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UNIVERSITE D'ANTANANARIVO



Université de Paris
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École doctorale 624 Sciences des Sociétés
Laboratoire Identités, cultures, territoires

Gender and Female Empowerment in
Malagasy Folktales and Oratory

Par Andriamasinalivao Rajaofera Beby Alyette
Thèse de doctorat de Genre et diversités

Dirigée par Florence Binard, Professeure des Universités, Université de Paris
Et Michel Razafiarivony, Professeur des Universités, Université d'Antananarivo

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Abstract

Gender relations in the Malagasy context are often conceptualised in terms of complementarity with a relative denial of the existence of overt male dominance and female oppression and a marked insistence on female superiority. Nevertheless, the diversity of the representations of gender relations in the different regions of Madagascar does not always reflect this generalised pattern, which points to the necessity of a contextual analysis of the representation of men and women and the power relations that structure their interactions. The present study focuses on the notions of masculinity and femininity as well as the power relations between men and women in a selection of Malagasy folktales that were written and published from the 19th century to the present and the contemporary performance of oratory discourses by orators from Antananarivo and Paris. Drawing on surveys and interviews with a selection of storytellers and orators, as well as the observation of storytelling and oratory performances, the study highlights the ways in which gender differences are translated into gender inequality, which tend to limit the possibilities for female empowerment. The main arguments that are presented in the research stress the prevalence of male dominance and female subordination as can be observed in the variety of the male and female characters' experiences in the selected folktales and the current experiences of female orators in the field of oratory performance. Two possible itineraries for female empowerment are explored based on contemporary storytellers' perceptions and representations of gender in their works and the audience's responses to the latter.

Keywords: masculinity, femininity, gender in-equality, empowerment, folktales, oratory

INTRODUCTION

Writing about the universality of folktales, American folklorist Stith Thompson says that one of the tangible evidences of “the ubiquity and antiquity of the folktale is the great similarity in the content of stories of the most varied peoples. The same tale types and narrative motifs are found scattered over the world in most puzzling fashion.”¹ Thompson goes on to say that “a recognition of these resemblances and an attempt to account for them brings the scholar to an understanding of the nature of human culture.”² Indeed, although various cultures present their distinctive characteristics, the common needs of various peoples which are expressed in folktales testify to the universality of some aspects of culture. The notion of gender difference, which usually translates into hierarchical gender relations, is one of the social cultural constructions which seems to characterize most societies. Indeed, in *The Science Question in Feminism*,³ American feminist philosopher Sandra Harding refers to the predominance of gender difference in most cultures. She contends that “gender difference is a pivotal way in which humans identify as persons, organize social relations, and symbolize meaningful natural and social events and processes.”⁴ In other words, gender difference permeates all social phenomena, ranging from identity construction to the structuring of social relations. Harding further maintains that “in virtually all cultures, whatever is thought of as manly is more highly valued than what is thought of as womanly.”⁵ This points to the concept of male superiority which stands at the root of asymmetrical gender power relations. This goes in line with French anthropologist and ethnologist Françoise Héritier’s concept of the “differential valence of the sexes [which] expresses a value-based, if not constantly hierarchical, relation between the

¹ Stith Thompson. *The Folktale*. New York: The Dryden Press, 1946. P. 6.

² Ibid.

³ Sandra Harding. *The Science Question in Feminism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.

⁴ Ibid. P. 18.

⁵ Ibid.

masculine and the feminine.”⁶ These views which suggest the inevitability of asymmetrical gender power relations prompt us to consider the extent to which concepts of masculinity and femininity in the Malagasy context contribute to the existence of gender inequality and asymmetrical gender power relations.

Background of the research: understanding the concept of gender in the Malagasy context

The literature that touches upon gender issues related to Malagasy men and women’s roles and statuses seem to acknowledge gender differences while refuting the concept of male superiority over the female. There is a dominant view that denounces the fallacy of the assumption that Malagasy women are inferior to men. Instead, there is a marked insistence on the existence of a complementary relation between the two sexes. Norwegian missionary Lars Vig, for instance, affirms in *Sur la femme malgache* that women’s inferior position is not flagrant in Malagasy society. He says that “[i]n contrast to what could unfortunately be noticed in other African populations, the Malagasy woman was not openly oppressed.”⁷ Vig, like other scholars who write about Madagascar, alludes to the prestigious status attributed to Malagasy women, especially those in the capital where he conducted his mission. Malagasy anthropologist Malanjaona Rakotomalala precisely talks about Merina women’s superior position in his groundbreaking book on Merina sexuality, *A Coeur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*.⁸ Rakotomalala argues that “it is an error to say that, in several fields,

⁶ « La valence différentielle [...] exprime un rapport conceptuel orienté, sinon toujours hiérarchique, entre le masculin et le féminin. » Françoise Héritier. *Masculin/Féminin. La pensée de la différence*. Paris : Editions Odile Jacob, 1996. P. 24. (Translation mine).

⁷ “A la différence de ce que malheureusement l’on pouvait constater chez d’autres peuples en Afrique, la femme malgache n’était pas opprimée de façon ouverte.” Lars Vig, *Sur la femme malgache*. Antananarivo : Editions Teza Boky, 1994. [1907]. p.7. (Translation mine).

⁸ Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012.

woman is inferior to man in Malagasy society.”⁹ Instead, he claims that “there should be a certain balance between the two sexes: the political pertains to man and the educational to woman; if society is valued by men’s know-how, its customs are judged by women’s [...] capacity to manage the educational system.”¹⁰ This statement shows that gender differences translate into gendered division of labour, namely different responsibilities and spheres of intervention for men and women, which points to the limitation of women’s authority to the domestic sphere while men’s authority extends to the social sphere. Nevertheless, this gendered division of labour does not mean that women are inferior to men if we further consider Malanjaona Rakotomalala’s views on the social status and role attributed to men and women in Merina society. This author lists the expressions full of praise that are used for Malagasy women, namely, “princesses from heaven, moon spouse of the sun, the source from which we come, the precious bag in which we were wrapped, [the one] who leant by herself against the wall (alludes to the pains felt during pregnancy), [the one] who drank what they didn’t want to.”¹¹ Most of these expressions are used to praise women’s capacity to fit into their biological functions as mothers and to display the qualities of selflessness and self-sacrifice that are admired in Malagasy women.¹² The author of *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)* refers to another situation which reflects the complex role played by Merina women, and thus disproves their presumed inferiority. He mentions the fact that women can play a masculine role when they are the only female child in the family. These women are

⁹ « C’est une erreur de dire que dans plusieurs domaines, la femme est inférieure à l’homme dans la société malgache. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 144. (Translation mine).

¹⁰ « Il devrait y avoir un certain équilibre entre les deux sexes : le politique revient à l’homme, l’éducationnel à la femme ; si la société s’estime à travers le savoir-faire des hommes, ses mœurs se jugent par le savoir-faire des femmes, leur capacité à gérer le système éducationnel. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹ « ‘Princesses du ciel,’ ‘lune épouse du soleil,’ ‘source d’où l’on provient,’ précieux ‘sacs dans lesquels on était enveloppé,’ ‘se sont adossées seules au mur,’ ‘ont bu des breuvages qu’elles n’aimaient pas.’ » Ibid. Pp. 144, 145. (Translation mine).

¹² Jacqueline Ravelomanana refers to « the stoic attitude of the Malagasy woman who tries not to cry nor complain while delivering a baby. » [L’attitude stoïque de la femme malgache qui, au moment d’accoucher, essaie de ne pas crier ni de se plaindre]. Jacqueline Ravelomanana. *Histoire de l’éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVIe au milieu du XXe siècle*. Imarivolanitra : Editions Antso, 1996. P. 51. (Translation mine).

referred to as “mitomban-daha” or “resembling a man”¹³ in that they “enjoy the same rights as their brothers but also men’s rights as husbands: married, they consider themselves as the head of the household.”¹⁴ This leads Rakotomalala to the conclusion that “Merina society exalts virility in its physical as well as its social dimension. It seems natural for them that this double game pertains to men, but it is more admirable when a woman manages to play the more intricate social role.”¹⁵ In other words, women gain their elevated status from the complex role that they play, which involves being the “guardians of good conduct,”¹⁶ as well as endorsing male responsibilities when needed or when appropriate. This accounts for the fact that “a cross-dressing male or effeminate man, ‘sarimbavy,’ ‘resembling a woman,’ is the object of teasing [whereas] the ‘sarindaha,’ ‘resembling a man’[...] is more or less valued.”¹⁷ This tolerance for “masculine” women as opposed to the reluctance to accept “effeminate” men somehow points to the “differential value of the sexes” whereby masculinity is valued more than femininity since both sexes are valued with reference to their capacity to embody masculine standards.

Malagasy myths¹⁸ also highlight the prestigious status attributed to women. In *La femme malgache en Imerina au début du XXI^e siècle*,¹⁹ Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo, a Malagasy lecturer at the Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO), refers to the prestigious roles and status attributed to women in Malagasy myths. Considering the crucial role played by the daughter of Zanahary in the introduction of rice in Madagascar in the tale “Zatovo qui n’a pas été crée par Dieu,” Andrianjafitrimo affirms that “this character is really a

¹³ « *Mitomban-daha*, ‘ressemblent à un homme.’ » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 151. (Author’s italics; translation mine).

¹⁴ « Jouissent des droits des frères mais aussi des hommes en tant que maris ; mariées, elles se considèrent comme le chef de ménage. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁵ « La société merina exalte la virilité aussi bien dans sa dimension physique que sociale. Il lui paraît naturel que ce double jeu revienne à l’homme, mais elle est beaucoup plus admirative quand c’est une femme qui arrive à jouer le rôle plus délicat du social. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁶ « Gardiennes des bonnes mœurs. » Ibid. P. 150. (Translation mine).

¹⁷ « Le travesti masculin ou l’homme efféminé, sarimbavy, ‘semblant-de-femme,’ fait l’objet de moqueries, la sarindaha, ‘semblant-d’homme ... est plus ou moins valorisée. » Ibid. P. 151. (Translation mine).

¹⁸ See R.P Callet’s *Tantara ny Andriana eto Madagasikara Tome I*. Antananarivo: Imprimerie officielle, 1908.

¹⁹ Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo. *La femme malgache en Imerina au début du XXI^e siècle*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2003.

civilizing hero. She is a civilizing heroine who provides rice, the vital cereal in Madagascar.”²⁰

The same author reflects on the important status held by women in matrilineal social organizations that emphasize uxori-local residence patterns as is illustrated by the tale of Ranoro, a female figure in Malagasy oral literature known as a mermaid who marries an earthly man. She refers to the version of the tale analyzed by French ethnologist Paul Ottino in *L'étrangère intime. Essai d'anthropologie de la civilisation de l'ancien Madagascar. Tome II*, whereby the female protagonist Ranoro says to her suitor Andriambodilova, “I am not leaving this place, because I am not allowed to leave my land: but if you want me for wife, well, come here on the western bank.”²¹ This, in the same author’s terms, “puts the emphasis on uxori-locality.”²²

These views underline the prestigious roles and status associated to women while tracing their evolution within a patriarchal Malagasy society. It should be noted, however, that Andrianjafitrimo herself acknowledges the shift from matrilineal social organization towards a patrilineal system even though she singles out the advantageous position held by women in such a structure. Her interpretation of the tale of Imitsoanala²³ illustrates this point. The author maintains that “monogamy is presented as a fundamental female conquest that the wife offers in exchange for giving away matrilocality.”²⁴ In other words, monogamy is the post condition for the female character’s acceptance of the patrilocal residence pattern entailed by her marriage. It means that even if Imitsoanala consents to leave her mother’s house and adhere

²⁰ “Ce personnage est un véritable héros civilisateur. C’est une héroïne civilisatrice qui fournit le riz, la céréale majeure malgache. » Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo. *La femme malgache en Imerina au début du XXI^e siècle*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2003. P. 28. (Translation mine).

²¹ « Moi, je ne partirai pas d’ici car je n’ai pas le droit d’abandonner ma terre ; mais si vous me voulez, eh bien ! venez ici sur la rive de l’ouest. » Ottino dans Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo. Ibid. P. 31. (Translation mine).

²² « M[et] l’accent sur l’uxori-localité. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²³ The tale features a girl, Imitsoanala, who was mothered by a bird, Vorombe. Upon seeing her, a king, Andriambahoaka, is struck by her beauty and wants to marry her. Imitsoanala accepts to marry him and follows him to his village. However, her mother pursues them and removes her eyes and skin as a punishment for her elopement. Meanwhile, Imitsoanala has to compete with the two other wives of the king before she becomes his only wife. Her mother helps her to succeed in doing so by giving her back her eyes and her skin.

²⁴ « [Cette] monogamie est présentée comme une conquête féminine fondamentale que l’épouse offre en échange de l’abandon de la matrilocalité. » Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo. *La femme malgache en Imerina au début du XXI^e siècle*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2003. P. 32. (Translation mine).

to the patrilocal social organization imposed by her marriage, she maintains a significant position since she manages to become the only wife of Andriambahoaka.

Another perspective on Malagasy women's status is offered by former Malagasy Ambassador and Doctor of Laws Henri Raharijaona in his article "la femme, la société et le droit malgache."²⁵ Analyzing Malagasy women's status in the field of private law, this author highlights "the paradox that characterizes the situation of women in Malagasy society: an apparently modest role, in subdued aspects, even humble, [but] in reality a relative independence and most of the time a prominent role in the running of the household."²⁶ He comes to the same conclusion about the complementarity of the sexes when he says that

the distribution of the responsibilities and the tasks between husband and wife is conducted in a way that makes it complementary and balanced [...] Article 53 of the order n° 62-089 on 1 October 1962 on marriage attributes to the husband the role of head of the family while making it clear that the wife contributes with him to ensure the moral and material management of the family and the raising of the children.²⁷

Furthermore, Raharijaona reiterates the views that underline Malagasy women's authority in their quality of guardians of traditions and moral values. He refers to Malagasy academician and sociologist Zaïveline Ramarosaona's statement that "in a Malagasy family, the essential element is not man but woman, she is the one who transmits traditions, religious ideas, and education from generation to generation."²⁸ However, the author of "la femme, la

²⁵ Henri Raharijaona. « La femme, la société et le droit malgache. » *Annales de l'Université de Madagascar : Série Droit* vol. 4 (1967). P. 1 – 23.

²⁶ « Ce paradoxe qui caractérise la situation de la femme au sein de la société malgache : un rôle apparemment modeste, aux aspects effacés, voire humbles, en réalité une relative indépendance et le plus souvent un rôle prépondérant dans la marche du ménage. » Ibid. P.10. (Translation mine).

²⁷ « Le partage des responsabilités et des tâches entre l'époux et l'épouse est tel qu'elles se complètent et s'équilibrent [...] L'article 53 de l'ordonnance n° 62-089 du 1^{er} octobre 1962 sur le mariage donne au mari le rôle de chef de famille tout en précisant que la femme concourt avec lui à assurer la direction morale et matérielle de la famille et à élever les enfants. » ibid. Pp. 11, 13. (Translation mine).

²⁸ « Dans une famille malgache, l'élément principal n'est pas l'homme mais bien la femme, c'est elle qui transmet d'une génération à l'autre les traditions, les idées religieuses, l'éducation. » Zaïveline Ramarosaona in Henri Raharijaona. Ibid. P. 2. (Translation mine).

société et le droit malgache” also acknowledges that the status of Malagasy women varies depending on the contexts in which they live. Factors that contribute to this variation, in the same author’s view, include ethnicity, lifestyle and the social group’s degree of economic development. For instance, he notes that in the capital, “married women seem to be more independent than elsewhere, some [of them] work.”²⁹ Furthermore, commenting on daughters’ right to inheritance, he writes that in Merina and Tsimihety societies, “daughters have the right to inherit [...] in the same way as boys, [whereas] in other systems, namely the Bara and the Antaimoro, it seems that daughters are likely to be discarded at least from succession to estate.”³⁰ In other words, while women may enjoy a privileged status in some Malagasy societies, in others, they are subject to less favourable situations. Hence, it can be said that the prestigious status attributed to Malagasy women, in myths or in reality, is somehow controversial. Moreover, it would be misleading to focus on this single representation of women without considering the contextual factors that shape the images of Malagasy women in the different regions of Madagascar.

Interestingly, other scholars seem to contest the prestigious image of Malagasy women which is mainly prominent in Malagasy myths. For instance, Malagasy academician and psychosociologist Suzy Ramamonjisoa reveals the discrepancy between reality and myths as regards the representation of Malagasy women’s power, saying that “the privileged place of women exists not in daily life but first and foremost in institutional myths.”³¹ Similarly, Mireille Rabenoro, a Professor and researcher at the University of Antananarivo who specializes in gender studies, considers the myth about female power as “the weapon of antifeminism in

²⁹ « Les femmes mariées y paraissent plus indépendantes qu’ailleurs ; certaines travaillent. » Ibid. p. 14. (Translation mine).

³⁰ « Les filles ont vocation à hériter [...] dans les mêmes conditions que les garçons, dans d’autres systèmes, ceux du pays Bara et du pays Antaimoro notamment, semble-t-il, les filles sont susceptibles d’être écartées au moins de la succession immobilière. » Ibid. P. 22. (Translation mine).

³¹ Suzy Ramamonjisoa. « Empowerment of Women and Democracy in Madagascar. » *Review of African Political Economy* N° 58 (1993). P. 118. Accessed 3 Feb. 2020. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4006114.

Madagascar.”³² In her article, bearing the same title in French, “le mythe des femmes au pouvoir, arme de l’antiféminisme à Madagascar,” she explains that the myth about female power in Madagascar is based on the prejudice that since women have been on the throne for nearly a century during the precolonial era, it is useless to claim gender equality in favour of women.³³ However, building her argument on the discrepancy between the constancy of the human development index for Madagascar observed in the considerable improvement of women’s condition, especially in terms of access to education, and the irregularity of the Gender Empowerment Index, namely the representation of women in decision-making positions, Rabenoro contends that in reality, “it is not women’s empowerment – by giving them the means to have the power to do something, education being the most effective means among them – which encounters the leaders’ resistance, it is power per se, that is, the fact that they have power over others.”³⁴ She further explains that “men do not seem to be against the sharing of power with women, provided that they keep the visibility for themselves. The power and the work of women must remain concealed, or at least discreet, whereas all semblance of power must remain men’s prerogatives.”³⁵ In other words, the prominent figure who are publicly known as the holders of power must be men, which accounts for the prevalence of discourses on the gendered demarcation of spheres of intervention, whereby women’s status is upheld and their roles in the domestic sphere are glorified insofar as they remain in the shadows of men. According to Mireille Rabenoro, this reluctance on men’s part to accept the visibility of women

³² « L’arme de l’antiféminisme à Madagascar. » Mireille Rabenoro. « Le mythe des femmes au pouvoir, arme de l’antiféminisme à Madagascar. » *Cahiers du Genre* vol. 52, N° 1 (2012). Pp. 75 – 95.

³³ She writes that « it is this period of Madagascar’s history that the adversaries of gender allude to in order to refute the relevance [of discourses on gender equality] : [they say] why claim equality for women when they have exercised power for at least a century ? » [« C’est cette période de l’histoire de Madagascar qu’invoquent les adversaires du genre pour en réfuter la pertinence : pourquoi revendiquer l’égalité pour les femmes, alors qu’elles ont exercé le pouvoir pendant près d’un siècle. »] Ibid. P. 78. (Translation mine).

³⁴ « Ce n’est pas l’empowerment ... des femmes – en leur donnant les moyens d’avoir le pouvoir de faire quelque chose, l’éducation étant le plus efficace de ces moyens, qui rencontre la résistance des dirigeants, c’est le pouvoir proprement dit, c’est-à-dire le fait d’avoir du pouvoir sur les autres. » Ibid. P. 82. (Translation mine).

³⁵ « Les hommes ne seraient pas contre le partage du pouvoir avec les femmes, à condition de garder la visibilité pour eux. Le pouvoir et le travail des femmes doivent rester occultés (occultés), ou du moins discrets, tandis que toutes les apparences du pouvoir doivent demeurer l’apanage des hommes. » Ibid. p. 88. (Translation mine).

in the public sphere and their access to positions of power expresses their fear to lose their power and privileges for the benefit of women and to their own disadvantage.³⁶ This seems to concord with the feminist argument that hierarchical gender power relations, namely the limitation of women's access to power, actually spring from men's dread of women's power which is mainly observed in their capacity to perform things that are excluded from men, particularly childbearing. American feminist Adrienne Rich, for instance, writes about the "hatred of overt strength in women, the definition of strong independent women as freaks of nature, as unsexed, frigid, castrating, perverted, dangerous; the fear of the maternal woman as 'controlling.'"³⁷ She precisely refers to early women theorists like Helen Diner and Elizabeth Gould Davis' argument that "woman's physiology was the original source of her prepatriarchal power, both in making her the source of life itself, and in associating her more deeply than man with natural cycles and processes."³⁸ In other words, the power of women in prepatriarchal societies was mainly rooted in their possession of qualities and capacities that are excluded from men. Similarly, Françoise Héritier suggests an explanation for the prevalence of "the differential valence of the sexes," saying that "it refers less to a disability on women's part (fragility, lower weight, lower height, disabilities related to pregnancy and breastfeeding) than the expression of a will to control reproduction on the part of those who do not have this specific power."³⁹ Bearing these arguments in mind and reconsidering the previous views on the gender power relations in various parts of Madagascar, namely the paradoxical representations of

³⁶ Rabenoro refers to the statement of a male deputy who was against the adoption of draft bills in favour of gender equality in terms of legal rights : « when we talk about human rights, we always refer to women's rights in such a way that in the end, women will be more privileged to the disadvantage of men. » [« quand on parle des droits de l'homme, en fait c'est toujours des droits de la femme qu'on parle, de sorte qu'à la fin, les femmes seront avantagées au détriment des hommes. » Ibid. P. 86. (Translation mine).

³⁷ Adrienne Rich. *Of Woman Born. Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1986. P. 70.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 72.

³⁹ « Il s'agit moins d'un handicap du côté féminin (fragilité, moindre poids, moindre taille, handicap des grossesses et de l'allaitement) que de l'expression d'une volonté de contrôle de la reproduction de la part de ceux que ne disposent pas de ce pouvoir si particulier. » Françoise Héritier. *Masculin/Féminin. La pensée de la différence*. Paris : Editions Odile Jacob, 1996. P. 25. (Translation mine).

women's power, we may suggest that the carefully worded discourses on Malagasy women's power are somehow controversial. They actually refer to a semblance of power for women while concealing the fact that men, who are the primary holders of power, seek to keep this privilege for themselves.

Statement of the problem and the context of the study

In light of these views, we aim to explore in the present study the ways in which this pattern of gender power relations, which is characterized by overt or cloaked asymmetry, is reproduced across history and across various settings in the Malagasy context. In more concrete terms, we intend to conduct an in-depth analysis of the paradoxical representations of Malagasy women's power and their impacts on the power relations between both genders. Furthermore, bearing in mind that Madagascar has currently expressed its commitment to the promotion of gender equality through its adoption of the gender mainstreaming policy⁴⁰ and its collaboration with non-governmental organizations that promote gender equality,⁴¹ we also aim to study the meanings of gender equality and female empowerment in context. Our approach builds on the concept of gender and social relations articulated by French sociologist Roland Pfefferkorn in *Genre et rapports sociaux de sexe*.⁴² It considers the “antagonism between the sexes by dealing first with its material foundations, namely its economic, socio-political, even physical foundations without neglecting the symbolic dimensions.”⁴³ Gender inequality is thus analysed

⁴⁰ Following its participation in the 1995 fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, Madagascar has adopted an action plan for gender and development which implies the integration of the gender equality perspective in all domains and at levels.

⁴¹ As a member state of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Madagascar is committed to the action plan articulated in the SADC protocol on Gender and Development (2008). GenderLinks Madagascar is the Non-Governmental Organization in charge of the implementation of this action plan.

⁴² Roland Pfefferkorn. *Genre et rapports sociaux de sexe*. Switzerland, Paris : Editions Page deux, Editions Syllepse, 2016. [2012].

⁴³ « L'antagonisme entre les sexes en privilégiant ses fondements matériels, notamment économiques, sociopolitiques, voire physiques sans négliger pour autant les dimensions symboliques. » Ibid. p. 18. (Translation mine).

as the result of the interplay between the discourses on the sociocultural construction of gender and the articulation of the biological differences between the sexes. This approach also adheres to the conceptualisation of social relations as dynamic processes subject to transformation and evolution. As Pfefferkorn puts it,

Social relations produce themselves, reproduce themselves and change endlessly [...] The social relations of class, 'race' and of the sexes must thus be thought simultaneously as a source of domination and as potential vectors of emancipation [...] The idea is to think simultaneously how women are structurally constrained and fashioned by social relations at the level of and within the space where they belong and how they can construct spaces for freedom and action through their individual or collective activity, their permanent interactions, enabling them to shift these same relations.⁴⁴

It is this conceptualisation of the social relations between the sexes as dynamic processes that are liable to change which enables us to consider the possibilities for female empowerment in the context of our study.

The context that we have selected is that of Malagasy oral literature, namely Malagasy folktales and Malagasy oratory. Our research is articulated around the following questions: to what extent do conceptions of gender mirror differences between the sexes and translate into gender inequality in Malagasy folktales and oratory? Given the fact that Madagascar is engaged in the promotion of gender equality, what are the impacts of men's and women's awareness of and sensitivity to the need to promote gender equality on the conceptions of gender in these two literary genres and on women's experiences in particular? More concretely, in the field of kabary performance, which is traditionally known as an exclusively male domain, what are the

⁴⁴ « Les rapports sociaux se produisent, se reproduisent et se transforment sans cesse [...] Les rapports sociaux de classe, de 'race' et de sexe doivent donc être pensés en même temps comme source de domination et comme potentiellement porteurs d'émancipation [...] il s'agit de penser en même temps comment les femmes sont contraintes structurellement et sont façonnées, au niveau et dans l'espace où elles se trouvent, par l'ensemble des rapports sociaux et comment par leur activité, individuelle et surtout collective, par leurs interactions permanentes, elles peuvent construire des marges de liberté et d'action leur permettant de déplacer ces mêmes rapports. » Ibid. PP. 128, 129. (Translation mine).

impacts of women's inclusion in this field on the social construction of their images and the definition of their roles and statuses? In the case of contemporary folktales, what are the limitations of and possibilities for female empowerment as a necessary step towards gender equality? Before addressing these questions, however, we need to justify the relevance of the subject of our study and the choice of the objects that we intend to analyze. We judge it fitting to start with the definitions of the key terms "folktale" and "oratory."

Definitions of key terms and justification of the choice of the fields of analysis

"Folktale" is defined in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary terms* by British academic Chris Baldick as "a story passed on by word of mouth rather than by writing, and thus partly modified by successive retellings before being written down or recorded."⁴⁵ The Malagasy word for folktales, which is commonly used in the central part of Madagascar is "angano." In other regions, words like "sasaza," or "tafasiry," are used.⁴⁶ The definition of "angano" in the *Rakibolana Malagasy* is very similar to the English definition of "folktales": "a story inherited by word of mouth which shows something that is rather unbelievable, which was perhaps true long ago, but which was later subject to successive changes from generations to generations."⁴⁷ The word "unbelievable" which stands out in this definition calls to mind issues surrounding the unreliability of the events related in folktales or their association with fictive and imaginary events rather than realistic facts. The definition of "folktale" in *The*

⁴⁵ Chris Baldick. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary terms*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. P. 99.

