel tries to constrain the defendant's contribution by way of direct attack "*She was on her way to the farm when you assaulted her"* then he asked for confirmation *"wasn't she?"* Here, the counsel displays power and authority to make the witness accept the meaning in the declarative. Whichever way the defendant answers the question constrains the defendant and puts the defendant in an awkward position. A "yes" or "no" answer does not absolve the defendant of wrongdoing because the presupposition is incriminating in each answer. If the defendant answers 'yes', it presupposes he assaulted the victim on her way to the farm. If he answers 'no', that presupposes he assaulted her, but possibly not on her way to the farm. The deliberate violation of the maxim of manner in the way the question is framed constrains the

witness from engaging in any lengthy narrative that will give the defendant room to present his thoughts extensively and consequently absolve himself.

One other function that the questions, used as elicitation strategies, perform is that of discrediting the witness so that his or her testimonies will not be looked upon favourably by the judge. Counsels often do this through the use of questions that are cloaked as complex sentence patterns, heavily-laden with embedded clauses such that the witness or defendant loses focus of the information elicited. For example:

(15)   Q: *Is it not true that the first day that you gave evidence you told the court that*
             the accused brought to you a copy of a document showing the name Baffour
             Appiah as the owner of the land

A look at the complex subordination in the example shows how confusing the utterance can be to a witness or defendant in a courtroom interaction.

Another function of elicitation questions is using cognitive manipulation to extract information from defendants or witnesses. In the data, there was subtle use of ideology where counsels tried to elicit preferred responses from witness through deception. When counsels are confronted with hostile witnesses or defendants and it is obvious that these may refuse to cooperate, they tend to resort to cognitive manipulation to obtain their preferred responses. They lure witnesses/defendants to confession. In the data, this function was executed when the counsel tried to be friendly and spoke in a manner devoid of accusation as exemplified below:

(16)   C: So after that meeting, after you had accepted that monies had been mistakenly
             paid, you then like a true Christian wrote to the bank admitting that and
             proposing a payment plan? (COC, BFS 292/08).

In such situations, counsels feign friendship with the defendant/witness and try to win his or her trust, a strategy that has the potential to make the witness/defendant lose guard. In Example (33), for instance, the counsel interacted with the defendant like a friend and downplayed his guilt by reminding him of being a true Christian, before framing the question in a declarative form. This, no doubt, might have had a soothing effect on the defendant who not

being aware that the counsel is trying to lure him to give a confession falls into the counsel's trap. The defendant here might not be aware of the counsel's motive otherwise he would refuse to cooperate with him, thereby breaking the chain or power inequality. Indeed, Fairclough (2001) maintains that "if one becomes aware that a particular aspect of common sense is sustaining power inequalities at one's own expense, it ceases to be common sense and may cease to have capacity to sustain power inequalities i.e. to function ideologically" (p.71). If defendants and witnesses know where a seemingly harmless conversation with the opposing counsel will lead them, they will be on their guard.

Example (16) may give one the impression that the counsel is just passing a comment but in actual fact, the counsel is manipulating the defendant into incriminating himself. Information that is provided by counsels during cross-examination may appear to be devoid of the aggression and force which often characterize assertions and accusations, but may be equally devastating. This is because it may be difficult for a witness or defendant to determine the extent to which cross-examination could go. Such cross-examination is described by a respondent as 'cross-examination being at large' (Personal Interview, 2011). He asserts that it is difficult for a witness to know where a counsel may be heading during cross-examination. Wodak (1987) confirms this view when she argues that recipients of manipulation are unable to understand the real intentions or to see the full consequences of the beliefs or actions advocated by the manipulator, especially when the recipients lack the specific knowledge used to resist manipulation. Such manipulation is ideological and power-related.

5. Beyond Structuralism: Africa on the Spotlight

The above discussion even becomes poignant from the standpoint of postcolonial theorists. In a postmodern society, it is important to note that the notion of structuralism will certainly have its own limits I have already demonstrated. Frantz Fanon's "The Fact of Blackness" (1952) is one such example. I admit that the reading of the chauvinism against the black race in the eyes of a black man is not an easy task, though I refuse to be tempted to act blindly in defense of my race. I should say, at the outset, that the plight of the "Negro", as they were called few decades ago, is an intriguingly perplexing oxymoron. Frantz Fanon's work is yet

another gory depiction of the pain of being perhaps mistakenly born black in a world in which order, progress and rationality is defined by those who believe they have been ordained by the heavens to govern the Earth: a certain manifest destiny.

It makes little sense to regurgitate the ontology of black people. The point is that the metaphoric furnace black Others are thrown into stems from primordial stereotypes and prejudices (Fanon, 1952). In *Public Opinion* (1922), the revered and perceptive American writer, Walter Lippman, says that stereotypes thrive on the economy of thought and effort, and that they are useful for preventing the human mind to think beyond itself. This motif is also repeated by the French thinker Jacques Ellul in *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes* (1965). I will make no repeat of the historico-racial or epidermal/corporeal racial schema and molds, to which the Black is made to respond, though it is sometimes arduous to think outside of these labels. One of the worst results of stereotypes and prejudices of racism -Including anti-Semitism - Is the acceptance of those charges and descriptors levelled against the Other. But who is to blame?
. As an academic, I went there to fully appreciate the plight of being an African rather than because I love my roots. My sense of being is deeply challenged by the paradoxes of progress versus development, patriotism versus self-accomplishment, and knowledge versus tradition. In the midst of this labyrinth, thinking White leads to your doom, I suppose. You are not white. It is a kind of "autism in the West" such that you will neither be fully accepted back at home, nor be listened to in the white man's land. Should we wither? Such, I believe, are the issues we should consider in these pressing days, and not necessarily the idealization of racial discourses, the tendencies of which are divisive and regrettably derisive.

But who is to blame I repeat? Of course we would reminisce the grandeur of the Black in great civilizations such as the Empire of Egypt, or the massive kingdoms of Songhai, of Mali, and of Ghana. Of course it is easy to point accusing fingers at He who "wants the world; he wants it for himself alone. He finds himself predestined master of this world and him. He enslaves it. An acquisitive relation is established between the world and him" (Fanon, 1952: 73). I do not in any way seem to sound judgmental, nor wish to say that we have no cause to rethink the hermeneutics of our present degeneration. All I am asking is the stoppage of this pseudo-demagoguery, of this self-pity, and of this self-hate. Speaking of our conditions in these terms is the rumination of our lost glitter.

But who is to blame when, for instance, all efforts by the last Jeremiahs of our epochs are compromised by the thousands of Tobiases and Sanballats? Who is to blame when we valorize today the glorification of the Id over against the Ego? How many companies sponsor and support education-driven programs in Africa? Or maybe I am out of touch with reality to think so, that it is the age of edutainment. Edutainment, and whatever it is, indeed! Who is to blame when all what we seem to be doing is to apply models of development we have little contributed to? Do we also need to put up skyscrapers as an index of our progress in Sub-Saharan Africa? Why should we have to read Shakespeare or Aristotle, and not Soyinka or Mbiti? If Jacques Ellul's maxim of "think globally, act locally" is true, then, we would need to rethink our educational system. As academics, we cite others, and yet we are never acknowledged. We confirm the theories and the conceptual frameworks of great minds in the West, but we are little heard of. As it stands, our education is overtly Euro-centric, and covertly Afro-tropic. It is a workshop for Anglo-American capitalist forces, but one that is hardly responsive and responsible to its own people. Pardon me if I sound offensive!

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o makes similar observations. In *Moving the Centre*, Ngũgĩ offers a fresh reading of imperialism in the "Third" World (Ngũgĩ, 1993). According to him, imperialism today can be felt at a much more heightened stage through the mechanisms of neo-colonialism and the leading role of the United States. For him, the main *telos* of colonialism, and now of neo-colonialism, is to gain "complete ownership of, management and control of the entire system of production, exchange and distribution of the wealth in its home base and those of other nations and territories" (Ngũgĩ, 1993: 50). It also aims to overcome increasing demands for social change in neo-colonies by dividing, weakening, and countering any form of resistance. Are not the case of the Arab Spring and of the dog-like decapitation of Gaddafi disturbing reconnaissances?

Ngũgĩ points out that, in the old regime, this form of greed which the imperial powers of the West courted was made manifest by their forceful occupation of the means of production in the conquered colonies. In Ghana, the colonial project officially commenced in March 1884 after the end of the tedious struggles between the English and the fragmented, and less technologically sophisticated kingdoms of the Gold Coast. A similar story is told of the occupation of South America by the United States following the retreat of European powers such as Spain and Portugal, through evasion rather than intervention. Such occupation is clearly depicted in

Armand Mattelart's *The Invention of Communication*, in which the author argues that the main motive behind this evasion was to gain access to the means of production in that region (Mattelart, 1996). This plunder for wealth and materialism continued on a global scale until the end of the Second World War.

But despite the political freedom gained by colonies from the West, the imperial claws can still be felt, and they are the essence of neo-colonialism. The problem with the fight against neo-colonialism, which Ghana's first president perhaps failed to acknowledge in his effort to unify Africa, is that it is an ideological battle. According to Ngũgĩ, this project has been systematic, self-sustaining, and totalizing, encompassing all arenas of life. Neo-colonialism thrives on cultural hegemonies and prejudices. A certain conditioning as inferior has been established in the consciousness of citizens in Third World Countries through mediums such as the colonial educational system (the school), religion (or rather through the Church), and the mass media of communication, whether print, electronic, or computer-mediated. This mithridatization (Ellul, 1965) implies that poor nations have been made to not wholly accept a propagandized state of affairs, and, more importantly, that they articulate and use it as a part of their national discourses, identities, and body politics (see also Coker, 2013). For Ngũgĩ, the negative effects of "cultural control" in neo-colonized states are beyond measure: they have affected signifiers such as "the entire system of education, language and language use, literature, religion, the media", which have resulted in "the transmission of a certain ideology, set of values, outlook, attitudes, feelings etc., and hence power over the whole area of consciousness" (Ngũgĩ, 1993: 51).

What should we expect from those whom Ngũgĩ calls "fake freedom fighters" in the context of Africa, for instance, when they were made to read Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, William Golding's *Lord of the Flies*, or Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*? History has shown us quite graphically, how ersatz it is to build on structures we have no part in. The whole world is amazed about how a country such as Ivory Coast could at a go crawl on its belly just like that after three decades of an unprecedented economic growth in the furnace of economic turmoil West Africa finds itself.

So grave are the ills of neo-colonialism that, today, at least in certain quarters of West Africa, young men refer in Akan to the ladies they are enamored of as their "obronis" (White mistresses) regardless of the glaring skin pigmentation of these ladies. So goes the old myth that

one not needs to further their journey to the chapel if on their way they meet the White man: they may as well return home; They have seen God himself! Another cultural element is the African onomastics. Not too long ago, both the Church, and its missionary schools - whether Catholic, Anglican, Basel or Wesleyan - required of all Ghanaians to bear Christian names, and by that it meant European names. For example Kwame Nkrumah was originally called Francis Nkrumah. So totalizing was the brainwashing that purely indigenous, local names underwent morphemic and semantic engineering. Interestingly, anyone who bore the Fante name Kuntu, which when translated means "blanket", was christened Blankson at church or at school, presumably "son of Kuntu". But this is not too easy to let go as this translation could equally means "son of the blanket". I know such semantic extension of Mr. Wood, Miss Fish, or Sir Bird could have caused that influence. But in Africa in general, and in Ghana in particular, the naming system is a principle of the continuity, of the metaphysics, of the ontology, and of the value systems of clans, and of societies. Similarly, "Andah" became Anderson, henceforth "Kumi" became Koomson. Again, so totalizing is the brainwashing that "made in Africa" goods are seen as inferior to Anglo-American, and currently Chinese, products. It is felt everywhere: in our foods, our music, our dressing, our language, our everything!

But Ngũgĭ is not a pessimist. He ends on the note that there are brilliant attempts by a third group of countries in the Third World to cause social transformation as opposed to others, who gleefully lean on the old ways of thinking and acting. I wonder whether Nigeria, Ivory Coast, and, of course, Ghana, could be found in this circle of optimists. As the champion of this crusade, Kwame Nkrumah on March 6, 1957 prayed, "The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up to the total liberation of the African continent").

7. Conclusion (please shift this to the next page)

By way of summary, I have sought to demonstrate the relevance of structuralism as it held sway in linguistics and communication to the systematic study of modern societies. Language, and I mean communication, and society are comparable to the obverse and converse sides of the coin. One of the sides does not preclude the other. A final observation to make is that the structuralist paradigm to the study of society allows us to see in great detail the position of

the self and of their consciousness in relation to hegemonic and power dominance over us. Structure is the system. It is the thing itself tout court.

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The author:

Wincharles Coker is currently a doctoral student of Michigan Tech's Rhetoric and Technical Communication, where he also teaches composition. He holds a Master of Philosophy degree in English and Linguistics from the University of Cape Coast, Ghana, where he is a lecturer at the Department of Communication Studies. Since his graduation in 2011, he has developed keen interest regarding the following issues: affective communication, the interface between plebiscitary discourse and mass communication, new media, and critical discourse studies and rhetoric. His recent works have appeared in *Media Dialogues*, *Journal of Society and Communication*, *Mass Communicator,* and *Journal of Media and Communication Studies*.

YOUNG ADULTS' ATTITUDES TO STANDARD AND NONSTANDARD ENGLISH IN AN ENGLISH-CREOLE SPEAKING COUNTRY: THE CASE OF THE BAHAMAS

Dr. Raymond OENBRING

School of English Studies

The College of The Bahamas

raymond.oenbring@cob.edu.bs or oenbrr@gmail.com

Phone: 1-242-376-6463

William FIELDING

Director of Institutional Planning

The College of The Bahamas

william.fielding@cob.edu.bs

Phone: 1-242-302-4311

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Abstract

The current piece is the first published empirical study looking at attitudes to Bahamian Creole English (BCE) and Standard English (SE) in The Bahamas. For the study, a web-based survey was taken by students in first-year English composition courses at the College of The Bahamas (COB), the country's only four-year college or university. When possible, the questions asked in the study follow those of previous studies of attitudes to nonstandard varieties of English in order facilitate comparison between datasets. As such, the study is an important addition to the research literature on attitudes to Creole languages in the Caribbean and nonstandard varieties of English more generally. In particular, the study focuses on: how contemporary Bahamian young adults view BCE; whether BCE remains stigmatised; to what extent BCE is a marker of identity among the respondents; which social groups the students identify SE with; in what social situations the students use BCE over SE; and in what social situations students use SE instead of BCE. The study pays particular attention to respondents' attitudes to the use of BCE and SE in the classroom. Among other results, the study finds respondents report relatively consistent rates of use of BCE from their grandparents' generation to their own.

Keywords: Language Attitudes, Bahamian Creole English, Standard English, Bahamas, Caribbean

1. Introduction

1.1. Attitudes to Standard and Nonstandard Varieties in North America and the Caribbean

In the English-speaking Americas, attitudes toward the place of Standard English and nonstandard varieties both inside and outside of the classroom have taken distinct tracks in different regions. In the more economically developed nations of the United States and Canada, where speakers of nonstandard varieties (like African American Vernacular English) have remained largely on the economic margins, some progress has been made, specifically at the postsecondary level, toward meaningful acceptance of the strategic use of nonstandard varieties in the classroom as a way to engage students from marginalised groups. Indeed, in North America, despite the late 90s so-called *'Ebonics'* debate debacle that has seemingly put a stop to a serious discussion of how nonstandard dialects might be used strategically in primary and secondary curriculum, it is now commonly accepted by North American college composition (i.e., essay writing) instructors that allowing students from marginalised and minority groups to use their home language in their writing is part and parcel of progressive pedagogy. However, despite this progress in the realm of postsecondary education, traditional and uninformed opinions about Standard and nonstandard English prevail in much of the broader population in English-speaking North America.

Although the fact of the populations of Anglo-Caribbean countries largely speak English Creoles would seem to make these countries more open to serious discussions of the place of nonstandard varieties in the classroom and in their broader society, many in the former (and still current) UK colonies of the English-speaking Caribbean express a deference to Standard English (a term that is commonly used in the Caribbean to draw distinctions between Standard English and their local variety) that their North American counterparts, both scholarly and lay, lack. Indeed, many in the Caribbean seemingly still buy into the delusion that the people of their country *speak nothing but the Queen's English*. These attitudes to the Creole and Standard English among the population of Caribbean countries have been noted in a number of studies, including Rickford (1983), Wassink (1999), Mühleisen (2001), and Hackert (2001 and 2004).

Moreover, although many academics and cultural writers in the Caribbean have worked hard to build students' and the general populations' esteem for their local Creoles, in many Anglophone Caribbean countries the pedagogical emphasis remains — from the primary up to

the postsecondary level — in large part on students' mechanical correctness in Standard English. Indeed, rather than viewing students' use of nonstandard varieties as acts of valuable and empowering transgression, many Caribbean college composition instructors, following Caribbean primary and secondary school teachers, have the tendency to view these acts as merely transgressions: errors. This somewhat surprising conservatism stems in part, somewhat understandably, from Caribbean teachers' anxieties that not preparing students to communicate effectively in international Standard English only serves to further marginalise their countries in the global economy. Nonetheless, there is clearly a good deal of 'colonial lag' in attitudes to Standard English in the postcolonial Anglophone Caribbean.

1.2. The Case of The Bahamas

The present study is about attitudes to Standard English and to the Creole in and out of the classroom in The Bahamas, a country that although certainly culturally in the Caribbean, straddles the boundary between North America and the Caribbean proper perhaps more than any other nation. Located Southeast of the US state of Florida and Northeast of Cuba, the Commonwealth of The Bahamas is an archipelago of approximately 700 islands and cays that are, technically, not geographically in the Caribbean sea. Somewhat unique among its Caribbean counterparts (with another notable exception being the Turks and Caicos, a group of islands geographically contiguous with the Bahamian archipelago, but still a UK protectorate), a large percentage of the current Bahamian population descend from the slaves of British Loyalist planters, who moved their plantations from the coastal regions of the Southeast United States to The Bahamas in the years after the American Revolution (see, for example, Craton & Saunders, 1992; Lawlor, 1996; Hackert & Holm, 2009). That is to say, with only a small number of the slave ancestors of contemporary Black Bahamians (some 90% of the country) having made their first landing in the Americas in what is now The Bahamas, and with Bahamians receiving most of their genetic and cultural endowment from erstwhile 'Americans', Bahamians have arguably greater cultural, historic, and linguistic affinities to Black Americans than any other Caribbean people do.

Accordingly, the first language of most Bahamians, known to linguists as Bahamian Creole English (BCE), is the closest extant national variety to proto- African American Vernacular English and/or Gullah. In fact, BCE is arguably a closer relative to American Black

English varieties than it is to other Caribbean English creoles (For more information on the relationship of BCE and Gullah, see Holm (1983), Hackert & Huber (2007), and Hackert & Holm (2009)). However, despite this unique situation, BCE has received comparatively little attention from international scholars in comparison to other Caribbean English Creole languages like Jamaican Creole English (JCE) and Guyanese Creole English (GCE).

Although studies of attitudes toward the Creole and/or Standard English among the local population have been carried out in several countries around the English-speaking Caribbean (e.g., in Guyana (Rickford, 1983); in Jamaica (Shields-Brodber, 1997; Wassink, 1999) and in Trinidad and Tobago (Winford, 1976; Mühleisen, 1993; Deuber, 2012)) and in many other countries around the world (e.g., in South Africa (Addendorff, 1993); in Cameroon (Wilt, 1994); in Singapore (Tan & Tan, 2008) and in Malaysia (Ngeow et al., 2003)), as of yet there have been no published academic studies of attitudes to the local varieties of English in The Bahamas. Indeed, Bahamian attitudes to BCE and its relation to Standard English (SE) is one of many areas of Bahamian life and culture where there remain lamentably few publically-available empirical academic studies.

While Léger and Armbrister's study of attitudes to Haitian Creole French (HCF) among college and high school students in The Bahamas briefly touches on students' attitudes to BCE (Léger & Armbrister, 2009: 31), most of the study focuses on the students' attitudes to HCF. To date the most substantial discussion of Bahamian attitudes to BCE is in Hackert (2004), the revised published version of Hackert's dissertation (Hackert, 2001). Hackert notes, for example, that "among those who display language consciousness, negative attitudes toward their own vernacular prevail. Thus, the Bahamian 'dialect' is often view as 'bad' or 'broken' English and opposed to 'proper,' i.e., Standard English" (Hackert, 2001: 70). However, in both publications, Hackert's analysis of Bahamian attitudes to language, developed out of extensive interviews with Bahamians, seems based in *conventional wisdom* and does not provide empirical measures to support its claims. Moreover, Hackert's study, in the interest of fleshing out more basilectal patterns of usage and attitudes to language, focuses more on working class, older people (the youngest interviewee was 25 at the time of the interviews in the late 1990s). Conversely, the current study is focuses directly on upwardly-mobile youth, the future professional class of the country: college students.

As previously suggested, the current study will be the first published empirical study of Bahamian attitudes (in this case, specifically among Bahamian college students) toward Standard English and their local varietie(s) of English. The specific issues that are focused on in the study include: how contemporary Bahamian young adults view BCE; whether BCE remains stigmatised; how students understand BCE to be unique from other varieties of English; whether students are proud of BCE; to what extent BCE is a marker of identity; what times and places they would use BCE over SE; and on what occasions the respondents use BCE. The study also attempts to get a sense of Bahamian young adults' ideas regarding Standard English, including: who they think speaks SE; where they use SE and BCE; and whether they are comfortable using SE. As previously intimated, the current study is particularly interested in attitudes toward BCE and SE among teachers — in this specific case, future teachers. The study is able to focus specifically on the opinions of future educators as it asks respondents to select their enrolled or planned major fields of study. It should be noted at this point that the institution at which the study was carried out, the College of The Bahamas, is the only 4-year college or university in the entire Bahamas and has for a number of years produced the vast majority of the country's teachers.

1.3. Sociolinguistic Situation and Language Attitudes in The Bahamas

At the independence from the United Kingdom in 1973, British English served as the primary prestige dialect in The Bahamas, a preeminence reinforced in the years leading up to independence by the colony's largely British expatriate teaching force. While Bahamians have in the decades since replaced a large number of the expatriates in the teaching force (Hackert, 2010: 44), the UK-inherited legal system and other governmental institutions have served as a conservatizing force for maintaining British spellings (and a handful of lexical preferences) as the official standard. This occurred despite The Bahamas' geographical proximity to the United States (indeed, Nassau is less than 200 miles from Miami), and the growing flood of American media in the country. While British spellings remain the official standard, American spellings are often used interchangeably (see, for example, Bruckmaier & Hackert, 2011). This stalemate between the use of American and British Standard English spellings in The Bahamas is symbolised nicely by the orthographic preferences of the two major mainstream daily

newspapers in Nassau, with one more consistently using British spellings and the other more consistently using American spellings (Oenbring, 2010: 55).

Nonetheless, the impact of American phonology is clear. Cutler et al. (2006) note, for example, the tendency of many Bahamians to adopt the perceived 'correct' American rhotic pronunciations, despite the fact that Bahamian English at all levels of the Creole continuum is largely r-less. Indeed, it seems clear that, due to the influence of the waves of American tourists that visit the country each year (more than 90% of the total number of visitors), and due to the ubiquitous flood of American media, American English has in recent decades supplanted British English as the most important variety of 'foreign English' in The Bahamas (see Roberts' (1988) typology of the varieties of English in the Caribbean/West Indies).

Currently, most Black Bahamians speak BCE as a home language and have available some form of Standard English to use in more formal or less habitual occasions. The variety of Standard English spoken in The Bahamas (that is Standard Bahamian English) has been the subject of a pair of recent corpus linguistic studies (Oenbring, 2010; Bruckmaier & Hackert, 2011) and has similarities with other Caribbean Standard Englishes (e.g., preference for formalisms like the legalistic *persons* over *people* or *individuals*). The socio-historical development of BCE has been the subject of a handful of studies, including Lawlor (1996 and 2012), Hackert & Huber (2007), and Hackert & Holm (2009).

Although long gone are the days of the mid 1980s, when BCE was briefly banned from local TV and radio (Hackert, 2001: 70; Cutler et al., 2006: 2069), BCE is still somewhat limited in official public domains in The Bahamas. Local television news broadcasts and current events interview shows – by far the most prominent forms of local television content in The Bahamas – while often displaying mesolectal features, are largely in (Bahamian) Standard English. Although BCE is more common among radio announcers (and very common among audience members on radio call-in programs), many radio announcers are indistinguishable from Americans in their pronunciation (Cutler et al., 2006: 2069). While BCE commonly appears in Bahamian music, in local Bahamian radio and television commercials BCE is often limited to the subordinate role of humour, and/or to serve as voice the 'unsophisticated' mindset that needs 'correcting' by an SE speaker.

While progress has been made in decades since independence to *Bahamianise* primary and secondary school curriculum in other areas of study like history and social studies, the

Ministry of Education and individual schools in The Bahamas have in the past few decades demonstrated surprisingly little enthusiasm regarding Bahamianising English Language curriculum. Indeed, Cutler et al. have noted that "after independence, a 'White Paper on Education' was drafted with the aim to reverse the traditional deculturization practices of the colonial administrators. While this partially accomplished with subjects such as History, Social Studies, and even Literature, the Bahamianization of the English Language curriculum was never seriously attempted" (Cutler et al., 2006: 2069). That is to say, Bahamian students' compositions are still assessed largely according to external (either British-inherited or broader Caribbean) models and rubrics for writing. Moreover, despite an active community of writers and academics working to legitimate the BCE in the past few decades, there remain very few broadly-distributed print-published creative works incorporating BCE. In this regard, The Bahamas may be somewhat behind a number of its Caribbean counterparts in accepting and promoting creative works in the local Creole. One notable exception to this pattern is Telcine Turner Rolle's groundbreaking play incorporating BCE *Woman Take Two* (1987), a piece read by both private and public school students in The Bahamas.

