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Realizations of Elements in English

Contrastive Study of the Realizations

Representing the Margin and the Center

Analysis from the Anthropological Structures



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IMAGE: ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS,  
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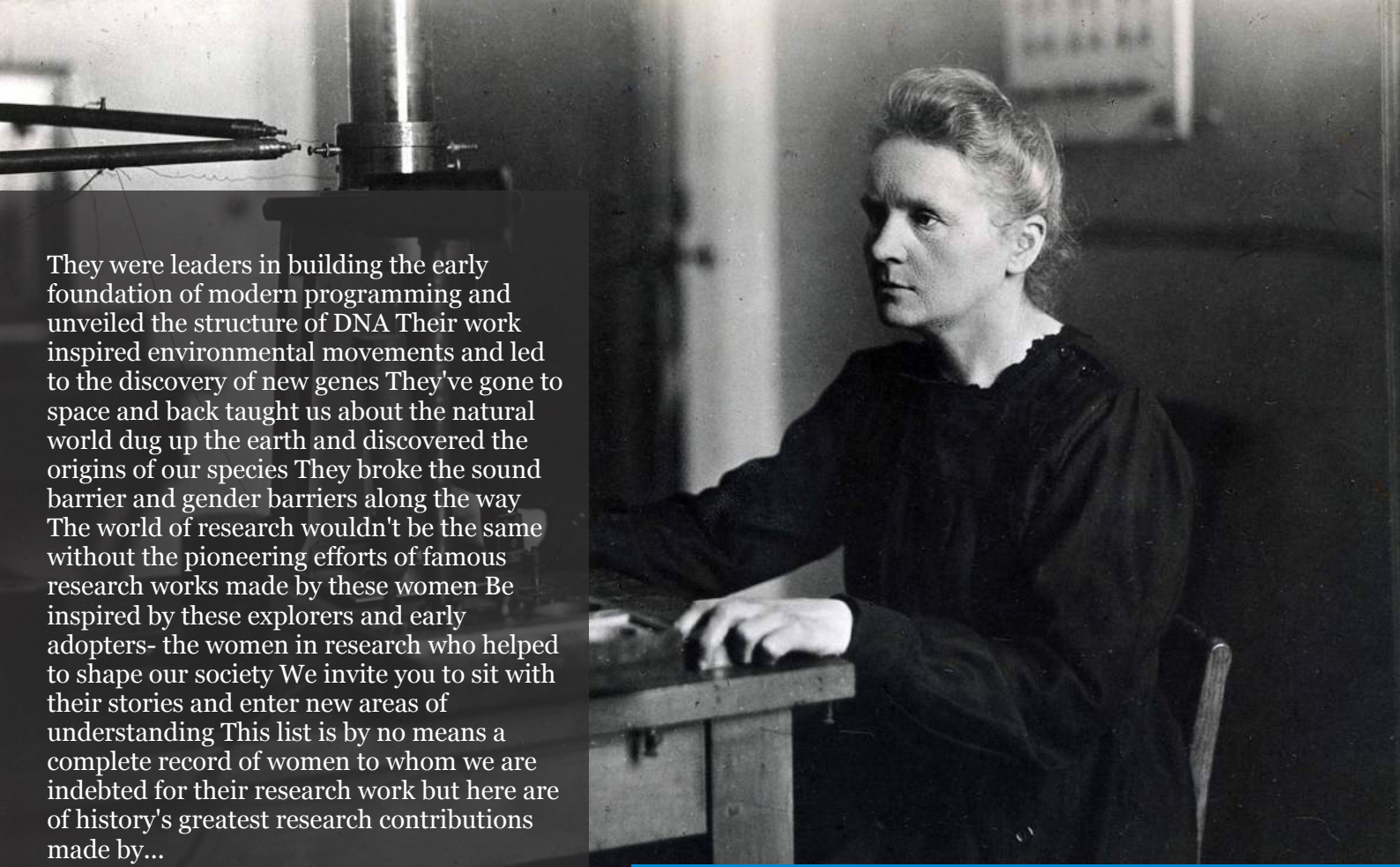
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# Spiritual Crisis and Architecture. An Analysis from the Anthropological Structures of the Imaginary

*Arq Marco Antonio Lopez Sanchez*

## ABSTRACT

This essay is a ponderation about the spiritual crisis that the Western world is experiencing, and its reflection in architecture. The analysis is basically based on the Anthropological Structures of the Imaginary proposed by the anthropologist Gilbert Durand, to demonstrate how architecture reflects the patterns of an exacerbated diurnal regime, where the human vital experience, the symbolism and poetics of space, and the search for meaning and depth, are transgressed by a desire of flight, detachment, immediacy, artificiality, exposure, appearance and superficiality that disengage and separate individuals and societies.

*Keywords:* Architecture, Philosophy, Spiritual crisis, Poetics of Architecture, Gilbert Durand, Anthropological Structures of the Imaginary, Eranos.

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# Spiritual Crisis and Architecture. An Analysis from the Anthropological Structures of the Imaginary

Crisis Espiritual y Arquitectura. un Análisis desde las Estructuras Antropológicas del Imaginario.

Arq Marco Antonio Lopez Sanchez

## RESUMEN

*El presente ensayo es una reflexión acerca de la crisis espiritual que vive el mundo occidental y su reflejo en la arquitectura. El análisis se cimienta principalmente sobre las Estructuras Antropológicas del Imaginario propuestas por el antropólogo Gilbert Durand, para demostrar cómo la arquitectura refleja los patrones de un régimen de carácter diurno exacerbado, donde la experiencia vital humana, el simbolismo y poética del espacio, y la búsqueda de sentido y profundidad, se ven transgredidos por un deseo de fuga, desapego, inmediatez, artificialidad, exposición, apariencia y superficialidad, que desvinculan y separan a los individuos y las sociedades.*

**Palabras clave:** Arquitectura, filosofía, crisis espiritual, poética de la arquitectura, Gilbert Durand, Estructuras Antropológicas del Imaginario, Círculo de Eranos.

## ABSTRACT

*This essay is a ponderation about the spiritual crisis that the Western world is experiencing, and its reflection in architecture. The analysis is basically based on the Anthropological Structures of the Imaginary proposed by the anthropologist Gilbert Durand, to demonstrate how architecture reflects the patterns of an exacerbated diurnal regime, where the human vital experience, the symbolism and poetics of space, and the search for meaning and depth, are transgressed by a desire of flight, detachment, immediacy, artificiality, exposure, appearance and superficiality that disengage and separate individuals and societies.*

**Keywords:** Architecture, Philosophy, Spiritual crisis, Poetics of Architecture, Gilbert Durand, Anthropological Structures of the Imaginary, Eranos.

## I. INTRODUCCIÓN

El mundo occidental atraviesa por una crisis existencial que ha sido señalada por gran número de pensadores. Dentro de esta corriente, un grupo fundamental ha sido el Círculo de Eranos, reunido desde 1933 y hasta la fecha, anualmente, bajo el abrigo cálido de los alpes suizos y su lago mayor, en la pequeña localidad de Ascona. La presente reflexión se sostiene principal aunque no definitivamente, sobre las denominadas Estructuras Antropológicas del Imaginario, que el antropólogo Gilbert Durand, miembro del Círculo de Eranos, desarrolló en su obra homónima<sup>1</sup>. No tenemos espacio suficiente para detenernos a explicar a detalle esta obra magistral; basten tan sólo unas líneas explicativas para el lector que desconozca el pensamiento de Durand, invitándole a la lectura del texto original que, valga decirlo, resulta indispensable para cualquier investigación actual respecto del simbolismo de las imágenes.

Gilbert Durand, siguiendo a Vladimir Betcherev, postula que existe una estrecha concomitancia entre los centros nerviosos, la gestualidad y las imágenes simbólicas o arquetipales de la humanidad. Tres gestos dominantes regulan la formación de imágenes: la dominante de posición, la digestiva y la copulativa. Estas dominantes

<sup>1</sup> Durand, Gilbert. *Las estructuras antropológicas del imaginario*. FCE, México. 2012.

corporales quedan asociadas a tres estructuras fundamentales –esquizomorfos, místicas y sintéticas– que se ordenan finalmente en los dos grandes regímenes del imaginario: diurno y nocturno. En el primero de ellos quedan establecidas las estructuras esquizomorfos. Aquí, todo trabaja bajo la lógica del antagonismo distanciante y la antítesis divisora. El principio operante es la exclusión y contradicción. Los mitos cosmogónicos muestran una creación universal en la que el orden sólo es posible por el caos que le precede como antagonismo, y la luz divina viene a disipar de una vez y para siempre, las tinieblas primigenias. Será aquí donde el héroe diurno despedace o someta al monstruo nocturno, casi siempre bajo la forma de serpiente o dragón terrible y devastador. El régimen diurno se opondrá al tiempo y el cambio, por considerarles un peligro existencial. Aquí, cambio es sinónimo de muerte, razón por la cual será preferible siempre un escenario donde la estabilidad, el reposo, la claridad, la simetría y la univocidad dicten las reglas. Finalmente, aunque la gestualidad dominante de este régimen será la postural, ello no significa que toda imagen que refiera a una posición corporal forme parte del régimen. Lo que se manifiesta aquí es la verticalidad, la rectitud, la erección y elevamiento, la exaltación, purificación y fuga del mundo hacia las cimas impolutas y llenas de claridad, libres de toda mácula asociada a la materialidad y corruptibilidad del mundo. Por supuesto, todo pensamiento gnóstico y maniqueo cabría aquí perfectamente. A esta verticalidad centrífuga se integran como complemento las imágenes especulares y de manipulación. No olvidemos que paralelo al erguimiento de la especie humana vino también el uso de las extremidades que quedaron libres para manipular los objetos. Desde entonces, la mano creó una sólida conexión con la mirada; una mirada nueva, situada en un cuerpo erguido, capaz de ver mucho más allá, hacia el horizonte despejado y el cielo por encima del mundo. Por esta razón, visión, manipulación y verticalidad quedarán fuertemente asociadas en nuestro imaginario creador del régimen diurno.

Queda claro entonces el tinte patriarcal, masculino y heroico que se asocia con este

régimen. Es el macho alfa el que protege y da la cara por el resto, a semejanza del guerrero platónico y su virtud de andreaia o valentía, consistente en conservar su lugar, su firmeza y su postura pese a cualquier circunstancia, sin retroceder ante ningún temor, dolor o deseo. La valentía consiste en imponerse, erguirse frente al mundo para defender a los suyos. La voluntad del guerrero debe ser firme, inamovible, sin doblegarse ante nada. Nótese los tintes perfectamente diurnos y posturales del guerrero platónico. Claro está que cuando este régimen termina dominando de manera desmedida la psique individual o colectiva –como sucedió en occidente– se produce un desbalance que lleva directo al dogmatismo, autoritarismo, despotismo, colonialismo, desprestigio de la otredad, anhelo de sometimiento y consumo voraz del entorno y el medioambiente. No por casualidad hemos entrado de lleno en una nueva era geológica, denominada antropoceno y caracterizada precisamente por el impacto negativo de la humanidad sobre el planeta, de carácter irreversible.

Hasta aquí con la explicación del régimen diurno. Pasemos brevemente a señalar los rasgos esenciales de esa otra actitud imaginativa que, en palabras de Durand “capta las fuerzas vitales del devenir... incorpora la movilidad del tiempo... y las tranquilizadoras imágenes de los ciclos naturales”<sup>2</sup>. El régimen nocturno no concibe el mundo desde la contrariedad sino desde la concordancia e integración. Aquí encontrarán albergue las dominantes digestiva y copulativa, de carácter centrípeto, siempre alrededor de un centro capaz de reunir lo disperso. Si el régimen diurno fue discriminativo, este será asimilativo. Si el primero está atravesado por la categoría del conatus –apetito, voluntad o inclinación innata por permanecer existiendo como individuo–, el régimen nocturno tenderá a inclinarse por la participación con el todo. La dominante digestiva agrupará toda imagen de encastre, protección, enroscamiento, profundidad, repliegue e interioridad. A la verticalidad y rectitud diurna se contraponen las formas sinuosas de la naturaleza,

<sup>2</sup> Durand, Op cit. Pag 199

el vaivén de las aguas, los laberintos y meandros que guardan en su centro un tesoro inviolable. Las estructuras místicas, de carácter digestivo, harán de la contradicción diurna una conjunción en la que los opuestos desaparecen para integrarse en una unidad, *coincidentia oppositorum* de la que tanto habla Eliade o Jung, entre muchos otros. Se vuelve evidente que este régimen sea de carácter femenino, no sólo por su dominante digestiva y sus imágenes ondulantes y serpenteadas sino también por aquella otra dominante, copulativa o sintética, en la que todo antagonismo queda resuelto no por la integración de los opuestos, como sucedió en las estructuras místicas, sino por el diálogo de las tensiones en una diacronía y sincronía que deja escuchar las voces antes en conflicto, ahora en armonía. “La síntesis no es una unificación como la mística; no apunta a la confusión de los términos sino a la coherencia que salvaguarda las distinciones y oposiciones”<sup>3</sup>.

El régimen nocturno, entonces, lejos de dar la espalda al mundo se vuelve hacia él, y lejos de mirarlo sólo desde la distancia, conjuga los sentidos en una experiencia sinestésica, desbordante de sentido y significados. Aquí traigo al antropólogo David Le Breton y su deliciosa obra *El sabor del mundo*, en la que nos recuerda esa capacidad polivalente y sinestésica del cuerpo humano, punto de reunión en el que todo confluye y se mezcla. “Nuestras experiencias sensoriales son los afluentes que se arrojan al mismo río que es la sensibilidad de un individuo nunca en reposo, solicitado por la incandescencia del mundo que le rodea... los sentidos se relevan, se mezclan, remiten a una memoria, a una experiencia que toma al hombre en su integridad para dar consistencia al mundo... la percepción no es una suma de datos sino una aprehensión global del mundo que reclama a cada instante al conjunto de los sentidos”<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> Durand, Op cit. Pag 358

<sup>4</sup> Le Breton, David. *El sabor del mundo. Una antropología de los sentidos*. Ediciones Nueva Visión, Buenos Aires. 2007. Pag 45

Ahora bien, las imágenes del régimen nocturno son consideradas por Durand como símbolos de la inversión ¿Inversión de qué? Precisamente, de la visión diurna del tiempo. Podemos pensar en el régimen nocturno como la eufemización de las figuras del caos contra las que lucha el régimen diurno, a saber: nictomorfos, catamorfos y teriomorfos. El estudio que vamos a realizar ahora está organizado precisamente por estas figuras del caos. Veremos en primera instancia cómo lucha el régimen diurno contra la nictomorfia o tinieblas aterrantes, proponiendo siempre imágenes de claridad y luminosidad esclarecedora, poniendo todo a la vista, eliminando cualquier recoveco en el que puedan ocultarse fantasmas irracionales o incomprensibles para la razón, que prefiere mejor, todo meticulosamente ordenado en un lugar visible. Luego vendrá la negación catamórfica bajo el sello de la ascensión en todas sus formas, no sólo geométricas o espaciales sino también soteriológicas, con el deseo de trascender este mundo material, corruptible y finito, para acceder mejor a cimas nirvánicas, alejadas de toda historia, arraigo y memoria samsárica. Finalmente, estudiaremos el teriomorfismo desgarrador que busca siempre separar y tomar distancias racionales ante el furor patológico. A cada una de estas figuras del caos, rectoras del régimen diurno, habremos de enfrentar sus contrapartes del régimen nocturno. Pero quizá se pregunte el lector ¿cómo se conectan la filosofía y el simbolismo de las imágenes, con los espacios y la arquitectura construida en occidente? Empezaremos ahora a analizar estas inquietudes.

## II. EL RÉGIMEN DIURNO ESPECULAR O LA MIRADA DE LA GORGONA

Tomás apóstol viviría feliz en Occidente; habría sido un líder de opinión indiscutible o un jerarca perpetuado por decisión popular unánime. Ver para creer es una frase que define muy bien nuestra realidad, desde el origen de la modernidad a finales del medioevo y comienzos del Renacimiento. La vista ha sido desde entonces el sentido privilegiado de Occidente, la hegemonía universal.

La lectura por ejemplo, por completo asociada al oído durante toda la antigüedad y Edad Media, pasó a ser propiedad de lo visual. La música, con el desarrollo de la notación tardomedieval, dejó poco a poco de memorizarse y las tonalidades fueron lentamente encasillándose en una frecuencia absoluta, fija, inalterable, donde el color microtonal, los melismas y variaciones polivalentes del canto se perdieron. El nacimiento de la perspectiva renacentista es quizá el mejor ejemplo de la transformación visual que sucede en occidente, donde la realidad termina por enmarcarse en una ventana matematizada, en la que el rigor compositivo no permite que nada se salga de su sitio. Es un orden casi militar, o peor aún, medusino, que petrifica el movimiento variopinto y la sensualidad afectiva de la vida. Es aquí cuando finalmente, los artistas logran una composición geométrica “correcta” (a ojos diurnos), llevando la fuga visual hacia un punto preciso, único, matemático. El arte anterior al quattrocento no logra llevar la convergencia de líneas hacia un horizonte, y menos aún hacia un punto único, centro unitario perfecto. Panofsky estudia muy bien este cambio de visión y nos dice: “En el Renacimiento, el espacio psicofisiológico se transforma en espacio matemático... un espacio sistemático que vuelve medible el mundo... El pavimento de baldosas es el primer ejemplo de un sistema de coordenadas en un espacio sistemático... El Renacimiento había conseguido racionalizar totalmente en el plano matemático la imagen del espacio... La perspectiva moderna puede ser considerada como el triunfo del objetivante y distanciante sentido de la realidad... es un orden, pero de apariencia visuales”<sup>5</sup>. Otro estudioso del espacio y las imágenes, el antropólogo Edward Hall, advierte que “una de las incongruencias del Renacimiento fue considerar el espacio estático, organizando todos los elementos observados, desde un punto de vista; tratar el espacio tridimensional como fotografía bidimensional y sin tiempo... El ojo inmóvil aplana todo lo que ve. La perspectiva

renacentista nos relaciona con el espacio de manera rígida, matemática y unívoca”<sup>6</sup>. Gastón Bachelard se pregunta a este respecto ¿por qué hablamos de enriquecer una imagen, cuando la cristalizamos en la perfección geométrica?<sup>7</sup> Finalmente, abonando sobre lo mismo, quisiera recordar a Aby Warburg, otro gran investigador de las imágenes y del Renacimiento. El hamburgués propone tres formas de construcción de imágenes, relacionadas con el devenir de la humanidad. Para Warburg, la evolución de las imágenes puede resumirse en su lema *Ad Sphaeram per monstra*. Se trata básicamente del paso desde los impulsos irracionales, cargados de pathos puro, identificados con lo monstruoso, hacia el orden, los actos volitivos y la construcción de la memoria por medio del poder de nuestra imaginación creadora, misma que nos lleva a consumir la *sophrosyne*, estado de calma y moderación muy apolíneo, completamente opuesto al desenfrenado carácter dionisiaco primordial. El movimiento de Warburg, desde el pathos monstruoso hacia el orden y la *sophrosyne*, se podría entender como una especie de trayecto antropológico, a la manera de Durand, en el que en un primer momento, el sujeto participa de lleno con el misterio del mundo que le rodea, para después, alejarse del mismo. El primer momento es una *participation mystique*, evocadora de Lévy-Bruhl, donde no existe distancia entre el sujeto y el objeto que percibe. Hay una empatía total, una inclinación profunda hacia la integración con la otredad, cargada también de *mysterium tremendum et fascinans*<sup>8</sup>. Este primer momento está cargado con intensas pulsiones afectivo emocionales, “furor fóbico-pasional” que provoca imágenes y gestos llenos de expresión y movimiento acelerado. El afectado por ellas es conducido hacia un *raptus inferos*, ctónico, catártico y explosivo. El régimen diurno, como seguramente ya se adivinó, luchará ferozmente para aquietar y controlar estos impulsos, utilizando para ello la segunda forma de

<sup>5</sup> Panofsky, Erwin. *La perspectiva como forma simbólica*. Tusquets Editores. México. 2010. Pag 14, 31,39,46, 49, 53. El subrayado es mío.

<sup>6</sup> Hall, Edward. *La dimensión oculta*. Siglo XXI. 2021. México. P 108. 7

<sup>7</sup> Bachelard, Gastón. *La poética del espacio*. FCE, 1975, México. Pag. Pag 274

<sup>8</sup> Para ampliar en este concepto, se sugiere la lectura de la obra clásica: Otto, R. *Lo santo. Lo racional y lo irracional en la idea de Dios*. Alianza Editorial. 2012. Madrid



construcción de imágenes. Aquí, la integración se suprime por medio de una distancia que separa por completo al sujeto del objeto. Esta es la percepción racional y científica del mundo, en la que todo el afecto emocional, pasional e imaginal, queda erradicado. “Se genera una distancia completamente consciente entre el individuo y el objeto y con ello, lo que se percibe deviene signo; su función es simplemente denominativa o descriptiva... El individuo se independiza anímicamente del poder de la imagen o de la fuerza con la que se relaciona.”<sup>9</sup> Esta creación consciente de una distancia entre uno mismo y el mundo exterior, puede considerarse un acto fundador de civilización humana”<sup>10</sup>. Esto es precisamente de lo que se encarga el régimen diurno de la imagen; Warburg y Durand vibran en simpatía.

Vemos entonces cómo la hegemonía visual que adopta occidente encierra la realidad en ventanas matematizadas o cajas conceptuales donde las cosas quedan definidas y nombradas de forma precisa, sin lugar a ambigüedades de ningún tipo. Es una visión racional y científicista que, debemos señalar, no estamos juzgando ni demeritando de ninguna manera. El desarrollo y evolución de nuestra facultad analítica y de abstracción fue en gran medida lo que nos constituyó como especie y nos permitió sobrevivir en medio de un mundo adverso. Esta facultad de la consciencia fue también la que nos permitió salir de dogmatismos ignorantes y comenzar la carrera del progreso tecnológico que nos ha dotado de innumerables beneficios y nos ha llevado a alcanzar avances científicos y tecnológicos sorprendentes. Se trata de una mirada precisa en grado superlativo, que busca y encuentra la partícula de dios, que secciona y mide el tiempo con relojes atómicos tan perfectos que desfase un segundo les tomaría 52 millones de años y la ciencia se apura para tener pronto una máquina en la que el desfase tome 32,000 millones de años. No lo sé, pero me parece que a este paso, la

vida en este planeta terminaría mucho antes que ese fabuloso reloj, maravilla de occidente, pueda atrasarse una milésima de segundo. Esta mirada busca también con cierta ansiedad un cero absoluto que detenga por completo el movimiento del mundo y sus partículas, que logre la tan anhelada simetría perfecta en la que todo está perfectamente establecido en el lugar que le corresponde, quieto y sin pérdida de energía. Esto mismo fue lo que logró la perspectiva renacentista hace más de 500 años. Eso, en un laboratorio científico, puede ser muy provechoso, pero en la cotidianidad de la vida y en la psique de los individuos, provoca concepciones del mundo en las que no hay espacio para la diversidad. Para esta mente, las analogías son imposibles y con ello, la consciencia se priva de la posibilidad de compararse o reflejarse en la otredad, cerrándose en una manera de ser única, definitiva e inalterable. Es aquí donde radica buena parte de la neurosis del mundo occidental y salir de ella sólo es posible si adaptamos una manera distinta de ver el mundo, opuesta a lo que nos ha heredado y adoctrinado el pensamiento occidental durante cientos de años, bajo una visión claramente racional, fuera de la fe, y no estoy hablando de religión en ningún caso. Una visión egocéntrica, en la que el sujeto soberano se acomoda frente a la ventana para observar y juzgar el mundo según su propio punto de vista, cosificándolo y suspendiendo el tiempo, el deseo y el encuentro con la otredad. Esta mirada occidental tiene otra particularidad perversa: funciona muy bien a las formas de gobierno como medio de vigilancia social. Creo que ya lo dijo hace muchos años Foucault, la vigilancia está completamente ligada al espectáculo que tanto asombra a occidente. Estamos ante una mirada permanente, que no parpadea ni un instante, un ojo que todo lo ve a través de sus cctvs y redes sociales, y que con gusto castigaría a cualquiera que rompa las reglas impuestas por el capitalismo y materialismo imperantes.

Considero entonces muy importante recalcar que la crítica que se hace ahora no es al régimen diurno en sí mismo sino a la desmedida inclinación que occidente adoptó por el mismo, devaluando con ello cualquier forma de

<sup>9</sup> Warburg, Aby. El Atlas Mnemosine. Vol II. IIE, UNAM.2012. México. Pag. 24,28

<sup>10</sup> Warburg, Aby. El Atlas Mnemosine. Vol I. IIE, UNAM.2012. México. Pag. 27



conocimiento que no se apegara a los criterios racionales. El supuesto fundamental de la modernidad fue la omnipotencia de la ciencia, como única forma válida de explicación de la realidad. A partir de aquí, ya nos lo dijo Durand, el imaginario será visto como “la loca de la casa”; el mito se identificará con la mentira; el primitivo con la ignorancia y superstición, la magia y la religión con la barbarie o inmadurez intelectual de una etapa oscura y primitiva en la consciencia de la humanidad. Con la llegada de la modernidad, el orden universal que hasta entonces sostenía el mundo se viene abajo. La visión neoplatónica que integra al individuo con la naturaleza y su creador, pasa a ser absorbida por la posibilidad y la particularidad nominalistas, en las que el ser humano queda puesto en el mundo como sustancia ajena, separado de su entorno y de sus dioses y enemistado con ellos, siempre pendiente de todo aquello que le amenace o atemorice. Un hombre contingente, que no tiene consciencia de unidad ni consciencia de cosmos, abre los ojos. Bajo esta lógica, muy pronto vendrá Hobbes a pedir prestada la frase de Plauto y definir al hombre como lobo del hombre.

Pasemos al análisis de la arquitectura llevando con nosotros todo lo expuesto hasta ahora para comprender mejor los espacios habitables. Recurriré fundamentalmente a la obra escrita del arquitecto finlandés Juhani Pallasmaa como referencia y apoyo a lo que vamos a exponer ahora. Pallasmaa comienza una de sus obras clave, *Los ojos de la piel*<sup>11</sup>, acusando en la enseñanza y experiencia de la arquitectura, la presencia de un ocularcentrismo. Una visión de carácter nítido y enfocado, muy apegada al régimen diurno de la imagen en Durand y al cambio de visión con que da inicio la modernidad. Pallasmaa comenta respecto de esta visión, “nuestras magníficas, multisensoriales, simultáneas y sincrónicas capacidades de

imaginación quedan rotundamente aplanadas”<sup>12</sup>. El proceso de diseño y concepción de la arquitectura se vuelve visual-pasivo: viaje retiniano. Esta forma de visión enfrenta al sujeto con el mundo y lo expulsa del mismo, convirtiéndolo en mero espectador. A esta mirada, Pallasmaa antepone otra, periférica y desenfocada, que lejos de distanciar envuelve e integra al sujeto con el espacio. Apoyado en la obra clave de Anton Ehrenzweig<sup>13</sup>, el arquitecto insiste en que la experiencia del mundo está modulada por el imaginario háptico inconsciente, mucho más que por la visión nítida-racional con la que diseñamos los espacios. Pallasmaa se apoya también en el filósofo norteamericano David Michael Levin, señalando que “necesitamos examinar de manera crítica y urgente el carácter de la vista que domina nuestro mundo; un diagnóstico de la patología psicológica de la visión cotidiana, y un entendimiento crítico de nosotros mismos como seres visionarios... la voluntad de poder en la visión es muy fuerte. Existe una tendencia muy sólida a captar, fijar, cosificar y totalizar; una tendencia a dominar, asegurar y controlar”<sup>14</sup>. Juhani entreteje en su obra una crítica tenaz a la tendencia ocularcentrista. Escojo algunas hebras del tejido del finlandés, que aterrizan en los pormenores que esto provoca en la arquitectura:

“La inhumanidad de la arquitectura contemporánea puede entenderse como consecuencia de una negligencia del cuerpo y los sentidos, así como un desequilibrio de nuestro sistema sensorial... El dominio del ojo tiende a empujarnos hacia el distanciamiento, el aislamiento y la exterioridad. Sin duda, el arte del ojo ha producido edificios imponentes y asombrosos, pero no ha facilitado el arraigo humano en el mundo... El proyecto moderno ha albergado al ojo y el intelecto pero ha dejado sin hogar al resto del cuerpo, a nuestros recuerdos, sueños e imaginación<sup>15</sup>... Nuestra sociedad se caracteriza por un crecimiento canceroso de la

<sup>11</sup> Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Los ojos de la piel. La arquitectura y los sentidos*. GG. Barcelona. 2021. Pag 14.

<sup>12</sup> Pallasmaa. Op cit. Pag 14.

<sup>13</sup> Ehrenzweig, Anton. *The hidden order of art. A Study in the Psychology of Artistic Imagination*. University of California Press. 1995. Los Angeles.

<sup>14</sup> Pallasmaa. Op cit. Pag 22

<sup>15</sup> Pallasmaa. Op cit. Pag 23

vista, midiéndolo todo por su capacidad de mostrar o ser mostrado. La propagación de la superficial imaginaria arquitectónica, carente de cualquier sentido de materialidad y de empatía, forma claramente parte de este proceso<sup>16</sup>... En los últimos años ha predominado un tipo de arquitectura que apunta hacia una imagen visual llamativa; se ha adoptado la estrategia psicológica de la persuasión instantánea. Los edificios se han transformado en productos imagen, separados de la profundidad existencial. Hay una obsesión por la apariencia superficial<sup>17</sup>... Los edificios pierden plasticidad y se aíslan en el terreno frío y distante de la visión<sup>18</sup>... Los materiales actuales, como el vidrio pulido y transparente, los metales esmaltados, los plásticos sintéticos, tienden a ofrecer al ojo superficies implacables, sin expresar su esencia ni su edad. Los edificios aspiran a una perfección eternamente joven; hay un miedo a las señales de desgaste, en estrecha relación con nuestro miedo a la muerte<sup>19</sup>...

Marchamos hacia un distanciamiento, una desensualización y deserotización escalofriantes<sup>20</sup>... La arquitectura se ha distanciado de los contenidos míticos originales y se ha vaciado de todo significado. Solo queda el deseo de estetización. En el mundo obscuramente materialista de hoy, la esencia poética de la arquitectura está amenazada<sup>21</sup>... Las casas contemporáneas son tan alienantes porque no contienen secretos. Su estructura y contenido se perciben de un solo vistazo<sup>22</sup>... Las obras asombran pero carecen de la capacidad de conmovernos porque su expresión está desprovista de los fundamentos existenciales de la experiencia arquitectónica<sup>23</sup>...

<sup>16</sup> Pallasmaa. Op cit. Pag 28

<sup>17</sup> Pallasmaa. Op cit. Pag 34

<sup>18</sup> Pallasmaa. Op cit. Pag 34

<sup>19</sup> Pallasmaa. Op cit. Pag 37

<sup>20</sup> Pallasmaa. Op cit. Pag 38

<sup>21</sup> Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Habitar*. GG. Barcelona. 2019. Pag 9

<sup>22</sup> Pallasmaa. *Habitar*. Pag 31

<sup>23</sup> Pallasmaa. *Habitar*. Pag 105

Todo esto puede verse muy bien en infinidad de ejemplos de arquitectura contemporánea; basta buscar un poco en internet y de inmediato aparecerán los sitios de arquitectos mostrando en sus obras la blancura uniforme, la transparencia, apertura, nitidez y pulcritud en todo su esplendor. La arquitectura como espectáculo visual, perspicaz y asombroso. No es que los resultados volumétricos o diseños carezcan de estudio, belleza o detalle; todo lo contrario, son precisos, meticulosamente estudiados y muchos de ellos muy bien logrados en términos estéticos y funcionales. No por nada se le atribuye erróneamente a Mies van der Rohe la famosa frase de Flaubert “Dios está en los detalles”. Pero más allá de esta extraordinaria fachada y hermosa apariencia visual, queda oculta en el fondo de esta arquitectura, sólo perceptible por la mirada que va más allá de la superficie, toda una alienación, un desarraigo, un deseo de trascendencia por negación de la materialidad y el tiempo, un vacío existencial y de significado, una frialdad de temperamento que nos hace insensibles a la adversidad del vecino o del hermano. Todo ello jugando a favor de la Medusa y su mirada petrificante, transformando al ser humano en una criatura incapaz de conmoverse, es decir, un ser sin alma.

### III. EL RÉGIMEN DIURNO POSTURAL O LA CONQUISTA DEL ESPACIO

Ya no hay territorios en este planeta que queden libres de escrutinio y dominación diurna. La conquista debe trascender fronteras y para la visión occidental, resulta más interesante escapar al espacio interestelar y las esferas celestes que adentrarse en las profundidades y misterios del océano. Le parece mejor expulsar cohetes más allá de la estratosfera que sumergirse en las aguas caóticas y abismales que tanto temor provocan al pensamiento racional especular. Este temor a la oscuridad es primigenio. Nos dice Durand que la noche y las tinieblas generan un miedo arcaico, junto con angustia, tristeza y abatimiento,

producto de que “todo puede venirse abajo”. No solo eso, la cualidad tenebrosa de esconderlo todo al escrutinio de la vista, la hace espacio perfecto para que la locura y el caos, los demonios y monstruos, aniden en ella. La oscuridad causa rechazo porque se asocia a la ignorancia. El régimen diurno se opone a la oscuridad debido a su carácter irracional, indescifrable por la razón. Lo dice magistralmente Rudolf Otto en su obra clásica, *Lo Santo*: “por debajo de la esfera racional, de desnuda claridad, yace una oscura profundidad a la que no llegan los conceptos... que permanece en la irremisible oscuridad de la experiencia inconcebible, puramente sentimental e irracional”<sup>24</sup>. Vemos aquí uno de los porqués del desarraigo del régimen diurno, siempre en fuga y conflicto con la profundidad y el misterio, tratando de negar el pasado y la historia, aquello que está por detrás y no puede verse, para mejor trascender en el futuro lineal, siempre por delante, siempre a la vista. Toda esta serie de imágenes de oscuridad podrían hacernos pensar que seguimos en el estudio del régimen diurno en su cualidad especular. Sin embargo, como dijimos ya en la introducción, la verticalidad postural estará siempre ligada con la manipulación y la visión extendida hacia el horizonte y el firmamento. Así, el deseo por conquistar el espacio es postural en su verticalidad fugaz y trascendental, pero la profundidad impenetrable del océano es también postural, en el sentido de enroscamiento y descenso hacia el abismo insondable. Posturalmente, a la vertical se le contraponen la espiral. Las tinieblas, posturalmente hablando, denotan siempre ocultamiento protector y laberintos retorcidos cargados de misterio. Estos gestos posturales se acusan bien en los ritos del trazado del templo en el antiguo Egipto, donde el arquitecto extiende la cuerda que permanecía enmarañada en el huso, creando con ello el perímetro o trazo delimitador de la futura morada de la divinidad. Lo curvo y enroscado da paso a lo lineal y rectificado, revelando con ello la forma cosmogónica que gobierna sobre el caos. Lo mismo sucede con los

papiros, rollos y pergaminos de la antigüedad y el medioevo, donde el gesto de abrirlos, extenderlos o desenrollarlos equivale a una nueva cosmogonía, conocimiento, claridad y misterio desvelado. El rabino abre los rollos de la Torah para dar paso al logos o recitamiento de la palabra sagrada. Es el triunfo sobre las tinieblas y el enroscamiento laberíntico.

Así, lo que parece especular en principio es también postural; la verticalidad y rectificación triunfando sobre los meandros y las profundidades abismales.

Al respecto dice Durand: “la verticalidad, la ascensión, la elevación, la conquista de los cielos, todo ello es un deseo de evasión. “Llegué al cielo, soy inmortal”... Toda elevación es isomorfa de una purificación... los símbolos ascensionales hablan acerca de la conquista de una potencia perdida”<sup>25</sup>. Por supuesto, potencia aquí equivale a virilidad: mostrarse ante los demás, protagonizar, erguirse para imponerse y atemorizar al más débil. No hace falta profundizar mucho para encontrar en toda urbe occidental contemporánea, exhibiéndose cual pavorreales, una nutrida gama de estructuras itifálicas diurno posturales. En una nueva forma de conquista espacial, las naciones se agitan en lucha constante por demostrar quien lo tiene más grande... me refiero claro está, al edificio. Pero el problema de la verticalidad occidental no es estético sino funcional. En un mundo sobrepoblado, trae consigo un aumento considerable en la densidad poblacional, y ello a su vez, significa un consecuente devaluó medioambiental y de calidad de vida. Para el antropólogo Edward Hall<sup>26</sup>, lo que se hace en la vivienda vertical de occidente equivale a transformarnos en gallinas o cerdos, pues se siguen al pie de la letra los mismos criterios de apiñamiento social en las torres habitacionales como en las granjas de cultivo. La única precaución a tener para que no se maten unos a otros es ponerlos en cajas o departamentos, uno encima del otro, estibando tantos como se desee, en bien de la economía capitalista. Hall advierte que las consecuencias de

<sup>24</sup> Otto, R. *Lo santo. Lo racional y lo irracional en la idea de Dios*. Alianza Editorial. 2012. Madrid. Pag 8

<sup>25</sup> Durand, Gilbert. Op. Cit. Pag 132 y ss

<sup>26</sup> Hall. Op Cit.

esta planeación urbana son devastadoras y no se manifiestan sino hasta que es demasiado tarde. El individuo queda idiotizado por privación sensorial y crece de forma exponencial el estrés y la tensión del entorno. En una sociedad de este tipo, los nacimientos se minimizan y las muertes se potencializan. Menos de 10m<sup>2</sup> por habitante se traducen en duplicar la patología social, enfermedades, delitos y violencia intra y extramuros.

Quizá el mejor ejemplo visual de esta barbarie diurna sean las fotografías de Hong Kong del artista Michael Wolf, donde la escala del individuo queda absolutamente rebajada ante aquella otra del edificio que lo devora. Hong Kong es particularmente interesante por sus “viviendas ataúd”, con casos de hasta 170,000 individuos “viviendo” en un espacio de menos de 4m<sup>2</sup>.

#### IV. EL RÉGIMEN DIURNO ESQUIZOMORFO O EL DESGARRAMIENTO LINEAL DEL MUNDO.

Concluyamos el estudio del régimen diurno analizando sus matices de carácter esquizomorfo. Aunque vale decir que en realidad, todo el régimen diurno y sus estructuras son esquizomorfas. La rectitud es isomorfa del corte tajante de la espada, así como la claridad es isomorfa del proceso primordial en el que el cosmos surge sólo a partir de su distanciamiento respecto del caos que le precede.

Ambas estructuras separan, dividen, excluyen y marcan precisas diferencias. En la arquitectura y urbanismo, saltan a la vista en primer lugar los trazos reticulares, lineales u ortogonales, en los que el espacio queda configurado en un orden perfecto de carácter sociófulgo, con cada cosa en su sitio. Comenzando con Roma, casi la totalidad de urbes occidentales responden fundamentalmente a este trazo rector, reticular o geometrizado, con ligeras variantes. El trazo de plato roto, tan agradable de recorrer por sus enredos y encrucijadas de calles angostas y apretadas, es mayoritariamente una herencia oriental y del mundo musulmán. El orden perfecto del trazo ortogonal es consecuencia de la búsqueda diurna por el reposo, la estabilidad, el

equilibrio y la simetría. La retícula ortogonal trabaja como una red en la que las cosas pueden ordenarse y crecer ad infinitum sin dejar ningún espacio desaprovechado. La propia naturaleza utiliza este recurso geométrico en la configuración de sus estructuras atómicas y moleculares. De lo que se trata es de minimizar la entropía, el movimiento caótico, los vacíos o huecos en los que algún agente extraño pueda entrometerse y la estructura tienda a desplazarse, provocando fracturas y pérdida de energía. La ortogonalidad garantiza poner cada cosa en su sitio y a la escala que se prefiera. Con ello, el sistema se vuelve estable y el cambio entrópico se minimiza por completo.