⁴⁶ Michel Razafiarivony says that "the sasaza is part of what we commonly call "angano" in Malagasy" ["le sasaza fait partie de ce qu'on appelle plus communément en malgache 'angano' »]. Michel Razafiarivony. *Richesses culturelles et pauvreté économique d'une société orale (Anosibe an'ala Madagascar)*. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2006. P. 251. (Translation mine).

Tafasiry is used among the Tanala. See Philippe Beaujard. *Mythe et société à Madagascar (Tanala de l'Ikongo). Le chasseur d'oiseaux et la princesse du ciel*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1981.

⁴⁷ « Tantara ifandovana an-dovantsofina mampiseho zavatra toa tsy azo inoana, izay angamba marina ihany tany an-tendrony, saingy novaovan' ny taranaka nifandimby taty aoriana. » Régis Rajemisa-Raolison. *Rakibolana Malagasy*. Analamahitsy, Antananarivo: Editions Ambozontany, 2003. P. 1061. (Translation mine).

Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy Tales edited by German Professor Donald Haase also expresses this idea. In this volume, “folktale” is defined as “a form of traditional, fictional, prose narrative that is said to circulate orally.”⁴⁸ The meaning of folktales or “angano” in the Malagasy context reinforces this association of the genre with fictive and imaginary events rather than reality. There is even a negative connotation to the genre when it is defined in opposition to true or realistic stories. In *Mythe et société à Madagascar (Tanala de l’Ikongo). Le chasseur d’oiseaux et la princesse du ciel*, French ethnologist and historian Philippe Beaujard explores the distinction between “true stories” and “fictive stories” or “tales,” which are called “tafasiry” among the Tanala.⁴⁹ Beaujard writes that “the Tanala make a fundamental distinction between [...] two narrative prose genres [...] expressed in opposition : story and tafasiry ; the first is believed to relate ‘true stories,’” the second pertains to fantasy, invention (‘vandy’ : lie).”⁵⁰ According to the same author, historical traditions, the ancestors’ stories and the etiology of things are categorized as stories whereas tales refer to imaginary, fictive stories which connote lies. Interestingly, this opposition between “truth” and “falsehood” further points to the prevalence of the “differential valence of the sexes” in the practice of storytelling. Beaujard explains that “it is men who tell historical traditions [since they are] the holders of power and custodians of ancestral knowledge.”⁵¹ He adds that “the capacity to remember traditions is a ‘divine gift,’ which is related to the ‘hasy,’ or divine power given to the chiefs.”⁵²

⁴⁸ Donald Haase. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairytales*. Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 2008. P. 369.

⁴⁹ The Tanala are one of the Malagasy ethnic groups who live in the South-eastern part of the country, in the Vatovavy-Fitovinany region.

⁵⁰ « Les Tanala distinguent fondamentalement [...] deux genres narratifs en prose [...] exprimés en opposition : le tantara et le tafasiry; le premier relaterait des « histoires vraies », le second relèverait de l’imaginaire, de l’invention (vandy : « mensonge ») ». Philippe Beaujard. *Mythe et société à Madagascar (Tanala de l’Ikongo). Le chasseur d’oiseaux et la princesse du ciel*. Paris: L’Harmattan, 1981. p. 33. (Translation mine).

⁵¹ « Il revient aux hommes de dire les traditions historiques ... ils sont les détenteurs de pouvoir et dépositaires du savoir ancestral. » Ibid. P. 36. (Translation mine).

⁵² « La faculté de retenir les traditions est ‘un don de Dieu,’ qui s’apparente au hasy, puissance divine octroyée aux chefs. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

On the other hand, “the ‘tafasiry’ narrative has the family as its context”⁵³ and can only be told in the evening as a form of entertainment, because daytime is dedicated to work.

These definitions of folktales in opposition to true stories, which allude to the privileged status of men in their association with the “true story” genre, raise questions as to the relevance of folktales in the analysis of the patterns of gender power relations in the Malagasy setting. Indeed, one may ask, since folktales are mainly fictive and often fantastic stories, in what way could they reflect the realistic conceptions of gender power relations in a given community? In order to answer this question, we may refer to Malanjaona Rakotomalala’s statement that “one cannot [...] look for factual reality [in tales] [...] [but tales] rather enable the understanding of the behaviour of a definite group insofar as people do not behave according to historical fact, but according to their interpretation of this reality.”⁵⁴ In other words, folktales do not reflect reality, but people’s interpretation of this reality. Nevertheless, the people’s interpretation of reality somehow contributes to the construction of meanings associated to reality, including conceptions of gender and gender power relations. As Lee Haring, an Emeritus Professor at Brooklyn College who specializes in folklore studies, puts it, “verbal and music art are the finest evidence for understanding the fashioning and altering of social identities and the social practices that make possible the ways in which cultures describe gender [...] [It is] folk narratives in particular [which] delineate women’s roles and problems, realistically or fantastically.”⁵⁵ Hence, the influence of folktales in the shaping of gender identities and the structuring of gender power relations cannot be overlooked. The view articulated by American

⁵³ « Le récit tafasiry a ... pour cadre la famille. » Ibid. P. 37. (Translation mine).

⁵⁴ « [Je ne crois pas ... qu’] on puisse y rechercher la réalité événementielle, ... ils permettent de comprendre le comportement d’un groupe bien défini, dans la mesure où les gens ne se comportent pas en fonction de la réalité historique mais en fonction de leur interprétation de cette réalité. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala, « Remarques sur le mécanisme des traditions historiques malgaches, » *Etudes océan indien* 40 – 41 (2008). Put online on 18 March 2013. Accessed on 16 March 2020. URL : <https://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1383>. Pp. 11 – 22. (Translation mine).

⁵⁵ Lee Haring. « Crealization as Agency in Women-Centered Folktales. » *Fairy Tales and Feminism. New Approaches*. Ed. Donald Haase. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004. Pp. 170, 177.

academic and folklorist Jack Zipes further reinforces the undeniable influence of folktale ideologies on the understanding of a culture. Commenting on the functions of folk and fairy tales before their current “commercialization” and “instrumentalization” in Western countries, Zipes says that

the impact of [folk and fairy tales] stems from their imaginative grasp and symbolic depiction of social realities [...] Storytellers gave vent to the frustration of the common people and embodied their needs and wishes in folk narratives [...] Folktales were autonomous reflectors of actual and possible normative behavior which could strengthen social bonds or create more viable ones.⁵⁶

In other words, folktales are symbolic representations of social realities, as well as expressions of the people’s aspirations to maintain or change the dominant social norms that structure social relations. In that sense, we can consider folktales as a relevant source of information on the community’s conception of gender and gender power relations. Indeed, the representations of femininity and masculinity as well as the power relations that characterize their interactions in Malagasy folktales can be viewed as symbolic representations of what the members of the community perceive. Although they may not directly refer to the lived experiences of the people, they reflect the people’s interpretations of and reactions to their experiences which are informed by social and gender norms. Moreover, the timeless aspect of folktales which is marked by the absence of a definite notion of time paradoxically makes them relevant for various communities at different time periods. It means that folktales which were told two centuries ago may still hold resonance with the experiences of people in the 21st century. In her article “Les disfonctionnements des normes du conte dans *Candide*,” France Vernier, a honorary lecturer at the University François Rabelais, explains the ideological

⁵⁶ Jack Zipes. *Breaking the Magic Spell: Radical Theories of Folk and Fairy Tales*. New York : Methuen, 1984. [1979]. Pp. 4, 5.

function of tales by elucidating the convergence of the “confusing notion of realism”⁵⁷ with the defining characteristics of tales, namely the notion of “atemporality.” Vernier says,

the confusing notion of realism [...] indicates a conformity with ‘reality’ which does not question the notion of reality that a given social class might construct at a given period [...] What is perceived as realistic is all work that produces on a given audience a sense of identification [...] Hence the changes in the criteria for “realism” from an era to another, from a social class to another, and the subversive effect produced by the use in a tale of elements that seem realistic at some period.⁵⁸

In other words, the essence of folktales lies in the ways in which the community interprets or makes use of them. In the Malagasy context, folktales not only serve to entertain but also to educate children and young people. As Malagasy writer Randriamiadanarivo puts it, “the foundation of education lies in folktales [...] The ancestors’ skill in inventing these folktales is amazing [...] Everything that was taught was found in them.”⁵⁹ The importance of folktales and other oral traditions in the education of the members of a community is even more emphasized by Michel Razafiarivony, a Malagasy academician who specializes in African studies and oral literature. Razafiarivony states that “the existence of dialectical relations between the community, education and oral traditions cannot be denied. A community which creates the appropriate patterns of education for itself constantly evolves, and produces oral traditions as well, which in turn prompts the community, and brings new ideas.”⁶⁰ This author

⁵⁷ « La notion confuse de réalisme. » France Vernier. « Les dysfonctionnements des normes du conte dans *Candide*. » *Littérature* N°1 (1971). P. 16, 17. URL: https://www.persee.fr/doc/litt_0047-4800_1971_num_1_1_2496. (Translation mine).

⁵⁸ « La notion confuse de réalisme ... indique la conformité au ‘réel’ sans mettre en cause l’idée du réel que peut se former telle ou telle classe de la société à une époque donnée ... Est perçue comme réaliste toute œuvre qui produit sur tel public un effet de reconnaissance ... D’où le glissement des critères du ‘réalisme’ d’une époque à l’autre, d’une classe sociale à l’autre, et l’effet subversif produit par l’utilisation dans un conte d’éléments qui passent pour réalistes à l’époque. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁵⁹ “Ary ny angano [...] no ihorenan’ny fonom-pianarana. Mahagaga ny fahaizan’ny ntaolo namorona ireny angano ireny [...] izay rehetra ampiaranina dia hita tamin’izy ireny avokoa.” Randriamiadanarivo. *Ny Sekolin’ny Ntaolo*. Imarivolanitra: Editions Antso, 1984. P. 33. (Translation mine).

⁶⁰ « Tsy azo lavina ary fa misy fifamatorana tsimbaly *relations dialectiques* eo amin’ny fiarahamoninana sy ny fanabeazana ary ny harivolana. Mivoatra hatrany ny fiarahamonina manangana fanabeazaba mifandrindra aminy, ary miteraka harivolana ihany koa, izay manosika ny fiaraha-monina indray avy eo, ary mampiteraka zava-

stresses the dynamic process of the production of oral traditions which parallels the evolution of a community. This enhances the social function of oral traditions, including folktales, in the community. As a means to educate children and young people, folktales necessarily convey messages about gender and gender relations which either serve to reinforce the existing norms that govern the interactions between both genders or allude to the people's aspirations to change some of these norms. In either case, the representations of gender and gender power relations in the folktales of a community cannot be regarded as fictitious and it would be an error to assume that they have nothing to do with reality.

The second key word, "oratory," is commonly known as "the art of public speaking" or "formal speeches for public occasions."⁶¹ In the Malagasy context, the word "kabary"⁶² is used to refer to oratory. "Kabary," or "the oratory genre par excellence"⁶³ in Malagasy writer Lucien Xavier Michel-Andrianarahinjaka's words, "is a ritual genre in the sense that [...] it is ordinarily performed in precise contexts of the expression of the social community's life and it has always had as its function the expression of the values, symbols and thoughts that provide a collective meaning to the material facts that constitute each context."⁶⁴ Although Michel-Andrianarahinjaka's definition primarily refers to the "kabary" in the Betsileo community, it encompasses the meaning of the genre as an oral art form that is performed at specific social events that express Malagasy culture, values and identity, such as marriage requests, funerals, political gatherings, and other festivities that mark the lives of the Malagasy, to cite only a few of the circumstances that require the production of a kabary. The dominant meaning of "kabary"

baovao ao aminy." Michel Razafiarivony. *Ny Harivolana na lahateny nentin-drazana, ain'ny fiarahamonina Malagasy – Masikoro*. Antananarivo: Trano Printy Loterana Malagasy, 2006.

⁶¹ Chris Baldick. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary terms*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. P. 178.

⁶² For other ethnic groups such as the Betsileo in the southern part of the highlands, the word for formal speeches for public occasions, especially those related to Malagasy rituals is "sokela."

⁶³ « Le genre oratoire par excellence. » Lucien X. Michel-Andrianarahinjaka. *Le système littéraire betsileo*. Fianarantsoa : Ambozontany, 1986. P. 272. (Translation mine).

⁶⁴ « Le kabary est un genre rituel dans le sens où ... il s'exécute ordinairement dans des contextes précis de la vie d'expression de la communauté sociale et qu'il a toujours pour fonction d'exprimer des valeurs, symboles et pensées qui donnent une signification collective aux faits matériels constitutifs de chaque contexte. » Ibid. P. 273. (Translation mine).

nowadays as “a solemn public speech”⁶⁵ goes in line with the simplified definition provided by contemporary Malagasy orators as “a speech performed in a high voice [...] in front of a group of people, decorated with imagery, proverbs and hainteny, in order to persuade the audience.”⁶⁶ This definition not only determines the context in which kabary is performed, namely the fact that a skilled orator is expected to be capable of delivering a public speech in a strong and convincing voice, but also points to the form of the kabary, that is the overlapping of several oral literature genres in one major genre. Another relevant definition that touches upon the major characteristics of kabary in the views of Malagasy scholars underlines its dialogic structure,⁶⁷ which implies the participation of two orators whereby a speech necessarily calls for a reply. As Michel Razafiarivony emphasizes,

the kabary is not a monologue [...] there must be a second orator that replies the first one, otherwise we would have a ‘kabary tsy valiana,’ a kabary without a reply [...] [which] will be interpreted as a form of dictatorship that people do not approve at all [as] it violates the principle of reciprocity which governs the traditional society.⁶⁸

These definitions point to the important social function of kabary as a means to preserve Malagasy values reflected in social rituals and meaningful circumstances. However, even though the kabary is mainly meant to convey traditional Malagasy values, the performance of the genre has greatly evolved throughout the years. This marks not only the dynamic nature of an oral art form that follows the evolution of the community in which it is produced but also

⁶⁵ « Un discours solennel déclamé en public. » Michel Razafiarivony. *Richesses culturelles et pauvreté économique d'une société orale (Anosibe an'ala Madagascar)*. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2006. P. 141. (Translation mine).

⁶⁶ “Lahateny atao amim-peo avo...manoloana olona maromaro, ravahana sarinteny, ohabolana sy hainteny, ary natao handresena lahatra.” Hajaina Andrianasolo. 02 March 2019. See Appendix 1.

⁶⁷ See Lucien X. Michel-Andrianarahinjaka. *Le système littéraire betsileo*. Fianarantsoa : Ambozontany, 1986. P. 275.

⁶⁸ « Le kabary n'est pas un monologue... Il faut qu'il y ait un second orateur qui répond au premier, sinon on aurait le kabary tsy valiana, un kabary sans réplique ... [qui] sera interprété comme une forme de dictature que les gens n'approuvent pas du tout [car] cela enfreint la loi de la réciprocité qui règle la vie dans la société traditionnelle. » Michel Razafiarivony. *Richesses culturelles et pauvreté économique d'une société orale (Anosibe an'ala Madagascar)*. Tokyo : Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2006. P. 141. (Translation mine).

the blending of tradition and modernity, which is very well rendered in Malagasy Anthropologist Lala Raharinjanahary's statement that "in a perpetually changing Malagasy society [...] it is no longer relevant to distinguish between [...] traditional and modern. The Malagasy are constantly traditional and at the same time modernized."⁶⁹ This is precisely the main reason why we chose to analyse kabary performance with gender lenses. In fact, kabary is a genre that illustrates the intrusion of women in a sphere that was traditionally reserved for men.⁷⁰ In that sense, it reflects the impacts of social change on gender relations and the perceptions about women's social status and roles.

Literature review

To further justify our choice to work on Malagasy folktales and kabary in our analysis of the representations of gender and gender power relations in the Malagasy context, we may consider the current research on the representations of gender in these two genres. It is beyond the scope of this study, however, to explore the totality of the existing literature on this subject. Hence, it may be fitting to focus on the most notable works that hold resonance with the subject of our study. Nevertheless, it should be noted that a considerable number of dissertations on Malagasy folktales and kabary have been written from 2000 to the present day.⁷¹ One of the most notable reference works in the study of Malagasy folktales, however, are probably Paul Ottino's *L'étrangère intime. Essai d'anthropologie de la civilisation de l'ancien Madagascar, Tomes I and II*. In these volumes, the author adopts an anthropological approach to highlight

⁶⁹ "Dans la société malgache en perpétuelle mutation, ... distinguer le dit traditionnel du moderne n'est plus pertinent. Les Malgaches sont constamment et à la fois traditionnels et modernes." Lala Raharinjanahary, « Les femmes « oratrices » mpikabary de l'association FIMPIMA (*Fikambanan'ny Mpikabary eto Madagasikara* « Association des rhéteurs à Madagascar »). » *Études océan Indien* 51-52 (2014), put online on 30 September 2015, accessed on 16 March 2020. P. 16. (Translation mine).

⁷⁰ Lala Raharinjanahary affirms that the performance of oratory speech has "always been an essentially masculine world" [un "monde essentiellement masculin depuis toujours"]. Ibid. P. 11. (Translation mine).

⁷¹ The typing of the keywords « angano » and « kabary » on the Malagasy database of online theses issues 275 and 608 search results respectively.

the sociological and historical values of Malagasy myths and folktales which are mainly drawn from Lars Dahle's *Specimen of Malagasy Folklore*. In French anthropologist Jean François Baré's review of Ottino's work, we note that even if the work focuses on “‘the cycle’ of ‘universal sovereigns’ or the ‘Princes in the central part,’”⁷² it reveals the prominent place of and significant roles played by “the female figures who are inseparable from [the sovereigns.]”⁷³ Jean François Baré writes that “in all these tales, female heroines – ‘daughters from heaven and the sea’ or ‘Malagasy Melusines,’ daughters of monstrous animals, neglected youngest daughters, ‘daughters of God’ providing rice or cultural goods -, whose association with the ‘supernatural’ is only gradually revealed, establish the dynastic descent.”⁷⁴ In other words, they are considered as the founders of civilization and sovereignty. Hence, Ottino's work offers a valuable perspective on the representations of the status of women in Malagasy myths and tales.

Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana, a Professor at the University of Antananarivo who specializes on women's histories, expresses another view on the image of Malagasy women in oral traditions, including folktales, in her *Histoire de l'éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVIe au milieu du XXe siècle*. The work itself is a study of the status and condition of Merina women from the 16th century to 1947. The author raises questions surrounding the education of young girls in Imerina during this period by highlighting the influence of Madagascar's interactions with the Western world through commercial transactions, the introduction of Christianity, and colonization, on the shaping of Malagasy

⁷² « Le ‘cycle’ des ‘souverains universels’ ou ‘Princes du milieu.’ » Jean-François Baré. P. Ottino, *L'Étrangère intime. Essai d'anthropologie de la civilisation de l'ancien Madagascar*. In *L'Homme* (1988) tome 28 n°105. La fabrication mythique des enfants. p. 148. (Translation mine).

⁷³ « Ces figures féminines qui en sont inséparables. » *ibid.* (Translation mine).

⁷⁴ « Dans tous ces contes, des héroïnes féminines – ‘filles du Ciel et des Eaux’ ou ‘Mélusines malgaches,’ filles d’animaux monstrueux, cadettes délaissées, ‘filles de Dieu’ dispensatrices de riz ou de biens culturels -, dont l’appartenance à la ‘surnature’ ne se révèle que progressivement, fondent la descendance dynastique. » *Ibid.* p. 149. (Translation mine).

women's image.⁷⁵ Her analysis of the representations of women in Malagasy folktales confirms the previously mentioned views which hold that Malagasy women traditionally enjoyed a prestigious status. Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana writes that “woman played a central role in the continuity and legitimation of royal power.”⁷⁶ Considered as special beings who descend from heaven (Princesses from heaven) or come from the sea (Water Princesses), women are believed to be the sources of dynastic descent and royal power. As Ravelomanana puts it, “the imprecise periodization and the sense of wonder which characterise orality are used by official and royal columnists of the oral tradition for the benefit of the dynasties to sacralise and legitimise their power.”⁷⁷ It means that men gain their royal status through their marriage with women who are believed to be Princesses from heaven or “Andriambavilanitra.” Furthermore, women are associated to fertility. Women's childbearing role is idealised, which not only accounts for the abundance of tales featuring women who seek by all means to conceive, but also condemns women who are reluctant to fulfil their social role by being difficult to marry, and hence create an obstacle to procreation.⁷⁸ This reference to female characters who do not fit into the dominant image of women as partisans of procreation shows that not all the female characters in Malagasy folktales enjoy the privileged status of women as “a gift from heaven,”

⁷⁵ Her argument, which holds that the devaluation of Malagasy women's status results from the new images imported by the missionaries and the colonizers, is used by the authors of the National Human Development Report for Madagascar in 2003 to emphasise the myths that are thought to be the 'foundation' of Malagasy women's power from the 16th century to the late 19th century. See Chapter 3. « Déterminants historiques des rôles hommes/femmes dans les sociétés malgaches. » In *Rapport national sur le développement humain*. « Genre, développement humain et pauvreté. » Madagascar. UNDP. December 2003.

For more on the behavioural norms introduced by the missionaries, see Jacqueline Ravelomanana. « Regards croisés : la femme malgache vue par l'étranger à travers le temps. » *Tsingy*. Revue de l'Association des Professeurs d'Histoire et de Géographie de Madagascar. Les femmes dans l'océan indien. N° 5. September 2006.

⁷⁶ « La femme jouait un rôle essentiel dans la continuité et la légitimation du pouvoir royal. » Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana. *Histoire de l'éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVI^e siècle au milieu du XX^e siècle*. Imarivolanitra : Edition Antso, 1996. P. 35. (Translation mine).

⁷⁷ “La périodisation imprécise et le sens du ‘merveilleux’ qui caractérisent l'oralité sont utilisés au profit des dynasties par les chroniqueurs officiels et royaux de la tradition orale pour sacraliser et légitimer leur pouvoir.” Ibid. P. 34. (Translation mine).

⁷⁸ Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana refers to the « newly-married young girls [in folktales] who display more or less excessive longings in order to show the importance of fertility. On the other hand, the young women who are reluctant about marriage are severely punished, reprimanded. » [« Les jeunes épousées qui exigent des envies plus ou moins extravagantes pour montrer l'importance de la fécondité. En revanche, les jeunes réticentes vis-à-vis du mariage sont sévèrement punies, réprimandées. »]. Ibid. P. 63. (Translation mine).

a “water princess,” or “the source of life.” This goes in line with the question raised by Suzy Ramamonjisoa regarding the actual power of women in Madagascar. She asks, “for every princess from heaven (andriambavilanitra) how many women are there in Madagascar who are badly fed, overburdened by labour and childcare, aged before their time?”⁷⁹ In fact, the Malagasy folktales that we have selected depict ordinary women who face various struggles and who do not always enjoy a “privileged” or “prestigious” status. Our analysis thus seeks to explore the various portraits of women in Malagasy folktales by considering the different factors that define their status and condition, namely their age, social background, occupations and roles. Since femininity as a marker of gender differences seems to be considered as an advantage for women in the traditional context of oral traditions, we aim to determine whether the various aspects of femininity, whether positive or negative, in the selected Malagasy folktales actually confer power on the female characters. We argue that the idealised definitions of femininity somehow cast women into pre-established constraining roles that reinforce asymmetrical gender power relations. In this regard, we acknowledge the necessity of exploring the representations of masculinity in relation to femininity in the Malagasy tales under study. In that sense, we intend to study the various portraits of the male characters in relation to the concept of masculinity in the same way as we analyse the female characters in relation to the concept of femininity. Indeed, although the figure of the sovereign “Andriambahoaka” is a dominant character in Malagasy tales, the latter are packed with a multitude of different representations of men, depending on their age, their social background and the roles that they play in the tales.

As regards the research on the Malagasy “kabary,” we may start by referring to American linguistic anthropologist Elinor Keenan Ochs’ fieldwork on the behavioural norms in speech interactions in the Vakinankaratra region, in Madagascar. In her article “Norm-

⁷⁹ Suzy Ramamonjisoa. «Empowerment of Women and Democracy in Madagascar. » *Review of African Political Economy* N° 58 (1993). P. 121. Accessed 3 Feb. 2020. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4006114.

makers and Norm-breakers: Uses of Speech by Men and Women in a Malagasy Community,”⁸⁰ Ochs stresses the importance of the norm of “non-confrontation” which consists in avoiding to put “another individual in an uncomfortable or unpleasant position, where loss of face could result.”⁸¹ This accounts for the use of various strategies in speech interactions in order to avoid the expression of direct criticisms or verbal attacks. The author, for instance, writes that “criticisms are usually not simply stated but rather alluded to. Proverbs, poetry, traditional expressions are all brought in to reveal bit by bit the direction of the utterance.”⁸² According to the same author, the performance of kabary is precisely characterized by the use of winded speech and the recourse to proverbs and traditional sayings to avoid the violation of the non-confrontation norm. Interestingly, Ochs says that “men alone are considered to be able speechmakers [...] They are associated with the style of speaking required for ‘kabary’: their requests are typically delayed and inexplicit, accusations imprecise, and criticism subtle.”⁸³ Indeed, Ochs highlights Malagasy men’s and women’s differentiated use of speech when she perceives women as “norm-breakers” because they “do not appear to operate according to these community ground rules for speaking. In particular they are associated with the direct and open expression of anger towards others.”⁸⁴ This apparently makes women “unsuitable as speechmakers.”⁸⁵ Nevertheless, women’s direct speech style is particularly useful as “women communicate sentiments which men share but dislike expressing [...] [they] dominate situations where directness is called for.”⁸⁶ Such situations may involve reprimanding wrongdoers, expressing criticisms or accusations, or simply bargaining at the market. Women do not

⁸⁰ Elinor Keenan Ochs. « Norm-makers, Norm-Breakers: Uses of Speech by Men and Women in A Malagasy Community. » in R. Bauman and J. Sherzer eds. *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

⁸¹ Ibid. P. 137.

⁸² Ibid. P. 129.

⁸³ Ibid. P. 141.

⁸⁴ Ibid. P. 137.

⁸⁵ Ibid. P. 141.

⁸⁶ Ibid. Pp. 137, 138.

seem to get credit for their interventions, however, since it is not even generally acknowledged that “men often use women to confront others with some unpleasant information.”⁸⁷ Instead, what is acknowledged is the idealization of men’s indirect speech style, especially in the performance of kabary. This points to the prevalence of the “differential valence of the sexes” in the field of kabary performance whereby the normative and prestigious speech style is associated with men whereas women’s speech style, though useful, has negative connotations. Furthermore, it is interesting to consider Elinor Keenan Ochs’s view that “the use of direct speech, such as that of women [...], is associated with a loss of tradition, with contemporary mores.”⁸⁸ This statement goes in line with the perception of women as norm-breakers. Yet, if we recall the previous views which consider women as “the guardians of traditions,”⁸⁹ we witness, once more, the paradoxical representations of Malagasy women. We may thus ask, how can Malagasy women be perceived as “norm-breakers” and “guardians of traditions” at the same time? What are the circumstances that call for these categorizations? The interest of current researches on the contemporary performance of kabary certainly lies in the attempt to answer these questions. Considering women’s growing participation in kabary performance since the late 20th century, one may wonder about the reception of this changing practice by other male orators and the members of the audience of a kabary performance. Relevant questions that may be raised also concern the various attitudes adopted by these female orators in this traditionally male field and their impacts on the conceptualisation of men’s and women’s images in Malagasy society.