Like elsewhere in the English-speaking Caribbean, one factor that may be slowing broad recognition by the population of the unique value and systematicity of the Creole is the lack of an official state-sanctioned orthography. Despite the lack of an official orthography, scholars have noted the existence of normative regimes of spellings in Caribbean English Creoles (e.g., Deuber & Hinrichs, 2007) and even in BCE (Oenbring, 2013). As a number of scholars have noted (e.g., Hinrichs, 2006), a place where these normative, but non-standardised creole-phonology-inspired regimes of spelling propagate is in the realm of computer-mediated communication.

2. Method

2.1. The Survey Instrument

The current study is based on a survey the author conducted of first-year college composition students at the College of The Bahamas (COB). The web questionnaire, located at the popular survey website SurveyMonkey.com, asked students to complete both multiple choice

and short answer questions in order to get a sense of their attitudes to Bahamian Creole and Standard English. Students in college composition classes were asked to fill out the survey outside of class time for a small completion mark. Answers were logged by students in six different class sections of the COB's first first-year composition course (English 119) over three academic semesters from February 2010 to March 2011. After the data were collected, data analysis was done in SPSS. Results from the survey were regarded as statistically significant if the p-value was 0.05 or less. When means are reported, they are accompanied by their standard error.

While Internet surveys remain a somewhat controversial research tool, with certain studies (e.g., Fricker & Schonlau, 2002) being more skeptical of the value and reliability of Internet questionnaires than others (e.g., Fenner et al., 2012), at least one study (e.g., Gosling et al., 2004) has found that, while Internet surveys may have biases, these biases appear to be no greater than other surveys that rely upon self-selected participants. However, as the students who filled out the survey in the current study all share the similarity of being college students enrolled in the same class, the sample of the current study is certainly more focused and principled than that of one involving entirely self-selected participants taken from the Internet population of The Bahamas at large. Indeed, as a small, still developing country, without extensive research funding or a totally reliable mail system, but with relatively high rates of Internet use and access, The Bahamas seems well-suited for carefully designed Internet-survey-based research. Accordingly, Internet surveys have been used by a handful of other published academic studies of Bahamian life and culture (e.g., Fielding et al., 2011); the current study is not the first. Nonetheless, the authors make no claim that the presented data are representative of the broader Bahamian population, or even all Bahamian young adults. However, the data do present the opinions of those students who participated in the study. In general, as there are so few scholarly studies of Bahamian language and culture in any form, the current study demonstrates a preference for the presentation of raw data, data that can be used by other researchers for meta-analysis, rather than using the data to interrogate prevailing academic theories.

While linguists' preferred term for the first language (L1) of most of the Bahamian population is *Bahamian Creole English* (BCE), to avoid confusion the survey instrument itself used the term *Bahamian Dialect* (BD), the term commonly used by Bahamians to describe their L1. Bahamians' preference for the term *Bahamian Dialect* seems to be based partially on the fact

that Bahamians are not totally convinced that their L1 is something other than English and partially because they associate the notion of *creole* with the stigmatised Haitian minority (For more on the stigma faced by the Haitian minority in the Bahamas, see Fielding et al. (2008)). Indeed, as Hackert notes "the majority of Bahamians are extremely eager to distance themselves from anything 'creole,' as that word is associated with Haitians and their speech" (Hackert, 2010: 70). While the current study understands these labels as interchangeable, the current study uses the term *Bahamian Creole English* (BCE) for its analysis.

A number of the questions in the survey were inspired by and/or directly follow previous surveys of attitudes to nonstandard and/or Creole varieties of English in order to facilitate comparison between the datasets. For example, the question that asks students how confident they are of their ability change to Standard English when they deem such a switch to be necessary is inspired by Trammell and Durnell-Uwechue's (2001) online survey of speakers of African American Vernacular English. Moreover, the questions in the study asking whether or not the respondent would use BCE in particular enumerated social situations and in particular forms of communication are directly inspired by Wassink's (1999) study of attitudes to Jamaican Creole English (Note that Wassink claims the survey instrument used in her study loosely follows that originally developed by Li (1994) (Wassink, 1999: 62)). However, the current study has updated the list to include digital forms of communication like email and Facebook wall posts. Furthermore, the questions in the study asking students to express whether they judge speakers of Creole or SE to be more trustworthy are inspired by similar questions in the Jamaican Language Unit's attitude survey (2005) and Rickford's classic study of attitudes to the Creole in Guyana (Rickford, 1983).

The survey instrument includes a small number of questions eliciting demographic data in to allow comparison between different social indicators (e.g., age, gender, college major, island of birth). Perhaps the most personal of these questions in the survey instrument is that which asks students whether they attended private or public schools during their primary and secondary education, a question meant to serve as an indirect indicator of socioeconomic class.

A number of questions asked students to respond using scaled answers to facilitate numerical comparison and statistical analysis. For example, students were asked to report the frequency of use of BCE by various members of their family and social groups and were given the options of *never, rarely, sometimes, often,* and *always.* In the data analysis, these responses

were easily converted to a 1-5 scale (with 1 = *always,* and 5 = *never*). Students were also asked to rate how much they agreed or disagreed with a variety assessments or assertions about BCE (e.g., *Bahamian Dialect is a form of 'broken English'*) with a quantitative-analysis-amenable scaled answer (with *strongly disagree* = 1, and *strongly agree* = 5). While most questions were designed to use a 1-5 scale, other questions used different scales. For example, the question *If you speak BD, how confident are you of your ability to switch from BD to SE?* used a scale from 1-4 (with 1 = *very confident*, and 4 = *not confident*). After the scaled question, most questions asked students to offer short answers explaining their response.

Following an ongoing tradition in sociolinguistic research of directly asking informants about their attitudes to language rather than eliciting markers of attitude indirectly (e.g., Deuber, 2012), the current study, as it is based on an Internet questionnaire, is obviously designed to measure explicit attitudes rather than implicit attitudes to language varieties. Although relatively little is known about how well explicitly elicited attitudes about language varieties reflect implicit attitudes, at least one study has cast doubt on how well explicitly expressed attitudes to language reflect implicit attitudes (e.g., Pantos, 2010). Nonetheless, the current study views web questionnaires as a valuable, practical research tool for eliciting large samples of language attitudes data. Indeed, interrogating how well self-reported web questionnaires can be used for studies of phonological distinction, Dollinger affirms their value as a research tool, noting that "self-reports in the form of [web questionnaires] are not likely to go away in the information age; on the contrary, new technologies could help revitalize them. As this study suggests, if applied consciously, there is no reason to throw out this tool. The sheer range of speakers one can reach with an online questionnaire is unparalleled" (Dollinger, 2012: 103).

3. Results

3.1. *Respondents*

At the end of the study, responses from 95 students were retained for analysis. Responses from students not yet 18 years old, or legally adults in The Bahamas, were precluded from consideration. The remaining sample of students had average of age of 19.8 years (standard error: 0.28). Although the sample size of the study is not as large as might be desired, the number

of respondents for the study is nearly twice the size of that in Wassink's study of attitudes to the Creole in Jamaica (N=51; Wassink, 1999). While the disparity in numbers of respondents between genders in the current study is striking (80.2% female), this percentage is actually fairly consistent with enrolment and graduation rates at the College of The Bahamas (e.g., Thompson, 2011). 71.6% of students reported New Providence, where the capital and major population centre of The Bahamas, Nassau, is located, as their home island; this is consistent with Bahamian population patterns: approximately 70% of the total population of the Bahamas live on the island of New Providence. Conversely, 28.4% of students reported their home to be a rural 'family island' (an island other than New Providence in The Bahamas). 37.5% of students reported attending private schools for their primary and secondary education. 38.5% reported attending purely public institutions. The remaining 24.0% reported attending at least one of each in their primary and secondary education. Table 1 presents the breakdown of students by their enrolled or intended major.

Table 1: Students' Reported Major Field of Study

Major	N	Percent
Science and Technology	23	24.0
Business	19	19.8
Nursing and Allied Health Professions	17	17.7
Education	15	15.6
Law	10	10.4
CHMI	7	7.3
Small Island Sustainability	2	2.1
School of Communication	1	1.0
English	1	1.0

3.2. Reported Use of Bahamian Creole

Table 2 presents the frequency of use of BCE that respondents reported for key members of their immediate social environment. Respondents were given also given the option of selecting N/A if the relative(s) in question were deceased or the students do not intimately know

the person (e.g., absent fathers or mothers). Despite the fact that popular ideology in The Bahamas routinely associates frequent use of BCE with older and rural speakers, students reported relatively similar levels of use of BCE among their grandparents' generation and their own. Students reported higher frequencies of BCE use than for their grandparents (mean of 2.8), themselves (mean of 2.3), and their siblings (mean of 2.4) (Wilcoxon signed ranks test, z=-2.12, p=0.024, n=33). In fact, students reported the highest rate of use of BCE for their friends (mean of 2.1). These results suggest that students can without difficulty include both what they may perceive to be rustic 'island' talk of older generations in the youth slang of their peers under the overarching category of '*Bahamian Dialect*'.

Table 2: Reported Frequency of Use of BCE by Members of Social Environment

Person(s)	Never 5	Rarely 4	Sometimes 3	Often 2	Always 1	Mean	Standard Error
You	0.0%	9.5%	26.3%	49.5%	14.7%	2.3	0.09
Your Siblings	0.0%	14.0%	21.0%	38.0%	27.0%	2.4	0.13
Your Friends	1.0%	4.0%	18.0%	33.0%	44.0%	2.1	0.11
Your Mother	4.2%	21.1%	27.4%	27.4%	16.8%	2.8	0.13
Your Father	3.2%	17.9%	22.1%	26.3%	21.1%	2.8	0.15
Your Grandparents	3.2%	18.1%	10.6%	20.2%	34.0%	2.8	1.8

As is well established in the sociolinguistic literature, studies of numerous language communities around the globe have found women to use nonstandard features less frequently than men (e.g., Trudgill, 1972; Milroy, 1976; Gordon, 1997), a pattern that manifested itself in a limited manner in the current study. First of all, female students reported slightly less frequent use of BCE (mean of 2.3) than male students did (2.4). However, this difference was not statistically significant. Moreover, mothers used BCE less than respondents (Wilcoxon signed ranks test, z=-3.20, p=0.0001, n=94). Furthermore, students were more likely to report female members of their social environment to be the primary driving force for their negative attitudes to the Creole, if those negative ideas are present. Indeed, students were seven times as likely to

report that their negative attitudes to BCE came primarily from their mother (n= 11) rather than their father (n=2) (see Table 3). Students also identified primary and secondary school teachers (still a primarily female group in The Bahamas) as an important source of their negative attitudes to BCE (n=19). Conversely, only a small number of students reported receiving negative attitudes toward the Creole from their siblings (3%), or friends (3%).

Table 3: Primary Driving Force of Negative Attitudes to BCE, if Present in the Student

	N	Percent
Teacher	19	47.5%
Mother	11	27.5%
Father	2	5.0%
Other Adult	6	15.0%
Friends	1	2.5%
Siblings	1	2.5%

Students who had exclusively attended private school reported slightly less frequent personal use of BCE (mean of 2.39, standard error: 0.140) than those who attended public schools (mean of 2.31, standard error: 0.131) or both private and public schools (mean of 2.17, standard error: 0.937), but again these differences were not significant. Similarly, the study found no significant difference in average reported rates of personal use of BCE for students originally from rural 'family islands' in The Bahamas (mean 2.19, standard error: 0.160) versus those originally from New Providence island, where Nassau is located (mean 2.33, standard error: 0.101). Interestingly, students also reported a high degree of confidence in their ability to switch between BCE and SE when they deemed such a switch necessary (according to a 1-4 scale[1]; mean of 1.82, standard error: 0.102).

Table 4 presents students' responses to a series of *Would you use BD to ... ?* questions, a set of queries inspired by a similar list in Wassink's of attitudes to Jamaican Creole English (JCE) in Jamaica (Wassink, 1999). Most of the students' responses follow expected patterns of language and register choice, with students reporting decreased use of BCE in school and work

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[1] The scale for the question asking students how confident they are in their ability to code switch is: 1 = very confident; 4 = not confident.

environments and increased use of BCE in informal situations, including interactions with friends and in online environments. Perhaps the most striking finding in this part of the study is the relatively low percent of respondents who affirm that they would consciously use BCE when answering the telephone (26%). This number is, however, higher than that reported by Wassink, which found in Jamaica that only 8% of respondents would use JCE to answer the telephone (Wassink, 1999: 72). Also of note when comparing the findings of the current study to Wassink's is the differing rates at which respondents would use the local Creole in a job interview; while only 1% of the Bahamian students in the current study indicate that they would use BCE in a job interview, 18% of the respondents (admittedly on average a more rural and less educated group) indicate that they would consciously use JCE during a job interview (Wassink, 1997: 72).

Table 4: Reported Social Situations in which Students Use BCE

Would you use BD to…	Yes Percent	Not Certain Percent
… write a post on a Facebook wall?	86.3%	8.4%
… describe a news or sports story to a friend?	81.1%	3.2%
… write an email to a friend?	76.0%	6.3%
… speak to a parent?	70.5%	5.3%
… speak to a grandparent?	66.3%	8.4%
… write a poem?	63.2%	13.7%
… write a letter to a friend?	46.9%	8.3%
… write a short story?	33.3%	11.5%
… answer the telephone?	26.0%	9.4%
… address a teacher?	20.8%	5.2%
… teach a class of children?	11.6%	3.2%
… write an essay?	6.3%	7.4%
… write an email to a supervisor?	3.1%	0.0%
… address a supervisor?	4.2%	0.0%
… conduct a job interview?	1.0%	0.0%

3.3. Attitudes to BCE

Table 5 presents the breakdown of respondents' answers to a number of assertions about BCE. As the table suggests, it is clear that the students have very conflicting and nuanced attitudes to BCE. While a substantial majority agreed with the statement that *BD is a form of 'Broken English'* (mean of 2.9),[2] a substantial number also agreed with the statement *I am proud of BD* (mean of 3.0), and *I enjoy speaking BD* (mean of 2.7). All of this suggests that BCE/BD has a substantial amount of what sociolinguists refer to as 'covert prestige' (a concept stemming originally from Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1972)). As Rickford long ago noted, "the impression that Caribbean populations have nothing but loathing for their native Creole and nothing but longing for the Queen's English is certainly a mistaken one" (Rickford, 1987: 36). Indeed, as a whole the respondents were equivocal as to whether *Standard English is better than BD* (mean of 3.12, standard error: 0.125).

Table 5: Students' Responses to a Number of Assertions about BCE

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Standard Error	p-value[3]
	1	2	3	4	5			
I enjoy speaking BD.	4.3%	6.4%	31.9%	31.9%	25.5%	3.68	0.109	<0.001
BD is a form of 'broken' English.	5.2%	3.1%	11.5%	55.2%	25.0%	3.92	0.100	<0.001
BD is a different language from Standard English.	4.2%	20.0%	25.3%	36.8%	13.7%	3.36	0.111	0.002
I am proud of BD.	4.2%	1.0%	22.9%	34.4%	37.5%	4.0	0.104	<0.001
BD should be the	24.0%	28.1%	21.9%	16.7%	9.4%	2.59	0.130	0.002

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[2] This number seems to agree with the findings of Léger and Armbrister where 53% of COB student respondents agreed with the statement that *Bahamian Dialect is bad English* (Léger & Armbrister, 2009: 30).
[3] The t-test tests the mean value against a value of 3 in order to indicate differences from neutral reactions.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Standard Error	p-value[3]
	1	2	3	4	5			
national language of The Bahamas.								
Standard English is better than BD.	12.8%	11.7%	43.6%	14.9%	17.0%	3.12	0.125	0.350
BD is my mother tongue.	10.5%	18.9%	23.2%	31.6%	15.8%	3.23	0.127	0.070

Léger and Armbrister's study of attitudes to HCF reported numbers that seemed to suggest that students attending private schools in the Bahamas demonstrate comparatively worse attitudes to BCE than their public school counterparts (Léger & Armbrister, 2009). Specifically, the study reported that 72% of private school students surveyed (N=100) agreed with the statement *Bahamian Dialect is bad English.* Conversely, only 53% of public school students surveyed (N=165) agreed with the same assertion (id.: 31). However, the current study finds no evidence of this pattern. In fact, COB students who had attended exclusively private schools in their primary and secondary education (N=36) reported on average less agreement with the assertion *Bahamian Dialect is a form of 'broken English'* than their counterparts who had attended only public schools (N=37) (mean of 3.95 (standard error: 0.160) for public school students versus a mean of 3.88 (standard error: 0.157) for private school students), but again this difference was not statistically significant.

As Table 5 also suggests, students expressed mixed attitudes as to whether *BD is a different language from Standard English* (mean of 3.36), whether *BD should be the national language of The Bahamas* (mean of 2.59), and whether *BD is their mother tongue* (mean of 3.23). Furthermore, Table 6 presents the students' assessments of the assertion *I trust those who can speak BD more than those who can't,* a statement that students on average generally disagreed with (mean of 2.13).

Table 6: Students' Responses to the Assertion: I trust those who can speak BD more than those who can't

Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neutral 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5	Mean	Standard Error
31%	31%	34%	3%	1%	2.13	0.097

3.4. Attitudes to BCE in the classroom

Table 7 presents students' responses to a series of questions about whether or not BCE should be used in primary, secondary, and postsecondary education. Students expressed clear disagreement with the idea of actively teaching BCE in the classroom instead of Standard English (57% selecting *strongly disagree*, 34% selecting *disagree*, with an overall mean of 1.53). On average, students expressed a more neutral attitude toward teachers strategically using BCE to explain concepts to students and/or to manage the classroom (mean of 1.5). What is more, a number of students agreed with the proposition that BCE be taught in addition to Standard English in school (20% selecting *agree*, 10% selecting *strongly agree*, with an overall mean of 2.7).

Table 7: Students' Responses Regarding the Teaching of BCE in School

	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neutral 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5	Mean	Standard Error	p-value[4]
BD should be taught instead of Standard English.	57.3%	34.4%	7.3%	0.0%	1.0%	1.53	0.074	0.10
BD should be taught in addition to Standard English.	27.1%	21.9%	19.8%	21.9%	9.4%	2.66	0.137	<0.001
BD should be to explain used by teachers to explain concepts to students and/or run the classroom.	21.0%	21.0%	27.4%	24.2%	6.5%	2.87	0.156	0.011

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[4] The t-test tests the mean value against a value of 3 in order to indicate differences from neutral reactions.

An interesting result is that education majors at COB, on average, expressed some of the most conservative attitudes toward the use of BCE in the classroom and some of the most negative feelings toward BCE as a whole. Specifically, for the use of BCE in the classroom, education majors' responses averaged 1.20 (standard error: 0.107) for the use of BCE *instead* of SE, and a mean of 1.93 (standard error: 0.345) for the use of BCE *in addition* to SE and *to explain* concepts to students, mean 2.00 (standard error: 0.333). Each of these results was significant at the 0.05 level or less (t-test).

3.5. The Scope of Standard English

Table 8 presents the results of the question where students were asked whether a variety of nationalities and social groups speak Standard English. When asked which groups of people speak Standard English, 86.2% of respondents surveyed checked *yes* for British and 50.5 percent chose *yes* for white American. A similar number (49.5%) of respondents chose *yes* for Canadians, but students also expressed a greater degree of uncertainty, with 29.0% selecting they are *not certain* whether Canadians speak Standard English. Conversely, students were in general agreement that Black Americans, Black Bahamians, Barbadians, and Jamaicans do not speak Standard English (respectively, the percentage for *yes* being 18.9%, 14.1%, 10.1%, and 3.3%). However, a substantial majority were of the opinion that some black Bahamians at the acrolectal end of the spectrum (e.g., Bahamian news anchors) can and do, in fact, speak Standard English (see Table 8).

Table 8: Students Reported Rates of Use of Standard English by Various Social Groups

Group	Yes Percent	No Percent	Not Certain Percent
British	86.2%	8.5%	6.3%
Bahamian News Anchors	64.2%	25.3%	10.5%
White Americans	50.5%	31.6%	17.9%
Canadians	49.5%	21.5%	29.0%
Bahamian Politicians	39.4%	44.7%	16.0%

White Bahamians	35.1%	43.6%	21.3%
Black Americans	18.9%	61.1%	20.0%
Black Bahamians	14.1%	71.7%	14.1%
Barbadians	10.1%	59.6%	30.33%
Jamaicans	3.3%	82.6%	14.1%

As a whole, these numbers are interesting in that they suggest that although American English may have become in the decades since independence the de facto most socially important variety of *foreign English* according to Roberts' typology (Roberts, 1998), British English still reigns in popular ideology in The Bahamas as the clearest example of Standard English.

4. Discussion

Despite many Bahamians' frequent lament that their culture is on the verge of being lost due to foreign influence, the current study demonstrates clearly that, insofar as language, Bahamian culture remains vigorous and vibrant. Indeed, the current study demonstrates clearly that Bahamian Creole is very well entrenched in Bahamian society. In fact, students reported relatively flat degrees of use of BCE from their grandparents' generation to their own. While a number of the features of the BCE of older, less educated, more rural generations may be less common and/or stigmatised among current generations[5], the students participating in the study clearly understand the speech of older generations and the speech of their peers as all fitting without difficulty into the category '*Bahamian Dialect'*. Moreover, students from different geographic regions of the Bahamas and different socioeconomic classes reported, on average, relatively similar use of BCE.

Moreover, the public domains in which BCE is found and permissible in The Bahamas continue to increase as the years go on. In particular, new digital technologies are allowing Bahamians to express themselves and communicate with each other in their first language (L1) in many ways not available to previous generations. Web forums, social media, and texting, for

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[5] Two examples of traditional features of BCE that are less common in youth are the exchanging the labio-velar approximant [w] by voiced labio-dental fricatives [v] (i.e., replacing [w] with [v] and [v] with [w]) and the replacement of [ər] with [əj] (e.g., so that *learn* becomes [ləjn] and *first* becomes [fəjs]).

example, allow Bahamians the opportunity to attempt to approximate the phonetic patterns of their L1 through eye dialect spellings. Digital music technologies allow easier production and distribution of locally produced music, music that often involves BCE. What's more, increasingly affordable digital videography and streaming video technologies are allowing more and more Bahamians to participate in video production, with the end product often involving BCE. In fact, 2012 saw the start of the first Bahamian produced television drama series: *Gippie's Kingdom.*

However, the current study does show that many negative attitudes to Bahamian Creole English do persist in the Bahamas. Disturbingly, a primary exponent of these negative attitudes appears to be current Bahamian primary and secondary school teachers. While the study also finds that a number of current education majors at COB, that is the future generation of teachers in the Bahamas, similarly hold negative attitudes toward BCE, it should be noted that the study is of students near the beginning of their time at college. We can hope that a number of students who come to COB with negative attitudes toward their home language leave college with a greater esteem for their L1. Indeed, students majoring in English education are required to take at least two linguistics classes (a number considerably less than in years past), classes designed in part to inoculate future English teachers them against uniformed folk attitudes about standard and nonstandard varieties. As Wassink (1999) has found in the case of Jamaica, and as Mühleisen (2001) has found in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, traditionally negative attitudes to the Creole among the population of English Creole speaking Caribbean countries appear to be changing in recent decades – or are at least becoming less ubiquitous. However, it is clear that, at least on the postsecondary level, Caribbean English instructors are somewhat behind their North American counterparts in accepting students' use of their home language in their writing. Indeed, it seems that encouraging acceptance and promotion of Caribbean English Creoles by educators in the Caribbean will be a similarly long and complex task to building acceptance of nonstandard language varieties by educators in North America.

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The authors:

Raymond Oenbring received his PhD in English Language and Rhetoric from the University of Washington, Seattle. He is currently an Assistant professor in the School of English Studies at the College of The Bahamas. His research interests include rhetoric and composition, corpus linguistics, Caribbean rhetoric, and digital humanities.

William Fielding is a member of the International Society for Anthrozoology and a Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society. Since 1998, he has been investigating animal-human interactions in New Providence. He co-authored *Potcakes*, published by Purdue University Press (2005). His current research focuses on the links between the harm of children and animals. He is an adjunct member of faculty and works in the Office of Planning at The College of The Bahamas.

EUROPEAN MODERNITY'S REPRESENTATION OF AFRICA, AFRICANS, AFRICAN AMERICANS AND ASIANS IN ITS IMPERIALISTIC EXPLORATIONS AND COLONIZATION

Moussa TRAORE, Ph.D.

Lecturer, Department of English

University of Cape Coast, Ghana

camillio73@yahoo.com

Abstract

In order to justify their annexation and subsequent subjugation and colonization of Africa, of the Americas and of Asia during Western Modernity, European powers had to depict Africa in a way that supported their missions. First, Africa had to be portrayed as a savage continent that needed the benevolence of the white man in order to attain the civilization. Second, Africa and the Americas had to be depicted as virgin feminine lands that could provide all the raw materials that Modern Europe needed for its industrial take-off. Third, one of the characteristics that was used in that project was to present the African man in general, and the black man in particular, as a dangerous beast that is always in hot pursuit of the white woman's virginity.The black man was also portrayed as a perpetual child who could never achieve maturity and was simply fit for obeying the orders of the Westerner . As a consequence, the black man in Africa and in America had to be kept under constant check. This paper examines the strategies that Modern Europe used in its subjugation of the territories that it needed to possess for its own survival. It shows how the raw materials needed for the industrial, economic and social survival of Modern Europe were aggressively and cunningly gathered taken from Africa by Eropean powers   . The paper refers to the specific cases of Africa and America, and also to Asia to some extent.