Esta ley del mínimo esfuerzo, fundamental para la conservación de la materia inerte, ha sido muy bien acogida en los hogares de la modernidad, donde el sedentarismo y el automatismo de los objetos ganan terreno a pasos agigantados. Este tipo de objetos, nos dice Baudrillard, cumplen el sueño diurno de dominación; satisfacen el deseo fundamental de que todo marche solo, es decir, sin el menor esfuerzo. El dogma moderno postula que para toda necesidad hay una máquina que se encargará de solucionarla. Lo esencial es que el mundo sea operado por alguien más, en este caso la máquina y en últimas fechas, la inteligencia artificial. Con ello, incluso el pensamiento ha sido absorbido por la ley del mínimo esfuerzo. Permanecer sentados, sin movimiento o actividad, tiene que ver sin duda con el deseo de estabilidad del régimen diurno, donde como ya dijimos, el cambio es considerado una amenaza intolerable. Con la modernidad y sus objetos de consumo, el ciudadano se vuelve un ser perezoso, que busca resolver todo fácil y de inmediato. En palabras de Baudrillard “la máquina conduce a una eliminación de funciones que llega a la parálisis”<sup>27</sup>. A su vez, David Le Breton señala: “nunca se ha utilizado tan poco la movilidad individual como en nuestras sociedades. La energía propiamente humana, surgida de la voluntad y de los más elementales recursos del cuerpo, hoy raramente es requerida en el curso de la vida cotidiana... el coche es hoy el rey de

<sup>27</sup> Baudrillard, Jean. *El sistema de los objetos*. Siglo XXI Editores. 1999. México. Pag 63. Baudrillard cita a su vez a Lewis Mumford y su obra *Technique et civilization*



nuestra vida y ha hecho del cuerpo algo superfluo. La condición humana ha devenido en condición inmóvil, ayudada por un sinnúmero de prótesis”<sup>28</sup>. Por supuesto, la prótesis fundamental de la modernidad ha sido el automóvil. Hace la vida fácil conectando grandes distancias en tiempos cortos y se vuelve pronto un objeto de deseo y de estatus social, completamente asociado a la virilidad, la potencia y la velocidad. Volviendo con Baudrillard, “el movimiento por sí solo es constitutivo de dicha, pero la euforia de la velocidad es otra cosa; está fundada en el imaginario del desplazamiento sin esfuerzo y constituye una dicha aún mayor”<sup>29</sup>. A su vez, Pallasmaa dirá que: “La arquitectura debe defender ferozmente la lentitud, ralentizar la experiencia del mundo”<sup>30</sup>. Y es que como hemos dicho, la velocidad –a ojos de la modernidad– es sinónimo de poder fálico. Autos, trenes, aviones, computadoras; todos ellos denotan poder en virtud de su velocidad. Esta condición ha pasado ahora a conquistar el espacio visual por completo. Las imágenes con que se bombardea la retina día con día, pasan y se repiten a una velocidad tal, que imposibilitan su lectura y comprensión profunda y con ello, deshumanizan todo lo que se observa. La fugacidad de las imágenes da cuenta del delirio occidental por escapar de la profundidad de la vida, y provoca cada vez más, mentes idiotizadas de fácil control y famélicas por consumir cuanto se les presente a su mirada. Claro está, para que el auto sea eficiente, es necesario otorgarle vías libres para su circulación y para ello, la línea recta de carácter diurno es la mejor apuesta. Sin embargo, la linealidad de las calles occidentales, sus avenidas, freeways, mainstreets y periféricos, provoca una falta de relación afectiva con el entorno, por estar planeada para pasar de prisa, sin mirar los detalles, ni las texturas, ni los pequeños cambios que habitan en el tiempo, sólo perceptibles a escala del peatón. Subir al auto equivale a ingresar en una burbuja que separa, aísla y aparta a individuos y sociedades. Igual que los edificios itifálicos, el auto se vuelve una

herramienta más de showoff, de vanidad insolente; marca una separación ontológica en la mente de quien posa y se muestra con vanagloria en el interior del objeto, y aquel otro que le observa desde afuera, con admiración o recelo.

Podemos decir entonces que tanto el urbanismo como la arquitectura de la modernidad occidental apostaron por la máquina antes que el ser humano. Caminar dejó de ser una necesidad para todo aquel que por medios propios o con deudas crediticias, lograra poseer un automóvil. No por nada dice David Le Breton que caminar es una evasión de la modernidad, una forma de burlarnos de ella. “Caminar es una apertura al mundo. Restituye el feliz sentimiento de la existencia. Sumerge en una forma de meditación que requiere una sensorialidad plena. Uno vuelve de la caminata transformado, más inclinado a disfrutar del tiempo que a someterse a la urgencia que prevalece en nuestras sociedades contemporáneas... el vagar es un anacronismo en un mundo en el que reina el hombre apresurado... caminar es un método de reencantamiento del tiempo y el espacio... un método de inmersión en el mundo, un medio para dejarse penetrar por la naturaleza y ponerse en contacto con un universo inaccesible a la vida cotidiana... caminar es una travesía por el silencio... un rodeo para reencontrarse con uno mismo”<sup>31</sup>.

Este cambio en la forma de vida, del peatón al vehículo, trajo consigo el aumento en la diferenciación de individuos y sociedades. La modernidad construyó sus ciudades bajo el recurso de la linealidad tajante, que por definición, separa dos universos distintos: el afuera y el adentro, la figura y el fondo, la sagrado y lo profano, la polis y la naturaleza, la propiedad privada y el espacio público. Cuando la línea crece en dos dimensiones deviene un muro, una muralla, un rechazo, un conflicto entre dos formas de existencia, una protección si se prefiere, pero de una alteridad que se rechaza. La línea recta y su trazo tajante separa las realidades ontológicas y sociales. La línea curva y su trazo

<sup>28</sup> Le Breton, David. *Elogio del caminar*. Siruela. Madrid. 2022. Pag 17,18

<sup>29</sup> Baudrillard. Op. Cit. Pag. 75

<sup>30</sup> Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Habitar*. GG. Barcelona. 2019. Pag. 74

<sup>31</sup> Le Breton, David. *Elogio del caminar*. Siruela. 2022. Madrid. Pags 15,21, 26, 47, 69, 16.



centrípeto en cambio, reúnen, agrupan, integran las partes en un todo congruente y participativo del cual es difícil separarse. Viene bien recordar aquí a Alejandro el Grande, esa figura heroica, protagónica del régimen diurno conquistador, discípulo de Aristóteles y considerado un genio en el arte de la guerra. Resulta que cuando llega a Frigia, camino a su conquista del imperio persa, le enfrentan al nudo gordiano, pues sólo aquel capaz de desatarlo podría conquistar el Oriente. Lo que hace Alejandro es desenvainar su espada y cortar de tajo la cuerda, creyendo que con ello había resuelto el problema. Quizá si Alejandro hubiese tenido por maestro a Quirón –ese gran centauro “hábil con los manos”, antítesis aristotélica, experto en el arte del engaño y la astucia, y tutor de buen número de figuras masculinas mucho más cercanas al régimen nocturno– hubiese logrado verdaderamente solucionar el reto que se le había impuesto. Evidentemente no fue así; Alejandro es el ejemplo perfecto del héroe del régimen diurno, con todas sus cualidades; esto lo hace poseedor de una mente peripatética, incapaz de lidiar con lo irracional o descifrar aquello que se esconde a la mirada (los cabos del nudo de Gordias habían quedado ocultos en su interior). Claro está que cualquier explicación de este acontecimiento legendario, proveniente de una mente de carácter diurno, dirá que Alejandro fue “muy creativo” al sacar su espada y cortar de tajo el nudo incomprensible. Dirán que Alejandro hizo uso del pensamiento lateral para resolver este problema. Nada más lejano a la realidad. Lo cierto es que cortar, instrumento diurno por excelencia, nunca significa resolver, pues el nudo no queda desecho. El latín *resolvere* significa aflojar, desabrochar, liberar, soltar; su raíz indoeuropea significa “dar vuelta”. Una mente conquistadora como la de Alejandro jamás hará uso del pensamiento lateral, flexible ante nuevas ideas, abierto a la ambigüedad y la multivocidad. El pensamiento conquistador es por definición de carácter vertical, como la espada del guerrero. Con el corte tajante de Alejandro no queda resuelto absolutamente nada; el misterio queda indescifrable, el nudo permanece invicto, el conquistador muere antes de hacerse con Oriente.

Veamos otra forma esquizomorfa del régimen diurno. Aparece en la vivienda burguesa, previo al nacimiento del movimiento moderno en la arquitectura. Vuelvo a recurrir al genio de Baudrillard para recordar cómo incluso la configuración del mobiliario resulta una imagen fiel de las estructuras sociales que lo enmarcan<sup>32</sup>. El interior burgués, dice el francés, es prototípico del orden patriarcal (ergo, del régimen diurno), con una tendencia a cerrar y organizar los espacios como entidades independientes. Cada habitación tiene un uso y destino estricto, a imagen de la autoridad. La forma cerrada se vuelve una frontera absoluta, un continente fijo donde los objetos tienen una función precisa que cumplir: el espejo, el reloj, la chimenea, la lámpara, los Swarovskys, los Lladró, los animales disecados colgando como trofeo; cada uno en su lugar. Ante esta cerrazón y acumulación burguesa, la modernidad se opone con su configuración de espacio abierto, integrado, liberado de los objetos, transparente, continuo, lineal, de muros y techos desnudos, formas rectas y ortogonales. Sin embargo, este amor por las líneas rectas trae como consecuencia el apartarse de las morfologías naturales y del cuerpo. La casa burguesa puede estar repleta de objetos pero estos son parte de una organización somática. El reloj de pared por ejemplo, péndulo hipnotizante colocado a menudo como remate de la chimenea, posee un tic-tac que consagra la intimidad del lugar porque evoca un sonido primordial en el interior de nuestro propio cuerpo: el corazón. El reloj burgués es un órgano que tranquiliza. En cambio, “es en la convivencia profunda, en la percepción visceral de nuestro propio cuerpo, cuando somos decepcionados por la modernidad. No encontramos ecos de nuestros propios órganos en nada. Ya no hay organización somática”<sup>33</sup>. No hay ligas entre el hombre y sus objetos y estos dejan de tener valores simbólicos. Ya no hablan, ya no interfieren en el campo de lo imaginario como antes lo hacían. Estas ideas de Baudrillard me recuerdan a Heidegger cuando describe la nueva forma de ser y de estar en el mundo tecnocientífico occidental, cada vez más alejado

<sup>32</sup> Baudrillard. *Op. Cit.*

<sup>33</sup> Baudrillard. *Op. Cit.* Pag 61

del pasado y las costumbres. Los objetos pasan de tener un valor simbólico y cultural, arraigado en el tiempo y la permanencia, a volverse simples estructuras de uso y consumo fugaz y desechable. Los objetos antiguos, que tanto aborrece la modernidad, están ahí para significar, o mejor aún, para simbolizar. Baudrillard dirá que se integran en la estructura del ambiente porque están cargados de calidez, recuerdos y nostalgia, en contraposición a todo gadget moderno, de carácter frío y sólo valorizado por su desempeño y funcionamiento inmediato<sup>34</sup>. Lo que fascina del objeto antiguo, insiste Baudrillard, es su alusión a un mundo previo que nos antecede con todo un gran relato que contarnos. Por eso, la simple y pura “funcionalidad” de la modernidad nunca es suficiente, salvo para alguien desarraigado por completo de su pasado, sus recuerdos y experiencias. A este respecto dice Bachelard que todo un pasado viene a vivir con nosotros en el instante que comenzamos a vivir los espacios desde el pensamiento y los sueños<sup>35</sup>. Dejamos de vivir la pura positividad para instalarnos mejor en la ensoñación prodigiosa. La funcionalidad y sus gadgets no acogen al individuo, no le hacen sentirse en casa. El ser humano tiene siempre necesidad de sus reliquias cargadas de sentido y valor simbólico. La antigüedad, dice Baudrillard, cobra siempre en el entorno un valor de célula madre y de trascendencia, organizando el espacio según un modo interno, subjetivo, propio y opuesto a la organización racional que mira siempre hacia fuera y hacia adelante, sin adentrarse en las profundidades ni en el pasado del individuo que lo habita<sup>36</sup>. Así, el objeto funcional deviene auténtica ausencia del ser<sup>37</sup>, desprovisto por completo de significado o valor simbólico. Volviendo con Heidegger, para salir del Dasein tecnocrático y consumista de la modernidad, necesitamos retomar una relación de poiesis con los objetos, los espacios y las técnicas que nos conforman; una relación que nos lleve en dirección hacia el ser, en vez de eludirlo.

<sup>34</sup> Baudrillard. Op Cit. Pag. 85 3

<sup>35</sup> Bachelard, Op cit. Pag 35.

<sup>36</sup> Baudrillard. Op cit. Pag 90.

<sup>37</sup> Baudrillard, Op cit. Pag 91.

Quisiera ahora traer aquí, para ahondar en el análisis del régimen diurno, su velocidad, rascacielos y linealidades esquizomorfas, la voz de un gran arquitecto no sólo de la modernidad sino de todos los tiempos: Frank Lloyd Wright. Este genio norteamericano estuvo sin duda seducido por muchas de las imágenes diurnas que hemos estudiado, pero va más allá y logra integrar en su visión el contrapeso de muchas otras imágenes que corresponden al régimen nocturno. Frank es un moderno de primera fila, pero también un artista creador como pocos, que supo infundir en sus obras la coincidentia oppositorum de las estructuras místicas, así como la armonía sintética del imaginario nocturno, en las que el conflicto de la antítesis queda trascendido. En su sexta y última Kahn Lecture<sup>38</sup>, en Princeton, Wright pregunta en tono de advertencia –y ojo, lo hace en 1930, hace casi cien años– ¿Acaso las civilizaciones mueren a causa de sus ciudades? Para el arquitecto, la liga fundamental entre la verticalidad del rascacielos y la ortogonalidad de los trazos urbanos radica en la velocidad, o quizá mejor, en la aceleración. Pero esta cualidad es un síntoma peligroso al que debemos atender, pues no es sino la antesala de la decadencia. “Estamos presenciando la aceleración que precede a la disolución”<sup>39</sup>. En las ciudades de la modernidad, hay una aceleración formidable debida al uso del rascacielos como instrumento tecnocrático: “recurso comercial que permite al propietario explotar la ciudad (la tierra) hasta el límite”<sup>40</sup>. Bajo este escenario, “la ciudad consigna al individuo a la casilla 337.611, bloque F, avenida A, calle 127. Y no hay nada que pueda distinguir al 377.611 del 337.610 o del 27.643, sección D, intersección 118 y 119... es la extinción y el triunfo final de la máquina sobre el hombre... la ciudad misma no es más que el hombre-máquina, la sombra letal del hombre sensible”<sup>41</sup>. Las palabras de Wright resuenan con vigor al recordar las viviendas ataúd de los rascacielos de Hong Kong que hemos ya mencionado. Por supuesto, está crítica lleva una dirección muy bien determinada, hacia la diana Le Corbusieriana que tanto

<sup>38</sup> Wright, Frank Lloyd. *Arquitectura Moderna. The Kahn Lectures. Princeton 1930*. Paidós. 2010. Madrid. Pag 229

<sup>39</sup> Wright. Op cit, Pag 230.

<sup>40</sup> Wright. Op cit, Pag 233. El paréntesis es mío.

<sup>41</sup> Wright. Op cit. Pag 230.

preocupó a Wright, pero independientemente de eso, el saco le queda a toda megalópolis occidental, como mandado a hacer con sastre italiano. El problema del tráfico, continúa Wright, “será pronto imposible de solucionar y nos obliga a centrar la atención en la tiranía de la verticalidad (...) Como hemos visto, la cuadrícula que ha crecido hasta convertirse en metrópoli, causa ya el suficiente sufrimiento humano como para hacer que naufrague la estructura de la ciudad. La alta presión sanguínea de las congestionadas arterias se está volviendo intolerable”<sup>42</sup>. Creo que hoy más que nunca habría que retomar las lecturas de Wright, pues no sólo la verticalidad del rascacielos y la reticularidad de las ciudades se muestran como signos de gravedad sino también la divinización de la máquina, no sólo aquella de la modernidad sino también la que seduce ahora al mundo contemporáneo a través de sus imágenes y artificios vertiginosos.

Terminaremos el análisis del régimen diurno con un caso extremo, perfecto para resumir cuanto hemos dicho hasta ahora. Se trata del proyecto de ciudad lineal The Line, en construcción actualmente en Arabia Saudita, a imagen y semejanza de su creador intelectual, el actual príncipe heredero y primer ministro Mohammed bin Salman Al Saud. Al lado de esta figura, Alejandro es un niño de brazos como exponente maravilloso del régimen diurno en total desequilibrio. ¿En qué consiste esta perversa distopía? En prometer una ciudad perfecta, auto sostenible, sin emisiones de CO<sub>2</sub>, con acceso a cualquier servicio dentro de la ciudad a cinco minutos a pie, o bien, haciendo uso de los espectaculares trenes de alta velocidad<sup>43</sup>. Lo que no dicen mucho o quizá no quieren ver es que piensan meter aquí nueve millones de personas, con una densidad de 265,000 hab/km<sup>2</sup>, es decir, 10 veces más que la actual Manhattan. The Line es una aberración de 170 kms de largo, 500 metros de altura –pocas torres en el mundo superan actualmente esta barrera– y miserables 200

metros de ancho. Muchos investigadores a lo largo y ancho del planeta han advertido ya lo que resulta evidente: un trazo lineal es la forma menos eficiente de configuración urbana. Esto, de acuerdo por ejemplo con los investigadores Rafael Prieto-Curiel y Daniel Kondr, del Complexity Science Hub en Viena, es “la encarnación perfecta del sueño de comenzar desde cero y repensar completamente una ciudad”, es decir, una vez más, el desarraigo al pasado como una de las grandes aspiraciones del régimen diurno. The Line no es más que la resurrección de lo que fue en origen la angustia. *Angustiae* era ese camino estrecho, entre rocas de inmensa altura, donde uno se siente por completo encerrado, asfixiado, vulnerable, sometido y aplastado. Pues bien, podemos concluir con Hillman<sup>44</sup>, otro gran heredero del Círculo de Eranos, que el lenguaje arquitectónico que hemos expuesto aquí es un vivo reflejo del lenguaje neurótico occidental, distanciante, objetivante, frío, apático, amnésico e intolerante. Hillman advierte que necesitamos con urgencia desliteralizar y desconceptualizar el mundo y esto aplica por supuesto a las formas arquitectónicas. La crisis que vive occidente se debe en buena medida a la falta de simbolización provocada por la instrumentalización y desacralización de la naturaleza; la sustitución de la escala y el contacto humano, por la velocidad incontenible de la tecnología, el automóvil y las imágenes; el desprecio de la experiencia del mundo y su suplantación por la virtualidad y artificialidad del video o realidad aumentada. Todo esto nos está conduciendo por un camino que lleva a la desaparición de la relación y empatía con el otro; donde es mejor grabar una violación, un asalto o una golpiza para subirla a las redes sociales, antes que mover un dedo para ayudar al agredido.

## V. EL RÉGIMEN NOCTURNO O EL ELOGIO DE LA SOMBRA

Reflexionemos un poco más respecto al cambio de actitud imaginativa al que se refiere Durand. Dice el antropólogo que cuando la mentalidad se

<sup>42</sup> Wright, Op cit, Pag 234.

<sup>43</sup> Información obtenida principalmente de: Prieto-Curiel, R., Kondor, D. Arguments for building The Circle and not The Line in Saudi Arabia. *npj Urban Sustain* 3, 35 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s42949-023-00115-y>

<sup>44</sup> Hillman, James. *Alchemical Psychology*. Uniform Edition of the Writings of James Hillman. Volume 5. Spring Publications Inc. Putnam, Connecticut.

inclina de manera exclusiva hacia la búsqueda de trascendencia, como en el caso del régimen diurno, se da automáticamente un rechazo del mundo y la vida material, una alienación. “La representación que se confina exclusivamente en el Régimen Diurno de las imágenes desemboca en una vacuidad absoluta de tipo nirvánico, tensión polémica y constante vigilancia”<sup>45</sup>. Llega el punto en que el héroe debe volver a casa, ya no en actitud bélica y de antítesis sino para abrazar el mundo y hacer las paces con él. El terrible monstruo caótico se transforma en guardián y amigo, que lejos de perseguirnos y aterrarnos, termina por domesticarse y acompañarnos. El temor y rechazo hacia las tinieblas amenazantes, identificadas con el caos y la muerte, dará paso a una nueva serie de isomorfismos eufemizados, donde la angustia desaparece y el misticismo brota con toda su ambigüedad y misterio, trascendiendo la antítesis y dotando a las imágenes de pluralidad de sentido. Las actitudes ante el tiempo y la muerte se invierten. Al incorporar el tiempo y los ciclos naturales, la muerte se acepta como sustrato ineludible de la vida, y la vejez deja de ser penuria para entenderse mejor como sabiduría y experiencia benefactora. Los materiales naturales cobran vida mostrando sus imperfecciones y desgastes, ya no como defecto sino como singularidad preciosa del objeto o criatura. El vertiginoso acontecer del mundo con sus autos, modas, aparatos e imágenes de caducidad inmediata, queda ralentizado y sustituido por un individuo que camina por calles empedradas y apretadas, para adentrarse con alegría en el mundo, dejándose llevar por la cadencia natural del espacio y el tiempo de la vida cotidiana. En esta otra actitud imaginativa, la noche se transforma en la morada de los amantes y del alma del místico. Las sombras son ahora ante los ojos del artista, dulzura primordial que aparece condensada y modelada en la piedra de las catedrales<sup>46</sup>. La blancura esterilizada y fría del régimen diurno cede ante el despliegue de la riqueza policromática de la naturaleza. Aquí, la tintura de la vida deviene cualidad íntima sustancial,

ontológica. Lo dice Bachelard, los seres humanos estamos dotados de una infinita potencia del teñimiento. Así, en el régimen nocturno resucita el universo de sombra que había quedado condenado y menospreciado por occidente y su modernidad. Y no puedo pensar en mejor ejemplo para comprender y explicar el universo melifluido de las sombras, que el pensamiento japonés; esa cultura que hizo de la sombra un refugio y que supo descubrir en ella la belleza sublime de la simplicidad. Por eso, a la manera del Círculo de Eranos, recurro brevemente a la sabiduría de Oriente y al hermoso texto de Junichiro Tanizaki, *El elogio de la sombra*<sup>47</sup>, para que nos instruya en los misterios de la estética nocturna y su calidez protectora. Dice Tanizaki:

“La oscuridad es la condición indispensable para apreciar la belleza. Sustituyamos la luz eléctrica por la de una lámpara de aceite o de una vela y veremos inmediatamente como los objetos cobran profundidad, sobriedad y densidad... la belleza de una habitación japonesa se produce siempre por los grados de sombra. No hay necesidad de ningún accesorio. A Occidente le sorprende esa desnudez y cree estar ante unos muros grises desprovistos de encanto; no ha captado en absoluto el enigma de la sombra ... en la oscuridad reina una serenidad eternamente inalterable... lo bello no es una sustancia sino un dibujo de sombras, un juego de claroscuros. La belleza pierde su existencia si se le suprimen los efectos de la sombra”.

Comparemos estas palabras con las de Wright, genio creador pero sin duda embelesado también con la claridad diurna de la modernidad: “Las sombras eran la pincelada de la antigüedad. Dejemos ahora que los modernos trabajen con luz, sin sombras innecesarias”<sup>48</sup>.

El espacio cargado de sombras y claroscuros se vuelve inmediatamente un escenario de calidez y acogimiento, mundo de ensueños, de incierta claridad, latido de la noche. Permanecer en ese tipo de espacios invita a la mente a reflexionar y meditar, y al cuerpo a recorrer sus rincones; hace

<sup>45</sup> Durand. Op cit. Pag 199

<sup>46</sup> Rodin, Auguste. *Las catedrales de Francia*. Abada editores. 2014. Madrid. Pag. 171

<sup>47</sup> Tanizaki, Junichiro. *El elogio de la sombra*. Siruela. Madrid.2021. Pag 33, 43, 47, 67,

<sup>48</sup> Wright, Op cit. Pag 153.



perder toda noción y dimensión del tiempo cotidiano, pues la sombra viste, carga de sentido, transforma lo ordinario en algo extraordinario, incluso sagrado. Haciendo eco de Tanizaki, Juhani Pallasmaa dirá que después del rodeo diurno y espiritual de la modernidad, impresionada por imágenes de fuga, escape y liberación, y por conceptos como inmaterialidad, ligereza, abstracción, pureza y limpieza, estamos volviendo ahora a imágenes femeninas y por lo tanto, apegadas al régimen nocturno; “imágenes de interioridad, intimidad y pertenencia”<sup>49</sup>, donde el espacio de la sombra y la oscuridad atenúan la nitidez de la visión objetiva e invitan a fantasear, meditar y adaptarnos mejor a la visión periférica, sintética, donde el todo es más que la suma de sus partes. Ya hemos hablado de esta visión periférica que se dibuja como antítesis de aquella otra de la modernidad racional, pero atendiendo a Durand, si el régimen nocturno es una inversión del diurno, me parece oportuno hacer un ejercicio de semejanza y decir algunas palabras más al respecto, considerando la visión enfocada como prole del régimen diurno y la periférica como hija menor del régimen nocturno. Así entonces, podemos afirmar que bajo la visión periférica, la imagen del mundo cambia por completo. Veamos cómo.

Pallasmaa comenta “liberado del deseo implícito de control y poder, quizá sea precisamente en la visión desenfocada cuando el ojo sea capaz de nuevo, de abrir nuevos campos de visión y pensamiento. La pérdida de foco puede emancipar al ojo de su dominio patriarcal y dar lugar a una mirada participativa y empática”<sup>50</sup>. A este respecto, Ehrenzweig<sup>51</sup> recuerda a Klee y sus dos modos de atención artística: endotópica y exotópica, la primera enfocada y atenta a la aparición de la figura que nace ante el trazo del artista; la segunda, consciente mejor de la totalidad y el fondo que permanece detrás y abraza a esa figura. Para Klee, el verdadero artista debe ser capaz de entrenar la mirada para lograr distinguir ambas realidades en el cuadro. Esto es fácil de decir para un genio que desde temprana edad era capaz de escribir con la diestra y dibujar

con la siniestra, simultáneamente. Tanizaki habla muy bello de este cambio de visión, cuando refiere la maravillosa experiencia de contemplar los reflejos y efectos visuales que anidan en los *shojis*<sup>52</sup>. “A menudo me detengo a contemplar la superficie del papel, iluminada más no por ello deslumbrante... y llego a dudar de la realidad de esa luz de ensueño y parpadeo... universo ambiguo donde sombra y luz se confunden... algunas veces me he vuelto para mirarlos de nuevo, **y a medida que la visión perpendicular va dando paso a la lateral**, la superficie del papel se pone a emitir una suave y misteriosa irradiación...”<sup>53</sup>

Toda esta fascinación por las texturas, tonalidades, reflejos y claroscuros, será siempre bienvenida en la arquitectura de régimen nocturno, donde la materialidad de los cuerpos y escenarios cobra importancia plena. La psicología ambiental conoce muy bien esta visión periférica, pues se encarga principalmente del estudio de la interacción del ambiente con la conducta y experiencia humana<sup>54</sup>. William Ittelson, pionero de la disciplina, habla de las dos visiones refiriéndose a ellas como percepción objetual –atómica, racional, enfocada– y en contrapartida a esta, la percepción ambiental, de carácter molar y holístico. Esta forma de percepción no define el mundo a la manera de la ventana renacentista, en donde todo queda fijo y cosificado en un lugar y tiempo absolutos, sino que depende siempre de la experiencia motora y la interacción con el entorno. La percepción ambiental conecta de inmediato al sujeto con el mundo, haciéndolos participar de manera dinámica, es decir, en la temporalidad. El ambiente es una gran extensión, que rebasa la escala humana y que por lo mismo, no puede percibirse nunca de manera objetual. Hay una sobreabundancia de información, imposible de procesar de forma inmediata, como quisiera la razón y la visión enfocada. El mundo penetra en el sujeto a través de todos sus sentidos y no sólo por la mirada. Incluso cuando inmersos

<sup>52</sup> Muro-mampara tradicional de la arquitectura japonesa, fabricado con papel traslúcido de enorme belleza por sus texturas y tonalidades.

<sup>53</sup> Tanizaki. Op Cit. Pag 49 y ss. Las negritas son mías.

<sup>54</sup> Para el lector interesado en la Psicología Ambiental, se sugiere como texto introductorio el texto de Charles Holahan: *Psicología Ambiental*

<sup>49</sup> Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Esencias*. GG. Barcelona. 2021. Pag 52

<sup>50</sup> Pallasmaa. *Los ojos de la piel*. Pag 40

<sup>51</sup> Ehrenzweig. Op Cit. Pag 22



en el ambiente algo llama poderosamente nuestra atención, sigue estando ahí detrás el gran telón de fondo, mostrando contenidos que sólo capta el inconsciente pero que no por ello desaparecen. Esta es la visión inconsciente de la que habla Ehrenzweig, capaz de reconocer el orden oculto de las cosas en su totalidad, con una eficiencia muy por encima del escrutinio consciente<sup>55</sup>. Ese telar de fondo está tejido con texturas de todo tipo, símbolos e imágenes que le hablan a la consciencia a partir del cuerpo.

Es aquí donde la arquitectura comienza a volverse fenomenología, contemplando asombrada todas esas imágenes de la materia, interioridad, intimidad y pertenencia de las que nos hablaba Pallasmaa y a las que nos recondujeron en buena medida, figuras como la de Alvar Aalto y Frank Lloyd Wright, a quienes por fortuna muchos más les siguieron. Para Aalto, el sentido más importante para experimentar la arquitectura no debe ser la visión enfocada y reductora de la experiencia, sino nuestro sentido existencial<sup>56</sup>. La arquitectura deja de ser percibida como un objeto inerte y pasa a ser ambiente, experiencia, recorridos y sensaciones vinculadas con una historia y un relato que la vuelven sujeto de análisis reflexivo. Sus volúmenes se transforman con el tiempo y con las circunstancias, siempre irrepetibles. Sus materiales respiran, se hinchan y contraen, envejecen y se enferman; sus muros requieren, tal como sus dueños y habitantes, espacio para respirar y no sentirse ahogados. El espacio se convierte en vehículo para conducir al habitante hacia esferas multidimensionales, donde las pulsiones irracionales y el pathos puro encuentran también cobijo y lugar para expresarse. A este respecto Pallasmaa afirma –seguramente inspirado en Heidegger– que la arquitectura debe ser ante todo una experiencia de ser y de estar en el mundo: “si no soy capaz de encontrar sentido y significado en mi encuentro con un lugar, no hay ahí arquitectura; sólo la construcción muda, incapaz de conmoverme y afectarme... Para comprender la esencia de la arquitectura, hace falta primero una seria

comprensión de la memoria y la imaginación. Tenemos que abandonar el enfrentamiento racional con el mundo, para mejor, fundirnos con él a través del acto mismo de vivirlo, sentirlo, experimentarlo<sup>57</sup>... pues cada experiencia conmovedora de la arquitectura es de carácter multisensorial<sup>58</sup>. Ese es el secreto para lograr una arquitectura fuerte, que afecte en lo profundo y se grave en la memoria. Así entonces, experiencia multisensorial, memoria e imaginación se vuelven los ingredientes fundamentales de toda arquitectura que pretenda afectar y conmover el alma humana. Dicho de otro modo, lo que hace falta en la arquitectura y la experiencia del mundo en general, es recuperar el Dasein exiliado, el saber estar en el mundo con el celular, videojuego y computadora apagados, saboreando las experiencias reales, re-conociéndonos en la otredad, simpatizando con la vida, trascendiendo el conflicto y las contrariedades. Para ello, hay que hacer de la arquitectura una experiencia simbólica, acurrucada en el regazo del régimen nocturno. Sólo así lograremos salir de la pura funcionalidad y el asombro superficial y deshumanizado. Necesitamos que la arquitectura nos abrace, nos pida permanecer en ella y con ella. Y para ello, nada mejor que hablar brevemente acerca del arquetipo de la casa, símbolo fundamental de las figuras e isomorfismos de la intimidad y el resguardo.

## VI. EL CARÁCTER MÍSTICO DEL RÉGIMEN, O EL ABRAZO MATERNO DEL HOGAR-REFUGIO

“El rumor del río corre por detrás de la casa. La lluvia cae sobre las losas desde el amanecer. El agua traza un surco sobre el cristal rajado en una esquina. La luz amarillenta se va apagando. En la habitación hace calor y el ambiente está cargado”. Así comienza Romain Rolland su extraordinario Jean Christophe. En esa casa está por nacer el protagonista. La escena es mágica. Se adhiere de inmediato a la memoria, se escucha nítidamente ese rumor fluvial y se contempla el cielo, a punto de dejar su profundidad azulada para abrazar a la

<sup>55</sup> Ehrenzweig. Op cit

<sup>56</sup> Pallasmaa. *Esencias*. Pag 112.

<sup>57</sup> Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Esencias*. GG. Barcelona, 2018. Pag 113,118

<sup>58</sup> Pallasmaa. *Los ojos de la piel*. Pag 52

diosa de rosáceos cabellos. Sabemos, sin saber por qué, que dentro, en el espacio de intimidad y refugio, sucede algo importante. Todo ello es posible gracias a la potencia de las imágenes simbólicas que utiliza el poeta. Y es que, recordando a Bachelard, visualizar una casa en la noche, en medio del bosque, es dar entrada a un sinfín de imágenes poéticas. Hablar de casa es hablar de un espacio de intimidad, y la única forma de aprender acerca de la intimidad es meditando la casa, el hogar, el refugio.

Para Bachelard “la casa es nuestro rincón del mundo, primer universo, que se vive tanto en su realidad como en su virtualidad, con el pensamiento y los sueños<sup>59</sup>”. Pallasmaa, profundo conocedor de La poética del espacio de Bachelard, también comenta: “La esencia del hogar es ser un sostén, un apoyo, una materia prima. Ese sostén es por supuesto, también psíquico, se sitúa mucho más enérgicamente en la psique que en cualquier escenario físico, y pertenece más a la poesía que a la arquitectura<sup>60</sup>. El hogar no es un objeto construido sino un estado complejo, que integra recuerdos e imágenes, deseos y miedos, rituales y ritmos personales<sup>61</sup>. Nuestro concepto de arquitectura es de un objeto perfectamente articulado pero desprovisto de vida<sup>62</sup>, y la arquitectura tiene también que mantener su secreto y misterio impenetrables con el fin de prender nuestra imaginación y emociones<sup>63</sup>. Hoy, los valores dominantes desatienden la fantasía, suprimen los sentidos, petrifican al hombre y lo alejan del mundo. Sin embargo, la educación de los sentidos y la imaginación es una condición necesaria para una vida plena y digna, pues funcionan como medios de comprensión de la esencia poliédrica y multifacética del habitar<sup>64</sup>”.

Esto es lo que tendría que enseñarse en los salones de arquitectura en el primer semestre de la carrera, para que los futuros creadores de espacios comprendieran de inicio que su oficio va mucho más allá de un análisis estrictamente racional de formas, volúmenes y funciones. Habrá algunos afortunados a los que los buenos profesores les hayan inculcado esta instrucción, me atrevería a decir iniciática, y les provoquen amor a las texturas y la diversidad de materiales, el color y los juegos de luces y sombras, la materialidad y complejidad de las que ya hemos hablado. Pero más allá de todo esto, los misterios mayores en la enseñanza deberían tratar acerca de la vida misma que sucede en los espacios: los pleitos y tertulias que auspiciaron, las risas y llantos de los que fueron testigos fieles; todos los pequeños actos familiares, únicos e irrepetibles en cada casa, habitan y permanecen en ella. Ellos son los que dan a la vida un valor de auténtica iniciación y los que inyectan vida a la arquitectura. Esto puede parecer exagerado, pero no lo es de ningún modo; aquí está la vida psíquica de la casa-hogar, igual de real que la que viven en ella nuestros cuerpos. De aquí la famosa frase “si las paredes hablaran”. Pues bien, habría que pedir a los alumnos un ensayo al respecto, donde plasmen qué dirían las paredes de su casa y que comiencen con ello la exploración de la arquitectura como experiencia vital, mucho más allá de las formas materiales, la estética y el funcionalismo. Claro está, para eso se necesitan poetas en las aulas, almas que logren conmover otras almas para sacudirles el exceso de racionalidad y egolatría e inculcarles mejor, una fuerte pasión por el ejercicio de la arquitectura. Por eso cita Pallasmaa al cineasta holandés Jan Vrijman cuando pregunta “¿por qué los arquitectos muestran tan poco interés en la gente durante el proceso del proyecto? ¿por qué son tan teóricos, tan distantes de la vida en general? Un verdadero artista se aproxima a su materia prima desde sus significados, desde las imágenes que resuenan en ella<sup>65</sup>. Habría que hacer, como pide

<sup>59</sup> Bachelard, Op cit. Pag 33 y ss

<sup>60</sup> Pallasmaa. Habitar. Pag 19

<sup>61</sup> Pallasmaa, Habitar. Pag 18

<sup>62</sup> Pallasmaa. Habitar. Pag 15

<sup>63</sup> Pallasmaa. Los ojos de la piel. Pag 74

<sup>64</sup> Pallasmaa. Los ojos de la piel. Pag 116

<sup>65</sup> Pallasmaa. Habitar. Pag 19.

Frank Lloyd Wright, que los alumnos aprendan a sentir la arquitectura y no solo pensarla. Solo así se llega a la simplicidad que trae reposo al alma, porque “la simplicidad es algo sentido por el corazón, más que pensado por la cabeza”<sup>66</sup>.

Uno de los problemas de la creación arquitectónica funcionalista, concebida sólo desde la utilidad y la estética, consiste en que, lo mismo que los objetos que analizamos con Baudrillard, termina por carecer de sentido y significado. Le falta adherirse a la vida y experiencia de los seres que la habitan. Juhani Pallasmaa

comenta: “Hemos llegado a convertirnos en personas sin hogar. Es un nuevo desarraigo, que tiene su origen en la incapacidad de unir el yo con el mundo a causa de vivir en un eterno presente. Se nos enseña a construir y proyectar casas, no hogares. Se olvida que la vivienda tiene su alma y su psique además de sus cualidades formales. Nuestro concepto de arquitectura es de un objeto perfectamente articulado pero desprovisto de vida”<sup>67</sup>. Volviendo con Bachelard, la casa es un universo que en un primer momento comienza a ser concebido por la razón matemática y geométrica pero termina trascendiendo esta dimensión estrictamente objetiva, para volverse un acto de poesía. “La casa es primeramente un objeto de fuerte geometría. Nos sentimos tentados a analizarla racionalmente. Su realidad primera es visible y tangible, está hecha de sólidos bien tallados. Domina la línea recta. Pero la transposición a lo humano se efectúa en cuanto se toma la casa como espacio de consuelo e intimidad, un espacio que debe condensar y defender la intimidad. Entonces es cuando se abre fuera de toda racionalidad, hacia el campo de la poesía y el onirismo. Hay que liberarnos de nuestras geometrías racionales y utilitarias para acceder a la posibilidad de crear casas poesía”<sup>68</sup>.