Lala Raharinjanahary addresses these questions in her article on female orators from the association of Malagasy orators or “Fikambanan’ny Mpikabary eto Madagasikara” (FIMPIMA). Her study, which is based on personal interviews with some male and female

⁸⁷ Ibid. P. 137.

⁸⁸ Ibid. P. 142.

⁸⁹ See Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A Coeur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012.

orators from this association, highlights the fact that “women can produce traditional formal speeches.”⁹⁰ Nevertheless, she singles out some of the striking differences between men’s and women’s performances of “kabary.” She says that “quite often [...] women apologize for being women [...] while taking the floor [which, according to the author,] may refer to a sort of unconscious guilt due to the fact that they transgress a long-standing prohibition.”⁹¹ Raharinjanahary also notes female orators’ desire to “distinguish themselves from men in terms of the content of their speech as well as their physical appearances.”⁹² This, in the same author’s view, suggests some female orators’ desire to “feminise the ‘kabary’ discourse and its performance.”⁹³ Interestingly, Raharinjanahary also evokes the contradictory traits that are expected in female orators : “they must combine femininity and audacity [...] they must ‘charm,’ a behaviour which is not expected from men, but they must not be ‘soft and slow’ either [...] while facing the ‘adversary.’”⁹⁴ It can be said that this author’s article addresses important questions about the experiences of female orators and the perception of their integration in the field of “kabary” performance. Raharinjanahary mainly acknowledges that although women’s current participation in “kabary” performances reflects the changes in social practices initiated by women which contribute to the introduction of gender equality values in Malagasy society, the application of equality rights remains a challenge. Hence, in order to understand the major obstacles to gender equality and the challenges faced by contemporary female orators in the field of “kabary” performances, we intend to conduct an in-depth analysis

⁹⁰ « Les femmes peuvent produire des discours formels traditionnels. » Lala Raharinjanahary. “Les femmes oratrices mpikabary de l’association FIMPIMA (Fikambanan’ny Mpikabary eto Madagasikara ‘Association des rhéteurs à Madagascar.’ » *Etudes océan indien* 51 – 52 (2014). Put online on 30 September 2015. Accessed on 16 March 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1755>. P. 10. (Translation mine).

⁹¹ « Les femmes s’excusent d’être femmes (miala tsiny fa vehivavy) en prenant la parole ... Il peut s’agir d’une sorte de culpabilité inconsciente due au fait qu’elles transgressent un interdit de toujours. » Ibid. P. 12. (Translation mine).

⁹² “Se démarquer des hommes, aussi bien sur le plan du contenu du discours que celui de l’apparence physique. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹³ “Féminiser le ‘discours’ kabary et sa réalisation. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹⁴ Elles doivent allier féminité et audace ... elles doivent ‘faire du charme’ (miangola), comportement qu’on n’attend pas d’un homme, mais ne doivent pas être non plus ‘douces et lentes’ ... pour faire face à l’adversaire. Ibid. P. 13. (Translation mine).

of female orators' experiences in relation to the contexts in which they perform "kabary." Our purpose is to identify the elements that contribute to the prevalence of gender differences in the field of "kabary" performance while considering the extent to which women's participation in this field may somehow initiate a long-lasting process of empowerment for women. This requires the investigation of both male and female orators' views and experiences, which partly account for the construction of current discourses on the performance of "kabary" and on women as orators.

Corpus and Methodology

These reflections on the relevance of the folktale and the oratory genres for the study of gender in the Malagasy setting requires the justification of our project to analyse the evolution of the representations of gender and gender power relations across different time periods and within different contexts while considering the possibilities for female empowerment. In order to carry out this project, we need to define our approach and the composition of our corpus. To appreciate the evolution of the representations of gender roles and identities in Malagasy folktales, we have chosen to start with the analysis of a selection of Malagasy folktales transcribed by foreign missionaries as well as Malagasy scholars and folklorists from the 19th century to the present. Then, we shift our perspective to the contemporary productions and performances of Malagasy oral literature, namely "kabary" and "folktales." We have mainly chosen to work on the contemporary performance of "kabary" by orators from the capital, Antananarivo, and among the Malagasy diaspora in Paris.⁹⁵ Purposive sampling, which consists in choosing the respondents based on certain characteristics⁹⁶ and the objective of the study, was adopted in order to draw a sample in a representative way and to avoid errors related to

⁹⁵ Details about the profiles of the orators are provided in the relevant chapters.

⁹⁶ See David Dooley. *Social Research Methods*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990. P. p. 141.

sampling bias and problems of validity. In his *Social Research Methods*, David Dooley asks the following question to identify the relevance of the data collection and sampling method procedures adopted in social research: “do the responses to the survey represent the beliefs, feelings, and attitudes of the larger population to which the survey is to be generalized?”⁹⁷ In other words, the question concerns the relevance of the results of the survey among a sample population in their capacity to be representative of the larger population. In the context of our study, this question may be reformulated as follows: do the results of our survey reflect the respondents’ understandings of gender and gender power relations in Malagasy folktales and oratory discourses? Do they reveal the respondents’ attitudes to changes triggered by gender awareness in storytelling and oratory performances? To further justify the relevance of our choice and to answer these questions, we may refer to Dooley’s example of judging the taste and temperature of a bowl of hot soup by tasting just a spoonful of it. He uses this example to explain the “paradox of judging the whole from a small part.”⁹⁸ He writes that

When served a bowl of steaming hot soup, the commonsense thing to do is to taste a fraction of a spoonful of the soup to determine how hot the entire bowl is. That is, we measure a sample in order to draw an inference about the whole. Of course, we may exercise some care in drawing our sample. Perhaps we stir the bowl well so that a spoonful from one part of the bowl is much like a spoonful from any other part.⁹⁹

This view highlights the necessity of adopting a purposive sampling method in order to make inferences that are more or less representative of the population under study as a whole. In that sense, it can be said that though our findings may not be representative of the views of the entire population of Madagascar, they somehow enable the understanding of several aspects

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 130.

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 129.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

of the conception of gender in the Malagasy context. Moreover, if we particularly refer to the study that we conducted among some of the Malagasy orators in Paris, we may suggest that it enables the development of a different perspective on the context of “kabary” performance outside Madagascar. In that sense, we may reflect on the exchanges between the Malagasy communities in Paris and in Madagascar regarding “kabary” performance, that is, the ways in which Malagasy culture as is reflected in the field of “kabary” performance is preserved among the Malagasy diaspora and how the latter, being influenced by the French context, may in turn introduce changes in the performance of “kabary” in the Malagasy context. Our selection of the orators was based on the following characteristics: the orators’ sex, age, and their experiences in the field of kabary performance. It should also be noted that the orators were chosen among the members of the renowned association of Malagasy orators, FIMPIMA, based on our primary research on the contemporary performance of “kabary.”

We conducted personal interviews with orators from Antananarivo and Paris who kindly accepted to take part in our study. The interviews were carried out in person, by phone or video call, and through the provision of a questionnaire through email exchanges, depending on the orators’ choices and availabilities. Although our study refers to two types of oratory, namely the funeral “kabary” and the marriage request “kabary,” which are performed by women in different ways and at different rates, we focus on the marriage request “kabary” in particular because it is the field whereby women’s participation seems to be widely acknowledged. We completed our research with the observation of three “kabary” performed by some of the orators¹⁰⁰ that we interviewed and conducted informal interviews with ordinary people, that is,

¹⁰⁰ The orators allowed us to record their performances and use the data for our research. The consent form model that they have signed is provided in the Annexes.

It should be noted that it was not always easy to negotiate our presence at formal family or public events during which a kabary performance was scheduled. The families who organized the event usually objected to the presence of an intruder during a personal, meaningful event such as a marriage request ceremony. Hence, we were able to attend in person only one of the “kabary” performances, the other two were video or audio recorded by the storytellers or a family member who accepted to do so.

people who are not orators, as well as informants who wished to remain anonymous. Our exchanges with the respondents who are not orators were conducted among personal acquaintances whom we know are familiar with the context of kabary performance and have necessarily attended or organised at least one kabary performance in their lives.

The selection of the contemporary Malagasy storytellers who took part in our study was based on a primary investigation about storytelling sessions that are regularly broadcast on Malagasy radio channels. After contacting the communication department of these channels, we obtained the names and contact information of two storytellers¹⁰¹ who collaborated with them. These storytellers, who also happen to perform storytelling on different occasions such as artistic events or sensitizing campaigns at private and public schools kindly accepted to participate in our study. Two other storytellers¹⁰² were introduced to us by one of the orators that we interviewed for our research on kabary performance and by Professor Michel Razafiarivony. One of them is also an active storyteller who performs on various occasions and on radio channels like the former storytellers. The last storyteller¹⁰³ is a personality that we have known since our childhood as a storyteller who told “angano” for children on the National Malagasy Television (TVM) channel. Hence, apart from analysing a selection of tales from the works of these storytellers who are based in Antananarivo, we conducted personal interviews with them. This enabled us to understand the link between their works and their own experiences in the field of storytelling. Our collaboration with some of the storytellers also enabled us to attend their storytelling performances¹⁰⁴ and ask questions to the members of their audiences.¹⁰⁵ This contributed to our interpretations of the storytelling performances and

¹⁰¹ Ny Eja and Arikaomisa Randria.

¹⁰² Rakemba Raketamavo and Tsikimilamina Rakotomavo.

¹⁰³ Nirina Randriamamonjy.

¹⁰⁴ The storytellers signed a consent form which allowed the researcher to audio/video record them and use the data for the research. See the consent form model in the Annexes.

¹⁰⁵ Their identities are not revealed.

enabled us to develop our arguments about the possible shapes that the empowerment process may take for the female protagonists in the tales that were told.

We developed a series of semi-structured questions that were asked in the form of questionnaires. Based on David Dooley's contention that "questionnaires dominate social science measurement of the obtrusive, verbal type [because of their ease of use], [and] they have been designed to measure demographic characteristics, aptitude, achievement, attitude, personality, social relationships, and social environments, to name just a few of the most common topics,"¹⁰⁶ we chose to use the obtrusive, verbal method to measure our respondents' attitudes to the topic of our research. This is a type of measurement in which the respondents were aware of the object of the study and their responses to the questionnaire were measured as written verbal communications. Information about the research project were primarily provided to the respondents in the consent form¹⁰⁷ that they were requested to sign. The respondents were subsequently invited to ask any questions related to the research before giving their consent and proceeding to the interviews. Even though the questionnaires already delineated the subject and the contents of the interviews, the respondents were allowed to express their views freely. We also had the opportunity to ask questions that were not included in the original questionnaires when we needed precision or clarifications about the answers that we received from the respondents.

Our approach for the study of oratory and storytelling performances was based on the combination of several research and data collection methods, which is commonly known as triangulation in the social sciences. As was described earlier, we used semi-structured questionnaires, conducted in-depth interviews with the participants in our study, and observed actual performances of kabary and storytelling. This, in Chava Frankfort-Nachmias' and David Nachmias' *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*, is thought to "raise social scientists 'above

¹⁰⁶ David Dooley. *Social Research Methods*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990. p. 109.

¹⁰⁷ See the consent form model in the Annexes.

the personal biases that stem from single methodologies. By combining methods and investigators in the same study, observers can partially overcome the deficiencies that flow from one investigator or one method.”¹⁰⁸ Our study, which only involved one investigator, that is, the researcher herself, combined different methods in order to increase the reliability of the results that we interpreted from the views expressed by the participants and their behaviours in the contexts of the performances. In the study of kabary performance, this approach enabled us to compare and verify the differing views of the participants and formulate our arguments which are expected to reflect the contemporary perception of female orators and their process of integration in the field of kabary performance. It should be noted that we mainly focused on the orators’ verbal actions during the performances which were conducted in formal settings as part of special events such as the traditional “vodiondry”¹⁰⁹ or the introductory speech to an artistic event. In the analysis of storytelling performance, our approach enabled us to define the various informants’ (storytellers and members of the audience) perspectives on gender equality and to verify the consistencies of the respondents’ statements with their behaviour in context. Indeed, our observation of the storytelling performances completed the data we collected from personal interviews with the storytellers. Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias precisely point to the limitations of personal interviews whereby “the respondents might behave in a way that is not characteristic of their typical behavior.”¹¹⁰ In the context of our study, the observation of the storytellers’ performances enabled us to identify the extent to which their professed support for gender equality is reflected in the messages that they convey in their tales based on their content and the ways in which they were delivered. Considering the last part of our research which consisted in asking questions to the members of the audience who were mainly children aged

¹⁰⁸ Chava Frankfort-Nachmias and David Nachmias. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992. P. 199.

¹⁰⁹ This consists in presenting the groom’s marriage request to the future bride’s relatives.

¹¹⁰ Chava Frankfort-Nachmias and David Nachmias. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992. P. 199.

between 7 and 13, we may state that our approach recognizes the fact that “it is difficult for children to introspect, to verbalize, and to remain attentive to lengthy tasks.”¹¹¹ This explains our study of the children’s nonverbal reactions during and after the storytelling performances, which enabled us to identify and select the most relevant answers to our questions and analyse the ways in which they could contribute to the understanding of the children’s responses to tales that tackle gender issues.

Moving to the presentation of our corpus, we can say that it is primarily made up of a selection of written folktales from the 19th century to the present and a selection of contemporary folktales that were published as storybooks for children. The first set of folktales, the ones that were collected and transcribed by foreign missionaries as well as foreign and Malagasy scholars and folklorists, were selected from classic folktale anthologies that pertain to three different stages that characterize the collecting of Malagasy folklore. The evolution of folklore collection is precisely documented by Lee Haring in his *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*.¹¹² During the first stage (1818-1860) following Madagascar’s first interactions with the Western world, foreign missionaries did not pay attention to the importance of oral culture as they mainly focused on literacy to help the Malagasy read Scripture. This, however, did not prevent the natives from performing folklore orally. The second stage (1861 – 1896) corresponds to British missionaries’ rising interest in Malagasy folklore. According to Lee Haring, “the collecting and publication of folklore formed the basis of the identity of Madagascar in the minds of English readers.”¹¹³ In other words, the missionaries saw in Malagasy folklore the reflections of Malagasy identity. The collection of folktales and Malagasy oral traditions, *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-*

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992.

¹¹³ Ibid. p. 9.

drazana,¹¹⁴ by Norwegian missionary Lars Dahle, which is in Malagasy¹¹⁵ and constitutes the first source of the folktales that we selected for our study, was produced during this second stage of Malagasy folklore collecting. The book is a revised version of Dahle's *Specimens of Malagasy Folk-Lore*, which, in French linguist and ethnographer Jacques Faublée's words, "was corrected and completed by John Sims and some indigenous collaborators so that the Malagasy and malgachisants discover the interest and value of Madagascar's folklore."¹¹⁶ The tales from this collection are from the capital as well as other regions of the island.¹¹⁷

The third stage (during the colonial period) involves French missionaries' interventions which was motivated by the French's attempt to analyse the Malagasy mind through its folklore in order to ensure the transmission of Western values. In Lee Haring's words, this stage is characterized by "a psychological approach [...] through the products of folklore [...] to reveal the Malagasy mind as a system of beliefs which must be scientifically understood so as to be 'normalized' or 'Europeanized.'"¹¹⁸ The works that we singled out from this stage are those of French folklorists Gabriel Ferrand¹¹⁹ and Charles Renel.¹²⁰ The tales in these two collections are in French.¹²¹ From Gabriel Ferrand's collection, we selected the tales from the "wonder tale" and the "various tales" categories. From the collection by Charles Renel, our selection was made from the categories "explanatory tales," "wonder tales," and "popular tales." It should be

¹¹⁴ Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana*. Antananarivo: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962.

¹¹⁵ In his review of the French translation of the same work, Jacques Faublée writes that the language in Dahle's 1877 text, *Specimens of Malagasy Folk-Lore*, was "the classical Malagasy of the central part of the island." ["en Malgache Classique du centre de l'île. »]. Jacques Faublée. « Dahle (Lars) et Sims (John) : Contes des aïeux malgaches. Anganon'ny ntaolo. Traduit par Denise Dorian et Louis Molet. » In *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* (1994) tome 81 N° 304 3^e trimestre. PP. 382 – 383. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁶ « Complétée et corrigée par John Sims et des collaborateurs autochtones pour que Malgaches et malgachisants découvrent l'intérêt et la valeur du folklore de Madagascar. » Ibid. P. 382. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁷ See Jacques Faublée's comment. Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 11.

¹¹⁹ Gabriel Ferrand. *Contes populaires malgaches*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1893.

¹²⁰ Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1938.

¹²¹ Both writers claim the need to write in a language that would make the work more accessible to European readers. See the introductions on pages II (Ferrand) and VI (Renel).

noted that it is not the categories defined by these authors that mainly determined our selection but rather the themes that were tackled in the tales. A more detailed explanation of our selection criteria will be discussed below.

The last stage, according to Lee Haring, is “the present research” which is mainly conducted by foreign and Malagasy scholars.¹²² Considering the same author’s comment that “a great deal of collecting had been done, but almost none of the collected materials had been analysed,”¹²³ we aim to study a selection of the tales collected during this period with gender lenses. For the purpose of our research, we selected folktales from the works of foreign and Malagasy scholars who have conducted their fieldworks in various regions of Madagascar. We mainly refer to some of the tales collected during the fieldworks of Michel Razafiarivony in Anosibe an’ala (North-Eastern part of Madagascar) and among the Masikoro (ethnic group in the South-Western part of Madagascar)¹²⁴; the anthology of Malagasy tales *La femme qui a des ouïes et autres récits de la tradition orale malgache*¹²⁵ edited by Bernard Terramorsi, a French Professor of Comparative literature at the University of Reunion; the bilingual collection of tales by Malagasy writer and ethnologist Bodo Ravololomanga entitled *Le lac bleu et autres contes de Madagascar*¹²⁶; and the memoir¹²⁷ of American writer Colleen J. McElroy during her travel throughout Madagascar with the aim of uncovering the country’s various storytelling traditions.

¹²² Lee Haring writes that « since indépendance, both Malagasy and French scholars have become absorbed in recovering Madagascar’s past. » *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 11.

¹²³ Ibid. p. 12.

¹²⁴ Michel Razafiarivony. *Richesses culturelles et pauvreté économique d’une société orale (Anosibe an’ala Madagascar)*. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2006.

----. *Ny Harivolana na lahateny nentin-drazana, ain’ny fiarahamonina Malagasy – Masikoro*. » Antananarivo: Trano Printy Loterana Malagasy, 2006.

¹²⁵ Bernard Terramorsi. *La femme qui a des ouïes et autres récits de la tradition orale malgache*. Ille-sur-Têt, St Pierre : Editions K’, 2007.

¹²⁶ Bodo Ravololomanga. *Le lac bleu et autres contes de Madagascar*. Paris : Collection la légende des mondes, Editions l’Harmattan, 1996.

¹²⁷ Colleen J. McElroy. *Over the Lip of the World: Among the Storytellers of Madagascar*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 2001.

The second set of tales is composed of the contemporary tales and children's stories published by the following storytellers: Ny Eja, Rakemba Raketamavo, Nirina Randriamamonjy, and Arikaomisa Randria. Some of these tales were also performed by the storytellers before an audience of children in different contexts. The details about the performances will be discussed in the chapter that is dedicated to their analysis.

For our purposes, we based our selection of the tales from these various sources on the themes that were tackled and the main characters in the folktales. We opted for texts that explicitly deal with gender-related issues, namely the ones that offer explicit representations of men's and women's roles in their communities, as well as the patterns of power relations that shape their interactions. Moreover, we mainly chose to work on folktales that feature humans as the main characters. It is true that animal tales, whereby animals may be given human traits, can be used to reflect human behaviour in general. However, we chose to work on tales with human characters that may deal with gender issues in a more concrete and straightforward way. Indeed, the characteristics and functions of fables, which are tales that feature animal characters and deliver a moral lesson, articulated by British humanist philosopher and writer Harold J. Blackham in *The Fable as Literature* point to the abstract nature of the expression of the messages conveyed in this genre. As Blackham puts it, "although its whole business is to be concrete, it is so in a more or less abstract way [...] It is and remains without an official meaning [...] its meanings are open to reflection."¹²⁸ In that sense, our choice to study tales which directly and explicitly point to issues that pertain to the community's conceptions of gender and gender power relations enables us to discard the myriads of interpretations of a tale which may prevent us from going to the point of our study. Furthermore, this choice was also made for comparative purposes, not only for the comparison of the different versions of the tales that were collected and written from the 19th century to the present, but also for the comparative

¹²⁸ Harold John Blackham. *The Fable as Literature*. London, Dover, New Hampshire: The Athlone Press, 1985. Pp. 223, 224, 243.

study of some of the tales written during this period with contemporary tales and children's stories by professional storytellers. Indeed, some of the tales or children's stories by contemporary storytellers that we selected for our study are mainly inspired by the tales with humans as their main characters.

Secondly, as was stated earlier, apart from analysing Malagasy folktales from the 19th century to the present, we also conducted interviews with Malagasy orators and storytellers and attended their respective performances. Hence, we dedicate a great part of our work to the analysis of the results of our investigation in these contexts. The questions for the interviews were designed to identify, for the orators, their perceptions of women's participation in the field of "kabary" performance in order to understand the current position of Malagasy female orators, and for the storytellers, their conceptions of gender and their various representations of contemporary gender relations in their tales. Our interviews with the members of the audiences for "kabary" performances as well as storytelling performances enabled us to appreciate the audiences' conceptions of gender in order to articulate our arguments about the limitations of and possibilities for female empowerment in the context of our study.

Outline

Our work is divided into three parts. The first part explores the representations of femininity and masculinity in Malagasy folktales from the 19th century to the present. This is meant to understand the gender dynamics that define the statuses and roles for men and women and the power relations between them. The two chapters in this first part of our study respectively deal with the analysis of the definitions of the female and male characters' gender identities, roles, statuses, and experiences in relation to the concepts of idealized femininity and hegemonic masculinity. These chapters highlight the interplay between various forms of

femininity and masculinity and their impacts on the definition of power relations between the male and female characters in the tales under study.

The second part considers the contemporary performance of “kabary” in relation to the concepts of gender awareness and gender responsiveness. Our analysis sheds light on the prevalence of gender differences in the performance of “kabary” despite the growing awareness of the social and cultural changes that promote gender equality. The first chapter in this section explores the differences between traditional and contemporary performances of kabary in relation to the integration of women in this traditionally male field. The position of female orators in the performance of two types of kabary, namely the vodiondry and funeral kabary, is analysed. The second chapter focuses on women’s experiences in the field of kabary performance. It seeks to understand the challenges that they face and identify the extent to which their performance of “kabary” may change perspectives on gender roles and gender relations in the context under study.

The last part sheds light on the possibilities for female empowerment through the analysis of the contemporary production and performance of folktales in Antananarivo. It mainly considers the successes and failures of the empowerment process that is consciously or unconsciously undergone by the female characters in the tales. The first chapter deals with the analysis of a selection of tales written by the storytellers who took part in our study. It examines the ways in which vulnerability as a condition that may be experienced by the male and female characters alike may foster or hinder the latter’s empowerment. It considers the personal, collective, and institutional dimensions of female empowerment based on the storytellers’ gendered representations of the characters in their tales. The last chapter explores the conceptualisation of female empowerment as a process through the analysis of storytelling performances. Considering the interplay between the ideologies conveyed by the tales, the

storytellers' performances, and the audiences' responses, we attempt to propose two itineraries for female empowerment.

PART I: FEMININITY AND MASCULINITY IN WRITTEN MALAGASY FOLKTALES FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT

Introduction

Drawing on Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity as the foundation of male dominance and female subordination,¹ we set out to analyse in this first part of our study the ways in which sociocultural constructions of dominant forms of masculinity and femininity define gender roles and statuses and structure gender power relations in the context of our study. Connell and Messerschmidt conceptualize masculinity, and by extension, femininity as "configurations of practice that are accomplished in social action."² In other words, the concepts of masculinity and femininity are defined by sociocultural practices and not primarily determined by biology, although notions of masculinity and femininity can also be articulated through "body-reflexive practices,"³ which means that social structures also influence gendered individuals' bodily experiences. Connell's approach transcends the definitions of masculinity and femininity formulated in socialization and sex role theories as the individual's "acquisition and internalization of social norms."⁴ Sex role theories, according to Demetrakis Z. Demetriou, a graduate from the University of Sydney who has written a critical review of Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity, fail to conceptualise

¹ Connell argues that « hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women." R.W. Connell. *Masculinities*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005 [1995]. P. 77.

² In R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt. « Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. » *Gender and Society* vol. 19 N°6 (2005). P. 836.

³ Connell maintains that « body-reflexive practices ... are not internal to the individual. They involve social relations and symbolism; they ... involve large-scale social institutions... Through body-reflexive practices, bodies are addressed by social process and drawn into history." R.W. Connell. *Masculinities*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005 [1995]. Pp. 64, 65.

⁴ R.W. Connell. *Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Stanford, California : Stanford University Press, 1987. P. 191.

the “complexities and power relationships within genders”⁵ as well as to articulate “change as internally generated within gender relations themselves.”⁶ Connell’s concept of hegemonic masculinity, according to the same critic, addresses “not only complex nature of femininities and masculinities, [...] the power relationships between genders and within genders, but also the possibility of internally generated change.”⁷ In that sense, the existence of various forms of masculinity and femininity presupposes their interconnectedness and their definition in relation to the idealized forms of masculinity and femininity, which Connell terms as “hegemonic masculinity” and “emphasized femininity.”⁸ The concept of hegemonic masculinity, as is developed by Connell, is based on Italian philosopher and political theorist Antonio Gramsci’s conceptualization of “hegemony.” Connell writes that

Hegemony means [...] a social ascendancy achieved in a play of social forces that extends beyond contests of brute power into the organization of private life and cultural processes [...] Though ‘hegemony’ does not refer to ascendancy based on force, it is not incompatible with ascendancy based on force [...] Hegemony does not mean total cultural dominance, the obliteration of alternatives. It means ascendancy achieved within a balance of forces, that is, a state of play. Other patterns and groups are subordinated rather than eliminated.⁹

This definition, apart from specifying the mechanisms of hegemony, emphasizes the notion of interconnectedness between different patterns of gender identities and gender relations which are defined in relation to the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Indeed, as Connell puts it, “hegemonic masculinity is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women.”¹⁰ In other words, the sustainability

⁵ Demetrakis Z. Demetriou. « Connell’s Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity: A Critique.” *Theory and Society* vol 30 N° 3 (2001). P. 339. Accessed on 23 September 2020.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ R.W. Connell. *Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1987. P. 183.

⁹ Ibid. p. 184.