1. Introduction

Modern Europe devised a series of negative stereotypes that she associated with Africa, the Americans and Asia in order to justify her appropriation, pillage, colonization and ne-colonization of those territories. This article takes a critical look at those stereotypes as they are exposed in some of the racist European texts, and the article also shows how those stereotypes are treated in more recent European and American movies. The last part of the article focuses on the fact that those stereotypes designed by Western Modernity have been embraced by some Francophone Caribbeans through the DOM/TOM French administration policy that makes of Francophone Caribbean territories a "continuation" of mainland France. As a corollary, most Caribbean Francophones affiliate themselves with Europeans and distance themselves from continental Africans, whom they perceive as savages.

2. A Survey of the Main Modern European Derogatory Stereotypes on Blacks and Asians

Western Modernity reduced Africa to a certain number of stereotypes which occur – although sometimes in disguised forms – in European writings, in some African American writings, and in most of the Caribbean Francophone writings: Africans are conceived as savage, the African man is represented as a boy to underline a constant immaturity, the African woman is represented as a servant to the white woman, the exotic African woman is represented also as a sex object, the African man is also represented as hypersexual, always in pursuit of the white woman's body, and the African continent itself was portrayed as a defenseless feminine entity full of natural resources to be appropriated by the white European man. In *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French*, Christopher L. Miller reveals how Western Modernity produced flawed and often self-contradictory views of Africa:

> Utterances on Africa tend to be hints rather than statements, hearsay rather than direct evidence, allegory rather than realism. Millennia before Conrad's "unreadable report" in *Heart of Darkness*, a tradition without a beginning had been established and perpetuated. Texts on Africa were severely limited in number until the nineteenth century and tended to repeat each other in a sort of cannibalistic, plagiarizing intertextuality. Pliny repeats Herodotus who repeats Homer, just as later French and English writers will copy each other and even copy the Ancients." (Miller, 1985: 6).

In his work *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, who is dubbed by Jean Paul Sartre as "the father of racism" (Miller, 1985: 16), outlined a classification of the races, with Blacks at the bottom, the yellow race in the middle, and Whites at the top. Gobineau equates Blacks with wild beasts:

"La variété mélanienne est la plus humble et gît au bas de l'échelle. Le caractère d'animalité empreint dans son bassin lui impose sa destinée dès l'instant de sa conception. Elle ne sortira jamais du cercle intellectuel le plus restreint. Ce n'est cependant pas une brute pure et simple, que ce nègre à front étroit et fuyant, qui porte, dans la partie moyenne de son crâne, les indices de certaines énergies grossièrement puissantes. Si ces facultés pensantes sont médiocres ou même nulles, il possède dans le désir et par suite dans la volonté, une intensité souvent terrible…" (Gobineau, 1855: 205-206).

"The Melanian variety is the humblest one and lives at the bottom of the scale. The animalistic character etched in his loins imposes his destiny from the minute of his conception. His fate holds him within the most limited intellectual scope. However, he is not a pure and simple brute, this Negro with a narrow and sloped forehead, who bears in the middle section of his brain the signs of certain grossly powerful energies. If these thinking faculties are poor or even null, he is possessed, by desire and by his will, of an often terrible intensity…" (Gobineau, 1855: 205-206; translation of the author).

Eurocentrism also eroticized and feminized the areas that Europe subjugated and exploited in order to tap the raw materials which were necessary for modern Europe's economic take off. In *Empire*, Negri and Hardt explain how the annexation of colonized territories was the sine qua non for the economic survival of modern Europe under the system of capitalism:

"Capitalism is "the first mode of economy which is unable to exist by itself, which needs other economic systems as a medium and a soil". Capital is an organism that cannot sustain itself without constantly looking beyond its boundaries, feeding off its external environment. Its outside is essential." (Negri & Hardt, 2000: 224).

Although the appropriation and the exploitation of colonial areas by modern Europe was necessary for the survival of Europe, it was also a risky one, due to the fact that these areas were unknown to Europeans. Europe had to "produce the non-European world" (Henry Morton

Stanley's *How I Found Livingstone* thoroughly delves into that European activity) through a discourse which could erase the European anxiety and belittle, infantilize and eroticize the colonized lands, as Peter Hulme observes in his reference to the colonization of the Caribbean in *Colonial Encounters*:

"Discursively, the Caribbean is a special place, partly because of its primacy in the encounter between Europe and America, civilization and savagery, and partly because it has been seen as the location, physically and etymologically, of the practice that, more than any other, is the mark of unregenerate savagery – cannibalism –" (Hulme, 1986: 3).

Beyond the depiction of colonized areas as primitive and cannibal lands, Modern Europe also had to create some myths asserting the superiority of the Western culture, such as the myth of the colonized females' total admiration for the culture and the language of the European male. The myth of Pocahontas's love for John Smith, described by Hulme in *Colonial Encounters*, belongs to this tradition of justifications of the colonial enterprise. According to Smith's narrative, Pocahontas was smitten by him; as a consequence she "got his head in her arms, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death" (id.: 3). On the basis of this story, a myth was elaborated, which translates the princess' act into a recognition of the superiority of the English culture, asserted both by her role as a mediator between the native Americans and the settlers, and by her embrace of Christianity. Smith's Pocahontas story is undermined by the fact that he is also the author of another story, in which he was saved in an exactly similar fashion, by Charatza Tragabigzanda, a Turkish damsel living in Constantinople. In *The Life of Captain John Smith*, W. Gilmore Simms recalls some of the salient points of that story:

> The personal appearance of Smith was in his favor; and his address soon awakened in the fair Charatza a degree of interest which was not allowed to escape his notice. To what extent he availed himself of the discovery, his own modesty forbids us to know. That he won her affection was unquestionable. (Simms, 1846: 74).

Clearly, in his early seventeenth-century accounts of his travels, Smith was already establishing an ideological pattern, or perhaps invoking a pattern that already existed. The projection of the native woman's sexual availability for the colonizer can therefore be classified as a part of the subjugating narrative of the colonizer, and that subjugation often leads to the feminization of the

colonized land itself. In other words, both the colonized woman and the land where she lives are turned into submissive entities, whose bodies the male colonizer can access at anytime and abuse, without any remorse. The illustration of the "feminization" of the colonial land appears in the imagery of the "virgin land", which was associated by the English settlers with the New World, and also in the name of that new land; as Hulme points out, "America" is simply the feminized version of the name of the European cartographer, who attempted to depict the area in an early map, Amerigo Vespucci (Hulme, 1986: 8-9).

3. The Hottentot Venus Scandal or the Climax of the "Beastialization" of the Black Woman's Body

The "Hottentot Venus" scandal provides a strong illustration of the exploitation of the black female body by Modern Europe. In 1810, a twenty year old South African slave woman named Saartjie Baartman was taken by an English ship surgeon from Cape Town in South Africa to London, and then to Paris, to be displayed naked in the streets and in the circuses to European audiences. She was nicknamed "The Hottentot Venus" because of her oversized private parts. In *Discours sur les révolutions du globe*, Georges Cuvier describes the results of his initial "observations" of Saartjie Baartman:

> Her movements had something of a brusqueness and unexpectedness, reminiscent of those of a monkey. In particular, she had a way of pushing out her lips in the same manner we have observed in the Orangutan. Her personality was happy, her memory good, after several weeks she recognized a person that she had only seen one time… she spoke tolerably good Dutch, which she learnt at the Cape… also knew a little English… was beginning to say a few words of French; she danced in the fashion of her country and played with a fairly good ear upon a little instrument she called a Jew's Harp. Necklaces, belts, pieces of colored glass, and other savage trumperies seemed very much to please her; but that which flattered her taste above all else was brandy (Cuvier, 1864: 241).

Cuvier's description – which is presented as a scientific one – abounds with associations between black femaleness, bestiality, and primitiveness. He represents Bartmann as a learned and domesticated beast by comparing her to an orangutan. In *Black Venus*, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting reflects on Cuvier's description of Bartmann:

He reduces her facility with languages, her good memory, and musical inclinations to a sort of simianlike mimicry of the European race. By the nineteenth century, the ape, the monkey, and orangutan had become the interchangeable counterparts, the next of kin, to Blacks in pseudoscientific and literary texts. Under the ever so watchful eyes and the pen of the naturalist, the master text on the black female body is created; the light of the white maleness illumines this Dark Continent. (Sharpley-Whiting, 1999: 24).

After Bartmann's death, her body was dissected and exhibited at the Musée de l'Homme; she was held up as the "proof" of the African woman's primitive sexual appetite. "She arrived on England's shores", Sadiah Qureshi writes:

within this traffic of animals, plants and people destined for display as objects representing colonial expansion and as means of economic gain; she served as both an imperial success and a prized specimen of the "Hottentot" (Qureshi, 2004: 235).

Western Europe's representations and treatments of Africa were often ostensibly designed to entertain and educate European audiences, but they also served another purpose: to justify the enslavement and subjugation of Africa and of Africans. Thus, a veritable catalogue of the racist stereotypes on Africa was on display in the Berlin conference in 1884, when all available resources had to be used to explain the inferiority of the Africans, an argument which in its turn was used to justify the need for Europe to take over the continent and "civilize" it.

4. The Mercantile Ambitions of Europe: the Truth behind the Apologia

Europe developed an important interest in Africa because European countries needed raw materials and new markets for their industrial production. As Marx and Engels write in *The German Ideology*, the class which has the means of material production at its disposal also has control over the means of mental production; the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. In conformity with Thomas Richard's description of advertising in *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* as "the capitalist form of representation" or as the "culture of capitalism" (Richard, 1990, cited in Ramamurthy, 2003: 11), some European experts in imperial expansion like Henry Morton Stanley pointed out clearly that the empire could only

be won through the expansion of commodity culture (Ramamurthy, 2003: 45). In other words, advertising is presented as the cultural representation of imperialism. Once the link between advertising and imperialism has been established, we can therefore understand why Africans and Asians became associated with derogatory stereotypes in the commercial advertisements of the 19th century in Europe: the stereotypical representations of those populations were the core belief of European imperialism, and the most adequate communication tool that imperialism possesses is advertising. In accordance with the ideology of imperialism, black men were represented as children in advertisements, as lacking maturity, and as incapable of independent decisions and enterprises like managing one's life or ruling one's country. Anandi Ramamurthy's *Imperial Persuaders* examines some of the salient features of the representation of the African woman in European advertisements. She is represented as an exotic sexual creature, or as a shabbily dressed servant, who raises no sexual desire. She is implicitly contrasted to the Western white woman, who possesses all the opposites of the traits of the black woman, whose job is to serve the white woman. Here is Ramamurthy's close examination of an advertisement from 1903 of Plantol Soap, a product of Lever Brothers:

> Visually, the advertisement poses the black woman in the position of a servant offering the commodity to the viewer. Her beauty and sexuality are also mocked with her hair disheveled and her clothes falling off her shoulders, not to suggest her body as one to evoke desire but rather to suggest her savagery. The advertisement was paired with that of a traditional image of a white woman bathing. Although she also offers the soap up for the viewers to use, it is positioned to suggest her own consumption too. Her stereotypical image signifying purity, femininity and availability is a format mocked in the image of the black woman, not to question the codes with which women are represented but in order to degrade the black woman (Ramamurthy, 2003:54).

Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* also exposes salient representations of the African woman as the anti-thesis of the Western woman, but in a slightly different way. The African woman (represented by Kurtz's African mistress) is portrayed as a caricature of savage eroticism, and she also raises fear and some degree of respect. Marlow is scared of her, and he respects her in a way that he does not respect Kurtz's intended. Marlow also considers the white women sinister (like the "fates" in the company headquarters), or naïve, like his own aunt and Kurtz's betrothed. Kurtz's African mistress is simply portrayed as a sexual or sexualized ghost, "a wild and gorgeous apparition of a woman" (Conrad, 1902: 99), whose exotic nature appears through the

numerous necklaces, beads and charms that adorn her body. The main contrast between this anonymous woman and Kurtz's European "Intended" lies in the fact that the latter has a voice, which enables her to communicate with Marlow and inquire about the last moments of her fiancé in the Congo. The dominating impression here is that Kurtz's black goddess, who is completely passive, unknown and never utters a word, is nonetheless more desirable sexually than his European "Intended", who looks more like a fading old girl:

> She came forward, all in black, with a pale head, floating towards me in the dusk. She was mourning. It was more than a year since his death, more than a year since the news came; she seemed as though she would remember and mourn forever. She took both my hands in hers and murmured, "I had heard you were coming". I noticed she was not very young- I mean not girlish. She had a mature capacity for fidelity, for belief, for suffering. (Conrad, 1902: 118-119).

We would like to mention here that Asians were also victims of Western Modernity's construction of the "others",, or of the non-Westerners, or of the Orientals, the category in which Africans and Asians were classified. Daniel Defoe's *Roxana: The Fortunate Mistress* shows the reduction of Asian women (represented in the book by a Turkish slave) to exotic sexual people, and the imperialistic intentions of Modern Europe are revealed in *Roxana*. Defoe's protagonist Roxana, a European prostitute, becomes very famous by buying and wearing the clothes, which belonged to Turkish girls, who have been forced into slavery. Roxana recounts her acquisition of these quasi-magical garments:

> The *Malthese* man of war had, it seems, taken a *Turkish* Vessel going from *Constantinople* to *Alexandria*, in which were some Ladies bound for *Grand Cairo* in *Egypt*; and as the ladies were made Slaves, so their fine Cloaths were thus expos'd; and with this *Turkish* Slave, I bought the rich Cloaths too: The Dress was extraordinarily fine indeed, I had bought it as a Curiosity, having never seen the like. (Defoe, 1724/1964: 173-174).

By wearing the cloths of the enslaved Turkish women and performing Turkish dances, Roxana, the Western woman, will always be chosen as the most beautiful of all the women dancers. This shows both the exotic and the erotic values that European Modernity associates with Asian culture and the Asian woman; the same associations are also projected onto the

African woman. This phenomenon, seen in an early modern text like John Smith's or Defoe's, persists through the era of high modernity (as in Conrad's text) and into postmodernity.

The stereotypical representations of Africa, Africans and Asians in Western Modernity led to the creation of other important stereotypes: the white woman being the embodiment of beauty, desire, preciousness and purity, there had to be an opposite to those values, which were dear to the West and a feeling of insecurity and danger had to be created around the traits of the Western woman in order to justify her qualities, and the black man was the exact character who could play that role. Previously portrayed as a docile and innocent child, the black man is finally stereotyped in modern writings as the dangerous one, who was always longing for the virginity of the white woman. The black man therefore becomes a phallic symbol, as Frantz Fanon writes in *Black Skin White Masks*.

5. *Jungle Fever* **(1991),** *Ethnic Notions* **(1986),** *Chocolat* **(1988) and** *Diva* **(1981): Three Movie that Revisit Modern Europe's Portrayal of the Dark Race (Blacks and Asians)**

Several movies have captured that transformation of the black man into a constant danger for Western civilization in general and the white woman in particular. Spike Lee's *Jungle Fever* (1991) and Marlon Riggs's *Ethnic Notions* (1986) engage the complexities associated with the relationships between the black man and the white woman. The first movie dwells on the taboo around a biracial relationship, between a successful Black married architect, Flipper, and his Italian secretary Angie. The second one traces the deeply rooted stereotypes, which have fuelled anti-black prejudice in Jim Crow America, and it allocates a special room to the representation of the black man as a potential rapist of the white woman. Claire Denis's *Chocolat* (1988) deserves a special place in this discussion because it captures almost all the complexities around the relations between Africa and 19th century Europe, Blacks and Whites and tensions around sex and race. In the movie, a French young lady named France returns to Cameroon, the country where she lived as a child with her parents in the 1950s, where her father was a colonial administrator. *Chocolat* is the recollection or narration of France's experience growing up in Cameroon and it emphasizes the sexual tension between Protée, the black male servant of the family, and Aimée, France's mother. The attraction between them constitutes a real "push and

pull", with a lot of attraction and suppression from both of them, especially from Aimée, since such a relationship would have been an abomination in the eyes of the whole community. The white woman's desire for the black man is clearly illustrated in it. So *Chocolat* as a movie demonstrates that the "beast-like" nature of the black male often led, in more recent eras or this postmodern era to the attraction of the white woman to the black man. Aimée's desire for the black male servant Prothée can be explained by several factors: the urge to taste the defended fruit, or it can also be justified by the fact her husband, the "*commandant*", the local French administrator, was always absent, travelling inside the country in colonial Cameroon. Aimée cannot control her desire in *Chocolat*; she betrays her feelings and emotions when she makes a pass and he squelches it immediately. The fact that Protée, the black male servant, does not succumb to Aimée's attempts to seduce him could be explained or justified by several reasons. One of them might be that he is married and sticks to the traditional values of fidelity in marriage in traditional Cameroonian society. His behavior could also be due to the fact that he is afraid of the consequences that such a relationship might heap on him. He will be accused of a double crime: a black man having a relationship with a white woman, and a servant sleeping with his boss's wife.

Chocolat also succeeds in rendering the racial and sexual stereotypes associated with the white woman and the black man through an allegorical symbolism. The young white girl, who returns to Cameroon to revisit the place of her childhood is named "France", reminding us that Europe remains the center of beauty, leisure and wealth, since beside all her physical traits she could also afford the expenses of such an exotic trip. The black male servant's name, Protée, also confirms the stereotype of the black hypersexual man. Protée seems to be a version of Proteus, the emasculated yet hypersexual Greek god, the sea bull at the center of the harem. One of Proteus's characteristics in Greek mythology is that he is constantly changing and adopting new shapes and forms. Like Proteus, Protée is both hypersexual and emasculated: he looks attractive to Aimée because he is muscular, strong and dark but he does not become the sexual partner whom she expected him to be. The stereotype of the black man as a boy – a feature which also confirms the mutative or protean nature associated with Protée, a man who is also treated as a child – is one of the striking features of the movie; France the little girl is the only white person who interacts (beyond giving orders) with Protée the servant. Claire Denis ponders the incongruity of that alliance:

I had the feeling that a boy, a guy who works for a French family in my memory would only have contact with the children. He was treated himself, being a man who is not called a man, but a boy - the only normal relationship is with the children. I thought of that as something important in that perverse relationship (Denirs, interviewed in *The Guardian*, June 2000 online source).

In *Diva*, Jean Jacques Beineix presents the aftermath or repercussion of the Western European racist views we have analyzed so far, on the white European men. For the first time, a work of art shows the Caucasian man falling in love with the Black and Asian woman. Instead of sticking to the prescribed romance between the white male and the while female Jules, a young French white postman is obsessed with Cynthia Hawkins, a beautiful African American opera singer. He attends her performance, secretly and illegally records it, and steals a gown from her dressing room. In danger from Taiwanese gangsters seeking the Hawkins tape, Jules seeks refuge with his new friends, the mysterious bohemian Serge Gorodish and his young muse Alba (another dark woman). Meanwhile a romantic relationship between Jules and Cynthia develops, emphasized by the piano instrumental 'Promenade Sentimentale' of Vladimir Cosma as they walk around Paris early one morning. Jules ultimately holds her and the two dance together. This movie presents white European men who flee the routine, strength, resistance and worry that the Caucasian woman displays everyday, and they tend to look for beauty, art, comfort, trust and friendship among dark women. Another interpretation of the *Diva* could be that although it is set in a postmodern context, it continues the sexualization or eroticization of the black woman and the Asian woman by Western societies. Cynthia the black woman and Alba the Asian woman are the center of all the love and the attention of two French white men: Jules and Gorodish. Unfortunately Westerners are not the only ones to believe those stereotypes. Some Blacks still defend and uphold them as the literature shows, and those Blacks are the Francophone Caribbeans.

6. The Caribbean Blacks' Permanent Enslavement by Eurocentrism

As a preliminary note, it should be reminded that the geography of France includes European and overseas parts. Within this article, the former, in its reduced form (e.g., without

Corsica), will be called "mainland France" in order to preserve the dialectical articulation between "mainland France" and "France" as a whole. Due to the tight hold that France had on its colonies in the Caribbean, through the policy of DOM/TOM (*Département Français d'Outre Mer/Territoire Français d'Outre Mer*), which means 'French Overseas Territories', the Francophone Caribbean felt superior to the overage Black on the African continent or in America. As a result, the Francophone Caribbeans keep identifying themselves with French white people and, by doing that, they distance themselves from Blacks. The French assimilation policy in the Caribbean was more debilitating and alienating than their colonial policy in continental Africa: that explains the Francophone Caribbean's adherence to France, and to Western values in general. In *Black Skin White Masks*, Frantz Fanon helps us to understand the deeply seated self-hatred and assimilation that inhabit the Francophone Caribbean when he portrays Caribbean black children saying that they like summer because during that season they run in the fields and come back home with rosy cheeks. Fanon continues the same debate further in *Black Skin White Masks* through the case of the Black Caribbean watching a movie, in which Tarzan lives among native black savages. The author writes that if the Francophone Caribbean watches that movie on his island, he will associate himself with Tarzan and will look at the native savages as continental Africans. But if he watches the same movie in mainland France (according to Fanon) in a white French audience, the Black Caribbean will be surprised to see that these white French associate him with the native savages. This partly explains why the Francophone Caribbean still perpetuates Western Europe's views and treatment of its colonies and that considerably mines the relations between continental Africans and the Francophone Caribbeans. As it is shown in my   book titled *Intersecting PanAfricanisms*, African Americans (that I call the Anglophone Diaspora) interact and identify with each other (despite misunderstandings and frictions once in a while) more than what happens between the continental Africans (both Francophones and Anglophones) and the Francophone Diaspoara (Blacks in the Caribbean). In other words, the Francophone Caribbeans see themselves as Whites or at least as people who are superior to Blacks.

Several Caribbean Francophone novels conform to these stereotypical representations of Africa and Africans constructed by Modern Europe. René Maran's *Un homme pareil aux autres* is one of such works. The novel presents Africa as a jungle and it also eroticizes the African man and the African woman. The representation of Africa as a primitive land in the works of the

Caribbean Francophone writers is the consequence of the education system that the (white) French brought to their Caribbean territories, and it is also the result of the fact thatthe French colonial administration needed some colonial administrators, whom mainland France could not provide. That led the French government to use the service of the Francophone Caribbeans overseas for the administration of the colonial territories. As a result, the Francophone Caribbeans found themselves ruling over African populations, on behalf of the French colonial master. In René Maran's *Un homme pareil aux autres*, Jean Veneuse, a Martinican, is urged to reach his administrative post in colonial Africa as soon as possible, because there is a lack of administrators, and he portrays the ship on which he travels to Africa as a "un cercueil"/"a coffin" (Maran, 1947: 16; translation of the author); its destination is "un sale pays où l'on s'ennuie a mort"/"a dirty country where one gets bored to death" (id.: 33; idem). The contrast that the book poses between life in Africa and life in Europe is as Eurocentric as Conrad's representation of Africa in *Heart of Darkness*. *Un homme pareil aux autres* associates Europe with books, sport and healthy life, and it associates Africa with ferocious animals and coconut trees: "les livres et le sport – escrime et rugby – parmi les cocotiers, le sable, les bêtes féroces, les chameaux, les fonctionnaires coloniaux et un tas de bestiaux de même farine"/"books and sport – escrime and rugby – among coconut trees, the sand, wild animals, camels, colonial civil servants, and a whole bunch of beasts of the same kind" (ibid.: 32; idem). European education and the elevation of the Francophone Caribbean to the level of colonial administrator contributed to the negative representations of Africa in the works of Caribbean Francophone writers, and it also contributed to the mistrust between Africans and the Caribbeans. The Africans saw in the Caribbean an ally to the French colonizer. In *Identité Antillaise*, Julie Lirus analyses the Francophone Caribbean's identity crisis by conducting a clinical study among some Antillean students living in Paris. Her study contributes in a significant way to the clarification and understanding of the distance and the hostility which exist between continental Africans and Antilleans, or Francophone Caribbeans in general. Some of the conclusions that Julie Lirus arrived at were the aggressivity with which Caribbeans were trying to escape "blackness", in general, and Africa, in particular. She points out that in his effort to run away from "blackness", the Antillean man develops a "negrophobia":

"En associant tout ce qui est pouvoir, richesse, puissance, à ce qui est blanc (échelle de valeur imposée), elle l'a rendu "négrophobe". A force de lui montrer qu'il est important socialement d'être blanc, elle lui a appris à avoir en horreur son épiderme foncé et à apprécier un individu en fonction de sa pâleur épidermique." (Lirus, 1979: 31).

"By associating everything that is power and wealth to whiteness (the yard stick requires it), he (the Antillean) developed "negrophobia". He has been taught over and over again that it is socially important to be white and that led the Antillean to see horror in his dark skin, and to judge individuals, based on the lightness of their skin." (Lirus, 1979: 31; translation of the author).

In *Identité Antillaise*, the distance between the African and the Antillean is illustrated by the use of the term "étranger"/"foreigner" that the Antilleans use to refer to the Africans: "Qualitativement, les Antillais étudiants rejettent aussi l'Africain, surtout les femmes. Ce rejet est illustré par l'usage du mot étranger"/ "Qualitatively, the Antillean students, especially the women also reject Africa. That rejection is illustrated by the use of the word foreigner" (Lirus, 1979: 95; translation of the author).Lirus recalls a conversation with two students, who categorically reject all connections with Africa: "Nous sommes différents en tout, c'est pour moi un étranger avec lequel je ne cherche même pas à voir ce qui nous rapproche" says one of them/" we are different at all levels, I see them (Africans) as foreigners with whom I do not try to see what we have in common" (id.: 95; idem). Negrophobia leads the Francophone Caribbean to reject himself and his compatriots in self-denial. Those with pronounced black features are called "nèg kongo" (ibid.: 24), which means someone who is a complete Black without a drop of white blood, and that term also refers to African slaves, whom they consider as the image of the servitude they were subjected to. Furthermore, Lirus provides the following statistics: 86% of the respondents openly state that they do not have any connection with Africa, 66% of them state that there is a cultural difference between the Antillean and the African, 13% of them stress the difference that exists between the personality of the African and that of the Antillean, and 10% of the respondents (all women) state that they cannot get along with African men because they are too possessive and too authoritarian (ibid.: 94). One of the main conclusions of Lirus' research is that Caribbean Francophone men and women typically distance themselves from Africans and that the percentage of that rejection is higher among women.

