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*Full Length Research Paper*

# **Orality, performance and creativity: A descriptive perspective of the Izon Obobo bi necromancy**

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**African traditional literature is fraught with songs, dances, riddles, jokes, proverbs as well as chants, incantations, invocation, rituals and musical performances. Some of these features are found in earlier poet, Christopher Okigbo's *Labyrinths* and comparatively recent poet, Christian Otobotekere's *A Sailor's Son: in the wake of dance and games*. Oral poetry in Izon tradition is diverse but one that is often neglected in scholarly discourse is the elegiac poetry of the 'Obobo bi' or necromancy which involves songs, dances, rituals, recitations, incantations and performances. The study will focus on the orality, performative style and creativity in the spoken word as a sub-genre of African poetry. This paper therefore seeks to investigate the poetry of *Obobo bi* with the aim of projecting into scholarly attention and reveal the alienation, liminality and the hidden literary aesthetics of the *obobo bi* tradition. The study hinges on the post-colonialism theory. Data for the study were collected from live performances in the Kolokuma communities of Bayelsa State as well as from the researchers' introspection. This study is relevant for scholarship and society because the tradition which is fast fading due to influence of Christianity is now being projected to the consciousness of the world as a form of oral literature.**

**Key words:** Orality, incantations, necromancy, creativity, liminality, alienation.

## **INTRODUCTION**

The unique orality and creativity involved in the performance of the spoken word defines the African culture. Finnegan (1970) argues that although oral literature is not as popular as the written literature 'it seems to convey on the one hand the idea of mystery, on the other that of crude and artistically underdeveloped formulations (1).' In a similar manner, Gunner (2007) posits that: '[...] orality, manifested as types of formed speech communication, in some circumstances coexisting with music in the form of song, or with instruments and dance generated in an almost

unimaginable range of genres that enable and empowered social, political and spiritual existence (67). Before the advent of the written form, African traditional culture was in the oral medium, which means that the African continent is largely dominated with orality. Ngugi (2005) argues that 'the written word imitates the spoken'. (1133). In the words of Akporobaro (2012), 'A [...] fundamental feature of oral literature creation is orality [...] (4)'. It echoes the fact that African oral performance raises the profile of poetry and triggers, as well as excites the audience in a special way. In other words, Africa

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is an oral continent, within the global cosmos environment. Therefore, earlier writers like Christopher Okigbo use orality in, what Udoeyop refers to as 'expressing their worldview, the mythology of their consciousness' such as, closeness to nature, prophesying of the socio-political situation of Africa and the portrayal of ancestral worship.

Similarly, Christian Otobotekere, a Poet-King, who is a traditional ruler and a poet accentuates the intricate nexus binding man and nature in poetry that is laden with orality and the realization of nature, man and spirituality. In the same vein, Ojaide (2016) explains that:

*African poets who incorporate African Oral traditions into their works have an African cultural identity....their poetry absorb performance techniques, especially of repetition, humor, sarcasm, irony and often the poems are dramatically moving (430).*

The orature or orality of traditional African literary form has managed to endure to modern era because orality represents the consciousness of the people and a reflection of their religion, myths and legends (Udoeyop, 1973, 4). This present work takes a descriptive perspective of the '*Obobo bi*' or necromancy poetic performance which is accompanied with incarnations, invocations, chants, dances and songs which are the quintessential qualities of oral poetry.

### Statement of problem

*Obobo bi* is one of the several oral performances that define African oral literature. It is a performance that derives from the deep religious beliefs of the Izo people which establishes a relationship between the world of the living and the world of the dead. This customary performance is fast fading as a result of the influence of Christianity in African societies. This unique African orality and performance as part of the diverse Izo elegiac poetry has been largely neglected in scholarly discourse. The need to preserve this custom as a literary artifact via a conscious renaissance of the '*Obobo bi*' or necromancy therefore is the motivation behind this present study.

### Objective of study

The objective of the study is to critically describe and analyze the elegiac qualities of the chants, incantations, invocations and songs involved in the *Obobo bi* ritual performance. The study will also identify and highlight the literary and poetic features of the '*Obobo bi*'. The study will focus on the orality, performance and creativity of the oral poetry. A general aim of the study is to characterize the universality of orature across cultures in Africa.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research is hinged on the literary theory of postcolonialism and the philosophical liminality theory. These theories are suitable for the study because they capture the essence and the reality of the *obobo bi* as a literary and trado-religious performance. The study on the *obobo bi* dramatic poetry is an attempt to revive and project the custom, howbeit as a literary artifact back into consciousness of the world after having suffered denigration and suppression by the invasion of the alien Christian religion. Of course, postcolonial literature is the literature by people from colonized or previously colonized countries. Therefore, the theory discusses the negative consequences of colonial and revolts against cultural imperialism especially the debasement and suppression of indigenous cultures and religious beliefs. Therefore, the Postcolonialist approach to the study of African oral poetry is adopted in this paper since, according to Loomba (2005), it espouses the relationship between the African heritage and the challenges of colonial control (1105).

The *obobo bi* custom which is the subject of study as a literary performance demonstrates an existential relationship amongst three worlds – the world of the living, the world of the dead and the world of the unborn. This performance is a spiritual inquest into the consciousness of the spirit of a dead person in order to find out if he/she was a witch before death. Therefore, we also relied on the liminality concept originated by Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner which describes cultural experience "of being betwixt and between (44). Woods (1999) also explains that liminality is "a third space or in-between space which emerges from a blend of two diverse cultures or traditions" (45). The middle passage is the spiritual realm between the dead and the living. The theory shows the temporospatial connection between humans and the spiritual realm. The liminal theory is useful for the study because of the deep African traditional belief on the existential and communicative relationship between the world of the living and that of the dead. The *obobo bi* provides a medium for the manifestation of this relationship.

## METHODOLOGY

The *Obobo bi* is a performance narrative laden with dialogue and poetry. It shows the tripartite relationship that binds the world of the living, the world of the dead and the world of the unborn. In the course of the fieldwork of the research, data were collected in Igbedi and Olobiri communities in the Kolokuma/Opokuma Local Government Area of Bayelsa State to watch live performances. The applied method of observation of the performances of the ritual of *obobo bi* is usually led by a traditional religious worshipper accompanied with a number of *obobo* (instrument) bearers and a small group of singers. The researchers also relied on personal reflections, introspection of childhood experiences of live performances. Lastly, interviews were conducted with elderly members of the communities to extract the significance of the ritual.

These methods are appropriate for the study since the researcher came into close visual contact with the activity being investigated. The interviews also afforded the researchers access to the deep philosophy behind this ancient tradition.

### Concept of *Obobo Bi*

African oral literature is deeply-rooted and closely associated with the belief of the supernatural forces. The *obobo bi* tradition is an age-old one among the Izoṅ people of the Niger Delta. It is an act of necromancy in which a soothsayer establishes a line of communication between the dead and the living. This *Obobo bi* is specifically directed at the dead who is/are requested to confess, through the *obobo* (ladder) to the living if or not he/she was a witch or wizard while he/she was alive on earth. The confession also included the atrocities or wicked deed the person had committed before his/her death. This is a kind of judgment for 'sinners' in Izoṅ tradition and culture because a confessed witch or wizard was (and is still) buried in the evil forest.

Somehow, the practice of polygamy has also contributed to the dominant themes in the African oral literature, which include envy/jealousy from the co-wives, and witchcraft. Akporobaro (2012) explains that 'in much of the legends, ballads, and tales of the rural African world there is always an overwhelming consciousness of cruelty, jealousy, witchcraft and hatred as the characteristics traits of man everywhere' (426). But most prominent amongst these themes is the practice of witchcraft, which denotes the use of supernatural powers to influence others. Ngugi (2005) explains that:

*There is a gradual accumulation of values which in time become almost self-evident truths governing their conception of what is right and wrong, good and bad, beautiful and ugly, courageous and cowardly, generous and mean in their internal and external relation. Over a time this becomes a history. Culture embodies those moral, ethical and aesthetic values, the set of spiritual eyeglasses, through which they come to view themselves and their place in the universe [...] Culture therefore is a product of the history which it in turn reflects (1134).*

These explain the reasons for the African belief system that witches' powers are evil and are capable of killing, maiming and even outright destruction of people in a more secretive manner. Therefore, while alive, some persons who are accused and discovered to practice wizardry are exposed and relevant punishment meted to the persons. But some people are so reticent that in the real life they pretend to be very good and are exposed at death. To some extent, this seems to be a global phenomenon in the study of oral literature but time and space hinders further discussion on this. But the point is that oral genres provide the means of formalizing and reviving new experiences, an explicit example is the elegiac poetry of *Obobo bi* of the Izoṅ tradition of the Niger Delta. Finnegan (1970) (describe elegiac poetry as the songs, chants and recitations, which are performed at funeral and burial ceremonies (146). She further states that elegiac poetry is not accorded its properly recognized in Africa (151).

### The nexus between the world of the living and the dead

The Izoṅ *Obobo bi* as an act of necromancy is a kind of oral literature involving the dead, which relates to the raising and reanimation of the spirit of the dead. It is an elegiac poetry with an exclusive orality, which demands a special performance bravura and originality in the verbal expression of songs, dances, chants and recitations. In the words of Finnegan (1970):

*The significance of performance in oral literature goes beyond a mere matter of definition: for the nature of the performance itself*

can make an important contribution to the impact of the particular literary form being exhibited (3).

This is not to say that the written form of literature is incapable of creating impact, because both forms are performance based. The point is that the performance of oral literature is different because of the symbolic motions involved and the aura of emotional involvement. This symbolic attachment of emotions characterizes the African oral literature for instance, the focus with issues of life after death, witchcraft, which is the practice of witches using supernatural powers to influence others are typical of the belief system. As mentioned earlier, the African traditional belief system recognizes the existence of supernatural powers, which may be in form of witchcraft. Witches are said to be discreet that some of them hide under religion to perpetrate malevolent deeds. These are very familiar terrain.

This kind of elegiac poetry of the Izoṅ is symbolic and its performance is during burial ceremonies because of the belief of the people that the living should investigate the activities of the dead person, when he was alive as the prelude to the burial ceremony. In the words of Okoh, 'performances by poets and griots are not necessarily or exclusively for entertainment but as a way of exposing and exploiting the *Africanness* of such materials being performed'. (323). The process of investigation of the dead is the "*Obobo bi*," which literarily means necromancy via a ladder. And it is graphically presented as the instrument, which one climbs to meet the Maker (God) for the final judgment.