¹⁰ Ibid. P. 183.

of hegemonic masculinity relies on its interconnection with subordinated forms of masculinity and various forms of femininity. Interestingly, Connell points out that “there is no femininity that is hegemonic in the sense that the dominant form of masculinity is hegemonic among men.”¹¹ In fact, according to the same author, “the concentration of social power in the hands of men leaves limited scope for women to construct institutionalized power relationships over other women [...] [Hence], the organization of a hegemonic form around dominance over the other sex is absent from the social construction of femininity.”¹² In that sense, the concept of emphasized femininity validates the mechanisms of the patriarchal social order which is rooted in the “global dominance of men over women.”¹³ As Connell puts it, emphasized femininity “is defined around compliance with this subordination [of women] and is oriented to accommodating the interests and desires of men [...] These are organized around themes of sexual receptivity in relation to younger women and motherhood in relation to older women.”¹⁴ In other words, the definitions of the dominant form of femininity in a given society, instead of conferring social and political power to women, serve to reinforce men’s power.

It should be noted, however, that the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity, as are defined in the context studied by Connell, may not correspond exactly to the sociocultural meanings of the dominant forms of masculinity and femininity in the context of our study, that is, Malagasy folktales from the 19th century to the present. Indeed, the dominant or idealized forms of masculinity and femininity necessarily differ from one society to another. However, to go on with Connell’s argument, what cannot be denied is “the double context in which [femininities of a given social milieu] are formed: on the one hand in relation to the image and experience of a female body, on the other to the social definition of a

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid. P. 186.

¹³ Ibid. P. 183.

¹⁴ Ibid. P. 183, 186.

woman's place and the cultural oppositions of masculinity and femininity.”¹⁵ We argue that a contextual analysis of the meanings of masculinity and femininity enables us to show the relevance of the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity in the formulation of the power relations that structure the interactions between the male and female characters in the tales as well as the roles and statuses that are attributed to them. Hence, the two chapters in this part of our study will be dedicated to the analysis of the various representations of masculinity and femininity in relation to the concepts of hegemonic masculinity and emphasized or idealized femininity in the tales that we have selected. This enables us to identify the extent to which the differentiation of the male and female characters' roles and statuses contributes to the prevalence of the differential valence of the sexes and hierarchical gender power relations.

CHAPTER 1: Femininities and Idealized Femininity in Malagasy Folktales

The present chapter examines the representations of different forms of femininities in relation to the idealized form of femininity in Malagasy folktales. Based on the previous reflections on Raewyn Connell's approach to gender relations, our analysis also sheds light on the power relations between both genders. It goes in line with gender studies in the Malagasy context after 1985 which, in the words of Sarah Fee, an American anthropologist whose major research focuses on Madagascar, “rejec[t] former functionalist and structural theories that emphasized collective representations and normative descriptions, and which thus tended to present cultures and societies as static, homogeneous units.”¹⁶ Indeed, this approach

¹⁵ Ibid. P. 179.

¹⁶ “Refus des anciennes théories fonctionnalistes et structuralistes qui accentuaient les représentations collectives et les descriptions normatives, et qui avaient donc tendance à présenter les cultures et les sociétés comme des unités statiques, homogènes. » Sarah Fee. “Note introductive sur le genre à Madagascar. » *Revue de l'Institut de Civilisations-Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie Taloha* 13 (2000). Repenser 'la femme malgache': de nouvelles perspectives sur le genre à Madagascar. Rethinking 'la femme malgache': New view on Gender in Madagascar. P. 25. (Translation mine).

acknowledges the plurality of the images of Malagasy women, instead of focusing on a unitary representation of Malagasy women. As Fee puts it, “there cannot exist [...] a single and unique ‘Malagasy woman’ [...] there cannot exist a single ‘image’ or ‘condition’ of women either.”¹⁷ She goes on to say that “like all symbols, man and woman, male and female, are polysemous. The same society may understand several representations of gender, which change or contradict each other depending on the context, and which everyone interprets differently.”¹⁸ Hence, a contextual analysis contributes to the understanding of the various representations of women and their power relations with men.

As was stated earlier, we have set out to study a selection of written Malagasy folktales from the 19th century to the present. In our introduction, we have already hinted at the existence of multiple images of women in these tales while commenting on the contrast between the idealized mythical images of women as goddesses and princesses who are glorified in their maternal and civilizing roles, and the images of women who fail to fulfil the idealized feminine roles of caring mothers and spouses. In fact, the idealized image of women that seems to be mainly emphasized in the tales that we have selected is related to fertility, that is, motherhood; and the socialization of girls in these tales contributes to the perpetuation of the idealization of motherhood. Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana’s statement in *Histoire de l’éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVI^e au milieu du XX^e siècle* supports this point: “given the objective of education in the past, oral literature is associated to fertility in all its forms, and with marriage and love first.”¹⁹ This accounts for the prevalence of themes related to marriage in the tales that

¹⁷ « Il ne peut exister ... une seule et unique ‘femme malgache’ ... il ne peut exister non plus une seule ‘image’ ou ‘condition’ des femmes. » Ibid. P. 31. (Translation mine).

¹⁸ “Comme tous les symboles, l’homme et la femme, le mâle et la femelle, sont polysémiques. Une même société peut comprendre plusieurs représentations de genre, qui changent ou même se contredisent suivant le contexte, et qui sont interprétées différemment par les uns et les autres. » Ibid. P. 26.

¹⁹ « Vu l’objectif de l’éducation d’autrefois, la littérature orale est associée à la fécondité sous toutes ses formes, et d’abord au mariage et à l’amour. » Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana. *Histoire de l’éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVI^e au milieu du XX^e siècle*. Imarivolanitra: Editions Antso, 1996. P. 48. (Translation mine).

feature female protagonists. What seem to be perceived in a negative way, on the other hand, are the images of women who do not fit into this ideal. This calls to mind Connell's comment on the lack of visibility and representation of the categories of women who do not fit into the "conventional" pattern of femininity. Connell says that "conventional historiography recognizes, indeed presupposes, conventional femininity. What is hidden from it is the experience of spinsters, lesbians, unionists, prostitutes, madwomen, rebels and maiden aunts, manual workers, midwives and witches."²⁰ In other words, the idealization of conventional femininity tends to reduce the visibility of "unconventional" femininities while creating a negative perception of the individuals who fall under these categories. Our analysis attempts to capture the experiences of women who embody "marginalized forms of femininity,"²¹ to borrow Connell's terms, while considering the aspects of femininity that are idealized. In order to carry out this project, we have grouped the female characters in the tales into four categories. This enables us to consider the influence of several factors like age, social status and roles on the experiences of the female characters and the construction of the images of women reflected in the tales. These categories are: mothers; girls and young women; female supernatural creatures epitomized by the "zazavindrano;"²² and women that are portrayed in a negative light, namely the wicked stepmothers in most female-centred tales, old women in a limited number of tales, and adulterous women who represent female figures that do not fit into the conventional pattern of femininity. The last category, that of women who are portrayed in a negative light, is referred to as "the Other women" based on the concept of "the Other" articulated by French feminist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir in *The Second Sex*.²³ Nevertheless, the concept of "the Other" is here used in relation to the idealized form of

²⁰ R.W. Connell. *Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1987. P. 188.

²¹ Ibid.

²² This is the indistinct name given to sirens and mermaids in Madagascar.

²³ Simone de Beauvoir. *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989. Translation of *Le deuxième sexe* by H.M. Parshley.

femininity which has been established as “the One”²⁴ but which still constitutes “the Other” if we consider the global relations between men and women. The female characters that fall under each of these categories enjoy a different status and entertain different relationships with the male characters in the tales. Old women, for instance, have lost their chance at becoming wives or active participants in the economic life of the household. They are often portrayed as widowers or childless women. Most of the time, they are the victims of tricks played by young men such as Ikotofetsy and Imahaka in popular Malagasy trickster tales. Sometimes, they are shown as kind benefactresses who help a hero or heroine in their quests. On the other hand, the stories of adulterous women in the tales selected for this study testify to the prevalence of a highly hierarchical and patriarchal structure. At the same time, Malagasy tales offer complicated and realistic portraits of women as mothers. These four categories may also overlap such as in the case of a mermaid who becomes a mother after being taken as the wife of an earthly man. And finally, the analysis of the experiences of female characters within the category of girls and young women illustrates the process of socialization and the construction of gender in the tales under study.

Our study reveals that despite the idealization of certain aspects of femininity, the female characters in the tales somehow play minor and peripheral roles when we examine their experiences in relation to the male characters’ experiences. This echoes African researcher Pauline Ada Uwakweh’s reflection on male-centred Bildungsromans. This author contends that,

the hero, usually male, his world unfolding before him, is the focal point of exploration. His female counterparts (sisters, mothers) are oftentimes tangential to his heroic pursuits. They form the backdrop; their limitations contrasting markedly with the ebullient ambition exhibited by the male hero [...] While he strives for achievement in

²⁴ Simone de Beauvoir writes that “it is not the Other who, in defining himself as the Other, establishes the One. The Other is posed as such by the One in defining himself as the One.” Simone de Beauvoir. *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989. Translation of *Le deuxième sexe* by H.M. Parshley. P. XXIV.

the public sphere [...], the women remain in the private sphere, confined by tradition and gender to limited roles.²⁵

In other words, the female characters usually play peripheral and traditional feminine roles tied to the private sphere in contrast to the male characters who play central roles in the public sphere. Charles Renel, in his introduction to the first volume of *Contes de Madagascar*, describes the characterization of the heroes in his collection as follows: “the most common theme is the struggle undertaken by the predestined hero against powerful enemies, cruel kings, animals or monsters, either to acquire wealth or to conquer a beautiful young woman [...] It should be noted that this episode of the quest for a woman is rarely the only theme or the main theme.”²⁶ On the contrary, the experiences of the female characters in the tales from Renel’s collection and in our selection of tales, revolve around issues related to marriage which highlight their victimized status and their dependency on the male characters.²⁷ Indeed, the female characters in the tales that we have selected seem to be trapped in their limited gender roles. Most of them find their fulfilment in performing their roles as mothers, spouses and housewives whereas the male characters pursue significant goals that provide them with fame and social recognition. Those who cannot play these idealized feminine roles, as is the case of old women, are given less significant roles. The others who seem to subvert social norms, such as adulteresses, are severely reprimanded in order to reinforce the conventional pattern of femininity. Investigating the relationships between these various representations of femininity

²⁵ Pauline Ada Uwakweh. “Carving a Niche: Visions of Childhood in Buchi Emecheta’s *The Bride Price* and Tsitsi Dangarembga’s *Nervous Conditions*.” *Childhood in African Literature. A Review*. Oxford, NJ: James Currey Ltd, Africa World Press, 1998. Pp. 10, 11.

²⁶ « Le thème le plus habituel est la lutte entreprise par le héros prédestiné contre des ennemis puissants, rois cruels, animaux ou monstres, soit pour parvenir à la fortune, soit pour conquérir une belle jeune femme... Il est à remarquer que cet épisode de la conquête de la femme est rarement le thème unique ou le thème principal. » *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. Pp. XXVII, XXXVI. (Translation mine).

²⁷ Renel refers to the issue of female rivalry in tales that feature a polygamous man or female characters from different social classes who fight for a noble man. He also mentions the cases of victimized heroines who are either « taken for wife[s], or kidnapped, or drowned by an animal. » [Epousée, ou enlevée, ou noyée par un animal]. Ibid. P. XXXVII. (Translation mine).

while considering their interactions with the representations of masculinity enables us to uncover the underlying ideologies that structure gender relations in the Malagasy tales that we study.

1.1.The Face of Motherhood in Malagasy Folktales

In a country whose average fertility rate for the period 1960 to 2017 is 6.1²⁸, it is undeniable that childbearing and by extension motherhood has a particularly elevated value. In fact, in Malagasy societies in general, children symbolize wealth to the parents. Parents expect their children to take care of them when they grow old. In the countryside, children are expected to help with the chores inside and outside the house. When a boy is born, the Malagasy say, “congratulations! You have received a wood-picker.”²⁹ In case the newborn baby is a girl, they say, “congratulations! You have received a water-fetcher.”³⁰ The Malagasy expression “valim-babena” or the act of taking care of old parents in order to acknowledge what they have done for the children mainly expresses the parents’ expectations from their children. The phrase literally means “in return for being carried on the [parents’] back.”³¹ It symbolizes the care that the parents have given to their children, which required physical as well as mental effort. However, apart from being perceived as valuable resources for both parents, children traditionally play an important part in defining the status of women in most Malagasy societies.

²⁸ Taux de fertilité (naissance par femme), Madagascar. *Perspective monde*, Université de Sherbrooke, Québec, Canada, <http://perspective.usherbrooke.ca/bilan/servlet/BMTendanceStatPays?codePays=MDG&codeStat=SP.DYN.TFR.T.IN>. Accessed 30 March 2020.

²⁹ “Arahabaina fa nahazo mpaka kitay!” (Translation mine).

³⁰ “Arahabaina fa nahazo mpatsaka rano!” (Translation mine).

³¹ “Le prix d’avoir porté sur le dos.” Bodo Ravololomanga. *Etre femme et mère à Madagascar (Tanala d’Ifanadiana)*. Paris : L’Harmattan, 1992. P. 17. (Translation mine).

According to Bodo Ravololomanga, this expression “puts the emphasis on the mutual assistance between parents and children.” [« Met l’accent sur l’assistance réciproque entre parents et enfants »]. Ibid. P. 18. (Translation mine).

As Mireille Rabenoro states in her article “Motherhood in Malagasy Society: A Major Component in the Tradition Vs. Modernity conflict,”

As in many early human societies, where life was precarious and child mortality rates were high, in traditional Malagasy society life was precious, and mothers, being a source of life, were venerated as an essential factor in the perpetuation of the family, and hence of the very social group. In contrast, childless women were, if not despised, at least neglected, not only by their husbands and in-laws, but also by the social group as a whole. In traditional law, women who have not given birth had practically no rights [...] as opposed to mothers, who had the law on their side to defend their rights in all kinds of respects.³²

Similarly, Malanjaona Rakotomalala reiterates that “traditionally, among the Merina, women only acquire their rights in society when they are married, and especially when they have children.”³³ Significantly, Rabenoro notes that “motherhood as a very high-ranking value is deeply inlaid in Malagasy culture”³⁴ and despite the influence of “successive shocks of modernity – [namely] the rise of the State, evangelization, colonization, urbanization – [it] is still very much present in people’s minds (if not always in their practices) as well as in the law.”³⁵ Hence, the cult of motherhood and the appreciation of women’s value through their capacity to have children still prevail in modern societies. This can be observed in Malagasy rituals and customs which highlight the value of women’s fertility. The attribution of specific tasks to women in agricultural activities, especially in the cultivation of rice, is a case in point. It reinforces Malagasy beliefs about the relationship between women’s fertility and agriculture.

³² Mireille Rabenoro. “Motherhood in Malagasy Society: A Major Component in the Tradition Vs. Modernity Conflict.” *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies* N°4 (2003). P. 2.

³³ « Chez les Merina, traditionnellement, les femmes n’acquièrent leurs pleins droits dans la société qu’une fois mariées, et surtout quand elles ont des enfants. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 145. (Translation mine).

³⁴ Mireille Rabenoro. “Motherhood in Malagasy Society: A Major Component in the Tradition Vs. Modernity Conflict.” *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies* N°4 (2003). P. 1.

³⁵ Ibid.

Such beliefs are translated into the observation of specific rituals and customs in the handling of crops and rice cultivation. As is reported by Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana,

The solidarity of woman and agriculture explains the existence of strictly feminine agricultural activities [...] because she is supposed to be marked by powerful fertility. [Hence] given their capacity to conceive and bear children, women have the responsibility of sowing the grains and planting the seedlings and the roots, for we hope that the grains and the roots that they have planted would bear more abundant fruits.³⁶

This, according to the same author, makes “the Malagasy woman [...] the priestess of fecundity [...], a symbol of the creative and productive force, in order to provide good crops and a good harvest.”³⁷ In other words, the attribution of specific feminine roles to women in agricultural practices rests on the belief that women’s fertility, as a highly-valued capacity, influences the products.

Another Malagasy author, Bodo Ravololomanga, who has examined the status of Malagasy women as mothers among the Tanala, from the south-eastern part of Madagascar, asserts that

the positive image given to the woman mother is well illustrated in the comparison with rice, this sacred food which is considered to have a divine origin. The development of the plant’s fertility corresponds to the evolution of a woman’s pregnancy. Before the heading, the Tanala say *betroky ny vare* ‘the rice is growing.’ Referring to the grains that reach maturity and produce a milky juice under finger pressure, the Tanala say that the rice is lactating.³⁸

³⁶ « La solidarité de la femme et de l’agriculture explique les activités agricoles strictement féminines ... Car elle est supposée marquée d’une puissance de fertilité ... de par leur attitude à concevoir et à mettre au monde des enfants, les femmes ont la tâche de semer les graines et de planter les plants et les racines, car on espère que les graines et les racines qu’elles ont plantées porteraient des fruits plus abondants. » Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana. *Histoire de l’éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVIe au milieu du XXe siècle*. Imarivolanitra : Editions Antso, 1996. Pp. 38, 44. (Translation mine).

³⁷ « La femme malgache ... une prêtresse de la fécondité [...], symbole de la force créatrice et productrice, afin de donner une bonne récolte, une bonne moisson. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

³⁸ « L’image valorisante accordée à la femme mère est bien illustrée dans la comparaison faite avec le riz, cette nourriture sacrée considérée avoir une origine divine. Au développement de la fertilité de la plante correspond l’évolution de la grossesse de la femme. Avant l’épiaison, les Tanala disent *betroky ny vare* ‘le riz est épanoui.’ Pour les grains arrivés à maturité et qui produisent un liquide laiteux sous la pression des doigts, les Tanala disent *mandronono ny vare* ‘le riz a sa montée de lait.’ » Bodo Ravololomanga. « La dignité de la femme Tanala. » *Revue*

This assimilation of women's fertility to the growing of rice, which allegedly confers an elevated status to women, tends to reinforce women's biological roles. In that sense, it somehow lays the foundation for the sexual division of labour in the community under study. In any case, the cult of motherhood has significant implications on gender relations.

In Malagasy oral literature, the importance of motherhood is also underlined, especially through the negative representation of childless women. Several Malagasy proverbs, for instance, express the Malagasy's dread of infertility. As can be read in English missionary J. A. Houlder's collection of Malagasy proverbs, "like a sterile woman: when she is hungry, she has no one to ask something from; when she has plenty, she has no one to give to"³⁹; "the sterile woman is unloved by her husband, it is only after her death that she is called 'honey'"⁴⁰; "the sterile woman is quite miserable for she catches grasshoppers for other women's children"⁴¹; "like a sterile woman, nobody calls her mother."⁴² These proverbs suggest that being childless is a great misfortune and a source of public shame for a woman. As regards Malagasy tales, we can single out the example of the tale "Iboniamasiboniamanoro" from Dahle's collection. In this tale, a wealthy old man gathers all his male children with their wives and families and possessions. He publicly humiliates his daughter in law, Rasoabemanana, because she cannot have children. The situation is so unbearable to Rasoabemanana that she is ready to go through a multitude of trials in order to get a potion that is supposed to give her a child. The ordeal consists in trying to catch the potion amidst natural disasters. Later, when she manages to catch it, she has to carry the child for ten years. The child itself is predicted to be a dreadful child by the fortune-teller who warns Rasoabemanana before she accepts to carry it. Despite everything,

de l'Institut de Civilisations-Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie Taloha 13 (2000). Repenser 'la femme malgache' : de nouvelles perspectives sur le genre à Madagascar. Rethinking 'la femme malgache': New view on Gender in Madagascar. P. 102. (Translation mine).

³⁹ "Toy ny momba: noana, tsy manan-kangatahana, voky, tsy manan-kotolorana." J.A. Houlder. *Ohabolana. Proverbes malgaches*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1960. P. 160. (Translation mine).

⁴⁰ "Ikala momba tsy tian-dahy, ka maty vao Ramalala." Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁴¹ "Mahita loza Ikalamomba, fa misambo-balala ho an-janak'olona." Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁴² "Hoatra ny momba: tsy misy manao azy reny." Ibid. (Translation mine).

Rasoabemanana chooses to have the child, saying that “it is better to have an offspring to inherit oneself even if it is a disaster.”⁴³ The importance of motherhood that is reflected in these oral literary genres indicate that women’s worth is constantly defined in relation to others, be they men as their husbands, in-laws, children or women as potential rivals. It is the husband or the father in-law who express their dissatisfaction if the woman cannot conceive. It is her ability or incapacity to conceive which determines the ways in which society as a whole looks at her. And, as is suggested by the previously quoted proverb, “the sterile woman is quite miserable for she catches grasshoppers for other women’s children,” the issue of motherhood can create conflict between women. Indeed, those who cannot have children may perceive themselves as victims (taking care of children that are not their own) or act as villains by plotting against the other women who have children. We argue that the idealization of motherhood influences the definitions of women’s status, roles and identities in Malagasy tales. Becoming a mother or having the capacity to conceive is not only a social standard that guarantees social acceptance and prestige for women but also reflects the regulation of relations between women as well as relations between men and women. For that matter, the idealization of motherhood has tremendous impacts on the shaping of the identities of the female characters who become mothers and on the various roles assigned to mothers in the tales. The two subparts of this section of our study analyse the definitions of the female characters’ identities and roles in relation to the ideology of motherhood as well as the impact of this ideology on the relationships between women and their relations with men. The last subpart is dedicated to the case of women who fail to adhere to this standard.

1.1.1. Female Identity and the Concept of Motherhood in Malagasy Folktales

⁴³ “Aleo ihany manan-kandova, na dia antambo aza.” Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana*. Antananarivo: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 7. (Translation mine).

Our previous description of the idealization of motherhood in most Malagasy societies, and by extension in Malagasy oral literature, highlighted the importance of children, women's fear of infertility, and women's opportunity to enjoy an elevated status by virtue of being mothers. However, it does not provide an in-depth explanation of what it means to be a mother nor refer to the social expectations for mothers. We intend to address these points in this part of our study by analysing the representations of the mothers in our selection of Malagasy tales. When we talk about the defining characteristics of the "ideal" mother, we necessarily think of the myth of the maternal instinct, which, according to South African feminist psychologists Floretta Boonzaier et al, refer to the "assumption that all women desire motherhood and will adapt 'naturally' to its demands."⁴⁴ In other words, all women are assumed to enjoy the fact of being mothers and are perceived to be naturally nurturing. In the tales under study, however, even if motherhood is idealized, not all the female characters express a natural inclination to become mothers and their relationships with their children suggest various understandings of the image of the nurturing mother. Furthermore, feminist philosopher Sara Ruddick's views on maternal thinking in relation to the concept of "maternal practice"⁴⁵ brings useful clarifications to the meaning of maternal instinct. Ruddick contends that women are "'mothers' just because and to the degree that they are committed to meeting demands that define maternal work [...] to be a mother is to be committed to meeting these demands by works of preservative love, nurturance, and training."⁴⁶ It means that the care and nurture that mothers provide for their children reflect their choice to satisfy the children's needs, which also implies that they have the choice not to be committed to the fulfilment of these needs. Indeed, Ruddick points to the "optional character first of perceiving 'vulnerability' and then of responding with care."⁴⁷ Her argument underlines the fact that while mothers are commonly expected to respond to the needs

⁴⁴ Floretta Boonzaier et al. *The Gender of Psychology*. Cape Town, South Africa: UCT Press, 2006. P. 237.

⁴⁵ Sara Ruddick. *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace*. New York: Ballantine, 1990. P. 17.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 18.

of their children with care, children being vulnerable and dependent, this does not exclude the fact that there are women who refuse to take on this responsibility. Hence, it would be a mistake to assume that maternal instinct is an irresistible force that prompts women to take care of their children. In reality, it is not automatic for all mothers to respond to children's demands with positive care. Significantly, the same author notes that "th[e] universal need of human children creates and defines a category of human work,"⁴⁸ which alludes to the fact that maternal work is usually associated to women. Yet, as American sociologist Miriam M. Johnson puts it, "maternal thinking is not something that only women can do [though] most men [...] will probably need more training to be able to think maternally."⁴⁹ In that sense, maternal instinct, instead of being an innate quality that is found in all women, corresponds to a social construction that binds women to the caring of their children while men are assigned other functions. In our analysis of the tales that follow, we intend to examine the female characters' motivations for becoming mothers in order to identify the extent to which the myth of maternal instinct holds true. Apart from that, we also consider the different ways in which these female characters embody their role as mothers.

In tales that highlight conflicts between women, we may argue that the female characters' desire to become mothers mainly springs from their more emphasized desire to impress or to please a man. This can be observed in the representation of the hostile relationships and competitive interactions between the female characters in their efforts to become the favourite wife of a polygamous man. The female protagonists in these tales, who express the fervent desire to become mothers, are the victims of the female antagonists. We can cite the example of the tale "les trois princesses et Andriamohamona" from Gabriel Ferrand's collection. In this tale, the three princesses compete in order to please their husband, Andriamohamona. Each of

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Miriam M. Johnson. *Strong Mothers, Weak Wives. The Search for Gender Equality*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford: University of California Press, 1988. P. 32.

them imagines the best gift that they could give to their husband. The youngest sister elicits jealousy in her elder sisters when she says that her greatest desire is to satisfy her husband by giving him a baby. The elder sisters' reactions, namely their mistreatment of their youngest sister, indicate their frustration for not having the same insight as their sister, as well as their unvoiced fear of being unable to conceive, as opposed to their rival sister who is already more beautiful than them. The listeners would easily identify with the female protagonist in this tale and subscribe to the ideology that she represents, namely the idealization of motherhood as the greatest gift that a woman could give to her husband. A more elaborate version of this tale is found in Lars Dahle's collection.⁵⁰ While Ferrand's version focuses on the rivalry between the three sisters in their attempts to win a man's love and attention, Dahle's version develops the motherhood theme further. The youngest sister gives birth to triplets which the jealous elder sisters steal, put in a box, and throw in the river. Both tales support the idea that the female characters compete in order to win their husband's love and they consider motherhood as an effective means to achieve this goal. This explains the jealous women's capacity to perform horrendous acts against their rival who has borne children before them. Hence, the competition between the three sisters revolves around the common female concern to impress a man. However, the tension culminates when the issue of motherhood comes to the picture because it is an attribute that is readily given to some (the youngest sister) but excluded from others (the elder sisters). In that sense, it can be said that the representation of the female characters' desire for motherhood in these tales does not principally come from a natural inclination to embody the role of a mother. Rather, the desire for motherhood seems to be the result of the interaction between social factors that define the position of women in relation to men. The same can be said about the female character, Rasoabemanana, in the previously mentioned tale "Iboniamasiboniamanoro," who expresses a fervent desire to have a child because of her father-

⁵⁰ « Haitraitra an'olombelona, zaka an'nanahary. » Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. Pp. 64 – 69.

in-law's public humiliation of her and her husband for not having an offspring. This tale reinforces the point that instead of being merely a natural inclination, women's desire for children may be triggered by social factors. Nevertheless, although the desire for motherhood is represented as a means to the more obvious end of impressing a man in the tales about the three princesses and as a means to mind one's public image in the case of Rasoabemanana, it can somehow be viewed as a major component of womanhood, and to some extent, the culmination of a married woman's achievements.