7. Conclusion

This paper showed that Modern Europe devised derogatory stereotypes around Africa, the Americas and Asia and the inhabitants of those areas in order to explain and justify her adventure into those areas. The European public of that time bought into those fallacies and lent its support to the European powers, who then went ahead and established a new world order based on the inferiority, vulnerability and sometimes dangerous nature (hence the need to tame) of those races. The article showed that the reason behind the "White man's Burden" was simply the desire to amass the resources needed for the industrial development of Europe. The last part of the paper engaged the fact that Francophone Caribbeans continue to perpetuate, serve and defend those racist stereotypes through a blatant display of Europhilia and Afrophobia, which mines the relations between the Francophone Caribbeans and the continental Africans.

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The author:

Dr Moussa Traore teaches Literature at English Department of the University of Cape Coast in Ghana. His main area of interest/reserach is Comparative Literature. Dr Traore also did some extensive work in World Literature or Global Literature, Diaspora Sudies, World English, EFL and ESL. He taught in Africa, Asia and America. He is currently working on a book on PanAfricanism and slave rebellions.

"OUR DEMOCRACY HAS BEEN TESTED TO THE UTMOST LIMIT".
AN EXPLORATION OF THE USE OF ASSERTIVES IN GHANAIAN PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

Stephen Jantuah BOAKYE

Department of Communication Studies

University of Cape Coast, Ghana

stepjan@gmail.com

Abstract

Studies on presidential inaugural addresses (PIAs) in Africa have mainly focused on rhetorical elements and general pragmatic enactments in such speeches. Through such studies, it has been brought out that an assortment of speech acts are used in PIAs. Nonetheless, the deployment nature of specific speech acts like assertives largely remains unexplored. Rooted in Searle's taxonomy on speech acts (Searle, 1969), the present study investigates the use of assertives in five presidential inaugural addresses delivered by presidents of Ghana between 1993 and 2009. This study concludes that the presidents of Ghana mainly employ assertives to contextualise the country in terms of its past, present and future circumstances: the presidents usually paint the past of Ghana as murky, the present as encouraging and the future as promising. The assertives are thus used by the presidents to inspire the confidence of the populace in their respective governments. This study has implications for the literature on African presidential speeches as well as for the speech act theory.

Keywords: Assertives, Presidential Inaugural Address, Ghana, Speech Acts

1. Introduction

Speech is a force or a power that is used to accomplish different ends or goals in different circumstances, and it is important to understand the purposes or goals of the communicator and the circumstances under which the communication is taking place (Medhurst, 2010). The goal of a given speech can be determined through its communicative function, which is rendered through the kind of speech acts performed (Trosborg, 2000), as speech acts constitute the verbal actions accomplished with utterances (Yule, 2002). With presidential inaugural addresses, the communicative goals are diverse as the presidents attempt to perform a plethora of functions with their speeches (Campbell & Jamieson, 2008). Inaugurals of African presidents are not exempted as they are imbued with a variety of communicative intentions (Trosborg, 2000; Adetunji, 2006; Olaniyi, 2010; Adekunle, 2011).

Presidential inaugural addresses are speeches delivered by presidents at their inauguration ceremonies, which formally mark the beginning of their tenure of office (Larner, 2009). From the point of view of Aristotle's genres of rhetoric, presidential inaugural addresses are forms of epideictic (ceremonial) speeches delivered by presidents on their inauguration days (Ryan, 1993; Campbell & Jamieson, 2008; Tarvin, 2008). Because of the celebratory nature of inaugurals, presidents attempt to accomplish many tasks with their speeches. These 'verbal activities' in inaugurals are what Austin termed as 'speech acts' (Austin, 1962).

Studies on the speech acts enacted in presidential inaugurals, especially of African leaders, do not abound. Among the few studies, Olaniyi (2010), for instance, conducts a pragmatic study of the 2007 inaugural address of President Umaru Yar Adua of Nigeria. In a speech act analysis, Olaniyi identifies that President Yar Adua's inaugural was preponderated by commissives (32.5%), followed by assertives (30%), directives (15%), expressives (12.5%) and verdictives (10%). Olaniyi concludes that the dominance of commissives in President Yar Adua's speech implies that the political office affords the president to make promises and assurances of good governance rather than proclamations.

A similar study, however, shows that, in President Umaru Yar Adua's 2007 inaugural address, assertives (60%) dominate other speech acts in terms of Overall Relative Frequency Percentages (ORFPs) (Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012). According to the authors, the ORFPs of other speech acts in the speech are as follows: directives, 35%; expressives, 15%; verdictives, 40%; commissives, 30%; and declaratives, 20%. Although employing the same inaugural as

data, Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere's study appears to be at variance with Olaniyi's findings as the latter claims to have discovered more commissives than the former. Nonetheless, the differences between the two are apparently a consequence of the methodology adopted for respective studies. Whereas Olaniyi (2010) selects 20 sample sentences for his analysis, Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) pick the first five and the last five sentences of the speeches they studied. The methodological differences between these two studies might account for the apparent contradiction in the conclusions they draw, albeit on the same inaugural address.

The predominance of assertives in inaugurals is further emphasized regarding the speeches of Presidents Barack Obama of USA and Goodluck Jonathan of Nigeria, which are characterized by excessive use of representatives (or assertives) (Josiah & Johnson, 2012). In this regard President Jonathan's speech records 41.5% assertives whereas President Obama's has 54.8%.

The studies above give an indication that, in presidential inaugurals, assertives dominate other speech acts, hence the need for in-depth investigation to ascertain what they are used to accomplish. The current study is purposed to shed light on Ghana's presidents' use of assertives in their inaugurals. This is in view of the fact that the extant literature on Ghanaian political speeches (e.g., Obeng, 2000; Agyekum, 2004; Mensah, 2008) has left a considerable gap on the use of illocutionary forces, let alone assertives in presidential inaugurals. Thus, the present study is guided by the question: What do Ghana's presidents use assertives for in their inaugurals? The study begins with a brief exposition on its theoretical background, followed by the methodology and then a discussion of the findings.

2. Theoretical Perspectives

The present study is theoretically rooted in Austin and Searle's speech acts (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). The fundamental assumption of Austin's speech act theory is that the meaning of a sentence or of an utterance is made up of *locution*, *illocution* and *perlocution*. Locution is the act of saying or making a grammatical utterance; an illocutionary act is performed in saying something, while a perlocutionary act makes reference to the effects that illocutionary acts have on the hearer (Carter & Simpson, 1989). The illocutionary meaning of an expression indicates

the intention behind that expression (Searle, 1969; Halliday, 1975). As noted by Sekyi-Baidoo, illocution is what the speaker intends or conceives as his intention or what the hearer makes out of an expression (Sekyi-Baidoo, 2002: 273).

The communicative functions of utterances can be ascertained through the identification of their illocutionary forces. Illocution constitutes one of the key assumptions of the speech act theory. This theory, as a built up of Jakobson's (1960) work, was promulgated by J. L. Austin in 1962 in a work with the eponymous title *How to Do Things with Words*. According to Umar (2006), Austin classifies speech acts into five groups including: "verdicatives" (giving a verdict), "expositives" (fitting utterances into the course of an argument or conversation), "exercitires" (exercising power, rights or influence), "behabitatives" (demonstrating attitudes or social behavior), and "commissives" (promising or otherwise undertaking). However, Marquez-Reiter (2000) sees one problem with Austin's taxonomy to be the fact that the categories are not mutually exclusive and they often overlap.

Some of the claims in Austin's work were later revised by a student of Austin, John Searle (1969 and 1975). According to Nastri et al. (2006), Searle's classification of speech acts was based on their illocutionary purposes, i.e. what the speaker is doing with the utterance, their fit to the world, their psychological state, and their propositional content. Since Searle's publication, several authors have classified these illocutionary acts differently by labelling the speech acts differently and breaking or conflating some of them. Searle identifies five speech acts, which are assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declarations (Searle, 1979). Traugott and Pratt (1980) add verdictives, which was among the original classification by J. L. Austin (Trosborg, 2000). According to Searle's (1979) work, assertives commit speakers to the truth of the expressed proposition. Some assertives are occasioned by asserting, concluding and confirming. Secondly, directives are acts which speakers use to cause their hearers to do something like requesting and questioning. Searle mentions that commissives, like promising and offering, commit speakers to some future course of action. Expressives indicate the emotional and psychological states of speakers in the form of thanking, apologizing and others, and finally, declarations, which affect immediate changes in the state of affairs, include declaring war, christening, excommunicating and others.

Searle's taxonomy is considered to have some inadequacies (Bach, 1994). One of such is its inability to cater for new illocutionary acts. Another problem is its assumption that each

speech act category is mutually exclusive although some studies have found speech acts overlapping the various categories (e.g., Clark, 1996). In spite of these challenges, the speech act schema of Searle continues to be widely accepted and provides a useful framework for linguistic analysis (Nastri et al., 2006). The data of the present study will thus be analysed based on Searle's taxonomy of speech acts, with a particular focus on assertives.

As mentioned earlier, assertives (also referred to as 'representatives' in Searle's taxonomy) are illocutionary forces which are basically used to express facts or truths. Among the two major categories of utterances made by Austin (1962), only assertives fall under constantives, which are used to describe the world while all other speech acts are classified as performatives. In this regard, assertives indicate what is verifiable in the real world. According to Trosborg (2000), representatives (assertives) are usually reports and informative statements. Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere indicate that assertives "are statements that describe a state of affairs in the world which could be true or false. They commit a speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition" (Akinkuolere, 2012: 463). According to Searle (as cited in Young, 1989), speech acts are performed based on the satisfaction of certain conditions. Below is an outline of some conditions for an utterance to be deemed an assertion:

- Any proposition;

- Speaker has evidence for the truth proposition;

- It is not obvious to speaker that hearer knows proposition;

- And counts as an undertaking to the effect that proposition represents an actual state of affairs.

Thus, an assertive is simply a statement that advances the speakers perspective on events. It can also be a conclusion or a judgment a speaker draws from occurrences in the environment. Assertives are considered to be truths, hence representing the state of affairs. This kind of illocutionary act is used to inform auditors about what is transpiring at a given moment. Josiah and Johnson summarize what assertives are with the following examples: "assertion, claim, description, hypothesis, conclusion, report, suggestion, prediction, as well as making statement of facts" (Johnson, 2012: 263).

3. Methodology

To identify the assertives in the inaugural addresses, a theory-driven coding of the sentences in the speeches was made. Here, three of Searle's (1969) dimensions for the identification of speech acts informed the selection of utterances as constituting assertives. These dimensions are the illocutionary point, the direction of fit and the expressed psychological state of the speakers. Since this study is focusing on assertives, these dimensions will be described in terms of assertive speech acts. Thus Eriksson (1999) explains, "The *illocutionary point* of assertives is to commit the speaker of the truth to the expressed proposition. The *direction-of-fit* is word-to-world and the *expressed psychological state* is a belief" (p.3). In this sense, utterances, which were considered as assertives in the inaugurals, were those which committed the presidents to truths, described states of affairs and indicated the disposition of the speakers. Although this study focuses on assertives, a frequency distribution of the speech acts in Ghanaian inaugurals was collated. This approach enabled references to be made to other speech acts for the enrichment of the discussion. Table 1 below presents a frequency distribution of speech acts in the inaugurals of Ghana's Presidents from 1993 to 2009:

Table 1: Frequency Distribution of Speech Acts in Ghanaian Presidential Inaugurals (1993-2009)

President	Speech Acts												TOTAL
	Assertives		Commissives		Declaratives		Directives		Expressives		Hybrids		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Rawlings (1993)	54	56	20	21	1	1	10	10	8	8	4	4	97
Rawlings (1997)	50	56	7	8	4	4	7	8	12	13	9	10	89
Kufuor (2001)	40	36	26	23	4	3	21	19	14	12	7	6	112

Table continues

President	Speech Acts												TOTAL
	Assertives		Commissives		Declaratives		Directives		Expressives		Hybrids		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Kufuor (2005)	43	58	4	5	2	3	7	9	6	8	12	16	74
Mills (2009)	8	15	28	54	2	4	1	2	9	17	4	8	52
TOTAL	195	46	85	20	13	3	46	11	49	12	36	8	424

Table 1 indicates a predominance of assertives in Ghanaian presidential inaugurals. In all, assertives constitute 46% of all speech acts in the inaugurals studied. This shows that assertives are the most utilised speech acts in all the inaugurals studied, with the exception of President Mills' 2009 inaugural, which rather contains more commissives. The preponderance of commissives in President Mills' speech agrees with Olaniyi's (2010) finding; however, as mentioned earlier, this finding has been brought into dispute as a similar study by Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012) identifies majority of speech acts in the same speech to be assertives. Therefore, the predominance of commissives in an African inaugural address may be uncharacteristic. In spite of this, the exigencies of the context and the individual proclivity of a president like Mills to constantly reassure his citizens of his preparedness to tackle the nagging problems of Ghana might account for his overuse of commissives, albeit in the shortest of the inaugurals (see Table 1 for the total number of speech acts).

4. Discussion

The analysis and discussion of assertives used in Ghana's inaugurals is done per the presidents who delivered the various addresses. In all, the discussion centres on five inaugurals with the first two by President Jerry John Rawlings (delivered in 1993 and 1997), the second

two by President John Agyekum Kufuor (delivered in 2001 and 2005) and the last one by President John Evans Attah-Mills (delivered in 2009). The discussion is split among the presidents because of the need for attention to be paid to specific contexts of the inaugurals. The discussion commences with President J.J. Rawlings's 1993 inaugural address.

4.1. President J. J. Rawlings (1993)

From Table 1, it is evident that assertives dominate all other speech acts in President Rawlings's 1993 inaugural in terms of frequency. In this sense, the president attempts not to perform actions with his words as performatives do, but rather he merely depicts situations to the audience. These situations included what was immediately transpiring during the inauguration and those that happened in the past and things that could happen in the future. Focusing on immediate events, the president uses assertives like:

(a)   "We determined in a national referendum held last year that today, January 7,
          1993 would usher in the new Constitution."
(b)   "All of us to whom the people have given the mandate to exercise the trust and
          authority of government... stand before the nation today, conscious of our
          obligation to serve the nation's interest."

In (a), President Rawlings uses an assertive to state the purpose of the gathering: to inaugurate a new Constitution. Also, in (b) the president informs his audience about the awareness that he and other elected representatives have of their duties; by extension, the speaker uses the assertive to assure his listeners that he and the others will live up to expectations. President Rawlings's use of "today" in both examples is quite significant as it makes it more apparent that the assertives refer to what was transpiring at the inaugural ceremony.

Most of the assertives on current happenings were didactic in nature as the president uses them to describe the 1992 Constitution and democracy. Some of such assertives include:

(c)   "The Constitution is a framework we have created to guide our affairs so that
          there shall be consistency and equity in our efforts to make life more meaningful
          for all Ghanaians."

(d)   "[The Constitution] has been fashioned by well-meaning men and women who tried to set out guidelines for the just and fair governance of our nation."

(e)   "Fellow citizens, as I have said before, democracy is much more than its outward forms and procedures."

(f)   "The inner content of democracy, without which the outward forms are nothing but a hollow shell, consists of mutual respect and understanding, responsible and disciplined involvement in civic affairs, and a spirit of humble and accessible leadership."

The assertives (c) to (f) throw light on the fact that the January 7, 1993 inaugural ceremony was not just intended to induct into office a new president of Ghana, but also to introduce Ghana into a new constitutional era and a democratic form of government. Therefore, the president's use of assertives serve the purpose of sensitising Ghanaians on the Constitution [(c) and (d)] and democracy in general [(e) and (f)]. Hitherto, the political scene in Ghana had been inundated by coup d'états purported to overthrow abysmally performing civilian governments. These made people's attitude towards a constitutional democracy range from overzealous participation to ambivalent observation; hence, President Rawlings uses the assertives above to whip up people's interest in the democratic dispensation being inaugurated.

On assertives that describe the past, President Rawlings mainly employs them to draw links between the area of the Provisional National Development Council (PNDC, a military dictatorship spearheaded by President Rawlings, which governed Ghana from 1981 to 1992) and the new democratic period. To the president, the PNDC mainly laid the foundation for the democracy which was being inaugurated. Some of the assertives he utilises in this regard include:

(g)   "Fellow citizens, over the past 11 years we have all worked very hard in an attempt to put in place the kind of foundation that can best guarantee the stability, growth and development of our nation."

(h)   "All that has happened during the last decade cannot be divorced from today's new constitutional order."

In (h), President Rawlings indicates how closely-knit the PNDC was to the new democratic era. This appears to be a response to the criticisms the PNDC received for its responsibility for toppling the democratically elected government of President Hilla Limann on 31st December, 1981. With the assertive illocutionary acts above, the president seems to be replying his critics that the PNDC was, after all, not anti-democratic. This idea is further illuminated and supported with other assertives, which make reference to the District Assembly system as to have contributed largely in paving way for popular participation in government. Thus, President Rawlings adopts assertives to justify his military government as he creates the impression that his military dispensation was harbinger to a democratic one.

President J. J. Rawlings (1997)

Like the 1993 inaugural, the 1997 inaugural address of President Rawlings is overwhelmingly dominated by assertive speech acts (see Table 1). In all, there are 50 assertives among an overall number of 89 speech acts. This generally hints that, in his second term inaugural address, President Jerry John Rawlings mainly describes the world around him to his audience (Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012). In this regard, the president embarks on portraiture of his worldview thereby enlightening his listeners on his perspective on the socio-economic and political milieu they found themselves. One of the first assertives that the President employs is a tribute to Ghanaians for their massive turnout during the General Elections. The president states:

(a) "The impressive voter turnout of over 75% which is by far one of the highest in the electoral history of Ghana and elsewhere is a reflection of the new consciousness sweeping across the country."

The main intention behind the utterance above is to announce both to the audience and to the international community, how advanced Ghana's democracy had been. To the president, the voter turnout of 75% was an achievement that was worthy of being trumpeted to the whole world. Nevertheless, this assertive comes with another that imposes a responsibility on Ghana in view of the achievement the nation had chalked in the successful election. In that sense, President Rawlings states:

(b) "This ceremony marks the re-emergence of Ghana as a player of real consequence in
the global transformation."

The president, therefore, declares to the world that Ghana had once again re-appeared on the global stage as a leader in heralding change. This statement indirectly alludes to the foremost role Ghana played in in the fight with colonialists by being the first sub-Saharan African country to attain independence in 1957. The political upheaval into which the nation plunged shortly after independence diminished that accomplishment and so the assertive President Rawlings uses above proclaims Ghana's restoration to her leading role. Most of the assertives President Rawlings employs in his 1997 inaugural contextualised Ghana. They portrayed the socio-economic picture of both the present and the immediate past of Ghana. Some of such assertives include the following:

(c) "It has taken many turbulent years to bring this country to this point where we can say
democratic institutions and the empowerment of our people have begun to take firm
root."

(d) "From the near state of economic collapse, Ghana has become a magnet attracting
international credits and investments."

(e) "More than a decade ago, under the PNDC, we in Ghana examined our circumstances
and decided to change the direction of our economy."

In these assertives, President Rawlings reflects on the state of Ghana by comparing the congenial atmosphere of the present to the chaotic past. In (c), he examines how painstaking it has been for democratic institutions to be established in the country. Also, the president uses the assertives in (d) and (e) to make his audience aware of the interventional role of the PNDC government to restore Ghana from economic catastrophe. The president, therefore, draws on these assertive illocutionary forces to paint the gloomy picture of the past and the pleasant picture of the present. Doing so, the president justifies (as he did in his inaugural) the choices made by his governments, both the PNDC and the first administration of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) party, as being apt for the country.

Moreover, some of the assertives President Rawlings makes use of in his 1997 address sold the ideals of the NDC party/government to the public. In this case, the president attempts to

elevate his party above other parties by portraying it as the best option for Ghanaians in view of the standards he spells out. Assertives that express this situation include:

(f) "Our shared vision will remain a bond of commitment and solidarity."

(g) "As a party and as government we are committed to dialogue."

(h) "We did not make any unrealizable promises on our campaign trail."

The president contrasts his party with other parties by painting them in a different light; thus:

(i) "Some opposition members have subjected the electorate to ethnic insinuations and name calling."

(j) "However, dialogue cannot be a one-way street where government is expected to bend over backwards to accommodate the opposition while the opposition on its part surrounds itself with a barrier that prevents them from hearing any other views but their own."

Looking at the assertives above, President Rawlings succeeds in differentiating his party from the opposition. On the one hand, he intersperses his inaugural address with the principles of his party and, on the other hand, he portrays the members of the opposition as being mischievous as in (i) and (j). The assertive in (f) clearly sells out what the NDC party believes in; once again, the president justifies the victory of the NDC. However in (g) President Rawlings situationally creates the identity of his party as more committed to brokering peace in Ghana than the opposition whom the president reckons in (j) as surrounding themselves with a barrier that makes them unmindful of other's views. In addition, the president uses extract (h) to represent his party as more realistic than the opposition since, during the electioneering campaigns, his party did not make promises which could not be fulfilled. It can be surmised from this assertive that, according to President Rawlings, whatever promise was made by the NDC was more pragmatic, hence assuring the populace of a better second term administration.

John Agyekum Kufuor (2001)

The inaugural address of President J.A. Kufuor, who succeeded President Rawlings in 2001, also abounds in the use of assertive illocutionary acts. Evidently, the frequency of assertives in the speech outnumbers that of commissives, which are deemed to be the most

recurrent speech act in presidential inaugurals (Olayini, 2010). Some of the assertives which appear in President Kufuor's speech are:

(a)   "One hour ago, I took a solemn oath before Parliament…"

Looking at the illustration above, the president simply announces to his audience that he had sworn the oath-of-office in the hour before. In the speech, the speaker goes on to briefly recount the content of the oath to them since the swearing in took place earlier at the Parliament House. The assertive in (a) is therefore informative. It gives a hint about the people-centeredness of the inaugural (Lim, 2002). However, most of the other assertives used by President Kufuor in his address, either detail the socio-economic problems that the nation had been grappling with as in (b), (c) and (d):

(b) "Our greatest enemy is poverty."
(c) "There has been enough suffering in this country."
(d) "There has been enough of our elders who... are forced into indignity in their old age.",

or express the optimism that there is a leeway for the country to revive itself as in (e) and (f):

(e) "We have all the ingredients here, a fertile and beautiful land endowed with goodness
     and richness and blessed with a dynamic and entrepreneurial people."
(f) "The potentials of our nation have always been known…"

The assertives employed by President Kufuor in his 2001 inaugural mostly paint pictures of the situation Ghana had been in, what Ghana was going through and what will be in future. The first situation is historical in nature as the president focuses on the chequered history of Ghana and on its inimical impact to development. For instance, President Kufuor states elsewhere in the speech: "We have been down this road before... when adventurers were able to exploit temporary difficulties [to topple governments]…" (Kufuor, 2001). The second type of assertives mainly looks at the present situation as it bestrides the past and the future: President Kufuor indirectly blames previous governments (including President Rawlings's) for Ghana's woes. This contrasts with what President Rawlings says in his inaugurals, which readily showered the military led

PNDC government with praise and appeared blind to the socio-economic problems of the country. Finally, some of the assertives in President Kufuor's 2001 inaugural contrasted the gloomy picture of the present and the past with one filled with hope and expectation of a brighter future. The assertives were therefore intended to edify the audience and, for that matter, sensitise them on the state of Ghana on President Kufuor's assumption of office.

President J. A. Kufuor (2005)

Like President Rawlings's second tenure inaugural, President Kufuor's second inaugural is overwhelmingly dominated by assertives. Although President Kufuor makes use of all the illocutionary acts mentioned in Searle's (1975) typology, he tends to employ more assertives and fewer commissives. Overall, the president uses 43 assertives and 4 commissives. The rationale behind this may possibly be due to the president's drive to use his second inaugural to characterise the Ghanaian polity, with much attention to the conditions which prevailed in Ghana after independence. The president allots a great space in his inaugural in performing this role, hence the dominance of assertives. Some examples of the assertives that President Kufuor uses are the following, which the president mainly utilises to set up the context of his address by recapping what transpired in his first inaugural:

(a)   "Four years ago, I swore before the nation that I would be President to every Ghanaian…"

(b)   "I pledged to tackle the economic and social quagmire…"

(c)   "I pledged that the Rule of Law would be the guiding principle under my administration."

Using the assertives above, President Kufuor connects his first inaugural with the second by indicating that the realization of his second investiture is the result of the fulfilment of the promises he made in his first inaugural during his first tenure as president. Therefore, with these assertives, the president attempts to remind his listeners about his pronouncement in the first address thereby following what Searle (1975) indicates about assertives as utterances, which commit speakers to the truth of a proposition. Thus, by recounting his previous inaugural,

President Kufuor simply justifies his re-endorsement by the population to be by dint of hard work. (It should be noted that President Rawlings made similar attempts in his two inaugurals.)

Also, some of the assertives employed by President Kufuor in his second address were intended to inform the listeners about the three states of Ghana; thus, the challenging past, the encouraging present and the auspicious future. Examples (d), (e) and (f) below illustrate these respectively:

(d)   "Within six years of independence, not only had the foreign exchange reserves disappeared, but Ghana had also joined the list of beggar nations."