In the *Obobo bi* oral elegiac poetry, the necromancer artistically chants, sings and dances to a particular rhythmic tone in the investigation of the spiritual purity by reciting and invoking the spirit of a dead person. This special performance provides to members of the audience a ritualistic experience that bridges the past and present and shapes their contemporary lives. It is the belief of the Izoṅ that before and after death, human beings should be subjected to partial judgment concerning their earthly activities. It takes the form of investigation, aim at ascertaining the level of evil or good deeds of the dead, while alive. The tradition demands that the living should investigate the truth before the commencement of the burial rites. This process of investigation is the *Obobo bi* which is a ladder, as mentioned earlier. And it is theatrically and graphically presented as a prop, the instrument, which one uses to climb to meet the Creator.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Oral poetry, as a medium of artistic expression, just at other forms of poetry, is geared towards elevating the human soul and communicates morals to the society. In the words of Ojaide (2016):

*Third Generation of Modern African poets went back to their indigenous African oral literature to borrow techniques for their writings, focusing on meaning in their poems since they wanted to change their society [...] these poets have gone back to fuse tradition and modernity [...] they took form and techniques from the oral tradition and fused them into what their preceding modern poets had done (432).*

This is a reminder that African oral literature should be rooted in African culture and that the African Voice can only emanate from Africa. The *Obobo bi* ritual is an ancient practice and a vital component of the culture of

the Izon people. It is a unique oral performance which depicts creativity in the people in a typical African setting. In the Izon cosmology, there is the belief in life after death and that the soul of dead should naturally ascend to God, as stated earlier. When a man or woman dies, members of the deceased family would perform an inquest into the soul of the departed to ascertain if s/he was pure in heart and to know the evil deeds if s/he was a witch. Accordingly, therefore, the *Oboboboweï*, literally a necromancer and the traditional custodian of the oral elegiac poetry of the *Obobo bi* would be invited to perform the ritual. Therefore, the necromancer performs the investigation or inquest of the purity of the dead and proclaims the verdict accordingly. The *Obobobioweï*, upon sighting the clientele performs some form of ablution with accompaniment of songs:

Tuba ki bo ni I-gbeleyema  
Who is coming to touch me

Merein merein, kirii merein toin  
Turn and turn, turn and stop

Tuba ki bo ni I-gbeleyema  
Who is coming to touch me

Merein merein kirii, merein toin  
Turn and turn, turn and stop

The meaning of the song is symbolic as it transmits and demonstrates to the visitors that their mission has been revealed in the *Obobobioweï's* vision. The visitors are ushered into the apartment with a warm welcome, while he hums the songs as they lay their request and the purification with a gourd of wine ready for libation. He nods understandingly and rushes into the inner apartment for his special 'Abuluku' costumes. The *Abuluku* is a skirt costume, which is unique to the *Obobobioweï* in performing this spiritual custom. The *Obobobioweï's Abuluku* is designed in traditional colours unique to the ideals of the people. This is what Finnegan (1970) meant when she said that the: '[...] dirge can be conveyed not only by a verbal evocation of mood but also by the dress, accoutrements, or observed bearing of the performer. This visual aspect is sometimes taken even further than the gestures and dramatic bodily movement [...]' (5).

The *Obobobioweï's Abuluku* bears the three Izon traditional basic colours namely the: 'Inu' (blue) 'Obosi' (red), and Qlọq (white). These colours are unique and symbolic of the Izon traditional belief. The 'Inu' (blue) is the colour that depicts the heavenly bodies, the sky, which is the abode of the Creator. The 'Obosi' (red) represents the human blood, the very existence of man. The 'Qlọq' is the white colour and it symbolizes peace. The white being the neutral colour of the three compliments and combines with the other two colours

interchangeably. The white blends with the red as well as the blue. In fact, in the colour spectrum, the white is the origin of all colours. The white represents the daytime, when man executes the daily activities. According to the Izon traditional belief, the black colour signifies night, a time when the Heavens spread her blanket after intoxicating all the good humans into a deep state of sleep, except the evil minded that keeps vigil to commit atrocities to mankind.

The *Obobo bi*, like the Akan dirge, Yoruba dirges and even the self-praise songs of South Africa, *Izibongo*, also the talking drum droning the praise of heroes and notable personalities. A notable feature of oral literature is audience participation. For instance, the orality and the performance style of the *Obobobioweï* involve the audience. This unique sub-genre of the African oral poetry is performed with ingenuity by local professionals who possess the ability to improvise and who are socially conscious in order to be able to capture and sustain the attention of the audience and the tempo of the performance.

The *Obobobioweï* arrives at the arena of the burial ceremony and takes hold of the *Obobo* (ladder) high on his shoulder in company of three other men who could be described as obobo-bearers, performs the oral rendition of the elegy in form of chanting. This is accompanied with drumming, which alternated with the chants: the drum is high when the voice of the necromancer is low, and goes low when main actor's voice comes up loud. Intermittently, some of these songs are sometimes rendered in form of chants, recitations and evocations; this is part of the performance:

Iri kpo, iri korogha  
Even when it dries, it does not dry off completely

Edudu me dudu  
Praises

Parara parara  
Praises

Opu du  
A big heritage

Bouteinoweï, boutu gbagha  
The hunter does not reveal the secrets of the forest

Eriye kpo, erigha gba,  
What he sees, he pretends not to have seen

In a euphoric state, the audience is pensive about the verdict of the *Obobobioweï* on the one hand and fate of the dead man and his family members on the other hand. The drumming, songs and even libation continues, and then the climax; the *Obobobioweï* shouts calling the spirit of the dead to climb onto the obobo:

Duwei bona Obobo gho gbanai  
 The dead person, come and climb on the ladder  
 I-daɣ mọ I-yengi mọ I-tijin (nia ifie)  
 Your father and mother calls (four times)

Duwei bona Obobo gho gbanai  
 The dead person, come and climb on the ladder  
 I-daɣ mọ I-yengi mọ I-tijin  
 Your father and mother calls

Duwei bona Obobo gho gbanai

The dead person, come and climb on the ladder  
 I-daɣ mọ I-yengi mọ I-tijin  
 Your father and mother calls

Duwei bona Obobo gho gbanai  
 The dead person, come and climb on the ladder  
 I-daɣ mọ I-yengi mọ I-tijin  
 Your father and mother calls

Sọṣọ, bona obobo gho gbanai  
 Sọṣọ come and climb on the ladder  
 Sọṣọ, bona obobo gho gbanai  
 Sọṣọ come and climb on the ladder  
 Sọṣọ, bona obobo gho gbanai  
 Sọṣọ come and climb on the ladder  
 Sọṣọ, bona obobo gho gbanai  
 Sọṣọ come and climb on the ladder

In the first four stanzas of the poem or song, the *Obobobiwei* or *necromancer* actually refers to the present condition of the dead person, which stands for 'Duwei'. But in the last four stanzas, the *Obobobiwei* emphatically mentions the name of the person; 'Sọṣọ' in this discussion means just any name in the real performance. In live performance, the necromancer calls the name of the dead person who is being investigated. In the midst of songs, chants and invocations, the *Obobobiwei* moves forwards and backwards, in an energetic display. This performance is not just a demonstration of the creativity and perfection in the memorization of the chants, songs and dances; it also signifies the *Obobobiwei's* full control of the dead persons' spirit. Then he chants further:

I-ye ebinimi aba, ebianga duo sọ  
 If you are pure, follow the path of righteousness

I ma seinimi aba, seianga duo sọ  
 And if you are evil, follow the evil path

I-ye ebinimi aba, ebianga duo sọ  
 If you are pure, follow the path of righteousness

I ma seinimi aba, seianga duo sọ  
 And if you are evil, follow the evil path

I-ye ebinimi aba, ebianga duo sọ  
 If you are pure, follow the path of righteousness

I ma seinimi aba, seianga duo sọ  
 And if you are evil, follow the evil path

I-ye ebinimi aba, ebianga duo sọ  
 If you are pure, follow the path of righteousness

I ma seinimi aba, seianga duo sọ  
 And if you are evil, follow the evil path

In Izon culture, clockwise rotation is negative and wrong while anti-clockwise rotation is positive and right. At the climax of the invocation of these mystical doggerels, the spirit of the dead is presumed to have climbed on the ladder ready to respond to the *Obobobiwei's* inquest. The *Obobobiwei* repeats the chant three times for a male spirit and four times for a female spirit. These numbers are significant in Izon tradition as they are usually observed in many other activities regarding male and female personalities. But in this particular chant, the necromancer faces the direction of the *Obobo* towards where the corpse is lying-in-state. Just when the audience expects the *Obobobiwei* to inquire directly and announce the verdict, he keeps everybody in suspense and bursts into another round of singing:

Yanrin-o beiyo bi yanrin  
 Let the arena quake

Yanrin-o beiyo bi yanrin  
 Let the arena quake

Tolitolitoli  
 Leakages upon leakages

Yanrin-o beiyo bi yanrin  
 Let the arena quake

Yanrin-o beiyo bi yanrin  
 Let the arena quake

Tolitolitoli  
 Leakages upon leakages

Yanrin-o beiyo biyanrin  
 Let the arena quake

Like a volcanic eruption, the earth must quake and open up spiritual holes, which are invisible to the ordinary person, for the interaction proper to take place between the spirit of the dead person and the *Obobobiwei*. Characteristics of elegiac poetry, the repetition of these familiar formulaic words is strictly for emphasis and to attract spiritual power and inspiration and transmutation into the spirit world.

In a twist of fate, while continuously moving forwards and backwards in a trance, the *Obobobiwei* turns the direction of the *Obobo* anti-clockwise. This indicates that the dead person is innocent of witchcraft. But if the *Obobobiwei* turns the *Obobo* clockwise, it implies that the dead person is guilty of witchcraft. This is another significant pointer to the African oral tradition, which regulates the earth in a unique and typical traditional method and an exclusive preserve of the people. It is a significant and relevant aspect calling for scholars' attention because the tradition is fast fading now. After the verdict of the *Obobobiwei*, the burial ceremony proper commences with the audience in particular, the family members of the deceased person jubilating with songs, dances and recitations:

Wo bara ogono  
Our hands are up  
"We are victorious"

Wo bara ogono  
Our hands are up  
"We are victorious."

And chants like:

Wo wari uge  
Our family is victorious

Wo weniyo asin korogha  
Blood does not follow our path  
"No blood guilt in our life"

Wo weniyo boubou  
Our movements are smooth

This is the point of jubilation, when the verdict is favourable, but if otherwise, the dead man receives abuse as the immediate family members bury their heads in shame in the evil forest. With these, the *Obobobiwei's* performance has fulfilled the most fundamental and essential aspect of the elegiac poetry of the Izon speaking people of the Niger Delta.

## Conclusion

This study highlights the relationship between oral and the written literature, while examining the Izon oral tradition of '*obobo bi*' necromancy. The study revolves around the Izon *Obobo bi* tradition and oral performance literature which is fast fading because of the pervasive influence of Christianity. The study reveals that African oral literature is deeply embedded in culture and tradition and it shows the aesthetics in literary creativity. The paper highlights some of the parameters of oral literature such as oratory, songs, chants, incantation and

invocations as well as the use of repetition and metaphor.