As regards the myth about women's nurturing nature, the tales under study reflect the various ways in which the female characters handle motherhood. A tale from the Masikoro community collected by Michel Razafiarivony precisely offers a perspective on the ways in which a female character handles motherhood and develops nurturing qualities. The tale is entitled "Ampelamoa" in the original dialect or "Ramoana" in the official Malagasy, which literally means "the mute lady." The story is that of a mute woman, Ramoana, taken as the fourth spouse of a king. She gives birth to a son but being mute, she is unable to sing lullabies to the baby when it cries, so it is the father who does so to stop the baby from crying. Yet, the king has to go on a mission and commands his other wives to lull his baby when he is gone. The other wives follow his order but stop doing so after a while, leaving the baby crying alone with its mother. That is when Ramoana begins to sing and in the end, when the king discovers that she has managed to speak, he leaves all his other wives and keeps Ramoana as his only wife. It is made clear in this tale that motherhood gives a woman the power to speak. In the king's words: "[a]nyone who is mute, even when they do not speak when we force them, once they have a baby, they must speak."⁵¹ This statement clearly suggests that motherhood develops in women the necessary qualities, in this case the ability to speak and sing lullabies, for taking

⁵¹ « Na iza na iza moana, na iza olona tsy miteny raha sokirim-bava, rehefa miteraka tsy maintsy miteny. » Michel Razafiarivony. *Ny Harivolana na lahateny nentin-drazana, ain'ny fiarahamonina Malagasy – Masikoro*. Antananarivo: Trano Printy Loterana Malagasy, 2006. P. 184. (Translation mine).

care of their babies. Nevertheless, though the capacity to speak or to sing lullabies can be perceived as the expression of a subconscious inclination to take care of the baby, the fact that it was mainly imposed by the circumstances, namely the absence of the husband and the other wives, cannot be overlooked. This leads us to the interpretation that the female protagonist, Ramoana, may have primarily concealed her capacity to speak for specific reasons. Two explanations may be suggested: first, Ramoana's inability to speak entails the reversal of gender roles in the tale. Since Ramoana is mute, it is the king who performs the traditional feminine role of nursing the baby. This reinforces the previously quoted views which underline the fact that maternal thinking is not solely reserved for women. Second, the revelation of Ramoana's ability to speak elevates her to the higher status of being the king's only wife. It may be argued that Ramoana may have concealed her ability to speak as a strategy to acquire this status since she could hardly do so if she were an ordinary wife. Instead, the miraculous fact about her acquisition of the capacity to speak makes her stand out among the king's other wives.

A consideration of the tale "Rafarazanadrano" or "the youngest child of the water" from Dahle's collection may support our interpretation. Indeed, this tale presents some similarities to that of Ramoana in that it features a female protagonist, Rafarazanadrano, a mermaid, who pretends to be mute after being captured by the king Andriambahoaka who tricks her and steals her to make her his wife. A baby is born out of their union.⁵² Rafarazanadrano sings lullabies to the baby when Andriambahoaka is away. Andriambahoaka eventually discovers the truth and prompts her to speak in front of him but she refuses to do so. The king vents his anger at her and beats her, which causes the mermaid to leave everything, including her baby, and go back to the water world. Andriambahoaka runs after her and pleads with her to come back home but she refuses. He ends up living in the sea with her. The tale specifies that it is the origin of

⁵² The baby's name, Ravelonihafiana, seems to express the pain endured by its mother. The name literally means "the baby who lives out of sacrifice," which may allude to Rafarazanadrano's ordeal of being forced into an unwanted marriage.

uxorilocal residence: “it is said that this Andriambahoaka is the great ancestor of men who follow their wives; and it is also said that this tale is the origin of the saying ‘wives and children are meant to be followed, hence, wherever they are, one must follow them.’”⁵³ Although Rafarazanadrano’s pretended muteness is an expression of her disapproval of Andriambahoaka’s actions, it can also be viewed as a strategy to gain power over Andriambahoaka. Indeed, the power struggle between the mermaid and the king puts both protagonists on an equal footing as one stole the other by force and the latter retaliates by refusing to submit to him. Moreover, the woman is ready to trade her baby for power and recognition. Though some form of maternal affection seems to be involved in the caring for the baby - Rafazanadrano sings “Ravelonihafiana, Ravelonihafiana, hush, hush, the fragment of my life, my love”⁵⁴ - the woman readily gives up the baby for her own interests. And as the ending of the tale suggests, she manages to make Andriambahoaka submit to her.

Motherhood can thus be perceived as means used by the two women in both tales to elevate their status: Ramoana and Rafarazanadrano employ strategies that involve the caring for their babies in order to reach their goals. This calls to mind Adrienne Rich’s statement that “powerless women have always used mothering as a channel [...] for their own human will to power.”⁵⁵ It is true that Rich mainly refers to powerless women’s exercise of authority on their

⁵³ « Io Andriambahoaka io, hono, no razan’ny lehibe mpanara-bady; ary izao angano izao koa, hono, no nisehoan’ily fitenenana hoe : ‘Ny vady aman-janaka fanaraka, ka na aiza tany misy azy dia tsy maintsy arahina. » Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 64. (Translation mine).

⁵⁴ Ravelonihafiana o, Ravelonihafiana! Mangina, mangina, hoy aho, ry sombin’aiko, ry havako.” Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 61. (Translation from Colleen J. McElroy’s collection). A variant of the tale Rafarazanadrano is found in Colleen J. McElroy’s collection. It is entitled “Rafara – Girl of the Waters.” Colleen J. McElroy. *Over the Lip of the World. Among the Storytellers of Madagascar*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1999. Pp 79 – 83. The tale is said to come from the northern part of Madagascar, Antsiranana. The storyline is very similar to Dahle’s manuscript, except for the part where Rafara cries when Andriambahoaka beats her and her tears turn into torrents that bring her back to where she was from. In Dahle’s version, Rafarazanadrano does not cry after the beating but keeps on pretending to be mute until Andriambahoaka is absent and that is when she packs up to leave.

⁵⁵ Adrienne Rich. *Of Woman Born. Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1986. P. 38.

powerless children. However, her statement is relevant in the case of the two female characters in our tales. Ramoana and Rafarazanadrano, who are initially victims of male superiority, express their will to power by pretending to withhold maternal care from their babies. This disrupts the gender order in both tales as gender roles are reversed in “Ramoana” and male submission to the female protagonist’s will is observed in “Rafarazanadrano.”

In the other tales that we have selected, the female characters’ embodiment of their role as mothers does not always reflect the possession of an unfaltering nurturing quality. Significantly, Simone de Beauvoir rightfully points out in *The Second Sex*, based on the examples of the mothers that she studies, that “no maternal ‘instinct’ exists [...] The mother’s attitude depends on her total situation and her reaction to it.”⁵⁶ Hence, the various experiences of women entail differing reactions to motherhood, which may not always be perceived as positive expressions of maternal feeling. The relevance of this statement can be observed in the cases of the female characters in our tales. The tale “Isilakolona” from Dahle’s *Anganon’ny Ntaolo* precisely offers a critical representation of the nature of the love and affection that the male protagonist’s mother feels for him. The tale relates the story of Isilakolona, who, as is indicated in his name, is half-man because the other part of his body is a tree. Isilakolona’s father, after being prompted by his brothers, decides to cast him out because he represents weakness and incapacity. Isilakolona’s mother refuses to abandon her handicapped son, so both live together outside the village. The brothers, who want to prove their strength and worth by capturing the most dangerous creatures that nobody has ever managed to capture, embark on an expedition during which they constantly ask Isilakolona to accompany them. It is actually Isilakolona who manages to capture or kill the creatures while the brothers are overwhelmed by fear and incapacity. However, the brothers pretend to their father that they are the ones who

⁵⁶ Simone de Beauvoir. *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989. Translation of *Le deuxième sexe* by H.M. Parshley. P. 511.

captured or killed the creatures. In the end, Isilakolona refuses to yield the last creatures to the brothers, which reveals the latter's lie and entails social recognition for Isilakolona.

It should be noted that Isilakolona's mother plays a peripheral role in this tale since the focus is on the male characters' adventures. However, the brief references to her attitude as a mother are particularly useful for our analysis. Isilakolona's mother displays great love and affection, which seem to be motivated by empathy, for her son. She is ready to be divorced from her husband in order to remain with her son because she "cannot stand parting with [her] child, cannot let go of the last of [her] life."⁵⁷ The mother's reaction in this tale echoes the value of children in Malagasy societies. As can be observed in the common expression "menaky ny aina" which is used to refer to children. This expression, which literally means the "oil of one's life," suggests that children are the fuel that enables one to live. The attitude of Isilakolona's mother also calls to mind the expression, "sombin'ny aina" or "part of one's life," which is frequently used to express the value of children. Indeed, Isilakolona's mother identifies her life with the child's by calling him "the last of her life." Her affection, however, tends to be excessive when she adopts an overprotective attitude in front of the danger that her son must face in order to be acknowledged by society. In the tale, Isilakolona has to capture dangerous creatures with his brothers and finds himself threatened by the brothers after each expedition so that the brothers may pretend that they were the ones who captured the creatures. Before the last expedition which consists in capturing man-eating creatures, Isilakolona's mother begs him to abandon this quest lest he should lose his life. Isilakolona refuses to give in to his mother's plea. If we consider the fact that Isilakolona's participation in this last quest is crucial for his reintegration into society after being cast out by his father because of his handicap, the mother's overprotective attitude can be perceived as an irrational act. This calls to mind what English

⁵⁷ «Tsy mba mahazaka ny hisaraka amin-jana[ny], tsy toha[ny] ny hamoy ny faran'ny ai[ny].» Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 116. (Translation mine).

writer Mary Wollstonecraft refers to as “brutish [affection] [which] loses the venerable aspect of a duty, and assumes the fantastic form of a whim.”⁵⁸ In other words, this writer suggests that without reason, some women’s affection for their children, which is far from being selfless, does not always have a positive impact on their children. In that sense, it can be argued that the desire of Isilakolona’s mother to protect her son is motivated by her own need to calm her fear of the danger represented by the creatures, and does not take into account her son’s need to find his place in society.

Similarly, in the tale “Imaitsoanala” from the same collection, the mother figure displays a complex embodiment of her role as a mother. The tale is that of a mother bird, Ivorombe,⁵⁹ that has hatched all her eggs except for one egg, which she has put aside and intends to eat later. The other baby birds have left the nest once they have learnt how to fly. Meanwhile, the last egg has also hatched, but into a baby, which Ivorombe considers as her own. She entrusts the baby, named Imaitsoanala, to a slave girl, Iangoria, while she goes out to steal all the things that the baby may need. Every time she comes back home, she calls out to the slave girl and her baby, fearing that somebody has stolen them. Each time, the slave girl reassures her that no one is interested in stealing them. However, one day, when the king Andriambahoaka notices the baby girl playing outside on the small island where her mother bird dwells, he voices his desire to marry the little girl once she is grown up. The king eventually takes the girl with him when she is old enough. When Ivorombe returns to her home and discovers that her daughter is gone, she is enraged and follows the elopers. Once she catches them at the king’s village, she removes her daughter’s eyes and skin. This makes it difficult for Imaitsoanala to face the contest imposed by Andriambahoaka’s other wives. Upon realizing the pain endured by her daughter, Ivorombe decides to restore her eyes and skin. Imaitsoanala thus wins the contest. The former wives who

⁵⁸ Mary Wollstonecraft. *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1989 [1792]. P. 160.

⁵⁹ We will refer to Ivorombe as a female character in the tale, not as an animal. Hence, we will use the third-person pronoun “she” instead of “it.”

initiated the contest are ridiculed and flee out of public shame. They fall in a pit and die. This makes Imitsoanala the only wife of Andriambahoaka. The tale ends with the birth of Imitsoanala and Andriambahoaka's baby boy without further reference to the mother bird.

Two main points can be singled out in this tale regarding the mother's ways of handling motherhood. First, Ivorombe as a single parent epitomizes the experiences of women who work hard in order to provide for their children's needs. This compels them to entrust the caring of their babies to nurses. In the tale under study, Ivorombe steals anything that she can from humans in order to satisfy her baby's needs. She milks a cow to feed the baby. As the latter grows up and turns into a beautiful young woman, she steals jewels and clothes to make her look even more beautiful. Furthermore, to help her daughter win the contest, Ivorombe also steals jewels and nice fabrics. This is her way of showing her love and affection for her daughter, which calls to mind Simone de Beauvoir's statement that "[the mother's] existence is justified by the wants she supplies."⁶⁰ Even when her daughter has disappointed Ivorombe by marrying Andriambahoaka without her consent, this mother bird still runs to her rescue when Imitsoanala is in trouble. It is Ivorombe who completes the tasks that Imitsoanala's rivals impose on her while her eyes and skin are missing. This seems to signal a genuine motherly love. However, if we consider the second point, the fact that she inflicts a severe punishment for her daughter's misconduct, we may have a critical understanding of her role as a mother. The removal of the girl's eyes and skin not only deprives her of the beauty that made her attractive in the eyes of Andriambahoaka but also reduces her capacity to perform tasks that are easily done if she had these parts of her body. In that sense, Ivorombe's reaction seems to reinforce her daughter's dependence on her. In fact, more than merely incarnating the importance of the obtention of the parents' consent before the marriage of an offspring, the

⁶⁰ Simone de Beauvoir. *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989. Translation of *Le deuxième sexe* by H.M. Parshley. P. 513.

mother-daughter relationship in this tale reflects the complex nature of the motherly care and affection provided by Ivorombe. Her constant anxiety of losing her daughter every time she comes back home and her reaction upon discovering Imaitsoanala's elopement show that she is a possessive mother. This suggests that the mother projects herself into her daughter in the way described by Simone de Beauvoir who writes that "the child is a double, an alter ego, into whom the mother is sometimes tempted to project herself entirely, but he is an independent subject and therefore rebellious."⁶¹ It is this independence, which entails separation, that the mother bird in "Imaitsoanala" can hardly accept. We may further refer to Simone de Beauvoir's views on the impact of this kind of separation on the mother. Quoting Hegel's statement about the relationship between parents and their children, de Beauvoir writes that "the child [...] is the very being of [parents'] love which is external to them, and, inversely, the child will attain his own being in separating from its source, a separation in which that source finds its end."⁶² In other words, the mother finds her fulfilment in the child and the fear of being separated from it creates disturbing feelings that account for her attitude as a mother. In the case of Ivorombe, her anxiety and excessive possessiveness motivate the cruel punishment that she reserves for her daughter. The two facets of Ivorombe's identity as a mother, which are marked by the coexistence of contradictory values, point to Simone de Beauvoir's statement that "maternity is usually a strange mixture of narcissism, altruism, idle daydreaming, sincerity, bad faith, devotion, and cynicism."⁶³ As a matter of fact, Ivorombe certainly displays genuine love and care for her daughter, but she is also extremely harmful due to the complex feelings that the experience of motherhood produces in her.

1.1.2. The Social Construction of the Motherly Role in Malagasy Folktales

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 512.

⁶² Ibid. P. 497.

⁶³ Ibid. P. 513.

We have previously analysed the experiences of the female characters in a selection of Malagasy tales in relation to the concept of motherhood. We mainly tried to identify the extent to which the myth of maternal thinking holds true for these female characters in different contexts. We concluded that the female characters' motivations for becoming mothers as well as their various ways of handling motherhood, which is not always characterized by selfless care and unconditional love, point to the limitations of the myth of maternal thinking in understanding the representations of the concept of motherhood in Malagasy folktales. The argument about the irrelevance of the myth about women's nurturing nature prompts us to further consider the social construction of the roles attributed to mothers in this section.

In their article "Feminist Perspectives on Motherhood and Reproduction," sociologists Gerda Neyer and Laura Bernardi write that "the social perceptions of motherhood are constructed so as to allow the exploitation of women as bearers of children and as rearers of children."⁶⁴ In other words, women are socially defined as the primary caretakers of children. The same authors argue that, "when motherhood is framed as 'natural,' social motherhood (that is the care work done by mothers and the rearing of children) appears as women's 'natural' responsibility and at the same time as performed out of natural love."⁶⁵ This suggests that the social construction of the motherly role relies on the assumption about mothers' natural disposition to love and to take care of their children. Indeed, current feminist researches investigate the reasons why the primary responsibility for taking care of children falls on women, rather than men. In *Mothering. Essays in Feminist Theory*, sociologist Margaret Rivka Polatnick, who was involved in the women's movement in the 1960's, tackles the issue of men

⁶⁴ Gerda Neyer and Laura Bernardi. "Feminist Perspectives on Motherhood and Reproduction." *Historical Social Research* 36 (2) (2011). P. 166.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 165.

and women's responsibility in childrearing from a power analysis approach. Her findings are based on the premise that

men as a gender enjoy a superior position in relation to women as a gender. That is, they are in control of the major sources of societal power (political, economic, social, physical), and their superordinate position and the subordinate position of women are buttressed by an ideology of male supremacy and female inferiority.⁶⁶

This accounts for the sexual division of labour which translates into unequal responsibilities for men and women as regards parenting. Similarly, in the same collection of essays, feminist philosopher Virginia Held points to the social expectations for men and women as are described in legal textbooks: "the husband is to provide the family with food, clothing, shelter, and as many of the amenities of life as he can manage [...] the wife is to be mistress of the household, maintaining the home with the resources furnished by the husband and caring for the children."⁶⁷ Although this statement primarily applies to Western societies, the social structure in Malagasy societies presents an unbalanced sexual division of labour whereby women are also assumed to be the primary caretakers of children. The difference is that in Malagasy societies, women's role as mothers was originally highly valued and mothers enjoyed a privileged status. This is what Mireille Rabenoro suggests in her article "Motherhood in Malagasy Society: A Major Component in the Tradition Vs. Modernity conflict." In this article, the author considers the ways in which the introduction of Western values through colonization and religion contributed to the devaluation of women's role in the household. The tax payment system under colonial administration precisely required only men to pay taxes, which,

⁶⁶ Margaret Rivka Polatnick. "Why Men don't Rear Children." *Mothering. Essays in Feminist Theory*. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld, 1984. P. 22.

⁶⁷ Virginia Held. "The Obligations of Mothers and Fathers." *Mothering. Essays in Feminist Theory*. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1984. P. 8.

according to Rabenoro engendered “the inequality of opportunities”⁶⁸ among men and women. Indeed, she maintains that “the Western notion of the male breadwinner [...] [and] the status of [women] as a dependent member of the family”⁶⁹ tended to decrease women’s power in the private and public spheres. Regarding the influence of religious values, Rabenoro points to the foreign missionaries’ attempts to teach “the duties of a wife to her husband [...] the necessary qualities to become good wives and good housewives by ‘modern,’ that is Western standards.”⁷⁰ This, in her view, is mainly due to the fact that “motherhood far prevailed over wifehood among the traditional social roles of women in pre-evangelization Malagasy society.”⁷¹ This is reminiscent of the prepatriarchal context described by Adrienne Rich whereby “the mother relation and status were far more important than the wife-status.”⁷² The importance of women’s role as mothers compared to their role as wives is also expressed by eugenicists who, according to Florence Binard, a Professor of British Civilization and Gender at the University of Paris Diderot, “present maternity as a privilege and a duty.”⁷³ The same author draws on Hugh Crichton Miller’s view in *The New Psychology and the Parent* to assert that “it is even more important for society that a woman be a good mother than a good spouse.”⁷⁴ In the light of these views regarding the evolution of women’s roles and status as mothers in the traditional Malagasy context, we may consider the case of the female characters in the tales under study. It may be argued that the roles fulfilled by the mothers in these tales tend to reinforce women’s compliance with the dominant social expectations about mothering without enjoying an elevated or a privileged status.

⁶⁸ Mireille Rabenoro. “Motherhood in Malagasy Society: A Major Component in the Tradition Vs. Modernity Conflict.” *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies* N°4 (2003). P. 6.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 5.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Adrienne Rich. *Of Woman Born. Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1986. P. 100.

⁷³ « Présentent la maternité comme un privilège et un devoir. » Florence Binard. *Les mères de la nation. Féminisme et eugénisme en Grande Bretagne*. Paris : L’Harmattan, 2016. P. 42. (Translation mine).

⁷⁴ « Il est même plus important pour la société qu’une femme soit une bonne mère plutôt qu’une bonne épouse. » Ibid. P. 80. (Translation mine).

Mothering, in the female characters' experiences, may be seen as a practice that requires tremendous effort, especially in the education and nurture of children. In that sense, it pertains to what Joyce Trebilcot, a former lecturer at Washington University who specializes in women's studies and philosophy, terms as "the mothering typical of patriarchies."⁷⁵ This, according to Trebilcot, requires mothers to "make children conform to gender roles according to their biological sex; [...] to transmit the values of the dominant culture."⁷⁶ In other words, mothers are expected to make their children conform to their gender roles and identities in the service of patriarchy. In the tale "Isilakolona," which we have already studied earlier, the mother supports her son in his effort to validate his masculinity. Though she ends up dissuading him from completing the last expedition out of fear and care, she faithfully remains by his side when everyone else has turned him down and she constantly follows his recommendations.⁷⁷ The mother's position as the breeder of a brave man despite her own limitations and her effort to help her son validate his masculinity contribute to the perpetuation of gender norms of male superiority. Eventually, she does not get any credit for her role since she is completely forgotten once Isilakolona is reintegrated into society as a brave and heroic man and becomes the king of the village.

In another tale, "Aza misorom-bady an-trano" or "Do not be too indulgent with your wife" from Dahle's collection, it is the daughter that the mother strives to socialize into her conventional gender role. In this tale, a young girl named Iketaka, the daughter of rich parents, is considered to be stupid due to her lack of intelligence. Nevertheless, a man somehow takes her into marriage because of her parents' wealth. After the marriage, her father orders his wife to pay a visit to their daughter, making it clear that it is her responsibility to train the daughter

⁷⁵ Joyce Trebilcot. « Introduction. » *Mothering. Essays in Feminist Theory*. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1984. P. 1.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Isilakolona mainly instructs her to take care of his dogs and to check the banana tree in their yard while he is away. See Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. Pp. 116 – 122.

to become a good and acceptable housewife. He says, “woman, go and pay a visit to Iketaka, instruct her about the ways of a married woman’s life and on how to take care of the house, for you know that she is a child that sort of lacks wisdom, she is a bit stupid, lest her character bring shame on us.”⁷⁸ The father’s concern about the family’s reputation stresses the importance of individuals’ fear of society’s judgment regarding their ability or inability to perform their expected roles. The father wants to make sure that their daughter behaves as a good wife and who else should take up the challenging task of making their daughter conform to her social and gender role but the mother. This calls to mind Dutch writer Mineke Schipper’s statement in her collection of proverbs about women from all over the world: “whether a daughter will be a ‘good’ wife or a ‘bad’ wife seems to depend exclusively on the mother: she is the one to be praised when the girl turns out well, she is the one to be blamed when the girl does not stick to the norm of a well-behaved daughter.”⁷⁹ Hence, Iketaka’s mother pays a visit to her daughter and gives her several instructions and advice about household chores and marital life. She says,

do not be untidy, my dear, be clean, and take good care of your household; at noon, make sure that the food is ready for your husband when he comes back from the field. However, do not prepare tasteless foods, make the meal quite fat. And if you find a small portion of food, do not find joy in eating it by yourself, set some aside for your husband, for he is tired from working and going into the woods.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ “Ramatoa o! ndeha re hianao mba mamangy an’Iketaka, ka manorotoro azy izay fanao amin’ny fitondrampanambadiana sy ny fomba fikarakarana tokantrano, satria hitanao fa zaza tsy hendrihendry loatra izy iny, fa ondranondrana, ka andrao dia mahamenatra olona any ny toetrany.” Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 161. (Translation mine).

⁷⁹ Mineke Schipper. *Never Marry a Woman with Big Feet. Women in Proverbs from Around the World*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003. P. 136.

⁸⁰ « Aza dia voredretra, ry sombinaiko, fa mba madiodiova, ary varo sy karakarao tsara ny tokantrano; ka raha vao atoandro dia mba ataovy masaka ny hanina hieleman’ivadinao, rehefa avy miasa any an-tsaha izy. Kanefa aza manao hani-matsatso, fa mba ataovy matavitavy tsara ny nahandro. Ary raha mba mahita hanin-kely, aza dia finaritra hihinana irery, fa mba sisao ny vady, satria reraka miasa sy mianala ny lehilahy. » Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 161. (Translation mine).

The mother's instructions clearly define her daughter's role as a housewife who keeps the house tidy and prepares the husband's food while the latter works outside the home. The instructions do not simply remind the daughter of this sexual division of labour. Rather, they incite the daughter to do her best while performing her duties as a housewife, which evokes the image of the American suburban housewife in the twentieth century described by American feminist writer Betty Friedan in *The Feminine Mystique*. To this author, this image was the idol of "millions of women [...] [whose] only dream was to be perfect wives and mothers."⁸¹ Though the message about being the perfect housewife is not so boldly expressed in the tale "Aza misorom-bady an-trano," it can be inferred from the mother's instructions.

It is interesting to note the difference between the roles played by the mothers in the tales "Isilakolona" and "Aza misorom-bady an-trano" before exploring the other motherly roles played by the female characters in our selection of tales. While Isilakolona's mother mainly provides emotional support for her son through her presence when he is marginalized by everyone else, Iketaka's mother is deeply involved in the training of her daughter to become a good housewife. This implies that the masculine world into which Isilakolona wishes to integrate himself is excluded from his mother who can merely "provide emotional support [...] [and] sympathise,"⁸² if we use Virginia Held's words in her definition of the social expectations for mothers. On the other hand, the mother can offer practical advice and instructions to her daughter who is expected to become a good housewife like herself. This brings to mind American psychoanalytic and feminist sociologist Nancy Chodorow's argument about boys' and girls' differing personality development through their primary identification with their parents. Chodorow writes that "a girl [...] can develop a personal identification⁸³ with her

⁸¹ Betty Friedan. *The Feminine Mystique*. New York : Dell Publishing Co., Inc, 1974 [1963]. P. 14.

⁸² Virginia Held. "The Obligations of Mothers and Fathers." *Mothering. Essays in Feminist Theory*. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1984. P.11.

⁸³ Nancy Chodorow draws on Slater and Winch's definition of personal identification as the "diffuse identification with someone else's general personality, behavioral traits, values, and attitudes." Nancy Chodorow. *The*

mother, because she has a real relationship with her [...] She learns what it is to be womanlike in the context of this personal identification.”⁸⁴ In other words, it is easier for girls to identify with their mothers and internalise their gender-specific role through this identification because of the mother’s accessibility and availability as a role model for them. The relationship between the mother and the daughter in the tale “Aza misorom-bady an-trano” reflects this view since the mother makes herself accessible to her daughter who needs her counsel on how to embrace her role as a housewife. She can readily share her experiences as a housewife to her daughter, who, in turn, is expected to follow her example. On the contrary, the relationship between Isilakolona and his mother does not involve personal identification since the hero has to define himself as a man, which means that the mother who is present is not the appropriate role model for him. Regarding boys’ identification with their fathers, Chodorow precisely says that “a boy must attempt to develop a masculine gender identification and learn the masculine role in the absence of a continuous and ongoing personal relationship to his father [...] [They] [...] develop a sense of what it is to be masculine through identification with cultural images of masculinity and men chosen as masculine models.”⁸⁵ This statement is particularly relevant in the case of Isilakolona who has to construct his masculinity without a role model provided by his father. The image of the brave hero who manages to kill and capture extremely dangerous creatures constitutes one of the cultural images of masculinity that the male protagonist tries to identify with. This, as we said earlier, is a world that is excluded from the mother who cannot offer tangible training or instructions to her son in his journey towards the validation of his masculinity.