Esta doble polaridad en la imagen de la casa, esta especie de “trayecto antropológico” que va desde las pulsiones individuales que el arquitecto enfrenta al momento de crear, hasta las

consecuencias culturales y sociales que su obra produce, puede señalarse muy bien con algunos casos ejemplares. El primero que quiero comentar es el de la casa Farnsworth, auténtico hito en la historia de la arquitectura de la modernidad. Aquí, Mies van der Rohe, exiliado por el nazismo e instalado en Chicago, consigue un mecenas para continuar el desarrollo de sus ideas: la Dra Edith Farnsworth. Pero imaginen ustedes en qué tendría que terminar el asunto, con, por un lado, una nefróloga muy culta e independiente, que además era escritora, música, zoóloga y traductora, amante de la cultura italiana y su idílico modus vivendi toscano, y por el otro, un arquitecto autorreferencial, con sed de trascendencia y rechazo por el pasado, muy concentrado en los detalles racionalistas, el vidrio y el acero, la transparencia y la exposición: dos visiones antagónicas del mundo. Más allá de los sobrecostos financieros y temporales en los que la construcción de la casa incurrió, el problema fundamental saltaba a la vista desde antes de comenzar el diseño. La Dra Edith terminó demandando a Mies. El pleito duró varios años y se resolvió finalmente a favor del arquitecto. Pallasmaa dice: “Mies había proyectado una de las casas más atractivas del siglo XX en términos de la estética de la modernidad, pero su clienta no la encontró satisfactoria como hogar y por ello le demandó”<sup>69</sup>. La Dra. Farnsworth se había transformado en una de esas miles de personas que cita Pallasmaa, con una obra maestra de arquitectura moderna, pero sin hogar... con una pecera abierta a los cuatro vientos, sin ninguna privacidad o intimidad, con dos baños muy detallados pero sin cuarto ni recoveco alguno para ofrecer refugio y hospedaje a sus familiares y amistades. Pallasmaa continúa diciendo: “sin menospreciar la obra de Mies, se debe señalar el distanciamiento respecto a la vida y la intencionada reducción del espectro vital que despliega esta obra de arquitectura”<sup>70</sup>.

Otro caso similar, más reciente e incomparablemente más pobre en calidad y propuesta: la casa VI de Peter Eisenman. El punto

<sup>66</sup> Wright. Op cit. Pag 149

<sup>67</sup> Wright. Op cit. Pag 149

<sup>68</sup> Bachelard, Op cit. Pag 79y ss

<sup>69</sup> Pallasmaa. Habitar. Pag 15

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. Pag 15

de partida para este diseño: la retícula ortogonal para, a partir de ahí, dividir o separar el espacio en cuatro secciones. La casa es una oda a la línea recta, el trazo ortogonal y la imaginación esquizomorfa. Argumentando toda una definición “revolucionaria” del concepto de casa –claro está, a ojos de Eisenman y cualquier mente de carácter diurno exacerbado– el arquitecto diseña y construye caprichos, obligando al cliente a callarse y sufrirlos en su habitar cotidiano (quienes por cierto, lo hacen de muy buena gana). Eisenman sufre igual que Mies, deseos de vanagloria, y para hacerse a un lado de cualquier forma del pasado y comenzar su propia historia, se postula como post-funcionalista. Ya no quiere que “la forma siga a la función”, al diablo con eso. Todo el diseño se vuelve algo “conceptual”. No costará mucho intuir los resultados de esta casa. A diferencia del talento y altura de Mies, que encontraba a Dios en los detalles, esta “casa” es un compendio de detalles mal diseñados y no resueltos. Eisenman era un “arquitecto de papel”, con muy buenos contactos pero sin ninguna experiencia de obra. La minúscula casa tomó tres años en construirse, rebasando por completo el presupuesto original y teniendo que reconstruirse casi en su totalidad años más tarde. Entre algunas de sus “revolucionarias” ideas, el arquitecto toma ejemplo de Alejandro el Grande y separa de tajo ya no la cuerda Gordiana sino el lecho de los cónyuges. Fiel a su egolatría, Eisenman se regocija con su logro: el conflicto como forma de relación entre la casa y sus habitantes; la intencionada desatención de las necesidades de habitabilidad del ser humano, proponiendo mejor una “sacudida” de las personas más allá de sus necesidades.

Bajo esta forma de entender y percibir el mundo, el arte y la cotidianidad en general se cargan con la misma frialdad que la ciencia omnipotente a la que se adora. El arte de moda y que todo buen crítico debe apreciar y ensalzar es “conceptual”, dirigido ya no al alma y los sentidos, sino al puro intelecto, y pobre de aquel que no comprenda el concepto del artista, pues deviene un primitivo ignorante por debajo de la escala ontológica de la especie. No quisiera ser malinterpretado. Es verdad que hablando de arte conceptual no todo

es decadencia. González Gortázar dijo en alguna ocasión que este arte apela a lo más profundamente artístico, porque es un auténtico acto de poiesis que transforma el modo de ser de una cosa. Lo que antes era objeto cotidiano deviene símbolo, arte, entidad novedosa. El arte conceptual propone siempre otra lectura de las cosas y en ese sentido, paradójicamente, colabora con la desconceptualización del mundo. La cosa se transforma; la letra muerta cobra vida de nuevo. Aparece una nueva jerarquía ontológica, aunque esta sea en sí misma conceptual. Todas las vanguardias artísticas caen bajo este escenario, incluido por supuesto el movimiento moderno en la arquitectura. Pero todos sabemos que a los grandes artistas creadores les pisan la cola una inconmensurable fila de sujetos que, con la creatividad apagada y las musas de sabático, no hacen sino copiar y a veces incluso plagiar la genialidad ajena, encabezando esta fila actualmente, como protagonista inigualable, el artificio “inteligente” del siglo XXI.

La arquitectura, como vemos claramente con Eisenman, no es ninguna excepción. Quizá en el fondo el arquitecto no tenía malas intenciones y apostó por una revolución conceptual honesta. Pero ensimismado en su narcisismo, olvidó o menospreció las lecciones del régimen nocturno y abrazó mejor una arquitectura ultra-racional, post-funcional, empujando el régimen diurno a un extremo rayando ya en lo inhumano. Pallasmaa es muy consciente de esto y advierte “los problemas arquitectónicos son demasiado complejos y existenciales como para ser tratados sólo racional y conceptualmente. Nuestra manera de educar debería reconocer la existencia de un pensamiento sensorial y una intuición como complementos del pensamiento conceptual, medios de comprensión de la esencia poliédrica y multifacética del habitar<sup>71</sup>... la arquitectura se ha vuelto autoreferencial y autista, en lugar de estar motivada por la visión social o por una concepción empática de la vida”<sup>72</sup>.

Quizá el peor pecado de Eisenman, en el sentido de desviación o distanciamiento de la meta como transgresión consciente, sea precisamente su

<sup>71</sup> Pallasmaa. Habitar. Pag 77, 80

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. Pag 15



desprecio por lo simbólico. Pallasmaa refiere una ocasión en la que el norteamericano, al preguntársele acerca de su casa VI y los conceptos que defendía y postulaba en ella, dijo: “aunque la casa contemporánea todavía debe dar cobijo, no necesita simbolizar o hacer romanticismo de esta función de cobijo. Al contrario, tales símbolos carecen hoy de significado y son pura nostalgia<sup>73</sup>”. ¡Qué pobreza de pasión por la arquitectura se refleja en estas palabras! Compárense con las de un arquitecto de corazón y comprometido con su oficio, Frank Lloyd Wright, quien cuando llegaba con sus clientes a presentarles su proyecto les decía “voy a hacerles un espacio en el que ustedes adorarán estar”<sup>74</sup>. A las declaraciones de Eisenman, Pallasmaa responde: “la arquitectura contemporánea ha abandonado el problema de la vivienda. Nuestra época posthistórica ha puesto fin a las narrativas históricas... Esa pérdida de horizonte y de sentido ha apartado a la arquitectura de las imágenes de la realidad y la vida, hacia un compromiso autista y autorreferencial con sus propias estructuras. La arquitectura se ha convertido en una forma artística puramente retiniana... yo sigo creyendo en la viabilidad de una arquitectura que pueda dar la bienvenida al hogar del ser humano”<sup>75</sup>.

A manera de resumen, señalemos entonces: para que un espacio se transforme en algo más que simple construcción objetual, para que las edificaciones se vuelvan verdadera arquitectura, es necesario ir más allá de la razón y adoptar también la fuerza del imaginario. El arquitecto debe trabajar su materia prima desde sus significados, entendiendo bien las imágenes que resuenan en ella. Es aquí donde empieza la

poiesis y la arquitectura pasa, de ser algo construido, a ser algo vivido. Este es el verdadero reto: relacionar la positividad de la materia con la virtualidad de los sueños, los recuerdos y emociones. Es por ello que realizar una casa de este tipo puede resultar complejo o quizá imposible para un arquitecto atrapado en los límites de la pura racionalidad funcional, incapaz de darse cuenta que la memoria y la imaginación, los sentimientos y emociones, el pathos de la humanidad, tienen su propia geometría, siempre alejada de aquella otra, euclidiana y cartesiana. El acto de habitar trasciende la dimensión espacio temporal y comprende mayoritariamente la vida psíquica. Así, la arquitectura es antes que nada, espacio vivido, y como tal, estará siempre un paso más allá de cualquier geometría o mensurabilidad concreta. Esto se puede ver, por ejemplo, en las extensiones isomórficas de la posturalidad. Un espacio cual sea puede tener una geometría visual de carácter diurno. Un muro impecable y a plomo, con una superficie lisa y tersa como acabado, en el que aparece un nicho en forma de cuadrado perfecto, con algunas repisas de cristal. Si esta figura se acompaña de elementos que contengan carga simbólica –como el retrato de un familiar querido, la efigie de un ser divino, las cenizas de una mascota, los libros preferidos, el recuerdo de aquel viaje a ese lugar anhelado– trasciende de inmediato la geometría euclidiana para convertirse en algo más; poiesis pura. La rectitud formal pasa a ser concebida como receptáculo de carácter nocturno, que contiene en su lecho un símbolo, le da albergue, y en ese momento, el nicho antes cuadrado es ahora, en la geometría de la psique, una concha protectora, una caverna, un sancta sanctorum. Mismo caso con la orientación vertical o cartesiana. Durand dirá “la escalera de una casa desciende siempre. Subir a la buhardilla sigue siendo descender en el corazón del misterio... espacio o recoveco igualmente teñido de aislamiento e intimidad. Es en la buhardilla donde tiene lugar el enfurruñamiento absoluto, sin testigos(...). Pese a su altitud, la buhardilla es siempre un lugar de retorno enigmático”<sup>76</sup>. Por esta razón Michael Ende no se equivoca al colocar ahí a Bastian para que comience su travesía

<sup>73</sup> Pallasmaa. *Habitar*, Pag 39

<sup>74</sup> Tomado de González Gortázar, Fernando. *Arquitectura: pensamiento y creación*. FCE, UNAM, Facultad de arquitectura. 2016. México

<sup>75</sup> Pallasmaa. *Habitar*. Pag 39

<sup>76</sup> Durand. *Op cit*. Pag 253. Las negritas son mías.



iniciática hacia el maravilloso reino de Fantasía<sup>77</sup>. Es así, entonces, como se debe leer una casa-hogar, no desde la razón sino desde la imaginación poética, donde lo que de verdad está en juego es la interioridad protectora, la reflexión y experiencia del huevo cósmico, del espacio sagrado, del hueco o cavidad fundamental, matriz uterina, seno sensual, contenedor primordial que nos sostiene y abraja a todos los seres humanos, centro místico que permanece a cubierto de toda indiscreción profana. Esta casa-hogar que hace del ascenso físico un descenso iniciático, estará siempre mucho más cercana al ser humano que cualquier imponente o espectacular rascacielos.

Para concluir con las estructuras místicas, a manera de derecho de réplica para aquellos arquitectos que sí creen en la fuerza simbólica del imaginario, citemos una vez más a Frank Lloyd Wright: “el sentido de lo romántico no puede extinguirse en los corazones. Privada del latido de este esencial corazón en su interior, la arquitectura se convertiría en algo pobre, achatado, con huesos de acero, perfiles de caja, cañerías y pasamanos. La arquitectura, sin lo romántico (es decir, nocturno-poético), no podría inspirar nada, y degeneraría en una caja destinada simplemente a contener objetos. Así que vayámonos con cuidado. El artista que condena lo romántico no es más que un necio reaccionario. Prestemos por tanto atención y volvamos a vivir siendo fieles a lo romántico”<sup>78</sup>.

## VII. LAS ESTRUCTURAS SINTÉTICAS O LA ARQUITECTURA COMO FORMA POÉTICA

Occidente tiene un deseo, convertido ya en obsesión, por evadir la realidad; una realidad que no agrada ni convence, porque está vacía de sentido. Se desea evadir el trabajo agobiante o mal pagado, se desea evadir el espacio familiar en el que sólo se encuentran problemas, reclamos e infidelidades. Se desea evadir la responsabilidad

de la independencia. Se desea evadir el esfuerzo. Quizá lo que más se desea es evadirse a uno mismo, pues esto implica todos los anteriores. Bajo este escenario, resulta muy lógico que la sociedad se haya entregado de buena gana a una nueva forma de esclavitud, con su sometimiento absoluto al capital y las ideologías fundamentalistas. El individuo percibe su falta de libertad y hechizado por el consumo, corre a buscarla tras las pantallas de sus gadgets tecnocráticos, que sólo lo esclavizan más y más, hasta volverle un autómatas idiotizado y fácilmente manipulable. La artificialidad, apariencia y virtualidad que gobiernan el mundo occidental contemporáneo fueron los recursos con los que nos prometieron alejarnos de esa realidad monstruosa y vacía que tanto nos aterra. Con ello, el ser se hizo a un lado, el Dasein quedó exiliado. Nuestro problema fundamental es la apatía del ser, apatía por ser y habitar este mundo desalmado.

Ante esta situación, la pregunta es ¿puede la arquitectura salirse de estas redes y ayudar a restablecer el Dasein, auténtica forma de ser en el mundo? Nosotros nos arriesgamos de manera afirmativa, y sostenemos que el recurso para lograrlo es, una vez más, la poesía. Por fortuna no somos los primeros; hemos visto con Pallasmaa y toda una serie de intelectuales de enfoque multidisciplinar, la batalla que llevan librando para devolver a la arquitectura su valor simbólico y poético. Hablar de la casa como refugio y primer microcosmos nos ha llevado ya a pensar la arquitectura como forma poética, recurso terapéutico para restablecer un equilibrio perdido, vehículo conducente hacia el espacio más allá de la objetividad del mundo. Durand concluye su obra magna de antropología apostando por una urgente necesidad de revaloración del imaginario como “recurso supremo de la consciencia, contra el cual ninguna objetividad alienante y mortal puede finalmente prevalecer. Es la función fantástica la que añade a la objetividad muerta, la satisfacción de lo agradable, la emoción estética, la serenidad y rebelión filosófica y religiosa”<sup>79</sup>. Paul Ricoeur

<sup>77</sup> En su extraordinaria obra *La Historia Interminable*.

<sup>78</sup> Wright. Op cit. Pag 154. El paréntesis es mío.

<sup>79</sup> Durand. Op cit. Pag 436

termina su tratado sobre la voluntad con<sup>80</sup> una postura similar: traer de vuelta el valor del símbolo hacia la reflexión filosófica: el símbolo da qué pensar. Hillman advierte desde la psicología que<sup>81</sup> la crisis espiritual que vivimos se debe en buena medida a la cosificación, literalización y conceptualización del lenguaje, y propone mejor como medida de sanación, devolver al mundo su alma, esto es, su pluralidad de sentido y vida propia. Hace falta un re-planteamiento, una re-visión no sólo de la psicología sino de toda nuestra conducta en y hacia el mundo. Juhani Pallasmaa y muchos otros arquitectos se suman a este esfuerzo por reivindicar el valor noético del imaginario en la arquitectura y en la vida en general, como recurso eficaz contra la apatía y desaliento del mundo occidental contemporáneo. Siendo así, nos resta para concluir esta reflexión hablar acerca de las estructuras sintéticas de Durand en la arquitectura, y para ello, adoptaremos la poesía como recurso primordial creativo. Pero quizá todavía algún lector se pregunte ¿por qué la poesía? Porque esta, como el mito, es inalienable. Si el ser humano está alienado es precisamente porque se alejó del recurso poético-simbólico para comprender y experimentar la vida. Dice Durand “no hay más honor verdadero que el de los poetas... pues el honor poético de la humanidad consiste en dar jaque a la nada del tiempo y de la muerte... el imaginario es una actividad que transforma el mundo, como imaginación creadora”<sup>82</sup>.

La arquitectura, como acto creador, forma parte indiscutible de la poiesis; esa “causa que hace pasar cualquier cosa del no-ser al ser”<sup>83</sup>. Sin embargo, si continuamos atentos al diálogo que sostiene Diotima con Sócrates, aprenderemos que todo trabajo artístico es una creación, pero no todo trabajo artístico logra el rango de poesía. Poetas son sólo aquellos que crean música y verso<sup>84</sup>. Para otros autores, como Heidegger, la

poiesis pasa de ser creación artística a cargarse con un sentido más amplio y universal. Poiesis es *aletheia*, revelación del ser, la súbita e impredecible aparición de una flor, el brotar de una mariposa fuera de su capullo, el flujo del agua toda vez que el frío invierno cede ante la calidez primaveral y los hielos vuelven a humedecerse para empezar de nuevo su danza líquida entre las rocas suavemente talladas y perfiladas. Esta poiesis heideggeriana resuena de manera armónica con la contemplación que tanto sedujo a Warburg; momento de éxtasis o *sofrosine* que acontece cuando algo se transforma y pasa del caos al orden, del fondo a la forma, de la potencia al acto, de la materia incomprensible a la forma definida: *ad sphaeram per monstra*. La poiesis, en la mayoría de los casos, involucra también un carácter lúdico; es algo que nos transporta más allá de los límites cosificados de lo objetivo y sensible. Es ritual, es gesto, es teatralidad y sinfonía en movimiento.

Una nueva pregunta se asoma ¿se puede hacer música y versos con la arquitectura? ¿es posible una arquitectura que cante y recite? La respuesta dependerá de cada quien, pero sólo aquellos que lo afirmen estarán en condición de seguir adelante en la lectura y comprensión de este texto. Si no podemos comprender la arquitectura como magia, como juego, como herramienta contemplativa y como poesía pura, sus muros y cubiertas permanecerán inertes y desprovistos de sentido o de imágenes que conmuevan y afecten el alma. Todo quedará en condición de construcción muda, quizá bella visualmente, funcionalmente eficiente, pero sin alma propia, sin carácter propio, sin virtud propia. Y eso no es arquitectura. Hay que apostar mejor por una arquitectura poética; hacer de y con la arquitectura, poesía pura. Por supuesto, la idea de conectar las estructuras sintéticas con la poesía no es gratuita y se debe fundamentalmente a su capacidad de resolver el conflicto de los opuestos por medio de la armonía. El propio Durand dice que una de las primeras manifestaciones de la imaginación sintética es la musical, donde la finalidad es precisamente, hacer convivir en una misma sincronía la diversidad tonal del sonido. “La síntesis no es una unificación como la mística,

<sup>80</sup> Ricoeur, Paul *Finitud y culpabilidad*. Trotta. Madrid. 2012

<sup>81</sup> Hillman, J. Op cit

<sup>82</sup> Durand, Op cit. Pag 434

<sup>83</sup> Banquete, 205b

<sup>84</sup> Ibid, 205c

no apunta a la confusión de los términos sino a la coherencia que salvaguarda las distinciones y oposiciones”<sup>85</sup>. La música, y las estructuras sintéticas en general, poseen un carácter dialéctico. Las estructuras sintéticas no se bastan a sí mismas sino que se relacionan unas con otras creando así el relato mito-poético. Es aquí donde descubrimos cómo superar la objetividad y el nominalismo racional que hubo de petrificar y desalmar al mundo. Gracias al símbolo, las estructuras cobran vida y movimiento, pluralidad de sentido y polimorfismo de imágenes; la letra muerta, dogmatizada y literalizada, revive con toda la fuerza de la poesía y el imaginario, donde cada palabra nos remite a significados acumulativos, cargando el mundo con una riqueza incalculable. Por eso dice Durand que “todo esfuerzo por traducir un mito es un esfuerzo de empobrecimiento. La imaginación antecede a cualquier razonamiento y a cualquier sintaxis... Lo que hay de universal en lo imaginario no es una simple forma, sino realmente el fondo... Es el dinamismo cualitativo de la estructura lo que hace comprender la forma”<sup>86</sup>.

Pasando a la arquitectura y sus estructuras sintéticas y mito-poéticas, me gustaría señalar algunas ideas de distintos arquitectos acerca de cómo es el proceso creativo por el que las obras y proyectos cobran vida. Pienso en primer lugar, ya que ha sido nuestro Virgilio en este recorrido, en Juhani Pallasmaa. El arquitecto finlandés tiene muy claro su compromiso con la arquitectura como forma poética. En una entrevista realizada en 2011 por Peter MacKeith, señala: “me refiero al concepto poético para hablar de las más altas cualidades arquitectónicas. Eso puede parecer pretencioso. Sin embargo, la tarea fundamental de la arquitectura es mediar entre nosotros y el mundo y esto no es sino una llamada poética. Cuando los escenarios en los que se desarrollan nuestras vidas están perdiendo su significado y dimensión humana, la arquitectura tiene el deber de re-mitificar, re-sensualizar y re-erotizar nuestra relación con el mundo. La cuestión se

centra, una vez más, en la dimensión poética de la vida. No creo que la búsqueda de la esencia poética de la arquitectura sea un empeño romántico o poco realista, sino una absoluta necesidad, pues la humanidad se encuentra perdida cuando la vida pierde su resonancia en la profundidad y espiritualidad de la existencia”<sup>87</sup>.

Me parece que las últimas palabras de Pallasmaa resumen magistralmente uno de los principales porqués de la crisis espiritual que se vive actualmente en occidente: hay una pérdida de resonancia en la profundidad de la existencia. Pero valdría la pena señalar que se trata de una pérdida de resonancia simpática. Hemos perdido la capacidad de afectarnos ante el dolor y adversidad del vecino; hemos perdido nuestra cualidad ontológica polifónica, de mimesis y sensibilidad ante el mundo que nos rodea. Nada importa, porque nada permanece más de 30 segundos ante nuestra mirada aletargada, privada de su capacidad reflexiva. Por ello es fundamental la tarea de recuperar, desde la arquitectura y todas las disciplinas, esa parte esencial de humanidad que nos ha sido secuestrada. Hace falta volver a desarrollar nuestra capacidad de asombro ante el mundo y sus detalles, el gusto por salir a caminar y sumergirnos en el paisaje y sus misterios, mirar, a la manera de Pallasmaa, con los ojos de la piel. Hace falta enseñar a quienes nacieron con una tablet en la mano, que existe un mundo real más allá de la virtualidad y apariencias de los avatares y perfiles superficiales de las redes sociales. Hace falta escuchar a Louis Kahn, por ejemplo, quien muy influenciado por Barragán nos dice que existe en la arquitectura un umbral que lleva desde la luz hacia el silencio. Cual iniciado pitagórico, podría preguntarse al lector ¿conoces ese umbral? ¡Todo irá bien! ¿No lo conoces? ¡Todo será en vano!<sup>88</sup>. Cruzar ese umbral significa poiesis, es decir, el momento en que el deseo del silencio por llegar a ser, se vuelve posible gracias a la luz y su cualidad psicopompa.

<sup>87</sup> Pallasmaa. Los ojos de la piel. Pag 119

<sup>88</sup> El cuestionamiento original se refiere al punto mágico, oculto en las entrañas de la geometría pitagórica. Es un cuarteto medieval muy popular entre los constructores o talladores de piedra: “Un punto hay en el círculo /Que en el cuadrado y triángulo se coloca/¿Conoces tú ese punto? ¡Todo irá bien!/¿No lo conoces? ¡Todo será en vano!

<sup>85</sup> Durand, Op cit. Pag 358

<sup>86</sup> Durand, Op cit. Pag 367

Claro está que esta creación no la experimenta el arquitecto sino el ser que vive el espacio, pero es el arquitecto quien tiene obligación de intuir y construir las relaciones de los espacios con sus habitantes; es el arquitecto quien debe procurar en la medida de lo posible, que quien pise y recorra sus espacios sea capaz de percibir el silencio profundo de su arquitectura, su esencia íntima, revelada o señalada por el poder mágico de la luz y los claroscuros.

Este silencio arquitectónico ha seducido a todos los grandes creadores; los ha llamado y les ha pedido venir a existencia. Barragán liga este silencio con el sentimiento de paz que nos envuelve al escuchar el agua corriendo. “En toda casa o jardín trato de hacer sentir el murmullo plácido del silencio, hacer que ese silencio cante en mis fuentes”. Pallasmaa dirá muy en sintonía con Barragán que la experiencia auditiva más primordial creada por la arquitectura es la tranquilidad, pues en última instancia, la arquitectura es el arte del silencio petrificado<sup>89</sup>. Este silencio es una condición existencial a la que sólo se llega dejando atrás el mundo ordinario de la objetividad racional. David Le Breton dice: “El silencio es el vestigio arqueológico de otro tiempo...intérprete directo del sentido de las cosas, vía directa para el repliegue del yo sobre sí mismo... llave de paso hacia el umbral que permite al hombre encontrar su lugar en paz, provisión de sentido y fuerza interior... un retorno a las fuentes<sup>90</sup>”. Estas palabras del antropólogo resuenan bien con el pensamiento de Kahn y Barragán, para quienes el silencio es la cualidad espiritual del mundo; llegar a percibirlo es encontrar el último rincón que la arquitectura reserva sólo para el buscador de su poesía. Y una vez que percibimos ese silencio, la arquitectura comienza a cantar. Esta idea me hace recordar invariablemente a Marius Schneider y sus hermosos textos donde hace cantar a las piedras medievales y animales paleolíticos<sup>91</sup>. En ellos, el

musicólogo habla del ritmo único de cada criatura del cosmos, y la capacidad polifónica del ser humano para repetirlos, mimetizarse y vibrar en su misma frecuencia. Lo mismo piensa Louis Kahn, al decir que el secreto para que un espacio agrade y conmueva radica en lograr hacer que vibre armónicamente con el ritmo único de quien lo habita. Para ello, hace falta siempre conocer la naturaleza de las cosas. La arquitectura nace de ese entendimiento. ¿Cómo es la naturaleza de un ladrillo, de una institución, de un ser humano? El arquitecto debe encontrar en la naturaleza de las cosas, lo que ellas piden llegar a ser. Solo cuando se descubre y comprende esa naturaleza, se puede comenzar el proceso creativo de la arquitectura. Pero para entender la naturaleza de las cosas, dice Kahn, hay que remontarse al origen, y en el origen, lo que nos espera siempre es la poesía, el acto imaginativo, la intuición que precede a la razón. Sólo la poesía logra dar forma a lo inabarcable, sólo ella es capaz de dotar con una silueta las pasiones y pulsiones que nos afectan. Preciso es decir que para Kahn, poesía y arquitectura son una misma cosa; un edificio es un poema escrito con el lenguaje de la espacialidad y la materia. En última instancia, la arquitectura sólo puede definirse por la poesía, o dicho de otro modo, sólo es arquitecto quien posea las secretas y silenciosas cualidades del poeta.

Hay algo más que debe aprender a escuchar con mucha atención todo buen arquitecto: las revelaciones nostálgicas. Para Barragán, lo mismo que para Kahn, la nostalgia significa tener consciencia del pasado, pero elevada a potencia poética. “Para el artista, su pasado es la fuente de donde emanan sus posibilidades creadoras, y la nostalgia es el camino para que ese pasado rinda los frutos de que está preñado. El arquitecto no debe, pues, desoír el mandato de las revelaciones nostálgicas, porque sólo con ellas es verdaderamente capaz de llenar con belleza el vacío que le queda a toda obra arquitectónica una vez que ha atendido las exigencias utilitarias del

<sup>89</sup> Pallasmaa. Los ojos de la piel. Pag 63

<sup>90</sup> Le Breton, D. Op cit. Pag 74 y ss

<sup>91</sup> Schneider, Marius. *El origen musical de los animales símbolo en la arquitectura y escultura de la antigüedad*. Siruela. Madrid. 1998.



programa. De lo contrario la arquitectura no puede aspirar a seguir considerándose un arte<sup>92</sup>.

Sólo a través de esta actitud poética se puede encontrar la naturaleza del silencio que quiere venir a la vida. La creación arquitectónica responde a una fuerza interior, un deseo de existencia. Ese deseo es lo que hace que las formas y volúmenes broten cual auténticas epifanías. Así, el trabajo de creación arquitectónica no comienza con nada preestablecido, ni con ninguna lista de necesidades funcionales. Es más un proceso de guardar silencio y esperar las revelaciones o intuiciones que poco a poco se van acomodando, dialogando, construyendo como pluralidad en movimiento. La forma se va modificando y el concepto se va aclarando. El acto creador en la arquitectura comienza entonces donde la razón reposa y la imaginación devela la asombrosa materia prima que recoge de las profundidades del gran océano arquetipal de la humanidad. Este primer momento es, por definición, absolutamente irracional. Aquí encuentro espacio a las ideas de Fernando González Gortázar, para quien crear significa dejar salir la intimidad e irracionalidad propia. Para el tapatío, el proceso creativo puede abordarse desde dos vías distintas: el diseño o la composición. El primero es cerebral, trata siempre de poner orden riguroso, podríamos decir que es de carácter diurno. El segundo en cambio es imaginal, poético, caos que se comprende y trabaja con el alma. El acto creativo no puede encerrarse bajo ninguna metodología; pretender eso es absurdo, pues cada proyecto es único y con únicas formas de resolverse. La metodología puede transformarse fácilmente en dogmatismo que señale e imponga cómo hacer las cosas siempre de una misma manera. Para Fernando, la poesía está siempre primero que la razón. "Los verdaderos misterios de la vida, como el arte, la belleza, el amor y la muerte, están completamente fuera de alcance de la razón. Estos misterios le incumben a la arquitectura, pero la única forma de palparlos es a través de la poesía; la poesía como forma de conocimiento. Hay que concebir primero la poesía

<sup>92</sup> Extraído del discurso de Barragán al recibir el premio Pritzker. <https://arquine.com/el-discurso-de-luis-barragan/>

de la arquitectura para luego levantar a su alrededor sus muros y cubiertas<sup>93</sup>.

A este respecto dice muy acertadamente Pallasmaa que las imágenes poéticas no se idean ni se inventan, como sucede con el pensamiento racional, sino que se encuentran, se revelan, se intuyen y se rearticulan con cada nueva experiencia<sup>94</sup>.

Todo esto viene muy bien con la poética del espacio de Bachelard, para quien el proyecto es un onirismo de corto alcance donde las ideas del espíritu reposan con alegría pero el alma no encuentra ningún espacio donde acurrucarse<sup>95</sup>. El alma que imagina sigue un camino distinto que el espíritu que observa. Ella no quiere llegar a un punto final reductor sino a senderos que se bifurquen una y otra vez para multiplicar en ellos sus imágenes polivalentes. Por el contrario, el espíritu busca siempre acotar y encerrar en nombres, fórmulas y decretos todo cuanto observa. La imagen poética no necesita de un saber porque es anterior al pensamiento. Para Bachelard, existen dos polos que iluminan a toda poesía: inspiración y talento. El primero es hijo del espíritu racional; el segundo lo es del alma ingenua. Son estos polos a los que se refiere González Gortázar cuando habla del diseño y la composición. Para crear un poema bien estructurado, es necesario que el espíritu lo ordene en un proyecto, pero una simple imagen poética no tiene necesidad de tal proyecto; para ella sólo es necesario un movimiento del alma para surgir de las profundidades. Sucede lo mismo en la creación arquitectónica. Ambos, alma y espíritu, razón e imaginario, inspiración y talento, diseño y composición deben unir esfuerzos. Como dijo magistralmente el gran artista creador, Francisco de Goya: "la fantasía, abandonada de la razón, produce monstruos imposibles: unida con ella es madre de las artes y origen de sus maravillas"<sup>96</sup>.

<sup>93</sup> González Gortazar. Op cit. Pag 39 y ss

<sup>94</sup> Pallasmaa. Habitar. Pag 106

<sup>95</sup> Bachelard. Op cit. Pag 93

<sup>96</sup> Manuscrito de la estampa 43 "El sueño de la razón produce monstruos", de la serie de Los caprichos, en el Museo del Prado.

Hemos llegado al final de la travesía. Me gustaría cerrar este recorrido con broche de oro, recordando la voz del más importante arquitecto mexicano y uno de los más grandes de la historia. Cuando recibe el Pritzker, máximo galardón internacional en la arquitectura, Barragán revela su condición de arquitecto poeta, diciendo entre muchas otras, las siguientes palabras: “¿Cómo comprender el arte sin la espiritualidad religiosa y sin el trasfondo mítico que nos lleva hasta las raíces mismas del fenómeno? En el arte de todos los tiempos y de todos los pueblos impera la lógica irracional del mito... Seguiremos trabajando con la esperanza de que nuestra labor coopere en la gran tarea de dignificar la vida humana por los senderos de la belleza y contribuya a levantar un dique contra el oleaje de deshumanización y vulgaridad que vivimos... Me parece alarmante que en el vocabulario arquitectónico se hayan erradicado palabras como belleza, inspiración, magia, encanto, serenidad, silencio, maravilla, intimacia. Todas ellas echado raíces en mi corazón, en mi alma, y aún no he logrado hacerles demasiada justicia en mis obras, pero todas ellas han sido siempre mis guías, la luz que me ilumina, mi propio silencio... La arquitectura, en última instancia, es el sublime acto de imaginación poética”<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>97</sup>Extraído de <https://arquine.com/el-discurso-de-luis-barragan/>



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# A Contrastive Study of the Realizations of Elements in English and Myanmar Transitivity Configurations

*Dr. Lai Yee Win*

## ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this paper is to contrast the realizations of elements – processes, participant roles and circumstances in the English and Myanmar transitivity configurations following the network developed within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics. It is found that: English and Myanmar show similarity in the realizations of processes as verbal groups, participant roles as nominal groups, nominalization, adverbial groups, prepositional phrases, embedded clauses, and circumstances as nominal groups, adverbial groups, or prepositional phrases. However, they differ in that processes are also realized by copulas and participant roles by adjective/adjective groups in English, while processes are also realized by compound verbs, reduplicated verbs, or attributive verbs and circumstances by qualifying reduplicated adverbs or embedded clauses in Myanmar. The findings are rooted in the functional and typological prominences of the two languages, which may further shed light on a new perspective on the research of transitivity system for Systemic Functional Linguistics. This study also makes an important contribution to further studies of contrasting the realizations of elements in the transitivity configurations of Myanmar and other languages.

*Keywords:* systemic functional linguistics, contrastive study, realizations, transitivity configurations, english, myanmar.

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*The main purpose of this paper is to contrast the realizations of elements – processes, participant roles and circumstances in the English and Myanmar transitivity configurations following the network developed within the framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics. It is found that: English and Myanmar show similarity in the realizations of processes as verbal groups, participant roles as nominal groups, nominalization, adverbial groups, prepositional phrases, embedded clauses, and circumstances as nominal groups, adverbial groups, or prepositional phrases. However, they differ in that processes are also realized by copulas and participant roles by adjective/adjective groups in English, while processes are also realized by compound verbs, reduplicated verbs, or attributive verbs and circumstances by qualifying reduplicated adverbs or embedded clauses in Myanmar. The findings are rooted in the functional and typological prominences of the two languages, which may further shed light on a new perspective on the research of transitivity system for Systemic Functional Linguistics. This study also makes an important contribution to further studies of contrasting the realizations of elements in the transitivity configurations of Myanmar and other languages.*

**Keywords:** systemic functional linguistics, contrastive study, realizations, transitivity configurations, english, myanmar.

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Many linguists and scholars are especially interested in the way how to treat meaning in grammar. According to Halliday's (1985, 1994/2000) functional grammar, there are three types of meaning conveyed by the clause, namely experiential meaning, interpersonal meaning and textual meaning. Among them, experiential meaning has to do with the ways how language represents our experience of the external world and the inner world of our thoughts and feelings through clauses. In other words, our experience of happening, doing, sensing, meaning, being and becoming are turned into meaning and into wording. This experiential meaning is realized through transitivity system comprising three main components: by process, participant(s) in the process and circumstance(s) associated with the process. In other words, transitivity system is the representation of the experience of the world as different types of processes.

In recent years, the contrastive studies of transitivity systems between/across languages have grown significantly as macro linguistics. The previous studies cover the comparison of transitivity systems in English and other languages – Spanish, Chinese and Vietnamese (Lavid and Arus, 2002; Yuli and Yushan, 2012; Phan and Nguyen, 2015; and the like). In the literature, there are a scant number of contrastive studies of English and Myanmar from the Systemic Functional perspective. This study aims to contrast the realizations of elements in English and Myanmar transitivity configurations focusing on He et al.'s (2017) version of the transitivity system of English and Lai Yee Win's (2021) transitivity system of Myanmar. Contrary to previous studies, this study adopts He et al.'s

(2017) modification of the English transitivity system rather than Halliday's because He et al. (2017) makes a much more detailed description of the transitivity system of English in the realization of participant roles and the classification of participants from circumstances than Halliday (1985, 1994/2000, 2004, 2014).

This study uses two main qualitative research methods: descriptive method and explanation of the findings from the transitivity analysis of different genres of English and Myanmar texts, especially novels and news reports. The transitivity analysis of Myanmar clauses is provided with a systematic description of Myanmar script, IPA phonetic transcription, glosses and a word for word English translation. Being an empirical study, this study predominantly deploys the qualitative method of contrastive analysis. The data used in the study are taken from authentic texts.

## II. PREVIOUS STUDIES OF CONTRASTING TRANSITIVITY SYSTEMS BETWEEN/ACROSS LANGUAGES

So far there have been a growing number of studies on the descriptions of transitivity systems in world languages. However, the studies on typological studies on transitivity systems and their realizations across languages are scant (e.g. Caffarel et al., 2004). The transitivity systems of French, German, Japanese, Tagalog, Chinese, Vietnamese, Telugu and Pitjantjatjara are proposed by Caffarel (2004), Steiner and Teich (2004), Teruya (2004), Martin (2004),

Halliday and McDonald (2004), Thai (2004), Prakasam (2004) and Rose (2004) respectively in Caffarel, Martin, and Matthiessen (2004). It is suggested in Halliday (1985, 1994/2000) and Matthiessen (1995) that transitivity systems across languages simultaneously realize different domains of experience and different modes of participating in the process (Caffarel et al., 2004: 135).

Based on Halliday's six major processes, Yuli and Yushan (2012) conduct a comparative study of English and Chinese transitivity systems in order

to deepen the understanding towards the two languages from a new aspect and give insight on E-C translation. The findings of their research indicate that the six processes of the English and Chinese transitivity systems are semantically the same in E-C translation although there is process transfer in certain circumstances. It is obvious that the components and sentence structures of the verbal process, behavioral process and existential process of the two languages are typically the same, whereas the distinctions of the passive voice and habitual usages exist in the material process, mental process and relational process due to their complexities. Therefore, the former three processes can remain unchanged in E-C translation, while the latter ones can experience process transfer in E-C translation.

Lavid and Arus (2002) undertake a contrastive functional study of nuclear transitivity in English and Spanish by means of the application of the transitive/ergative distinction developed by Davidse (1992) to material processes, mental processes and relational processes in both English and Spanish. A model of nuclear transitivity consists of three simultaneous systems: (1) a system of agency which is concerned with the presence or absence of the feature Agent, (2) a system of process type which is concerned with the semantic type of process involved, and (3) a system of causation which is concerned with the variable of instigation. The transitive and ergative systems in English and Spanish possess different grammatical properties which are realized by different lexical verbs. There is the transitive/ergative distinction between the semantically related verbs of English and Spanish. In such cases, the same process is expressed transitively in one language and ergatively in the other.

Al-Janabi (2013) carries out a contrastive study of transitivity analysis in English and Arabic short narrative texts. He analyzes the processes of transitivity used in two narrative short texts of English and Arabic based on Halliday's theory of transitivity. He highlights the role of these processes in portraying the features of the characters in such literary texts. The findings and results of the analysis indicate that the processes

of transitivity are semantically the same in English and Arabic in spite of appearing in different frequency.

Kaffashi et al. (2015) conducts a contrastive study of English and Persian narrative texts in terms of manner of expressing of relational attributive clauses based on Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). Accordingly, it investigates the possible similarities and differences regarding three components of Halliday's "transitivity process", namely: the process, participants and circumstances based on a corpus of 400 clauses: 200 from English and 200 from Persian. There are some differences in manner of expressing, the position and number of participants, and the kind of processes.