From this study, it is obvious that African oral poetry teaches morals and uplifts the human soul. The discussion hinges on the aspects of human relation with nature, the framing of sacred time and space that is life and death, and the respect for culture and traditions. The study also examined the aesthetic of performance, the body of the performer, relationship between audience, unique costumes, colours and time in relation to the Izon oral literature. The essence and significance of the elegiac poetry of *Obobo bi* is to bridge the link between the living and the dead. Spiritually, it connotes the relationship and belief in life after death. In sociological terms it is an indication of exploring the two extremes of existence (life after death). In the performance process of this unique elegiac poetry, there was the introduction of the magical connection, the suspense of the audience during the *Obobobiwei* interaction with the dead, which conscientiously and significantly acquaintance the past and present of the African belief system. This paper has highlighted the fact that oral poetry is sine qua non in the authorial prediction of the study of Modern African Poetry. The paper has provided pointers for further researchers to reconnoiter into the rich spoken heritage of the African continent.

## CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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*Full Length Research Paper*

# Looking at Chinese parent-teenager conflict talks from the perspective of the rapport management theory

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**As a common but complex linguistic phenomenon, conflict talks (CTs) frequently occur in daily communications. This study aims to carry out analyses of parent-teenager CTs in two Chinese TV series *A Love for Separation* and *Home with Kids* to reveal the three steps of CTs. From the perspective of the rapport management theory, this study mainly centers on probing into the causes as well as the influence on harmonious interpersonal relations, and then tries to provide some measures to reduce parent-child CTs, to improve the ability of using language to build a harmonious family interrelationship. The major finding of the study lies in that when Chinese parents threaten their children's face or limit their sociality rights, CTs would probably occur, and when they oversight or even attempt to challenge the rapport, CTs would be even escalated.**

**Key words:** *A Love for Separation*, conflict talks, *Home with Kids*, parent-teenager, rapport management theory.

## INTRODUCTION

In ancient China, people attached great importance to their families and to filial piety. Thus, parents had absolute power in traditional families. Gradually, however, with the development of this society, the emergence of nuclear family has changed the original family patterns. With the 30-year implementation of China's family control policy, its population structure has become an upside-down triangle, with the aged on the top. The two generations cherish their children with whole-hearted "love", which has a taste of overreaching with the arbitrary imposition. The over-nurtured love from their grandparents as well as parents surrounds the children every minute every hour every day. As a result, parents

and teenagers are in a state of lord-servant relationship. The powerrelationship shifts from the grandparents or parents-centered tradition to the children-centered trend, which has become a striking contrast in the society and has resulted in a number of inevitable conflict talks (hereafter CTs), constant disputes, broken affections, children's psychological problems as well as unusual behaviors.

The present study is based on some episodes of CTs collected from two Chinese TVseries:*A Love for Separation*, and *Home with Kids*. And the data is initially analyzed from the linguistic patterns and characteristics of CTs. Then from the perspective of the rapport

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management theory, the causes and the influence on harmonious interpersonal relations are focused upon. Eventually some measures to reduce parent-teenager CTs are suggested to release the tension between them. It is hoped that this research would be a starting point that leads to building a harmonious parent-teenager relationship.

### Earlier studies of CTs

CTs are a very common social behavior. There are a lot of different terms to delineate CTs, such as adversative episode (Eisenberg and Garvey, 1981), oppositional argument (Schiffrin, 1985), disputes and disputing (Brenneis, 1988), dialogical asymmetry (Knoblauch, 1991), quarrel (Antaki, 1994) and so on.

Taking foreign researches since the end of 1970s as an example, this paper finds that Brenneis and Lein (1977) and Boggs (1978) started to pay attention to the structure of children's debate or dispute. Subsequently, more and more scholars expanded and deepened the research of CTs, forming various studies based on different disciplines such as conversation analysis, ethnography of communication, cross-cultural communication and interactional sociolinguistics (Liu, 2012). Conversation analysis studies the stylistic features of CTs (Tannen, 1990), the structural features of CTs (Atkinson and Drew, 1979), such as preference organization and adjacency pair, and strategic features of CTs (Brenneis and Lein, 1977; Boggs, 1978), such as tone, gestures, facial expressions, etc. Ethnographic research refers to that scholars obtain first-hand information about CTs through long-term field investigation and analyse CTs according to contextual variables, which reveals context factors. Since the 1980s, Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) have conducted a series of detailed studies on CTs of American (black) children and adolescents aged between 4 and 14, which makes a unique contribution to the development of CTs analysis. Among the researches on cross-cultural communication, Corsaro and Rizzo (1990) were relatively famous. They studied the disputes in the peer culture of American and Italian nursery-school children, finding that Italian children are easier to get into conflict talks because of dissatisfied requirement. Interactional sociolinguistics has made outstanding contributions to the study of CTs from the perspectives of rhetoric, different contextual variables and transgender. Recently, some scholars studied doctor-patient CTs (Liu, 2016; Hu and Song, 2020). Liu pointed out that CTs have both positive and negative effects on interpersonal relationship. Hu and Song studied CTs from the perspective of ecolinguistics and found that patients and doctors both will respond to non-aggressive conflict to express their dissatisfaction. Besides, CTs are more closely related to identity construction (Blitvich, 2018), which reflects the functionality of CTs. Since super diversity and globalization have become more

visible (Blommaert, 2013), identity may be destroyed (Naz et al., 2011: 2), or proliferated (Tomlinson, 2003: 271). De Fina (2013) studied transnational identity of Latinos in the context of the US, finding that Latino identity is a transnational, top-down, imposed identity.

In China, researches on CTs can be classified into the following five aspects (Ruan, 2018): 1. Domestic scholars use the relevance theory, the adaptation theory, the face threatening theory, the conversation analysis and the rapport management theory to study CTs. Ran (2012), discussed rapport management from the aspects of face management and sociality rights management based on Spencer-Oatey's rapport management theory. Zhou (2014) took the CTs in the TV series as the corpus and adaptation theory as the research perspective, believing that gender factors, life experience, values and family relations are the main reasons for the occurrence of family CTs. 2. Researches on CT structure are represented by Zhao (2004), who divided CT into three steps, the initiation step, the escalation step and the termination step with structural analysis method. 3. Researches on communicative strategies of CTs. Zou (2018) discussed the communicative strategies of family conflict discourse in the TV series *The First Half of My Life*. This study revealed the characteristics of the characters in the drama and divided the responses into conflict responses, false responses and silent responses. 4. Pragmatic effects of CTs; The pragmatic effects refer to the harmonies and challenges of personal relationship. However, Ran (2010) and Zhang (2016) believed that CTs plays a positive role in interpersonal harmony. 5. The researches on the generation mechanism of CTs mainly involve the causes of CTs. Zhou (2009) selected three episodes of intense CTs in the drama *Thunderstorm* as corpus and pointed out that the cause of CTs is the contradiction of speech space, and its terminative way reflects the control of having a voice.

CTs have made corresponding progress in China. On the one hand, studies have unified the concept of CT, which can be summarized as one party's disapproval of the other party in communication. CTs can be expressed in language or non-language and have features of divergence, negativity and interference. On the other hand, the research perspective is diversified. However, there still exists some insufficiency on its development in China. Firstly, researches on CTs are mainly based on conversation analysis. Secondly, numerous researchers have introduced or studied CTs from various approaches as aforementioned, but studies concerning CTs in Chinese TV series are few. Besides, previous studies mainly focus on the linguistic patterns of CTs, and characteristics of parent-teenager CTs are rarely mentioned. Lastly, the feasibility and practicality of the rapport management theory in CTs in Chinese TV series need to be testified. Therefore, application of this theory in CTs between parents and children in Chinese TV series is worth carrying out.



## Rapport management theory

The rapport management theory raised by Spencer-Oatey (2000) is made up of two components: face and sociality rights (2000:540). Face consists of quality face and identity face. Quality face means that we have a fundamental desire for people to evaluate us positively in terms of our personal qualities. Identity face refers to that we have a fundamental desire for people to acknowledge and uphold our social identities and roles. Sociality rights consist of equity right and association right. Equity right refers to that people have the equal right to be treated no matter where they are and no matter what they are involved. And they should not be forced, ordered, or exploited by others without any reason. Association right refers to that where the communicator can associate with others that are keeping the type of relationship that we have with them.

Spencer-Oatey (2000: 29-30) came up with four types of rapport orientations: Rapport-enhancement orientation (a desire to enhance the harmony of relationship), rapport-maintenance orientation (a desire to maintain the current quality of relationship and level of rapport), rapport-neglect orientation (having no concern for the quality of the relationship) and rapport-challenge orientation (a desire to challenge or impair harmonious relations).

Considering the research gap discussed above, the aim of the current study was to carry out analyses of parent-teenager CTs in two Chinese TV series *A Love for Separation* and *Home with Kids* to reveal the three steps of CTs. From the perspective of the rapport management theory, this study mainly centered on probing into the causes as well as the influence on harmonious interpersonal relations, and then tried to provide some measures to reduce parent-child CTs, to improve the ability of using language to build a harmonious family interrelationship.

## METHODOLOGY

Parent-teenager CTs in real life are quite difficult to collect. Thus, this study collects data from two Chinese sitcoms. *Home with Kids* is mainly about a story that happened in a reorganized family. The father, Xia Donghai, having divorced and returned from US with his young son Xia Yu, met a divorced woman named Liu Mei who has a teenager son Liu Xing. They reorganized a new family. The story tells various issues they met in life and how they managed to solve them. A great number of episodes focus on the parents' attempts to educate their three kids. Conflict talks in this sitcom are typical examples of Chinese families.

*A Love for Separation* is mainly about a story that happened in three families. Fang Yuan and his wife Dong Wenjie had a disagreement on the daughter's education. Because their daughter Fang Duo had a bad performance in study, Fang Yuan tried hard to send Duo Duo to a foreign school. However, Wenjie opposed since she took domestic integrity seriously very much. Thus, they had a terrible fight about it. Wu Jiani tried to make her daughter Qinqin go abroad, but her husband Jin Zhiming disagreed. Finally, after a series of quarrels, Fang Duo made a great progress in study and

gave up studying abroad. Jin Zhiming reluctantly planned to sign on the adoption agreement for his daughter's future but his wife Wu Jiani gave up. The focus of these three families is the senior high school entrance examination that every student has to experience. In their parents' eyes, it will have a great impact on the future of their children.

Although CTs in sitcoms may have some dramatic features, it still can provide research value and can reflect phenomena that actually happened in nowadays society. Nowadays, children's education has become the most concerned issue for parents. *Home with Kids* reflects the family education received by the post-1990 generation. *A Love for Separation* reflects two social education hotspots, high school entrance examination and studying abroad since they are both concerned about the life between parents and teenager and continuous CTs are their common features.

In order to achieve the aim of study, quantitative analyses were applied to 17 cases collected from *Home with Kids* and 17 cases collected from *A Love for Separation* which aims at revealing the structure of CTs. Then this study analyzed CTs with 3 cases based on the quantitative analyses. Case study is a strategic qualitative research methodology (Noor, 2008). According to Yin (1989), case study refers to an empirical inquiry that analyses a current phenomenon within its real settings, which may be an event, an entity, an individual or even within a unit of analysis. In this study, 3 cases reveal three typical kinds of CTs between parents and teenagers which will enhance the accuracy, validity and reliability of the results by capturing the holistic essence of CTs studied.