The other component of mothers’ roles that mainly stands out from the pictures of the mothers in the Malagasy folktales that we have selected is their nurturing role, which is assumed

Reproduction of Mothering. Psychoanalysis and the Sociology of Gender. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1978. P. 175.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 176.

to be performed out of natural love for their children. As is expressed by Lars Vig's comment upon seeing Malagasy women carrying their babies on their back while working in the fields: "while love and consent to sacrifice can be witnessed anywhere as qualities that the Creator has put in every individual's heart, it was in the heart of the mother that these qualities were most deeply and strongly rooted."⁸⁶ Vig should have probably considered the fact that these mothers who "in all circumstances [...] carried their little ones on their back"⁸⁷ had no other choice because they could not neglect their responsibilities of taking care of their babies while performing their duties inside or outside the home. Nevertheless, mother love and the nurturing role that ensues seem to be anchored in the characterization of ideal mothers in the Malagasy tales that we have chosen to study. Drawing on American feminist historian Gerda Lerner's view on the association of women with the nurture of children, we argue that this ideology about women's nurturing nature is socially constructed in order to sustain patriarchal values. In *The Creation of Patriarchy*, Lerner points to the "prescriptive [nature] of biological determinism"⁸⁸ expressed in American sociobiologist Edward O. Wilson's view on gender. This view contends that "mothering is not only a socially assigned role but one fitting women's physical and psychological needs."⁸⁹ According to Lerner, it is actually "a political defense of the status quo in scientific language."⁹⁰ In more concrete terms, the foundation of patriarchy lies on the concept of biological determinism attached to women's motherly role. The assumption that women naturally possess a nurturing quality is a social construction that

⁸⁶ "Si partout l'on voyait se manifester l'amour et le consentement au sacrifice que le Créateur a placés dans le cœur de chacun, c'était encore dans le cœur de la mère que ceux-ci s'enracinaient le plus profondément et le plus fortement." Lars Vig. *Sur la femme malgache*. Antananarivo : Editions Teza Boky & CEROI, 1994. P. 14. (Translation mine).

⁸⁷ « Quelles que fussent les circonstances ... portaient leurs petits sur le dos ». *ibid.* (Translation mine).

⁸⁸ Edward O. Wilson in Gerda Lerner. *The Creation of Patriarchy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. P. 19.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Gerda Lerner. *The Creation of Patriarchy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. P. 19.

promotes gender differences and asymmetrical gender power relations such as the ones expressed in the sexual division of labour.⁹¹

We have chosen to analyse the tales “Imaitsoanala” from Dahle’s *Anganon’ny Nataolo* and “La Belle aux longs cheveux” from Bodo Ravalolomanga’s *Le lac bleu et autres contes de Madagascar* to illustrate this point. The mother figures in these tales are animals (a bird in “Imaitsoanala” and a cow in “La Belle aux longs cheveux”). We may argue that the association of motherhood with elements of nature implies that maternal instinct is a natural female attribute. However, it is necessary to conduct an in-depth analysis of the roles and positions of the mother figures in these tales in order to understand the social construction of the motherly role. We have previously commented upon the mother bird’s experience of motherhood in “Imaitsoanala,” especially her self-interested and harmful mothering. However, we have also pointed to the fact that she expresses some degree of genuine affection for her human baby, Imaitsoanala. Indeed, upon seeing one of her eggs hatching into a beautiful little girl, Ivorombe cries out: “this is my child; I will call her Imaitsoanala. There is no one to breast-feed her, so I will steal a cow and milk it in order to feed her.”⁹² This seems to suggest that Ivorombe is moved by maternal feelings which prompt her to take care of the baby. Our previous argument about her “need” to “steal” objects to supply the baby’s needs also seems to support the sociobiologist view about maternalism, namely Edward O. Wilson’s reference to “women’s physical and psychological needs”⁹³ to mother a child. Nevertheless, if we consider the fact that Ivorombe is a single parent, we may highlight the social construction of the motherly role. In the tale under study, the mother bird is a single parent, yet, bi-parental care is a common form

⁹¹ In most of the tales in our selection that feature a couple, the man usually works in the fields, outside the home, whereas the woman stays indoors and takes care of the children.

⁹² “Zanako ity; ary ny anarany ataoko hoe Imaitsoanala. Tsy misy hampinono azy anefa, ka ndeha hangalatra omby aho hoterena hitroany ronono.” P. 74.

⁹³ Edward O. Wilson in Gerda Lerner. *The Creation of Patriarchy*. New York : Oxford University Press, 1986. P. 19.

of parenting in several species of birds.⁹⁴ This points to the assumption that mothers are the primary caretakers of their children, which tends to support the belief that childrearing is mainly a female preoccupation. The choice of the female slave girl who takes care of the baby while Ivorombe is out further reinforces this point.

Our approach to the tale “la Belle aux longs cheveux” focuses on the notion of adoption which characterizes the relationship between the mother and the daughter. In this tale, the mother figure is a cow which “[is] like a real woman but covered with hair, endowed with a tail and four legs.”⁹⁵ The storyline is very similar to that of “Imaitsoanala:” the cow mothers a human baby which is later stolen by a male outsider who wants to marry her; the mother pursues the lovers and punishes the girl by removing her eyes and skin. The punishment results from the mother’s anger at the child’s lack of gratitude and attachment to her. Yet, she is once more moved by maternal feelings when the daughter is neglected by her husband and oppressed by her rivals when she is deprived of her beauty and her sight. In the end, she decides to help her daughter to face her challenges by restoring what has been previously taken away. This constant urge to love and to help the daughter unconditionally, regardless of her misbehaviour may be interpreted as an expression of maternal feelings which characterize the normative role of a mother. It is important to note that neither the cow nor the bird are the biological mothers of the daughters in the two tales under study. Yet, they develop affection for their adopted daughters and provide maternal care for them. This implies that the concept of motherhood is more important than blood relations. This goes in line with Mireille Rabenoro’s reference to the perception of adoption in traditional Malagasy societies. Rabenoro contends that in these societies, “adoptive mothers have the same status as biological mothers [...] [because] a woman

⁹⁴ See Rae Silver et al. “Parental Care in an Ecological Perspective: A Quantitative Analysis of Avian Subfamilies.” *Integrative and Comparative Biology* 25 issue 3 (1985). Pp. 823 – 840.

⁹⁵ « Comme une véritable femme, mais couverte de poils, avec une queue et quatre pattes. » Bodo Ravololomanga. *Le lac bleu et autres contes de Madagascar*. Paris : Collection la légende des mondes, Editions l’Harmattan, 1996. P. 101.

was not recognized as full member of the adult community until she had given birth, or at least was bringing up children [...] either biologically or by adoption.”⁹⁶ The emphasis put on the status of women as mothers and the role they fulfil while raising children suggests that the capacity to bring up children, including the possession of maternal qualities, is one of the main characteristics associated to women, be they biological or adoptive mothers. Nevertheless, the fact that the concept of motherhood and the definition of mothers’ status and roles are closely tied to social perceptions reinforces our argument about the social construction of the motherly role. Hence, it can be said that the mothers’ devotion to take care of their children and to meet the latter’s physical, emotional and moral needs as is reflected in the tales that we have studied does not correspond to the prevalence of a universal concept of maternal thinking as an innate quality in all women. Instead, it highlights the complex definitions of women’s social status and roles in relation to their biological functions.

1.1.3. The Case of Failing Mothers

In the previous subpart of this study, we examined some of the most significant roles attributed to the mothers in the tales that we have selected. Our analysis highlighted the fact that the representations of the female characters’ roles as mothers tend to reinforce assumptions about women’s maternal role. Nevertheless, we argued that these roles are socially constructed even if they seem to be represented as roles that naturally fit women’s needs and personalities. In fact, the representations of the female characters in their motherly role signal the social construction of an idealized concept of motherhood characterized by the provision of maternal care and the socialization of children into their normative gender roles. The female characters’

⁹⁶ Mireille Rabenoro. “Motherhood in Malagasy Society: A Major Component in the Tradition Vs. Modernity Conflict.” *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies* N°4 (2003). P. 2.

fulfilment of these roles in the tales that we studied mainly pertains to a compliance with the dominant norms of femininity, rather than an expression of a natural inclination to take care of children. The representations of single mothers and adoptive mothers also reinforce our argument about the social construction of the motherly role in that maternal care is mainly portrayed as a female preoccupation and adoptive mothers are assumed to express maternal feelings for their non-biological children. In this last subpart of our analysis of the conceptualizations of motherhood in a selection of Malagasy folktales, we consider the case of the mothers who fail to fulfil their conventional roles, either deliberately or accidentally.

Indeed, not all the female characters in the tales can be perceived as the selfless and the self-sacrificing mothers that the Malagasy describe as “the one who leant against the wall by herself,”⁹⁷ or “the one who drank what they didn’t want to drink.”⁹⁸ These expressions, as we have seen in our introduction, allude to the pain women endure during pregnancy, but they may also be applied to women’s experiences as mothers which involve selfless love and complete devotion for the children. We have already seen the example of Rafarazanadrano who does not hesitate to leave her baby behind after being ill-treated by her husband. The same motif can be found in the Malagasy tale “Ranoro”⁹⁹ whose multiple versions feature a mermaid who leaves her children with their father when the latter violates her taboo. In these tales, it is clear that though the mothers care about their children, they somehow put their interests first.

In another tale, “Ikalasarotra” from *Anganon’ny Ntaolo*, the mother is perceived as a selfish woman because she puts her own interests before her children’s or her family’s needs. The mother in this tale is a greedy woman who urges her husband to attend a funeral in order

⁹⁷ « Niankin-drindrina irery. » See Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 145.

⁹⁸ « Nisotro ny rano tsy tiana. » Ibid.

⁹⁹ It relates the story of a zazavavindrano or mermaid, who marries a man, Andriambodilova, who finds her on a rock near the shore. Ranoro only agrees to marry Andriambodilova if the latter promises to observe the taboo of never referring to her origins, namely the salt. However, angered by his wife’s failure to follow his instructions regarding some housework, Andriambodilova insults her by calling her “the child of salt,” which makes Ranoro return to the water, leaving her husband alone with their children.

to collect the meat that is shared on such occasions. The husband, who knows his wife very well, decides to play a trick on her by putting straw wrapped with a mat on a shovel in the fields in order to pretend that he preferred working instead of attending the funeral. The woman is infuriated when she thinks that he did not go to the funeral. She insults her husband and calls him by all names. Eventually, she leaves her husband's house and her grown-up children, taking only her baby who is still breastfed. It should be noted that the fact that she takes the baby with her somehow reflects her concern about its needs, which means that she is not such a bad and selfish mother after all. She goes to her brother's house because she is so upset with her husband's "stupidity."¹⁰⁰ She says to the grown-up children, "children, keep your father's house here, for I and Ikotokely (calling the baby in her arms) are going to my brother's place."¹⁰¹ This practice, when a wife deliberately leaves her husband because she is dissatisfied with something that the husband does, is commonly known as "misintaka" in Malagasy. Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana explains that "a woman has the possibility to leave the marital residence when she wishes to or when she can no longer tolerate nor bear the marriage bond without consulting neither the husband nor their respective extended families."¹⁰² This author goes on to say that "in this case, the woman is in a position which enables her to impose the recognition of and assume her independence within the couple and the group, which expresses in the clearest way the limitations of the FANJAKAN-DEHILAHY, that is, masculine power."¹⁰³ In the tale "Ikalarotra," it is clearly stated that the woman left "to

¹⁰⁰ The expressions that she uses to insult her husband suggest that he is stupid because he prefers working instead of receiving the meat shared at the funeral. See Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 165.

¹⁰¹ « Andraso eto ny tranon-drainareo, rankizy, fa izaho sy Ikotokely (miantso ilay zanany an-tanana) dia handeha ho any amin'ny anadahiko. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰² « [Une] femme a la possibilité d'abandonner le foyer conjugal lorsqu'elle le désire ou lorsqu'elle ne tolère plus ou ne supporte plus les liens du mariage, sans consulter ni l'époux ni leurs deux familles élargies respectives. » Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana. *Histoire de l'éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVIe au milieu du XXe siècle*. Imarivolanitra : Editions Antso, 1996. P. 12. (Translation mine).

¹⁰³ « Dans ce cas de figure, la femme a une position qui lui permet de faire reconnaître et d'assumer son indépendance individuelle au sein du couple et du groupe, ce qui exprime de la manière la plus nette les limites du FANJAKAN-DEHILAHY, c'est-à-dire du pouvoir masculin. » Ibid. Pp. 12, 13. (Author's emphasis, translation mine).

misintaka” or abandon the marital residence.¹⁰⁴ However, it is necessary to conduct a thorough analysis of the context in which the female character’s action takes place, as well as the representation of her position in this context before affirming that the fact that she leaves her marital residence signals the limitations of masculine power, and thereby points to her power to impose her will on her husband. First, the woman in this tale, named Ikalasarotra or “the difficult one,” is actually subject to the prank played by her husband and her grown-up children who already know her character. Indeed, the children, whom the mother sends to urge their father to collect the meat, upon seeing the shovel wrapped with a mat and straws, instantly understand their father’s plan and join him in pretending to their mother that he was so stupid as to work in the fields instead of going to the funeral to collect the meat. Second, usually, when a woman leaves the marital residence or “misintaka,” the husband is expected to make significant efforts to make her come back, which are part of the process of “fampodiana” or the process of making the wife come back. This process, according to Henri Raharijaona, may involve the “presence of a bailiff, or by certified letter”¹⁰⁵ and “the woman, on her side, when she does not actually desire to return to the household, is well advised to multiply the pretexts to point out the invalidity of the steps taken by the husband.”¹⁰⁶ It means that the husband is expected to convince the wife to come back by offering a compensation for the wrong that he is blamed for. In the case of “Ikalasarotra,” however, the husband neither asks his wife to come back, nor offer a significant compensation to repair his faults. In fact, the one who is clearly blamed in the tale is the wife who is so greedy that she behaves in a senseless way. The husband’s reaction, which can be interpreted as a form of punishment imbued with sarcasm, precisely reinforces this point. He sends his children to borrow big pots from their uncle, thus

¹⁰⁴ Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 165. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁵ « L’assistance d’un huissier, ou par lettre recommandée. » Henri Raharijaona. « La femme, la société et le droit malgache. » *Annales de l’Université de Madagascar : Série Droit* vol. 4 (1967). P.20. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁶ « La femme de son côté, lorsqu’en réalité elle ne désire pas réintégrer le foyer a intérêt à multiplier les prétextes pour faire constater la nullité des démarches entreprises par le mari. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

pretending that he has collected a big portion of meat when he only received a small one. The children, who willingly take part in their father's plan also pretend that their father "has received a lot of meat [from the funeral]." ¹⁰⁷ This naturally urges Ikalasarotra to come back home: "[she] was so excited upon hearing the children's words; she was restless and shook the child on her back a little to make it cry. And she asked for her brother's blessing, saying, 'we are going back home after all, brother, for the baby does not want to stay calm here, perhaps it longs for its siblings and its father because it is constantly crying and fidgeting.'" ¹⁰⁸ The woman's greed is explicitly ridiculed in the tale when the husband and the children, upon seeing her come back, "laugh out loud [...] since the bad meat that he received was quite small, which was not enough at all to satisfy Ikalasarotra's greed." ¹⁰⁹ This shows that the practice of "misintaka," instead of revealing the limitations of masculine power in Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana's view, may serve to reinforce it. The ending of another version of this tale from Gabriel Ferrand's collection, entitled "la femme gourmande" or "the greedy woman," emphasises this point. In this tale, the husband repudiates his wife when she comes back, saying that she is an unbearable greedy woman who insulted him all day when she thought that he did not go to the funeral. He also blames her for pretending to be interested in the funeral when all she had in mind was the meat. ¹¹⁰ Hence, what prevails is the man's power to severely reprimand his wayward wife. More importantly, instead of complying with the wife's will as the traditional practice of "fampodiana" has it, the husband retaliates by sending her away.

¹⁰⁷ « Nahazo hena betsaka. » Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 165. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁸ « Aoka izany ery ny hamaimaizan'Ikalasarotra nandre izany tenin'ny ankizy izany ; nikenonkenona teo izy, sady nokofokofohiny ny zazakely teo an-damosiny hitomany. Dia nangata-tsodrano tamin'ny anadahiny izy ka nanao hoe : 'Ndeha hody ihany izahay, ranadahy, fa tsy mety mitoetra ity zazakely ; malahelo ireto zokiny sy ny rainy angaha izy no dia mitomany sy miketriketrika toy izao. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁹ « Tsipaky ny hehy tery ny lahy sy ny zanany, satria kelikely ihany ny hena ratsy azony, ka tsy ampy hanamparan'Ikalasarotra ny hasarotany tsy akory. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁰ « La femme gourmande. » Gabriel Ferrand. *Contes populaires malgaches*. Paris : Paris : E. Leroux, 1893. Pp. 166, 167.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the practice of “misintaka” in the tale “Ikalasarotra” and its variant “la femme gourmande” signals the importance of matrilineal ties. In “Ikalasarotra,” the woman goes to her brother’s place, the latter being considered as her children’s maternal uncle or *renelahe*. Andrianjafitrimo suggests in *La femme malgache en Imerina* that the maternal uncle is generally perceived to have responsibilities towards his sister’s children. As is expressed in the common joke among the Merina, whereby a man who reprimands another man for claiming favours from him, says, “am I your mother’s brother? [...] I don’t have responsibilities towards you.”¹¹¹ The maternal uncle is also said to keep his sister’s inheritance until the latter’s male children attain the age of maturity.¹¹² In the tale “la femme gourmande,” the woman goes back to her father’s place, which calls to mind Mireille Rabenoro’s comment that “marriage in traditional Malagasy society has often been described as a loan of a woman to her husband’s family, a loan that comes to an end when the marriage is ended [...] The [...] woman goes back to her own family – unless she has had children, in which case she can choose to stay in her in-laws’ village with her children.”¹¹³ In either case, both tales reveal that women are not entirely independent even when they leave the marital residence to affirm a semblance of “personal independence” if we use Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana’s words. They rely on their male relatives for support in case of marriage problems. This reflection is useful for our analysis of the female characters’ embodiment of their motherly role. Indeed, our analysis highlights the critical representation of the female characters’ role as mothers in our selection of tales, with particular focus on the ones who do not adhere to the idealized form of motherhood. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the

¹¹¹ « Suis-je le frère de ta mère ? ... Je n’ai pas de responsabilité à ton égard. » Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo. ¹¹¹ Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo. *La femme malgache en Imerina au début du XXI^e siècle*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2003. P. 37. (Translation mine).

¹¹² Andrianjafitrimo writes that “the sister’s inheritance is temporarily entrusted to the maternal uncle until his nephew attains the age of maturity.” [« L’héritage de la soeur est transitoirement confié à l’oncle utérin jusqu’à la majorité de son neveu. »] Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹³ Mireille Rabenoro. “Motherhood in Malagasy Society: A Major Component in the Tradition Vs. Modernity Conflict.” *Jenda: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies* N°4 (2003). P. 5.

examples above do not directly point to the failure of the female characters in fulfilling their motherly role. Instead, the tales that we have seen serve to refute the assumption that women naturally express selfless love for their children. These tales testify to the fact that there are women who put their interests before their children's. In the tales that we are going to study in the following section of our analysis, the representations of the female characters' failure to fulfil their motherly role are more explicit.

Maternal failure in the tales that we are going to study corresponds to the mothers' failure to meet two of the basic demands of children and society's expectations articulated by Sara Ruddick in her *Maternal Thinking*. Ruddick says that "children 'demand' that their lives be preserved and their growth fostered. In addition, the primary social groups with which a mother is identified [...] demand that she raise her children in a manner acceptable to them."¹¹⁴ Two tales, "la femme insouciant" or "the careless mother" from Gabriel Ferrand's *Contes populaires malgaches* and "Indesoka zanak'Itrimobe" or "Itrimobe's daughter, Indesoka" from Dahle's *Anganon'ny Ntaolo*, precisely feature mothers who fail to protect their children and to preserve their lives. The third tale, "Ilay nanoro sain-dratsy ny zanany" or "The one who gave wrong advice to her son" from Dahle's collection, mainly deals with the mother's failure to provide a good education for her child.

The tale "la mère insouciant" relates the story of a mother who involuntarily kills her infant by forgetting her all night in a field of peanuts. The mother goes to the field in order to collect what is left of her peanuts after a crow has eaten most of them. After carrying her baby on her back, she puts it down when she begins to work, probably in order to work faster. She digs with a spade and collects the peanuts, and when she is done, she goes back home with the crops, forgetting the baby in the field. The heavy rain and violent winds in the evening dissuade her from going back to the field to retrieve the baby, even though she remembers forgetting it

¹¹⁴ Sara Ruddick. Sara Ruddick. *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace*. New York: Ballantine, 1990. P. 17.

there after resting for a while. In the morning, she discovers the baby's dead body. At first, she does not believe that the baby is dead so she sneers at its face until she smells its "awful smell."¹¹⁵ The tale ends with the other women in the community's expression of their scorn for this woman who "preferred some peanuts to the child that she delivered."¹¹⁶ We may single out two main points in this tale in order to analyse the representation of the mother's failure to preserve her child's life. First, the tale portrays a woman, who, apart from taking care of her baby, fulfils tedious work in the fields. This is not uncommon in agricultural societies. As Italian anthropologist Paola Tabet suggests in her article "Les mains, les outils, les armes" that women tend to fulfil most of the agricultural work, often with their bare hands or with rudimentary tools. Tabet refers to British anthropologists Jack Goody and Joan Buckley's assertion in their article "Inheritance and Women's Labour in Africa" that "in simpler systems of agriculture – those cultivating the ground by means of the wooden digging stick, the stone hoe or an iron blade – the fields would tend to be cultivated by women."¹¹⁷ It is not uncommon, either, that women take their children with them while working in the fields, or while gathering and collecting food. As is the case among the !Kung in Nyae Nyae reported in the same article, "a !Kung woman, carrying her child, covers for the first four years of the latter, 7,800 km."¹¹⁸ In the tale "la femme insouciante," the mother clearly epitomizes the experiences of women in traditional agricultural societies. The only uncommon fact here is her failure to preserve the life of her child. Considering the context in which she is expected to take care of her baby, we may argue that the woman rightfully puts the baby down in order to work in a more comfortable and effective way. In that sense, a thorough analysis of her actions in relation to the baby's death is

¹¹⁵ « La puanteur ». Gabriel Ferrand. *Contes populaires malgaches*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1893. P. 193. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁶ "Avait préféré quelques arachides à l'enfant qu'elle avait mise au monde. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁷ Jack Goody and Joan Buckley in Paola Tabet. « Les mains, les outils, les armes. » *L'Homme* tome 19 N° 3 – 4 (1979). Les catégories de sexe en anthropologie. P. 35. URL : https://www.persee.fr/doc/hom_0439-4216_1979_num_19_3_367998.

¹¹⁸ « Une femme !kung transportant son enfant parcourt, pendant les quatre premières années de la vie de celui-ci, 7800 km. » Ibid. P. 18. (Translation mine).

necessary. This is addressed in the second point that we consider worth noting. In fact, it is obvious that apart from portraying the mother as a hard-working woman, the tale also paints her as someone who is devoid of a clear sense of thinking. Indeed, upon remembering that she has forgotten her baby in the fields, this woman is easily discouraged by the heavy rain and says to herself that she will take her baby the next day. Furthermore, the fact that she does not believe the baby's death emphasizes this idea because a person who has common sense would easily understand that leaving a baby alone under the rain would kill it. As can be read in the tale, "[the] mother, not believing that she was dead, started to laugh upon seeing her daughter showing her teeth. She also took the arms untightened by rigor mortis as a threatening punch from the irritated child for being abandoned outdoors the day before."¹¹⁹ These words suggest that the mother not only lacks common sense but also experiences some form of mental disorder. This calls to mind the representation of puerperal insanity, that is, mental illness connected to childbirth, documented by Hilary Marland, a Professor of History at the University of Warwick, in *Dangerous Motherhood. Insanity and Childbirth in Victorian Britain*. Marland writes that "women suffering from this form of insanity were deemed either to be unaware of what they were doing or to have temporarily lost control of their actions."¹²⁰ She further explains that "the medical profession [was] already predisposed to be lenient and dispute women's ability to harm their offspring unless they were suffering from a severe form of mental disturbance [...] [since] infanticide represented the antithesis of female nature, a total rejection of maternal ties, duties and feelings."¹²¹ In other words, it is unconceivable that mothers who epitomize care and nurture for their offspring could be the ones that kill or cause their children's

¹¹⁹ « Sa mère, ne croyant pas qu'elle était morte, se mit à rire en voyant sa fille lui montrer les dents. Elle prit aussi les bras détendus par la raideur cadavérique pour une menace de coup de poing de l'enfant irritée d'avoir été abandonnée la veille, en plein air. » Gabriel Ferrand. *Contes populaires malgaches*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1893. P. 193. (Translation mine).

¹²⁰ Hilary Marland. *Dangerous Motherhood. Insanity and Childbirth in Victorian Britain*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire : Palgrave Macmillan, 2004. P. 171.

¹²¹ Ibid.

death. This reflection seems to be relevant in the case of the woman in the tale under study. Indeed, it is clear in this tale that the killing of the baby is not intentional and the mother herself is portrayed as a woman who experiences mental problems. Indeed, apart from her uncommon reaction upon seeing her baby's dead body, this woman's lack of intelligence is alluded to throughout the text. For instance, it is reported that she wastes her time and energy "tr[ying] to chase [the crow] in vein"¹²² when she finds out that most of her peanuts have been stolen. Besides, upon remembering that she has forgotten her baby in the field, she merely comforts herself with the thought that "there are no more peanuts to steal, nor men nor crow to come near [her] garden."¹²³ The tale thus subscribes to the assumption that women are naturally caring and nurturing towards their children and when they fail to do so, their misdeed is either perceived as the outcome of external forces that are out of their control or understood as an action that they were not even aware of. In either case, this serves to reinforce the dominant ideology about women's nurturing nature.

In the tale "Indesoka zanak'Itrimobe," the mother's failure to preserve her daughter's life takes a different turn. The mother in this tale fails to protect her daughter from her husband, Itrimobe, who is an ogre that is bent on eating his daughter, Indesoka, because the latter broke his silver jug. The daughter, Indesoka, hides from Itrimobe in a cave and the mother brings food to her. The mother affectionately sings to her daughter every time she arrives with the food so that Indesoka may recognize her voice and remove the stone that covers the cave. Later, Itrimobe also goes to the cave and imitates the mother's voice. When the girl opens the entrance, Itrimobe kills her and asks his wife to cook her. The mother is overwhelmed with sorrow and her heart is full of hatred and spite for Itrimobe. Nevertheless, despite her failure to protect her daughter, her subsequent actions serve to make things right. She plots the death of her husband

¹²² « Essay[ant] de le chasser sans y parvenir. » Gabriel Ferrand. *Contes populaires malgaches*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1893. P. 192. (Translation mine).