Phan and Nguyen (2015) make a comparison between English and Vietnamese Behavioral Clauses from the perspective of Halliday's transitivity system. Based on a corpus of English and Vietnamese literary work of the late 20th century and the early 21st century, Phan and Nguyen (2015) explore the relations between human behavior and language and identify English and Vietnamese verbs that realize behavioral process in terms of descriptive method and functional analysis. Phan and Nguyen (2015) characterize four subtypes of behavioral processes: material-behavioral processes, verbal-behavioral processes, mental-behavioral processes and behavioral processes in English and Vietnamese literary genre within the systemic functional framework of Martin, Matthiessen and Painter (1997), Bloor and Bloor (1995) and Eggins (1994).

ĐẶNG THỊ CẨM NGỌC (2015) investigates the similarities and differences between the linguistic features of material processes in English and Vietnamese based on the total number of 1640 samples related to material processes from "Perfect Spy" by Larry Berman and its Vietnamese translational equivalent *Điệp Viên Hoàn Hảo* translated by Đỗ Hùng. Findings indicate that in some cases the obligatory Actor in English clauses is omitted in Vietnamese translated clauses and it is similar to Goal. Sometimes the absence of Actor or Goal will be

found out when being translated into Vietnamese. It is also investigated that the verbs in Material processes of English are translated into the Verbs of Relational processes of Vietnamese.

NGUYỄN PHAN CẨM TÚ (2011) carries out the comparative study of the semantic and syntactic features of participants in the processes in English and Vietnamese from the perspective of Halliday's transitivity system. Descriptive and comparative methods are used in her study. The results of her study show that English and Vietnamese have the same kinds of process with the same numbers of participant in each. They are realized by the same configuration: *Participant + Process + (Participant) + (Participant)*.

Most of these contrastive studies between languages mentioned above are conducted in terms of Halliday's (1985, 1994/2000, 2004, 2014), Matthiessen's (1995) and Davidse's (1992) theories of transitivity. These theories of transitivity adopted in previous contrastive studies cannot make a specification of process types and participant roles. To fill this gap, the present study will adopt He et al.'s (2017) modified version of the transitivity system of English based on Halliday's (1985, 1994/2000, 2004, 2014) and Fawcett's (1980, 1987, forthcoming) hypotheses about transitivity. Based on He et al.'s (2017) transitivity system of English and Lai Yee Win's (2021) transitivity system of Myanmar, this study contrasts the realizations of processes, participant roles and circumstances in English and Myanmar transitivity configurations.

### III. COMPARISON OF REALIZATIONS OF PROCESSES, PARTICIPANT ROLES AND CIRCUMSTANCES IN ENGLISH AND MYANMAR TRANSITIVITY CONFIGURATIONS

Transitivity system construes our experience of the world around us and inside us. It shows the experiential meanings of the language at the semantics level. According to Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 175), there are three main components in transitivity structures. They are a process unfolding through time, the participants

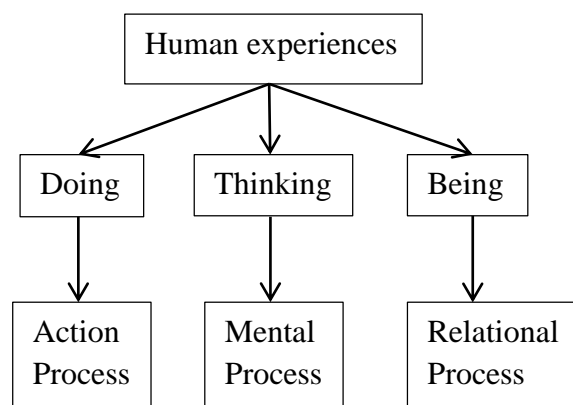
involved in the process and circumstances associated with the process. In the semantic configuration, the process is the pivotal element and participants are inherent in the process. However, circumstantial elements are optional in the clause; they are not directly involved in the process (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 176). In the MOOD grammar processes function as Predicator realized by a verbal group; participants function as Subject or Complement, and they are structurally realized by nominal groups; circumstances map onto Adjuncts realized by adverbial groups or prepositional phrases. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 177) express the typical experiential functions of group and phrase classes as in Table 3-1.

**Table 3-1:** Typical experiential functions of group and phrase classes  
(Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 177)

Type of Element	Typically Realized By
process	verbal group
participant	nominal group
circumstance	adverbial group or prepositional phrase

### 3.1 Comparison of realizations of processes in English and Myanmar transitivity configurations

As the transitivity system has been defined as the reflection of human experience, there is something in common in all languages. In the two languages studied in this study, it has been discovered that the main classifications of processes are similar. See Figure 3-2.



**Figure 3-2:** The transitivity processes represent universal human experiences

From Figure 3-2, it can be seen that human experiences can be divided into doing, thinking and being, which can be described by material, mental and relational processes respectively on the basis of Halliday’s model. However, in this study, the processes of doing are labeled as action processes rather than material processes following Fawcett (1980) and He (2022). Thus, it is observed that languages, though with large typological distinction, at a very general level, present relatively similar structures of types of processes, principally the three main processes with the aim of reflecting human activities universally. The action, mental and relational processes can be said to be universal due to the common feature of human beings: they do something; they think, feel and perceive, and they have relations with others. However, referring to the subdivision of each process, there occur clear differences. In this study, we can see the differences of realizations of processes in two languages. As it will be described in detail, in English, the mental processes are divided into three subtypes: perception, affection and cognition; the relational processes include three subtypes as attributive, identifying and symbolizing, while in Myanmar, the behavioral process is subsumed under the category of action process; the communicative process which is analogous to Halliday’s verbal process under the category of mental process, and the existential process under the category of relational process. Lai Yee Win (2021) claims that in Myanmar transitivity system, the action processes are categorized into four types: happening, doing,



creating and behaving; the mental processes into five categories: emotive, desiderative, perceptive, cognitive and communicative processes, and the relational processes into seven types: attributive, identifying, locational, directional, possessive, correlational and existential processes. The following will investigate similarities and differences in the English-Myanmar translation of processes. First of all, we will see the similarities and differences in realizations of action processes in English and Myanmar translated clauses.

### 3.1.1 Realizations of action processes in English and Myanmar transitivity configurations

English and Myanmar show the same potential realization of autonomous happening action

(1) a. autonomous: happening action

Mg Pyone has died.

Affected	Process
----------	---------

b. autonomous: happening action

မောင်ပြုံး ဆုံးရှာပြီ။

maunpyonn sonn-shar-bye.

Mg.Pyone die-COMP-PFV.DECL.SENTSUF

Affected	Process
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‘Mg Pyone has died.’

‘Mg Pyone has died.’ However, there are some differences in realizations of influential happening action processes in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. The Myanmar autonomous happening action process clause (1b) is transformed into influential process (2b) by suffixing the causative marker -၁၁၀ /zay/ to the happening process realized by the verb *die* which is influenced by an external instigator, the Agent. The Myanmar clause (2b) is translated into English with a change of lexical verb *kill* which realizes autonomous doing action process by

(2) a. autonomous: doing action

Sunlight can kill germs.

Agent	Process	Affected
-------	---------	----------

process as verbs concerning the change of a state or weather condition such as သေဆုံး /thaysonn/ ‘die’, ဖြစ်ပွား /phyitpwarr/ ‘happen/take place’, မြင့်တက် /myinttet/ ‘rise’, စတင် /satin/ ‘begin’, ပီးဆုံး /pyeesonn/ ‘finish/end’, ကျ /kya/, ရွာ /ywar/ ‘fall’, ပွင့် /pwint/ ‘open’, ကျိုး /kyoe/ ‘be broken’, တိုက် /taik/ ‘blow’, ဖြည့် /mye/ ‘ring’, and so on. For example, the English verb *die* realizes autonomous happening action process in English transitivity structure (1a). As shown by Example (1b), the Myanmar lexical verb ဆုံး /sonn/ which has the same semantic meaning as *die* in English realizes the same process of autonomous happening action in Myanmar transitivity structure.

changing the semantic process as in (2a) because an English autonomous happening action process like *Mg Pyone has died* does not alternate with an influential one such as *Someone has made Mg Pyone die*. Instead, we normally say *Someone has killed Mg Pyone* by changing the process in English although the Myanmar verb သေ /thay/ ‘die’ can be employed in both autonomous and influential happening action processes.

b. influential: happening action

နေရောင်ခြည်သည်      ရောဂါပိုးများကို      သေစေနိုင်သည်။  
 nayyaunche-the      yawgarpoe-myarr-go      thay-zay-nain-the.  
 sunlight-SBJMARK      germ-PLMARK-OBJMARK      die-CAUS-CAPAMOD.PRS-DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Af[[Affected	Process]]
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‘Sunlight can make germs die.’

Autonomous doing action process realizes an action initiated by the Agent (He et al. 2017: 33). In some cases, that action can extend to the second participant, the Affected or the Range or the Manner. In an autonomous doing action process clause, there is a process of doing and a participant inherent in that process, the Agent realized by *nom.gp-the/ga/hmar*. When the second participant is involved in this process, it may be the Affected realized by *nom.gp-go* or the Range realized by *nom.gp* or the Manner realized by *adv.gp*. both English and Myanmar show the same potential of realization of autonomous doing action process as doing action verbs such as ထိုင် /htain/ ‘sit’, ဖတ် /phat/ ‘read’, ရှိက် /yaik/ ‘beat’, စား /sarr/ ‘eat’, သောက် /thauk/ ‘drink’, ဝတ် /that/ ‘kill’, ဖျက်ဆီး /phyetsee/ ‘destroy’, ကစား /gazarr/ ‘play’, and so on. Autonomous doing action process can be conflated with another process such as autonomous directional

relational process, and become a compound process, i.e. the autonomous doing action and directional relational process. This compound process is realized by lexical verbs such as လှမ်းသလျှောက် /lannshauk/ ‘walk’, တွေး /thwarr/ ‘go’, လာ /lar/ ‘come’, လှည့် /hlet/ ‘turn’, etc. in the same way in English and

Myanmar transitivity structures. Nevertheless, in English, there are some lexical verbs which have the same spellings but different semantic meanings to realize different processes. For example, the English verb *open* can realize both autonomous happening action process and autonomous doing action process as in (3a) and (3b). Contrary to English, in Myanmar transitivity structures, autonomous happening and doing action processes are realized by different lexical verbs: ပွင့် /pwint/ and ဖွင့် /phwint/ respectively as in (4a) and (4b).

(3) a. autonomous: happening action

Juana’s      were open      too. eyes

Affected	Process	
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b. autonomous: doing action

Kino      opened      his eyes      in the darkness.

Agent	Process	Affected	Circumstance
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(4) a. autonomous: happening action

ဟွာနာ၏      မျက်လုံးများလည်း      ပွင့်နေပြီ။  
 hwarnar-i      myetlonn-myarr-le      pwint-naybye.  
 Juana-GEN      eye-PLMARK-      open-PFV.DECL.SENTSUF  
 ADDCONN

Affected	Process
----------	---------

‘Juana’s eyes were open too.’

b. autonomous: doing action

ကီနိုသည်	အမှောင်ထဲတွင်	သူ၏	မျက်လုံးများကို	ဖွင့်ကြည့်လိုက်၏။
keno-the	Ahmaun-htetwin	thue-i	myetlonn-myarr-	phwint-kyi-laiki.
			go	
Kino-	dark-LOC	3SG-	eye-PLMARK-	open-look-
SBJMARK		GEN	OBJMARK	PFV.DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Circumstance	Affected	Process
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‘Kino opened his eyes in the darkness.’

Similarly, the English verb *break* can realize both autonomous happening action process and autonomous doing action process as in (5a) and (5b). However, different lexical verbs realize these two processes in Myanmar translation from (5a) and (5b). As shown in examples (6a) and (6b), the lexical verbs ကွဲ /kwe/ and ကြဲ /khwe/ realize autonomous happening action process and autonomous doing action process respectively.

(5) a. autonomous: happening action

The glass broke

Affected	Process
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b. autonomous: doing action

He broke the glass in anger.

Agent	Process	Affected	Circumstance
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(6) a. autonomous: happening action

ဖန်ခွက်	ကွဲသွားပြီ။
phankhwet	kwe-thwarrbye.
glass	break-PFV.DECL.SENTSUF

Affected	Process
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‘The glass broke.’

b. autonomous: doing action

သူ	ဖန်ခွက်ကို	ဒေါသနှင့်	ရိုက်ခွဲလိုက်၏။
thue	phankhwet-go	dawtha-hnint	yaik-khwe-laiki
3SG.NOM	glass-OBJMARK	anger-COM	hit-break-PFV.DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Affected	Circumstance	Process
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‘Kino opened his eyes in the darkness.’

The following examples (7) and (8) illustrate similarities and differences in realizations of influential doing action processes in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. As shown in examples (7a) and (7b), English and Myanmar show the same potential of realizations of the influential process and the doing action process influenced by an external instigator in spite of their different transitivity structures.

(7) a. influential: doing action

I encouraged her to do this job for the Minister.

Agent	Process	Af[[Agent	Process	Affected	Circumstance]]
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b. influential: doing action

ကျွန်မ သူ့ကို ဒီအလုပ် လုပ်ဖို့ ဝန်ကြီးအတွက် တိုက်တွန်းရတယ်။

kyama thu-go de-aloke loke- wingyee-atwet taiktunn-yade.  
phot

1SG.F.NOM 3SG-OBJMARK DEM-job do-INF Minister-PURP encourage-DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Af[[Agent	Affected	Process	Circumstance]]	Process
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‘I encouraged her to do this job for the Minister.’ (Journal Kyaw Ma Ma Lay 1957: 55)

On the other hand, we can find out different realizations of influential process in examples (8a) and (8b). Contrary to English, influential process is realized by postverbs such as သစ /zay/ and ကြမ်း /khainn/ in Myanmar transitivity structures.

(8) a. influential: doing action

I asked her to clean the floor.

Agent	Process: influential	Af[[Agent	Process: doing action	Affected]]
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b. influential: doing action

ကျွန်မ သူ့ကို ကြမ်း တိုက်ခိုင်းခဲ့တယ်။

kyama thu-go kyann taik-khainn-khet-de.

1SG.F.NOM 3SG-OBJMARK floor clean-ask-PST-DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Af[[Agent	Affected	Process]]
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‘I asked her to clean the floor.’

Autonomous creating action processes realize the experience of bringing objects into being (He et al. 2017: 39). These processes are realized by creative action verbs such as သွေး /mwaye:/ ‘give birth to’, သရးစပ် /yaye:sat/ ‘compose’, ချတ် /phoke/ ‘bake’, သဆောက် /sauk/ ‘build’, တီထွင် /tehtwin/ ‘invent’, and so on in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. Consider the following examples.



(9) a autonomous: creating action

Ma gave birth to the at the time when I passed the first year at  
 Aye first university.  
 Phyu baby  
 son

Age nt	Proc ess	Proce ss Exten sion	Proce ss Exten sion	Creat ed	Circumstance
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b autonomous: creating action

ကျွန် တက္ကသိုလ် ပထမနှု အောင် အချိ မအေးဖြူ သားဦးက ဖွားမြင်သည်။  
 တော် စ သည့် န် လေးကို  
 kyan takatho pahta aun=t ach maaye:p tharr- phwarmyi  
 or ma- hi ein hyue ue:- n-the.  
 hnit galaye:-  
 go  
 1SG university first- pass= tim Ma.Aye. son- give.birth.t  
 year REL e Phyu first- o(PST)-  
 DIM- DECL.SENTS  
 OBJMARK UF

Circumstance	Agent	Created	Process
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‘Ma Aye Phyu gave birth to her first baby son at the time when I passed the first year at university.’ (Lae Twin Thar Saw Chit 2004: 68)

As Examples (9a) and (9b) describe, the Myanmar process of creating action is realized by the verb ဖွားမြင် /phwarmyin/ which has the same semantic meaning as the English creating action verb phrase *give birth to*. The English creating action process clause (9a) can be transformed

into passive structure where the creating action process is realized by the verb *be* with the Process Extension *born*. See the example (9c). However, we cannot make any changes in realization of Myanmar creating action process as the verb ဖွားမြင် /phwarmyin/ and its transitivity structure in (9b).

(9) c. The first was born by Ma Aye at the time when I passed the  
 baby son Phyu first year at university.

Created	Process	Process Extension	Agent	Circumstance
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The different realizations of influential creating action processes in English and Myanmar transitivity structures can be seen in examples (10a) and (10b). In English transitivity structure of influential creating action process clause (10a), the influential process through which the outside participant, the Agent (the teacher) instigates a

creating action process is realized as a separate verb *ask to*, whereas in Myanmar transitivity structure (10b), the influential process performed by the Agent is realized as a postverb နှိုင်း /khainn/ ‘ask to’ which is suffixed to the creating action verb သရး /yaye:/ ‘write’.

(10) a. influential: creating action

The teacher	asked	the students	to write	an essay.
Agent	Process: influential	Af[[Agent	Process: creating action	Created]]

b. influential: creating action

ဆရာက	ကျောင်းသားများကို	အက်ဆေးတစ်ပုဒ်	ရေးခိုင်းခဲ့တယ်။
sayar-ga	kyaunntharr-myarr-gο	atsaye:-da-boke	yaye:-khainn-khet-de.
teacher-SBJMARK	student-PLMARK-OBJMARK	essay-one-CLF	write-ask.to-PST-DECL.SENTSUF
Agent	Af[[Agent	Created	Process]]

‘The teacher asked the students to write an essay.’

Autonomous behaving action processes construe human behavior, including mental and verbal behavior out of processes of consciousness and physiological states (He et al. 2017: 127). He et al. (2017) classifies behavioral process as a separate one, not as a subtype of the action process. But in terms of He’s (forthcoming) new model of Chinese transitivity system and Lai Yee Win’s (2021) description of the transitivity system of Myanmar, behavioral process is subsumed under the category of action process. Behaving action processes are realized by lexical verbs with the grammatical features of action processes such as သြးဆိုး /chaunnsoe/ ‘cough’, အက်ရှု /athetshue/ ‘breathe’, နှသစး /hnarsaye:/ ‘sneeze’, ဝေြး /thann/ ‘yawn’, ဝေ်ဖင်းြေု /thetpyinncha/ ‘sigh’, ပပိုး /pyonn/ ‘smile’, ရယ် /ye/ ‘laugh’ and ငို /ngo/ ‘cry’, mental processes such as ကကည့် /kyi/ ‘look’, စိုက်ကကည့် /saikkyi/ ‘stare’, သြးကကည့် /chaunnkyi/ ‘peep’ and ဝေးသထင် /narrhtaun/ ‘listen’, and verbal processes such as စကားသဖဟ /zagarrpyaw/

‘chatter’, အတင်းသဖဟ /atinnpyaw/ ‘gossip’, ညည်းညူ /nyeenyue/ ‘moan’ and တိုးတိုးသဖဟ /toetopyaw/ ‘murmur’ in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. These two languages show the same potential of realization of autonomous behaving action process despite different realizations of influential processes as in examples (11) and (12). As (11a) and (11b) illustrate, the behaving action process is realized by a single verb *screamed* in English transitivity structure, while it is realized by a compound verb သအ်ဟစ် ငိုသ ကး /orhit ngokywaye:/ ‘scream, cry’ in Myanmar transitivity structure. As shown in examples (12a) and (12b), despite the realization of English influential process as a separate verb *make*, the Myanmar influential process is realized as a postpositional causative affix သစ /zay/ to the behaving action process တုဝေ်ရီ /tonye/ ‘shiver’ influenced by an external instigator, the Agent သကကကြ်ကြွယ်ရာ အံကကီးက /kyaukmetphweyar athan-gyee-ga/ ‘frightenig sound’.

(11) a. autonomous: behaving action

Coyotito screamed with pain in his box.

Behaver	Process	Circumstance	Circumstance
---------	---------	--------------	--------------

b. autonomous: behaving action

ကိုယိုတီးတိုးကား နာကျင်လွန်းသဖြင့် ပုခက်သေတ္တာထဲမှာပင် အော်ဟစ် ဝိုကြွေးလျက်ရှိလေသည်။

coyoteetoe- narkyin- pakhetthittar- orhit ngokywaye:-  
 garr lunn=thaphyint htehmar-bin hlyetshilaythe.  
 Coyotito- painful- box-LOC-EMPMARK scream cry-  
 SBJMARK AUG=CAUS.CONJ PROG.DECL.SENTSUF

Behaver	Circumstance	Circumstance	Process
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‘Coyotito screamed with pain in his box.’ (John Steinbeck 1945: 7, Htin Lin 1999: 21)

(12) a. influential: behaving action

Frightening sound made Mary shiver.

Agent	Process: influential	Af[[Behaver	Process: behaving action]]
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b. influential: behaving action

ကြောက်မက်ဖွယ်ရာ အသံကြီးက မေရီတို့ တုန်ရီစေခဲ့သည်။

kyaukmetphweyar athan-gyee-ga mayre-go tonye-zay-khet-the.  
 frightening sound-big.MOD- Mary- shiver-CAUS-PST-  
 SBJMARK OBJMARK DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Af[[Behaver	Process]]
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‘Frightening sound made Mary shiver.’ (Journal Kyaw Ma Ma Lay 1957: 189)

### 3.1.2 Realizations of mental processes in English and Myanmar transitivity configurations

Mental processes are the processes of sensing. They construe the experience of the world of our own consciousness (He et al. 2017: 65). He et al. (2017) describe four subtypes of mental processes, namely emotive, desiderative, perceptive and cognitive mental processes in their description of transitivity system of English. However, in He’s (2022) new version of transitivity system of Chinese and Lai Yee Win’s (2021) description of transitivity system of Myanmar, there are five subcategories of mental processes, namely emotive, desiderative, perceptive, cognitive and communicative mental processes. Each process can be either autonomous

or influential. Although He et al. (2017) describe communicative process as a separate one, it is taken as a subtype of mental process in He’s (2022) Chinese transitivity system and Lai Yee Win’s (2021) Myanmar transitivity system.

Autonomous emotive mental processes realize our feelings or emotions. This subtype of mental process is realized by the *like* type of verbs such as ကကိုက် /kyaik/ ‘like’, နှစ်က် /hnitthet/ ‘like’, ခြစ် /chit/ ‘love’, ခြောင်း /monn/ ‘hate’, သပျော်ရွှင် /pyorshwin/ ‘rejoice’, ဂုဏ်ယူ /gonyue/ ‘exult’, သကကာက်ရွံ့ /kyaukywunt/ ‘dread’, ငြင်းငေါင်း /wannne/ ‘grieve’, အံ့သြ /antaw/ ‘marvel’, သလားစား /laye:zarr/ ‘admire’, သောင်တရ /naundaya/ ‘regret’, and the *please* type of verbs

such as ဆွေသဆောင် /swesaun/ ‘attract’, သဖြောက်လှော် /chaukhlant/ ‘startle’, တိုက်တွေးအားသပေး /taiktunnarrpaye:/ ‘encourage’, နှစ်စိဖြူ /hnittheik/ ‘comfort’, စိတ်ဝင်စားသစ /seikwinzarrzay/ ‘interest’, ထိတ်လှော်သစ /hteiklantzay/ ‘shock’, စိုးရိမ်ပူပန်သစ /soeyeinpuebanzay/ ‘worry’, သြာပေးနွမ်းနယ်သစ /mawpannnwannnezay/ ‘weary’ and စိတ်ဓာတ်ကျသစ /seikdatkyazay/ ‘depress’ in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. In some English clauses, the emotive meaning is represented by multi-word verbs. For example, He [Em] is [Pro] satisfied [PrEx1] with [PrEx2] the result of his hard work [Ph] where the

emotive process is realized by the verb *be*. However, in its Myanmar translated clause, the emotive process is realized by the *like* type of emotive verb သကျော် /kyaynat/ ‘be satisfied’ as in (13a). Example (13b) is an influential emotive mental process in Myanmar, where there is the causative postverb သစ /say/ through which the Agent influences an emotive process to come into view. The influential emotive mental process သကျော်သစ/kyaynatsay/ in Myanmar transitivity structure is translated into English as the please type of emotive verb *satisfy* which realizes an autonomous emotive mental process in English

(13) a. autonomous: emotive mental

သူသည်	သူကြိုးစားမှုရလဒ်နှင့်ပတ်သက်ပြီး	ကျေနပ်တယ်။
thue-the	thu-kyoezarrhmu-yalat-hnintpatthetpyee	kyaynat-te.
3SG-SBJMARK	3SG.GEN-hard.work-result-concerned.with	be.satisfied.PRS-DECL.SENTSUF

Emoter	Phenomenon	Process
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‘He is satisfied with the result of his hard work.’

b. influential: emotive mental

သူကြိုးစားမှုရလဒ်က	သူ့ကို	ကျေနပ်စေတယ်။
thu-kyoezarrhmu-yalat-ka	thue-go	kyaynat-say-de.
3SG.GEN-hard.work-result-SBJMARK	3SG-OBJMARK	be.satisfied-CAUS.PRS-DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Af[[Emoter	Process]]
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‘The result of his hard work satisfies him.’

Autonomous desiderative mental processes realize our desires. This subtype of mental process is realized by lexical verbs that indicate our desire for something such as လိုချင် /lochin/ ‘want’, သြချော်လင် /hmyorlint/ ‘hope’, လိုအပ် /loat/ ‘require’, တြေးတ /tannta/ ‘long for’ and so on in English and Myanmar transitivity structures.

Autonomous perceptive mental processes realize our senses: sight, feeling, hearing, smell and taste. These processes are realized by lexical verbs such as မြင် /myin/ ‘see’, ခြံစားခြံ /khanzarrmi/ ‘feel’ or ‘perceive’, ကကား /kyarr/ ‘hear’, အေ့ရ /anantya/ ‘smell’, ဖြည်းကကည့် /myeekyi/ ‘taste’, ခြေမြင်ကကည့် /phyatkhanekyi/ ‘glimpse’, and so on in English and Myanmar transitivity structures.



Autonomous cognitive mental processes realize mental abilities and processes concerning knowledge such as memory, judgment, evaluation, attention, reasoning, comprehension, etc. (He et al. 2017: 83). These cognitive mental processes are realized by verbs expressing cognitive meanings such as ဝိ /thi/ ‘know’, ထင် /htin/ ‘think’, ယုံကကည် /yonkye/ ‘believe’, ဘေးလည် /narrle/ ‘understand’, ဝိဇ္ဇာခြင်္ဂါ /thichinmi/ ‘wonder’, ဝေယဗြစ် /thanthayaphyit/ ‘doubt’, ဘေးလည်သောသပါက်/narrlethabawpauk/ ‘realize’, စိတ်ကူး /seikkue:/ ‘imagine’, အိပ်ကြက် /eikmetmet/ ‘dream’, ခြေခြေ /khanthmann/ ‘guess’, ဝေတိရ /thadiya/ ‘remember’, and so on in English and Myanmar transitivity structures.

Autonomous communicative mental processes realize the experience of exchanging information through language. This communicative mental process is realized by lexical verbs such as သဖာ /pyaw/ ‘tell’, သဆွေးသနွေး /swaye:nwaye:/ ‘discuss’, သြာဖာ /phorpya/ ‘state’, အစီရင်္ဂါတင်ဖာ /aseyinkhantipyay/ ‘report’, ဝေတိသး /thadipaye:/ ‘warn’, အကကံသး /akyanpaye:/ ‘advise’, သး /maye:/ ‘ask’, ရှင်းဖာ /shinnpya/ ‘explain’, ချီးကျူး /cheekyue:/ ‘praise’, and so on in English and Myanmar transitivity structures.

English and Myanmar show the same potential of realization of autonomous mental processes as the lexical verbs which have the same semantic meanings in both languages. Examples (13a) and (13b) illustrate autonomous perceptive mental process type structures in which the Myanmar and English realizations closely resemble each other, where the perceptive mental processes in English and Myanmar transitivity structures are realized by English verb ‘hear’ and Myanmar verb ကကား /kyarr/ which are the same in meaning. However, in the examples (14a) and (14b), different lexical verbs with different semantic meanings realize cognitive mental process in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. In English cognitive mental process clause (14a), the process is realized by the verb *remember*. But this clause is translated into Myanmar by changing the lexical verb with different meaning ထင်သည် /htinthe/ ‘think’ which realizes the same process as English clause as in (14b). Moreover, the realizations of processes as different lexical verbs realizing different processes can also be seen in English-Myanmar translation (15a) and (15b).

(13) a. autonomous: perceptive mental

Kino heard the little splash of morning waves on the beach. (John Steinbeck 1945: 2)

Perceiver	Process	Phenomenon
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b. autonomous: perceptive mental

ကမ်းခြေတို့မှ	နံနက်ခင်း	လှိုင်းပုတ်သံကလေးများကို	ကီနို	ကြားရသည်။
kannchay-dot-hma	nannetkhinn	hlainn-pokethan-galaye:-myarr-go	keno	kyarr-yathe.
beach-PLMARK-ABLMARK	morning	wave-sound-DIM-PLMARK-OBJMARK	Kino	hear-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Phenomenon	Perceiver	Process
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‘Kino heard the little splash of morning waves on the beach.’ (Htin Lin 1999: 13)

(14). a autonomous: cognitive mental

Kino could never seeing when he awakened. (John Steinbeck 1945: 2)  
 remember Juana's  
 eyes closed

Cognizant	Process	Phenomenon	Circumstance
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b autonomous: cognitive mental

သူ နိုးနေခိုက် ဟွာနာမျက်လုံ မှိတ်ထားသ ကီနို မမြင်ဘူးခဲဟု ထင်သည်။  
 ဝးများ ညှိကို  
 thue noe=naykhaik hwarnar- hmeikhtarr ken ma-myin- htin-the.  
 myetlonn- -the-go o bue:-khet=hu  
 myarr  
 3SG awaken=when. Juana-eye- close- Kin NEG-see- think-  
 CONJ PLMARK DECL.SENT o NEGDECL.SENT DECL.SENT  
 SUF- SUF- SUF  
 OBJMARK PST=COMPL

Ph			Pro: auto cog men	
Ph		Per	Pro: auto	
		c	perc men	
Cir	Af	Pro: auto do act		

‘Kino thinks that he has not seen Juana’s eyes closed when he awakened.’ (Htin Lin 1999: 13)

(15) a. autonomous: behaving action

She was looking at him as she was always looking at him when he awakened.

Behaver	Process	Process Extension	Range	Circumstance
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b autonomous: perceptive mental

ကီနို နိုးလာတိုင်း ဟွာနာသည် ကီနိုအား ကြည့်လျက်သ တွေ့ရသည်။ ။  
 keno noelar=dainn hwarnar- keno-arr kyi-hlyet- twayt-yathe.  
 the thar  
 Kino awaken=whenever.CONJ Juana- Kino- look-PROG- find-  
 SBJMARK OBJMARK EXCL DECL.SENTSUF

Circumstance	Phenomenon	Process
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Compared to English transitivity, influential processes are rarely used in Myanmar. English influential processes are typically transformed into Myanmar autonomous processes by changing the causer Agent into a circumstance in English-Myanmar translation. Compare the examples (16a) and (16b).

(16). a influential: cognitive mental

For Nan when it made her miss her very  
 Aung, these father much.  
 flowers  
 bloomed,

Circumstance	Circumstance	Agent	Process: influential	Aff[[Cognizant	Process: cognitive mental	Phenomenon	Circumstance]]
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b autonomous: cognitive mental

နန်းအောင် ဝါဆိုပန်း ပွင့်ရင် အဖေ့ကို အရမ်းသတိရတယ်။  
 ကတော့ တွေ  
 nannaun- warzo- pwint=yin aphayt- ayann-thadiya-de.  
 gadort pann- go  
 dway  
 Nan.Aun waso- bloom=CON father- AUG-remember-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF  
 g- flower- D.CONJ OBJMAR  
 SBJMARK PLMARK K

Cognizant	Circumstance	Phenomenon	Process: cognitive mental
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‘When Waso flowers blooms, Nan Aung remembers her father very much.’

(<http://sealang.net/burmese/bitext.htm>)

3.1.3 Realizations of relational processes in English and Myanmar transitivity configurations

The significant difference in realizations of autonomous attributive relational processes in English and Myanmar transitivity structures lies in that in English transitivity structures, the English attributive verb 'be' is employed to realize the attributive process for representing both the quality and the status of the Carrier as in (17a) and

(17b), whereas in Myanmar transitivity structures, the attributive process for representing the quality of the Carrier is realized by attributive verbs such as ကျန်းပြာဝေင်္စွပြ်းဝေင်္စွာ /kyannmar-thanswann-the/ 'be healthy and strong', while the process for representing the status of the Carrier is realized by the Myanmar copula verb ဖြစ်ေပ်း /phyit-the/ 'be' as in (18a) and (18b).

(17) a. autonomous: attributive relational

Kino is healthy and strong.

Carrier	Process	Attribute
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b. autonomous: attributive relational

Kino is a young man.

Carrier	Process	Attribute
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(18) a. autonomous: attributive relational

ကီနိုသည် ကျန်းမာသန်စွမ်းသည်။

keno-the kyannmar-thanswann-the

Kino-SBJMARK healthy-strong-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Carrier	Process
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'Kino is healthy and strong.' (Htin Lin 1999: 17)

b. autonomous: attributive relational

ကီနိုသည် ငယ်ရွယ်သူ ဖြစ်သည်။

keno-the ngeywe-thue phyit-the.

Kino-SBJMARK young-person COP.PRS-DECL.SENTSUF

Carrier	Attribute	Process
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'Kino is a young man.' (Htin Lin 1999: 17)

Autonomous identifying relational processes construe the symbolization or identity of an entity. This identifying relational process is typically realized by the copula verb ဖြစ်ေပ်း /phyitthe/ 'be' in Myanmar transitivity configurations. In English, there are definite and indefinite articles: *the* and *a/an* which can be used in nominal groups to distinguish the attributive processes from the

identifying processes. However, as there is no definite article *the* in Myanmar, we can distinguish attributive processes from identifying processes by means of the reversibility of the positions of two participants. The positions of the Token and the Value can be reversible in identifying processes, whereas the positions of the Carrier and the Attribute in attributive processes



cannot be reversible. In an identifying clause, the two participants, named Token and Value, stand in a symbolic relation, in which the Token is identified as the Value. The typical Myanmar identifying verb is ဖြစ်သည် /phyitthe/ 'be' which is analogous to English copula verb *be*.

အဓိပ္ပာယ်ပြင်ဆင်ခြင်း /adeikbephwintso/ 'define' realize identifying process in Myanmar transitivity structures. Since the two participants are equated with each other, the order of the participants may be either Token^ Value^ Process as in (19a) or Value^ Token^ Process as in (19b).

Other Myanmar verbs such as အမည်ပေး /amyepaye:/ 'name', ဆိုလို /solo/ 'mean' and

(19) a.	ရန်ကုန်မြို့သည်	မြန်မာပြည်၏	စီးပွားရေးမြို့တော်	ဖြစ်သည်။
	yangon-myot-the	myanmarpye-i	seebwarryaye:- myotdor	phyit-the.
	Yangon-town- SBJMARK	Myanmar-GEN	commercial-city	COP.PRS- DECL.SENTSUF
	Token	Value	Pro: auto iden rel	
	'Yangon is the commercial city of Myanmar.'			
b.	မြန်မာပြည်၏	စီးပွားရေးမြို့တော်မှာ	ရန်ကုန်မြို့	ဖြစ်သည်။
	myanmarpye-i	seebwarryaye:- myotdor-hmar	yangon-myot	phyit-the.
	Myanmar-GEN	commercial-city- SBJMARK	Yangon-town	COP.PRS- DECL.SENTSUF
	Value		Token	Pro: auto iden rel
	'The commercial city of Myanmar is Yangon.'			

Autonomous locational relational processes realize the relationship between one entity and its location (He et al. 2017: 111). Autonomous directional relational processes realize the static direction of an entity (He et al. 2017: 111). Directional relational processes are realized by processes of movement such as သွေ့လျား /ywaytsharr/ 'move', လာ /lar/ 'come', ဦးတည် /ue:te/ 'lead', ပျံ့နှံ့ /pyanthnant/ 'spread', and so on. Autonomous possessive relational processes realize the relationship between two entities in terms of possessing. These possessive relational processes are realized by lexical verbs such as ရ /ya/ 'get', ရှိ /shi/ 'have', ပိုင်ဆိုင် /painsain/

'possess' or 'own', ပါဝင် /parwin/ 'contain', and so on. Among them, the most general and representative verb which realizes the 'possessive' process in Myanmar is ရှိ /shi/ 'have'. Autonomous correlational relational processes realize the relationship between two entities. Correlational processes are realized by lexical verbs representing the connection between two people or two things or two entities such as လက်ထပ် /lehtat/ 'marry', သစ္စာပေး /saytatz/ 'be engaged with', နှိုင်းယှဉ် /hnainnshin/ 'compare', လိုက်ကြိုက် /laikphet/ 'match (with)', and so on. Autonomous existential relational processes realize the existence of an entity in a certain location. They

relate an entity to the fact of its existence. Existential process in Myanmar transitivity structures is typically realized by lexical verbs ရှိ /shi/, တည်ထား /tehtarr/, တည်ရှိ /teshi/ ‘exist’, while existential process in English transitivity structures can be realized by the verb *be* and many other verbs that construe static meanings such as *exist, lie, remain, arrive, enter, spring up, rise, stand, emerge, and so on* (He et al. 2017: 146). In Myanmar, the verb ရှိ /shi/ may also realize a possessive process where it has the semantic meaning ‘have’. In Myanmar the existential verb ရှိ /shi/ can be interpreted either as existential when

the Existent and the Location appear as participants or as possessive when it has two participants: Possessor and Possessed, like the verb ‘have’ in English. In Myanmar existential construction, there exist two participants named Existent and Location, and the typical realization of this kind of process by verbs such as ရှိ /shi/, တည်ထား /tehtarr/ and တည်ရှိ /teshi/ which has the semantic meaning *exist*. The common optional semantic configurations of existential processes are Existent^Location^Process and Location^Existent^Process. See Examples (20) and (21).

- (20) မြို့သည်                      မြစ်ဝကျယ်၏                      ကမ်းပေါ်တွင်                      တည်ထားသည်။  
 myot-the                      myitwa-kye-i                      kann-portwin                      tehtarr-the.  
 town-SBJMARK                      estuary-broad.MOD-GEN                      beach-on.LOC                      lie.PFV-DECL.SENTSUF

Existent	Location	Pro: auto existential rel
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‘The town lay on a broad estuary.’ (Htin Lin 1999: 33)

- (21) အိမ်၏                      မျက်နှာစာတွင်                      မြက်ခင်းပြင်                      ရှိသည်။  
 ein-i                      myethnazar-twin                      myetkhinnpyin                      shi-the.  
 house-GEN                      front-LOC                      lawn                      exist.PRS-DECL.SENTSUF

Location	Existent	Pro: auto existential rel
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‘There is lawn in front of the house.’

The Myanmar lexical verb ရှိ /shi/ convey two semantic meanings: *exist* and *have*.

Therefore, it can realize two processes: existential relational process and possessive relational process in Myanmar transitivity structures. The realization of possessive process by the Myanmar verb ရှိ /shi/ which has the same semantic meaning as *has* in English can be seen in the example (22).

- (22) စက်ဘီးတွင်                      ဘီးနှစ်ဘီး                      ရှိသည်။  
 setbeinn-twin                      beinn-hna-beinn                      shi-the.  
 bicycle-LOC                      wheel-two-CLF                      have.PRS-DECL.SENTSUF

Possessor	Possessed	Pro: auto possessive rel
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‘A bicycle has two wheels.’