Episodes like the following are typical cases of CTs. The Chinese sentences are [sic] and the English sentences are translation.

Initiation	{	<p><b>Turn 1:</b> 方朵: 妈, 我要养弗兰克, 慧慧是我最好的朋友, 她在走之前对我唯一的请求就是养弗兰克, 所以不管怎样我都要养弗兰克。(Turn 1: Fang Duo: Mom, I want to raise Frank. Huihui is my best friend. Her only request before she left is to raise Frank.)</p> <p><b>Turn 2:</b> 方爸爸: 回头咱们再商量, 再商量。(Turn 2: Fang Yuan: let's discuss it later.)</p> <p><b>Turn 3:</b> 董文洁: 什么叫不管怎样你都要养啊, 你不可以这样。(对抗性应答)(Turn 3: Dong Wenjie: What do you mean you must keep it? You can't do that. (counterclaim))</p> <p><b>Turn 4:</b> 董文洁: 你什么事都要跟大人商量, 你不能说你要养就养啊, 你怎么养啊?(反问) 你赶紧给我把狗送走去。(否定)(Turn 4: Dong Wenjie: You need to consult with your parents. You can't do as you like. How can you raise it? (posing the question) Give it back! (negation))</p>
Maintenance	{	<p><b>Turn 5:</b> 方朵: 你要是把弗兰克送走, 那也别养我了。(Turn 5: Fang Duo: If you send Frank back, you also don't have to raise me up.)</p> <p><b>Turn 6:</b> 董文洁: 你这么跟妈妈说话是吗? 好好, 朵朵, 你这么跟妈妈说话是不是?(反问)(Turn 6: Dong Wenjie: Do you talk to your mother in this way? Well, Duoduo, you talk to me like that, don't you? (posing question))</p>
Termination	{	<p><b>Turn 7:</b> 方爸: 好好。(第三方介入)(Turn 7: Fang Yuan: Ok. (the third party interruption))</p>

Every CT extracted from two Chinese TV series must include these three stages. And each stage will embrace at least one characteristic strategy. The next part will carry out a dominating analysis from both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

## DATA ANALYSIS

### The initiation stage

Eisenberg and Garvey (1981:150) suggested in their

influential study, "an adversative episode is a sequence which begins with an opposition". That means a CT may be initiated by an oppositional reply to an action, a request or an assertion in different ways. Detailed numbers and percentage of the initiation stage are represented in Table 1.

It clearly shows that among the 34 CTs, claim-counterclaim (41%) and provoking question-opposing answer (47%) constitute a large proportion, that is to say, parents and kids may mostly use these two ways to start or initiate a CT, order-refusal is also employed in the fictional CTs among parents and their children.

As for the reason, the teenagers are undergoing a tremendous change both physically and mentally. Their opinions will be completely different from their parents. Thus, when their parents claim what they thought, teenagers will immediately counterclaim it to express themselves. And in this period, they are more sensitive to and much easier to be irritated by their parents' opposing intonation. So if their parents raise a provoking question, they will give an opposing answer.

### The escalation or maintenance stage

Once a CT has been initiated, both opponents have to express their own different opinions to reject their opponent's view during the next phase (Gruber, 2001). That is the escalation or maintenance stage which can be achieved by various ways. Detailed numbers and percentage of the maintenance and escalation stage are represented in Table 2.

Here, we can see that there will be more than one way to maintenance and escalation in a CT. In these 34 CTs, 13 of them is negation (31.71%), 11 are posing questions (26.83%), 8 of defense (19.51%), 5 of repetition (12.20%) and 4 are interruption (9.76%). That is to say, negation is the most frequently used formats of the stage of maintenance and escalation but repetition is of the least.

Smetana and Villalobos (2009) claims the cognitive development of an individual in a particular area. Cognitive maturity means that what teenagers used to think of as something within parental authority is now something that they think should be left to their own discretion, and if parents are still trying to maintain their power, the conflict will be intensified. So, when parents use power to negate their children's thoughts, requests or rights, CTs will be escalated.

### The termination stage

Not all CTs will be terminated by agreement of both sides. Instead, the participants would try to end it neither with submitting nor with concessions (Leung, 2002). To achieve this goal, participants' linguistic choices are very important, which can initiate or terminate the CT. Detailed numbers and percentages of the termination stage are

represented in Table 3.

Here, submission is 41.67%, withdrawal for 33.33%, compromise and concession for 13.89%, third party interruption for 8.33%, humor for 2.78%. To sum up, submission might be the most frequently employed format in the CTs between parents and their kids.

To mitigate and terminate a conflict, the key factor in choices of strategies involves face issue. Thus strategy choices of speakers should diminish the degree of opponent's face threatening act and adapt to their mental, social or cultural world as far as possible out of love and understanding. Submission is one of the effective strategy choices. After disputing several turns long, one participant accepts the other's position or obeys the other's order, CT is thus resolved.

### Case study

The following analyzes three typical cases from the data to study the linguistic patterns and characteristics of CTs from the perspective of rapport management.

#### Case 1

**Turn 1:**董文洁：你说这是什么？(煽动性提问) 我正要问你呢!(Turn 1: Dong Wenjie: What do you think it is? I was going to ask you! (provoking question))

**Turn 2:**方朵：你们怎么乱翻我东西啊!这是我个人东西啊，你知不知道！(Turn 2: Fang Duo: How can you go through my things? These are my private things, you know?)

**Turn 3:**董文洁：方朵,你干什么你?你急什么你?什么叫我们乱翻你东西啊?啊?你自己扔到垃圾桶里,妈妈给你捡起来的,我不是乱翻你隐私啊!(Turn 3: Dong Wenjie: What are you doing, Fang Duo? Why are you so nervous? What do you mean we rummage through your stuff? Ah? You throw it into the trash can, and I picked it up for you. I didn't rummage your privacy!)

**Turn 4:**方朵：那是什么啊?(反问)(Turn 4: Fang Duo: What's that? (posing question))

**Turn 5:**董文洁：什么这什么呀，你扔到垃圾桶里的。方朵你别跟我横啊，你上次参加歌迷见面会，我没这么重说你吧。你现在倒好，你搞这些东西，你把你的时间，全浪费在这个上面了。这什么破东西啊，乱七八糟写的！(Turn 5: Dong Wenjie: What? You put it in the trash. Fang Duo, don't be mad. I didn't say anything you attended a fan meeting last time.

**Table 1.** Quantitative analysis of the initiation stage.

The initiation stage	Number	%	Example
Claim-Counterclaim	14	41	方朵:所以不管怎样我都要养弗兰克。(表态性陈述)(Fang Duo: So I must raise Frank. (claim) 董文洁:什么叫不管怎样你都要养啊,你不可以这样?(否定性表态)(Dong Wenjie: What do you mean you must raise Frank? You can't do that. (counter-claim))
Order- Refusal	4	12	刘梅:刘星,你给我过来。(命令)(Liu Mei: Liu Xing, come here! (order)) 刘星:不过去。(拒绝)(Liu Xing: No. (refusal))
Provoking Question - Opposing Answer	16	47	董文洁:你说这是什么?(煽动性发问)我正要问你呢!(Dong Wenjie: What do you think it is? (provoking question) I was going to ask you!) 方朵:你们怎么乱翻我东西啊!(对抗性应答)(Fang Duo: How can you go through my things? (opposing answer))
Total	34	100	

**Table 2.** Quantitative analysis of the escalation or maintenance stage.

Maintenance and escalation stage	Number	%	Example
Repetition	5	12.20	刘梅:少在这儿贫嘴。不许去,就是不许去。(重复)(Liu Mei: cut it out. I said no. No. (repetition))
Interruption	4	9.76	方圆:现在初三了,学习压力那么大,那么紧张,你这写东西,耽误。。。 (打断)(Fang Yuan: now you're in junior three. The study pressure is so great and you're so nervous. If you write things, it wastes...(interruption)) 方朵:我都说了不想提这件事了,分数是吧,现在你们满意了吧?(Fang Duo: I said I didn't want to mention it. As for the score, are you satisfied with what you saw?)
Negation	13	31.71	刘梅:害怕,害怕失去生态平衡。你看,光有老鼠没有猫,那多不平衡啊。(Liu Mei: I'm afraid, afraid of losing ecological balance. You see, all mice and no cats, how unbalanced that is.) 夏雪:不用解释了,(否定)你就是那只猫,你就是要把我变成害怕你的老鼠。(Xia Xue: You need not to explain. (negation) You are the cat. You just want to turn me into your mouse.)
Posing Questions	11	26.83	戴明明:有您这样的家长吗?(反问)不让自己的女儿读书。(Dai Mingming: Are there parents like you who doesn't allow your daughter to study? (posing question)) 戴天高:废话,再读就读到大西北去了。(Dai Tiangao: Nonsense, you would go to the Northwest.)
Defence	8	19.51	夏东海:刘星,你这好奇心,怎么越来越重了。(Xia Donghai: Liu Xing, why are you so curious?) 刘星:我这不是好心关心他们吗?真的是好赖都不懂。(辩解)(Liu Xing: I just care about them. You don't know the good heart. (defense))
Total	41	100	

Now, you're doing all this stuff. You're wasting all your time on it. What a piece of shit!

**Turn 6:**方朵:破东西,浪费时间?你们眼里除了成绩还有什么啊?(反问)出去!出去!(Turn 6: Fang Duo:

What a waste of time? What else do you care besides grades (posing question)? Out! Get out!