(e)   "The nation has now undergone four consecutive elections and with every one, the determination of the people to defend, protect and nurture democracy has grown stronger."

(f)   "I can foresee a prosperous and self-confident people in a politically stable and maturing country."

In (d), President Kufuor uses the assertive to paint a picture of the gloom which befell Ghana shortly after independence. The president sees in (e) that Ghanaians' determination to adopt democracy will yield a flourishing future for the country, as indicated in (f). These assertives, thus, enable the president to characterise to his audience the various episodes which Ghanaians have gone or were about to go through. Apart from characterising Ghana, some of the assertives used by President Kufuor merely serve as announcements to his listeners. An example is below:

(g)   "In a little over two years, Ghana will attain the 50th anniversary of her nationhood, and it would be my honour and privilege to preside over the celebrations."

With the extract above, President Kufuor informs his audience about the impending Golden Jubilee of Ghana's independence and he also makes the audience aware of his preparedness to superintend the celebrations. From the discussion on President Kufuor's use of assertives in his second inaugural, it has been revealed that the president exploits such speech acts to create a context by summarising what he said in his previous inaugural address, to characterise the socio-economic milieus of Ghana (a theme he also exploits in his first inaugural) and to simply make announcement to his listeners.

President Mills (2009)

From the speech act analysis of President Mills's inaugural, assertives occur in 8 instances: President Mills's inaugural has fewer assertives than all the other inaugurals studied. As seen the previous inaugurals, the assertives in President Mills's speech mainly convey the president's observations of present and past events in Ghana. Some of the statements identified as assertives include:

(a)   "A short while ago, I took the oath of office as the Third President of the Fourth Republic."

(b)   "We have emerged from one of the most keenly-contested elections."

(c)   "Our democracy has been tested to the utmost limit."

(d)   "There is only one Ghana..."

The statement in (a) is a comment on the immediate past event of the oath-taking. This verifiable announcement is intended by the President to assert his position as the new President of Ghana. However, the President's addition of "the Third President of the Fourth Republic" hints that his utterance celebrates a milestone chalked up in Ghana's political history. The President appears content with the fact that the Fourth Republican Constitution has succeeded in instituting a third successive President of Ghana. This statement is somewhat supported with (b) and (c), in which the President once again observes that Ghanaians' resolution to adopt democracy has been stretched to its elastic limit because of the "keenly-contested elections". President Kufuor also makes similar observation in (e) under his second inaugural. Finally, in advancing the unification drive of the inaugural, President Mills makes it clear to his audience in (d) that there is only one Ghana and adds that "and that Ghana must work in the interest of every Ghanaian". Thus he makes it clear that Ghanaians have nowhere but Ghana to seek solutions to their problems. Of all the inaugurals analysed so far, President Mills' is the shortest and makes use of fewer total number of speech acts. Another difference in President Mills' speech from the others is the dominance of commissives over assertives unlike the first four inaugurals studied. Nevertheless, President Mills' assertives are employed for purposes akin to those of the first two presidents.

5. Conclusion

The speech acts analysis carried out on five Ghanaian presidential inaugurals has made it more apparent that assertives are predominant. The data indicates that the presidents have a greater tendency to use more assertives in their second inaugurals as it can be seen in the second term addresses of Presidents Rawlings and Kufuor. An exploration of the assertives employed reveals that they are mainly used to put past, contemporary and future issues into perspective. This is usually for the edification and the stimulation of the citizens' thoughts on such matters. Thus, the rationale behind Ghana's presidents' profuse use of assertives in their inaugurals is twofold. One is to simply describe to their audience the prevailing state of affairs in the country and the other is to inspire confidence in their audience in the promising future that their respective governments were to usher the country into. This is in line with Sigelman's (1996; as cited in Ratsibe, n.d.) framework on PIAs, which characterises presidential inaugurals as speeches that commemorate the nation's past, envision its future and set the tone for the years ahead. Indeed, this study has made it clear that assertives are pragmatic tools, which presidents use to accomplish the tasks, which Sigelman says inaugurals are intended for.

One question that arises is why the presidents have a greater tendency to use more assertives in their inaugurals. The answer is that presidents are less compelled to be persuasive in their inaugurals than in campaign speeches (Trosborg, 2000). In this sense, while a political speech genre like campaign speeches is more likely to use commissives to garner votes, presidential inaugurals, which are ceremonial speeches and do not require a lot of persuasion, will use more assertives. What this suggests is that presidential inaugurals, especially in the Ghanaian situation, lean more towards musing about the past and inspiring audiences to buy into the visions and aspirations of new presidents rather than merely making promises. In fact, this finding seems dissonant with the result of other studies, like the one of Olaniyi, which, although accepts the heterogeneity of speech acts deployed in inaugurals, generally concludes that political inaugurals are used to make promises to the audience (Olaniyi, 2010).

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The Author

Stephen Jantuah Boakye is presently a Senior Research Assistant at the Department of Communications, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana. He holds a Master of Philosophy (English) and a Bachelor of Education (Arts), both obtained at the University of Cape Coast. His research currently focuses on the rhetoric of Ghana's presidents especially in inaugural and State of the Nation addresses. He has recently published in international journals like *Media Dialogues* and *Language in India.* He is due to present a paper on Ghana's presidents' rhetoric on healthcare in their State of the Nation Addresses at a colloquium being organized by Faculty of Arts (University of Cape Coast, Ghana) in March, 2014.

SEX, CITY, AND THE BLOGGING OF DESIRE: A MULTI-LAYERED TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE MOTHER OF CHINESE BLOGS

Jianxin LIU

Faculty of Education

Charles Sturt University

rliu@csu.edu.au

Abstract

Desires are emitted from and realized by textual resources or performances. Personal blogs, as a sub-genre of the blog and a personal media create an intimate textual space for performing desires. The analysis reported in this article takes one of the earliest Chinese personal blogs, Muzi Mei's blog, which was infamously tooted as the Mother of Chinese blogs, as the case to explore how desires are enacted through the textual performance of personal blogging. The data were collected from the first three months of Muzi Mei's blog and were analysed drawn upon a discourse-analytic framework in relation to content, form, and voice. Findings from the analysis indicate that textual resources including content, organizations, and attitudinal representations are utilised and often manipulated for expressing identities, gender, relationships, and contentions. It is argued at the end of the article that, while voicing multiple desires in the text of blogging, the blogger reconstructs gender norms at the same time in forms of resignification, making her identification as a woman a constellation of gendered performance. What has been performed in Muzi Mei's blog is not a woman but a composite of women that could be recognized, regarded, criticized, or even declined in the name of normativity.

Keywords: Identity, Performance, Resignification, Sexuality, Gender

1. Introduction

On 23 August 2003, in response to a journalist's request for an interview, the blogger Muzi Mei posted:

[for an interview?], only if you agree to make love to me first… The length of the interview depends on how long you can last in bed (Mzm 23)

This response was truly embarrassing for a journalist at that time in China, when gender relations including discussions of sex were considered secret or were taboo in public (Farrer, 2002). The journalist had never anticipated that his request for an interview would turn out to be a media fuss. He hesitated and eventually chose to withdraw the request. That said, he was not the only man that was treated in this way in Muzi Mei's blog (Fang, 2003). The case of the request for an interview was one of many anecdotes instigated by Muzi Mei, notoriously known as the Mother of Chinese blogs.

It is not surprising that media reports have compiled contrasting opinions on Muzi Mei and her blog. One of the best examples of this is a media coverage prepared by Xinlang Web Portal's News Watch (Xinlang, 2003). In this coverage, some reports criticized Muzi Mei's blogging for undermining social norms and conventions. Some reports compared her blogging to a menace to the mainstream ideology that was operated on the propaganda mechanism of the State and the Chinese Communist Party. Others insisted that Muzi Mei be entitled to expose her secrets as long as she abided by Chinese laws and regulations. They praised her blogging as courageous and pioneering, lobbying for tolerance and compassion for her blog. Some even suggested accommodating her blog in the mainstream by remodelling it into an example of novel and non-traditional social emergences.

Adopting identity and desire performances as the lens, the analysis reported in this article is intended to offer a different take on Chinese personal blogs similar to Muzi Mei's. Identities, or rather, desires, as will be argued in the following section, are enacted in discursive and semiotic resources. Personal blogs that function as media and text provide a convenient space for understanding desire through textual performances. As such, the research question that the analysis seeks to unfold is: what kinds of desire are performed in the text of personal blogging and how? Answering this question is important to understand the critical place of the blog as a social media space in re/constructing identities and desires of its participants. It is

especially significant in the present analysis considering the critical role that Muzi Mei's blog has played in shaping the Chinese blogosphere and its trajectory.

The first section of the article is a literature review of identity and desire-based research, performativity, and personal blogs. It is then followed by an introduction to the data and the method used to analyse the data. Findings from the analysis are presented in relation to the discourse features of Muzi Mei's blog, namely, content, form, and voice. The article is concluded with an argument that, while voicing multiple desires in the text of blogging, the blogger reconstructs gender norms at the same time in forms of resignification, making her woman a constellation of gendered performance.

2. Desire, Performances, and Personal Blogs

Desire refers to momentary and particular wants (e.g., for food, affection, material objects), or to a more diffuse/continuous force, that gets channelled/displaced into the constitution and the expression of particular desires (Cameron & Kulick, 2003). For psychoanalysts like Lacan (1998), desire is the essence of human beings. The Lacanian concept of desire, unlike Freudian's concept of libido, which was a kind of energy or force that continually sought its own satisfaction, is associated with absence, loss, and lack and is mediated in language (or in a broader sense, semiotic resources). This gap between the need and its expression, or between a hope and its fulfilment, is where Lacan locates the origins and workings of desire, signifying that the demands through which desire is symbolized has not one, but two objects: one spoken and one unspoken (Cameron & Kulick, 2003).

However, Deleuze and Guattari argue that psychoanalysis has fundamentally misconstrued the nature of desire, because it sees desire as always linked to sexuality (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004). That psychoanalysis distils sexuality out of every desire is symptomatic of its relentless reductionism. The approach of Deleuze and Guattari conceives analytic tasks on desire as mapping the ways desire is enabled and charting the trajectories it operates on (for instances, see Valentine & Bell, 1995). Their view foregrounds desire as being desired or assembled in a continuum. Attention can thus focus on whether and how different kinds of relationships emit, fabricate, block, or exhaust desire. In a similar vein, Cameron and Kulick argue that the central concern between language and desire is how desire is communicated through semiotic practices, either intentionally or otherwise (Cameron & Kulick, 2003b). Also,

analysing desire inevitably relates to an analysis of the relations of power (particulary in Foucaut's sense, e.g., Foucault & Gordon, 1980) that animate or inhibit that desire.

Since the 1990s, a number of writings on desire (e.g., Cameron, 2005; Cameron & Kulick, 2003, 2005, 2006; Campbell-Kibler, Podesva, Roberts, & Wong, 2002; Harvey & Shalom, 1997; Kulick, 2000, 2003) have ignited heated discussions among identity researchers (e.g., Bucholtz & Hall, 2004), whether such research should be identity-based or desire-based (in Cameron & Kulick's sense, sexuality-based). Regarding the relations between identity and desire, Kulick insists that the focus on identity categories distract the analysis of language and sexuality from sexuality itself, and then call for an avoidance of the category-bound pitfalls that he argues is typical of sociolinguistics, particularly the reduction of the social meaning of linguistic practice to an expression of membership in, or affiliation with, predetermined and fixed identity categories (Kulick, 2000).

Cameron and Kulick emphasize that desire in its own right is socially mediated: the personal and private form of desires are shaped and reshaped by social interaction (Cameron & Kulick, 2003b). The challenge is to adopt an approach that focuses on the social mediation of desire to construct a view of desire that is simultaneously internal and individual, and external and shared (Eckert, 2002). Desire-centred study, for example, sexuality, needs to move beyond an exclusive focus on identity to account for the ways in which sexuality is materialized and conveyed through language and others semiotic means.

This is not, however, to disavow the relevance of identity study to desire; rather, the question should be reformulated in relation to individual's social positionings; that is, not to ask whether those identities deserve academic scrutiny but what kinds of scrutiny are the most illuminating (Cameron & Kulick, 2003). Contrary to the misleading statement of Bucholtz and Hall (2004), such an initiative implies that, given the abundant findings and theories in identity research over the past three or more decades, identity-based desire research would be more productive and constructive rather than counterproductive or destructive.

Cameron and Kulick also point out that theorists engaged in debating the nature of desire and its linguistic instantiation seldom refer to empirical research that examines how desire is actually conveyed through language in social life (Cameron & Kulick, 2003a). According to Kelly:

[I]dentity may be understood as a cultural manifestation of the desire of the subject for coherent self and the reiteration of significance claimed and forged within language. (p. 106).

Such relations indicate that desire emanates discursively like waves in identities and discourse/s. Researchers in the identity paradigm so far have only discovered a tip of the iceberg, in which the identities are consciously claimed and the desires explicitly expressed. More research in this direction should be continued for in-depth explorations.

Performativity and indexicality are two useful concepts in understanding identity and desire, as well as developing methodological frameworks in line with discursive psychology for the purpose of disclosing desire and identity online. Butler's theorizing on performativity with a poststructuralist paradigm emphasises the performative nature of gender identity by arguing that gender identity is continually performed and enacted (Butler, 1990). Through iterativity (Butler, 1990) or recurrence (Lemke, 2002), a referent for particular identity categories is constructed both in the minds of speakers and in a large social discourse. Kulick contends that performance is not identical with performativity (Kulick, 2003). Performance is what a subject does; whereas, performativity is the process through which the subject emerges. Kulick further emphasizes that research framed as performative should concentrate more on identification.

Different from identity, identification is a psychoanalytic concept concerned with the operations or with the actions through which the subject is constructed, either consciously or unconsciously (Cameron & Kulick, 2003b; Kulick, 2003). A performative approach would examine the processes through which multitudes of identifications are "authorized, legitimate and unmarked, and others are unauthorized, illegitimate, and marked" (Kulick, 2003: 149), "undermining conscious attempts to produce and maintain subjective coherence and consistency" (Cameron & Kulick, 2003b: 139). Identifications as processes thus views identities as always becoming and never finalized; to study identification is to study the processes by which the relational activities occur. In addition to identification, in the course of resignification, as Butler would argue, some performances are privileged while others are marginalized in order to unveil new possibilities for identifications rather than simply relinquish them (Butler, 2004). In other words:

> distinguishing among the norms and conventions that permit people to breathe, to desire, to love, and to live, and those norms and conventions that restrict or eviscerate the conditions of life itself is critical (Butler, 2004, p. 8).

As a participatory media and social networking space (Jenkins, 2006), personal blogs construct an emergence of effective and powerful writing (or composing, to be accurate) of

performance and desire that enables users (bloggers and their various types of readers) of the blog to make direct and immediate contributions to social practices (Lankshear & Knobel, 2006). Owners of personal blogs are able to make use of the global form of the blog, culture-specific rhetorical patterns, while at the same time incorporate their individual literary preferences in such a kind of 'writing'. Moreover, in personal blogs, texts and norms are often intermingled in terms of dynamicity and evolve constantly across modalities, space, location, and time. Personal blogs in this regard constitute an ideal textual space, where desire and identity can be explored in relation to performance, identification, and (re)signification.

3. The Data and the Method of Analysis

Muzi Mei was the blogger's Internet blog name. She was reported to be *Li Li* (李丽) in real life, working as a journalist for a metropolitan magazine in Guangzhou. *Mu Zi* are two characters that form the blogger's surname *Li* (李) in which Mu is the upper part and *Zi* the lower part. *Mei* (美) is the first character of the Chinese phrase *Mei-Li* (美丽) meaning 'beautiful' or 'beauty'. Though both *Mei* (美) and *Li* (丽) index beauty, *Mei* collocates with Muzi better both phonetically and grammatically. The choice of *Li*'s (丽) synonym *Mei* (美) demonstrates the blogger's literary mastery. She skilfully avoided lexical repetitions and scrambled words for aesthetic purposes. The combination of Mu-Zi is also another name for kiwifruit or Chinese gooseberry (*Qiyiguo*; 奇异果). It involves cultural images of being special, exotic, and rare. The blog's name, then, was deliberately designed as a textual avatar to conjure up an image of the blog and its author Muzi Mei amongst its audiences.

In mid-2003, Muzi Mei published a number of entries on her blog (*Muzi Mei De Boke*) describing her sexual encounters with a number of male celebrities. In only a few days, her entries had captured enormous public attention and visits to her blog surged. Blog China (*Boke zhongguo* at www.bokee.com), the BSP (blog service provider) that hosted her blog, broke down as the unprecedented traffic triggered by Muzi Mei's blog had topped its designed volume. As her blog was visited and continuously reported, Muzi Mei's popularity shot up and the new technology she used for her writing was soon recognized by Chinese Internet users. Boke, a Chinese term for the blog, gained instant media currency both online and offline. Muzi Mei was then nicknamed 'the mother of Chinese blogs' (*zhongguo boke zhimu*) on many occasions in acknowledgement of her influence upon Chinese blogs (Fang, 2003; Xinlang, 2003).

The analysis described in this article was based on data collected from Muzi Mei's blog between June and September 2003. The data are composed of Muzi Mei's blogsite at Sohu BSP and her blog entries. Figure 1 is a snapshot of Muzi Mei's blogsite (http://muzimei.blog.sohu.com), with English translations added. A total of 32 blog entries written during Muzi Mei's early blogging was collected. The entries were used for content analysis as well as being part of the analysis of the form of her blogs. From these, ten entries were closely analyzed in terms of content, form, and voice. These entries were translated and segmented according to the goal of the analysis.

Figure 1: Muzi Mei's Blog at http://muzimei.blog.sohu.com.

Note: in brackets are translations of the Chinese text.

3.1. Content analysis

Content analysis, adapted from Wei's framework (Wei, 2006: 993), examines four content dimensions of Muzi Mei's blog, namely, 1) activities, 2) interests, 3) opinions, and 4) demographics as Figure 2 demonstrates:

Figure 2: Dimensions of Lifestyle Content on the Blogs (Adapted from Wei, 2006)
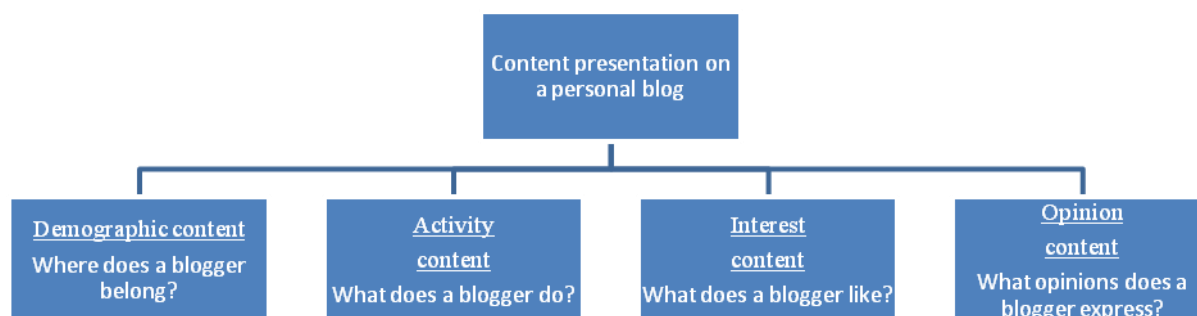
Activity content focuses on activities that a blog may present about the blogger and others. The analysis focuses on deeds, experiences, and actions. Activities such as going shopping, participating in charity groups, or doing sports for leisure are all taken into account. Opinion content focuses on views and attitudes a blogger expresses regarding social, economic, political, and cultural issues, events, phenomena, institutions, and people. Interest content refers to the blogger's preference for particular phenomena, institutions, relations, events, and people. Demographic content, which differs in definition from that used by Wei in her research, relates to spatial and institutional aspects that bloggers or other people were involved with or were affiliated with geographically, culturally, and institutionally. Where bloggers were born, raised, have worked, or have travelled helps construct and represent bloggers' course of being, becoming, and belonging, persistently contributing to their identification and position in the blogosphere.

3.2. Form analysis

The analysis of the formal structure of the blogs was carried out through an examination of two features of the blogs: through the notions of macro-units and micro-units. In this study, a macro-unit refers to the dominant or overarching genre of a blog entry or sections of a blogsite and a micro-unit refers to smaller level textual units that are embedded in

the macro-unit. Identifying a macro-unit depends largely on the content and on the intention of a text (Martin, 1992; Miller, 1984; Swales, 1990); that is, what a text is 'about' and the social purpose of the genre. Identifying a micro-unit, apart from that feature, requires identifying key structural components other than the overall segments or moves that contribute to the structure of the text. A micro-unit may be composed of segments such as photos, hyperlinks, background music, and written textual segments. The configurations of both macro-units and micro-genres of a blog may not necessarily follow a linear or sequential order; rather, they may be dispersedly arranged. In personal blogs, the blogsite can be assumed to be constituted by several macro-units, which are also composed of micro-units such as entry, blogroll, logo, etc.. In the blogsite, a micro-unit can be constituted by a composite of segments such as the name of the blog, the web address of the blog, and the head image of the blog.

3.3. Voice Analysis

The analysis of voice in the blog entries draws upon the appraisal theory. Appraisal theory was developed by Martin and White as a particular approach to explore, describe and explain the ways language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas, and to manage interpersonal positioning and relationships (Martin & White, 2005). It explores how the authors of texts express attitudes and pass judgements on people, other writers, or speakers and their utterances, material objects, happenings, and states of affairs. The notion of appraisal involves resources for moralizing, amplifying, reacting emotionally (affect), judging morally (judgment) and evaluating aesthetically (appreciation) the constituted texts by using these three semantic categories: attitude, engagement, and graduation, with further subdivisions as Figure 3 illustrates.

Figure 3: The Appraisal System (adapted from Martin & White, 2005, p. 38)
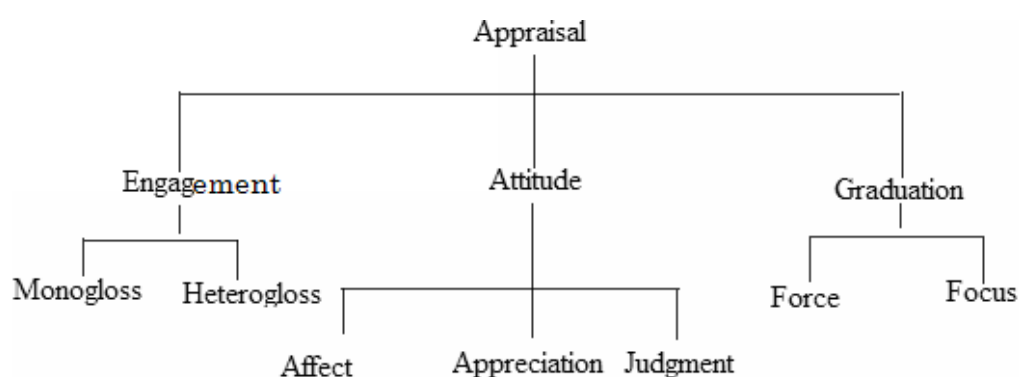
According to Martin and White, attitude is concerned with feelings, judgment of behaviour, and evaluation of things (Martin & White, 2005). Engagement deals with sources of attitude in dialogical interaction with other texts, genres and discourses. Graduation relates to the fact that feelings can be amplified or downplayed. Considering the purpose and nature of this study, a large part of the analysis will focus on examining attitude and graduation resources.

The analysis of the blog data in terms of content, form, and voice helps to examine the kinds of performances represented in these personal blogs and understand how these performances are enacted by their genre features and semiotic resources.

4. Constructing Blogging Performances in terms of Content, Form, and Voice

The data analysis has revealed that, as an instance of personal blogs, Muzi Mei's blog is characterized by the following five distinctive discourse features in terms of content, form, and voice.

4.1. Noticeable Genre Transference and Fusion in Muzi Mei's Blog

Unlike claims about blog's immediacy in generating content (Blood, 2002, 2004; Lyons, 2005), the content in Muzi Mei's blogging might not have been spontaneously improvised but carefully planned and then published, when blogs were introduced to Chinese Internet users. A large part of Muzi Mei's blogging was made up of her writing that had not been published in other media. In Muzi Mei's case, her blog was used as a new medium to publish her old writing. Content alone, then, is not adequate to isolate the personal blog as an instance of a particular genre in that it resembles other traditional genres such as diary writing.

However, there was other content that illustrated particular changes. For example, Muzi Mei's career in journalism, her previous Internet experience, and her early contact with blogging might have helped her realize the importance of content concentration. Compared with drifting topics that personal diaries were typical of, content concentration (or focused topics) that had been translated into her blogging was a useful way to expand readership.

Organizational transference from other genres to Muzi Mei's blog is a particular feature of her blogging. Some of her blog entries were manually produced offline and then typed onto her blogs. For instance, in Mzm e10, Muzi Mei recounted that she had to write her entry on paper because of her computer's keyboard failure. Some of her entries were rewritten based on

manually written notes such as Mzm e07, which consists of five smaller entries. A great number of Muzi Mei's blog entries are her creative writing that was written long before her contact with the Internet and the blog; others originated from her previous diaries and writings offline. Such blogging practice makes generic transference from the traditional to the personal blog an inevitable feature. It also shows that organizational transference from one genre or genres to a new one is not one-off but individualized and continuous.

Muzi Mei's blog is indeed a mixed product of her personal diary joined by several different micro-units such as argument and exposition. Different from the looseness of personal diaries in term of organization (Sjoblad, 1998), Muzi Mei's blog entries are well staged, phased, and organized. In most of the entries that were examined, a topic is introduced and addressed as a thesis or as an orientation: the thesis is elaborated in some detail, and the thesis is then readdressed in several different ways.