*3.2 Comparison of realizations of participant roles in English and Myanmar transitivity structures*

Following He's (2022) new model of Chinese transitivity system, the Myanmar transitivity system is described as distinguishing between three major process types. These are the 'action', 'mental' and 'relational' process types. Each process type has its own subtypes. Action process is divided into four subtypes: autonomous and influential happening, doing, creating and behaving action processes. Mental process is classified into five subtypes: autonomous and influential emotive, desiderative, perceptive, cognitive and communicative mental processes. Relational process is categorized into seven subtypes: autonomous and influential attributive, identifying, locational, directional, possessive, correlational and existential relational processes.

They are structurally realized as configurations of a Process and the participants. Syntactically, a participant role can be conflated with the Subject or the Complement which is typically realized by a nominal group.

*3.2.1 Realizations of participant roles in English and Myanmar action processes*

Autonomous happening action process contains only one participant, the Agent only and the Affected only. It is structurally realized as configurations of a Process and a participant of Agent + Process and Affected + Process in English and Myanmar. There is no such configuration of It/There + Pro + Af in Myanmar but in English. We can study the similarities and differences in realizations of participants in English and Myanmar autonomous happening action processes in the following examples.

(22) စက်ဘီးတွင်      ဘီးနှစ်ဘီး      ရှိသည်။

setbeinn-twin    beinn-hna-beinn    shi-the.  
bicycle-LOC    wheel-two-CLF    have.PRS-DECL.SENTSUF

Possessor	Possessed	Pro: auto possessive rel
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'A bicycle has two wheels.'

Subject	Finite/Predicator
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(Journal Kyaw Ma Ma Lay 1957: 45)

(2) a. Autumn has come.

Affected	Pro: auto happening action	
Subject	Finite	Predicator

b. ဆောင်းဦးသို့      ရောက်လာပြီဖြစ်၏။

saunnue:-thot      yauk-larbye-phyiti.  
autumn-OBJMARK    come-PFV-DECL.SENTSUF

Affected	Pro: auto happening action	
Subject	Finite/Predicator	

(Journal Kyaw Ma Ma Lay 1957: 45)





The process types in (3a) and (3b) are both autonomous doing action, so the structural configuration is Agent + Process + Affected in English, and Agent + Affected + Process in Myanmar. In English doing action process clause (3a), the Agent (the servant) is conflated with Subject, while the Affected (the door) is conflated with Complement. Structurally, they are realized by nominal groups. On the other hand, in Myanmar doing action process clause (3b), the

Agent အသံြီေည် /asaykhan-the/ ‘the servant’ is conflated with Subject and is realized by a common noun အသံြီ /asaykhan/ ‘servant’ in nominative case marked by a nominative case marker -ေည် /the/, while the Affected တံြးကို /dagarr-go/ ‘the door’ is conflated with Complement and is realized by a common noun တံြး /dagarr/ ‘door’ in accusative case marked by an objective suffix -ကို /go/. Therefore, we can see that case realizes the syntactic functions of participants in Myanmar transitivity structures.

(4) a. My son will read the books.

Agent	Pro: auto doing action		Range
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement

(John Steinbeck 1945: 33)

b. ငါးသားက စာအုပ်တွေကို ဖတ်မှာ။

nga-tharr-ga saroke-dway-go phat-hmar.  
 1SG.GEN-SON-SBJMARK book-PLMARK-OBJMARK read-IRR.ASS

Agent	Range	Pro: auto doing action
Subject	Complement	Finite/Predicator

(Htin Lin 1999: 56)

In English doing action process clause (4a), the Agent (My son) is conflated with the Subject and is realized by a nominal group; the Range (the books) is conflated with the Complement and is also realized by a nominal group. In Myanmar doing action process clause (4b), the Agent ငါးသားက /nga-tharr-ga/ ‘my son’ is conflated with Subject and is realized by a nominal group in nominative case marked by a nominative suffix

-က /ga/; the Range စာအုပ်သတွကို /saroke-dway-go/ ‘the books’ is conflated with Complement and is realized by a nominal group in accusative case marked by an objective suffix -ကို /go/. Besides the realization of the PR Range in doing action process as a nominal group, it can also be realized as a prepositional phrase in English and Myanmar as in (5a) and (5b).

(5) a. The children climbed to the top of the hill.

Agent	Pro: auto doing action	Range
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement

b. ကလေးများသည် တောင်ကုန်းထိပ်သို့ တက်ခဲ့ကြသည်။

khalaye:-myarr-the taunkonn-hteik-thot tet-khet-gya-the.  
 child-PLMARK-SBJMARK hill-top-ALL climb-PST-PLMARK-DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Range	Pro: auto doing action
Subject	Complement	Finite/Predicator

(6) a. Her stepmother treated her cruelly.

Agent	Pro: auto doing action	Affected	Manner
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Complement

b. သူမိသွေးက သူ့ကို ရက်စက်ကြမ်းကြုတ်စွာ ပြုမူဆက်ဆံခဲ့တယ်။  
 thu-midwaye:-ga thu-go yetsetkyannkyokeswar pyumuesetsan-khet-de.

3SG.GEN- stepmother- 3SG- cruelly treat-PST-  
 SBJMARK OBJMARK DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Affected	Manner	Pro: auto doing action
Subject	Complement	Complement	Finite/Predicator

The construction in (6a) and (6b) is accounted for as a kind of autonomous doing action process with three participants: Agent, Affected and Manner. In English autonomous doing action process clause (6a), the Agent (her stepmother) is conflated with Subject and is realized as a nominal group; the Affected (her) is conflated with Complement and is realized as a pronoun; the Manner is another Complement which is realized as an adverb. In Myanmar autonomous doing action process clause (6b), the Agent သူမိသွေးက /thu-midwaye:-ga/ 'her stepmother' syntactically functions as Subject and is realized as a nominal group in nominative case marked by a nominative suffix -က /ga/; the Affected သူ့ကို /thu-go/ 'her' syntactically functions as Complement and is realized as a pronoun in dative case marked by an objective suffix -ကို /go/; the Manner also functions as Complement and is realized as an adverb.

The Agent, Affected and Range in processes of doing action show the same potential of realization as a noun or nominal group, and the

Manner as an adverb or adverbial group in English and Myanmar. The significant difference in realization of participants in processes in English and Myanmar is that case (nominative, dative and accusative) marks the syntactic functions of Subject and Complement elements in Myanmar construction by means of suffixes: -ည် /the/, -က /ga/, -ဖြာ /hmar/ for nominative, -ကို /go/, -တို့ /thot/, -အား /arr/ for objective case, whereas there is no case marker to realize the syntactic functions of participants in English construction.

Autonomous creating action process may include one or two participants. If there is one participant involved in this process, it is the Created. If there are two participants involved in it, there are the Agent and the Created. The PR Agent is typically animate, whereas the Created can be either animate or inanimate. The Agent and the Created in processes of creating in English and Myanmar show the same potential of realization as a noun or nominal group as in (7a) and (7b).

(7) a. Juana usually makes corncakes for breakfast.

Agent	Circumstance	Pro: auto creating action	Created	Circumstance
Subject	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator	Complement	Adjunct



The process type in (8a) and (8b) is autonomous behaving action process, so the structural configuration is Behavior + Process + Range in English and Behavior + Range + Process in Myanmar. In English behaving action process (8a), the Behavior (Kino) is conflated with Subject and is realized as a proper noun; the Range (that Coyotito could read) is conflated with Complement and is realized as a finite clause. In Myanmar behaving action process (8b), the Behavior ကိနိုဝှေ့ /keno-the/ 'Kino' is conflated with Subject and is realized as a proper noun in

nominative case marked by nominative suffix -ဝှေ့ /the/; the Range ကိုယိုတီးတိုးစာဂြိုဟ်တတ်ည်ဟု /koyoteetoe sarphat-tat-the=hu/ 'that Coyotito could read' is conflated with Complement and is realized as a finite clause. The Behavior in processes of behaving indicates the same potential of realization as a nominal group in English and Myanmar, while the Range shows the same potential of realization as a nominal group or a finite clause in both languages. Table 3-3 illustrates a comparison of realizations of participants in action processes in English and Myanmar.

*Table 3-3:* A comparison of realizations of participants in action processes in English and Myanmar configurations

Process type	Subtype of action process	Participant	Realization of participant in English configurations	Realization of participant in Myanmar configurations
	happening	Agent	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group with nominative case marker: -သည် /the/, -က /ga/ or -မှာ /hmar/
		Affected	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group with objective case marker: -ကို /go/, -သို့ /thot/ or -အား /arr/
		Agent	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group with nominative case



action	doing			marker: -သည် /the/, -က /ga/ or -မှာ /hmar/	
		Affected	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group with objective case marker: -ကို /go/, -သို့ /thot/ or -အား /arr/	
		Range	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group with objective case marker: -ကို /go/, prepositional phrase	
		Manner	adverb or adverbial group	adverb or adverbial group	
	creating	Agent	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group with nominative case marker: -သည် /the/, -က /ga/ or -မှာ /hmar/	
		Created	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group with objective case marker	
	behaving	Behaver	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, common noun, nominal group with nominative case marker: -သည် /the/, -က /ga/ or -မှာ /hmar/	
			Range	nominal group, finite clause	nominal group, finite clause

3.3.2 Realizations of participant roles in English and Myanmar mental processes

According to He's (2022) new model of Chinese transitivity system, mental processes are divided into five subtypes: autonomous and influential emotive, desiderative, perceptive, cognitive and communicative mental processes. The two major participants involved in autonomous emotive

mental process are Emoter and Phenomenon. The Emoter is the PR which represents the one who feels, so it can be a human or an animate being. The Phenomenon is a thing or an act or an event or a fact targeted by the feeling process (He et al. 2017: 67). There are some differences in realizations of participants in emotive mental processes of English and Myanmar as in the following examples.

(9) a. He was afraid of strangers.

Emoter	Pro	PrEx1	PrEx2	Phenomenon
Subject	Finite/Predicator			Complement

(John Steinbeck 1945: 69)

b. သူသည် မျက်နှာစိမ်းများကို ကြောက်သည်။

thue-the myethnaseinn-myarr-go kyauk-the.

3SG-SBJMARK stranger-PLMARK-OBJMARK fear-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Emoter	Phenomenon	Pro: auto emotive mental
Subject	Complement	Finite/Predicator

(Htin Lin 1999: 105)

The Emoter and the Phenomenon in processes of emotion in English and Myanmar indicate the same potential of realization as in (9a) and (9b). In English emotive mental process clause (9a), the Agent (he) is conflated with Subject and is realized as a pronoun; the Affected (strangers) is conflated with Complement and is realized as a nominal group. In Myanmar emotive mental process clause (9b), the Agent သူသည် /thue-the/

'he' is conflated with Subject and is realized as a pronoun in nominative case marked by nominative suffix -ေည် /the/; the Affected မျက်နှာစိမ်းများကို /myethnaseinn-myarr-go/ 'strangers' is conflated with Complement and is realized as a nominal group in dative case marked by objective suffix -ကို /go/. However, we can see the difference of the realization of the Phenomenon in processes of emotion in English and Myanmar as in (10a) and (10b).

(10) a. He was afraid of failing the exam.

Emoter	Pro	PrEx1	PrEx2	Phenomenon
Subject	Finite/Predicator			Complement

b. သူ စာမေးပွဲ ကျရှုံးမှာကို စိုးရိမ်ခဲ့သည်။  
 thue sarmaye:pwe kyashonn-hmar-go soeyein-khet-the.  
 3SG.NOM exam fail-IRR-OBJMARK worry-PST-DECL.SENTSUF

Emoter	Phenomenon	Pro: auto emotive mental
Subject	Complement	Finite/Predicator

In English and Myanmar emotive mental process clauses (10a) and (10b), the Emoter ခူ /thue/ 'he' is conflated with Subject, representing the same potential of realization as a pronoun in both languages. However, the Phenomenon in process of emotion in English is realized as a non-finite clause as in (10a), whereas the Phenomenon in process of emotion in Myanmar is realized as a finite clause with an objective suffix -ကို /go/ as in (10b). The elements of structure (10b) can easily change position without information about syntactic function being lost, as in example (10c). Different from elements in process of emotion in Myanmar, those in English cannot change position without changing the meaning of the process. See Example (10d).

(10) c. စာမေးပွဲ ကျရှုံးမှာကို သူ စိုးရိမ်ခဲ့သည်။  
 sarmaye:pwe kyashonn-hmar-go thue soeyein-khet-the.  
 exam fail-IRR-OBJMARK 3SG.NOM worry-PST-DECL.SENTSUF

Phenomenon	Emoter	Pro: auto emotive mental
Complement	Subject	Finite/Predicator

(10) d. Failing in the exam upset him.

Phenomenon	Pro: auto emotive mental	Emoter
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement

The two main PRs involved in autonomous desiderative mental process are Desiderator and Phenomenon. The Desiderator is the PR which represents the one who wants something, so it can be a human or an animate being. The Phenomenon is a thing or an event targeted by the desiderative process. These participants show the same potential of realization in English and Myanmar as in (11a) and (11b).

(11) a. Mg Lu Aye decided to be a bachelor.

Desiderator	Pro: auto desiderative mental	Phenomenon
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement

b. မောင်လူအေးသည် လူပျိုကြီး လုပ်နေမည်ဟု ဆုံးဖြတ်ထားခဲ့၏။  
 maunlueaye:-the luebyogyee loke-naymye=hu sonnphyat-htarrkhet-i.  
 Mg.Lu.Aye-SBJMARK bachelor do-IRR.ASS=COMP decide-PST-DECL.SENTSUF

Desiderator	Phenomenon	Pro: auto desiderative mental
Subject	Complement	Finite/Predicator

The process type in (11a) and (11b) is autonomous desiderative mental process. In English desiderative mental process clause (11a), the Desiderator (Mg Lu Aye) is conflated with Subject and is realized as a proper noun, while the Phenomenon (to be a bachelor) is conflated with Complement and is realized as an infinitival clause. In Myanmar desiderative mental process clause (11b), the Desiderator [သြာ်လူသအးေံည် ] /maunlueaye:-the/ 'Mg Lu Aye' is conflated with Subject and is realized as a proper noun in nominative case marked by nominative affix -ေံည် /the/, while the Phenomenon လူပျိုကကိး လုပ်သေံည်ဟု /luebyogyee loke-naymye=hu/ 'will do as a bachelor' is conflated with Complement and is realized as a finite clause. Therefore, although the Desiderator in processes

of desideration in English and Myanmar describes the same potential of realization as a pronoun or nominal group, the Phenomenon shows different realizations as in (11a) and (11b).

Autonomous perceptive mental process consists of two main participants: Perceiver and Phenomenon. The Perceiver is the PR which represents the one who perceives something, so it is a human or an animate being. The Phenomenon is a thing or an event targeted by the perceptive process. Typically, the Perceiver and the Phenomenon in processes of perception in English and in Myanmar indicate the same potential of realization as a nominal group. Moreover, they can also be realized as finite or non-finite clause. Consider the following example:

(12) a. He saw them moving along.

Perceiver	Pro: auto perceptive mental	Phenomenon
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement

(John Steinbeck 1945: 95)

b. သူတို့ လာနေကြသည်ကို သူ မြင်ရသည်။  
 thuedot lar-nay-gya-the-go thue myin-yathe.  
 3PL come-PROG-PLMARK-DECL.SENTSUF- 3SG see-PRS. DECL.SENTSUF  
 OBJMARK

Phenomenon	Perceiver	Pro: auto perceptive mental
Complement	Subject	Finite/Predicator

(Htin Lin 1999: 140)

The process type in (12a) and (12b) is autonomous perceptive mental process, so the structural configuration is Perceiver + Process + Phenomenon in English and Phenomenon + Perceiver + Process in Myanmar. In English perceptive mental process clause (12a), the Perceiver (he) is conflated with Subject and is realized as a pronoun, while the Phenomenon (them moving along) is conflated with Complement and is realized as a nominal group. In Myanmar perceptive mental process clause (12b), the Perceiver [သူတို့ ] /thue/ 'he' is conflated

with Subject and is realized as a pronoun, while the Phenomenon [လာသေကကေည်ကို ] /thuedot lar nay-gya-the-go/ 'that they are coming' is conflated with Complement and is realized as a finite clause in accusative case marked by objective affix -ကို /go/. Therefore, although the Perceiver in processes of perception in English and Myanmar describes the same potential of realization as a pronoun, the Phenomenon in perceptive processes shows different realizations as a nominal group in English and as a finite clause in Myanmar as in (12a) and (12b).

The two principal participants involved in autonomous cognitive mental process are Cognizant and Phenomenon. The Cognizant is the PR which represents the one who thinks, knows and understands something, so this PR is a human or an animate being. The Phenomenon is a thing

or an event targeted by the cognitive process. Structurally, the Cognizant is typically realized as a nominal group in both languages: English and Myanmar. The Phenomenon can be realized as a nominal group or a finite or non-finite clause. Consider the following examples.

(13) a. They knew the doctor.

Cognizant	Pro: auto cognitive mental	Phenomenon
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement

(John Steinbeck 1945: 11)

b. သူတို့သည် ဆရာဝန်ကိုလည်း သိကြသည်။

thuedot-the sayarwin-go-le thi-gya-the.  
 3PL-SBJMARK doctor-OBJMARK-ADDCONN know-PLMARK-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Cognizant	Phenomenon	Pro: auto cognitive mental
Subject	Complement	Finite/Predicator

(Htin Lin 1999: 26)

Example (13a) is an English cognitive mental process clause in which the Cognizant (they) is realized as a pronoun and the Phenomenon (the doctor) is realized as a nominal group. Example (13b) is a Myanmar cognitive mental process clause in which the Cognizant သူတို့သည် /thuedot the/ 'they' is realized as a pronoun in nominative case marked by nominative affix -ေည် /the/ and

the Phenomenon ဆရာဝန်ကို /sayarwin-go/ 'the doctor' is realized as a nominal group in dative case marked by objective affix -ကို /go/. Like German, since syntactic functions are overtly marked by case in Myanmar, elements of structure can easily change position without information about syntactic function being lost as in (13c).

c. ဆရာဝန်ကိုလည်း သူတို့ သိကြသည်။

sayarwin-go-le thuedot thi-gya-the.  
 doctor-OBJMARK-ADDCONN 3PL know-PLMARK-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Phenomenon	Cognizant	Pro: auto cognitive mental
Subject	Complement	Finite/Predicator

(14) a. He knew what they were.

Cognizant	Pro: auto cog mental	Phenomenon
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement

(John Steinbeck 1945: 95)



b. သူတို့ ဘာတွေဖြစ်နေသည်ကို သူ သိသည်။  
 thuedot bardway-phyit-nay-the-go thue thi-the.  
 3PL what-happen-PROG-DECL.SENTSUF-OBJMARK 3SG know-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Phenomenon	Cognizant	Pro: auto cog mental
Complement	Subject	Finite/Predicator

(Htin Lin 1999: 140)

The Cognizant in process of cognition in (14a) and (14b) shows the same potential of realization as a pronoun, while the Phenomenon represents different realizations as a wh-clause in English and as a finite clause in Myanmar cognitive mental process clause.

Autonomous communicative mental process contains three participants: Communicator, Communicatee and Communicated. This

communicative process is analogous to Halliday's verbal process including three participants: Sayer, Receiver and Verbaige. The Communicator is the PR which represents the one who delivers the message; the Communicatee is the one who receives the message; the Communicated is the content of the message. The realizations of these three participants in communicative process can be studied in the following example.

(15) Mg Lu Aye replied his parents that he wants to stay peacefully alone.

a.

Communicator	Pro: auto communicative mental	Communicatee	Communicated
Subject	Predicator	Complement	Complement

b. မောင်လူအေးလည်း အေးအေးနေပါရစေဟူ၍သာလျှင် မိခင်ဖခင်တို့ထံသို့ စာပြန်လိုက်လေ၏။  
 maunlueaye:-le aye:aye:-nay- mikhin-phakhin- sar-pyan-laiklayi.  
 bayazay=hueywaytharhlyin dot-htanthot  
 Mg.Lu.Aye- peacefully-stay-POLREQ=COMP mother-father- letter-reply-  
 ADDCONN PLMARK-ALL PFV.DECL.SENTSUF

Communicator	Communicated	Communicatee	Pro: auto communicative mental
Subject	Complement	Complement	Predicator

(Science Mg Wa 1998:16)

The Communicator and the Communicatee in communicative processes of English and Myanmar show the same potential of realization by a proper noun or a nominal group as in (15a) and (15b). Contrary to the Communicator and the Communicatee, the Communicated can be realized not only by a pronoun or a proper noun or a nominal group but also by a finite or non finite clause. For instance, in English and Myanmar communicative mental process clauses (15a) and (15b), the Communicated is conflated with the Complement and is realized by a relative clause. Table 3-4 illustrates a comparison of realizations of participants in mental processes in English and Myanmar.

Table 3-4: A comparison of realizations of participants in mental processes in English and Myanmar configurations

Process type	Subtype of mental process	Participant	Realization of participant in English	Realization of participant in Myanmar
mental	emotive	Emoter	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group with nominative case marker: - သည် /the/, -က /ga/ or -မှာ /hmar/
		Phenomenon	pronoun, proper noun, nominalization, nominal group, finite or non-finite clause	pronoun, proper noun, nominalization, nominal group, finite or non-finite clause with objective case marker: -ကို /go/
	desiderative	Desiderator	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group with nominative case marker: - သည် /the/, -က /ga/ or -မှာ /hmar/
		Phenomenon	pronoun, proper noun, nominalization, nominal group, finite or non-finite clause	pronoun, proper noun, nominalization, nominal group, finite or non-finite clause with objective case marker: -ကို /go/
	perceptive	Perceiver	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group with or without nominative case marker
		Phenomenon	pronoun, proper noun, nominalization,	pronoun, proper noun, nominalization, nominal

			nominal group, finite or non-finite clause	group, finite or non-finite clause with objective case marker: -တို့ /go/
cognitive	Cognizant		pronoun, proper noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group with or without nominative case marker
	Phenomenon		nominal group, finite or non-finite clause	nominal group, finite or non-finite clause with objective case marker: -တို့ /go/
communicative	Communicator		pronoun, proper noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group with nominative case marker: -သည့် /the/ or -က /ga/
	Communicatee		pronoun, proper noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group with objective case marker: -တို့ /go/, -သို့ /thot/ or -အား /arr/
	Communicated		pronoun, nominal group, finite or non-finite clause	pronoun, nominal group, finite or non-finite clause

### 3.3.3 Realizations of participant roles in English and Myanmar relational processes

According to He's (2022) new model of Chinese transitivity system, relational processes are divided into seven subtypes: autonomous and influential attributive, identifying, locational, directional, possessive, correlational and existential relational processes. The two major participants involved in autonomous attributive relational process are Carrier and Attribute. The Carrier is typically realized by a noun or a nominal group. The PR Attribute is the PR which expresses the class type of an entity, so it is realized by a nominal group. In some attributive processes, the Attribute is covert when the verb described by the process realizes the quality of an entity. The following examples provide a comparison of realizations of participants in autonomous attributive relational processes of English and Myanmar.

(16) a. Kino is a brave man.

Carrier	Pro: auto attri rel	Attribute
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement

(John Steinbeck 1945: 69)

b. ကိနိုသည် ရဲရင့်သူ ဖြစ်သည်။

keno-the yeyint-thue phyit-the.

Kino-SBJMARK brave-man COP-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Carrier	Attribute	Pro: auto attri rel
Subject	Complement	Finite/Predicator

(Htin Lin 1999: 140)

(17) a. U Pho Thaug's daughter, Ma Hla Tin is lovely.

Carrier	Pro: auto attri rel	Attribute
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement

b. ဦးဖိုးသောင်း၏သမီး မလှတင်သည် ချစ်စဖွယ်ကောင်း၏။

ue:phoethaunn-i-thamee mahlatin-the chitsaphwekaunn-i.

U.Pho.Thaug-GEN-daughter Ma.Hla.Tin-SBJMARK be.lovely-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Carrier	Pro: auto attri rel
Subject	Finite/Predicator

(Science Mg Wa 1998: 20)

The process type in (16a) and (16b) is both attributive relational in which the Carrier and the Attribute show the same potential of realization by a proper noun or a nominal group in English and Myanmar. In English attributive relational process clause (17a), the Carrier (U Pho Thaug's daughter, Ma Hla Tin) is conflated with the Subject and is realized by a nominal group, and the Attribute (lovely) is conflated with the Complement and is realized by an adjective which represents the quality of the Carrier. On the other hand, in Myanmar attributive relational process clause (17b), there is no PR Attribute, and the attributive process is realized by a verb 'be lovely'; the Carrier ဦးဖိုးသောင်း ၏ သမီး မလှတင်သည် /ue:phoethaunn-i-thamee mahlatin-the/ 'U Pho Thaug's daughter, Ma Hla Tin' is conflated with the Subject realized by a nominal group in

nominative case with a nominative affix -ည် /the/.

The two main PRs involved in autonomous identifying relational process are the Token and the Value in terms of He's (forthcoming) new model of Chinese transitivity system. The structural configuration of this subtype of relational process in English is Token + Process + Value (or) Value + Process + Token, while that of relational process in Myanmar is Token + Value + Process (or) Value + Token + Process. The position of the Token and the Value is reversible. The realizations of the Token and the Value by a nominalization, a nominal group or a finite or non-finite clause in autonomous identifying relational processes of English and Myanmar can be seen as in (18a) and (18b).

- (18) One of the most important is being able to make Human  
 a. necessities for the development of a Capital develop more and  
 country more.

Token	Pro: auto idenrel	Value
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement

b	နိုင်ငံ	ဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်	အရေးပါဆုံး	လိုအပ်ချက်	လူသားအရ	အားကောင်းသည်ထက်	ပြုလုပ်	ဖြစ်သည်။
	တစ်နိုင်ငံ	ရေးအတွက်	သော	က်တစ်ရပ်	င်းအနီးကို	က်အားကောင်းအောင်	နိုင်ရေး	
	င်			မှာ		င်	ပင်	
	nain	phwintphyo	ayaye:pa	loetchet	luetharra	arrkaunnthehteta	pyulo	phyit-
	ngan	etoetetyaye:	rzonntha	-ta-yet-	yinnahne	rrkaunn-aun	ke-	the.
	-ta-	-atwet	w	hmar	e-go		nain-	
	nain						yaye:-	
	ngan						bin	
	coun	developmen	most.imp	necessit	Human.C	develop.more.an	make-	COP-
	try-	t-for.PURP	ortant	y-one-	apital-	d.more-INF.PURP	CAPAM	PRS.DEC
	one-			CLF-	OBJMARK		OD-	L.SENTS
	CLF			SBJMARK			NMLZ-	UF
							EMPM	
							ARK	

Token	Value	Pro: auto iden rel
Subject	Complement	Finite/

([https://www.burmalibrary.org/sites/burmalibrary.org/files/obl/mal\\_14.3.19.pdf](https://www.burmalibrary.org/sites/burmalibrary.org/files/obl/mal_14.3.19.pdf))

The same potential of realization of the Token by a nominal group in identifying relational process can be observed in English and Myanmar. For instance, in English identifying relational process clause (18a), the Token (one of the most important necessities for the development of a country) is conflated with Subject and is realized as a nominal group, while the Value (being able to make Human Capital develop more and more) is conflated with Complement and is realized as a non-finite clause. On the other hand, in Myanmar identifying relational process clause (18b), the Token နိုင်ငံတစ်နိုင်ငံ ဖွံ့ဖြိုးတိုးတက်ရေးအတွက် အရေးပါဆုံးသော လိုအပ်ချက်တစ်ရပ်မှာ /nainngan-ta-nainnganphwintphyoetoetetyaye:-atwet ayaye: parzonnthaw loetchet-ta-yet-hmar/ 'one of the

most important necessities for the development of a country' is conflated with Subject and is realized by a nominal group in nominative case marked by a nominative suffix -/hmar/, while the Value လူသားအရင်းအနှီးကိုအားသကောင်းည်ထက်အားသကောင်းအောင် ဖလှလုပ်နိုင်သရား/luetharrayinnahnee-go arrkaunnth- htetarrkaunn aun pyuloke-nain-yaye:/ 'being able to make Human Capital develop more and more' is conflated with Complement and is realized by a nominalization. In (18a) and (18b), although the Token in English and Myanmar identifying relational processes shows the same potential of realization by a nominal group, the Value is realized differently as a non-finite clause in English and as a nominalization in Myanmar.



The two main participants involved in autonomous locational relational process are Carrier and Location. Structurally, the Carrier is typically realized by a noun or nominal group which is either animate or inanimate; the Location is typically realized by a prepositional phrase. Consider the following example.

(19) a. The town lay on a broad estuary.

Carrier	Pro: auto loc rel	Location
Subject	Predicator	Complement

(John Steinbeck 1945: 17)

b. မြို့သည် မြစ်ကျယ်၏ ကမ်းပေါ်တွင် တည်ထားသည်။  
 myot-the myitwakyey-i kann-portwin tehtarr-the.  
 town-SBJMARK estuary-GEN bank-on.LOC lie.PFV-DECL.SENTSUF

Carrier	Location	Pro: auto loc rel
Subject	Complement	Finite/Predicator

(Htin Lin 1999: 33)

The two main participants involved in autonomous directional relational process are Carrier and Direction: Source/Path/Destination. Structurally, the Carrier is typically realized by a noun or nominal group which is either animate or inanimate; the Direction: Source/Path/Destination is typically realized by a prepositional phrase. Consider the following example.

(20) a. The smoke came from those brush houses.

Carrier	Pro: auto dir rel	Direction: Source
Subject	Predicator	Complement

b. ထိုတဲများမှလည်း မီးခိုးများ တက်လာသည်။  
 hto-te-myarr-hma-le meekhoe-myarr tet-lar-the.  
 DEM-brush.house-PLMARK-ABLMARK- smoke-PLMARK rise-come-  
 ADDCONN PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Direction: Source	Carrier	Pro: auto dir rel
Complement	Subject	Finite/Predicator

The two main participants involved in autonomous possessive relational process are Possessor and Possessed. Structurally, the Possessor and the Possessed are typically realized by a noun or nominal group which can be either animate or inanimate. Consider the following example.

(21) a. Kino has got the Pearl of the World.

Possessor	Pro: auto possessive rel	Possessed
Subject	Predicator	Complement

b. ကိနိုသည် ရောမပုလဲကြီးကို ရထားသည်။  
 keno-the ayyarma-pale-gyee-go yahtarr-the.  
 Kino-SBJMARK great.MOD-pearl-AUG-OBJMARK get.PFV-DECL.SENTSUF

Possessor	Possessed	Pro: auto possessive rel
Subject	Complement	Finite/Predicator

(Htin Lin 1999: 50-51)

The two main participants involved in autonomous correlational relational process are Correlator1 and Correlator2. Structurally, the Correlator1 and the Correlator2 are typically realized by a noun or nominal group which can be either animate or inanimate. Consider the following example.

(22) a. The greenish yellow matches with her golden skin.

Correlator1	Pro: auto cor rel	PrEx	Correlator2
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Complement	

b. စိမ်းဝါရောင် ပါတိတ်ဝမ်းဆက် သူ၏ ရွှေရောင်ဝင်းဆက်သော အသားအရေနှင့် လိုက်ဖက်လှသည်။  
 . မှာ ငို  
 seinnwaryaun parteikwannse thue shweyaunwinnseth atharrayay- laikphet-hlathe.  
 t-hmar -i aw hnint  
 greenish.yello batik-SBJMARK 3SG- golden skin-COM match-  
 w GEN PRS.DECL.SENTS UF

Correlator1	Correlator2	Pro: auto correl
Subject	Complement	Finite/Predicator

(Journal Kyaw Ma Ma Lay 1957: 125)

The two main participants involved in autonomous existential relational process are Existent and Location. Structurally, the Existent is typically realized by a noun or nominal group, while the Location is typically realized by a prepositional phrase. These participants show the same potential of realization as in (23a) and (23b).

(23) a. Across the brush fence were other brush houses,

Location	Pro: auto existential relational	Existent
Subject	Predicator	Complement

b.	ချုံတန်းဝင်းတား၏တစ်ဖက်တွင်	အခြားသစ်ခက်တဲများ	ရှိသည်။
	chontannwintarr-i-ta-phet- twin	acharr-thitkhette-myarr	shi-the.
	brush.fence-GEN-one-side-LOC	other-brush.house- PLMARK	exist-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF
	Location	Existent	Pro: auto existential relational
	Subject	Complement	Finite/Predicator

Table 3-5 illustrates a comparison of realizations of participants in relational processes in English and Myanmar configurations.

*Table 3-5 A* comparison of realizations of participants in relational processes in English and Myanmar configurations

Process type	Subtype of relational process	Participant	Realization of participant in English	Realization of participant in Myanmar
relational	attributive	Carrier	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group with nominative case marker: -သည် /the/, -က /ga/ or -မှာ /hmar/
		Attribute	nominal group, adjective	nominal group
	identifying	Token	a nominalization, a nominal group or a finite or non-finite clause	a nominalization, a nominal group or a finite or non-finite clause
		Value	a nominalization, a nominal group or a finite or non-finite clause	a nominalization, a nominal group or a finite or non-finite clause

	locational	Carrier	a noun or nominal group	a noun or nominal group with nominative case marker: -သည် /the/, -က /ga/ or -မှာ /hmar/
		Location	prepositional phrase	prepositional phrase
	directional	Carrier	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group with or without nominative case marker: -သည် /the/, -က /ga/ or -မှာ /hmar/
		Direction: Source/Path/Destination	prepositional phrase	prepositional phrase
	possessive	Possessor	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group with nominative case marker: -သည် /the/, -တွင် /twin/ or -မှာ /hmar/
		Possessed	a noun or nominal group	a noun or nominal group

	correlational	Correlator1	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group in nominative case marked by nominative affix
		Correlator2	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group	pronoun, proper noun, nominal group
	existential	Existent	a noun or nominal group	a noun or nominal group
		Location	prepositional phrase	prepositional phrase

### 3.4 Comparison of realizations of circumstances in English and Myanmar transitivity structures

Circumstance or circumstantial element is the third component of the transitivity system that expresses an experiential meaning and closely associated with the processes. Different from processes and participants, circumstances are always optional elements rather than obligatory components of the clause, normally providing necessary information to make the meaning expressed by the clause more complete.

Structurally, circumstances are realized by circumstantial Adjuncts which contribute to the experiential meaning of the clause. They tell us when, where, how, or why a process takes place. Experiential Adjuncts realize Circumstantial Roles of time, which can be further classified into time position, duration, repetition, periodic frequency and usuality, and other Circumstantial Roles expressing place, accompaniment, instrument, comparison, concurrent state, subsequent state, manner, method, body part, degree and process manner (He et al. 2015: 48). In accordance with Fawcett (2008: 168), these circumstantial Adjuncts are filled by units such as

nominal groups (e.g. the day after tomorrow and here), prepositional groups (e.g. in the park), quality groups (e.g. very slowly) and quantity groups (e.g. very much).

Adjuncts expressing quasi-experiential logical relationships express cause, ground, purpose, concession and condition. In addition, Adjuncts may also express validity, affective, interpersonal, inferential or discoursal meaning. Both English and Myanmar circumstantial elements can be similarly realized by Halliday's (1994:151) nine main types of circumstantial elements: (1) Extent (distance or duration), (2) Location (spatial or temporal), (3) Manner, (4) Cause, (5) Contingency, (6) Accompaniment, (7) Role, (8) Matter, (9) Angle.

The spatial and temporal circumstantials of Extent and Location form a four-term set as shown in Table 3-6.



Table 3-6: Circumstantials of Extent and Location

	<b>Spatial</b>	<b>Temporal</b>
<b>Extent</b> (including interval)	Distance ဆယ်မိုင်လောက် /semainlauk/ ‘for ten miles’	Duration အတန်ကြာပြီ /atankyarbye/ ‘for a long time’ ခဏတာ /khanatar/ ‘for a short time’ Frequency နှစ်ကြိမ် /hnakyein/ ‘two times’ usuality အမြဲတမ်း /amyedann/ ‘always’
<b>Location</b>	Place ကျွန်ုပ်တို့နေထိုင်သောတိုက်ရှေ့လူသွားလမ်းဘေး၌ /kyanokedot nayhtain=thaw taik-shayt luethwarrlann- baye:hnaik/ ‘by the walk in front of our apartment building’ တောထဲ၌ /taw-htehnaik/ ‘in the forest’	Time ညနေတိုင်း /nyanay- dainn/ ‘every evening’

Extent construes the extent of the unfolding of the process in space-time: the distance in space over which the process unfolds or the duration in time during which the process unfolds. The interrogative forms for Extent are how far?, how long?, how many times? The typical structure of the Circumstantial expression of Extent is a nominal group with quantifier, either definite, e.g. ten miles, five days, or indefinite, e.g. many miles, a long time; this occurs either with or without preposition *for* (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 315).

There may be no Adjuncts, or one or more Adjuncts in a clause. The position of Adjuncts in English and Myanmar clauses is flexible. In English clauses, Adjuncts may come after Complements, before the Subject, between the Operator and the Main Verb, or between the Main Verb and the Complement. However, in Myanmar clauses, Adjuncts may come before and after the Subject and the Complement. As shown in (24a) and (24b), the circumstantial element expressing time duration which is realized by a prepositional phrase အတော်ကြာပီ /atankyarbye/ ‘for some

time' appears in the same position, after the Main Verb, at the end of English and Myanmar clauses. In English clause (24a), the circumstantial element expressing time duration which is realized by a prepositional phrase *for some time*

comes after the Main Verb. Similarly, in Myanmar clause (24b), the circumstantial element expressing time duration which is realized by an adverbial group အတော်ကြာပီ /atankyarbye/ 'quite long' also comes after the Main Verb.

(24) a. The roosters had been crowing for some time.

Agent	Pro: auto doing action	Circumstance
Subject	Predicator	Adjunct
Nominal group	Verbal group	Prepositional phrase

b. ကြက်ဖတို့ တွန်နေသည်မှာ အတန်ကြာပီ။  
 kyetpha-dot tun-naythehmar atankyarbye.  
 rooster-PLMARK crow-PROG.DECL.SENTSUF quite.long

Agent	Pro: auto doing action	Circumstance
Subject	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
Nominal group	Verbal group	Adverbial group

However, the positions of Circumstantial Roles of Extent and Location expressing Distance and Place respectively in (25a) and (25b) are different. In English clause (25a), Circumstantial Roles of Extent and Location which are conflated with Adjuncts and are realized by prepositional phrases come after the Main Verb, while in Myanmar clause (25b), they come between the Subject and the Main Verb.

(25) a. Geologists had to walk about ten miles in the forest.