**Turn 7:**爸爸:好好好,朵朵,朵朵。你先出去,你先站外面(对海清说的)。爸爸跟你说,朵朵,朵朵,

**Table 3.** Quantitative analysis of the termination stage.

The termination stage	Number	%	Example
Compromise and concession	5	13.89	张亮忠:行了, 这事儿就算过去了。(Zhang Liangzhong: Ok, let it go.) 张小宇:行吧, 行吧, 行吧。(妥协) (Zhang Xiaoyu: ok, ok, ok. (compromise))
Withdrawal	12	33.33	张小宇:行啊你, 老张, 她诬陷我, 你都不向着我说一句话, 你还向着她, 你眼睛里只有这个坏女人, 我告诉你, 你跟她才是一家人, 我是外人, 行行行, 我走, 我走, 你们落清静, 我走。(退出) (Zhang Xiaoyu: fine, Old Zhang, she framed me. But you do not say any word for me. You can only see this bad woman. I tell you, your family only include her and you, not me. Fine, I'll go to leave quiet for you. (withdrawal))
Third Party Interruption	3	8.33	董文洁:你这么跟妈妈说话是吗?好好, 朵朵, 你这么跟妈妈说话是不是?(Dong Wenjie:Do you talk to your mother in this way? Well, Duoduo, you talk to me like that, don't you?) 方爸:好好。(拉走) (第三方介入) (Fang Yuan: Ok. (away) (the third party interruption))
Humor	1	2.78	刘星:妈, 您别打呀, 您要给他们打, 他们肯定认为是我指使的您。妈, 您就同意吧, 我们班同学, 都说您刀子嘴豆腐心, 您是豆腐脑做的。(Liu Xing: mama, don't call please. They would know that's my idea if you call them. Mom, please. our classmates all said that your mind gets angry but your heart still cares. You are just like uncongealed tofu.) 刘梅:啊?我什么做的, 我什么做的。(Liu Mei: ah? What?) 刘星:我说我们今天年夜饭准备吃豆腐脑。(幽默)(Liu Xing: I said that we'll prepare uncongealed tofu for the New Year's eve meal.(humorous reply))
Submission	15	41.67	刘梅:你说你怎么那么欠哪你, 怎么一天到晚弄碎玻璃啊。你从小到大我给你赔了多少玻璃钱, 啊, 怎么那么讨厌呀你。你有能耐你弄自己家玻璃呀!(Liu Mei: Why are you so terrible? You break glasses all day long. How much many I compensate for the broken glassess? Ah? Why don't you break our glasses?) 刘星:不敢我。(屈服) (Liu xing: I can't. (submission))
Total	36	100	

朵朵。(被关出门外)(Turn 7: Dad: Ok, Ok. You go out first. You stand outside first. Have a talk with Daddy, DuoDuo? (Shut out the door))

**Turn 8:**董文洁:方朵,你给我开门,你太过分了,你给我把门开开来。方朵,我数三下,你给我把门开开来。方朵,你要是不把门打开的话,我告诉你,我就去找小宇他爸,我看小宇他爸不揍死他。(Turn 8: Dong Wenjie: Fang Duo, open the door! You're out of line. Open the door for me. Fang Duo, you open the door for me on the count of three. Fang duo, if you don't open the door, I will tell Xiaoyu's father what has happened. I guess he must beat him to death.)

**Turn 9:**方朵:你要是这么说的话,别认我这个女儿。(屈服)(Turn 9: Fang Duo: If you do that, I'm not your daughter any more.) (A Love For Separation, 2015, E06)

In the background of this example, Fang Duo entered into her bedroom, finding her parents, Dong Wenjie and Fang Yuan were rummaging around in the drawer.

In Turn 1, Dong Wenjie raised a provoking question to

show her anger when she saw Fang Duo's fiction written by herself. Fang Duo did not answer her but payed more attention to her private right. In Turn 3, Dong Wenjie gave three opposing questions to scold Fang Duo's bad attitude and claimed that she did not rummage her private things. But Fang Duo did not believe, thinking that her parents have seen her fiction. In Turn 5, Dong Wenjie said that Fang Duo spent more time in unimportant things but not study and that what she wrote is worth nothing. She denied Fang Duo's ability in writing novels and threatened her quality face. In Turn 6, Fang Duo opposed that study is the only thing her parents focused on and asked them to get out of her bedroom. In these several turns, Fang Duo and Dong Wenjie both used language to challenge or even destroy the harmonious relationship. In Turn 7, Fang Yuan wanted to coordinate between his wife and daughter, but he was also closed out of the bedroom. In Turn 8, Dong Wenjie ordered Fang Duo to open the door. Otherwise, she would let Zhang Liangzhong know what Zhang Xiaoyu did. In this way, she threatened Fang Duo's equality right. In Turn 9, Fang Duo retorted that "if you did that, I would not be your daughter".

According to Zhao Yingling, a CT consists of the initiation stage, maintenance and escalation stage and the termination stage. This CT is triggered by Dong

Wenjie's provoking question "你说这是什么? (What do you think it is?)", maintained by Fang Duo's opposing question and terminated by Dong Wenjie's submission, which is a failed talk because Dong Wenjie's identity, a mother was threatened and the end format is unfavorable to establish a harmonious family atmosphere.

The cause of the above CT is greatly related to the unequal relationship between Chinese parents and children. In China, parents pay little attention to children's privacy, and they manage to know everything about their children so they can make sure that their kids are on the right way. However, their kids would be disgusted with what they did. Thus, CTs can be initiated between teenagers and parents. In addition, Chinese parents pay a lot of attention to children's study performance and usually deny their children wholly only because of their bad performance in study. And parents would limit their freedom for this reason. They hope their kids could be absorbed in study so that they would make progress and get a satisfactory result. This study suggests Chinese parents emphasize more on their children's personality development rather than good grades, given their children are able to adapt to various environments, to live independently, to deal with the relationship between friends. So, based on such an idea, children's personality development has become a more important issue for Chinese parents.

## Case 2

**Turn 1:** 蒂娜: 你先订正, 我再签字. (Turn 1: Tina: You revise it first and I'll sign it then.)

**Turn 2:** 张小宇: 我这不着急打架子鼓没功夫吗? (Turn 2: Zhang Xiaoyu: I have no time since I'm in a hurry to play drum?)

**Turn 3:** 蒂娜: 不行, 我前几次给你签字都被你爸教训了, 我再给你签, 我得顶多大鸭梨啊. (Turn 3: Tina: no, I can't. Your father blamed me for my signing several times before. I'll be under great pressure to sign it for you again.)

**Turn 4:** 张小宇: 你告诉他干吗呀, 我要想让他知道, 我还找你签干什么呀? (煽动性发问) (Turn 4: Zhang Xiaoyu: Why do you tell him? If I gonna let him know, why did I ask you to sign? (provoking question))

**Turn 5:** 蒂娜: 他是不小心看到的, 我不是故意的. (Turn 5: Tina: He saw it by accident. I didn't mean to.)

**Turn 6:** 张小宇: 你就是故意的, (否定) 刘蒂娜, 你这个人怎么这样, 你诚心给我搞黑状, 你还真把你当我妈是吧, 咱俩一平等关系, 你帮我, 我帮你, 咱俩和谐

友爱, 你怎么就摆不正你自己的位置呢, 你给句话你到底签不签? (Turn 6: Zhang Xiaoyu: You are definitely deliberate, (negation) Tina Liu, how can you do that? You backstabbed me. Do you really treat yourself as my mother? We are equal and should be supportive so we can be harmonious. Why can't you just put yourself in the right place? Sign it or not?)

**Turn 7:** 蒂娜: 我不签, 张小宇, 我就算不是你妈, 也是你长辈, 你怎么说话呢? (Turn 7: Tina: I won't sign it, Zhang Xiaoyu. Though I'm not your mother, I'm the elder. How can you talk like that?)

**Turn 8:** 张小宇: 长辈, 你可别扯了, (否定) 我十五了, 你有二十五吗, 你才比我大几岁, 在这儿充长辈, 你跟我爸站一块儿, 知道的是老夫少妻, 不知道的还以为, 姑娘伺候爹呢, 咱俩最后落一平辈. (Turn 8: Zhang Xiaoyu: Elder? Please! (Negation) I am 15. Are you 25? You are just older a few years than me. When you stand together with my dad, people who know would think that you're chronophilia, but those who don't would think that you're the daughter of my father. We are peers.)

**Turn 9:** 蒂娜: 张小宇, 给我站住! (Turn 9: Tina: Zhang Xiaoyu, stop!)

**Turn 10:** 张小宇: 怎么着, 你还想打我, 我告诉你, 刘蒂娜, 我就不订正, 我就拼命地打鼓, 你最好别在老张那里给我闹什么幺蛾子, 不信抬头看, 苍天饶过谁. (走掉) (退出) (Turn 10: Zhang Xiaoyu: What? Do you want to beat me? I tell you, Tina Liu. I won't revise it and I will desperately play drum. You'd better not backstab me. Evil will be recompensed with evil. (leave away) (withdrawal)) (A Love For Separation, 2015, E09)

In the above example, Zhang Xiaoyu hoped that his step-mother, Liu Dina could sign her name on his paper so that he would not be scolded by his father. But his father, Zhang Liangzhong already knew the fact by accident. This CT is triggered by Zhang Xiaoyu's provoking question "你告诉他干吗呀, 我要想让他知道,

我还找你签干什么呀? (Why do you tell him? If I gonna let him know, why did I ask you to sign?)" He asked Liu Tina why she told his father.

In Turn 5, Liu Dina explained that it was not her fault because Zhang Liangzhong saw the picture of the paper accidentally. However, Zhang Xiaoyu negated that Liu Dina imparted the secret to his father deliberately. Negation is often used by speakers to express disagreement as well as refusal, which makes it threaten the hearer's both face management and sociality rights

management. It can be achieved by simple negatives, such as no, not to be, not right, do not and so on. Negation will usually make CT move on. In the second underlined turn, Liu Dina thought that she should be treated respectfully because of her identity as a step-mother. But Zhang Xiaoyu negated her identity, mocking her young age. Generally speaking, all the negatives escalate the CT thus their relationship ended on a sour note.

This CT terminated by Zhang Xiaoyu's withdrawal “不信抬头看，苍天饶过谁(Evil will be recompensed with evil)”, which is a relatively unhappy talk because Zhang Xiaoyu refused to do what Dina said and walked away.

The causes for the conflict between parents and teenagers can be partly explained by the influence of culture. In Chinese culture, the relation between a child and a step-mother is really difficult to deal with especially when the step-mother is younger than his mum. For the kid, he/she has to accept a stranger as his/her mother. Maybe he would be hostile to the step-mother because he is afraid that the step-mother would treat him badly. For the step-mother, maybe she would not treat the step-son and her own child equally for benefits or blood relation. Thus CTs between them are relatively severe. And parents would always stress that their position is higher than their kids and they have more power than their kids, so kids should be obedient to them. When the kids have their own thoughts, parents would use their identity to control kids. Thus CTs would be caused because children's equality right and sociality right are threatened.

### Case 3

**Turn1:**刘星:你怎么能为了玩儿不学习呢?你要有问题呢,老师同学都不在身边,你要有问题你问谁去啊? (**Turn 1:** Liu Xing: how can you choose entertainment instead of study? If you have any questions, whom could you turn to when teachers and classmates are not here?)

**Turn2:**刘梅:你还敢说人家呢你,你能说人家吗?你有资格吗你?(煽动性发问) (**Turn 2:** Liu Mei: Do you have a say here? (provoking question))

**Turn3:**夏雪:妈,我是不是错了。 (**Turn 3:** Xia Xue: Mom, I'm wrong?)

**Turn4:**刘梅:也不能算有什么错,你说的也有道理,就是看书都能看懂,何必耽误你玩儿的时间呢?你回屋吧,回屋休息去吧。走走走,快走,上补习课去。 (**Turn 4:** Liu Mei: No, you're right. Since you have already had a good command of your study, why not have fun? Go to your bedroom and have a relax. Go, go, go, have your after-school classes).