Genre fusion in Muzi Mei blogging occurs first in her blogsite Her blogsite, as its layout and rhetorical patterns illustrate, is composed of features of the blog in one respect. In another respect, the three structures are inserted with features that the BSP entailed such as channels and popular tags available to the BSPs portal and compulsory commercials. In respect of the blog entries, though mostly personal narrative, each blog entry represents a distinctive macro-unit. These macro-units in turn consist of several different types of micro-unit. It should be noted that Muzi Mei's blog entries concentrated on macro-units that express personal issues in relation to their content. In addition, types of micro-unit turn out not as diverse as it might have been presupposed; rather, merely five major types of micro-unit are identified: recount, explanation, exposition, description, and commentary.

Technology is a crucial influence in the formation of Muzi Mei's blog. The form of her blog at the level of blogsite and blog entry was influenced by Web 2.0 technology such as the blogging software used by the blog and its hosting service. In the course of her blogging, Muzi Mei was obliged to follow Sohu BSP's arrangement in maintaining her blog. Her submission to the BSP and the blogging technology indicates that the early interfaces of blogging might not have been as user-friendly as they are today, preventing Muzi Mei from bricolaging with new tools and functions such as adding personalized features, revisions or innovations with ease (c.f. Chandler, 1998). Because of the time constraint in blogging, it is unlikely that Muzi Mei was willing or able to invest much time and energy in designing and refining the form of her blogging. In Muzi Mei's blogging, blog technology was not only rendered as enablement of her blogging; it had to put up with the resistance from Muzi Mei due to her lack of technological literacy or simply clinging to the traditional way of writing.

4.2. Muzi Mei's Blog as an Instrumental Space for Personal Expression and Interaction

A personal blog for Muzi Mei was equivalent to an online space, where she would explore her potential for writing. Her blogsite concentrated on entry 'writing'; little attention was given to optional content sections such as blog title, profile, archives, and tags that have become important for later bloggers. Those optional functions would not only enrich the modality of a blog, but also help expand its readership. In a number of places in her blog entries, she emphasized that she had uploaded or was uploading some of her early offline creative writing to her blogsite. In two entries (Mzm e07 and Mzm e09), Muzi Mei mentioned her handwritten diaries prior to her blogging.

Indeed, in Muzi Mei's view, her blog was a place for relocating, storing, and publishing her personal writings. Blogging was reconfigured in Muzi Mei's mind as a space, where her epistemological and ontological experiences converge and were reformulated under the close scrutiny of public gaze, which is quite different from personal diaries in their traditional sense. It therefore became a convenient extension of her personal diary writing, rather than a replacement, an emergent new instrument, or a new media, as viewed by many bloggers (e.g., Blood, 2002) and researchers (e.g., Herring, Scheidt, Bonus, & Wright, 2005).

Contrary to the presumption that the blog is increasingly more multimodal than other forms of online or traditional genres (Thurlow, Lengel, & Tomic, 2004), Muzi Mei's blogging is largely mono-modal except for the embedded multimedia features enabled by the BSPs or the software her blogs used. No images of her own are found in her early entries to accompany the written texts for generic or rhetorical variety. For Muzi Mei, blogging was synonymous with writing and a blog a place for refining her writing technique. This opinion was echoed by many early Chinese bloggers and theorists such as Isaac Mao, who views blogging as writing online (*wangluo shuxie*) and as diaries online (*wangzhi*) (Feng, 2004). For them, the mode of "writing" or written text should be always placed at the centre of the personal blogs.

4.3. Contentious Topics in Muzi Mei's Blog

A key feature of Muzi Mei's blogging is the concentration of contentious topics. Her early blogging centred mainly on sexual relationships and issues such as sexual intercourse, contraception, and dating, which even earned a name for the collection as *Posthumous sex diaries* (Xinlang, 2003). Blogging continually with distinctive themes and topics is a strategic positioning considering how web searching service, blog tags, and permalinks work (Drezner,

2007). Sex-themed content on Muzi Mei's blog was not a coincidence but rather a timely occurrence. Around the early years of the 21st century, it was common to find Chinese female young writers (nüxing zuojiao/xieshou) such as Weihui, Mianmian, and Anni Baobei doing experimental writings both online and offline. One of their primary interests is in sex and sex-related issues (Ruan, 2007) . Their works were widely consumed by the younger generation who were born in the 1970s and the 1980s (Cao, 2002; Jiang, 2006). Muzi Mei's blog followed this literary trend but is even more exceptional. For one thing, her writings were delivered entirely through blogging. Unlike a handful of Internet pioneers and veterans, who envisioned the blog as a new business opportunity, Muzi Mei explored the blog as a new space and instrument for writing online. Her blog offered her audiences novel reading experiences and enticed them to continue visiting her blog.

4.4. Muzi Mei's Blog as a Manipulation of Privacy for Obtaining Publicity

The content in terms of what is included and how it is included helps to classify a blog in terms of genre. In this regard, Muzi Mei's blog was undisputedly an instance of personal blogs as it was replete with personal experiences, events, narratives, feelings, and opinions. Her lifestyle is concerned with her growth pains and struggles, people she had connections with, and her membership categories such as being a daughter, student, career woman, writer, and young cosmopolitan. This is similar to what personal diaries may contain, which draws on personal details to explore one's being, becoming, and belonging in terms of time and space (van Dijck, 2004).

However, Muzi Mei's blogging seemed to have a broad scope of readership. Unlike personal diaries, which usually take the author or a particular person as the reader (McNeill, 2003), Muzi Mei's restrained voice shows her awareness of the potential reader of her online 'diary'. Blogging for Muzi Mei is designated to utilize certain personal privacy to trigger the public's attention or voyeuristic desire. Privacy was then purposely publicized and exploited for acquiring attention and ultimately, publicity.

4.5. Voice Construction in Muzi Mei's Blogging

The macro-unit each blog entry entails played an indispensable role in shaping the voice of the entry, especially regarding the status of the three attitudinal meanings (affect, appreciation, and judgment). The dominance of one attitudinal resource over the others is likely a result of differences between macro-units, where content and form variations enable one type of attitudinal resources to recur more frequently than the other two (Martin & Rose, 2007; White, 2002).

For example, in Mzm e03, judgment resource dominates, as the macro-unit of the entry is "Discussion", in which Muzi Mei recollected and downplayed her personality and moral criteria in socializing. Affect prevails in Mzm e08 as the entry recounted the blogger's relationship with a net friend prior to her contact with blogging. Mzm e10 is featured by appreciation as Muzi Mei shared her views in a biographical account of a male figure whose sexuality may appeal to women of different ages. Therefore, macro-unit differences among the blog entries seem to have influenced the distribution of the attitudinal resources, although they were not the only factor.

Affect is a major resource for identifying emotions and feelings in personal blogs (Martin & White, 2005). Muzi Mei exploited more resources explicitly rather than implicitly in expressing her feelings. In this respect, outspokenness of emotion and feelings is a generic feature blogs have inherited from diary writing. In both inscribed and invoked resources, the appraised or the referent of the affect is Muzi Mei herself, without other people or entities involved. This is in line with the function of the personal diary, where the author is the sole owner and creator of the diary (McNeill, 2003; van Dijck, 2004).

Apart from generic transference from personal diaries, lifestyle change is a key influence. For instance, Chinese young women have become articulate in expressing their needs and wants (Farrer, 2002) as China's modernization and globalization over the past three decades have amassed material and cultural assets, which they can capitalize on (Giddens, 1991, 2006; Goodman, 2007). Yet, their awareness of the public gaze, either authorized or non-authorized, is intense in evaluating persons and things, as the public may tend to marginalize these young women in accordance with their aesthetic and ethical stances.

In contrast to emotion and feeling, the referents (the appraised) of aesthetic and ethical evaluation mostly point to others, that is, other people, other things, and other issues. Appraising others in one way represents the bloggers' own tastes, education, and moral standings and affiliates Muzi Mei with a certain social group or community. In another way, it

could disconnect her from social groups, where the blogger's viewpoints were not welcomed. In other words, emphasizing otherness should consider the diversity and fluidity of others, which are multiple and different from the self in sheer numbers. This may explain the high distribution of positive appreciation as well as the blogger's reluctance to judge others.

The invisibility of judgment may also connect to the niche of the Chinese blogosphere, where censorship relating to sensitive social issues is operating at sophisticated and tacit levels and scales. Open criticism of social issues was neither a secure strategy in terms of censorship, nor a magnet to the audience (especially Muzi Mei's generation) and to the blogger. However, even this caution could not save the blog from being eventually cleansed in the so-called "Internet purification initiative against pornography and violence" conjoined by seven state departments in January 2009 (Renminwang, 2009).

Voice was presented in Muzi Mei's blog in a particular fashion. Muzi Mei did not overtly express her emotions, appreciations, and moral evaluations; rather, in most cases, her voice was implied. Such moderateness in establishing a voice is likely a result of change of readership. As audiences are either absent or restricted in traditional diaries (van Dijck, 2004), attitudinal resources for establishing voice, especially affect and appreciation, could be explicitly accounted for. The presence of an audience or readership in various forms, however, urges Muzi Mei to moderate her voice. Such moderation may also be indicative of the blogger's writing expertise. Similar to its predecessor diary writing, blogging is dominantly composed of narratives. Good narratives, as many writing experts point out, should allow readers to discover from details rather than unveil, the author's intended voice (e.g., Goodall, 2008).

5. Personal Blogging as Performance of Desire

Although Butler argues that a stable and unitary identity of women is unattainable as sex, gender, and desire are all performative effects (Butler, 1990), it is useful to locate gender identifications through the semiotic resources in Muzi Mei's blog. Semiotic resources have then not only enacted Muzi Mei's blog as an instance of personal blogs but also of performances of a particular kind of woman. Given that a woman is not a monolithic entity but a constellation of identifications (Butler, 1990; Deleuze & Guattari, 2004), the woman in Muzi Mei's blog is performed as young, unmarried, urban, hedonistic, de-traditional, aggressive, alienated, and yet resilient. Those conspicuously contradictory modifiers of Muzi Mei's woman

may also indicate that a constellation of identifications in Muzi Mei's woman are neither coherent nor consistent but are contentious, contradictory, and shifting.

For example, Muzi Mei's woman is performed in terms of demographics as an unmarried young urban woman. Age, marital status, and material location are drawn together to create the social spaces for the woman she performed. Her activities and interests associated with sex, writing, party going, and smoking conjure up images of a woman who is hedonistic yet alienated from other groups of women. Her employment as a journalist and her educational qualifications further identify her as a professional woman. More importantly, the frontier city Guangzhou, where Muzi Mei was living and working, helps to position her as a representative of metropolitan women in China. The image in Figure 4 is a lucid articulation of Muzi Mei's lifestyle performances as a woman. The Chinese characters in bold on the image are literally read as *Muzi Mei: city, sex, and privacy writing*, which explicates the social space, activities and communities that Muzi Mei's performances represent.

Figure 4: Muzi Mei: Sex, City, and Privacy Writing

In constructing the voice of her blog, Muzi Mei performs her woman as atypical of Chinese women and as being alienated from the public, from men, and from other women. She described her antagonists as "good men and women", "morally-correct men and women" and

herself as "frivolous", "ill-mannered", "shameless"; but her living condition was deplored as a lack of belonging and attachment, aloof, discriminated, and even sinful (as ascribed to the mafia or an assassin). She seems to contend that, in a society where conformity and solidarity are norms (Zhan, 2006), dissociating with certain gender norms may end up with her being alienated or estranged.

City as a physical and social space may index dynamicity and fluidity engendering drastic lifestyle changes, relation alternatives, and social transformations. In urban practice, social divisions are intensified and accelerated as far as daily living, work, entertainment, and relations are concerned as the following instances from Muzi Mei's blog illustrate:

1) urbanized sex: beauty salon (*falang*); red lights area (*hongdeng qu*); sex concentration camp (*xing'ai jizhongying*);

2) violence: mafia (*hei shehui*); dominant group (*qiangshi qunti*);

3) colonization: places invaded by foreigners (*bei yangren qinzhan de difang*);

4) entertainment: poet party (*shiren juhui*); comfortable zone (*zizai de chang*)；discomfort zone (*bu zizai de chang*)；prairie (*da caoyuan*).

In comparison with developed countries, most Chinese cities have emerged from agrarian communities over the past 30 years (Sun, 2008). It would be more appropriate, then, to consider the city in Muzi Mei's blogging as a process (urbanization) rather than as a static structure or entity. Relegating the social space in Muzi Mei's blogging to urbanization foregrounds the reception of her unconventional gendered identities as a result of change and fluidity. The urbanized social space represented by Muzi Mei, in turn, may help normalize (at least not demonize) her identifications.

Resilience is reconnected to underline the characteristics of the woman performed in Muzi Mei's blogging. Resilience in Muzi Mei's blogging is reflected in two ways. The first is close to resistance: she is engaged in her actions against the social norms. The second is indifference that she employed as a strategy to downplay pressure from social norms. Different from resistance, indifference is implied. For instance, chatting with her mother on the phone about matchmaking, she asked her mother to discourage future pursuers by saying that she was "a pornographer" (*xie huangse xiaoshuo de*). By simply narrating many of her life incidents (such as learning smoking, failed contraception, abortion, having sex, alcohol drinking, and street fighting) as facts without negative judgment but positive appreciation, Muzi Mei marks out her strong resilience in the face of confrontation.

Clearly, Muzi Mei's woman is not a mono-dimensional subject but rather has a trajectory and a history. The woman she performs is an effect of a process or a life course. The woman in Muzi Mei's blog has been livened up with accounts of different phases of her living as a young girl, a student, an undergraduate, an early career woman, which explores details of her life history. The fact that her early blog was titled *Posthumous Sex Diaries* also shows the performance has its stages.

In terms of group or community membership, Muzi Mei affiliates herself with several different social groups such as aliens (*yilei*), the cartoon-loving new generation (*katong yidai xin renlei*), the bold and bluffing young (*nianshao qingkuang de jiahuo*), the screaming poet (*yong jianjiao faxie shige de wo*), and anti-intellectual, uncultured people (*wei wenhua ye haipa wenhua de ren*). Her life situations under different circumstances or through different phases were described as being deprived of affiliation and recognition, lonely, discrepant, tragic, ominous, and socially alienated. By contrast, her sex life was portrayed as promiscuous, self-contained and satisfactory. In this way, Muzi Mei provides a collage of her woman as being different, non-traditional, and, to some extent, asocial.

Understanding this constellation in terms of performativity needs to call on Butler's view on normativity. Identity formation in this regard is the repeated inculcation of norms. Butler conceptualizes such reiterated appropriations of norms mainly in the light of rejection and resignification. She does not elaborate on the ways that norms or normative conventions are iterated, reiterated, or repeated as she thought any kind of categorization may be viewed as compromises with norms in one way or another and therefore should be avoided in the course of resignification (Lloyd, 2007).

However, categorization for studies of this kind is to an extent inevitable. First of all, relations of gendered performance to normativity that agree with Butler's view may have their own variations and characteristics, which may produce aspirations for researchers and readers. Also, there is the likelihood that some relations may not be in agreement with Butler's observation. New relations may be detected and treated as additions or enrichment to the performativity conceptualization as long as categorization is not rendered as finite and fixed. It is then a desirable choice in Muzi Mei's case to uncover her performance of the woman and understand how gendered norms are appropriated in relation to reiterability.

6. Conclusion

To conclude from this perspective, what has been performed in Muzi Mei's blog is not a woman but a composite of women that could be recognized, regarded, criticized, or even declined in the name of normativity. Muzi Mei's recourse to normativity in representing her woman as a constellation of identifications, then, is not single-dimensional but rather multifaceted. Norms are relegated, challenged, dissociated, and reconnected. It highlights how reiteration in terms of performativity involves not only refusal and resignification (Butler, 1990) but also a complex network of various different kinds of repeating of gendered norms.

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The author

Jianxin Liu lectures at Charles Sturt University in ESL and new literacy. He is interested in multimodality, digitisation, social media, and their implications for learning and production.

SPEAKING LIKE A LOVE ENTREPRENEUR: LANGUAGE CHOICES AND IDEOLOGIES OF SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG DAUGHTERS OF PEASANTS IN THAILAND'S TOURIST SITES

Hugo Yu-Hsiu LEE

Graduate School of Language and Communication

National Institute of Development Administration, Bangkok, Thailand

YL15@umail.iu.edu

Abstract

This article addresses an important set of issues: how language choices between dominant, standard and international codes are conditioned by increasingly globalized industries and social models that accompany them and are created by them. Particularly it examines how gender ideologies related to languages and social actions shape love industry workers' orientations toward foreign/second language learning and societal language uses. All of these aforementioned issues and data have the potential to make a contribution to the literature (published research materials) on language, discourse and society.

This article examines the social meanings of language choices, shifts and the ideologies of differentiation that emerged from the migration of young peasant women and men from Isaan to central Thailand, where they were engaged in the love industry, whose loci were the seaside city of Pattaya and the metropolis of Bangkok. Attention in this article is thus paid to language uses and code choices in Thailand's love industry discourse, through a young Isaan women's bar-based counter-public subculture, in addition to an analysis of the social meanings of their language choices and linguistic shifts.

"As a child growing up in an Isaan village, my mom always reminded me that it was my responsibility to provide financial support for her, my dad, my grandpa, my grandma, and my brothers and sisters. By this she meant, or she believed that I understood what she meant, that, as the first-born daughter in my family, I was the source of income for my whole family even at the expense of my own life."

"Being a second-class citizen in an Isaan village due to my gender by birth and a third-class citizen since discriminated against by the rest of my country due to the Northeastern region of my origin brought distinct burdens."

[These two verbalized vignettes are derived from a set of interviews in which Isaan bargirls orally narrated their life stories to the author in 2012]

1. Introduction

This article investigates the lesser-studied bar multilingualism. It deals with linguistic code choices and language shifts amongst love industry workers in Thailand's tourist sites. This includes an analysis of the correlation between sociological variables and linguistic strategies (language choices and linguistic shifts) used by young Thai men and women employed in the Thai love industry. Findings show that, on the one hand, English, the informal official language of the love industry, is seen as the language of social upward mobility for both Isaan and non-Isaan young women. On the other hand, Isaan Thai, the language of the majority of the bargirls, is viewed as the language of socializing for non-Isaan young women engaged in this domain of work. This study confirms previous research by suggesting that young women's choices and shifts vis-à-vis language can be best understood in the context of the strategies they adopt in regard to life chances and life style choices.

Bar multilingualism, or the use of a number of languages or dialects, in addition to choosing one medium of linguistic exchange over another, and the common shifting from one linguistic means of expression to another, are veiled expressions of aspiration by these Thai love industry workers and emblematic of their desire for upward social and economic mobility. As such, this phenomenon also provides the ways whereby these workers associate willy-nilly with a cosmopolitan counter public, showing resistance to traditional Isaan family values, particularly regarding appropriate gender roles and the subculture of young Isaan women.

Viewed from the sociolinguistic aspects of mobility, the migration of daughters of peasant families from Northeastern rural Thailand or Isaan to urban-cosmopolitan tourist sites in Central Thailand is explored within the context of potential social and economic opportunities, and the new Thai entrepreneur class, which particularly appeals to young Isaan women. The aim of this article is also to address the question of how language choice – the choice to speak English by Isaan young woman and other young women in the love industry – is both perceived as a mechanism whereby poverty is reduced, and is complementary to the phenomenon of converging ethnolects (non-Isaan young women working in the love industry speak Isaan Thai to their compatriots); How language shifts (away from the habitual change from Thai to English) is employed as a mean of upgrading one's life style. The researcher is next concerned with showing how changes in linguistic indexical systems are correlated with community boundary configurations, and to non-Isaan young women's participation in the discursive practices and convergent speech styles when speaking with older Isaan women. The researcher also focuses attention on gendered discrepancies in linguistic strategies: the role the love industry plays in men's and women's disparate progress towards being able to converse in the English language is taken into consideration.

No other modern ethno linguistic minority and young women's subculture in Thailand receives as much media attention, and produces as much mainstream anxiety, as does the young women known as Isaan bargirls. For many years, young females, from the Northeastern region of Thailand in particular, have strategically engaged in foreign language learning and language shift as a mean of socio-economic upward mobility. In light of this phenomenon, the researcher is concerned to address the question of the precise nature of the social meaning of language choices and shifts by the members of young Isaan women's speech communities in the discourse used by these women, who are involved in Thailand's love industry. The researcher also examines the disparity between Isaan and non-Isaan women's speech, and between men's and women's speech, as used by love industry workers in Thailand.

Albeit the social science literature has well documented both the love industry in Thailand (Brown, 2000; Manzanares & Kent, 2006; Lee, 2013) and the ethno linguistic vitality of Isaan Thai vis-à-vis language choice among members of the Isaan speech community (Draper, 2010), the connections between these superficially desperate phenomena have not been examined at length; Little is understood of this significant socio-linguistic phenomenon. For this reason, the researcher further investigates the effects of the love industry on young Isaan women's strategic linguistic behaviors as contrasted to non-Isaan women and men engaged in the same activity. Accordingly, the lacunae in the literature warrant the contribution

that can be made by this study. In this contribution, the researcher attempts to integrate the approaches of linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists by examining the following three groups of love industry workers: Isaan women, non-Isaan women and Thai men. A particular focus is made on social factors leading to disparities in language choices and shifts.

It is a commonplace in sociolinguistics, in sociology of language, in linguistic anthropology and in dialectology, that social factors, or sociological variables, play a major role in foreign and second language learning, bi- and multilingual development, language maintenance and shifts. The question of what influences one's linguistic behavior has enormous social relevance and, at the same time, there is little doubt that previous studies about the relationship between language and social variables (e.g., class, gender, and social network) are plentiful. In the past few decades, sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists have attempted to establish a set of sociolinguistic norms that could adequately account for the obvious fact that social phenomena are reflected in individual and group linguistic behaviors (Fishman, 1964, 1965, 1989, and 1991; Gal, 1978, and 1979; Gumperz, 1964; Labov, 1966, 1972, and 1980; Lee, 2013). There is little doubt that their well-grounded findings are applicable and relevant to complementary studies carried out in disparate contexts.

Initially, sociolinguists, linguistic anthropologists and dialectologists have surveyed language contacts, choices, maintenance and shifts in relatively isolated and immobile communities (e.g., generational immigrant communities and long-established ethno linguistic communities). Nowadays, the researchers in the same fields that use conventional sociolinguistic norms to account for the practices of their target research populations (such as the one studied by the author of this article) encounter difficulties. Thus, linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists need to examine individuals and groups who are unprecedentedly mobile at geographic, social and occupational levels. As an example, my principal interest for the present study lies in surveying the language choices of love industry workers/migrants from rural Isaan to the urban metropolis and tourist areas of Thailand in their interactions with tourists/interlocutors on a global scale. An exploration of the dynamics of socially patterned linguistic behaviors among love industry workers may produce fresh perspectives through illuminating new mechanisms to account for multifaceted human-sociolinguistic behaviors in regard to this understudied sociolinguistic phenomenon.

The two following sections review the background, the literature and the context, first, in regard to the Thai love entrepreneur class and, second, in respect to the linguistic and communicative repertoire in Thailand. Accordingly, this study should shed light on the linguistic hierarchy in Thailand vis-à-vis the ethno linguistic vitality of Isaan oral

communication. Then, the researcher is concerned to illuminate the concepts of language choice and shift insofar as they bear upon closely related inquiries in the areas of language and gender, of ethnolect convergence, and of discursive practice.

2. Setting the Scene: Thailand's Love Industry

This section presents the macro-level context of the love industry as the creation of a new entrepreneur class, admittance to which appeals to young peasant women from Thailand's impoverished Isaan area. In respect to technical terms used in the study of the love industry in Thailand (albeit these terms do, however, raise issues of their own), the author of the present article uses the terms "love industry workers" or "love entrepreneurs" as catch-all phrases, which are convenient umbrella terms and mutually exchangeable. Workers in the love industry, or so-called "love entrepreneurs", are defined as freelancers, who sell their companionship (and more) to foreign tourists in entertainment venues. Some, who are between the ages of thirteen and thirty, are referred to as bar girls (i.e., those who wait in bars to meet foreign male tourists) and "go-go" girls (i.e., dancers or strippers in clubs, or in discos), (see more detailed treatment of these terms in Manzanares & Kent, 2006). Others are tour guides for foreign male tourists. Being qualified as a female love industry worker means that the relationships with foreign male tourists are a career: these relationships are a primary source of income to support herself and her family (Nicks, 2010: 187). Female love industry workers' career is short-term (e.g., weekend) or long-term (e.g., being a girlfriend). Conversely, Thai male "love industry workers" are referred to as beach boys (*dek goh* in the Thai language) and are often around the age of thirty (Nicks, 2010; For a discussion of the language of sex in Thailand, see Boonmongkon & Jackson, 2012).

It should be noted that neither all love industry workers bar girls, nor all the other love industry workers, are involved in the commercial sex trade. Moreover, it should be clear that the love industry in Thailand (in Pattaya, Chiang Mai, Phuket, and the red-light districts in Bangkok) is far from being a true representation of Thailand's culture as a whole.

Tired of the degrading, harsh, and humiliating poverty of rural Isaan or of working as laborers in the construction of buildings (approximately 150 baht/5 USD per day) and of electronics manufacturing plants (approximately 200 Baht/6 USD per day), other social and economical possibilities promised in urban areas are appealing to these young peasant women. Contrasted to relatively low income earned by Thai men working in the love industry, Thai bar

girls earn their reputation as "love entrepreneurs". Some top earners receive monthly allowances from disparate foreign boyfriends. Table 1 presents the monthly allowance received by a young Thai bar girl from her clients.