Agent	Pro: auto doing action	Circumstance	Circumstance
Subject	Predicator	Adjunct	Adjunct
Nominal group	Verbal group	Prepositional phrase	Prepositional phrase

b. ဘူမိဗေဒပညာရှင်တို့သည် တောထဲ၌ ဆယ်မိုင်လောက် လမ်းလျှောက်ခဲ့ကြသည်။  
 buemibaydapyinnyarshin- taw-htehnaik se-main-lauk lannshauk-khet-gya-  
 dot-the the.  
 geologist-PLMARK-SBJMARK forest-in.LOC ten-mile- walk-PST-PLMARK-  
 about.ABLMARK DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Circumstance	Circumstance	Pro: auto doing action
Subject	Adjunct	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Nominal group	Prepositional phrase	Prepositional phrase	Verbal group

There are three Circumstantial Roles of usuality, place and time involved in English clause (26a), where they are conflated with Adjuncts and the Circumstantial Roles of usuality are realized by adverbial groups (e.g. always); the CRs of time are realized by nominal groups (e.g. ညသေတိုင်း /nyanaydainn/ ‘every evening’), prepositional phrase (e.g. လင်းပြိုခီးအသြာင်တွင် /linnkharnneeahmaun-twin/ ‘in the near dark’), adverbial groups (e.g. အြာသလးတင် /akhulaye:tin/ ‘just now’) or adverbial clauses

(e.g. ဧူ နိုးသေပြိုက် /thue noe-naykhaik/ ‘when he awakened’), and the CRs of place are realized by a prepositional phrase (e.g. along the river bank). There are two Circumstantial Roles of place and time involved in Myanmar clause (26b), where they are conflated with Adjuncts and the Circumstantial Role of time ညသေတိုင်း /nyanay-dainn/ ‘every evening’ is realized by a nominal group and the Circumstantial Role of place ဖြစ်ကြမ်းပျိုးတွင် /myit-kannhnaphue:-twin/ ‘along the river bank’ is realized by a prepositional phrase

- (26) I always walk along the river every evening.  
a. bank

Agent	Circumstance	Pro: auto doing action	Circumstance	Circumstance
Subject	Adjunct	Predicator	Adjunct	Adjunct
Pronoun	Adverbial group	Verbal group	Prepositional phrase	Nominal group

- b. ကျန်တော်သည် ညနေတိုင်း ဖြစ်ကြမ်းနဖူးတွင် လမ်းလျှောက်လေ့ရှိသည်။  
kyanor-the nyanay-dainn myit-kannhnaphue:-twin lannshauk-laytshithe.  
1SG.M-SBJMARK evening-every river-bank-LOC walk-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Circumstance	Circumstance	Pro: auto doing action
Subject	Adjunct	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Pronoun	Nominal group	Prepositional phrase	Verbal group

The circumstantial element of Manner expresses Means, Quality, and Comparison. Halliday (2000: 154) states that means represents the means whereby a process takes place. Means basically answers the question ‘What with?’ and ‘How?’ It is typically realized by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *by* or *with* in English and ဖြင့် /phyint/ ‘by’ or နှင့် /hnint/ ‘with’ in Myanmar, for instance, မြီးရထားဖြင့် /meeyahtarr-phyint/ ‘by train’ and ဖြင့်လှည်းနှင့် /myinnhle-hnint/ ‘with horse-cart’. This subtype of circumstance is also realized by an adverbial clause in both languages. The circumstantial element of quality whose interrogative is ‘How?’ in English transitivity

structures is expressed by an adverbial group *in a calmer tone* in *He said in a calmer tone, too much* in *He ate too much*, or by *-ly* adverb *heavily* in *It is raining heavily*. The circumstantial element of quality in Myanmar transitivity structures is also expressed by an adverbial group ငြိမ်းတေအားရနှင့် /wanthararryahnint/ ‘joyfully’, or by an adverb သပျာ်သပျာ်ပါးပါး /pyorpyorparrparr/ ‘happily’. This subtype of circumstance is also realized by a prepositional phrase or an adverbial clause in both languages. Therefore, the circumstantial element of quality shows the same potential of realization in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. The

interrogative of a circumstantial expression of Comparison is ‘What...like?’ Comparison is expressed by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *like* or *unlike* in English, for example, *like a cat’s lips* in *Her lips drew back from her teeth like a cat’s lips*, and ကဲ့စို့ /ketthot/, ဝေ့ဝှယ်

/thaphwe/, ပြာ /pamar/ ‘like’ in Myanmar as in the following example (27). This subtype of circumstance is also realized by an adverbial clause with *as if* in English and Myanmar transitivity structures.

(27)	ဟွာနာ၏	နက်မှောင်သော	မျက်လုံးများ	ရွန်းလက်သော	ကြယ်ရိပ်များသဖွ	အရောင်ထွက်သည်။
			မှ		ယ်	
	hwarnar	nethmauntha	myetlonn-	shonnlettha	kye-yeik-	ayaunhtwet-the.
	-i	w	myarr-	w	myarr-thaphwe	
			hma			
	Juana-	dark.MOD	eye-	shiny.MOD	star-reflection-	glitter-
	GEN		PLMARK-		PLMARK-CMPR	PRS.DECL.SENTSU
			ABLMARK			F

Carrier	Circumstance	Pro: auto attri rel
Subject	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Nominal group	Prepositional phrase	Verbal group

‘Juana’s dark eyes glitter like little reflected stars.’ (Htin Lin 1999: 13)

The circumstantial element of Cause contains three subcategories: Reason (‘Why?/As a result of what?’), Purpose (‘What for?’) and Behalf (‘Who for?’). A circumstance of reason provides the reason for which a process takes place (Halliday 2000: 155). It is typically realized by a prepositional phrase with *through, of, because of, as a result of, thanks to*, etc. A circumstance of reason can also be realized as an adverbial clause with *because* or *as* in *We have to be there early*

*as it is Friday*. Similarly, in Myanmar transitivity structures, a circumstance of reason is realized by a prepositional phrase with the preposition သကကောင့် /gyaunt/ ‘because of’ or by an adverbial clause with သောသကကောင့် /gyaunt/ ‘because’. As in (28a) and (28b), a circumstance of reason, the sub-category of cause in English and Myanmar transitivity structures is conflated with Adjunct and is realized by an adverbial clause with *because*.

(28) a. Because the story has been it has taken root in every man’s mind.  
told so often,

Circumstance	Existent	Pro: auto existential rel	PrEx	Location
Adjunct	Subject	Predicator		Complement
Adverbial clause	Pronoun	Verbal group		Prepositional phrase

b ဤအကြောင်း မကြာခဏ ပြောကြသဖြင့် လူတိုင်း စိတ်အာရုံထဲဝ အမြစ်တွယ်လျက်  
 ကို ငွ် ၏ ယ် စွဲမြဲနေသည်။  
 e-akyaunn- makyarkhan pyaw-gya- lue- seikaryon- amyittwehlyetswemye  
 go a thaphyint dainn-i htewe -naythe.  
 DEM-story- often tell- person- mind-in.LOC root-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF  
 OBJMARK PLMARK- every-  
 CAUS GEN

Circumstance		Location	Pro: auto existential rel
Adjunct		Complement	Finite/Predicator
Adverbial clause		Prepositional phrase	Verbal group

A circumstance of purpose whose interrogative is ‘What for?’ represents the intention for which a process takes place. It is typically realized by a prepositional phrase with *for*, *for the purpose of*, *for the sake of*, *in the hope of*, etc. For example, *for* in *Let’s eat out for dinner*. It is also realized by an infinitival clause; for example, *in order to* in *Study hard in order to pass the exam*. A circumstance of purpose indicates the same potential of realization as a preposition phrase or an infinitival clause in both English and Myanmar. As (29a) and (29b) show, a circumstance of purpose shows the same potential realization as an adverbial clause, i.e. an infinitival clause in English and Myanmar transitivity structures.

(29) a. The early pigs were already beginning their ceaseless turning of twigs and bits of wood to see whether anything to eat had been overlooked.

Agent	Pro: auto doing action	Affected	Circumstance
Subject	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Nominal group	Verbal group	Nominal group	Infinitival clause



b စောစော ဝက်များ သစ်ကိုင်း ထင်းချောင်းများ စားစရာ ရလို့ရ မရပ်မနား ထိုးလှန်ရှာဖွေလျှ  
 ဝ သည် များ၊ အောက်၌ အကျန်အကြွင်း ငြား က်ရှိကြပြီ။  
 နိုးနေ  
 ဝေ  
 လေးများ

sawsa wet- thitgai htinnchaunn- sarrzayar- yalo mayatma htoehlan-  
 w- myarr- nn- myarr- akyanakywi ya- narr sharphway-  
 noe- the myarr, aukhnaik nn-laye:- nyarr hlyetshi-gya-  
 nay=t myarr bye.

haw

early- pig- twig- wood- food- get- ceaseless turn-search-  
 awake PLMAR PLMAR PLMARK- remaining- PURP ly PROG-PLMARK-  
 - K- K under.LOC DIM-PLMARK DECL.SENTSUF  
 PROG= SBJMAR  
 REL K

Agent	Circumstance	Circumstance	Pro: auto doing action
Subject	Adjunct	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Nominal group	Adverbial clause	Adverbial group	Verbal group

A circumstance of behalf whose interrogative is ‘Who for?’ represents a person on whose behalf or for whose sake the action is undertaken. It shows the same potential of realization by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *for*, *for the sake of*, *in favor of*, *on behalf of* in English and အတွက် /atwet/ ‘for’ in Myanmar. In addition, in Myanmar transitivity structures, a circumstance of behalf is realized by a nominal group, for example, လှလှကိုယ်စား /hlahla-kozarr/ ‘on behalf of Hla Hla’.

Circumstantials of Contingency whose interrogative is ‘If what?’ include three subcategories: Condition, Concession, Default. Circumstantials of condition are realized by a prepositional phrase with *in case of*, *in the event of* or by an adverbial clause with *if*, *in case* in English transitivity structures, whereas they are realized by an adverbial clause with လျှင် /hlyin/, ရင် /yin/ ‘if’ in Myanmar transitivity structures. Concession circumstantials are realized by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *in spite of*, *despite* or by an adverbial clause with *although*, *unless* in English transitivity structures. However, they are realized by an adverbial clause with သော်လည်း /thorle/ သပြေယ့် /paymet/ ‘although’ in Myanmar transitivity structures.

Circumstantial expressions of default are typically realized by a prepositional phrase with a complex preposition such as *in the absence of* and *in default of* in English transitivity structures. On the other hand, circumstantial expressions of default in Myanmar are realized by an adverbial clause.

A circumstantial expression of accompaniment whose interrogative is ‘Who/ What else?’ and ‘Who/What with?’ is distinguished into two subcategories: comitative and additive. A comitative circumstantial is expressed by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *with* for positive aspect and *without* for negative; for example, *with* in *She is coming to the theatre with her sister*. An additive circumstantial is typically realized by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *besides*, *as well as* for positive aspect

and *instead of* for negative; for example, *instead of* in *You probably picked up my keys instead of yours*. Similarly, in Myanmar transitivity structures, comitative circumstantials are realized by a prepositional phrase with the prepositions နှင့် /hnint/ ‘with’ or နှင့်အတူ /hnintatue/ ‘together with’, and additive circumstantials are also realized by a prepositional phrase with the preposition အဖွင့် /apyin/ ‘besides’.

A circumstance of Role has two subcategories: Guise and Product. The interrogative of a circumstance of Role is ‘What as?’ and conveys the meaning of ‘be’ (attribute or identity) in the form of a circumstance (Halliday 2000: 157). A circumstantial expression of Role is typically realized by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *as* or other complex prepositions such as *by way of*, *in the role of*, *in the form of*, *in the shape of* and *in the guise of*; for example, *in the role of* in *He is coming back here again in the role of detective*. Another small sub-category of Role, product circumstantial answers the question ‘What into?’, construing the meaning of ‘become’. This circumstance of Product is realized by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *into* as in *They’ve turned the house into an office*. Circumstantials of Role are realized by a prepositional phrase with the preposition အဖြစ် /aphyit/ ‘as’, ‘into’ in Myanmar transitivity structures in the same way as English.

According to (Halliday 2000: 157), a circumstance of Matter is closely associated with verbal processes; it is the circumstantial equivalent of the Verbiage, the content of the message. The interrogative of this category is ‘What about?’, and the circumstantial element of matter indicates the same potential of realization as a prepositional phrase in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. The common prepositions expressing matter in English are *about*, *concerning*, *of* and *with reference to*, while those in Myanmar are အသကကင်း /akyaunn/ ‘about’ and နှင့်ပတ်သက်၍ /hnintpatthetywayt/ ‘concerning’.

A circumstance of Angle which corresponds to the interrogative ‘From what point of view?’ is realized by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *according to, in accordance with, in terms of, in the view/opinion of, from the standpoint of*. Similarly, the circumstance of Angle also shows the same potential of realization as a prepositional phrase with the preposition အရ /aya/ ‘according to’ in Myanmar transitivity structures. Typically, most circumstances in English and Myanmar transitivity structures are

realized by prepositional phrases. But prepositional phrases do not always function as circumstances. In Myanmar, as in English, the correspondence established between the semantic category of circumstance and its realization as a prepositional phrase is misleading. There are some universally recognized exceptions. See Example (30) where a prepositional phrase takes the participant role of Range in behavioral process because it is an integral element without which the meaning is odd in the clause.

(30) ထို့နောက်	အမိုးမှ	တွဲလောင်းဆွဲချထားသေ	ကိုယိုတီး	ပုခက်သေတ္တာ	လှမ်းကြည့်လိုက်
တွင်		၀	တိုး၏	ဆီသို့	သည်။
htotnaukt	amoe-	twelaunnswechahta	koyoteet	pakhetthitt	hlannkyi-
win	hma	rrthaw	oe-i	ar-sethot	laikthe.
then	roof-	hanging	Coyotito	box-ALL	look-
	ABLMA		-GEN		PFV.DECL.SEN
	RK				TSUF

	(Behr)	Range	Pro: auto behaving action
	(Subject)	Complement	Finite/Predicator
		Prepositional phrase	Verbal group

‘And then he looked at the hanging box where Coyotito slept.’ (Htin Linn 1999: 12)

The structure of prepositional phrase in English is preposition + nominal group, while the structure of prepositional phrase in Myanmar is nominal group + preposition. The traditional mapping from prepositional phrases to Adjunct to circumstance is rather unsatisfactory for analyzing the transitivity status of prepositional phrase in Myanmar. Prepositional phrase of place for example, are often obligatory from both a syntactic and semantic viewpoint and relegating them to the outer ring as circumstances ‘merely attendant on the process’ does not reflect this

integral role. It would also seem essential to draw clear distinctions between the various levels of analysis (semantic, syntactic and pragmatic). Some prepositional phrases, whilst optional from a syntactic viewpoint, are nevertheless strongly bound to the process because they carry an important information load. For example, the prepositional phrase *onto the table* plays a participant function as a Direction: Destination in action process clause *She put her bag onto the table*. Most prepositional phrases expressing place and direction takes the participant roles of

locational and directional processes, but not the circumstantial roles in English and Myanmar transitivity structures.

Circumstances in English and Myanmar transitivity structures are also realized by nominal

groups (e.g. တစ်နေ့လုံး /tanaytlonn/ ‘all day’), adverbial groups (ပြုစုပြား /mayatmanarr/ ‘ceaselessly’), adverbial clauses with because, if, although, when and infinitival clauses. Table 3-7 summarizes the realizations of circumstances in English and Myanmar transitivity configurations

*Table 3-7:* Realizations of circumstances in English and Myanmar transitivity configurations

Type of Circumstance		English				Myanmar			
		Nominal group	Prepositional phrase	Adverbial group	Adverbial clause	Nominal group	Prepositional phrase	Adverbial group	Adverbial clause
Extent	Distance		+	+			+	+	+
	Duration	+	+	+	+	+		+	+
Location	Place		+				+		+
	Time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Manner	Means		+				+		
	Quality			+	+			+	+
	Comparison		+		+		+		+
	Degree			+				+	
Cause	Reason		+		+		+		+
	Purpose		+		+		+		+
	Behalf		+			+	+		
Contingency	Condition				+				+
	Concession		+		+				+
	Default		+		+				+

Accompaniment	Comitative		+					+		
	Additive		+					+		+
Role	Guise		+					+		
	Product		+				+			+
Angle			+					+		

Extent construes the distance in space and the duration in time of the unfolding of the process (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 264). As Table 5-6 indicates, circumstantials of distance in English transitivity structures are realized by a prepositional phrase or an adverbial group; for example, the prepositional phrase *for miles* in *You can see for miles from here* and the adverbial group *about four miles* in *That night they went about four miles*. On the other hand, circumstantials of distance in Myanmar transitivity structures are realized by a prepositional phrase, an adverbial group or an adverbial clause. The realization of the circumstantial of distance as an adverbial clause can be seen in Myanmar transitivity structures but not in English. Consider the following example.

(31)	ပတ်ဝန်းကျင်ရှိ	အရာအားလုံးတို့သည်	ကွယ်ပျောက်သွားကြကုန်လျက်	လှုပ်သော	လျှောက်နေသော	မြေနှိပ်မိန့်	လှည့်သွားလျှင်	ဤတောကြီး၌	ရှိကတသတ်ပတ်လုံး	တစ်သတ်ပတ်လုံး	မဆုံးနိုင်အောင်	လျှောက်နေလို့မိသည့်။
	patwinnk-yin-shi	ayar-arrlon-dot-the	kwepya-kthwarr-gyagon=hlyet	h-l-a	shau-k-nay=thaw	myayn-elann=hnint	hla-tha-rhlyin	e-lawk-agyee-hnaik	shi=gar	tathe-tpatlonn	ma-sonn-nain-aun	shauk-naylaik-chinmi-the.
	surr-oun-ding-LOC	thing-all-SBJMARK	disappear.PFV-PLMARK=CONJ	H-l-a	walk-PROG=RELOC	path=a-nd.CO-NJ	HI-a-EX-CL	DEM-worl-d-LOC	exist=CO-NJ	whole.life	NEG-end-CAP-AMO-D-INF	walk-OPT.PRS-DECL.SENNTSUF
	(Ag)	Cir: Concurrent State		Cir: Concurrent State					Cir: Duration	Cir: Distance	Pro: action	
	(Subject)	Adjunct		Adjunct					Adjunct	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator	
		Adverbial clause		Adverbial clause					Nominal	Adverbial	Verbal group	
									group	clause		



‘All the things in the surroundings had disappeared and Hla wanted an endless walk for the whole life, thinking as if there were only Hla and the path where she was walking in the world.’ (Htin Lin 1999: 16)

Circumstantials of duration in English transitivity structures are realized by a nominal group with definite or indefinite quantifier (e.g. *all day* in *They sat silently all day in the darkness of the house*), a prepositional phrase with preposition *for* (e.g. *for some time* in *The roosters had been crowing for some time*), an adverb of time (e.g. *usually* in *They usually go for a walk*; *immediately* in *Sam immediately offered to help*) or an adverbial clause (e.g. *until she had finished speaking* in *He waited until she had finished speaking*). However, circumstantials of duration in Myanmar transitivity structures are realized by a nominal group with definite or indefinite quantifier, an adverb of time or an adverbial clause. Unlike English, the realization of the circumstantial of duration as a prepositional phrase cannot be found out in Myanmar transitivity structures. Consider the following examples.

- (32) သူတို့သည်      တစ်နေ့လုံး      အိမ်၏      အမှောင်ပိုင်းတွင်      ထိုင်နေကြသည်။
- thuedot-the      tanaytlonn      ein-i      ahmaunbainn-      htain-nay-gya-the.
- twin
- 3PL-      all.day      house-      darkness-LOC      sit-PROG-PLMARK-
- SBJMARK           GEN           DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Cir: duration	Cir: place	Pro: action
Subject	Adjunct	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Pronoun	Nominal group	Prepositional phrase	Verbal group

‘They sat silently all day in the darkness of the house.’ (Htin Lin 1999: 127)

- (33) ကင်းမြီးခဲ      အဆိပ်ဆူးပါ      အမြီး      နောက်ဘ      တဖြောင့်တည်းရှိခဲ      ချက်ချင်းဆို      ကော့ထောင်ပစ်
- ောက်၏      သော      သည်      က်တွင်      ဝော်လည်း      သလို      လိုက်သည်။
- kinmee      aseiksue:      ahm      naukph      taphyaunthtsh      chetchinn      korthtaun-
- kauk-i      parthaw      ee-      et-twin      i=thawle      sothalo      pyitlaikthe.
- the
- scorpion      stinging      tail-      behind      be.straight=alt      in.a.flash.      whip.up-
- GEN           SBJM           hough.CONJ      of.time      PFV.DECL.SEN
- ARK           TSUF

(Ag)	Cir: Concession	Cir: duration	Pro: action
(Subject)	Adjunct	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
	Adverbial clause	Adverbial group	Verbal group

‘His stinging tail was straight out behind him, but he could whip it up in a flash of time.’ (Htin Lin 1999: 19)

- (33) မပြန်ဖြစ်သည်မှာ တစ်လကျော်သွားပြီ။  
 ma-pyanphyit-thehmar ta-la-kyor-thwarrbye.  
 NEG-return-DECL.SENTSUF one-month-over-PFV.DECL.SENTSUF

(Ag)	Pro: action	Cir: duration
(Subj)	Finite/Predicator	Adjunct
	Verbal group	Adverbial clause

‘I have not returned home for over one month.’ (Lae Twin Thar Saw Chit 161)

Location construes the place and time of the unfolding of the process (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 265). Circumstantials of place shows the same potential of realization by a prepositional phrase in English and Myanmar transitivity structures as in (34a) and (34b).

- (34) a. Outside the door he squatted down.

Cir: place	Agent	Pro: action	PrEx
Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator	
Prepositional phrase	Pronoun	Verbal group	

(John Steinbeck 1945: 3)

- b. တံခါးအပြင်ဘက်တွင် သူသည် ဆောင့်ကြောင့်ထိုင်လိုက်၏။

dagarr-apyinbetwatwin	thue-the	sauntgyaunhtain-laiki.
door-outside	3SG-SBJMARK	squat.down-PFV.DECL.SENTSUF
Cir: place	Agent	Pro: action
Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator
Prepositional phrase	Pronoun	Verbal group

(Htin Lin 1999:14)

However, the significant difference in the realization of the circumstance of place between English and Myanmar is that the circumstance of place is realized by an adverbial clause in Myanmar transitivity structures, but not in English.

- (35) သရက်ပင်အနီး ရောက်လျှင် သက်သက်သည် ထိုင်ချလိုက်သည်။  
 thayet-pin-anee yauk=hlyin thetthet-the htaincha-laikthe.  
 mango-tree-near.LOC arrive=if.CONJ Thet.Thet-SBJMARK squat.down-PFV.DECL.SENTSUF

Cir: place	Agent	Pro: action
Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator
adverbial clause	Proper noun	Verbal group

‘Thet Thet squatted down near the mango tree.’

Manner has four subcategories: Means, Quality, Comparison and Degree. Circumstance of Means shows the same potential of realization by a prepositional phrase with prepositions such as *by, through, with, by means of, out of* and *from* in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. The realization of the circumstance of means as a prepositional phrase with prepositions such as ဖြင့် /phyint/ and နှင့် /hnint/ ‘by’, ‘with’ in Myanmar transitivity structure is illustrated by Examples (36) and (37).

(36) သက်သက်သည်                      ချည့်နဲ့နဲ့အသံကလေးဖြင့်                      ပြောနေသည်။

thetthet-the                      chinnetnet-athan-galaye:-phyint                      pyaw-nay-the.

Thet.Thet-SBJMARK                      weak-voice-DIM-INS                      speak-PROG-DECL.SENTSUF

Communicator	Cir: means	Pro: auto communicative mental
Subject	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Proper noun	Prepositional phrase	Verbal group

‘Thet Thet is speaking in a weak voice.’

(37) လှသည်                      မျက်ရည်များကို                      လက်နှင့်                      ပွတ်သုတ်လိုက်သည်။

hla-the                      myetyay-myarr-go                      let-hnint                      putthoke-laikthe.

Hla-SBJMARK                      tear-PLMARK-OBJMARK                      hand-INS                      wipe-PFV.DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Affected	Cir: means	Pro: action
Subject	Complement	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Proper noun	Nominal group	Prepositional phrase	Verbal group

‘Hla wiped tears with hand.’

(38) ဥ ဩသံသည်လည်း                      ဆိုးဆိုးဝါးဝါး                      အတောမသတ်                      အူနေဆဲပင်။

okeawthan-the-le                      soesoewarrwarr                      atawmathat                      ue-nayze-bin.

alert.sound-                      badly                      continuously                      ring-PROG-DECL.SENTSUF

SBJMARK-ADDCONN

Affected	Cir: quality	Cir: quality	Pro: auto happening action
Subject	Adjunct	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Nominal group	Adverbial group	Adverbial group	Verbal group

‘The alert sound is ringing badly and continuously.’

(38) ဥ ဩသံမှာ                      နားထဲမှ                      ရင်ထဲပေါက်အောင်ပင်                      စူးရှသည်။

okeawthan-hmar                      narr-htehma                      yinhte-pauk-aun-                      sue:sha-the.

bin

alert.sound-SBJMARK                      ear-ABLMARK                      chest-burst-INF-                      be.loud-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

EMPMARK

Carrier	Cir: quality	Pro: auto attri rel
Subject	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator

Circumstance of Quality shows the same potential of realization by an adverbial group or an adverbial clause in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. Consider the following examples.

- (39) သူ့မျက်လုံးများမှာ ခြင်္သေ့မ၏ မျက်လုံးများပမာ အေးစက်မာကျောလှ၏။  
 thu-myetlonn-myarr-hmar chinthaytma- myetlonn-myarr- aye:setmarkyawhla-i.  
 i pamar  
 3SG.GEN-eye-PLMARK- lioness-GEN eye-PLMARK-CMPR cold-  
 SBJMARK PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Carrier	Cir: comparison	Pro: auto attri rel
Subject	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Nominal group	Prepositional phrase	Verbal group

‘Her eyes are cold just like the eyes of a lioness.’ (Htin Lin 1999: 24)

(40)	ဟွာနာ သည်	ကြောက်လန့်ခြင်း	မရှိသော	မျက်လုံးပြူးပြွန်းပြီးများဖြင့်	သိုးငယ်က	သားသတ်သမားကို	ကြည့်သလို	ကီနိုအား	ကြည့်နေလေသည်။
	hwar nar-the	kyaukla nt-chinn	ma-shi=t haw	myetlonn-pyue:-gyee-myarr-phyint	thoe-nge-ga	tharrthatth amarr-go	kyi-thalo	keno-arr	kyi-naylaythe.
	Juana - SBJMARK	fear-NMLZ	NEG-have =REL	eye-wide.MOD-AUG-PLMARK-INS	shee p-DIM-SBJMARK	butcher-OBJMARK	look-CMPR	Kino-OBJMARK	look-PROG.DECL.SENTSUF
	Behr	Cir: means			Cir: comparison			Ph	Pro: auto
									behaving action
	Subject	Adjunct			Adjunct			Complement	Finite/Predicator
	Proper noun	Prepositional phrase			Adverbial clause			Proper noun	Verbal group

‘Juana stared at Kino with wide unfrightened eyes as if a sheep looked at the butcher.’ (Htin Lin 1999: 115)

Circumstance of Comparison shows the same potential of realization by a prepositional phrase with prepositions such as ပြာ /pamar/, ကဲ့စို့ /ketthot/, ဖြစ်ပုံ /thaphwe/, ဝေလို့ /thalo/ ‘just like’ or an adverbial clause with ဝေလို့ /thalo/ ‘as if’ in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. Consider the following examples.

- (41) ပုလဲကြီးက                      တော်တော်                      ကြီးတယ်။  
 pale-gyee-ga                      tortor                      kyee-de.  
 pearl-AUG-SBJMARK    considerably                      big-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Carrier	Cir: degree	Pro: auto attri rel
Subject	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Nominal group	Adverbial group	Verbal group

‘The pearl is considerably big.’

Cause has three subcategories: Reason, Purpose and Behalf. Circumstance of Reason shows the same potential of realization by a prepositional phrase with prepositions such as *because of, as a result of, thanks to, due to, for want of, for, of, out of* and *through* or an adverbial clause with *because* in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. Consider the following examples.

- (42) အဲဒီငွေကြောင့်                      အားလုံး                      ဒုက္ခရောက်နေတာပေါ့။  
 ede-ngway-gyaunt                      arrlonn                      dokekhayauk-naydarport.  
 DEM-money-because.of    all                      be.in.trouble-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Cir: reason	Affected	Pro: auto happening action
Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator
Prepositional phrase	Nominal group	Verbal group

‘Everyone is in trouble because of money.’ (<http://sealang.net/burmese/bitext.htm>)

- (43) သူ                      နေမကောင်းသောကြောင့်                      ဆေးခန်းသို့                      သွားခဲ့သည်။  
 thue                      nay<ma>kaunn=thawgyaunt                      saye:khann-thot                      thwarr-khet-the.  
 3SG                      well<NEG>=because.CONJ                      clinic-ALL                      go-PST-DECL.SENTSUF

Ag	Cir: reason	Dir: Des	Pro: auto doing action and dir rel
Subject	Adjunct	Complement	Finite/Predicator
Pronoun	Adverbial clause	Prepositional phrase	Verbal group

‘He went to the clinic because he was sick.’ (<http://sealang.net/burmese/bitext.htm>)



Circumstance of Purpose shows the same potential of realization by a prepositional phrase with prepositions such as *or*, *for the purpose of*, *for the sake of* and *in the hope of* or an adverbial clause with infinitive in English and Myanmar transitivity structures.

Circumstance of Behalf in English transitivity structures is realized by a prepositional phrase (e.g. *on behalf of all students* in *He gave a speech at the ceremony on behalf of all students*). On the other hand, circumstance of Behalf in Myanmar transitivity structures is realized by a nominal group or a prepositional phrase.

Contingency has three subcategories: Condition, Concession and Default. Circumstance of Condition shows the same potential of realization by an adverbial clause with လျှင် /hlyin/, ရင် /yin/ ‘if’ in English and Myanmar transitivity structures; for example, *if it rains* in *We’ll stay at home if it rains*.

Circumstance of Concession in English transitivity structures is realized by a prepositional phrase with complex prepositions such as *in spite of* and *despite* (e.g. *in spite of his efforts* in *He failed the exam in spite of his efforts*). On the other hand, there is no realization of the circumstance of Concession as a prepositional phrase in Myanmar transitivity structures. We can see the same potential of realization of this circumstance as an adverbial clause with သော်လည်း /thorle/ ‘although’ in both languages.

Circumstance of Default in English transitivity structures is realized by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *without* or complex prepositions such as *in the lack of*, *in the absence of* and *in default of*. On the other hand, the circumstance of Default in Myanmar transitivity structures is realized as an adverbial clause with မြဲ...ဝဲ /ma...be/ ‘without’ as in (44a) and (44b).

(44) a. Kino could see these things without looking at them.

Perc	Pro: auto perc men	Ph	Cir: Default
Subject	Predicator	Complement	Adjunct
Proper noun	Verbal group	Nominal group	Prepositional phrase

(John Steinbeck 1945: 4)

b. ထိုအခြင်းအရာအားလုံးကို ကိုနိုင်သည် မကြည့်ဘဲနှင့် မြင်နေရသည်။  
 hto-achinnayar-arrlonn-go keno-the ma<kyi>behnint myin-nayyathe.  
 DEM-thing-all-OBJMARK Kino-SBJMARK without<look> see-PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

Ph	Perc	Cir: Default	Pro: auto perc men
Complement	Subject	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Nominal group	Proper noun	Adverbial clause	Verbal group

‘Kino could see these things without looking at them.’ (Htin Lin 1999: 16)

Accompaniment has two subcategories: Comitative and Additive. Circumstance of Comitative shows the same potential of realization by a prepositional phrase with prepositions such as နှင့် /hnint/ or ဝဲ /net/ ‘with’ and နှင့်အတူ /hnintatue/ ‘together with’ in English and Myanmar transitivity structures; for example, *with you* in *I will go with you*.

Circumstance of Additive shows the same potential of realization by a prepositional phrase with prepositions such as အဖဝင် /apyin/ ‘besides’ and အစား /asarr/ ‘instead of’ in English and Myanmar transitivity structures, for example, *besides Nyi Nyi in Many boys besides Nyi Nyi were late* and *instead of ham in Could I have tuna instead of ham?* Moreover, the circumstantial of additive is also realized by an adverbial clause with အစား /asarr/ ‘instead of’ in Myanmar transitivity structures as in (45).

(45)	သူသည်	ဤနေရာတွင်	ထိုင်ရမည့်အစား	ထိုနေရာ၌	ထိုင်သည်။
	thue-the	e-nayyar-	htain-ya-myi-asarr	hto-nayyar-	htain-the.
		twin		hnaik	
	3SG-	DEM-place-	sit-OBLG-DECL.SENTSUF-	DEM-place-	sit-PRS.
	SBJMARK	LOC	instead.of	LOC	DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Cir: additive	Cir: place	Pro: action
Subject	Adjunct	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Pronoun	Adverbial clause	Prepositional phrase	Verbal group

‘He sat there, instead of here.’ (<http://sealang.net/burmese/bitext.htm>)

Role has two subcategories: Guise and Product. Circumstance of Guise shows the same potential of realization by a prepositional phrase with prepositions such as *as, by way of* and *in the role/shape/guise/form of* in English and Myanmar transitivity structures; for example, *in the form of TV advertising in People are bombarded with information in the form of TV advertising.* The realization of the circumstance of guise as a prepositional phrase with the preposition အဖြစ် /aphyit/ ‘as’ in Myanmar transitivity structure can be seen as in (46).

(46)	သူတို့ကိုလည်း	မြန်မာ့သမိုင်းတွင်	သူရဲကောင်းများအဖြစ်	ကမ္ဘာတစ်ဝန်းတင်ထားခဲ့ကြပါသည်။
	thuedot-go-le	myanma-	thueyegaunn-myarr-	gabyeetinhtarr-khet-gya-bar-
		thamainn-twin	aphyit	the.
	3PL-OBJMARK-	Myanmar-	hero-PLMARK-ESS	inscribe-PST-PLMARK-
	ADDCONN	history-LOC		POLMARK-DECL.SENTSUF

Affected	Cir: place	Cir: guise	Pro: action
Complement	Adjunct	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Pronoun	Prepositional phrase	Prepositional phrase	Verbal group

Circumstance of Product shows the same potential of realization by a prepositional phrase with the preposition *into* in English transitivity structures; for example, *into logs in Father uses a saw to cut the tree trunk into logs*, whereas this circumstance is realized by a nominal group or an adverbial clause with infinitive in Myanmar transitivity structures as in (47) and (48).

(47) သူသည် ကိတ်မုန့်ကို လေးစိပ် စိပ်ခဲ့သည်။  
 thue-the keikmont-go laye:-zeik seik-khet-the.  
 3SG-SBJMARK cake-OBJMARK four-piece divide-PST-DECL.SENTSUF

Agent	Affected	Cir: product	Pro: action
Subject	Complement	Adjunct	Finite/Predicator
Pronoun	Nominal group	Nominal group	Verbal group

‘She divided the cake into four pieces.’

(48) ချည်ခင်ကို အလုံး ဖြစ်အောင် ကျွန်ုပ် လုံးမည်။  
 chekhin-go alonn phytit-aun kyanoke lonn-mye.  
 yarn-OBJMARK ball become-INF 1SG.NOM wind-IRR.ASS

Affected	Cir: product	Agent	Pro: action
Complement	Adjunct	Subject	Finite/Predicator
Nominal group	Adverbial clause: infinitival		Verbal group

‘I’ll wind the yarn into a ball.’ (<http://sealang.net/burmese/bitext.htm>)

According to He (forthcoming), circumstance of matter is classified into a participant role of Communicated in autonomous communicative mental process. For example, in the communicative process clause *We generally talk of Africa*, *We* is taken as the Communicator Communicatee and *Africa* is taken as the Communicated. This study follows He’s (forthcoming) new model of the transitivity system of Chinese, we will not discuss the

circumstance of matter in this thesis because it plays a participant function, not a circumstantial role in our discussion.

Circumstance of Angle shows the same potential of realization as a prepositional phrase with the preposition အရ /aya/ or အလိုက် /alaik/ ‘according to’ in English and Myanmar transitivity structures. See the following example.

(49) အရည်အချင်းအလိုက် ထောက်ပံ့ကြေးတွေ ပေးတယ်။  
 ayeachinn-alaik htaukpantkyaye:- paye:-de.  
 dway  
 qualification- stipend-PLMARK give-  
 according.to.ABLMARK PRS.DECL.SENTSUF

(Ag)	Cir: Angle	Af-Posd	Pro: action
	Adjunct	Complement	Finite/Predicator
	Prepositional phrase	Nominal group	Verbal group

‘They give stipend according to qualification.’ (<http://sealang.net/burmese/bitext.htm>)

*Abbreviations**Special abbreviations*

Af Affected  
 Af-Ca Affected-Carrier  
 Af-Posd Affected-Possessed  
 Af-Posr Affected-Possessor  
 Ag Agent  
 Ag-Ca Agent-Carrier  
 Ag-Cog Agent-Cognizant  
 At Attribute  
 Behr Behaver  
 Ca Carrier  
 Cir Circumstance  
 Cir: Pl Circumstance: Place  
 Cir: TP Circumstance: Time position  
 Cog Cognizant  
 Comd Communicated  
 Comee Communicatee  
 Comr Communicator  
 Cor1 Correlator1  
 Cor2 Correlator2  
 Cre Created  
 Des Destination  
 Desr Desiderator  
 Dir Direction  
 Em Emoter  
 Ext Existent  
 Loc Location  
 Perc Perceiver  
 Ph Phenomenon  
 Posr Possessor  
 Posd Possessed  
 PR Participant Role  
 Pro Process  
 Ra Range  
 So Source  
 Tk Token  
 Vl Value

*Abbreviations also found in the Leipzig Glossing Rules*

3PL third person plural  
 1SG first person singular  
 2SG second person singular

3SG third person singular  
 ABLMARK ablative marker  
 ACC accusative  
 ADDCONN additive connective  
 AFFMARK affectionate marker  
 ALL allative  
 ANA anaphoric  
 APPEL appellative  
 ASSOC associative  
 CAPAMOD capability modality  
 CAUS causative  
 CLF classifier  
 CMPR comparative  
 COM comitative  
 COMP complementizer  
 COMPA compassion  
 CONJ conjunction  
 CONN connective  
 COP copula  
 DAT dative  
 DECL.SENTSUF declarative sentence suffix  
 DET determiner  
 DIM diminutive  
 DU dual  
 EMPMARK emphatic marker  
 EXCL exclusive  
 EXPER experiential  
 F female  
 FUT future  
 GEN genitive  
 INCL inclusive  
 INF infinitive  
 INS instrumental  
 INT.SENTSUF interrogative sentence suffix  
 LOC locative  
 M male  
 MOD modifier  
 NEG negative  
 NEGDECL.SENTSUF negative declarative sentence suffix  
 NOM nominative  
 OBJMARK object marker  
 OBLG obligation  
 OPT optative

PFV perfective  
 PLMARK plural marker  
 POLMARK polite marker  
 POSTDECL.SENTSUF positive declarative sentence suffix  
 PROG progressive  
 PRS present

PST past  
 PURP purposive  
 REFL reflexive  
 REL relative  
 SBJMARK subject marker  
 SUP superlative

#### IV. CONCLUSION

The study contrasts the realizations of elements in English and Myanmar transitivity configurations under the light of Systemic Functional Grammar introduced by Halliday (1985). This study investigates the similarities and differences in the English and Myanmar realizations of participants as SFPCA elements that represent the functions and positions of Subject (S), Finite (F), Predicator (P), Complement (C), and Adjunct (A). Typically, in the English and Myanmar transitivity configurations, the participant is realized by a nominal group; the process by a verbal group, and the circumstance by a prepositional phrase or an adverbial group. English and Myanmar exhibit similarities in how they express processes through verbal groups, participant roles through nominal groups, nominalization, adverbial groups, prepositional phrases, embedded clauses, and circumstances through nominal groups, adverbial groups, or prepositional phrases. However, they differ in that English uses copulas for expressing processes and adjective/adjective groups for participant roles, whereas Myanmar employs compound verbs, reduplicated verbs, or attributive verbs for processes and qualifying reduplicated adverbs or embedded clauses for circumstances. The results of this research add valuable insights to future investigations that compare how elements are expressed in the transitivity configurations of Myanmar with those in other languages.

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# Representing the Margin and the Center with Interstellar Hassan al-Wazzan in the Heart of Renaissance Italy

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## ABSTRACT

Despite being left out of the limelight of history, Hassan al-Wazzan, a famous Moroccan traveler, figures immensely in Amin Maalouf's novel, *Leo the African*. As well as being historically lauded by the pope Leo X as a "man with art and knowledge," who is moreover "always welcomed among us, not as a servant but as a protector." The Moroccan globetrotter was thus bestowed with the papal surname, *de Medici*, as a token of great respect to him. Al-Hassan Ibn Mouhamed al-Wazzan, al-Fasi, had achieved in Europe, as a writer, geographer and papal adviser what many in the same position have not. As he was living in Rome, he wrote in Italian about Islamic culture and the geography of Africa. In the novel of Amin Maalouf *Leo the African*, we see the writer trying to debunk and dismantle Western stereotyped and prejudiced representations of the other, and then, at a hopefully later stage or during that very gesture, reconstruct in their stead images of the self and the other, images that go beyond the fixity of binary oppositions to celebrate the interdependence and interpretation of same and different.