¹²³ « Il ne reste plus d'arachides à voler, ni hommes ni corbeaux n'approcheront de mon jardin. » Ibid. p. 193. (Translation mine).

and succeeds in killing him by chaining his long-braided hair on a pillar and eviscerating him. She cooks her husband and serves the meat to his relatives. At the same time, she has managed to resurrect her daughter by collecting her bones and putting them together.

The motif of the father eating his daughter in this tale recalls the common association of food with sexuality. As Swedish literary critic and academic Maria Nikolajeva points out in *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairytales*, “meals in myths and folktales are circumlocutions of sexual intercourse. There is a direct connection between food and sexuality, and between certain food restrictions and certain marriage restrictions, such as incest.”¹²⁴ In other words, the prohibition of certain foods, such as human flesh in the context of cannibalism, alludes to incest prohibition. In the tale under study, it is significant that the father is particularly determined to eat his daughter upon learning that she has broken his silver jug. The broken silver jug in this context calls to mind the expression “daba loaka” which literally means a broken tin. Tins are used for fetching water in the Malagasy context. The figurative meaning of “daba loaka” is explained by Malanjaona Rakotomalala in “Mots et expressions merina sur la sexualité (Hautes terres centrales de Madagascar).” This author writes that “daba loaka” refers to “young women who have already slept with a certain number of men”¹²⁵ or “girls and women whose vaginas are not tight.”¹²⁶ Bearing these images in mind, we may suggest that the tale “Indesoka, zanak’Itrimobe” implicitly¹²⁷ refers to the father’s sexual possessiveness in relation to his daughter. The mother’s role in this tale is not only to preserve the daughter’s life but also

¹²⁴ Maria Nikolajeva. « Food. » In Donald Haase. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairytales Volumes 1 – 3*. Westport, Connecticut, London : Greenwood Press, 2008. P. 369.

¹²⁵ « Jeunes filles qui ont déjà couché avec un certain nombre d’hommes. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. “Mots et expressions merina sur la sexualité (Hautes terres centrales de Madagascar).” *Etudes océan indien* 45 document 7 (2010). Put online on 17 October 2011. Accessed on 23 April 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/929>. (Translation mine).

¹²⁶ “ Filles ou femmes dont le vagin n’est pas ferme.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹²⁷ As Maria Nikolajeva puts it, « when folktales were incorporated into children’s and family reading, their motifs often changed to suit social and pedagogical restrictions, so that the original meaning became still more obscure. The most offending elements, such as cannibalism and overt sexuality, were purified.” Maria Nikolajeva. « Food. » In Donald Haase. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairytales Volumes 1 – 3*. Westport, Connecticut, London : Greenwood Press, 2008. P. 369.

to protect her from danger in all its forms. The first failure is observed when Indesoka deliberately breaks her jug, following the advice of the other girls in the village who have maliciously hidden their own jugs and pretended to Indesoka that they have already broken them. In that sense, the mother fails to warn her daughter of the danger of wicked friends who gave her the wrong advice. She can only regret when Indesoka is hiding from her father in a cave, singing, “friends who betrayed you, Indesoka/ killing you and leading you to your death, Indesoka.”¹²⁸ The second failure occurs when Itrimobe manages to kill Indesoka and takes the meat home to be cooked by the mother. It should be noted that the mother has somehow attempted to protect her daughter by inventing the singing ritual as a means to reassure Indesoka and to let her know that it is safe for her to open the cave’s entrance. However, the father’s schemes, namely his successful imitation of the mother’s voice, makes the latter fail to protect her daughter. Indesoka’s opening of the cave’s entrance, here, further connotes sexual intercourse which leads to her death when the cannibal father gains entry.

If we consider the mother’s actions and attempts to protect her daughter in this tale, we may suggest that her failure is partial since in the end, she somehow manages to bring her daughter back to life. This highlights the fact that the mother is not depicted as the source of danger for her daughter. Moreover, the dichotomous representations of the mother who inspires security and affection and the father who epitomizes danger and death serves to reinforce the assumption that mothers are naturally caring and nurturing. This goes in line with our previous argument about the representation of the mother who unintentionally kills her daughter in the tale “la mère insouciant.” In this tale, the baby’s death is depicted as negligent homicide related to the mother’s lack of common sense. No reference is made to the possible absence of maternal love on the mother’s part. In the tale “Indesoka, zanak’Itrimobe,” the mother’s heart clearly

¹²⁸ « Sakaiza manody, ry Indesoka è ! Mamono ho faty, ry Indesoka è ! » Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 144. (Translation mine).

overflows with love for her daughter, which explains her revengeful spirit upon discovering that her husband has killed her daughter. The failures of these mothers are thus mainly caused by external forces that are beyond their control. This suggests that women, who are believed to be naturally caring and nurturing towards their children, are hardly considered as capable of harming their children or being directly involved in putting their children's lives in danger.

The last tale that we are going to analyse in this section is “Ilay nanoro sain-dratsy ny zanany” from Dahle’s *Anganon’ny Ntaolo*. This tale sheds light on a mother’s failure to bring up her child according to social standards. The story is that of a single woman who is past childbearing age but desperately longs for a child. She tries everything from herbs and sacrificial magic to consulting fortune-tellers in order to have a child, but her efforts are vain.¹²⁹ In the end, when she stops trying, she miraculously gets a child who later grows up into a young man. Instead of teaching good values to her son, the mother teaches him to steal from people until he is caught and sentenced to death. On the day of his execution, the son asks his mother to come closer to him because he wants to whisper into her ear. Actually, he bites the mother’s ear and blames her for his fate, saying “it is your bad education that brought me harm because you were happy to receive the things I stole, yet now I pay the price with my life.”¹³⁰ The tale clearly alludes to the fact that mothers are expected to educate their children into “good” citizens. This calls to mind Sara Ruddick’s affirmation that “social groups require that mothers shape their children’s growth in ‘acceptable’ ways [...] The criteria of acceptability consist of the group values that a mother has internalized as well as the values of group members whom she feels she must please.”¹³¹ This statement presupposes that mothers who educate their children in ways that uphold the group’s values are individuals who adhere to these values by

¹²⁹ See Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 154.

¹³⁰ « Ny ana-dratsy nataonao tamiko ihany no nampidi-doza ahy toy itony ; fa finaritra nitondrako halatra hianao, kanjo ny aiko ity no manefa. » Ibid. P. 155. (Translation mine).

¹³¹ Sara Ruddick. Sara Ruddick. *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace*. New York: Ballantine, 1990. P. 21.

trying to inculcate them in their children. In the tale under study, however, the mother deliberately refrains from training her son to become “acceptable” in the social group where they belong. The woman’s relatives, for instance, tell her to “teach the child to sell and to work, for he is already able to make errands by himself and also hold a shovel.”¹³² Instead, the woman pretends to preserve the child from such hardship¹³³ while in reality, she plans to teach him to steal from people. She is the one that benefits from her son’s stealing as she is “happy and beaming with joy [...] when [her son] [brings] the stolen objects for her.”¹³⁴ It should be noted that despite the prevalence of the sharp criticism of this mother’s failure in the tale, there is an implicit association of her maternal failure to a form of psychological disorder. Indeed, like the careless mother who left her baby in the field, the woman in this tale is also described as psychologically unstable and a little insane, as is expressed by the Malagasy phrase “verivery saina,”¹³⁵ which literally means a little insane. In that sense, the tale further supports the idea that the main explanations for maternal failure are psychological problems since mothers, who are believed to be naturally nurturing, can hardly be perceived as being capable of harming their children physically or mentally.

1.2. Gender Socialization of Girls and Young Women in Malagasy Folktales

We have previously considered the ways in which several female characters’ experiences as mothers are defined in relation to the idealized notion of motherhood. This notion, to some extent, concords with some of the main tenets of the myth of the maternal instinct, namely the assumption that mothers are naturally caring and nurturing towards their

¹³² « Mba ampianaro mivarotra sy miasa re ny zaza, fa efa mahatokan-dalana sy mahatam-pangady izao. » Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 154. (Translation mine).

¹³³ She says, « one couldn’t make such a small kid endure such hardship! » [« Aiza no mbola kely io ka hampahantraina hanao izany sahady! »]. Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹³⁴ « Faly sy miramirana ... satria finaritra ny nitondrany halatra. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹³⁵ Ibid. (Translation mine).

children. In the present section, we intend to take a closer look at the process that precedes the idealization of motherhood, namely the socialization of girls and young women into their gender roles as wives and mothers.

Jack Zipes highlights the role of folktales and fairy tales in the socialization of children in *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*. He perceives folktales as “a type of literary discourse about mores, values, and manners so that children would become civilized according to the social code of that time.”¹³⁶ In other words, folktales serve as tools to teach the values of a community to children so that they can adopt the appropriate roles and behaviours based on their status within their community. This view is shared by Michel Razafiarivony who talks about the relationship between oral literature and the education of children and young people in his *Ny Harivolana na lahateny nentin-drazana, ain'ny fiarahamonina Malagasy – Masikoro*. Razafiarivony explains the meaning of education, in Malagasy “fanabeazana,” as follows: “the aim is to produce ‘complete’ individuals who know how to behave according to their status or the status assigned to them in the community where they will live later on.”¹³⁷ This points to the roles and behaviours that are expected from individuals based on their specific position within the community. In the same vein, Malagasy archivist Alphonse Raharison contends that “the purpose of [...] tales is to educate the people: to show them how to respect the social structure, to show the women how to behave in the family’s life, to describe who is responsible for domestic work, and to tell the women how they should obey.”¹³⁸ This statement alludes to the sexual division of labour, which, according to the speaker, can be observed in Malagasy tales. In that sense, folktales convey significant messages about gender roles and behaviour.

¹³⁶ Jack Zipes. *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*. New York: Routledge, 1988 [1983]. P. 3.

¹³⁷ “Atao izay hanjariana olona ‘feno,’ mahay mitondra tena araka ny toerana misy azy, sy tiana hametrahana azy, ao amin’ny fiaraha-monina hivelomany any aoriana.” Michel Razafiarivony. *Ny Harivolana na lahateny nentin-drazana, ain'ny fiarahamonina Malagasy – Masikoro*. Antananarivo: Trano Printy Loterana Malagasy, 2006. P. 14. (Translation mine).

¹³⁸ Alphonse Raharison in Colleen J. McElroy. Colleen J. McElroy. *Over the Lip of the World: Among the Storytellers of Madagascar*. Washington: University of Washington Press, 2001. P. 16.

Donald Haas shares this view when he comments about Zipes' *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, saying that "Zipes demonstrated [...] how [...] fairy tale discourse was intended to function in the socialization of children – especially in its modelling of gender-specific identity and behavior."¹³⁹ Folktales are thus powerful socialization tools that teach children and young people the appropriate roles and behaviour, including gender roles, within a community.

American sociologist Linda L. Lindsey further reflects on the mechanisms of gender socialization and gender development in pre-industrial societies. She claims that "social equilibrium was maintained by assigning different tasks to men and women – [namely] hunting roles for men [and] domestic roles for women."¹⁴⁰ She goes on to say that "children were needed to help with agricultural and domestic activities. Girls continue these activities when boys reached the age when they were allowed to hunt with the other males."¹⁴¹ In other words, boys and girls initially perform the same tasks until they reach a specific age whereby their roles are differentiated based on their gender. This implies that the process of gender socialization, which necessarily varies from one community to another, is accommodated according to the community's standards and needs. In the Malagasy tales that we have selected for this part of our study, we focus on the values that influence the socialization of girls and young women.

Ravelomanana Randrainjafimanana suggests in her *Histoire de l'éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVIIe au milieu du XXe siècle* that prior to their transcription by European missionaries in the 19th century, Malagasy folktales have already illustrated the socialization of children and young people into their appropriate gender roles and behaviours. This author precisely refers to the case of the female characters in Malagasy folktales. She says that tales "serve to [...] develop the child's ethical preoccupations by taking the side of the heroine who

¹³⁹ Donald Haase. « Feminist Fairy-Tale Scholarship. » In *Fairy Tales and Feminism: New Approaches*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004. P. 10.

¹⁴⁰ Linda Lindsey. *Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective 6th Edition*. London and New York : Routledge, 2016. P. 6.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

embodies perfection, the qualities and the examples to imitate.”¹⁴² Girls are thus expected to be the paragons of virtue. More specifically, the same author suggests that one of the important roles attributed to these female characters who embody the values that should be inculcated in girls and young women involves the foundation of the family. Highlighting one of the defining characteristics of Malagasy folktales, that is, “the representation of the family,”¹⁴³ Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana explains that “the tales do not reserve any place for the isolated. In society, celibacy is unknown.”¹⁴⁴ This implies that one of the main purposes of the interactions between male and female protagonists in Malagasy tales is the foundation of a family.

In the light of these reflections, we intend to analyse the extent to which the importance of the “representation of the family,” namely values related to marriage and childbearing, shape the representations of girls and young women’s identities in our selection of tales. Our approach is based on the argument that the structural elements of the tales, namely the setting, the theme, and the characterization of the female characters, play a major role in the representation of their socialization into their gender appropriate roles. Nevertheless, not all the female characters follow the dominant pattern of gender socialization observed in the interaction between setting, theme, and characterization, namely the perpetuation of the idealized form of femininity in accordance with family values. Hence, we also analyse the experiences of the female protagonists who do not seem to wholly embody this idealized form of femininity. Considering the public/private sphere dichotomy that is implied in the differentiation of the occupations of the male and female characters, our point of reference for the analysis of these female

¹⁴² « Servent à ... développer ses préoccupations éthiques en se rangeant du côté de l’héroïne qui incarne la perfection, les qualités et les exemples à imiter. » Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana. *Histoire de l’éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVIIe au milieu du XXe siècle*. Imarivolanita : Editions Antso, 1996. P. 63. (Translation mine).

¹⁴³ « La représentation de la famille. » Ibid. P. 62. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁴ « Les récits ne laissent pas de place aux isolés. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

characters' experiences is their crossing of gendered spatial boundaries and its implications on the definitions of the desirable qualities in women.

1.2.1. Gender Socialization in Malagasy Folktales: The Interaction between Setting, Theme, and Characterization

In the folktales that we have selected, the themes, the settings, and the characterization of the female protagonists interact to support a unified view regarding the socialization of girls and young women. Considering Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana's statement that "given the goal of education in the olden days, oral literature is associated with fertility in all its forms, and with marriage and love first of all. For it is helpful in the outpouring of love such as in flirtatious jokes or riddles,"¹⁴⁵ we may suggest that the socialization of girls and young women in Malagasy tales mainly underline the importance of love and marriage, making these the female characters' primary concern throughout their interactions with the male characters. This accounts for the prevalence of themes related to marriage in female-centred tales. We argue that the privileging of the themes related to love and the foundation of a family in the Malagasy tales that we have selected reflects the socialization of girls into their gender appropriate roles.

Our approach thus focuses on the interaction between three structural elements of the tales, namely the setting, the theme and the characterization of the female protagonists, in order to highlight the ways in which they serve to convey values about the idealized form of femininity and influence the representation of the gender socialization of girls and young women. English writers Mona Narain and Karen Gervitz' conceptualization of space in

¹⁴⁵ « Vu l'objectif de l'éducation d'autrefois, la littérature orale est associée à la fécondité sous toutes ses formes, et d'abord au mariage et à l'amour. Car elle aide aux épanchements amoureux, comme la plaisanterie ou l'énigme galantes. » Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana. *Histoire de l'éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVIe siècle au milieu du XXe siècle*. Imarivolanitra : Edition Antso, 1996. P. 48. (Translation mine).

gendered terms in *Gender and Space in British Literature, 1660 – 1820* enables us to further develop this view on the intersection of gender with some structural elements of the folktale. These authors state that “gender is the real as well as the imaginary locale of identity construction and social demarcation fashioned through the discrete interaction with various topoi and geographic location.”¹⁴⁶ In other words, notions about gender are influenced by the interaction between different spaces or settings in which the story unfolds. In the folktales that we study, the process of gender socialization of girls and young women can be observed not only through the choice of specific settings for the stories, but also through the characterization of the female protagonists and the representation of recurrent themes.

Starting with the settings of the tales under study, we may note that the male and female characters are represented in their ordinary and appropriate contexts of circulation. For instance, young women are usually found in places close to their homes which enable their encounter with potential suitors. We can cite the example of Rasoalavavolo (literally the beautiful girl with long hair) in the tale “la vache sans cornes” or “the cow without horns” from Charles Renel’s collection. In this tale, the young woman is “taking a walk near her hut”¹⁴⁷ when the king from the South notices her. Other common places include playgrounds as in the cases of Rafarazanadrano who is playing on the sand when Andriambahoaka comes to steal her,¹⁴⁸ the three princesses from heaven who have come down to earth to play in a pond before Andrianoro steals one of them,¹⁴⁹ and Imitsoanala who is but a little baby on her mother’s island when Andriambahoaka wishes to marry her. On the other hand, the male characters are mainly found in places that are distant from their homes. In these tales, for instance, the male characters travel

¹⁴⁶ Mona Narain and Karen Gevirtz. *Gender and Space in British Literature, 1660 – 1820*. London and New York : Routledge, 2016 [2014]. P. 2.

¹⁴⁷ « Se promenait aux abords de sa case. » Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. P. 188. (Translation mine).

P. 37. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁸ Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. Pp. 60 – 64.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Pp. 79 – 84.

from their homes or their kingdoms in order to find beautiful young girls to marry. They also travel far away from home after the marriage to hunt for creatures that their wives wish to possess or crave during pregnancy. For instance, Andrianoro travels in order to find the horns of a hippopotamus for his wife,¹⁵⁰ and Andriambahoaka travels a long distance away to acquire more cattle for his favourite wife.¹⁵¹ In that sense, the gendered demarcation of space in the tales not only serves to encourage the encounters between the young female characters and their male suitors, but also emphasizes the distribution of gender-specific roles to the same characters. The gendered demarcation of space in relation to the differentiation of the male and female characters' activities call to mind the declaration of Malagasy king Andrianampoinimerina on the sexual division of labour and the distribution of the properties of a couple in case of a divorce. The declaration is reported by R.P. Callet in *Tantara ny Andriana eto Madagasikara*: "Men work to the unity of the country and the kingdom, they travel far away. You, women, keep the house and remain there, you do not go anywhere, and this is the reason why I divide your possessions into three if you separate, the 2/3 are for the man and the 1/3 is for the woman."¹⁵² This statement alludes to the sexual division of labour and the differentiation of the spaces of circulation of men and women, which obviously privileges the former while attributing a lower status to the latter. It means that the association of women to activities within or near the house and men with activities outside the house dates back to the precolonial era and was even institutionalized by the king's administration as the foundation of gender differences and gender inequalities.

Going back to the interaction between the structural elements of the tales in the presentation of a unified conception of the gender socialization process for girls and young

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid. P. 64.

¹⁵² « Ny lahy mamory ny tany mamory ny fanjakana lasan-davitra izy ; ary hianareo vehivavy miandry trano mitoetra ao, tsy mba mankaiza hianareo, izany no anatelo'ko ny harena raha misaraka : ny an-droatoko any ny lehilahy, ny fahatelo any ny vehivavy. » R. P. Callet. *Tantara ny Andriana eto Madagasikara Tome 1*. Antananarivo : Imprimerie officielle, 1908. P. 308. (Translation mine).

women, we may refer to the intersection of the choice of the settings with the recurrent theme of marriage and the conflicts engendered by the union between a man and several women. This serves to highlight the socialization of the characters into their appropriate gender roles. In the case of girls and young women, the choice of the appropriate setting close to their homes limits their actions to common feminine concerns about their looks, which eventually implies the desire to impress a male suitor. The dominant theme which revolves around marriage supports the roles and aspirations that are associated to women. The male characters, on the contrary, are involved in outstanding preoccupations and epic battles that enhance their masculinity. For that matter, men's and women's spheres of influence are clearly defined and delineated according to their gender. Men are depicted as active participants who manage to overcome great odds to make their way in the world while women are given lesser important roles and their preoccupations revolve around issues related to men and the household. These views are further supported by the characterization of the female protagonists as women who are mainly concerned about looking beautiful, getting married, and pleasing their husbands.

We have chosen to conduct an in-depth analysis of the tale "Haitraitran'olombelona, zaka an'Nanahary" or "Humans' whims can be endured by the Creator" from Lars Dahle's collection to illustrate these points. The tale relates the story of three rival sisters who become the wives of Andriambahoaka. The husband travels far away to acquire more cattle for the youngest sister, Rafara, who is his favourite. Meanwhile, Rafara bears three children whom her jealous sisters steal and throw into the river after putting them in a box. The tale is divided into two parts. Our analysis will mainly focus on the second part since the first part, as a variant of the tale "les trois princesses" which deals with the youngest sister being killed by her childless jealous sisters, has already been analysed in the previous section. The second part revolves around the youngest sister, Rafara's daughter, Ingalingalivola. The latter meets Ikalampisimba, a woman who only has half of her limbs and who lives in a cave outside the village.

Ikalampisimba arouses in Ingalingalivola the desire to be perceived as the most beautiful girl on earth by urging her to look for extraordinary jewels that no one else has ever managed to acquire. It is Ingalingalivola's brothers who travel far away in order to hunt and kill terrifying creatures and bring specific parts of their bodies to make jewels for their sister. When Ingalingalivola has already acquired all the creatures mentioned by Ikalampisimba, the latter finally admits that she is truly beautiful, but she adds that the only man that deserves to marry her is the son of "god." Again, it is the brothers who strive to find the son of god in heaven for their sister. However, god orders the killing of the brothers because they are male. In the end, it is Ingalingalivola herself who goes to heaven to check what happened to her brothers. Since she is a woman, god asks his messengers to make her appear before him and his son. Ingalingalivola asks god to revive her brothers before accepting to meet god and his son. The tale ends with Ingalingalivola becoming the wife of the son of god.

It is clear in this tale that the female protagonist is portrayed as a highly superficial young woman whose chief concern in life is to look beautiful. Paul Ottino's comment in *L'étrangère intime. Essai d'anthropologie de la civilisation de l'ancien Madagascar. Tome II* supports this view. Ottino refers to "Ingalingalivola's superficial desire, incredibly feminine in the Muslim way, she pointlessly sends to death her brothers before [...] becoming, by completely inverting the roles, their savior."¹⁵³ Indeed, Ingalingalivola naively takes Ikalampisimba's every word for truth and capriciously asks her father to find all the objects that are supposed to make her look more beautiful. She says to her father, "Dad, Ikalampisimba told me, 'if only you wore the teeth of a crocodile, you would be so beautiful.' So where can we get the teeth of a crocodile so I can wear them?"¹⁵⁴ Hence, she merely reports Ikalampisimba's

¹⁵³« Le désir de clinquant d'Ingalingalivola, féminine à souhait à la manière musulmane, envoyant par vanité ses frères à la mort, avant ... de devenir, en renversant totalement les rôles, leur salvatrice. » Paul Ottino. *L'étrangère intime. Essai d'anthropologie de la civilisation de l'ancien Madagascar. Tome II*. Paris : Editions des archives contemporaines, 1986. P. 362. (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁴ « O, ry Idada ô ! izao mantsy no tenin'ikalampisimba tamiko : 'Raha izao lahy indriako no miravaka nifi-mamba, dia ho kanto tokoa.' Ka aiza no mba hahazoana nifi-mamba hiravahako? » Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny*

statement and takes it for granted that she should get the objects, without considering that it is difficult and dangerous to acquire these objects. Significantly, despite her father's warning about the tricks played by Ikalampisimba, Ingalingalivola keeps on going back to her, showing her newly acquired jewels and waiting for more instructions to validate her "beauty." Moreover, it should be noted that Ikalampisimba's dwelling is situated near the village of Andriamabahoaka, Ingalingalivola's father. Ingalingalivola encounters Ikalampisimba while playing nearby, which means that she does not travel far away from home; as opposed to her brothers who hunt for the dangerous creatures in areas that are far from their father's house. Furthermore, Ingalingalivola's repeated visit to Ikalampisimba cannot be perceived as a transgression of boundary rules since she is playing within the compound of her father's territory. It is only when she travels to heaven to check on her brothers despite her father's disapproval that she goes beyond her ordinary space of circulation.

In fact, the implicit gendered differentiation of the spaces of circulation in this tale calls to mind American academic Daphne Spain's analysis of gendered spaces and their influence on women's status. This author argues that

gendered spaces [...] reinforce and reproduce prevailing status distinctions [...] The more pronounced the degree of spatial gender segregation, the lower is women's status relative to men's [...] In societies in which women's and men's tasks are geographically separated [...] women's status is lower than in societies in which women's and men's labor occurs in spatial proximity.¹⁵⁵

What this tells us about the differentiation of the spaces of circulation for male and female characters in the tale under study is that the limitation of the female characters' movement and activities to areas close to the dwelling, as opposed to the male characters'

Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 66. (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁵ Daphne Spain. « Gendered Spaces and Women's Status. » *Sociological Theory* Vol. 11 N° 2 (1993). Pp. 137, 143.

performance of activities far removed from the dwelling, tends to emphasize the attribution of a lower status to the female characters. Though our tale does not explicitly deal with the status of the female protagonist, it alludes to her dependence on her brothers. The fact that she travels far away from home and becomes her brothers' savior at the end of the tale suggests that her position as a dependent has changed. Nevertheless, she keeps her feminine character even when she follows her brothers' tracks. When she finds their dead bodies near the well, she remains helpless and merely cries. However, when she imposes the condition that her brothers be resurrected before accepting to meet god and his son, she displays power. But the power to resurrect the dead emanates from god, a male figure. In that sense, while the female protagonist has the power to make the male characters fulfil her wishes, it is these male characters who actually hold the power to make significant things happen in the tale. The fact that the tale ends with Ingalingalivola's marriage with god's son supports our argument that the interaction between setting, theme and characterization does serve to illustrate the socialization of the female protagonist into her conventional gender role. This role is mainly defined in relation to the differentiation of the regular spaces of circulation for the male and female characters, the female character's main concerns which revolve around marriage and the effort to look beautiful, and her characterization as a superficial, emotionally frail and physically powerless young woman.

1.2.2. Beyond the Conventional Representations of Gender Socialization in Malagasy Folktales

The fact that the female character in the previous tale that we studied transgresses the spatial boundaries that implicitly define her gender role in opposition to the male characters' confirms Daphne Spain's statement that "women are not always passive victims of gender

stratification, but often active agents in perpetuating or abolishing it.”¹⁵⁶ It means that women’s experiences are not limited to the roles and spaces attributed to them in terms of gender differentiation. This prompts us to consider the cases of other female characters who do not remain within the compound of their homes but explore places that expose them to danger. We will focus on the female protagonists in three tales from Dahle’s *Anganon’ny Ntaolo*: “Mpanarivo roa ray” or “Rich [girls] with two fathers,” “Zazavavy soa nanjary osy” or “A beautiful young woman turns into a goat,” and “Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo” or “Ifaramalemy and Ikotobekibo.” The experiences of the young girls who cross gendered spatial boundaries in these tales enable us to identify further messages about their gender socialization. We suggest that these female characters’ experiences tend to perpetuate rather than challenge or abolish gender differentiation in order to uphold a dominant form of femininity as a model for girls and young women in the context of gender socialization.