Table 1: A Young Thai Bar Girl's Monthly Allowance

Countries of origin for disparate boyfriends	Amount/month (Thai Baht)
Sweden	50,000
U.K. (boyfriend 1)	40,000
Venezuela	35,000
U.K. (boyfriend 2)	30,000
Germany	20,000
Total	175,000 THB/month = 5,000 USD/month

Source: Ken Klein's book, *Building a House in Thailand,* cited by Nicks, 2010.

Moving from the definitions of terms and returning to the main thread, the present and later sub-sections provide a selective review of the market of the love industry in Thailand, focusing on the commodities and the customers. The commodities in the Thailand love industry are known as bargirls and freelancers of many kinds: "The love industry [in Thailand] is a multi-billion dollar economy" (Nicks, 2010). These include younger and older Northeastern Isaan women, Northern Thai women, Thai men, Burmese, Cambodian/Khmer, Laotian, and Yunnan/Chinese women, and others, from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. Among Thai women from disparate ethnic backgrounds, the Northeast Isaan region (e.g., Buri Ram, Korat, Udon, Ubon, Si Saket and Roi Et) supplies nearly 80 percent of female workers in the sex industry (Manzanares & Kent, 2006; The Isaan region and its provinces are presented in Figure 1). The reasons why Northeastern Thailand is the biggest supplier of women engaged in the love industry is rooted in several principal factors. The reasons for this phenomenon are manifold.

Figure 1: Northeastern Isaan Region of Thailand (the region and its provinces)
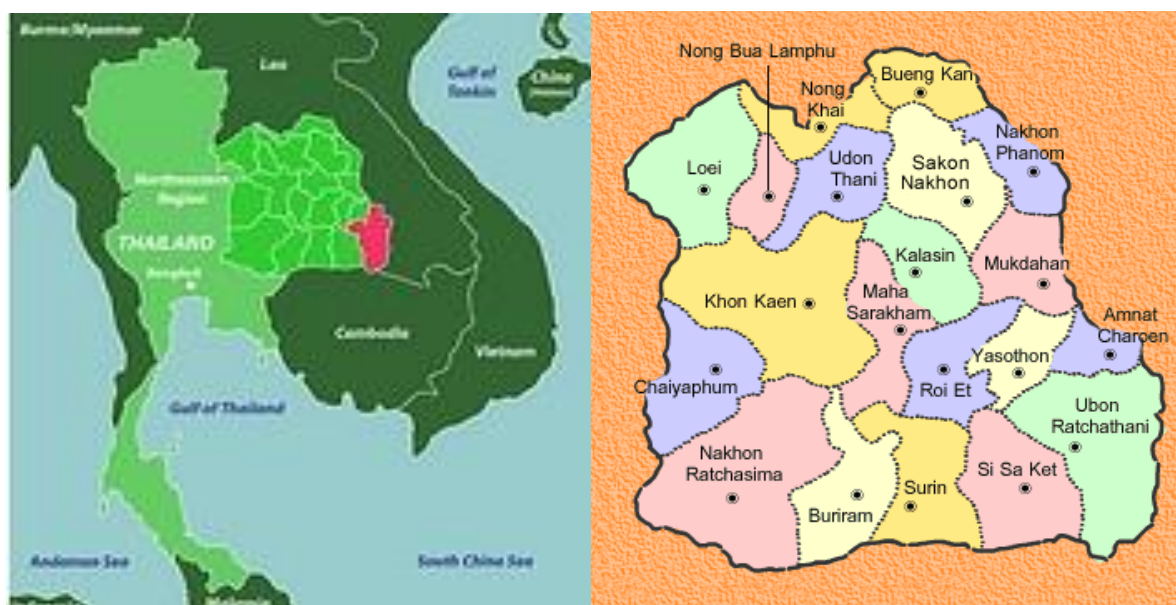
Sources:
Left Photograph: Map of Isaan in Thailand. Source: <http://siam-longings.com/wp-content/uploads/map%20of%20thailand%20isaan.jpg> with permission.
Right Photograph: Provinces of Isaan. Source: <http://thethailandlife.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/isaan-map-.gif> with permission.

First, poverty is largely responsible for Isaan women's engagement in the love industry: "Isaan girls are poor; tourists are rich; I bridged the gap!" (Comment by a former Isaan love entrepreneur, cited in Manzanares & Kent, 2006). Some Isaan people live under desperately impoverished conditions. Within their relatively primitive villages, insufficient schooling systems produce uneducated and unskilled Isaan youth (Manzanares & Kent, 2006).

Second, investment in face-making (not losing face/saving the face and investment in the reputation) instead of a better standard of living is a key factor accounting for Isaan women selling their companionship (and more) to foreign male tourists. In some Isaan villages, face-making for Isaan parents is far more important than the welfare of their daughters and their sense of wellbeing. How much money an Isaan daughter sends to her parents determines the status of her face and her family's status, albeit at the extreme expense of her involvement in the love industry. It is not uncommon that some Isaan mothers' biggest dream is to bear and raise a daughter who can constantly send money home to make face by allowing to buy cars and electronic appliances (e.g., televisions and air conditioners) that can be exhibited to fellow villagers by employing the technique of invidious comparison (Manzanares & Kent, 2006).

Third, a principal cause of the phenomenon also lies in gender ideologies stemming from traditional Isaan family values: "My [Isaan] culture holds all women to be not only

inferior but expendable" (comment made by Lon, a former love industry worker in Thailand, cited in Manzanares & Kent, 2006). In some Isaan villages, "daughters are cast in the role of caretakers of the family" instead of sons (Brown, 2000). These family values are grounded in Isaan religious beliefs. In Theravada Buddhism, sons earn merit for their parents by simply becoming a monk and staying in a temple for three months to fulfill family duty. However, daughters, particularly first-born daughters, are expected to become the primary income earners and must take care of the needs and of the welfare of the whole family (Manzanares & Kent, 2006). Therefore, a strong sense of care obligation for parents is essential to caring members of an Isaan community. Nevertheless, for some Isaan families, at times driven by poverty and at other times driven by greed, there is no limit to the perceived duty of daughters to their parents. Table 2 presents some quotations illustrating gender ideologies faced by Isaan women. In the Northeastern regions of Thailand, the love industry and the sex trade have been so well established, that Isaan parents may well expect their young daughters to become prostitutes (Brown, 2000).

Table 2: Selected Quotations regarding Gender Ideologies vis-à-vis Isaan Women

Selected quotations	Sources
"Women are pawns in times of need."	Thai Proverb
"Men are gold; women are cloth. Men look like gold; when gold falls in the mud, we can clean it. Women look like white clothes; when they fall in the mud, we can never clean them so that they will be white again."	Khmer Proverb (cited in Manzanares & Kent, 2006: 45)
"A family owed money to a dirty and repulsive beggar. In lieu of repaying the debt, the parents sent their daughters to live with the beggar to share his bed until the debt was repaid."	Isaan Moral Story (cited in Manzanares & Kent, 2006: 45)

Fourth, although this view is widely contested, numerous Western tourists and participants in love industry sectors in Thailand insist that the dark complexioned Isaan women are more attractive than light complexioned women (e.g., their Chinese-Thai counterparts) to male Western tourists (Bangkok Diaries, 2009). It is not less obvious that the love industry sectors have difficulties to provide light complexioned female workers to Eastern tourists, while they are also concerned to provide dark complexioned Isaan girls to Western tourists. It should be acknowledged that the dark complexioned belief is widely debated,

In sum, gender discrimination against Isaan women in addition to rural poverty, a limited educational background (they are mainly uneducated), few job opportunities in Isaan (they are unskilled), and their dark complexion as a commodity all these elements give rise to correlations between the workings of the love industry and Isaan women: the love industry is one of the fast-track ways to earn money by young Isaan women.

In combination with the present discussion of the commodity bought and sold in the love industry in Thailand, the customer partly accounts for the sustainability of this industry. Throughout its modern history, Thailand has been receiving tourists from the East (e.g., Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, India, and Middle Eastern countries), the West (e.g., France, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, the U.S.A., and the U.K.), Africa and most of the rest of the world. After the U.S.A. pulled out of Vietnam, tourists soon replaced American military personnel as customers in Thailand's love industry as planned in an unofficial partnership by the love industry and the tourism industry (Brown, 2000). Western tourists, as opposed to Eastern tourists, are particularly attracted to younger, pretty, sexy, and, most importantly, submissive Thai women. At the same time, Thai love entrepreneurs advertise and cater to "meet[ing] the unfulfilled needs" of Western men who want "better treatment than [what they receive from] their aggressive, demanding and unfeminine Western women" (Brown, 2000). As it turns out, every year millions of Western and Eastern male tourists (along with smaller number of foreign women) visit Thailand in "seeking for fulfillment" (Nicks, 2010). "Many are survivors of traumatic marital break-ups and believe that Thailand is a good place to make a new start" (Nicks, 2010). Table 3 illustrates some expectations regarding Western male tourists matching with Isaan women.

Table 3: Selected Quotations in respect to the Match between Western Male Tourists and Isaan Women

Selected quotations	Sources
"In the year of 2004, my hometown in America registered 49 marriages and 32 divorces. Is the modern relationship of the Western world on the deathbed? An owner of a Bangkok matchmaking agency claims that oriental-style marriages have a much higher success rate than conventional Western legal marriages."……. "For me, being the provider [financial contributor to Thai wife's family] is a far better option than constant fights with a 'liberated' [Western] woman. And long-term, it's a cheaper option too."	Thaivisa.com Web Site (cited in Nicks, 2010: 14)
"Many of these men come to Thailand because their wives have left them; they do not communicate with their families; or they cannot find a girlfriend back home. Sometimes they are here for company or 'companionship' which may not even be sexual that they can't find in their own countries."	(Manzanares & Kent, 2006: 96)
"One girl from Patpong [a major red light district in Bangkok] marries a foreigner every week."	(Manzanares & Kent, 2006: 29)

After a selective review focusing on the commodity and the customer in Thailand's love industry, an analysis of the linguistic and communicative repertoire in Thailand and social factors leading to disparities in language choice is needed to provide a framework of the descriptive data for the present article.

3. Thailand's Linguistic Repertoire

A comparatively small number of studies have explored the interplay of socially engendered dialects – constitutive of the multifaceted diglossia, regimes of language, styles of speaking – and the complex linguistic and communicative repertoire in Thailand. In such a high stakes setting of linguistic contact, Thailand is a locus wherein the issue of language maintenance and shift is inescapably prominent (e.g., Draper (2010) for Isaan Thai speakers'

language maintenance and shift in Northeastern Thailand; Howard (2010) for Muang speakers' language maintenance and shift in Northern Thailand; Lee (2011a, 2011b, and 2012) for language related issues vis-à-vis minorities such as urban refugees and orphans with disabilities in Thailand), included among minorities (e.g., Isaan Thai in Northeastern Thailand, Khmer in Eastern Thailand, Karen in Northern and Western Thailand, and Malay in Southern Thailand (LePoer, 1987)).

Thailand is simultaneously subject to convergence and divergence, both linguistically and culturally. To better understand the relationship between love industry workers and their language choices in Thailand, it is imperative to start with the effects of urbanization and globalization on the civil society of Thailand. On the one hand, previous research reveal that one of the effects attributed to urbanization is language contact, shift, and loss (e.g., Batibo (2009) for the effects of urbanization on language maintenance and shift; Smith-Hefner, (2009) for the effects of urbanization on language shift in Indonesia; Cheshire et al., (2011), for "multicultural London English" in London). Internal diversity is a salient feature of the ethno linguistic and cultural landscape of the Kingdom of Thailand, particularly with respect to the massive cross-regional migration from rural villages to the urban areas of Bangkok, Chiang Mai, and Pattaya. For instance, there is a huge flow of rural Isaan peasant women to Bangkok and Pattaya, one of the two urban centers of Thailand, for the sake of better social and economic opportunities. On the other hand, some of the many effects attributed to globalization, in this case, global tourism, is language contact, linguistic convergence, and code-switching.

Multilingual communities in Thailand's tourist sites provide a salient case allowing the examination of linguistic heterogeneity, societal multilingualism, and indexicality and the sociolinguistics of mobility. In urban Thailand's tourist sites, varieties of language contacts, code-switching/mixing and alternating, multidialects, language maintenance and shift have been emerging, notwithstanding the fact that the English language has exerted a dominating presence and influence on all the other languages. Describing the linguistic alternatives/repertoire available to each speaker in these communities lies into three main distinguishable speech patterns: Isaan Thai, Standard Thai, and English. Others languages might be used, but they are less salient: Western languages (e.g., German, Russian, Polish, Serbian, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Finnish, Spanish, Italian and French), East Asian languages (Mandarin, Mongolian, Japanese and Korean), Middle East languages (they include Iranian, Hebrew and Arabic), West Asian language (they include Hindi, Tamil, Punjabi, Urdu and Bengali), West African languages (especially several distinct Nigerian languages), and

even Central Asian languages (e.g., Uzbek). So, mainly, it is observed that the regional Laotian vernacular spoken in Northeastern Thailand, known as Thai Isaan, intermingles with the official, national and standard variety of the Thai language, termed Standard Thai, and is intertwined with more global oriented languages (especially, English).

A perspective that is useful in the analysis of Thailand's diglossia and linguistic repertoire and, at the same time, that frames this study stems from "ethno linguistic vitality" theory (formulated by Giles et al., 1977). It is defined as what "makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations" (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 32). In this vein, the political status of languages recognized by the State (e.g., institutional support), demographics (the number of speakers), economic considerations (e.g., medium of communication in commerce) and cultural capital, are means of "objectively" measuring the continued linguistic existence of an ethnic group's mother tongues, native languages and inherited languages within a linguistically heterogeneous society. By contrast, members of an ethnic group are asked to subjectively rate and predict the present and inferred future vitality of their languages as "subjective" measures to account for the degree of ethno linguistic vitality of their languages (e.g., Draper (2010) for an assessment of the ethno linguistic vitality of Isaan Thai).

In a similar vein, it is desirable to examine more closely Thailand's diglossia and speech varieties in a perceived ranked order, inasmuch as linguistic hierarchy can be seen as a measure accounting for ethno linguistic vitality. By means of linguistic normalization (defined as a process through which normative views and acts vis-à-vis a language, or a dialect, are established; Vallverdú, 1985: 90) and, at the same time, when the use of language at disparate social levels becomes differentially extended, languages and dialects accordingly become stratified and ranked in a linguistic hierarchy. In Thailand, the theoretical and empirical studies of language attitudes, language ideology and ethno linguistic vitality underline that Standard Thai is seen as the most "prestigious variant" and accent (ranked No. 1), followed by Northern Thai (ranked No. 2) and Southern [variants and] accents (ranked No. 3), and then Northeastern Isaan (ranked No. 4) (Chanyam, 2002; Draper, 2010: 135-136; see Table 4). This ranking, or linguistic hierarchy, is in agreement with the typical sociolinguistic explanation that languages spoken by dominant groups are perceived as more prestigious than languages spoken by minority groups (Labov (1972), cited by Draper, 2010: 136).

Amongst less powerful Thai varieties, the regional vernacular termed Isaan is a branch of the Tai-Kadai language family (Lee, 2011c); it is linguistically close to the Laotian language. Isaan Thai is spoken in nearly the entire Northeastern region of Thailand. Isaan Thai

is also the ethnic name of the largest minority group of Thailand (Draper, 2010: 135). In 1983, it was estimated that there were approximately 15-23 million Isaan Thai speakers in Thailand: this includes the 88 percent (of people of the Northeastern region of Thailand) who converse in Isaan Thai with family members at home, the 11 percent (of people of the Northeastern region of Thailand) communicating in code-mixing discourse combining Isaan Thai and Standard Thai, and the 1 percent (of people of the Northeastern region of Thailand) speaking exclusively in Standard Thai (Lewis (2009), cited by Draper, 2010: 135).

Nonetheless, a more recent examination of the Isaan vernacular has reported an ongoing intergenerational shift away from a stable bilingualism combining Isaan and Standard Thai towards the exclusive use of the Standard Thai variety, due largely to the influence of mass media (e.g., newspapers, television, and radio) and of schooling systems: at school, and according to their parents, Isaan children underwent rapid language shift so that they spoke the Standard Thai variety (reported by Draper (2004 and 2010)). Consequently, Isaan language suffers the loss of some Isaan lexical items, or lexis (Jantao (2002), cited in Draper, 2010: 136), e.g., some Isaan person references have been replaced and mixed with the Standard Thai variety. This appears to be consistent with the stages of language shift toward language death identified by Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (1964 and 1991) to the field of language maintenance and shift (Draper, 2010: 136).

Table 4: Perceived Language Hierarchy and Prestige in Thailand

Ethno-national Languages and Varieties of Spoken Languages	*Ranking*
EN	1
EU	2
EA	2
ST	3
NT	4
SHT	4
NET	5
No. of categorization of languages compared = 7	

Note.

EN=English language variants (e.g., American and British)
EU=European languages (e.g., French and German)
EA= Eastern-Asian languages (e.g., Japanese, Mandarin-Chinese, and Korean)

ST=Standard (Central) Thai variants and accents
NT= Northern Thai variants and accents
SHT= Southern Thai variants and accents
NET=Northeastern Thai (Isaan)

Source: Chanyam (2002).

Echoing the language shift away from the Isaan variety toward the Standard Thailand variety, Isaan people are often discriminated against in their workplaces (e.g., jobs in urban areas as being only maids, construction workers, gardeners, and taxi drivers; see Draper (2010: 140)). A comprehensive treatment of the language maintenance and shift of the Isaan Thai language can be found in Draper (2004 and 2010).

4. Theorizing the Sociolinguistics of the Mobility of Young Women in Thailand's Love Industry

In view of the panoramic review addressing the love industry and the linguistic repertoire in Thailand just outlined in the preceding sections, understanding the nexus between sociological factors and language choices in respect to love industry workers in Thailand is a major challenge. Social factors leading to discrepancies between language choices and shifts have been a central preoccupation and is well documented in the literature of sociolinguistics as broadly defined (e.g., Fishman, 1964, 1989, and 1991; Giles et al., 1977), as well as

developing sociolinguistic norms that account for the extent of language use, choice, maintenance and shift.

Attempts to define the terms "language choice" and "maintenance and shift" have been shaped by, or in turn have shaped, well-known sociolinguists in our time (e.g., Gal, 1978, and 1979; Fishman, 1991). In the light of a variety of perspectives, the author of this article presents definitions used in the present article as follows. First, as extrapolated from the concept of "linguistic competence" as evinced by an ideal speaker-listener in a homogeneous speech community the notion of "linguistic repertoire" car be formulated, in which a speaker of a language has at his or her disposal a wide range of linguistic variants and develops a register of speech sufficient to undertake a wide range of communicative tasks (Chomsky, 1965). Furthermore, Hymes (1974) developed the notion of "communicative competence", and initiated research in the fields of the "ethnography of communication" and "interactional sociolinguistics". In Hymes' framework, language choice is referred to as a speaker's linguistic and communicative competence enabling the choice of style and variants with a speaker thereby drawing on his or her linguistic and communicative repertoire as suiting a particular purpose or function. The choice of a speech variety, nonetheless, is by no means a random phenomenon. Rather, the code choice made has to be deliberately selected by the speaker in the light of his or her social and interactional perspective so as to reach a level of satisfactory accommodation to the perceived linguistic situation in the language domain in which current discourse is being undertaken.

A second approach, or perspective, that guides this article is the distinction between languages in themselves (objective assessment) and what individuals hold in respect to languages (subjective assessment, i.e. attitudes, beliefs, stereotypes and social implications),. Drawing on this distinction in order to frame this research largely stems from the fact that in a class-conscious society, Thais, to a varying degree, are hypersensitive to the socio-economical implications of accents, varieties (standard versus non-standard), dialects and speech styles as a mean of symbolizing the stratification of classes, the status and the prestige. In this vein, we must take into account the following dictum: "our language embraces us long before we are defined by any other medium of identity" (Delpit et al., 2002: xvii). Thus, to a degree, language choice becomes a matter of ideology. The concept of "language ideologies" is defined as beliefs concerning languages held "by their users as a rationalization, or justification, of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein, 1979: 193). In this light, the notion of "language ideologies" is useful in accounting for why minority languages are maintained when their users are oppressed by users of dominant and hegemonic languages (see Woolard (1985)

for Catalan speakers in Spain; For a crucial introduction to the field of language ideology, see Woolard (1998)).

Regarding the discussion of language choices, "language shift" is another key concept. Gal describes "language shift" as a process through which "the habitual use of one language is being replaced by the habitual use of another" at disparate times (Gal, 1978 and 1979: 1).

In addition to approaching language choice largely by drawing on the aforementioned concepts, the researcher is concerned to examine the intertwined roles of gender, language choices and shifts in the light of works conducted in anthropological linguistics, in sociolinguistics and in a number of other fields. It must be acknowledged that the interconnection between gender and language choices has long been recognized and has reached a high level of understanding (Gal, 1978; Mukherjee, 2003; Smith-Hefner, 2009; Lee, 2013). Thus, there is abundant evidence to show that language choices are often gendered.

On the one hand, a number of previous studies have shown that women were more likely to have no or limited proficiency in majority languages in view of a lesser access to resources and power (e.g., education) than men in an agricultural (or working class) community. The socioeconomically disadvantaged situation of indigenous women in Latin America has been illustrated by Hill (1987). In these cases in Latin America, women had less access to education and so spoke limited Spanish in contrast to the situation of men; well, a good command of Spanish was essential for these indigenous women in order to be able to access educational and employment opportunities, and would thus enable them to participate in the paid labor force. In a similar example, the male elite of the Nugunu or Cameroon villagers in Ombessa, Africa, exhibited greater competence in the French language and achieved higher levels of educational attainments than did their female counterparts (Robinson, 1996: 212-213).

On the other hand, previous studies also found that women were constantly searching for a medium that would grant them access to valuable economic and social benefits, opportunities, resources, prestige and symbolic capitals. For instance, in Gal's pioneering work on the Hungarian-German bilingual town of Oberwart in Austria (Gal, 1978), a shift away from Hungarian speech to the use of the German language was found to be occurring among peasant women in view of the symbolic linkage between German speech and industrial work that was available to both Hungarian speaking men and women, albeit being more appealing to the latter than to the former: It appeared that German speaking factory jobs represented socio-economic advancement, whereas Hungarian speaking agricultural work was linked to hard work, low income, rural, and peasant life (For a fuller treatment of gender and sociolinguistics, see Eckert (1997) in Coates (1997), and Coates (2004)).

An area of related interest to this strand of research on young women's social and economical opportunities is studying the effects of urbanization on gendered language choices. Urban centers, by and large, draw poverty-stricken populations from rural areas, due largely to social and economic inducements, such as more job opportunities, better basic infrastructure, and a modern lifestyle (Batibo, 2009: 26). In developing countries, it is estimated that 70 million migrants flow annually from rural areas into cities in the search for a better life (Seabrook, 2007). Language shift is one of the many effects attributed to urbanization. In her well-regarded article, Smith-Hefner discussed the phenomenon of language shift from the Javanese (indigenous) language toward the national language of Indonesian emerging in Javanese youth in the nation-state of Indonesia (Smith-Hefner, 2009). She went on to argue that in contrast to young men, young women were more likely to shift from Javanese toward the use of Indonesian, which was seen as a mean of acquiring the symbolic capital necessary to accommodate their roles in forming part of the new working class.

In connection with this exploration of language choice by young Thai women vis-à-vis relevant concepts, it is to be observed that sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists refer to the distinctive language usages and uses by speakers of an ethnic group as "ethnolects" (see definitions of ethnolects in Clyne (2000); see problems with ethnolects in Jaspers (2008)). An ethnolect approach can better account for the fact that some non-group or out-group members adopt elements of another group's ethnolect in an attempt to bond with members of a different ethnic group, thereby forming cross-ethnic and multi-ethnic friendship groups. In view of what we know of language contact, it would be only expected that speakers from different ethnic groups would "converge" in speech by virtue of borrowing linguistic forms typical of members of another ethnic group (see Coronel-Molina and Rodríguez-Mondoñedo (2012) for examples of linguistic convergence in Andes). It can also be argued that the phenomenon of linguistic "convergence" involves attempts to be understood by others through "symbolic references" to an extent adequate for undertaking communicative acts through utterances and speech acts (e.g., Clark (1996), cited in Enfield (2009: 91)). At the same time, this phenomenon is "micro-political" and "coalitional" since designed to ensure that desirable interpersonal relationships are fostered by means of common or shared experiences, including code-switching/mixing with the speech and adopting linguistic features of the discourse of interlocutors from another ethnic group (Enfield, 2009: 91).

To continue in this vein, discursive practice (Young, 2009; Hall, 2011: 255-273) with respect to the study of language choice and shift is another key perspective and approach to the women's speech communities studied by the researcher. An approach through discursive

practice is useful in accounting for face-to-face language use, or language-in-interaction, inasmuch as it captures the social and interactional realities of speech events and recurring communicative episodes. Such a practice is "conventionalized" (Hall, 2011: 256), whereby participants develop their competence by means of "repeated experiences" "with more experienced participants" (Hall, 2011: 256; Vygotsky, 1978). The discursive practice of communication between Isaan and non-Isaan women at work (in this case, in bars) can be better understood as the practice of being socialized into elder sibling-junior sibling relationship, or as extending "family relations" into a "social hierarchy" (for discussion of elder sibling-junior sibling relation in Thailand, see Howard (2007: 206-208). These aforementioned concepts are taken as the point of departure and account for patterns of language choices and shifts among the studied target populations.

5. Data Collection and Analysis

The researcher borrows techniques from ethnographical studies of communication (Hymes, 1974) and combines these techniques with approaches involving case studies, questionnaires, exploratory interviews, and field observations in order to conduct a survey research investigation. The data collection and the analysis are undertaken simultaneously. The researcher takes an eclectic approach and asks the research question of what sociological factors (social meanings) enable the emergence of bar multilingualism, i.e. language choices and shifts in this particular context.