**Keywords:** al-wazzan, traveler, captive, adviser, emissary, representation, resistance, binary, same, different.

**Classification:** FoR Code: 2005

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The globetrotter, Hassan al-Wazzan was unfortunately excluded from the limelight of history. Little is known about his legendary life, except through his book *The Description of Africa*

(La descrizione dell'africa). However, his achievements, and his participation in rewriting history from below attest to his great achievements.

What is known for sure, however, is that he was a man between worlds, whose shifting and fluxing identity is always in a state of becoming. So, it is difficult, in my opinion, to pin him down as this or that, culturally speaking. I like to think of him as a man of all seasons and of all cultures. Besides, the liminal space of his identity attest to this, as he was baptized at the hand of a pope called Leo X, and was given de Medici as a papal surname, despite his Muslim heritage. Despite being christianized, however, some historians say that he safeguarded his Muslim faith secretly in what is known as the practice of *taquia*.

Like many Granadans, he was homesick for a Granada remembered as the best of times, as well as the worst of times with the Catholic, infamous Inquisition. Sadly enough, he was witness to the fall of Granada, the fall of the Mamluk king in Egypt and the Watasi dynasty in Morocco.

After he had been enslaved, he was sent to the papal headquarters in Rome, and received a heartwarming welcome by the pope Leo X, who acknowledged his erudition and great knowledge, saying that a "man with art and knowledge is always welcomed among us, not as a servant but as a protector."

According to Boussouf, Moroccan "integration, distinction and social and professional prominence in foreign societies of multiple languages, religions and ethics did not come from nothing. It is a natural extension to the diversity of the Moroccan personality, which encourages



shedding light on other Moroccan legends who have influenced the world.”

Writing in Italian about Islamic culture and the geography of Africa, Hassan al-Wazzan is a flexible persona constantly moving between margins and centers without showing strong adherence neither to its former world nor to the new one.

Concerning his representation in the fiction of Amin Maalouf, the novel titled *Leo the African* is replete with instances where the debunking and dismantling of western stereotyped and prejudiced representation of the other is at work, and where at a hopefully later stage or during that very gesture, the aim is to reconstruct in their stead images of the self and the other, images that go beyond the fixity of binary oppositions to celebrate the interdependence of same and different.

In short, despite being left out of the limelight of history, Hassan al-Wazzan’s achievements, which are discovered today, speak for themselves. Thus, putting him back in the limelight of history.

Another thing which is equally important is the representation of al-Wazzan in Maalouf’s fiction *Leo the African* through the category of same and different so as to dismantle western, stereotyped images of the self and the other.

## II. HASSAN AL-WAZZAN, A LITTLE KNOWN HISTORICAL FIGURE AND HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

Sadly enough, the historical figure, Hassan al-Wazzan, who was a legendary character; a globetrotter, a geographer, an ambassador, a researcher, a writer, and a scholar, was left out of the limelight of history, except in his book *The Description of Africa*, leaving us “ignorant of his stories and lasting influence.” Al-Wazzan was either born in 1483 or 1488 in Granada, Spain. He “lived at a crossroads of historical events as he witnessed the middle ages, the birth of the Renaissance, the end of Muslim presence in Andalusia, the expulsion of the Jews and Muslims from the region, and the Inquisition.” (Boussouf).

The scholar, al-Wazzan, experienced, like any other Granadan, the pain of “separation from Andalusia and the migration to Fez or the kingdom of Morocco.” He also was a witness to the rise and fall of dynasties and empires, seeing with his own eyes the last days of the Mamluk in Egypt and the Al Watasi dynasty in Morocco, and watched the Ottoman empire take its place in history. This religious philosopher witnessed as well the Catholic Church struggle of Martin Luther (1482-1546) and Protestantism, and also King of France’s alliance with the Ottoman, and the fear of Pope Leo X of an Ottoman Islamic invasion from the south.

Indeed, Hasan al-Wazzan was a scholar who lived in many worlds as he accompanied a number of philosophers, geographers, and travelers. He studied at the Al Qarawiyyine University in Fez and at the Vatican. He brought together mosques and churches and went to perform pilgrimage in Mecca, and lived in the Muslim southern Mediterranean, as well as in the Northern non-muslim regions, and married a Muslim woman. All these descriptions make al-Wazzan or Leo Africanus a character close to legend, which led some Orientalists to question the credibility of his life, works, and manuscripts, especially his book, “The Description of Africa” which has 8 different editions.

The legend Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Fasi was welcomed by Pope Leo X at the Papal headquarters in Rome, after he had been captured in 1518, while returning home from Pilgrimage from Mecca. “A man with art and knowledge is always welcomed among us, not as a servant but as a protector,” said Pope Leo X to Hasan al-Wazzan as a welcoming speech. Among his quotes, we find: “a community begins to fall apart the moment it agrees to abandon the weakest of its members.” Another quote of his: “When a man is rich, whether in gold or in knowledge, he must treat the poverty of others with consideration” (quoted in Boussouf).

The spoken words by the pope Leo X singles out Hasan al-Wazzan as no average man as the “widely famous family name, Leo de Medici, was bestowed on the traveler, as a show of due respect

and acceptance in the Italian society. The globetrotter name, thus, became 'Leo Africanus.' The name which the pope Leo X had given Hassan al-Wazzan, which is Pope Leo's surname, "is famous in the city of Florence, Italy, and all over Europe" (ibid).

Despite being little known to the world, Hasan al-Wazzan or Leo Africanus was the subject of much research and study in the west. "The research and studies were initiated by many orientalist, historians, and geography scholars, including Italian John Baptist Ramozia in his book, "Sailing and Traveling," in more than one edition since 1550, the Russian Kratchovski in his book, "the history of Arabic Geographical Literature," Canadian and American historian Natalie Zemon Davis, the German Detrick Richtenberg, as well as French orientalist Guillaume Postel and Francois Poyon, just to name a few" (ibid).

Thus, Leo Africanus or Hassan al-Wazzan, is a "personality who was influenced by the world and, in turn, left his mark in it." There is still uncertainty as to whether he died in Tunisia or Morocco. The uncertainty likewise stretches to his religion and whether he renounced Islam to convert to Christianity, as well as whether it was an obligation or a choice, although his decision to flee to Tunisia suggests that he was under duress.

Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Fasi is, undoubtedly, an impressive figure in world history, but he is not the only [Moor] to deserve a place there. The success and distinction of Moroccans living abroad are thanks to the natural accumulation of Moroccan identity through our history (ibid).

According to Boussouf, Moroccans' "integration, distinction, and social and professional prominence in foreign societies of multiple languages, religions, and ethics did not come from nothing. It is a natural extension to the diversity of the Moroccan personality, which encourages shedding light on other Moroccan legends who have influenced the world."

### III. HASSAN AL-WAZZAN AND WRITING HISTORY FROM BELOW

According to Aziz Nouhaidi, "No other slave could ever recreate what Al-Hassan Ibn Mouhamed Al-Wazzan, Al-Fasi, had achieved in Europe, as a writer, geographer and papal adviser. This Moorish serf moved through various roles, at different junctures he was a Granadan refugee, a Moroccan explorer of sub-Saharan Africa, a royal ambassador, a Muslim slave and a converted Moor living in Rome, writing in Italian about Islamic culture and the geography of Africa."

He is considered "a flexible persona constantly moving between margins and centers without showing strong adherence neither to its former world nor to the new one. Ibn Al-Wazzan, known to the West as Leo Africanus or Leo the African, is the writer of "Description of Africa," an authoritative early modern account of North African geography which was unquestionably of great assistance to the Europeans, especially to Pope Leo X." In this book, he writes:

AFRICA is called in the Arabian toong *Iphrichia*, of the word *Faraca*, which signifieth in the said language, to diuide : but why it should be so called, there are two opinions ; the first is this: namely, because this part of the worlde is diuided from Europa by the Mediterranean sea, and from Asia by the river Nilus. Others are of the opinion that this name *Africa* was derived from one *Ifricus* the king of Arabia Foelix, who is said to have been the first to inhabit these parts. ... AFRICA (if we may giue credite vnto the writers of that nation, being men of learning, and most skilful Cosmographers) beginneth southward at certaine riuers issuing foorth of a lake in the desert of Gaoga. Eastward it bordereth vpon the riuier Nilus. It extendeth northward to that part of Egypt, where Nilus at seuen mouthes dischargeth his streames into the Meditteran sea: from whence it stretcheth westward as farre as the streites of Gibraltar, and is bounded on that part with the vtmost sea-towne of all Libya, called \*Nun. Likewise the south part thereof abutteth vpon the

Ocean sea, which compasseth Africa almost as farre as the deserts of Gaoga (Africanus 122-123.)

At the age of 18, he went to Timbuktu with his uncle, the emissary of the Wattasid sultan, Mouhamed Al-Bourtughali. After three years, he once again “visited this spiritual African capital, showing that the young *Granadino* had gained the sultan’s appreciation and established himself as a reliable notary and diplomat, which would be further confirmed a few years later when the sultan sent him as a trusted envoy to the Sublime Porte” (Nouhaidi).

As soon as he accomplished his mission, he decided to return to Fez. On his way through the Mediterranean in the summer of 1518, the notorious Knights of the Order of Saint John sacked his ship and took him to Malta as a slave, where he was thought to be an “elite slave who evidently had important information to offer to the pope” (ibid).

In 1520, al-Wazzan was sent to Rome where Pope Leo X baptized him and named him Johannes Leo de Medicis. “Throughout the years he spent in the Roman community, Leo taught Arabic to many Christian scholars craving to know about Islam.” And “translated many documents into Arabic and wrote vocabulary in Spanish, Latin, Italian, Hebrew and his native language, Arabic” (ibid).

Besides, he was capable to rise in the ranks of scholarship as an “unrivaled authority capable of establishing himself as a trustworthy source of knowledge whom his patrons admired so much that they could not help but rely on his ability to provide useful information.” Indeed, al-Wazzan was a “scholar imbued with abundant savoir that enabled him to flourish across cultural and linguistic boundaries and act as a moving ambassador belonging to here and everywhere” (ibid).

He also put to question Europeans’ “lubricious preconceptions about Africa and the African Other.” Aomar Boum discreetly affirms that his book, “*Della descrittione dell’Africa*,” “remains one of the best sources for political, social, and

geographical information about the Maghrib during the first half of the 16th century.”

Verily, Al-Wazzan’s “intellectual, cultural and noble backgrounds helped him to shape an identity that seemed to have been less affected by its ambivalent and liminal state between two antagonistic worlds, Dar al-Islam and Christendom. It is in this context, therefore, that “*Della descrittione dell’Africa*” should be read. It is a tome whose writer did not bother himself too much with the religious perception and categorization of the Other, probably due to his astute practice of *taqiya* (a precautionary dissimulation/concealment of one’s faith under duress), which enabled him to appear as “a man with a double vision.” In fine, Nouhaidi shows that “this seems to be reflected in “*Della descrittione dell’Africa*,” a memoir which chronicles the early cultural and intellectual encounters and interchanges between Islam and Renaissance Christendom. Interchanges which allowed its writer more space to challenge the silences imposed upon his life story and upon the context from which he was stolen” (ibid).

#### IV. REPRESENTATION & RESISTANCE

Taoufiq Sakhkhane confirms that there is a veritable “resolution” on the part of postcolonial critics such as Aime Cesaire, Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and G. C. Spivak to “debunk and dismantle Western stereotyped and prejudiced representations of the other, and then, at a hopefully later stage or during that very gesture, to reconstruct in their stead images of the self and the other, images that go beyond the fixity of binary oppositions to celebrate the interdependence and interpretation of same and different” (Sakhkhane 57).

I, Hassan the son of Muhammad the weigh-master, I, Jean-Leon de Medici, circumcised at the hand of a barber and baptised at the hand of a pope, I am now called the African, but I am not from Africa, nor from Europe, nor from Arabia, but I come from no country, from no city, no tribe. I am the son of the road, my country is the

caravan, my life the most unexpected of voyages (Maalouf 1).

In this quote, which is taken from Amin Maalouf's novel *Leo the African*, it can be observed that there is no fixity to identity whatsoever. Rather, we see the self celebrated through Bhabhan difference and sameness, so that binary oppositions do not exist anymore than as before. To speak of the saidian model, however, it does not hold as striking as resistance in Bhabhan ambivalence, since Said's work, *Orientalism*, creates an antagonistic opposite to the self, which is rigid and frozen in time and space, and which makes the West advance unmetaphorically upon the Orient.

While Said contends that the discourse of the West is predominant and powerful at level of representation and notions of the self versus the Other, here Othering the self is not tenable either since Third World literature such as Maalouf's interrogate the existing relations of knowledge and power between the Crescent and Christendom. Hereby, we do not see a Christocentric vision of the world inuniciated but rather a multivocal image of the self compounded from different layers such as race, language and the voyage/voyage in that makes the self complete vis-à-vis the Western misrepresentative discourse. Consider for instance the following quote on language from Maalouf:

From my mouth you will hear Arabic, Turkish, Castilian, Berber, Hebrew, Latin and vulgar Italian, because all tongues and prayers belong to me. But I belong to none of them (Maalouf 1).

From this quote, it can be discerned that there is a multilingualism at work with the narrator, Hasan al-Wazzan. It is as though he is the wielder of different discursive powers all put together if we entertain the power/knowledge formula. Here, it is proved that the native, in this case the traveller Hassan al-Wazzan defies Orientalist stereotyped images of the Other. In another word, he is not othered, but recognized as same but different.

Despite being different, Hassan al-Wazzan can mold himself into different language forms to integrate within the societies that the caravan or the galley has brought him to, namely the cities of Fez, Timbuktu, Cairo and later in Rome. Al-Wazzan talks of himself almost with a sense of pride, for breaking asunder the binary opposition that Edward Said has brought into the intellectual debate with the West in the shape of Samuel Huntington's the Clash of Civilizations, by saying that, while he is scribbling this "to himself, like a merchant working out his accounts at the end of a longue journey," he is all the while "dressed in the Neapolitan style, aboard this galley" (Maalouf 1). Which brings about a similar image, that of Alacron's donning the Moorish jellaba.

the Spanish writer Pedro Antonio de Alarcón (1833-1891) posed for a series of portraits in the photography studio of his friend José Martínez Sánchez, located in Madrid's central Puerta del Sol. In one of these portraits, Alarcón gazes intently at the viewer from under neath the tasseled hood of an embroidered djellaba, the tunic traditionally worn by Moroccans. On his feet, he wears leather slippers. From his wrist hang the prayer beads used by Moroccan Muslims to count prayers and perform dhikr (invocations of God's name) (Calderwood 30).

Thus, the native is granted a voice, loaded with power and granted a position from which to challenge his masters and the stereotyped images of the self through this grand mimesis. Similar to al-Wazzan, who finds himself in-between cultures, "Alarcón's portraits suggest that cultural identity is like a costume that can be put on or taken off at one's will, and that becoming Moroccan is as simple as slipping on a djellaba and a pair of leather sandals" (Calderwood 33). From his early Orientalist writings to the end of his life, Alarcón brandished Granada's Muslim heritage as a sign of identity and a badge of honor. Upon expressing concern over the health, yellow-complexion and obesity of Alacron Alarcón stoically replied: "You know well that I'm a Moor . . . and, therefore, fatalist. Allah is great, and He will do with me



what ever he wishes” (Quoted in Calderwood 33). In this instance Alacron and al-Wazzan are cultural luminaries, despite the wide duress of time separating them, one in the sixteenth century and the other in the nineteenth. They both fall within the category of the hybrid as they constitute both same and different at the very same time. They, so to speak, play with culture at their own leisure, donning the Other’s clothes and style as to herald a new kind of specimen anthropologically speaking. They are both historically and culturally apocryphal for doing so, one in the Neapolitan habit and the Other in the Moorish garment, the Jellaba.

Sakhkhane further states that “since she has been closely concerned with both forms of representation (debunking the unread and silenced in representing the other and making a portion of that other represent herself) Spivak presses ahead with much more momentum and trenchancy to unskine the meta-narratives of the Western mind” (Sakhkhane 59).

Representation has called forth the majority of analysis and reevaluation. It is, as Sakhkhane mentions “in reaction to negative representations and characterizations of the other that postcolonialism as a critical practice is defined.” From out the array of lyrical poetry, novels, drama, music, painting to historical records, geographic reports and scientific documents, “the other was frozen in a complex of negative images, jaundiced portraits and timeless metaphysical essences” (Sakhkhane 57) Therefore, “resisting these images and exploiting the same canals, the ‘others’ of Europe have written back with a view to contextualizing and historicizing those representations as means of justifying European subjugation of other people” (Sakhkhane 58). Here we can mention some examples of anti-colonial as well as Third-World writers who devoted their entire careers to investing their fiction with the notion of the self as rootless and shifting. Writing back against the Western canon, we find, among others, Hassan Aourid with his *al-Mouriski* and *Rabii Qurtoba*; Muslim writer G. Willow Wilson’s *The Bird King*; Tariq Ali’s *Shadows of the Pomegranate Tree*; Radwa ashour’s *Granada* trilogy and Rebekkah Scott’s

*The Moorish Whore*. With the insertion of the first- and second-person narration, for example, the representation of the self is asserted in novels such as *Leo the African*,

All morning, my mother remembered, we had cheered and clapped our hands watching games of ‘tabla’, during which one Zenata rider after another tried to hit the wooden target with staves which they threw standing up on the backs of their horses at a gallop. We could not see who was most successful, but the clamour which reached us from the hill, from the very place known as al-Tabla, gave an unerring indication of winners and losers (Maalouf 13).

According to Edward Said, the way of conceiving the Other looks quite normal and is inherent/essential to all human beings, because each group of people are swayed to think about what is exterior to its frontiers as it constitutes the imagined other; a barbarian, a savage, a threat to social fabric and community. However, what is considerably at odds, he furthers, is to turn these systems of accommodating and assimilating the other into a rooted tradition, a persistent style of thought, a legacy transmitted from one posterity to the next (Said 53).

Devoted intirely to pleasure, the sultan neglected the affairs of state, allowing those close to him to amass huge fortunes by illegal taxes and appropriations ... In the city, where there was profound insecurity and fear for the future ... where news of the drinking sessions leaked out regularly through the indiscretions of servants or guests, the mere mention of the name of the sultan or Soraya [his concubine] brought forth oaths and curses and sometimes pushed the people to the edge of revolt (Maalouf 17).

In this quote, the other is treated as a threat to social fabric and security. Hence, it is othered and resisted against, by invoking the feat ‘revolt’ as a salient resistance to the malpractices of the

penultimate sultan of Granada, Abu'l-Hassan 'Ali. The notion of resistance is also carried from the pulpit but not directly as to invoke the wrath and tyranny of the sultan:

Without needing to lay the blame directly on Abu'l-Hassan (which they only rarely dared to do) certain preachers had only to rail against corruption, depravity and impaiety for all the faithful to know, withuot a shadow of doubt, who was being criticised by implication, and they did their utmost to utter loud and recalcitrant cries of '*Allahu akbar!*', to which the imam leading the prayer would sometimes reply ... 'The hand of God is abbove their hands,' all the while darting looks of hatred in the direction of Alhambra (Maalouf 17).

The fact of the matter is, alas, "every time there is a crisis between the 'Orient' and the 'West' such characterizations do crop up to capture the juncture and account for it in some transhistorical, essentialist terms, as if yesterday's masters and overlords would in no way dispense with their former subjects" (Sakhkhane 70).

After the Second World War, there was a proliferation of national liberation movements sprouting in formerly occupied countries by imperial powers. In opposition to this political 'seism', "the former passive object of knowledge has defied its status in colonial discourse and became a full subject in its own right, creating a disconcerting sense of unease and confusion for representative Western discourses" (Sakhkhane 71).

Sakhkhane further comments saying that "as an effect of the dialectically ongoing process of decolonization, each of the discourses and disciplines that conditioned and fixed colonial relationship in a metaphysical logic of binarism has become so perturbed and perturbing as to reinhabit a different field with new horizons for meaning and interpretation" (Sakhkhane 71). Edward Said looks for the reasons for this "critical state of affairs in domains that gained their renown and legitimacy through complicity with imperialism" (quoted in Said 207) For example,

being an avenue to address these issues, anthropology, Said says has "radically changed to unpredictable lengths." Adding that

For history's imperial anthropologists who were wont to go on with their work in an off-hand, authoritarian manner have become so baffled that some of them have resorted to textuality, or literary theory in general, as an escapist vocation. What is more distressing and disconcerting for these anthropologists, Said contends, is that the once inert, lazy and passive guinea pigs have grown more clamorous and vehement in their demand to be taken more seriously by their former colonizers (Quoted in Said 215).

No longer at ease with European characterizations and images, "these claimants have pressed their own representatives who put in question the claims of anthropology as a whole." But when Ali Mazroui produced a series of films about Africa, he was criticised harshly in the *New York Times* as "a latter-day Jeremiah" who blames the West for "the atrocities and horrors in his continent." The rationale behind this 'voracious' attack on Mazrui, comments Said, "stemmed from his throwing into doubt European claims about its civilizing mission, and questioning its assumptions to be an emissary of light to the heart of darkness" (Said pp. 136–9). His unpardonable mistake, in effect, was to have represented his own people in a way totally opposite to authoritative Western representations, Sakhkhane ironically furthers (Sakhkhane 72).

Through the situation of Ali Mazrui, Edward Said highlights the fact that there is an over-arching reluctance of Europe to "do away with its myths of dominance." Since *Orientalism* was published in 1978, Sakhkhane duly remarks, "Said has met with the same, if not more, severe critique for daring to interrogate European representations of others." In this book, which is considered as a cornerstone to postcolonial theory, Said "undertakes to bring to light how discourses and disciplines such as philology, history, anthropology and literature were not only involved in imperialism but paved the way for the



colonization and control of other peoples” (Sakhkhane 72).

However, *Leo the African*, as a Third World text goes against the imperialistic vision of the world, since it talks about and brings to the fore a decisive and critical moment in world history, which is Islamic Spain under the rule of Abu'l-Hassan 'Ali who fared badly as a ruler, but much as a poet in his rule, ignoring the flood that his capital underwent as a sign from the Most High, and, by equally entertaining the pleasures of life saying that “the pleasures of the world were ephemeral, that life was passing by and that he must drain the utmost from each moment.” However, the narrator Hassan al-Wazzan admonishes him, saying that “such may have been the wisdom of a poet, but not that of a ruler who had already reached the age of fifty and whose kingdom was threatened” (Maalouf 16). Here it is quite striking that the multivocality of voices is ushered in to dilute the one-sided, monologic prose of the empire, which claims to know everything about the Orient and about the Muslim world. Rather, the empire also fares badly in its relationship with the Islamic world, Spain, to be particular, because it denies it the multivocality of voices when it brings it into literature or into the intellectual debate, unlike what Maalouf does, which is to question even one's rulers for their lack of a better political will to uphold the state of Granada.

Yoking knowledge and power together, and bringing forth the connection between disciplines that claim to be purely scientific and imperialism as the practical form of subjugation, Said “undercut and deconstructed those representations by showing them for what they are as ideological constructs designed, first and foremost, to colonize the minds” (Sakhkhane 72).

Maalouf's narrative does entirely the opposite, since it celebrates a renown Granadan, by birth, historical figure who is interstellar so to speak; not of any origin except that of the road. However, we see him yearning for Granada that he lost and remembers in retrospect throughout his life as a traveller. So the center seems to be Granada and the celebration of this figure in Maalouf's text is

telling. In a way, it decolonizes the minds of the colonial and postcolonial subjects and intellectuals.

So vehemently criticising empire that sees itself in a purely cultural light, Said “emphasizes the material, pragmatic and down-to-earth aspect of discourses that when he brings up Silvester de Sacy and praises him for the scientific character of his work, Said also highlights the barely visible aspect of that character – how Sacy helped colonizing France to deal with its Arab subjects in Algeria” (Ahmed 165–70).

Making a connection between power and knowledge, once more, Said touched down on Mazrui's generated critique, who has been criticised by “those who still argue for the innocence of their disciplines from any blemish of imperialism.” Moreover, Bernard Lewis has been most “hostile in attacking Said for having been so presumptuously intrusive in an out-of-bounds realm, where only an Orientalist like Lewis himself is entitled to pronounce verdicts about the Orient, Islam and the Muslims.” However, sympathizers also criticized Said. For instance, in his *In Theory*, Ahmed accuses Said of “discursive exorbitance, the inflation of ideological constituents such as literature to the detriment of the institutional and material aspects of imperialism. Ahmed also assails Said for concentrating his critical focus on major canonical works while overlooking the colonized self-representative modalities.” (Sakhkhane 72-73).

*Leo the African* is important as a postcolonial text, because it denies scholars such as Bernard Lewis the prerogative to speak on behalf of the Muslims. We see Hassan al-Wazzan instead describing to us the process of birth, celebration feasts of the circumcision process; the parades and much more like the modalities and contentions of rule in Granada prior to its disintegration with internal factors such as favoring the Rumiyya Sorayya over Fatima, and doing all kinds of rituals that defy logic, such as drinking the water that Soraya bathes into and proffering it to his cabinet to drink, and imprisoning the eirs to the throne with their mother in the tower of Comares.

The fact of the matter is that, while Maalouf denies the West the modalities of speech, he is himself responsible for representing the Muslim characters in the light of the traveller, the hero and the protagonist, against much of the Orientalist tropes that seeks to represent the Others of Europe in the light of the villain, the silent and the marginal. So to speak, the margin enters upon the centre as Bekkaoui states in *Signs of Spectacular Resistance*.

Furthermore, colonialism was an ‘authority expressed in pageantry and symbolism, as well as military power’, as Elleke Boehmer argues in *Colonial and Postcolonial Literature* (Boehmer 2). And as Sakhkhane rightly observes, “the empire was also a question of texts, imagination and words,” with which the “imperialist expansion grew in zeal and momentum with the possibility of (Sakhkhane 73) ‘darting the barbed iron from one side of the world to the other’, as Herman Melville’s Ishmael narrates (Melville 119). Indeed, the literary imagination “waxed extravagantly imperial in scope and idiom, the relationship between imperial words and worlds was so troublingly interdependent that one could not exist without the other” (Sakhkhane 73).

Understanding the significance of texts and the “ways European Others have been represented in Western discourses, postcolonial writers, critics and theorists have engaged in textual resistance to the dominant Western conceptions,” with a variety of adopted strategies, such as the Rastafarians’s deconstruction of the power structures of English grammar, and the Commonwealth writers’ appropriation and revolutionization of the English idiom and image. The objective in mind has been a “reshuffling of dominant meanings, a ‘symbolic overhaul’ (Triffin 95).

The postcolonial writer Amin Maalouf has also engaged in deploying the strategy of writing back to dismantle the European authority over the East and to inscribe images of the self and celebrate it instead of what the Orientalist was wont of doing, grotesquely imagining and representing the Other, negating him a sense of selfhood, community and nationhood or state. On the

contrary, in Third World written texts the multivocality of voices is stressed ten-fold against the monologic stance of the West in discourse as it relates to knowledge and power. Let us consider for example the following quote that celebrates the multivocality of voices in the *majlis* of sultan Boabdil in Maalouf’s *Leo the African*:

... people could speak freely under Boabdil, while in the time of his father they would look around seven times before voicing the least criticism, which would be expressed in ambiguous terms, in verses and proverbs, which could easily be retraced if they were denounced later (Maalouf 24).

This gives more freedom and ease with which to voice out one’s opinions in terms of politics and in terms of matters of the state. Despite the fact that Maalouf is wary that these voices would become more pronounced and threatening to Boabdil, the lenient sultan, he is nevertheless content to show the West that the discourses of Third World text is not hegemonic nor monologic vis-à-vis the people of Granada. In a way, it was a time of great political and cultural laissez-faire, Maalouf seems to suggest.

Having a debate amongst themselves, on whether or not to take arms against the solidified, powerful Castilians, the court of Boabdil was split between two parties; those that want to reach an everlasting peace with Castille and those who want resistance by taking arms against them:

Those who wanted war said: The enemy has decided once and for all to annihilate us, and it is not by submitting that we will force them to withdraw. See how the people of Malaga have been forced into slavery after their surrender! See how the Inquisition has raised pyres for the Jews of Seville, of Saragosa, of Valencia, of Teruel, of Toledo! Tomorrow the pyres will be raised in Granada, not just for the people of the Sabbath but for the Muslims as well! How can we stop this, except by resistance, mobilization and *jihad*? (Maalouf 24-25).

In the same vein, postcolonial critic Frantz Fanon justifies the use of violence in order to dismantle colonialism, root and branch, because the enemy is evil. Here the enemy is the Castilian Reconquistadore. Fanon's reasoning is such that "because colonialism is both created and sustained by violence, it can be destroyed only by violence" (Quinn 10). The war campaign launched against the Moorish capital Granada is no exception if we entertain the continuing discourse of Orientalism that spans much of the Moorish-Spanish relations. Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* argues that "only violence can destroy colonial rule, both politically and in the psyche—the mind—of the colonized" (Quinn 14).

According to Fanon, once more, the use of violence has its purpose, which are two-fold. First, it erodes any system that level all the might, weapons and power towards the natives, in this case the Granadans. Second, violence is psychological. Which means that because of the nefarious effects of colonial war on the native subject, marked by dehumanization, violence emerges as a vindication to topple down Castilian, Spanish colonialism (Quinn 14).

However, Helen Tiffin argues in 'Postcolonial Literatures and Counter Discourse', that the "channels of resistance and counter-attack cannot be retroactive, a reversion to a nostalgic pre-colonial past for an unblemished image of the self." For colonialism has made that course quite "impracticable with its destabilizing, hybridizing practices" (Sakhkhane 96).

Therefore, the solution is for the postcolonial writers to undermine and undercut "European codes and discourses of mastery." In fiction, a 'rereading and rewriting', of the "English canon marked postcolonial literature as a dynamic, subversive and oppositional stance to the dominant Western tradition" (Sakhkhane 73).

In fact, taking into his own hands and words the prerogative of representing Granada, as a historical space, together with representing Hasan al-Wazzan, Amin Maalouf seems to valorize the self and eroding it at the same time, since

al-Wazzan is of no origin except that of the road and travel, a space in between, which bespokes a tendency to cast him in the mold of a round character not easily defined in relation to the West or East. This fragmented, porous identity, so to speak, makes al-Wazzan integrate easily in the world of text as well as outside it, as he journeys his way through Granada as a child, the city of fez's hostelries as a youth, Timbuktu; Cairo and Italy as an adult. Therefore, this makes him recalcitrant/impervious to pindowns and ready-made judgements of his character as being this or that so we cannot really make judgement on his round character easily:

My wrists have experienced in turn the caresses of silk, the abuses of wool, the gold of princes and the chains of slaves. My fingers have parted a thousand veils, my lips have made a thousand virgins blush, and my eyes have seen cities die and empires perish (Maalouf 1).

As a last note, Sakhkhane speaks of this unrelenting "through and through critique of colonial assumptions and worldviews does not aim, as Tiffin expounds, at substituting the postcolonial for the colonial, but in Wilson Harris's phrase (Sakhkhane 74) 'to evolve textual strategies which continually "consume" their own biases at the same time as they expose and erode those of the dominant discourse' (Shape 100). Jean Rhyss Wide Sargasso Sea, for example, is a "postcolonial paradigm in its rereading and rewriting back to one of the greatest texts of British tradition. Its counter canonical importance emanates from questioning British suzerainty and its representative texts" (Sakhkhane 74).

Somewhat similarly, Maalouf not only decolonizes the Eastern mind, as we have mentioned, but also it goes against the grains of the western narrative as its main character, al-Wazzan, denies the Western discourse the prerogative to speak in its behalf, and ponders the question that the Islamic world and the Western is easily navigable through the notion of power/knowledge, and through the multivocality of voices that the text of Maalouf harbors. This multilingualism, on the part of al-Wazzan, makes the text vis-à-vis the Western

other same but different, it creates to itself what Bhabha calls a “third space of innunciation” from which to voice out and celebrate difference. Hence, through these strategies that I call ‘recalcitrant’, the interstellar Other resists the Orientalist pindowns of identity, and metaphysical essences.

## V. CONCLUSION

Eventhough Hassan al-Wazzan was left out of the limelight of history, he managed to produce remarkable geography books, such as *The Description of Africa*. Through writing this geographical account, he managed to participate in the rewriting of history from below.

However, his identity was not stable in so doing as he was interstellar so to speak. He was a man whose persona was situated in-between different cultures and in-between different worlds as we try to invoke his memory and spirit nowadays.

Moreover, his smooth integration in the Italian society on social and professional grounds granted him adequate access to multiple languages, religions and values. So, he wrote a lot about Italian and Islamic culture and managed to influence the world with his great ideas.

His representation in the novel of Amin Maalouf, *Leo the African*, dismantles the western stereotyped and prejudiced images and assumptions of the other. Instead, what Amin Maalouf is trying to do, following his novel, is to construct images of the self and the other that go beyond the fixity of binary oppositions, and where the celebration of same and different is at hand.

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# 21<sup>st</sup> Century Challenges of Social Work's Accountability in Post-Soviet Estonian Rural Local Governments

*Vaike Raudava*

## ABSTRACT

Summary “ Contemporary European social work is based on the principles of collective responsibility, human rights, and social justice. The IFSW (International Federation of Social Workers) declared that social work was, and always will be, a human rights occupation. Before for the described outcome of social work, the social work has required the aims, strategies and the methods of implementation. The preparation and adoption of the Social Care (Welfare) Act in 1995 followed the general principles of the corresponding law from 1925, in that the responsibility for organizing social welfare fell to local government. Thus, at the end of the 20th century, the main public social welfare organizer in Estonia is the local government and the local governments are part of the European Union since the year 2004.

*Keywords:* case study, human rights, human services, rural social work, access to services, accountability.

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# 21<sup>st</sup> Century Challenges of Social Accountability in Post-Soviet Estonian Rural Local Governments

Vaike Raudava

## ABSTRACT

*Summary* “Contemporary European social work is based on the principles of collective responsibility, human rights, and social justice. The IFSW (International Federation of Social Workers) declared that social work was, and always will be, a human rights occupation. Before for the described outcome of social work, the social work has required the aims, strategies and the methods of implementation. The preparation and adoption of the Social Care (Welfare) Act in 1995 followed the general principles of the corresponding law from 1925, in that the responsibility for organizing social welfare fell to local government. Thus, at the end of the 20th century, the main public social welfare organizer in Estonia is the local government and the local governments are part of the European Union since the year 2004.

*Following an accountable approach, this research has aimed to explore developed accountability of social welfare in the rural local government.*

*The utilized methodology has been the collective case study (Mills 2010). I followed the information-oriented selection: the cases of maximum variation by size and location (Luck, Jackson & Usher 2006). Triangulation has been used as a procedure for acquiring data. Further analysis was conducted by using a taxonomic approach (Ragin 2011).*

*Findings :* *The lack of national regulation with a lesser understanding of social work has affected the local government's ability to interpret the best of available opinions. An agreement has been missing upon how the local government shares responsibility between the state, local*

*government and families. The current situation does not fp accountable: an unclear situation exists - who is the client in the rural local government? While pointing to the local-centered practice, whereby the local government's own practice of social work has been politically loaded.*

*Application :* *The question concerns the extent to which local governments should be responsible for ensuring that citizens' needs are met and how they should achieve this objective. Further, the main question is, how the knowledge about the value and goals of social work transfers into daily practice through understanding the contemporary rights of the EU citizenry and how to ensure the constitutional right of every citizen to receive the public benefit from a local government in case of need. Accountability of social work practice has given a place to fully involve service users and social workers in achieving better and safer results. On hand other, local citizens can participate in the development of services only through local social policy.*

*Keywords:* case study, human rights, human services, rural social work, access to services, accountability.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The Post-Soviet Model of Public Social Welfare in Local Government Professional social work in Estonia was restarted in 1991. Therefore, social work has been a new adoption of the post-communist society after regaining its independence. The preparation and adoption of the Social Care (Welfare) Act of Estonia in 1995 followed the general principles of the corresponding law from 1925. According to this,

the local government was responsible for organizing social welfare.

Estonian local governments have re-established the structures of local government, modelling them after the first period of independence. The administration of local governments concerns relations between central and local authorities, the way that they are structured, and the processes that they use to provide services at the local level (Chow & Austin 2008; Clegg & Bailey 2008).

In the 21st century, these local governments are part of the European Union. The new paradigm for European welfare is based on individualization and the ability of a person to cope with his/her life independently is in Europe very important. The orientation of European social policy has shifted from „protection shift“ to citizen-centred to empower every citizen, allowing active individual engagement. Sohlberg (2009) argued that fundamental rights are individual rights, independent of the identity of the beneficiary.

## II. THE AIM AND METHODOLOGY

Since 1995, the main “organizer” of social work has been the local government. For 25 years (1995-20) social work practices in Estonian local governments have been growing very differently. Since 2004 Estonian local governments have been a part of the European Union. The focus of this research is on addressing rural local governments. This research aims to explore is the developed model of social work practice accountable in the local governments of rural Estonia.

The research strategy utilised has been the collective case study including meta-data from earlier papers. I employed information-oriented selection: the cases with maximum variation by size and location (Luck, Jackson & Usher 2006). The data of the case study has been based on a mix of evidence; triangulation has been applied as a method to acquire the data. The focus of my research has been on finding out does the dual welfare practice of local governments has been accountable. I followed the editorial analysis style

by Stake. It tackles recent events and issues and attempts to formulate viewpoints based on an objective analysis of happenings and conflicting/contrary opinions.

Based on Joshi (2013), the four elements of accountability are: setting standards, getting information about actions, making judgments of appropriateness, and sanctioning unsatisfactory performance. In the post-communist society, there was no qualification required by a person filling the position of a social worker (Raudava 2020,2018, 2017). Accountability in social work requires two dimensions, professionalism, and the knowledge-based nature of social work practice (Borrero, Martens and Borrero 2014; The Encyclopaedia of Canadian Social Work 2005, 303; Tsui & Cheng 2009). Therefore, elements of professional legitimacy and public order should be explored in accountability in administrative social work.

## III. THE RESULTS OF RESEARCH

### 3.1 The public order

Responsibility for social welfare has been the jurisdiction of nation-states in the European Union. Local and central governments follow different rationales. While central governments must take responsibility for directing the nation, local government is primarily concerned with the public services affecting citizens in their everyday lives, whether it is providing refuse collection, road maintenance, or public social services.

In Estonia, the two laws, "The Social Welfare Act" and "The Local Government Organisation Act" (KOKS) list the social welfare obligations that are imposed on local governments. Local authorities are organised, and all matters of local life are resolved within the framework of the independent budget. The new law, “Local Government Finance Management Act” (passed 16.09.2010 RTI 2010, 72, 543; entry into force 1 January 2011(<http://www.legaltext.ee/text/en/2012Xo1.htm>), decreased the independence of the local government. However, the budget was restructured, and all local budgets are now part of the State’s budget. Subsidiarity means that all

responsibilities of public authorities are fulfilled by the authorities closest to the citizen. Principles relating to local government (particularly the principles of subsidiarity) are reflected in the European Union Constitutional Treaty.

Since the local municipalities interpret their responsibilities in the field of social welfare organization in very different ways, the Chancellor of Justice Demanded a legal analysis of the situation in 2002. Regarding guaranteeing basic rights to the citizens, the general rule is that according to the 14th Article of the Constitution, every holder of public authority has to take certain responsibilities (Annus, Aaviksoo 2002). Central authorities have at least two types of responsibilities: 1) Primary Welfare Responsibility and 2) Responsibility to Enhance and Promote Voluntary and Municipal Welfare Services (Const. § 28, 3). According to the Constitution, the responsibility for social welfare services is placed on local authorities. The local welfare services are not to be equated with voluntary welfare services, since the municipality is a representative of the public authority (Annus, Aaviksoo 2002). The local government is convinced to be the main agent in the field of social welfare, especially in solving the problems of the availability of social services.