**Turn5:**刘星:干吗呀,凭什么呀。凭什么她能旷课我不能旷啊?(反问) (**Turn 5:** Liu Xing: Wait! Why? Why can she skip the class and I can't? (posing question))

**Turn6:**刘梅:你跟她能比吗? (**Turn 6:** Liu Mei: Do you think you are the same with her?)

**Turn7:**刘星:我怎么不能和她比啊?同样的家庭,同样的父母,同一件事她对的我就是错的呀。我看书还能学会呢。我还不不想浪费玩儿的时间呢,凭什么呀。(辩解) (**Turn 7:** Liu Xing: why can't I compete with her? The same family, the same parents, and the same thing, why is she right but am I wrong? I could still study. I even didn't want to waste my time on playing. Why? (defense))

**Turn8:**刘梅:你,你还。。。 (**Turn 8:** Liu Mei: you, you ...)

**Turn9:**夏雪:妈,真的是我让刘星这么做的。 (**Turn 9:** Xia Xue: Mom, it's really I that let Liu Xing do this.)

**Turn10:**刘梅:你看看,你姐姐怎么袒护你,替你承担责任,你呢? (**Turn10:** Liu Mei: look, your sister protects you and takes responsibility for you. What about you?)

**Turn11:**刘星:我怎么了。 (**Turn 11:** Liu Xing: What about me?)

**Turn12:**刘梅:你刚才说什么来着。 (**Turn 12:** Liu Mei: what did you say?)

**Turn13:**刘星:说什么了。 (**Turn 13:** Liu Xing: What did I say?)

**Turn14:**夏雪:妈,真的是我让他这么做的。 (**Turn 14:** Xia Xue: Mom, I really made him do this.)

**Turn15:**刘梅:你别替他说话,你回屋歇着去。 (**Turn 15:** Liu Mei: You don't have to explain for him. Go back to your bedroom and have a rest.)

**Turn16:**刘星:我今儿就不去了,我看你能把我怎么样。(屈服) (**Turn 16:** Liu Xing: I won't go anywhere today. What can you do? (submission).) (Home With Kids, 2004, S02E73).

In the above example, Liu Xing's sister, Xia Xue did not plan to go to the after-school class. Liu Xing tried to persuade Xia Xue because she can turn to her teachers and classmates for help there. However, Liu Xing's mother, Liu Mei thought that it is fine if Xia Xue does not go to the class and that Liu Xing must go.

In Turn 2, Liu Mei raised several provoking questions “你还敢说人家呢你,你能说人家吗?你有资格吗你? (Do you have a say here?)” to tell Liu Xing that he cannot teach his sister how to do for his own bad performance in study. In this way, Liu Xing's quality face was threatened

because his mother was doubtful about his ability in study. In Turn 3, Xia Xue asked Liu Mei if she was wrong. In Turn 4, Liu Mei comforted Xia Xue, making her come back to her bedroom for a rest but required Liu Xing goes to the class. In Turn 5, Liu Xing proposed his dissatisfaction “干吗呀，凭什么呀。凭什么她能旷课我不能旷啊？(Wait! Why? Why can she skip the class and I can't?)” with posing questions. In Turn 6, Liu Mei gave the reason that Liu Xing cannot compete with Xia Xue. Then Liu Xing's equality right was threatened because Liu Mei treated them unfairly. In Turn 7, Liu Xing defended for himself that he was not worse than his sister since they have the same family background. In Turn 8 to Turn 15, Xia Xue explained that it was her fault because she asked Liu Xing to do that. In Turn 16, Liu Xing claimed that he would not go to the after-school class.

This CT is triggered by Liu Mei's provoking question, maintained by Liu Xing's opposing question and terminated by Liu Mei's submission, which is a failed talk because Liu Mei had no way to ask Liu Xing go to the class and the end format is unfavorable to establish a harmonious family atmosphere.

The CT reflects the typical attitude of parents toward their children with a poor performance in study. Chinese parents often compare and contrast their children with neighbors' children, friends' children, and their peers, and even with other children from the city or the country. Chinese parents want to encourage their children by others' achievements, but they ignore a Chinese proverb, saying that "behind an able man there are always other able men". Blind comparison and contrast will result in their children's confidence lost. This study suggests Chinese parents make longitudinal comparisons of their children's own growth. And they should not be too stingy to praise their children. Parents' encouragement accompanies the children's development, so their children will have more confidence in themselves. Although parents are eager for their children's winning, but they will not show it obviously. What they should be after is their children's incomparable beauty and rich inner world, but not their own vanity.

## DISCUSSION

On the basis of the primary data collected from two Chinese TV serials, this paper analyses the linguistic patterns of CTs between parents and teenagers combined with employing rapport management theory to provide a qualitative analyses. Some findings with regard to initiation, maintenance and termination stages of CTs between parents and teenagers are thus presented.

Firstly, by collecting the CTs data from two Chinese TV series *A Love for Separation* and *Home with Kids* and analyzing the examples, the study finds out that claim-counter claim and provoking question-opposing answer

are two main speech acts that easily initiate parent-teenager CTs. The three main speech acts that can escalate or maintain parent-teenager CTs are negation, posing questions and defense. Submission, withdrawal, compromise and concession are the three main methods to terminate a parent-teenager CT.

Secondly, parent-teenager CTs can be caused by the following two reasons. One is that the parents threaten their children's face, quality face or identity face. The other one is that parents limit their children's sociality right, asking them to pay more attention to their study. When parents and teenagers do not desire to enhance or maintain the relationship, CTs would happen. Once the CT is initiated, if one side attempts to neglect or destroy the relationship, then the CT would be escalated. What is more, when the Utterer's voice has a provoking intonation, CTs are more likely to be initiated. The rhetorical question is a question without doubt, which is used by the hearer to express the negation of what the speaker said with the meaning of criticism and dissatisfaction.

In this special period, teenagers feel that they have grown up and can get rid of the control of their parents. They have their own ideas and think that everything they say and whatever they do are all right. Therefore, once parents object their offer, they would feel their face or rights are challenged. In fact, at this stage, the leadership pattern that parents and children get along with each other previously should be transferred to the pattern that friends get on with. Instead of trying to control their children with the old mindset of "you must listen to me", "I'm doing it for your own good" and "you're too young to understand many things", parents should be like friends, listening to their thoughts, understanding their wishes, and giving advice based on their own experience. If parents don't change themselves, blindly denying the child, they will find that the communication with the child will be less and arguments will be more, thus forming a vicious circle.

Of course, parent-teenager CTs cannot be completely avoided. What we need to do is to reduce the harm caused by CTs. When the CTs occur, both sides have to try to think twice before speaking. Once you say something that hurts the other party's face or rights, you should explain yourself in time and apologize to the other party to avoid the intensification of the CTs. Once a CT has formed, both sides should try to resolve it. As the saying goes, never could father and son be enemies. Parents and teenagers can not resort to cold violence, ignoring each other. They should take the initiative to give each other a step down. Sometimes a call can let the child feel warm and let parents feel pleased.

## Limitations

Firstly, the data chosen from this paper do not come from

real life but from Chinese TV series. Although to some extent, these two Chinese TV series show the general situation between parents and their children in China nowadays, they are not so authentic due to dramatic effects. Secondly, since CTs are dynamic, many variables, such as age, gender, living environment, education level, life experience and so on, were not discussed in detail. Last but not the least, the paper only collected a total of 34 examples from two TV series which can be enriched to prove the findings more convincingly. With a larger data, the paper can analyze them from different perspective.

## CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The authors have not declared any conflict of interests.

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*Full Length Research Paper*

# **The role of the ancient Egyptians' beliefs in the afterlife in preserving the ancient Egyptian cultural heritage**

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The ancient Egyptians preserved their tangible cultural heritage through their burial rituals. The scientific study of the material-objects found in the Egyptian tombs helped researchers to excavate, preserve, study and attempt to interpret the Egyptian cultures. Contemporary Africans do not or they rarely bury their dead with many items as the ancient Egyptians did. This research compares the reasons for the Egyptian preservation of their cultural heritage through burials with those of contemporary Africans. The primary purpose of this research is to explain the contribution of mummification and modern Egyptology in the preservation of the ancient Egyptian cultural heritage, and secondarily, to compare the perception of contemporary Africans on the preservation of their afterlife cultural heritage with those of the ancient Egyptians.

**Key words:** Afterlife beliefs, archaeology, Egyptology, excavation, intangible cultural heritage, tangible cultural heritage, sites.

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **Conceptualization of cultural heritage**

The ancient Egyptians had elaborative burial rituals which can be justified due to their afterlife beliefs. They had to bury their dead with small and large items with a view according to which the dead went on a journey. The afterlife beliefs of the ancient Egyptians enabled them to preserve their cultural heritage firstly, for themselves to use during their afterlife journeys and secondly for their progenies to locate their important places or historical sites and items for rituals and to continue to practice what was assumed to be a respected ritual regarding the dead (cf. Jordan 1976:147). If their practices of mummification and other burial rituals suggest their own careful way of

preserving their cultural heritage, it thus becomes pertinent to link the meaning of cultural heritage with the Egyptian afterlife beliefs. The aim is to evaluate the role of their afterlife beliefs in preserving their cultural heritage.

The word *culture* has distinctive definitions according to an individual's profession (Rouhi, 2017: 7109). Hoppers defined culture as the activities pertaining to "training, development and refinement of [the] mind, taste and manners" (Hoppers, 2004: 1-2). He noted that the word culture might have originated from the Latin word which could be likened to the words *tending* or *cultivating*. In other word, Hoppers suggested that culture is a form of human development that is learnt within a period of

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time and is passed-on from generation to generation. In his view, culture is generally a way of life of a group of people (Hoppers, 2004: 2-5). Richard and Boyd noted that culture is as ancient as the origins of humans and that the environment is a major influencer that shapes the human culture (Richerson and Boyd, 2014: 1-5).

Delafosse said that the period through which the African culture originated is not known reason being that Africans in antiquity did not record how their culture originated (Delafosse, 1931: xxv-2). Notwithstanding, Oyebade emphasized that Africans had other means of preserving and teaching or communicating their own culture or knowledge to future generations. He mentioned that oral tradition, poetry, songs, proverbs, crafts, legends, rituals, folk songs, ceremonies, myths, folk tales are some means among which Africans preserved their culture (Oyebade, 2004: 52). In summary, culture is a *tangible* and *intangible* practice that is generated, sustained, preserved, refurbished and highly cherished or classified as sacred among a group of people and is transmitted from generation to generation.

Before the twentieth century, heritage used to be regarded simply as the residue of the past with an emphasis on tangible or physical remains that represented a nation's past glory (Kamel Ahmed, 2015: 67-68). The twenty-first century perception of heritage also involves the preservation of intangible remains of the past and this was emphasized during the UNESCO Convention of 2003 (Selicato, 2016: 8). Ehab pointed that the two major components that pertained to heritage are firstly, the remains itself and secondly, the management of the remains together with its interpretation and its significance to the people at present (Kamel Ahmed, 2015: 67-68). While heritage has an emphasis on location, more formal collective preservation of artefacts, national and international attraction, culture has lesser of these features. There are two sources regarding the origin of the word heritage. Firstly, Francesco Selicato said that the word *heritage* originated from the Latin word *patrimonium*, a word with two significant meanings: *pater* (father) and *munus* (duty). This suggests that heritage means *the duty of the father or things belonging to the father* and inherited by future generations (Selicato, 2016: 7).