Data were primarily collected on the basis of an exploratory questionnaire, which was going through the following topics: demographic characteristics, estimates of the participation in love industry activities, assessments of the respondents' daily uses of languages, and assessments of the language-use patterns and perceptions (language ideology) of the ethno linguistic vitality of Isaan. The later were measured using a 9 points Likert scale (from 0 i.e. "strongly disagree" to 8 i.e. "strongly agree". Then semi-structured interviews were realized to probe explanations from informants. On the overall basis, a shorthand observation list was developed; it was used for both participative and non-participative observations of naturalistically occurring speech acts. The questionnaire, the interview protocol and the observation list employed were tailored to suit the research setting. As it turns out, the triangulation among questionnaire responses, interview data, and observation data yields

significant data. The findings are validated by questionnaire data, interview data and the extant literature.

The macro-concepts of language choice, language ideology, language shift, ethnolect convergence and discursive practice provide the theoretical and analytical concepts used to analyze the data. The analysis consists of dissembling and reassembling the elements of these data of in order to identify theme to answer to the research question by transforming them into findings that can be investigated by statistics, theoretical descriptions and interpretive explanations.

5.1. Sites and Samples: The Place of Bangkok and Pattaya in Thailand's Multilingual Tourist Sites and Societal Multilingualism

The three target populations (Isaan women's, non-Isaan women's and Thai men's speech communities) and the two survey sites (Bangkok and Pattaya, see Figure 2) investigated are unique, similar to and differ from previous studies in numerous respects. The researcher chooses to underline six key features among the several existing respects

Figure 2: Two Survey Sites: Bangkok Metropolis and Pattaya Coastal Town in Thailand

Sources:
Left Photograph: Map of Thailand. Taken from <www.wordtravels.com>, with permission.
Right Photograph: Map of Pattaya. Taken from >www.thailandmapxl.com/pattaya-map.html>, with permission.

First, one of the most vigorous arenas of previous studies in language maintenance and shift is found within cross-bordered and transnational immigrant communities (see Mukherjee (2003) for migrant Indian brides and their role in the language maintenance of the Bengali community in Malaysia; see Kim & Starks (2010) for the bilingualism among Korean immigrants in New Zealand) and regarding the segregation of disparate ethnic communities (see Labov (1972) for a classical Philadelphia study of the black and white ethnic communities). This article still arguably presents a clear-cut case of a domestically trans-local and cross-regional migrant community, consisting of the majority of Isaan girls who have moved from Northeastern Thailand to resettle in the seaside resort city (Pattaya) and the capital city (Bangkok) of Central Thailand. Compared to the relatively smaller number of Lanna speaking women (from Chiang Mai, Northern Thailand) and of Bangkokians/Standard Thai speaking women, Isaan women constitute the majority of workers in the love industry. Pattaya became the largest Isaan speech community location outside Northeastern Thailand: overall, approximately 100,000s Isaan women participate in the love industry in Pattaya (<pattaya-funtown.com> online). This accounts for the nickname of Pattaya as "Little Isaan"; then Phuket reprensents the second largest Isaan speech community outside Northeastern Thailand, followed by the red-light districts in Bangkok. The Isaan women studied are largely responsible for language maintenance and shift among love industry workers in the seaside tourist site of Pattaya, largely due to the role they play in this community; this point will be commented in the results section.

Second, 50 bars out of approximately 500 were surveyed in the two survey sites. It is problematic to ascertain a definite total number of bars in Pattaya and in Bangkok, because the total number is growing. Moreover, there are several alternative sites that could be investigated: meeting places in malls, massage parlors, karaoke restaurants, night clubs (e.g., go go bars), and other entertainment venues. Finally, some bar-owners in Bangkok tend to hire bargirls who are Khmer or Lao-Khmer, thus the lingua franca in these bars, albeit code-mixed with Khmer and Laotian/Isaan vocabulary, phrases and syntax, is Standard Thai instead of Isaan. In the present article, which is narrowly focused on the discrepancy between Isaan and non-Isaan speech communities, the consideration of other bars, particularly in respect to those located in the Bangkok Metropolitan Area which mainly employ Standard Thai speaking bargirls, are beyond the scope of this inquiry. Overall, through the 50 surveyed bars, 200 love industry workers were considered for this research (Table 5). All of them gave consent to participate in this study; all of them answered regarding their ethnicity, their educational attainment, and their employment status (Table 6).

Table 5: Cross-Tabulation of Multi-Ethnicity and Genders of Participants

Isaan woman sample	*Non-Isaan woman sample*	*Thai men sample*	*Total*
$n=100$	$n=50$	$n=50$	$N=200$

Third, besides the multi-sited approach, other characteristics were paid attention in order to constitute de sample. Whatever the gender of the participant, the researcher focused on freelancers. It is imperative that participants cannot be in debt bondage to traffickers: this entails that their job description is to willingly sell their companionship (or more) to foreign tourists in a variety of ways (e.g., pay-as-you-go love). On the basis that "a general consensus appears to be that at any time there are between 300,000 and one million women" participating in the love industry in Thailand (Leather, 2005: 14), the sample for this research represents approximately 1 percent of the total target population. It must also be acknowledged that this total target population (i.e., Thais, regardless of whether Isaan or non-Isaan, engaging in the love industry) is fluctuating, largely due to the fact they are geographically dispersed and mobile by means of a loose-knit and, relatively speaking, weakly-tied Isaan community in this beach resort and in the urban metropolis, concomitant with maintaining stronger ties with their home villages. Moreover, it is no less obvious that the Isaan ethnic group likely forms numerous close-knit networks by means of their workplaces (e.g., bars, shopping malls, and so forth), while at the same time it develops different levels of resistance and integration into cosmopolitan, modern and non-Isaan domains of urban life styles. For a more detailed treatment with respect to the profiles of the sample, please refer to Table 6.

Table 6: Characteristics of the Participants

Love Entrepreneurs	Number of observations	Percentage of the sample
Gender		
Female	150	75
Male	50	25
Ethnicity		
Isaan	100	50
Non-Isaan	100	50
Educational Attainment		
Kindergarten to grade 6	160	80
Middle School	40	20
High School	0	0
Undergraduate	0	0
Employment Status		
Freelancers	200	100
Age (in years) (the mean for the overall sample)	mean=27	Standard Deviation=6

Fourth, within the multiple-sited research setting, the distinction between a majority group and a minority group, as well as a higher-status language and a lower-status vernacular, or dialect, assessed by normative sociolinguistic measures, turns out to be invalid and reversed when compared to urban centers outside the survey sites. This is consistent with the notion of an alternative linguistic market (Woolard, 1985) in which the investigated sites are primarily bars in this coastal town (Pattaya) and the urban metropolis (Bangkok), thereby excluding a few places (e.g., Phuket and some districts in Bangkok) in the metropolitan areas of Thailand wherein Isaan enjoys lingua franca status, while at the same time Standard Thai is more dominant than Isaan outside of these bars. As such, young Isaan women are the most active and visible members and constitute core groups in the communities studied. Non-Isaan women participating in the love industry find it more difficult to take on an active role, largely as a result of the fact that the Isaan language dominates in the social networks of bars; it is the marker of in-group and out-group members employed in the bars (The author comments further on this later in the results section).

Fifth, these two survey sites are subject to considerable language contact with Western and Eastern tourists due largely to the constant influx of foreign tourists. In 2008, it was estimated that nearly 5.8 million foreign tourists paid a visit to Pattaya (<pattaya-funtown.com> online).

6. Summary of Analysis of the Social Meanings of Language Choices and Shifts

Previous studies of the use of language by women often showed that their language choices and shifts were notably associated with a potential improvement of the life conditions and of the life chances, such as poverty reduction, social and economic mobility (from the margins of society to the new middle class; Gal, 1978; Smith-Hefner, 2009; Lee, 2013), resistance against public ideologies (Gagné, 2008), and improved lifestyles. The present findings extend the results of these previous investigations by indicating that women of disparate ethnic groups (Isaan and non-Isaan) engaged in the same activity in the same industry have different degrees of association with the same languages (in this case, English and Isaan), while discrepancies in associations led to different social and economical outcomes.

The analysis suggests that correlations between language-use patterns and several social factors are small but statistically significant for the women and men studied here. Findings indicate that differences in the roles (e.g., majority-minority, dominant-subordinate, and empowered-disempowered) played by these social actors in the love industry are reflected in linguistic behaviors. First, social factors leading to the maintenance of Isaan speech in the work domains of the two sites and Isaan women's shift away from Isaan speech toward English speech is explored. Second, social factors leading to non-Isaan women's progressive shift toward the Isaan vernacular and ethnolect convergence with Isaan is examined. Thirdly, the researcher comments on social factors linked with the love industry leading to relatively monolingual the Thai men examined being relatively monolingual (less striking shift).

6.1 Isaan Women's Speech Community: Language Choice as a Means of Poverty Reduction and Social and Economic Mobility, and Language Shift as a Means of Resistance against Gender Ideologies and Lifestyle Enhancement

First, the love industry has created the largest Isaan speech community outside home villages in Northeastern Thailand. Consistent with Woolard's observation of an alternative

linguistic market that challenges a single linguistic hierarchy (Woolard, 1985), it is argued that while the Isaan vernacular in its home region suffers language shift away from the Isaan variety toward Standard Thai speech (Draper, 2004 and 2010), the ethno linguistic vitality of Isaan is relatively strong and symbolically opposes the dominant and legitimized Standard Thai code in the seaside town (Pattaya) and work domains (bars) in the Bangkok Metropolis, largely due to the fact that Isaan women constitute the vast majority of bargirls. By the same token, while the Isaan young women's speech communities studied are not only subject to the constant lose of population (e.g., some married Western tourists and others moved or returned to Isaan villages to invest in small business), they are still also subject to the constant influx of novice Isaan women coming to work in the love industry, as well as to an increasing number of non-Isaan co-workers who adopt Isaan ethnolects (The researcher further comments on this at length).

Table 7: A Minimal Evaluation of the Ethno Linguistic Vitality of the Isaan Speech in Home Villages versus Love Industry Work Domains

EV of Isaan	Home Villages (Northeastern Thailand)	Work Domains (Bars)
	Getting Weaker (Gradual shift to Standard Thai use in the younger generations)	Getting Stronger (Maintained)

Note: EV=Ethno linguistic Vitality.

Second, numerous avenues of investigation converge on the fact that the maintenance and the ethno linguistic vitality of Isaan vernacular is relatively strong in the two tourist sites studied. Among these are the linguistic normalization theory (Vallverdú, 1985), the ethno linguistic vitality theory (Giles et al., 1977), the ethnolect theory (Clyne, 2000) and the discursive practice theory (Hall, 2009; Young, 2009). By means of the establishment of normative usages and uses in work domains and elsewhere, along with the extension of its multifaceted utility in socio-economical and socio-cultural life, the notion of linguistic normalization propounded by Vallverdú (1985) largely accounts for the fact that Isaan vernacular has been continually gaining ground in the battle with the Standard Thai variety and English speech for fuller normalization in the seaside resort of Pattaya and work domains (bars) in the Bangkok Metropolis studied by the researcher. In the same vein, the formation of demographic (given the vast majority of love industry workers are Isaan) and economical (the language adopted in

commercial activities on streets and in the love industry) capital (Giles et al., 1977) largely account for the strong ethno linguistic vitality of Isaan vernacular in this seaside town. The Isaan vernacular, albeit discriminated against, oppressed, stigmatized and stereotyped in official domains (e.g., workplaces, educational institutions and the mass media; Draper, 2010: 135), is warmly welcomed and embraced in the seaside town of Pattaya, given that locals and tourism-oriented business sectors rely heavily on Isaan women to attract foreign male tourists (Table 8). This confirms Mandanares and Kent's observation that since Isaan is the lingua franca in bars, non-Isaan women see a need to learn the Isaan vernacular to understand what the majority of Isaan women in the bars are discussing at any time (Manzanares & Kent, 2006: 46). Moreover, for some non-Isaan women, implementing a shift in language choice and use away from Northern, Central and Standard Thai varieties to the adoption of Isaan ethnolects belongs to their choice of becoming love industry workers. Illuminating in this connection is the fact that novice non-Isaan intakes were instructed by their seniors with respect to acquirable skills and manners (e.g., Western-style make-up) deemed to attract male Western tourists. In the light of the discursive practice approach pursued by Young (2009) and Hall (2011), the researcher also addresses how members of the non-Isaan women's groups learn and develop the competences needed in the love industry, while honing their newly acquired linguistic and behavioral capacities under the guidance of more experienced Isaan participants in the love industry (Vygotsky, 1978) through being socialized into an Isaan-style elder sibling/younger sibling hierarchy (Howard, 2007: 206-208).

Table 8: Ethnolect Convergence among Isaan and non-Isaan Women Studied

Media	Participants	Interlocutors	Domains	Sites	Convergence
Speaking	Isaan	Co-workers and Customers	Work	B	ST/E
				P	E
		Others	Non-Work	B	ST
				P	I
	Non-Isaan	Co-workers and Customers	Work	B	I/ST/E
				P	I/E
		Others	Non-Work	B	ST
				P	I/E

Note. B=Bangkok, P=Pattaya, E=English, ST=Standard (Central) Thai Variety, I=Isaan Thai Variety

Third, amongst the three groups studied (Table 5), the Isaan women's group as a whole exhibits higher English skills. Although the Isaan variety is maintained in the work domains of the two sites studied, the Isaan women's group is more likely to embrace English speech, thereby explaining the fact that a relatively big number of Isaan women shift toward English speech away from Isaan speech (Table 8). However, at the same time, the non-Isaan women's group as a whole exhibits a habitual use of the Isaan vernacular in their work domains, accounting for their slow but steady shift toward Isaan speech away from their Thai varieties. In addition, the Isaan women's group markedly exhibits a gradual shift in progress toward English speech. The same progress, nevertheless, does not appear to occur among most members of the non-Isaan women's group and almost never does it occur in the Thai men's group (the researcher comments further on this with fuller treatment in the following sub-sections).

In the view of some of the Isaan women studied, their shift away from the Isaan vernacular to the habitual use of English speech is a mean of coping with class struggle (without referring to the Marxist notion), gendered discrimination and impoverishment. Indeed, they are considered third class citizens by the rest of Thailand, due largely to the region of their birth, and they are second class citizens in their villages, due largely to their gender by birth. Thus, the shift is inextricably connected with enhancing face and life chances: the capability of conversing in English with Western tourists is a way to increase their income.

Thus far, this study confirms the findings of numerous previous studies. Notably, it is consistent with Smith-Hefner's findings, where Indonesian women's shift away from the indigenous-Javanese speech to the national language of Indonesian is seen as contesting conventional gendered roles imposed to them (Smith-Hefner, 2009: 72); in this study, some Isaan women's gradual shift away from the Isaan vernacular to the habitual use of the English speech is a mean whereby the gender ideology stemming from traditional Isaan family values can be resisted. Furthermore, young women in Java were particularly drawn into urban centers, like Yogyakarta for example, because of enhanced possibilities for social mobility (id.). Their shift away from the formal styles of Javanese to the less formal Indonesian, the national language, was linked to their newly acquired middle-class status (ibid.). It is argued that there are similar dynamics at work vis-à-vis the target population studied in this article. Possibilities of social mobility (from rural lower-class backgrounds to urban middle-class "entrepreneurs") draw young Isaan peasant women to urban centers. Their shift away from the Isaan vernacular to English speech is linked to their socio-economic mobility, given English is the medium of communication used in their concomitant shift to love entrepreneurship.

The analysis of the data also suggest that a gradual shift toward English speech is seen as a strategic plan pertaining to possibilities of lifestyle enhancement (e.g., "secret dreams of moving to Europe [or North America or Australia], having a prosperous new life" by marrying one of the Western male tourists was revealed by Lon, a former love entrepreneur in Thailand, cited in Manzanares & Kent, 2006: 105). This result is consistent with Gal's classic study undertaken in Oberwart, Austria, in 1978, where "women's speech choices must be explained within the context of their social position, their strategic life choices" (Gal, 1978: 15).

Besides, the view that women tend to have more to gain than men in the love industry in Thailand is also suggested by the data analysis. Amongst the informants, Isaan women, contrasted to non-Isaan women, are the single greatest group of beneficiaries in the love industry in Thailand. The Isaan women studied choose to learn English, to meet with male Western tourists and to become love entrepreneurs to financially support themselves and their families. For some, they want a better quality of life and a brighter future after having saved enough money to invest in a small business in their home villages. At the same time, being fluent in English also means that they might be able to move to America, to Europe or to another Western or first-world countries for an enhanced lifestyle.

6.2 Non-Isaan Women's Speech Community: Ethnolect Convergence and Language Choice as a Means of Participation in Discursive Practice

As shown by the empirical data, certain changes in progress in the non-Isaan women's group do not exist in the Thai men's group: for the later, there is neither convergence with Isaan speech styles nor shifts away from the native speech to the habitual use of the Isaan vernacular. It is striking to see that the non-Isaan women's group studied as a whole demonstrates a greater use of the Isaan vernacular. This is a surprising result, given the ranking among Thailand linguistic repertoire.

6.3 Talking Like a Beach Boy: Men's Speech in Thailand's Love Industry

The role Thai men's role in the love industry is less favored contrasted the one of the women engaged in the same activity. Their monolingual Thai speech and their lower English proficiency largely account for this observation.

7. Conclusion

7.1 Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

Albeit the aforementioned contributions to the literature of language, discourse and society, there are several under addressed issues in the present article. First, it is insufficiently contextualized regarding the literature on language and on globalization, particularly in relation to language choices and to globalized industries. A few references about language choices, language shifts and genders need to be brought up to date. The author of the present article will undertake another research to address the aforementioned issues.

7.2 Concluding Remarks

Overall, this article examines the essential components constitutive of a love entrepreneur, linguistically and communicatively, by discussing and analyzing how language choices, linguistics shifts, ideologies and gender influence the language use of love industry workers in the Bangkok Metropolis and in the seaside resort town of Pattaya. It draws upon arguments used to conceptualize the relationship between young women's linguistic strategies (language choices and shifts) and their life strategies (social upward mobility). One crucial feature that emerged in this study regarding the association between women's language use and concomitant social and economical mobility is that women's language choices and shifts belong to an enterprising activity and to make able strategic life choices. Two results from this linkage may have important pedagogical implications. One is the finding suggesting that English is the language of upward social mobility for both Isaan and Non-Isaan women. The other is the result indicating that Isaan is the language of sociability for non-Isaan women in their work domains: this is a relatively new linguistic convergence in the young non-Isaan women's speech community; it started forty years ago. If this is the case, it may be imperative to provide human resource development opportunities to these women and men engaged in the love industry activities with training that can foster their learning of English speech and the Isaan vernacular.

The present investigation focuses only on the social meanings that emerged from a small sample size regarding the three speech communities studies: 100 Isaan women, 50 non-Isaan women and 50 Thai men. In this study, social meanings that account for the language choices and shifts investigated only represent some aspects of the possible sociological variables/factors that contribute to women's linguistic strategies. Future studies should examine a more comprehensive population selection and explore a wider range of social, economic,

political and other correlations that may exist between women's language choices and shifts and their life choices and possibilities. The current study might be used as the foundation of future studies to examine the associations with other speech communities in highly mobile, contact, and multi-ethnolect settings. In carrying out future investigations, it would be of quite some interest and considerable theoretical importance to determine whether the use of the English language and of the Isaan speech in the communities studied in this article continue to thrive or to decline at different intervals in the future, perhaps up to a quarter century from the present time. As such, a longitudinal investigation ranging to-and-fro along a temporal continuum may even provide a mean whereby predictive extrapolations could be framed if suitable independent variables could be isolated and projected.

This article has highlighted that young women do not merely simply choose, or shift to or from, a language out of their linguistic and communicative repertories; their linguistic strategies are better understood by taking into consideration their life strategies and their possible life chances (Gal, 1978: 15; Smith-Hefner, 2009; Lee, 2013). This article demonstrates that the choices and shifts of languages have a much widespread attraction for young Isaan and non-Isaan women than for Thai men engaged in the love industry activities, as they seek to become members of a new entrepreneur class in urban centers in contradistinction to their former stigmatized peasant status in rural areas. Further, Isaan women take fuller advantage of these new social and economic opportunities than non-Isaan women or Thai men involved in the same industry. The researcher hopes that this article will be useful in countering the ignorant and pernicious stereotyping and stigmatization of love industry workers. In addition, the researcher is concerned to indicate how engaging in meaningful language choices and linguistic shifts can be a mean whereby hope and a sense of future possibilities can be engendered in the young women involved in this unfairly maligned industry. It is also argued that the changes in orders of indexicalities pertaining to the continued reconfiguration of community boundaries (the work domains, i.e. bars, as well as the neighborhoods of bars, in the two urban centers of Bangkok and Pattaya) reflect a restructuring of sociolinguistic and ideological hierarchy. Such a process in its core is one that engenders the formation of new varieties of speech, as well as stimulating social change, within the rapidly growing and incessantly changing nation of Thailand.

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The Author

Yu-Hsiu Lee, nickname *Hugo*, was born in Kaohsiung, southern Taiwan (*Formosa*) and raised in Taiwan and in Indiana, the United States. From 2005 to 2010, he attended the Indiana University – Bloomington campus (a public IVY university in the U.S.A.), earning M.Sc. (foreign/second language education) and Ph.D. (language education, comparative literature, religious studies, and East Asian languages and cultures with a focus on literary/classical and modern/contemporary Chinese literature) degrees. In the late July 2010, he joined the Faculty/Graduate School of Language and Communication, National Institute of Development Administration. He has held numerous visiting appointments and fellowships at over a dozen higher educational institutes and R1 institutes in the North America, Western Europe, Eastern Asia and the Mainland Southeast Asia (later he has become affiliated with the following institutes: Asian Institute of Technology (AIT), an intergovernmental organization, Indiana University, USA, SOAS, University of London, UK, Wenzao College of Language, Taiwan).

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ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE AWARD &GRADUATE STUDENT AWARD

from: Stéphanie Cassilde, Chair of the RC25 Award Committee

Dear members, I am pleased to announce the creation of two RC 25 awards. The « Language & Society Graduate Student Award » is dedicated to promising researcher. The « Language & Society Academic Award » is devoted to active scholars in the field. Both awards are linked to *Language, Discourse & Society*, which is the new e-journal of RC 25. These awards were defined in accordance with the full board and we exchange a lot to create all steps of the selection process. The first edition of RC 25 awards will take place in Buenos Aires with a ceremony at RC 25's reception. I am looking forward to read your work in *Language, Discourse & Society* and to see you there.

Purpose
The purpose of the award for Academic Excellence is to promote scholarship and to recognize academic excellence in the field of language and society.
The purpose of the Graduate Students Awards is to promote graduate student scholarship and to recognize academic excellence in the field of language and society.

Recognition
Both the winner the Award for Academic Excellence and the winner of the Graduate Student Award will be recognized with an engraved plaque at the RC25 reception. Awards will also be announced in the RC25 newsletter.

Eligibility
All articles written and published in the new RC 25 journal, *Language, Discourse & Society* are eligible. Language, Discourse & Society publishes articles written in the official languages of the ISA: English, French and Spanish. All articles published since the past Interim Conference or World Congress and at least three months in advance of the next Interim conference or the World Congress will be considered for the Award.

1) Awards for Academic Excellence
All articles published in the new RC 25 journal, *Language, Discourse & Society* that are written by scholars holding a Ph.D. at the time of submission are eligible. *Language, Discourse & Society* publishes articles written in the official languages of the ISA: English, French and Spanish. All articles published since the past Interim Conference or World Congress and at least three months in advance of the next Interim conference or the World Congress will be considered for the Award.
In case of multiple-author submissions, the highest degree of the co-authors will be taken into account. Thus, if one of the authors holds a Ph.D., the article is eligible for the Language & Society Award for Academic Excellence. Members of the editorial board and of the award committee are not eligible. Submissions from scholars who are members of the ISA and RC25 are encouraged, but membership is not necessary to be eligible for this award.
2) Graduate Students Awards

To be eligible for this award, the author must be registered for a graduate degree but cannot hold a Ph.D. at the time of submission (copy of the student card should be provided together with the application). In case of multiple-author submissions, the highest degree of the co-authors will be taken into account. Thus, if one of the authors holds a Ph.D., the article is not eligible for the Language & Society Graduate Student Award. Members of the editorial board and of the award committee are not eligible. Submissions from scholars who are members of the ISA and RC25 are encouraged, but membership is not necessary to be eligible for this award.

Nomination & Selection Process

The RC25 journal is peer-reviewed. All reviewers will submit a short evaluation of articles during the blind peer-review process for submission to the journal editor. The editor will forward a selection of published articles recommended by the peer-reviewers to the Award Committee. All articles recommended for the award will undergo an independent review by the Awards Committee. The Awards Committee consists of three scholars and a chair; it will evaluate articles in English, French and Spanish.

The RC 25 Executive Board appoints the chair of the Award Committee for a period of four years. She or he is responsible solely for administering the award process. This includes but is not limited to establishing the composition of the Awards Committee, and the call for papers. The full Executive Board must approve all decisions by the chair before they can be implemented. The Committee members must be scholars with demonstrated expertise in the field and appropriate language skills. Members of the RC25 Executive Committee and of the editorial board of Language Discourse and Society are not eligible to sit on the Awards Committee.

The chair does not vote but oversees the process and to the extent possible maintains the anonymity of the authors and of the rankings provided by journal reviewers. Since these are all published articles, it is impossible to maintain complete anonymity in the review process. The chair of the Award Committee will submit a list of winners and documentation of the award process to the Executive Board for approval and formal announcement.

Timetable

Award will be made at RC 25 reception every two years at the World Congress and at the Interim Conferences.