### *3.2 The Central-State benefits*

Accorded to data, the type of state-centred practice refers to the state's decentralized duties. The local government administers subsistence benefits, disabled children benefit, and since 2014, the need-based (income-based) family benefit. The subsistence benefit is a form of state assistance for those in difficulty that is paid by the local government, administering the subsistence benefits is the most important task from State budget.

State`s Welfare law and regulations control when and how welfare recipients' basic needs will be met (income-based control). In 2014, the first time, the Supreme Court of Estonia has publicized assessment to the subsistence benefit: "The limit of subsistence benefit is not comparable to the statistical minimum of

manageable income" (<http://www.nc.ee/?id=1479>). In 2023, the estimated subsistence minimum of 303.40 euros was the smallest amount that can cover the daily needs of a single-member household, i.e. a person living alone for 30 days, and is also the limit of absolute poverty.

### *3.3 The local-centred practice refers to the local government's own established practice.*

The local governmental social welfare is the distribution of various types of social benefits, where the social benefits are separated for two standards:

- 1) The benefit enrolled of characteristics; the applicant has qualified as the term for example, the status (pupil, single, or disability); the age, the date (Christmas, the birthday) or the act (funeral);
- 2) The benefit is related to the level of income; the applicant has qualified as the situation of poor or crises; support to bear special care expenses for elderly and disabled people who are registered residents of the respective municipality.

For the individual level, it does help alleviate deep impoverishment only, the value of local benefits established at 20-100 € per applicant. In this situation, the question arises, Is the provision of financial support justified activity as postmodern-day perceptions or it does not? The social benefits are paid out from the budgets of local governments; thus the range of social benefits reflects directly the social policy of the respective municipality.

- 3) Decentralised social services (social services provided from the state budget) do not exist in the local government. Local social services are for example, home service, day centre). Under the Social Welfare Act, the local government is required to provide 13 social services, in addition to which other social services may be organised. The offered social services are not addressed in a systematic way that would result in a more individual approach to the client. The social worker intervenes or influences, but it allows the social worker to remain impassive or to focus on



areas that seem to be more inspiring from his/her point of view. Direct face-to-face client work, which is one of the main methods of social work, was not described by "The Social Welfare Act" since 1997- 2024.

The list of social services, which is an obligation for local governments, has practically not changed since 2010. While the service standards for 13 social welfare services have been established by the Social Insurance Board (2018), the criteria for local social benefits have been established by local governments themselves.

The basis of social work practice includes an understanding of the process of identification and development of the client system that is adapted to work with individuals and families. Universal provision of social services in rural local governments does not yet exist. However, financial benefits and social services are not available to all at-risk groups. The responsibility of public agents is to guarantee the citizens the opportunity to receive necessary social services from the local government. It must be regarded as the responsibility of local government to synchronize information and plan activities following the European and state framework of laws and social policy. The right to receive assistance comes from the constitution, and the exercising of this right should not depend on the region and local authority, where the individual or the family lives. On the other hand, there are a small number of local residents who need the services, 1-2 people in the village. Inevitably, if the social services are only provided on the open market, then the people, who need the service, cannot afford the service.

### *3.4 Information about social services*

Public information aims to inform the local people about the opportunities of service available. Public information is a public duty, each local government is obligated to provide information. All information about local affairs required to be public has been published on the website of the local government. Free and easy public access to the information of the Government is guarantee to be a part of being accountable.

The situation has been very different during the research period when data collecting started. The following titles were used on websites: 'Social Care and Health Care', 'Social Care', and 'Social'. After reform, local governments must use the same web design and the terms of the use are "social work" or "social services." Beginning in the 21st century, most local governments used the term "social care" or "social work." However, information is difficult to find because foreign terminals and complex sentences are used.

Estonia is famous as a high-tech digital nation. The local governments have developed a procedure for applying for social benefits on the Internet. This affects the ability of the rural population to access social services or even to apply for social benefits. Although Estonia is considered a country with a high rate of internet use, the elderly and disabled people often do not have a computer or internet connection. Also, some single parents have had difficulties accessing the internet. Digital solutions could be an alternative but not made compulsory in the current circumstances. Estonian national progress remains inconsistent in this area.

### *3.5 Making judgements about appropriateness*

The challenge is the question for the social worker profession. Estonia has been dominated in recent history by the principle of collegial decision-making - boards or panels, where the board or panel total was formed by local residents; this continues in the 21st century. However, independent social worker positions did not exist in local governments previously.

Social commissions and the practice, in which decisions regarding the client will be made in the township government or town council, were the result. Currently, there is no explicit requirement that all civil servants in the social welfare department should have a social worker education. According to the data, the social affairs committee sees their responsibility to the public, since they are dealing with small communities. Thus, they do not let personal accusations arise against the social worker.

On the hand other, the framework of decisions in local government have prevented professional social work, the decision-making process regarding the clients is distributed among different levels, the practice damages the independence of the social worker, and the social worker does not protect the rights of the client. The decision-making process of a case study is harmful to the client; social workers must protect the rights of clients.

The distribution of state benefits does not require a professional as the state sets conditions for calculating benefits based on mathematics: household income - expenses documented by accounting-type documents.

The distribution of various social benefits takes place in committees elected by residents. Therefore, unfortunately, I argue that the decision process at the client level is unaccountable in cases.

### 3.6 Assessment

Discuss for the control of local government, after the re-establishment of independence from the Soviet Union, county governments were restored; each county had a social department. During the early years, the county governments had their own independent budgets, which allocated money for the reconstruction of the social welfare system again; however, in each county, this was done differently. County governments took over the responsibility of administering nursing homes and children's homes, and as a representative of the state government, conducted supervision of local governments. The responsibilities and the opportunities of county governments have been steadily reduced over the years; the main role in the social field has now become control over the use of state budgetary funds. After the loss of county governments, the control was transferred to the Social Insurance Board. The substance benefit money is paid into the local budget from the State budget; the receipt of the funds is strictly regulated; the use of the funds is under the State's oversight. The subsistence benefit is incorporated, as a national support package, into the STAR (Social Affairs

Ministry) programs, which allows the use of the benefit to be more easy control.

The Ministry of Social Affairs has gathered statistics from local governments and providers of social services over the years. The IT "STAR" program launched in the winter of 2010, demands client work reports from social workers in addition to, statistical data and subsistence benefit calculations. The Ministry of Social Affairs compiles data to produce overall statistics but does not show the description of the situation on the ground. The social workers have argued that the program requires too much attention, and they do not have time for face-to-face client work. The bureaucracy has increased, but at the same time can not describe the positive impact on everyday local practice.

During the long period between 2002- 2011 there was no consistent public control over the social services of local government. The National Audit Office of Estonia published two reports in 2012: "Assumptions for Provision of Public Services in Small and Remote local authorities" and "Child Welfare and Child Protection as Local Government Functions need more specific rules".

As for the evaluation and assessment of the output of social services in the local government, the framework of the *social worker/social affairs committee* and *council/municipal council* is responsible for evaluation. However, the practice of evaluation is not accountable, and a detailed overview is laid out as the next item. The standards and certificates for the field of social work or social care are non-existent; therefore, control does not exist for social services in the local government.

## IV. DISCUSSION

The ideological stream, New Public Management (NPM), emphasized the use of market mechanisms in the public sector to make managers and providers more responsive and accountable. Today's public agencies must demonstrate that they value diversity, understand and respect diverse cultures, and plan and provide culturally relevant and responsive

programs and services (Chow & Austin 2008). Therefore, the public organizations must be accountable. From the perspective of social work, accountability could be viewed through the interaction between professionalism and social work practice (Borrero, Martens, and Borrero 2014; Tsui & Cheng 2009; The Encyclopaedia of Canadian Social Work 2005, 303). As stated in Thomas (2013), accountability in social work means being obliged and responsible to others.

Social work can be defined in relationship with social welfare where the administration of social work transforms into human services. The practice of social work in Europe relates to social policies, depending on local history and traditions. The development of social work in Estonia has impacts from the first period of Estonian independence; from the experiences of the “Old Europe” and the Soviet period (Raudava 2013). The central government has decentralized most of all social welfare duties to the local government. Thus, at the beginning of the 21st century, Estonia's main public social welfare organizer was the local government. They have been a part of the European Union since 2004. The low state support combined with neoliberal ideology, the unclear duties, and the major contrast between regional economic environments have been important challenges in local governments. The social services have linked to social welfare budget (*de jure*, the local budget is part of the state's budget).

Social work was and always will be, a human rights occupation (Healy 2008). Human rights are integral to social work theory and practice. Human rights have been the declarative power concerning the legal system. The declarative situation changed when human rights and social services became legally binding in the European Union. Estonia is associated with the European legislation aimed to protect human and fundamental rights. Following the basic principle of the legal system where higher-level law is superior to lower-level law, the state's legal framework should conform to the European orders where the European laws regulate the rights of citizens.

Social work practice is based on the process of identifying and developing a client system that is tailored to work with individuals, families, and the community. According to the Estonian Social Welfare Act, target groups are children, people with disabilities, the elderly, prisoners freed, and people with emergency social needs. The core characteristics of local social welfare are the following: a) social benefits from the local budget; b) local social care services; and c) face-to-face services offered by the local social worker.

It is important to recognize that both the nature and purposes of social work are constructed within diverse social and political environments and take rather different forms in different societies. The foundation of practice in social work includes an understanding of the process of identification and development of the client system - it is adapted to work with individuals, families, groups, and communities. In their work, the social worker focuses on three main aspects: 1) definition of the client's needs (Coulshed & Orme 2006, 43); 2) contribution to the maintenance of social institutions; and 3) contribution to the preservation of the community (Payne 2005, 25) while ensuring the protection of the client. In other words, social workers act on micro, meso, and macro levels (Brueggemann 2005). The client system is the collection of people that the social worker is assigned to help.

Changing contexts of social work practice has given the place to fully involve service users and carers in delivering better and safer outcomes.

The procedure for obtaining social benefits needs to be more thought through and the distribution needs to be more accountable, only then can mutually trust and balance in the community be maintained.

A service user-led and relation-focused approach is an essential point in the discussion of accountability. This requires the local government to work effectively with people and families to make the most of their emotional and practical assets as well as access the social services and support they need. On the other hand, the users

as co-producers take up their civic roles as members of communities by cooperating with service managers and professionals or by building their services (Munday 2007).

Accountability in social work requires two dimensions, professionalism, and the knowledge-based nature of social work practice (Borrero, Martens and Borrero 2014; The Encyclopaedia of Canadian Social Work 2005, 303; Tsui & Cheng 2009). According to the results of early research, however, in the post-communist society, the local government did not have an official requirement for a professional social worker (Raudava 2018). From 2024, a requirement has been established that a social work official working in a local government must have a professional education.

The question concerns the extent to which local governments should be responsible for ensuring that citizens' needs are met and how they should achieve this objective. Further, the main question is, how the knowledge about the value and goals of social work transfers into daily practice through understanding the contemporary rights of the EU citizenry and how to ensure the constitutional right of every citizen to receive the public benefit from a local government in case of need.

## V. CONCLUSION

The focus of social work is on promoting social change; the social work profession contributes to social change – there are a multitude of intervention domains depending on the subject problem area. According to van de Luitgaarden (2009, 39, 249), the criteria in social work practice are unique, they cannot be turned into objective numeric values. Its uniqueness makes weighing the results - as well as establishing functional relationships between criteria - impossible. Because these steps are necessary in analytical approaches, major social work decisions refer to intuition rather than analysis.

Accountability of social welfare involves laws, scientific knowledge, and, without forgetting the values of social work.

Like in the other European countries, the actual challenge of the Estonian public discussion is how the complex governance system where the national state with local governments shared the responsibility provides the public services. In particular, the controversial conversion of citizens into clients has led to a radical conceptual change in the provision of services and participation in European Social Welfare. In the new three level state, the client-centered paradigm of social welfare should rise into focus. There exist still many clashes with the European Social Model where local governments have either misunderstood their responsibility or have not sufficiently fulfilled their obligations. On hand other, local citizens can participate in the development of services only through local social policy.

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# Discourse of the Space Identity of Poverty & Social Protection in Urban Space (As a Study of Urban Slums and Shanty Dwellers in Colombo District, Sri Lanka)

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## RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Over the last decade there has been a growing emphasis on utilizing social protection as a policy framework to tackle poverty and vulnerability in developing nations. An increasing multitude of governments in developing nations are formulating and embracing comprehensive national social protection strategies as part of their initiatives to alleviate poverty. The implementation of social protection policies and programs in developing nations is rapidly expanding both in quantity and coverage, marking a significant increase in their reach and impact. From a qualitative standpoint, this study emphasizes the critical role of public spaces in alleviating poverty-related feelings in Vision 2030 and social housing at the scale of urban form. Flourishing individuals is one of the domains of community well-being (VanderWeele, 2019).

*Keywords:* case study, human rights, human services, rural social work, access to services, accountability.

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## I. RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Over the last decade there has been a growing emphasis on utilizing social protection as a policy framework to tackle poverty and vulnerability in developing nations. An increasing multitude of governments in developing nations are formulating and embracing comprehensive national social protection strategies as part of their initiatives to alleviate poverty. The implementation of social protection policies and programs in developing nations is rapidly expanding both in quantity and coverage, marking a significant increase in their reach and impact. From a qualitative standpoint, this study emphasizes the critical role of public spaces in alleviating poverty-related feelings in Vision 2030 and social housing at the scale of urban form. Flourishing individuals is one of the domains of community well-being (VanderWeele, 2019). Poverty, well-being and social protection are not just temporary subsistence needs. According to the United Nations website, about a quarter of the world's urban residents live in slums or informal settlements. Space, especially in developing countries, is a public space with social, security, economic and political crises and problems. A variety of patterns of change can be identified in relation to the social protection and poverty of the people living in the slums and shanty dwellers in the urban space of the Asian region. The complexities of poverty in urban settings are frequently examined through lenses including access to food, food insecurity, economic

development, human capital, and evaluating the role of agriculture concerning the process of urbanization (Jonah & May, 2020).

Yet, in examining poverty and social protection within urban landscapes, it becomes apparent that the exploration of variable relationships within this space is confined. The nature or shape of urban space is not simply a matter of geography or identity. It is an identity or combination of economic and political elements extending to a wide range. Social challenges emerge from the interplay of economic and political forces in operation within this context.

Various programs for social protection and poverty in Sri Lanka's urban space are implemented based on a number of criteria. But the problem is that social protection programs are structured into the urban space (especially slums, shanty dwellers and tenements) it cannot be categorized as political, economic, policy or social. Conceptually, the social protection programs intended for poverty alleviation often function with objectives rooted in insurance or managerial frameworks. Therefore, social protection in urban space is not only centered on the three main terms and concepts of urban poverty, social housing, and public space (Abusaada & Elshater, 2023). It can be recognized as a collection of mechanisms or systems entrenched within a broad economic, political, and social spatial context, operating in conjunction with these fundamental concepts.

Accordingly, why is the urban space, (including slums, shanties, or flats,) consistently excluded or marginalized from social protection schemes and

poverty alleviation programs, despite the implementation of various social protection initiatives through the intervention of the Sri Lankan government? When considering about the research objectives, it is expected to study the space identity represented by the social protection programs operating in the urban space, as well as the political and economic relationship and bias within the social protection programs. And also, the extensive exploration is geared toward unraveling the political, economic, and social facets embedded within the structural framework of spatial organization.

the main research areas: 'Mattakkuliya - 60 Watta' area, 'Dematagoda – Wanathamulla' in the Colombo district, representative of urban spaces. With the intention of conducting a comparative study of the social protection process, emphasis is also placed on rural areas, particularly the 'Okkampitiya' village in the Monaragala district. Nevertheless, the two major research areas are represented within the urban space. The research sample comprises 80 respondents selected through random sampling method. The sample is stratified based on age groups to ensure representation of both men and women.

## II. RESEARCH METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

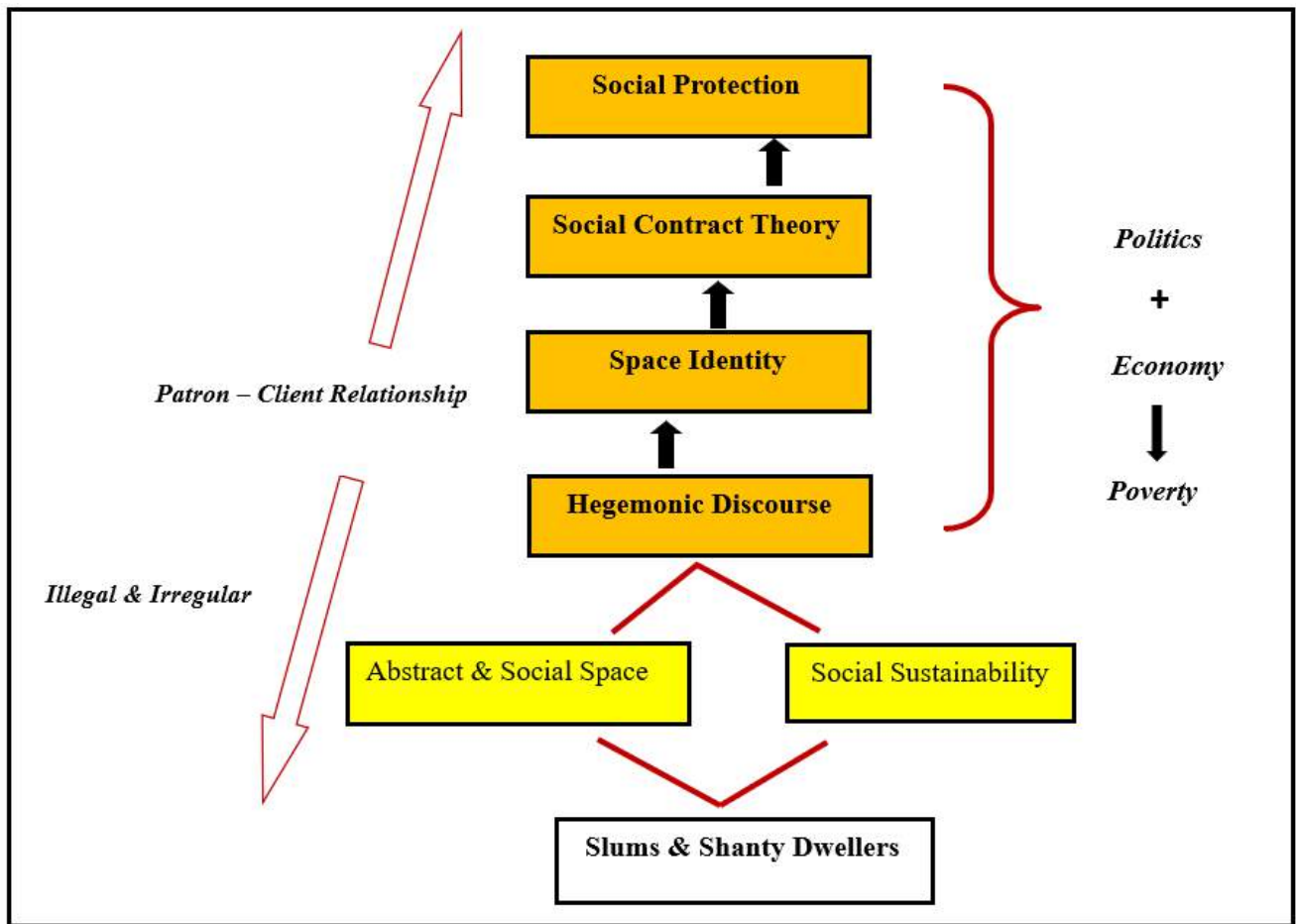
Data is anticipated to be gathered through both qualitative and quantitative methods, focusing on

Research Field	18 – 29		30 – 45		45 – 60		60 <	
Mattakkuliya – 60 Watta	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05
Dematagoda- Wanathamulla	05	05	05	05	05	05	05	05

Research methods such as participatory observations and focus group discussions (FGS) are utilized to gather data in the research areas. Regarding social protection and poverty, it is expected to collect data through the key informative interviews (KII) and discussions for the respondents who will be involved in the research, representing the government and various political parties (government officials, politicians, non-governmental organizations and officials of the Colombo Municipal council). The Secondary data has gathered from books, published research papers, academic journals, Central Bank reports, Colombo municipal council reports and newspapers. The researcher analyzed the dataset using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and Microsoft Office Excel. Theoretical approaches employed include concepts of abstract space and social space of Henry Lefebvre, Neo-liberalism, Capitalism, Concept of Social Sustainability, Patron-Client Relationship, Social – Contract Theory, and Hegemonic Discourse. A conceptual framework

can be developed based on existing practical scenarios and theories.

## Conceptual Frame Work



This conceptual framework is utilized to study the impact of space on the social protection and poverty of people living in slums and shanty dwellers in the urban space. That is, the effect (positive/negative) of space identity on inclusion or exclusion (marginalization) through social protection (social protection programs) is examined. It is also expected to investigate the impact of numerous political and economic variables on poverty. Ultimately, through the conceptual framework it is hoped to examine the spatial identity and the nature of patron-client relationship maintained in social protection and poverty.

### III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Social protection in urban space involves more than just offering solutions to poverty or providing temporary benefits. It is at times a

complex and problematic social need, requiring consideration of multiple aspects of deprivation beyond low and variable income. including poor quality and overcrowded housing; inadequate water supply and sanitation; inadequate access to basic services such as health care and child-care; high prices for necessities such as food; voicelessness and powerlessness within local political and bureaucratic structures; and also 'limited or no safety nets for those with inadequate incomes' (Satterthwaite and Mitlin, 2013).

Through the concept of social sustainability, emphasis is placed on creating a background for individuals and communities to live healthily and contentedly (Rogers et al., 2012). Housing, health, education, services, etc. are interpreted in terms of creating a healthy environment that supports social relations among communities and ensuring



the rights to satisfy basic needs in their living environments ((Woodcraft et al., 2011). Consequently, social protection can be interpreted not only as a fundamental element of social sustainability but also as a tool and measure of its success. Consistently, it is obvious that social protection has a wide impact on social, economic and sustainability in urban space, all of which can be realized in practice through physical spaces and built forms (Keivani, 2010).

(Chan and Lee, 2008) extracted six factors that extensively interpret the effect of urban form of social sustainability. These include satisfaction with welfare requirements, conservation of resources and the surroundings, creation of harmonious living environment, provision facilitating day life operations, form of development and availability of open space (Peiris,2022). Accordingly, it is important to conduct a comprehensive study regarding the factors such as the satisfaction of the welfare needs of the urban space as well as the form of development and the amount of open space in a study related to social protection. The two fields selected to represent the urban space of the Colombo district comprise spaces characterized by distinct physical, economic, and social variables. The only shared attribute between these two areas is that both have consistently experienced marginalization through social protection policies and programs. The Colombo district holds a distinctive role in the electoral politics in Sri Lanka, among them locations of slums and shanty dwellers are also distinctive.

There is a challenge in categorizing the residents of these slums and shanty dwellers as permanent residents of the area. As disclosed by the research field, a significant majority of the respondents face difficulties in providing proof of residence. In Sri Lanka's existing social security system and policies, the government's full intervention, partial intervention or even the social protection programs that are carried out through the intervention of non-governmental organizations, get the necessary support through the Sri Lankan government. Permanent residence is utilized as a main condition even in programs such as

Samurdhi beneficiary scheme, Janasaviya, Elderly Allowances, Kidney Allowances, World Aid, but also in Plan Sri Lanka which are implemented for the social protection of children (Samurdhi Beneficiary Scheme report, 1995 & Central Bank Report, 2019). If there are problems with permanent residence, consideration will be given to enrolling in such social protection programs using the Electoral roll. However, even though the widely recognized social protection program Samurdhi beneficiary scheme, the residents of urban space continue to face marginalization. Why are the urban people who do not have a permanent source of income or land, property, or vehicles to live on continuously excluded from social protection?

“We are settled down near the Modara river. I have three daughters. But there is no door to the house. And also, we have not received any protection from the government. Even though the officials come to collect details every year, they do not approve anything because we are not permanent residents. However, we have been living here for 16 years now. We will vote in every election for various political parties.”<sup>1</sup>

This is the living condition and explanation of the vast majority living not only in ‘Mattakkuliya’ and ‘Wanathamulla’ but also in slums and shanty dwellers of urban space in the Colombo district. Space is the primary reason/factor for excluding them from social protection. Just as everyday life has been colonized by capitalism, as Henry Lefebvre explains through the concept of the production of space, so too has its location - social space (Lefebvre, 1997).

Theoretically and conceptually, social space is classified according to class structure. social space is allocated as demonstrated by class and social planning reproduces the class structure, this is either on the basis of an abundance of space for the rich and two little for the poor, or because of uneven development in the quality of places, or indeed both, like all economies the political

<sup>1</sup> In a discussion (FGD) with a 38-year-old mother residing in ‘Mattakuliya – 60 Watta’ area

economy of space is based on the idea of scarcity (Forrest, Henderson & Williams, 1982). It is evident that the social space in which urban people live is a classified and marginalized (abstract) space. This is the marginalized

(abstract) space of Colombo's urban social space, which contains very beautiful and orderly architectural designs. They also have no rights to social protection in the capitalist economic consumption system. This can be further analyzed through the field data;

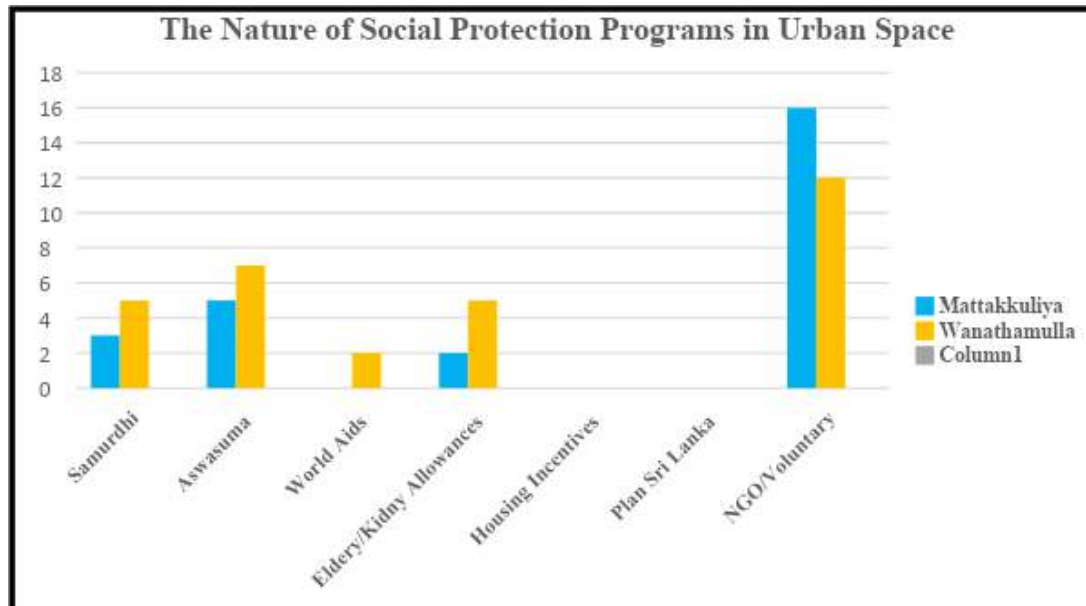


Figure 01: The Nature of Social Protection Programs in Urban Space (FDG, 2023)

While researching social protection in urban areas, it becomes evident that respondents face marginalization even through fundamental and public social protection programs like Samurdhi beneficiary scheme. In the midst of the ongoing economic crisis, a majority of people have also experienced marginalization through a new social protection program called ‘Aswasuma,’ implemented based on the recommendations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Some degree of protection was afforded by non-governmental or voluntary organizations, with the ‘Sarvodaya’ movement being a prominent program/scheme among them. Additionally, it is apparent that even children receiving education did not receive any social protection (for examples; ‘Plan Sri Lanka’, ‘Samurdhi – Diriya Daruwo’).

According to the Central Bank Report (2022), there are 52 lakhs families in Sri Lanka, of which nearly 16 lakhs have participated in the ‘Samurdhi’ program. The number of beneficiaries

in the ‘Aswasuma’ program is almost 20 lakh, surpassing Samurdhi program. More than 70% of the Samurdhi security system beneficiaries are covered by the insurance scheme (Presidential Secretariat Report, 2023). Nevertheless, from the opinions of the people in these two research fields, it is confirmed that very few people are included in the ‘Aswasuma’ program. During the discussion with the Grama Niladhari of the Mattakkuliya - 60 Watta area, it was revealed that the ‘majority of the people in this area are residing here illegally, and information regarding social protection has been obtained from some families who have confirmed their residence.’ However, it was clear from the discussions that the government officials also lack understanding regarding the real problems there.

Cities has always been “centers of conflict, change and transformation”, cities can be crucibles where new politics can be constructed and emerge (Harvey, 2014). Consistently, cities can be identified as a space where even human

relationships are recreated, and social protection is the main force for changing the lifestyles of the people in the marginalized (Abstract) space. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the social protection of the urban space is controlled by the electoral politics and the capitalist economic system in Sri Lanka.

Despite the fundamental issue of the permanent residence of people in this space, they participate

in every election according to the electoral register/ electoral roll. As demonstrated by the responders, politicians representing different parties visit their area at the beginning of each election. Nonetheless, they experience marginalization (exclusion) through social protection programs because spatial identity becomes politicized through hegemonic dominance. It can be discussed more analytically with the data below;

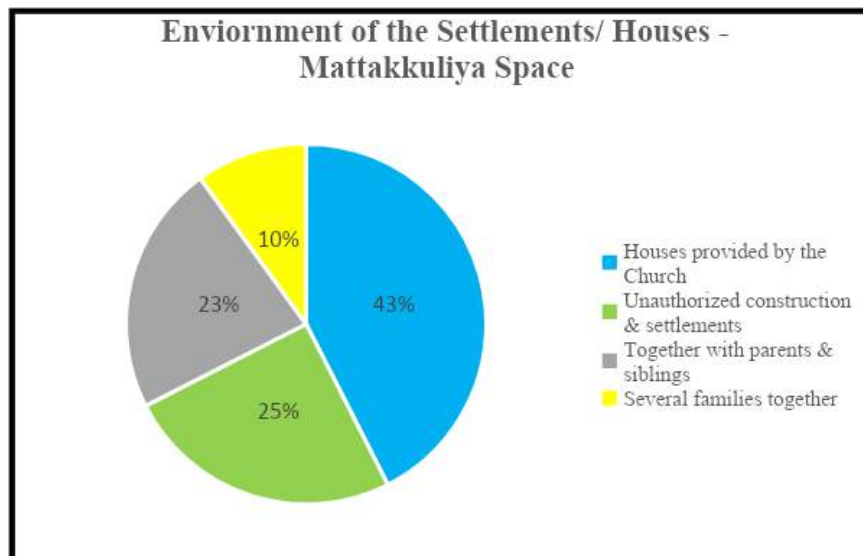


Figure 02: Environment of the settlements – Mattakkuliya Space (FDG, 2023)

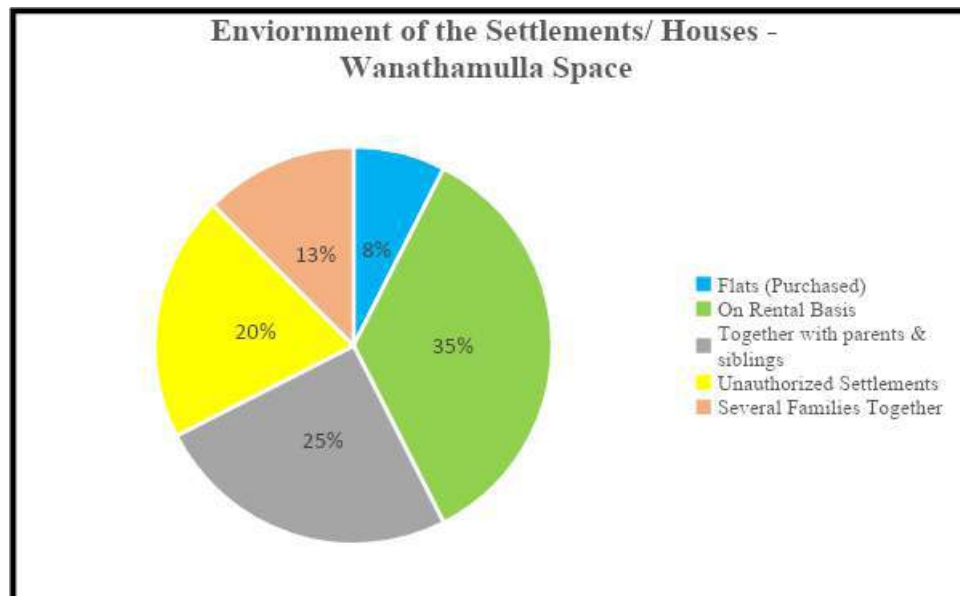


Figure 03: Environment of the settlements – Wanathamulla Space (FDG, 2023)

Different variables can be identified when studying the settlements in Mattakkuliya and Wanathamulla areas. There are slums and shanty dwellers in the 60 Watta area of Mattakkuliya, while there are more flats than slums and shanties in Wanathamulla area. But conceptually, the conditions here are similar. That is, their living space is arranged in such a way that the basic needs or rights are not confirmed in a limited space. Due to this problem, social sustainability is widely challenged because a number of social, political and economic challenges are structured in that space. In Sri Lankan capitalist economic system, the patron-client relationship is the chain that connects politics and the economy, and through the patron-client relationship spatial identity is determined and social protection is controlled through it. Nonetheless, space is the driving force in linking social protection to a positive background in rural space as compared to the urban space. That is, areas that show more criteria of poverty socially are classified as areas in need of social protection through spatial identity. The economic value of such areas is low compared to urban space.

In the face of an election, temporary benefits (money, packets of foods) instead of social security of social protection schemes in the urban space are provided by the political authority with the intervention of the capitalist economic system (businessmen). Capitalist economy gives it the full support it needs because of the intrinsic value of urban space. One of the reasons why capitalism has survived into the twentieth century is because of its flexibility in constructing and reconstructing the relations of space and Global space economy, in constructing the world market (Lefebvre, 1976). Consistently, there is a politics of space because space is political (Lefebvre, 1976). As a consequence, the relationships produced and reproduced through space are a crucial political issue. Accordingly, space is not only a social and political product (Lefebvre, 1976). An economic value is attributed through its existing social and political nature. Economic value is determined based on the patron-client relationship that exists in the capitalist economic system. It is obvious that they continue to be ostracized (marginalized) through social protection due to spatial identity,

which is the strongest problem facing the people of the urban space.

One of the integral parts of sustainable development is eradicating poverty by increasing the social and economic well-being of people (Mustafa et al. 2021). Eradicating poverty is crucial for sustainable development as it ensures equal access to resources, opportunities, and fundamental human rights for all individuals. But it is apparent that space negatively affects the deprivation of social protection in Sri Lankan cities. If they are residing illegally or informally, it is the responsibility of the political authority to prepare a formal policy framework for it. In Sri Lankan ongoing electoral politics, no government that comes to power will try to introduce such a policy or develop existing policies.

Living in the church houses is the main reason why the people living in the houses provided by the church in Mattakuliya area are not enrolled in a social protection program. Respondents express the opinion that this situation even affects the provision of basic needs such as water to the homes (FGD,2023). The final result of basic social protection programs without governmental intervention is that it affects the people in a negative way. It can be mentioned that the categorization of social protection by classifying the spatial identity in terms of religion and ethnicity is a unique aspect of the current Sri Lankan electoral politics.

According to Lefebvre (2001), 'the right to the city' is the right to a transformed and renewed urban life. People living in the urban space have the right to escape the socially, politically and economically backward life. Nonetheless, the main challenge here is the existing patron-client relationship between Sri Lanka's electoral politics and capitalist (neoliberal) economic system. For that reason, social protection policies and programs are structured around that relationship. The current political system has managed to assess the voting base of the urban space by utilizing the commercial value of the space. Further, the people living in the urban space have the right to produce the city, the right to enjoy, what does it produce? And how? (Marcuse, 2012). It is evident that there is no right to decide about.



It can be stated that such rights are only conceptually and theoretically owned, but in practice, the urban spatial identity is controlled through the current political phenomenon/system.

Therefore, it is clear that these areas continue to be marginalized through social protection programs, which are the main force in establishing social sustainability in the urban space. It appears that the political authority controls these spaces in such a way that the issue of permanent residence is not relevant to elections. It is therefore apparent that social protection in the urban space is a key tool for controlling the patron-client relationships structured within the political and economic frameworks.

#### IV. CONCLUSION

Urban society or space is a bureaucratic society of sometimes controlled consumption (Lefebvre, 2003). Addressing the social, economic and political challenges and problems surrounding it is extremely important to develop the social sustainability in the urban space. This is because people living in slums and shanty dwellers in urban space face harsh experiences related to poverty and social protection.

Lefebvre (2003) names one area of the urban space as the areas that do not have a place and are looking for their own place in the urban space; “the non-place that has no place and seeks a place of its own” (U-topic). Consistently, slums and shanty dwellers has represented that sector. Slums and shanty dwellers are symbols of that ‘U-topic’ space. Exploring the abstraction of urban space from the process of social protection was done through the research, and thus it is obvious that the urban space is an area excluded from social protection.

It is evident that social protection in urban space is influenced by political and economic variables. In other words, social protection is regulated through various components of the capitalist economic system and the electoral politics and also hegemonic politics of the political system. It is clear that it is most practically done through the

patron-client relationship maintained through this dual system.

Urban space, specifically slums and shanty dwellers, faces numerous problems and crises related to spatial identity. Although the spatial identity of the people in this space is a basic challenge/problem of social protection, it is confirmed that it is not a challenge for electoral politics. That is, because spatial identity is utilized to create the background needed for elections and voting base through a social contract. Formulation of systematic policies to address the problems of irregularity or informality in settlements is the need of the hour. Nevertheless, it is apparent that excluding a certain area of the social space from social protection by naming it as an excluded (abstracted) space is not only a serious challenge to the rights of the people but also to social sustainability.

Correspondingly, it can be finally concluded that informal or irregular settlements in the urban space influence the challenges of social sustainability. The intensity of that influence is determined through hegemonic forces controlling spatial identity. That is, it is clear that the process takes place through the numerous variables of the political system and the economic system. Social protection is a major practical tool for reducing poverty and implementing and increasing social sustainability, for which it is important to prepare a systematic and formal economic and political policy framework. Also, it can be concluded that in order to confirm the social protection of the people who represent the marginalized space in the urban space, it is a need of the time to prepare a systematic program or scheme in a way that ensures equality, not just structuring the spatial identity to political and capitalist consumption methods or system.

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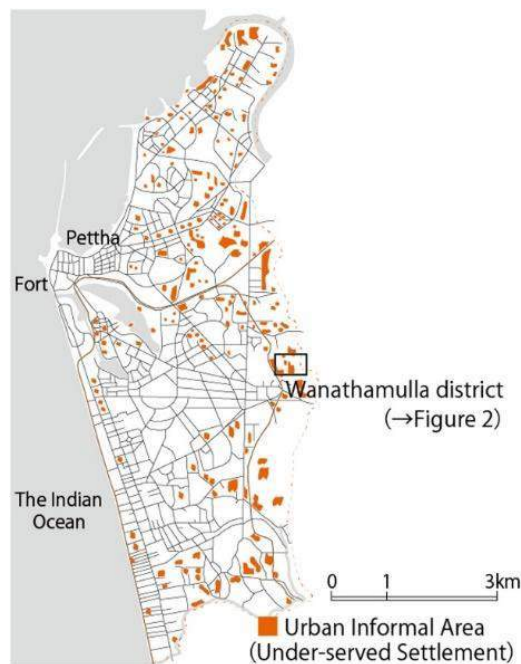
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Attachments – Research Fields

*Annexure 01: 'Mattakkuliya – 60 Watta' Urban Space*



*Annexure 02: 'Dematagoda – Wanathamulla' Urban Space*



Discourse of the Space Identity of Poverty & Social Protection in Urban Space (As a Study of Urban Slums and Shanty Dwellers in Colombo District, Sri Lanka)

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