Secondly, Rouhi said that the word heritage originates from the Latin word *hereditagium* which means anything that is inherited. Hereditary succession and the rights to inheritance dominate the conceptualization of heritage according to Rouhi (Rouhi, 2017: 7110). Both Selicato and Rouhi's definitions of heritage emphasized the passing of supposedly sacred items and beliefs systems to other generations as key to the conceptualization of heritage. The meaning of heritage has now developed to not only what is inherited from a father, but to the beliefs and unique natural geographical sites that is valued by a community. It can therefore be deduced that *cultural heritage* means the conservation, the preservation and

the study of a way of life of a group of people that is transmitted from one generation unto the other. The referred way of life could be represented through tangible or material objects and also through intangible or immaterial objects.

The ancient Egyptians for example preserved their dead alongside certain items. They thought that the practice of the afterlife beliefs was sacred. Because of their acts of preservation, the future generations of the Egyptians saw what their ancestor believed and current researchers on Egypt also benefits from the Egyptian preservation methods by excavating and by studying their artefacts. Agai noted that the most accessible sources of information obtained about the ancient Egyptians were obtained mostly from their tombs (Agai, 2015: 429). This research contends that the various objects found in the Egyptian tombs and the existence of the Egyptians pyramids are few examples among many mediums through which the ancient Egyptians preserved their cultural heritage. The question of how and when the Egyptians began to preserve their cultural heritage through burial rituals is significant in this research. Mummification, other burial rituals and the rise of the 17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century archaeological excavations in Egypt contributed to the excavation and the preservation of the Egyptian cultural heritage. In conclusion, it is discussed the implications of the Egyptian methods of preserving their cultural heritage through their afterlife beliefs on the present-day African society.

## ORIGINS OF THE AFTERLIFE BELIEFS

The beliefs in the afterlife are responsible for generating various forms of burial rituals among many cultures. It is not precisely known how and when the beliefs in the afterlife became a norm among modern humans. Most scholars rather ascertained that the Neanderthals originated the afterlife beliefs together with burial rituals among early and modern humans. The remains of a 60,000 year old Neanderthal had been found in Shanidar in Iraq. The remains contained clusters of fossil pollen which shows that flowers of white, yellow and blue colours were carefully arranged alongside the body of the deceased. The remains of a teenage boy believed to be a Neanderthal had also been found in Moustier in France. The child was buried with his head resting on his arms, a pile of flints lay under his head and a beautiful stone axe lay near his hand. Surrounding him were the bones of wild cattle (Leakey, 1982: 57). Scholars like Leakey, Carrington, MacGregor and Hultkrantz believed that the Neanderthals burial practices suggest the first kinds of humans to have believed in the afterlife (Leakey, 1982: 57; Hultkrantz, 1982: 24; MacGregor, 1992: 55-56; Carrington, 1965: 108). It is likely that the Neanderthals buried their dead with items and with elaborative ceremonies because they believed in the afterlife: By

now, discovery after discovery has shown that these ancient people [Neanderthals] are due to the honour accorded human pioneers, for they inaugurated some of the activities and beliefs that are considered most characteristic of mankind. The Neanderthal conceived life after death (Constable, 1973: 97).

It is at present not clear how the Egyptians began to believe in the afterlife. Jordan said that the remains of early humans in the form of Australopithecus to Homo erectus and the Neanderthals have not been found in Egypt (Jordan, 1976: 28). This view is further supported by Redford who noted that humans began to occupy Egypt only when they had developed the skills to produce objects and cognitively transform their environments. He suggested that modern humans were likely the pioneers of Egypt over 350, 000 years (Redford, 2006: 11). Burland also reiterated that the first humans to occupy Egypt were Stone Age humans' and thus modern humans (Burland, 1957: 12-13). Agai said that while scanty presence of Chellean and Acheulian objects has been found in Egypt, there are little or no evidence to support the view according to which those objects were used by early humans. He suggested that modern humans are likely the first to have occupied Egypt (Agai, 2013:7). If the view that Neanderthals originated the afterlife beliefs is true, it thus suggests that modern humans originated the afterlife beliefs in Egypt.

## **PRESERVATION OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CULTURAL HERITAGE**

### **Contribution of mummification**

The writing of the full history of Egypt cannot be completed without highlighting the developments that transpired along the Nile Valley which was associated with crop production and with the resurrection of the dead. Murnane suggested that the idea of Heaven as a place of crop production could be linked to the farming activities of the Nile (Murnane, 1992: 36). Around the end of the Old Kingdom period, the activity of god Osiris was connected with the natural seasonal cycles of the Egyptian Nile (Jordan, 1976: 146; El-Shahawy, 2005: 73). This background is relevant for this research because the idea of the resurrection of the dead contributed to necessitating mummification (Agai, 2013: 55-60).

In addition, mummification contributed to shaping the Egyptians views regarding the afterlife. Partridge mentioned that the initial purpose of mummification was associated with sanitation and within a period of time preservation (Partridge, 1994: 10). Mummification is therefore important because it contributed to the preservation of the Egyptians cultural heritage. Using modern techniques to study mummified bodies gave researchers firsthand information regarding many cultures of the Egyptians especially their views of the afterlife (Spronk, 1986: 55-57). Through the study of

mummified bodies, it is now learnt that the Egyptians offered food to their dead (Davies, 1997: 27); they also buried their dead especially wealthy individuals with images, amulets and sculptures or statues that represented the servants who were buried alongside their leaders (Rensberg and Eck, 2008: 1510; Jordan, 1976: 144-145). Through the study of mummified bodies, scholars now know that the Egyptians glorified their mummified deceased bodies as *sah* in heaven (Spronk, 1986: 90) and that cremation was not or was rarely practiced in ancient Egypt (Scheffler, 2000: 123). Because the Egyptians preserved their cultural heritage through the practice of mummification, there are many archaeological findings that were made and that reveals the beliefs systems of the Egyptians.

In addition, Herodotus, the historian of Halicarnassus (c. 484- 420 BCE) visited Egypt during the Saite Period and he recorded what he came across including how the Egyptians were mummified (Tyldesley, 2005: 27). Though evidence is difficult to come by, individual researchers may not rule-out a possible interest and preservation of the Egyptian cultural heritage by foreigners who invaded Egypt. The invasion of Egypt by Napoleon attests to the supposition that ancient peoples particularly the Semitic Peoples might have preserved the Egyptian cultural heritage. Mummification and the Egyptian burial processions which supported the burial of individuals with items contributed to the preservation of the Egyptian cultural heritage.

### **Contribution of Egyptology**

There is a link between Egyptology and the acts of the preservation of the Egyptian cultural heritage. Scales defined Egyptology as the scientific reading of the Khamitian culture, history and archaeological remains found in Egypt (Scales, 1995: 11). There is a tradition among some Egyptologists according to which Tuthmosis IV and Prince Khaemwaset are regarded as the *world's first Egyptologists* simply because they preserved and restored the remains of their ancestors. It may be recalled that Tuthmosis IV, the younger son of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty King Amenhotep II cleared away sand and repaired the broken statue of Hor-em-akhet, the god of the Sphinx while Prince Khaemwaset, the fourth son of Ramesses II cleared sand, repaired and restored the neglected ancient pyramid cemeteries of Sakkara and Giza (Tyldesley, 2005: 21-22).

However, Tyldesley said that Tuthmosis IV and Prince Khaemwaset might not have been the first Egyptologists because they were other Egyptians leaders that preserved Egyptians artefacts before them. He said that King Djoser, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty king stored certain galleries beneath his Sakkara Step Pyramid. Among the items stored by King Djoser are 40, 000 old stone vessels and cups together with some inscribed names of the 1<sup>st</sup> and

the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty pharaohs (Tyldesley, 2005: 22-23). King Djoser's interest in preserving artefacts led him to build a step-mastaba or step-pyramid of about 204 feet using stone that were cut in the Old Kingdom Period (Schwantes, 1969: 58). In addition, during the Second Intermediate Period, the monuments of Hatshepsut's father were destroyed. Hatshepsut, an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty female king is said to have boasted of restoring the monuments. An inscription carved on the Speos Artemidos, a temple dedicated to the lion goddess Pakhet in Middle Egypt expressed her joy of this achievement of restoring her ancestor's legacies:

I have done these things by the device of my heart. I have never slumbered as one forgetful, but have made strong what was decayed. I have raised up what was dismembered, even from the first time when the Asiatics were in Avaris of the North Land, with roving hordes in the midst of them overthrowing what had been made... (Tyldesley, 2005: 22-23).

It is likely that before the formal rise of Egyptology from the 17<sup>th</sup> century AD together with some Egyptians and foreigners that invaded Egypt led to the preservation of some Egyptian cultural heritage. There are certain individuals whose role to the rise of Egyptology will be discussed in this research: Napoleon Bonaparte, Gaston Maspero, and Howard Carter. There are three major contributions of Egyptology to the preservation of the Egyptian cultural heritage. Egyptology contributes to the uncovering, the preservation and the study of the Egyptian cultural heritage. Napoleon is neither an Egyptologist nor an archaeologist yet his contribution to the study of the Egyptian cultural heritage deserved to be recognized (Jeffreys, 2003: 1).

In May 19, 1798, Napoleon alongside 17, 000 troops and 700 horses, and about 150 scientists and engineers together with 300 Maltese travelled to Egypt and arrived at Alexandria on July 1, 1798 (Tyldesley, 2005: 43-44, 47). The team Napoleon went to Egypt with a group of professionals labeled *Commission des Sciences et Arts d'Egypte*. The professionals were scientists and they include a band of 167 scholars (Gallagher, 2015:3). The professionals comprised 4 astronomers, 4 economists, 3 botanists, 3 zoologists, 3 pharmacists, 3 painters, 3 archaeologists, 52 engineers, 8 surgeons, 11 surveyors, 7 chemists, 6 interpreters, 2 writers, 2 musicians, 1 engraver, and 1 sculptor, 5 architects, 5 designers, 5 printers, 4 mineralogists and the rest were students (Tyldesley, 2005:43-44, 47). A unique feature about the study of Egypt before Napoleon is that it was individualistic and antiquarian in nature not gathering a crowd of researchers/scientists as it was during Napoleon's time (Jeffreys, 2003: 1).

The French led by Napoleon waged war against the Mamelukes and they defeated them. The Mamelukes was the military-wing that started to rule Egypt after the

Turkish Ottomans conquered and handed over Egypt to them in 1517 (Gallagher 2015: 1). In August 23, 1799, Napoleon left Egypt for France after suffering a defeat from Britain and Ottoman rulers in Egypt (Tyldesley, 2005:46). Thirty-four of Napoleon's soldiers perished in Egypt. Those that did not die and returned to France dedicated their lives to the study of the Egyptian heritage through the artefacts they took to France (Brier, 2013:60). Napoleon set-up a library so that the monuments, hieroglyphs, plants remains, artefacts and other materials they found in Egypt might be studied. He founded the *Institut d'Egypte*, described as the first world Egyptological Society in August 21, 1798. The society was grouped into four disciplines: mathematics, physics, political economy and arts (Tyldesley, 2015: 49). Brier said that Napoleon's initiatives which brought about a formal study of Egypt marked the beginning of formal Egyptology: "It was a severe case of Egyptomania, but even more important, it marks the beginning of scientific Egyptology" (Brier, 2013: 50).

Other things that made Napoleon popular were his finding of the Rosetta stone in July 1799 in the Nile Delta. The Rosetta stone written in 196 BCE and it inscribed a thank you message from the priest of Egypt to Pharaoh Ptolemy V who subsidized taxes for the Egyptians (Brier, 2013: 56-57). One of Napoleon's members of staff by the names Denon Vivant returned to France and published *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt* in 1802. Other editions of a similar publication were produced in different languages by Vivant. The publication of Denon Vivant also included some drawings of Egypt and Brier noted that "the drawing Denon had provided the first accurate depiction of Egypt that Europe had ever seen" (Brier, 2013: 60). Another publications led by Napoleon included the voluminous *Description de l'Egypte* (Brier, 2013: 60; Tyldesley, 2005: 50). The contribution of Napoleon to the uncovering, to the study and the preservation of the Egyptian cultural heritage are insurmountable.

Gaston Maspero who taught Egyptian language at the College de France from 1869 to 1874 also found the deformed mummy of Ramses II in July 5, 1881. The research interest started when he and other archaeologist travelled to Egypt in November 1880 to conduct archaeological reaches at the order of the government of France. Maspero contributed immensely to the founding of the prestigious Egyptian Museum in 1902 and the French Institute of Oriental Archaeology. He was born in Paris on 23 June 1846 and died on 20 June 1916 (Scheffler, 2000: 121). Some scholars believe that the marred mummy of Ramses II found by Maspero is the actual body of the biblical Pharaoh of Exodus 1:11 who enslaved the Israelites and led to their mass departures from Egypt. This link was established due to the findings on the stele of Merneptah or the Victory Stele found by W.F. Petrie in 1896. The stele suggests that Merneptah was the father of Ramses II who ruled Egypt around 1304-1237 BCE (Scheffler, 2000: 121). Patrick

Clark mentioned that there are interpretive misunderstandings in the comparative study of the Ramses II and the Victory Stele (Clarke, 2013: 57).

The British Egyptologist Howard Carter around 1922 and 1923 made some archaeological discoveries in ancient Thebes, on the west bank of the Nile River. He made the finding in a place popularly referred to as *the Valley of the Kings* which was a burial site for the New Kingdom Pharaohs around 1539-1078 BCE (Scheffler, 2000: 117). Carter found a sealed tomb at the valley and discovered the mummified remains of Tutankhamen, a Pharaoh who ruled Egypt for nine years (1361 and 1352 BCE). The tomb had more than 2000 funerary items some of which are three golden funerary couches in the shape of animals, ivory game boards' and boxes of funerary figures. In the burial chamber were found two statues that represented the Pharaoh's *Ka* (Scheffler, 2000: 117, 119).

Inside the burial chamber were four shrines covering the sarcophagus with its three inlaid coffins made of gold in the image of Tutankhamen. Next to the burial chamber was another room guarded by Anubis (a jackal-god whose job was to protect the embalmed deceased). This room contained canopic jars which were guarded by the goddesses Serket, Isis, Nephthys and Neith. One of the most unique items found by Carter was the beautiful mask that covered the face of Tutankhamen. The mask was made up of beaten gold and is measured about 54 x 39 cm and weighed 11 kg together with a necklace collar which consists of rows of lapis lazuli, colored glass beads, quartz and amazonite. The eyes of the mask are made of quartz and obsidian while the eye-lids consist of inlaid blue glass. The brow is made in the shape of a vulture head and the *uraeus* (sacred serpent). The mask also has a plaited beard which turns up at the end and is made up of colored glass held in a framework of gold (Scheffler, 2000: 117, 119). The archeological findings made by Napoleon, Maspero and Carter have contributed to the excavation, the study and the preservation of the Egyptian cultural heritage especially with regard to the afterlife. The mummy of Ramses I found by Maspero is for example kept at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo for view and research (Scheffler, 2000: 121). Without these and many other archaeological findings in Egypt, the knowledge we have about the Egyptian cultural heritage will not have been profound.

### **Implications for the contemporary African-society**

Africa is a continent with millions of people and with diversity of languages, economy, history, political systems, religions and culture which include various initiation and burial rites. There are about 55 countries in Africa and each country has various ethnic nationalities (Agai, 2018:85-99). Mbiti and Bond noted that despite the cultural diversities in Africa, the beliefs in the afterlife are

seemingly similar except for diverse burial rites or rituals among Africans (Mbiti, 1977: 110-111; Bond, 1992:3-4). With regard to burial diversities for example, the Abaluyia ethnic group in Kenya do bury their dead naked so that the deceased could be reincarnated while the Zulus of South Africa bury their dead in a squatting position which to them symbolizes the positioning of an embryo meant to give rise to another life (Opoku, 1989:17). Opoku reiterated that to an African, the afterlife is beyond an exercise of the memory in the remembrance of the dead; instead, the afterlife is a reality that superseded the imaginations of the human memory.

The dead have an independent existence. They do not continue to live merely because they are remembered by those who are living, for the fact of life and non-life is not dependent on the memory of human beings, for human memory does not create life (Opoku, 1989:19, 22). To an African person, death means a transition from a lower level of existence to a supreme or ancestral level of existence particularly when burial rites are tenaciously adhered (Lawuyi, 1998: 372). While the beliefs in the afterlife are of high importance to the African people, some contemporary Africans do little to continue to preserve their afterlife cultures through the practice of burying their dead with material objects. Unlike the ancient Egyptians that buried their loved ones with various objects so that the deceased might continue to live a normal life in the afterlife, contemporary Africans do little or nothing to bury their loved ones with many materials as the Egyptians did. While the Yorubas of Nigeria are for example known for their practices of extravagant burial rituals which normally last for many days (Adamolekun, 2001:610), they do not build pyramids or bury their loved ones with many small and large objects as the Egyptians did. The Egyptian preservation of their cultural heritage through burials before the Period of Decline has helped modern scholars through several researches to understand the Egyptian culture in a more in-depth perspective (James, 1976: 155).

Shadreck Chirikure said that economic problems have led many governments and people in Africa to trade their heritage sites for economic and industrial developments. For example, Swaziland was offered an opportunity by UNESCO for the building of its first World Heritage Site in its Ngwenya Middle Stone Age ochre mines but the government refused and traded the site for further iron mining in order to boost her economy (Chirikure, 2013: 2). Other factors that affect the preservation of cultural heritage sites in Africa include inadequate or lack of interest and the non-protection of heritage sites by the general populace together with the absence of risk management protocols that would have been used to reconstruct damaged heritage sites. The rise of religious extreme groups in Mali, Nigeria and Egypt has led to the further destruction of heritage sites (Chirikure, 2013: 1-2).

In Kurra Falls of Plateau State, Nigeria, the invasion of

indigenous lands by the Fulani people has led to the random displacement of local farmers and they left behind their graves sites which they normally preserve and use for rituals. There is yet to be a formidable plan by the government of Plateau State to return the indigenes of Kurra Falls to their respective indigenous lands so that they can continue to preserve their cultural heritage by conserving the grave sites of their ancestors. Furthermore, the Kasubi tomb in Uganda has been gutted by fire and there has been no proper contingency plan to reconstruct the tomb appropriately (Chirikure, 2013: 2). It is important to note that the Tombs of Buganda Kings in Kasubi are significant contributor to Uganda's tourism and economy. The Buganda kingdom is one of the most ancient and largest surviving kingdoms in Uganda. It was likely built before 1884. The tomb housed about 4 kings of Kasubi that were buried alongside other burial objects and is now a World Heritage Site (Baker, 2017: 98).

While the age of burying the dead with plenty of material objects are seemingly diminishing among Africans, the beliefs that the dead lived is not diminishing drastically among Africans. The African religions and other religions that originated from the Ancient Near East like Christianity, Judaism, and Islam are becoming popular in Africa and these religions support the notion of a possible afterlife. These religions also discouraged the journeys of the dead in an afterlife with many material objects (cf. Agai, 2015: 1-2). Because Africans in the present do not bury their loved ones with many material objects for future archaeologists or heritage students to investigate or preserve, there is a tendency that with regard to tangible heritage sites, little might be known in future about the afterlife belief systems of the current African people. However, the complicated architectural edifices and information technologies developed in African will surely survive and can be studied in time to come. These modern technologies might be used to capture African cultures or heritage sites or African belief systems.

## CONCLUSION

The Egyptians preserved their cultural heritage through their various burial practices such as mummification, burying the dead with objects, continues offering of food and other items to the dead and many more. These practices helped them to preserve their afterlife cultural heritage and it has also helped contemporary researchers to be well-informed about ancient Egypt. In contemporary Africa, burying leaders or wealthy people with so many materials would have attracted looters into many grave sites and the view of burying with material objects is depreciating due to the domineering influences of Judaism, Islam, Christianity and post-modernity. While the reality of the afterlife is sometimes questioned by many, the idea that earthly or worldly materials would not

survive in the afterlife except for the soul or spirit of an individual and sometimes for a transformed resurrected body dominates the minds of many contemporary Africans (cf. Small, 1977: 99-100; Grosso, 1989: 237-239; Trueblood, 1963: 137). This has made many not to value the burial of a deceased with material objects except for some royal families, 'for example, among the Yorubas (cf. Awolalu, 1979: 172).

While it is important for Africans to preserve their cultural heritage sites and beliefs systems, in future, archaeologists may not need to rely on burial sites to obtain items buried alongside a deceased. There is a tendency that future scientific research may enhance the preservation of deceased bodies which also could be used for future research. This may allow researchers to have access to a deceased body that is *neo-mummified* using modern scientific technologies but with little or no burial items that accompanied a deceased as the Egyptians did. A significant implication of this research to the contemporary African society is that, while the ancient Egyptians preserved their tangible cultural heritage through their progressive views of the afterlife, contemporary Africans may have continue to preserve primarily the heritage sites of their ancestors more than the sites that pertained specifically to their own lifetimes. Reason being that, contemporary Africans in their own lifetimes have more intangible cultural heritage because they still value the afterlife beliefs than tangible cultural heritage because they do not or they less bury their deceased with many items. *Intangible* cultural heritage emphasize belief systems while *tangible* cultural heritage emphasize the preservation physical or material sites and objects. This suggestion is open to further interpretation.

## CONFLICT OF INTERESTS

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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