In the tale “Mpanarivo roa ray,”¹⁵⁷ the female figure who crosses gendered spatial boundaries is the antagonist. In this tale, the female antagonist’s motivation for crossing gendered spatial boundaries constitutes a means to convey a specific message about the gender socialization of girls and young women. The tale relates the story of two sisters who are ill-treated by their stepmother and stepsister. Andriambahoaka takes pity on them and adopts the two sisters as his own daughters. The eldest sister gets married and bears a child shortly after. Upon hearing these news, the wicked stepmother urges her own daughter to travel to the place where her stepsister lives in order to kill her. Unfortunately, it is the stepmother’s daughter who is killed by bandits on her way and her body is cut into pieces by the same bandits before they deliver them to her mother. Although the fate of this young woman might be seen as an appropriate punishment for her and her resentful mother, the incident also warns the listeners

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. P. 138.

¹⁵⁷ Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. Pp 54 – 57.

about the danger of crossing the boundaries that are meant to protect young girls. It is significant that unlike her stepsister whom she wants to kill out of jealousy, this young woman has not found a husband nor borne a child. Moreover, she is not the beneficiary of the protection of a kind and caring male character like her stepsisters' adoptive father, Andriambahoaka. In that sense, the tale seems to suggest that this girl and her mother, who can be categorized as "bad wom[e]n"¹⁵⁸ in the terminology of American radical feminist writer Andrea Dworkin in *Woman Hating*, do not deserve the protection and good fate that is reserved for the other female victims who are "good" and kind. The "good woman," according to Dworkin, "is desirable in her beauty, passivity, and victimization."¹⁵⁹ Indeed, the good young girl in this tale, whose father married the wicked stepmother and bore an equally wicked daughter, is extremely humble and continuously kind despite the two women's wickedness. And she is rightfully rewarded with a kind and caring adoptive father, a husband, and a child. Like the good woman in fairy tales described by Dworkin, she "never think[s], act[s], initiate[s], confront[s], challenge[s], feel[s], care[s], or question[s]"¹⁶⁰ when her stepmother and stepsister plot against her. For instance, when the wicked sister steals her share of food or gifts, she never denounces her. These qualities can further be compared to the 'virtues of the eternal feminine' described by American literary critic Sandra Gilbert and American writer Susan Gubar in *The Madwoman in the Attic*: "modesty, gracefulness [...], civility, compliancy [...] all of which are modes of mannerliness that contributed to [...] angelic innocence."¹⁶¹ Malagasy tales abound with similar passive, forbearing, innocent female characters that are pitted against unconventional, evil women. And like the bad women in fairy tales, these unconventional, evil women "must be killed or punished"¹⁶² in order to teach young girls to be good. This accounts for the fate of the

¹⁵⁸ Andrea Dworkin. *Woman Hating*. USA: Plume, 1974. P. 48.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 42.

¹⁶¹ Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984 [1979]. P. 23.

¹⁶² Andrea Dworkin. *Woman Hating*. USA: Plume, 1974. P. 48.

stepmother's daughter. Going back to our argument about the crossing of gendered spatial boundaries, we may suggest that the association of the transgression of spatial norms for women with the portrayal of the stepmother's daughter as a bad young woman serves to emphasize the desirable characteristics in young women. In more concrete terms, the tale seems to support the view that good women deserve the protection of men whereas bad women, who also happen to expose themselves to dangers by travelling far away from home for evil purposes, deserve severe punishment. In that sense, the dichotomous representation of women in this context highlights the idealized form of femininity which girls and young women are encouraged to internalize. It is mainly expressed in the definitions of the desirable roles and behaviour for the young women in the tale and the condemnation of the actions and the characteristics of the bad women.

In the tale "Zazavavy soa nanjary osy,"¹⁶³ two other girls cross the boundaries of their parents' home which symbolizes security but also submission to their parents. Indeed, the two girls in this story leave their parents' house because the latter killed two peacocks that they loved more than anything else. It is said that they "fled to a far away place where [their parents] won't see them."¹⁶⁴ In that sense, the girls' action signals their rebellion against their parents who authoritatively killed their peacocks. On their way, the younger sister is turned into a goat after drinking water from a lake. The elder sister never stops taking care of her goat sister and carries her on her back throughout the way. Soon after, she meets the son of Andriambahoaka who wants to marry her. The elder sister first refuses, saying that her goat sister will be a burden to him. However, when the son of Andriambahoaka promises to take care of her little sister as well, she accepts to marry him. It is then that the owners of the land remove the curse from the water and the younger sister retrieves her human form. The sisters then pay a visit to their

¹⁶³ Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. Pp. 102 – 104.

¹⁶⁴ « Lasa nandositra ho any an-tany lavitra, mba tsy ho hitany intsony. » Ibid. p. 103. (Translation mine).

parents who are happy to see them again. The tale ends with a moral for parents to be careful with the way they treat their children.

The tale obviously teaches young girls that travelling far away from their home and challenging the authority of their parents expose them to danger – they are left alone and helpless in the middle of nowhere – and result in severe punishment: the transformation of the younger sister into a goat. Yet, the two girls in this tale cannot be put under the category of “bad women” in the same sense as the one articulated by Andrea Dworkin in her description of the characterization of women in fairy tales. Hence, the argument about the dichotomous representation of women and the association of “bad” women with the crossing of gendered spatial boundaries does not seem to be relevant here. On the contrary, the female protagonists in this tale are the poor victims of their parents’ wickedness and their motivation for leaving their parents’ house seems to be justifiable. What is significant, however, is the fact that the girls, who are helpless and powerless, are helped and rescued by male characters. What is even more striking is the fact that the owner of the land only decides to remove the curse when the elder sister is taken as a noble man’s wife. In fact, before the elder sister meets her future husband, she exchanges with the owners of the land who merely confirm that the water turns those who drink from it into animals without attempting to help the desperate girl. This suggests that the elder sister only gains visibility and the right to be helped when she is married to an important man from the village. In that sense, it seems that the female characters’ transgression of the boundary rules serves to reinforce their helplessness and dependency rather than allowing them to assert their independence. This validates Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana’s statement that “the heroines are always in danger but most of the time, they are rescued in extremely difficult situations.”¹⁶⁵ The characterization of the elder sister further supports this

¹⁶⁵ « Les héroïnes sont toujours en danger, mais, la plupart du temps, elles sont sauvées in extremis. » Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana. Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana. *Histoire de l'éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVI^e au milieu du XX^e siècle*. Imarivolanitra: Editions Antso, 1996. P. 62. (Translation mine).

view. The elder sister is portrayed as a very emotional young woman who cries in most situations: she cries for the peacocks, for her sister who is turned into a goat, and even while telling her misery to Andriambahoaka's son after declining his marriage proposal. Meanwhile, she is also caring and loving towards her goat sister and displays a marked capacity to forgive her parents. All these qualities go in line with the idealized form of femininity conveyed by the tale. Furthermore, the finality of the quest is the elder sister's marriage with Andriambahoaka's son, which further reflects one of the defining characteristics of Malagasy folktales, that is, the representation of the family.

Finally, the crossing of spatial boundaries by the female character in the tale "Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo"¹⁶⁶ is slightly different from the pattern previously presented. In this tale, the female character's transgression is motivated by the need to survive. It is thus imposed on the heroine, rather than being the result of a desire to break the rules by exploring forbidden territories. The tale relates the story of children thrown away by their parents as in the case of Hansel and Gretel. The two children, Ifaramalemy and Ikotobekibo, are lost in a forest after their parents throw them away because of their infirmities: the girl, Ifaramalemy is crippled and the boy, Ikotobekibo, is too fat. Ifaramalemy and Ikotobekibo settle on a place, the greedy Ikotobekibo forbids his sister to hunt in the surrounding areas lest she catches any of his prey. In order to survive, Ifaramalemy takes the risk of trespassing the territory of an ogre, Itrimobe, where she steals food and other valuable goods. Upon discovering that his sister has collected a great amount of food, Ikotobekibo insists on going to Itrimobe's place as well. However, being too fat and after eating too much, he is unable to flee when Itrimobe is on his way home. Ifaramalemy thus advises her brother on how to kill the ogre before she flees. In the end, Ikotobekibo succeeds in killing the ogre and the two children inherit its wealth. It is significant that a variant of this tale in the same collection, entitled "Ifara sy Itrimobe" or "Ifara

¹⁶⁶ Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. Pp. 147.

and Itrimobe,” drifts the female protagonist back to her essential purpose, that is marriage and childbearing. This tale features only the crippled female character, Ifara, who steals food from Itrimobe’s place. Again, the trespassing is motivated by the need to survive by stealing the fish in the ogre’s pond. When she is caught by the ogre, she asks him to spare her and to take her as his wife, which he readily does. Ifaramalemy gives birth to a son and later succeeds in killing Itrimobe. In this tale, Ifaramalemy’s status evolves from that of a victim into that of a rescuer of her son whom Itrimobe wants to eat.

The heroines in these two tales actively strive to survive and strategically manage to kill the enemy. It is significant, however, that the female protagonists’ courage in both tales is tempered by their characterization as heroines who present the conventional characteristics that are associated to the idealized form of femininity, namely humility, forbearance, and the inclination to protect the weak and the vulnerable. Both are victims of male oppressors, which points to Raewyn Connell’s view on the relationship between men, hegemonic masculinity, and the patriarchal dividend. Connell states that “the number of men rigorously practicing the hegemonic pattern in its entirety may be quite small. Yet the majority of men gain from its hegemony, since they benefit from the patriarchal dividend, the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women.”¹⁶⁷ Indeed, Ikotobekibo is far from being an epitome of the hegemonic form of masculinity, yet, thanks to the prevalence of patriarchal ideals which support the subordination of women, he, a weak male character who can hardly support and save himself, is the oppressor of the female character who is courageous and resilient. This explains the fact that Ifaramalemy submits to Ikotobekibo’s rules, which impose restrictions on her collection of food in his territory. Yet, when she manages to collect more food from Itrimobe’s place, she unselfishly shares her findings with her brother. She also decides to protect him by advising him on how to kill Itrimobe instead of merely leaving and saving herself. It is

¹⁶⁷ R.W. Connell. *Masculinities*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995. P. 79.

significant that unlike the clever and resourceful sisters who save the day in most tales that feature interactions between brothers and sisters,¹⁶⁸ the sister, Ifaramalemy, in our tale leaves this task to her brother by merely advising him and letting him perform the heroic actions. In that sense, the female protagonist inevitably remains in the shadows of the male character.

Similarly, the female protagonist in the second tale humbly pleads with Itrimobe to spare her life. At the same time, she presents the protective nature of a mother as she strives to preserve her son's life. It should be noted that the fact that the antagonist in these tales represents a common enemy of men and women makes Ifaramalemy's killing act acceptable as it does not characterize her as the "ruthless, brutal, ambitious"¹⁶⁹ evil woman who is "a danger to children and other living things."¹⁷⁰ Instead, she is the kind and protective sister and mother who naturally cares for and protects the vulnerable characters. Nevertheless, she is not the all-powerful rescuer of these vulnerable characters as she herself is the victim of male oppression who responds with humility and submission to male rules. In that sense, the dual characterization of the heroine enables the preservation of the desired feminine qualities in women.

1.3. Gender in the Fantastical Realm of the Female Other

So far, we have examined the representations of mothers and young women in Malagasy folktales with particular focus on their respective experiences in relation to the idealized form of femininity. In this section, we look at the representations of the "zazavavindrano" or mermaid

¹⁶⁸ In *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy tales*, Shawn C. Jarvis, a Professor of German at St. Cloud State University whose work focuses on fairy tales by German women writers, says that in tales that feature the interactions between brothers and sisters, the latter "often must play heroic parts or engage in numerous adventures together." She mainly refers to Gretel in the tale of Hansel and Gretel whereby "it is the resourceful sister who vanquishes the witch and saves her brother." Ed. Donald Haase. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairytales Volumes 1 – 3*. Westport, Connecticut, London : Greenwood Press, 2008. P. 870.

¹⁶⁹ Andrea Dworkin. *Woman Hating*. USA : Plume, 1974. P. 41.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

as another category of female characters in Malagasy tales whose embodiment of the idealized form of femininity is multifaceted. The “zazavavindrano”¹⁷¹ is the dominant fantastic female figure in Malagasy folktales. Defined in Bernard Terramorsi’s *Les filles des eaux dans l’Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations* as “very young and very beautiful,”¹⁷² she is the “ideal of feminine beauty.”¹⁷³ In the same volume, Sylvia Andriamampianina, a Professor of Comparative Literature at the University of Toliara, Madagascar, refers to the “poetic and honorary”¹⁷⁴ nature of the word “andriambavirano” or “Princess of the waters,” which is a variant of “zazavavindrano.” This recalls the idealization of Malagasy women and their characterization as “andriambavilanitra” or “Princess from heaven.” One of the most striking characteristics of the “zazavavindrano” is their kindness and generosity which, in Bernard Terramorsi’s terms, distinguishes them from their Western counterparts, the latter being described as “diabolical temptresses, symbols of duplicitousness and perversity.”¹⁷⁵ On the contrary, they are men’s benefactresses, providing wealth and children. Based on these descriptions, Malagasy sirens seem to present the same characteristics as the ideal female figures in Malagasy tales who attract men with their overwhelming beauty, their extreme kindness, and their innocence. However, they can also be unconventional female characters whose actions tend to undermine the gender order and involve the reversal of conventional gender roles.

This is the case of the “zazavavindrano” in two tales, “ondine”¹⁷⁶ and “la fille des eaux” from Gabriel Ferrand’s and Charles Renel’s collections. In these tales, the words “ondine” and

¹⁷¹ The Malagasy word « zazavavindrano » is invariably used in the singular and the plural.

¹⁷² « Des filles très jeunes et très belles. » Bernard Terramorsi. *Les filles des eaux dans l’Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations*. Paris : Editions l’Harmattan, 2010. P. 12. (Translation mine).

¹⁷³ “idéal de beauté féminine.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁴ « Poétique et honorifique. » Sylvia Andriamampianina. « Sirènes malgaches : un flot de paroles. Les filles des eaux dans les parlers malgaches. » In *Les filles des eaux dans l’Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations*. Paris : Editions l’Harmattan, 2010. P. 259. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁵ « Tentatrices diaboliques, symboles de duplicité et de perversité. » Bernard Terramorsi. *Les filles des eaux dans l’Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations*. Paris : Editions l’Harmattan, 2010. P. 12. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁶ Gabriel Ferrand. *Contes populaires malgaches*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1893. P. 91 - 92. (Translation mine).

“la fille des eaux”¹⁷⁷ refer to the Malagasy word “zazavavindrano.” The “zazavavindrano” in Ferrand’s collection encounters a poor fisherman, asks the latter to marry her, and gives him abundant wealth and children, namely two boys and two girls. Before the marriage, she does not fail to impose a condition: the fisherman must never tell about her origin to anyone. However, under the influence of alcohol, the fisherman violates this taboo, which makes the “zazavavindrano” leave him permanently. The daughters follow her whereas the sons stay with their father. In Charles Renel’s collection, it is also the “zazavavindrano,” named Razazavavindrano, who imposes the marriage to the fisherman who is speechless in front of her. She says, “I came out of the water [...] to become your wife”¹⁷⁸ and immediately announces her condition, “you will not say to anyone where I come from when we arrive at the village; otherwise, I will leave you and I will no longer be your wife.”¹⁷⁹ Following this declaration, no reference is made about the fisherman’s reply or reaction. Instead, it is said that the couple has already reached the village. The couple has a child. Like the fisherman in the previous tale, the man in this tale also violates Razazavavindrano’s taboo when he reveals her secret to his brothers as they threaten to kill him. Razazavavindrano eventually decides to leave him and return to the waters. She somehow remains one more day with the fisherman and the child and decides to leave the latter with its father, taking care to provide them with considerable wealth before her departure. She also allows them to visit her and promises to pay a visit to them at night as well whenever she longs to see her child. The tale ends with the “zazavavindrano,” her parents and young sister, returning to the sea after meeting the child and its father. It should be noted that the “zazavavindrano” in this tale gives orders to the fisherman who diligently and silently acts in accordance with her instructions throughout the tale. For instance, she orders him to construct a fence before providing him with cattle, which makes the household rich

¹⁷⁷ Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. P. 187 - 190. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁸ « Je suis sortie des eaux ... pour être ta femme. » Ibid. P. 188. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁹ « Tu ne diras à personne d’où je viens, lorsque nous arriverons au village ; sinon, je te quitterai et tu ne m’auras plus comme femme. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

afterwards. Another example is when she orders her husband to “carry [the] baby and follow [her]”¹⁸⁰ on their way to the water source as she decides to leave permanently due to the man’s revelation of her secret.

In these two tales, the “zazavindrano” presents the characteristics of the ordinary young female characters who attract their male suitors with their beauty. However, the tales are also characterized by the reversal of gender roles, which offers another facet of the “zazavindrano”’s character. Gender roles are reversed when the “zazavindrano” makes the marriage proposal and undermines the man’s role as the breadwinner by providing him with wealth that requires no major effort on his part. The authoritative attitude of the “zazavindrano” in the second tale, as opposed to the subdued fisherman, is also significant. Terramorsi precisely describes the “zazavindrano” as “a frail sex [...] but endowed with ‘powers’ that are fantastically charged with masculine traits [...] a phallic and castrating woman for a man who is unable to grow up.”¹⁸¹ This description highlights the dual characterization of the “zazavindrano” who possesses both feminine and masculine qualities, the latter being a threat to masculine hegemony if we consider the interaction between the “zazavindrano” and the fisherman in the tales under study. Terramorsi rightfully points to the fisherman’s childish characteristics, saying that “the narratives [of the zazavindrano] all show the passive and infantile attitude of a *young* man in search of a satisfying woman.”¹⁸² The satisfying woman here provides this man with wealth and children and, in Terramorsi’s view, punishes him like a child when he breaks the rule, that of keeping her secret.¹⁸³ Sylvia Andriamampianina

¹⁸⁰ « Porte notre enfant et suis-moi. » Ibid. P. 189. (Translation mine).

¹⁸¹ « Un sexe faible ... mais doté de ‘pouvoirs’, fantastiquement pourvu de traits de caractère masculins... une femme phallique et castratrice pour un homme qui n’arrive pas à devenir grand. » Bernard Terramorsi. *Les filles des eaux dans l’Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations*. Paris: Editions l’Harmattan, 2010. P. 19. (Translation mine).

¹⁸² « Les récits montrent tous l’attitude infantile et passive d’un *jeune* homme en quête d’une femme comblante. » Ibid. (Author’s emphasis, translation mine).

¹⁸³ This author says that “the man who is childish and whiny at first is metamorphosed by the zazavindrano into a man rich with children and goods; and in the end, punished like a disobedient child [...], he returns to his initial lack and abandonment.” [« L’homme d’abord puéril et pleurnichard est métamorphosé par la

reinforces Terramorsi's argument when she says that "women of the seas are sensitive and vulnerable but inflexible after all. By imposing a conditional union to a man, by providing him with prosperity and offspring, by punishing him [...] of his perjury, they are emancipated women from phallographic society."¹⁸⁴ These two authors thus underline the powerful position of the zazavavindrano, which, as we have stated earlier, may be a threat to masculine hegemony. Andriamampianina refers to the male characters in most "zazavavindrano" narratives as "the strong sex rendered weak"¹⁸⁵ as opposed to the "zazavavindrano" who "always has secrets, taboos, things that are unseen [...] which prevent permanent possession."¹⁸⁶ While these authors mainly emphasize the childish nature of the fisherman and his relationship with the "zazavavindrano" as a symbolic return into the mother's womb, in the "peaceful securing maternal world [whereby] water evokes the strong memory of the amniotic fluid, of foetal life,"¹⁸⁷ we argue that the characterization of the fisherman as passive and weak also connotes emasculation in favour of the representation of the "zazavavindrano"'s "phallic and castrating" power.

Nevertheless, instead of being revered for her power, the zazavavindrano is marginalized in both tales. Being the elusive and mysterious creature, whose unknown origins disturb the villagers and the fisherman's relatives, she is characterized as the Other. She inspires fear and fascination, and above all, she arouses in these people, including the fisherman, the

zazavavindrano, en homme riche d'enfants et de biens ; et à la fin, puni comme un enfant désobéissant ... il retrouve manque et déréliction initiaux.»] Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁸⁴ « Les femmes des eaux sont sensibles et vulnérables, mais finalement inflexibles. En imposant à l'homme une union conditionnelle, en lui apportant la prospérité et une descendance, en le punissant ... de son parjure, elles sont des femmes émancipées de la société phallogratique. » Sylvia Andriamampianina. « La légende de Remiry, fille des eaux de l'Androy désertique et le mythe d'Ampelanosendrano. » In *Les filles des eaux dans l'Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations*. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 2010. P. 391. (Translation mine).

¹⁸⁵ « Le sexe fort rendu faible. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁸⁶ « A toujours des secrets, des interdits, des choses qu'on ne voit pas ... et qui empêche tout possession définitive. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁸⁷ « Paix du monde maternel sécurisant, l'eau étant le souvenir fort du liquide amniotique, de la vie foetale. » Sylvia Andriamampianina. « Sirènes malgaches : un flot de paroles. Les filles des eaux dans les parlers malgaches. » In *Les filles des eaux dans l'Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations*. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 2010. P. 262. (Translation mine).

desire to unravel the mystery of her origins and power. As a result, the elusive “zazavindrano” is perpetually marginalized and fails to be fully integrated into the human world. It should be noted that social integration here refers to the acquisition of the status of an ordinary woman, that is, being a wife and a mother.¹⁸⁸ Terramorsi explains the reasons for the failure of the “zazavindrano”’s integration into society, saying that “social integration cannot be complete if she remains outside language, beyond representation.”¹⁸⁹ He adds that “the separation of the mixed couple is provoked by a man who talks, that is, one who wants to relate something rare (hence outside language) to something ordinary.”¹⁹⁰ In other words, the fisherman’s betrayal is motivated by the need to put into words his unusual experience with the “zazavindrano.” His violation of the taboo heightens the perception of the “zazavindrano” as the Other. In that sense, we argue that the “zazavindrano” is a victim of marginalization as a result of this man’s betrayal. Sylvia Andriamampianina recognizes the impact of the male character’s betrayal – that is, his failure to keep the “zazavindrano”’s secret – when she says that it refers to a “disrespect of [the zazavindrano’s] difference.”¹⁹¹ Commenting on the tales that feature “zazavindrano,” who, in her view, epitomize emancipated women, she maintains that “what these women demand is their husband’s respect for their untouchable, invisible, unknown part.”¹⁹² The fact that the fisherman violates the taboo or breaks the promise to keep the “zazavindrano”’s secret, though unintentionally, shows that the “zazavindrano”’s desire to

¹⁸⁸ Sylvia Andriamampianina refers to the status of wife and mother as the components of a “normal social life.” See Sylvia Andriamampianina. « La légende de Remiry, fille des eaux de l’Androy désertique et le mythe d’Ampelanosendrano. » In *Les filles des eaux dans l’Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations*. Paris: Editions l’Harmattan, 2010. P. 390. (Translation mine).

¹⁸⁹ « L’intégration sociale ne peut être totale si elle reste hors langage, hors représentation. » Bernard Terramorsi. *Les filles des eaux dans l’Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations*. Paris: Editions l’Harmattan, 2010. P. 24. (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁰ « La rupture du couple mixte est provoquée par un homme qui cause, c’est-à-dire qui veut relier une chose rare (donc hors langage) à une cause commune. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁹¹ « Manque de respect de leur différence. » Sylvia Andriamampianina. « La légende de Remiry, fille des eaux de l’Androy désertique et le mythe d’Ampelanosendrano. » In *Les filles des eaux dans l’Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations*. Paris: Editions l’Harmattan, 2010. P. 389. (Translation mine).

¹⁹² « Ce que ces femmes demandent c’est le respect par leur mari de leur part intouchable, invisible, inconnaissable. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

be respected is not considered. Though Andriamampianina argues that “the zazavavindrano escapes from marital [life] and phallocracy, [and] her hybridity is a power which emancipates her from any yoke,”¹⁹³ it is undeniable that her power is far from being acknowledged. Instead, her power, which inspires fear rather than respect, leads to her marginalization. And insofar as this marginalization prevents her from fulfilling her desire to be integrated into the human world, namely the desire to be a wife and a mother, she can be perceived as a victim.

Indeed, the “zazavavindrano” may be an emancipated woman who, being free from any bondage, “leave[s] without hesitation the man [and her children], [...] leaving [them] in want,”¹⁹⁴ but she is also a victim in that she is prevented from fulfilling her desire to be integrated into the human world. She is a victim of alienation. The fact that the “zazavavindrano” in Renel’s collection lingers before leaving permanently after the fisherman’s violation of the taboo clearly testifies to her concern for the child whom she entrusts to its father, saying, “take good care of our child.”¹⁹⁵ The delay of the departure also suggests a reluctance to leave. In that sense, the departure in this tale seems to be the inevitable consequence of the violation of the taboo, which the zazavavindrano must accept against her will. Otherwise, why would she leave more wealth for the man, instead of punishing him and making him poor as before? Similarly, why would she refuse to completely cut the ties, and instead allow the man to visit her or promise to visit him and the baby as well?

Furthermore, it is significant that the “zazavavindrano”’s journey takes a circular form in the tale. The journey is initially motivated by the “zazavavindrano”’s desire to experience wifehood and motherhood, as is expressed in Terramorsi’s statement, “most of all, the very beautiful and very young girl of the waters is looking for a handsome young man to start a

¹⁹³ « La zazavavindrano échappe au conjugal et à la phallocratie, son hybridité est un pouvoir qui l’émancipe de tout joug. » Ibid. p. 390. (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁴ « Quitt[e] l’homme sans état d’âme ... et le laiss[e] dans le manque. » Ibid. p. 391. (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁵ « Aie bien soin de notre enfant. » Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. P. 188. (Translation mine).

family.”¹⁹⁶ The journey ends with the “zazavindrano”’s return to her initial situation but with a changed status and without keeping the fruits of her journey, that is, her husband and her child. It means that it is not just the fisherman who is faced with lack at the end of the tale, but the “zazavindrano” as well. In her case, the lack represents her inability to fulfil her desire to be integrated as a wife and mother in the human world. This reinforces our argument about the victimization of the “zazavindrano”.

In the tale from Ferrand’s collection, which is shorter, the “zazavindrano”’s attitude as a mother does not enable us to confirm our view about her crushed desire to be a wife and a mother. Moreover, the tale ends with her daughters following her, which means that the “zazavindrano” is not faced with lack as Razazavindrano in Renel’s “la fille des eaux.” Hence, in order to further develop our argument about the victimization of the “zazavindrano,” we may refer to the tale of Rafarazanadrano which portrays the female protagonist as a victim of male oppression in a more explicit way. This tale, whereby the man follows the woman, thus adopting a form of uxorilocal residence, has already been analysed in the previous sections. Our analysis underlined the fact that Rafarazanadrano manages to make her initial oppressor, Andriambahoaka, subdue to her will. This can be perceived as a threat to male supremacy since the man, who initially ruled this woman by forcing her to marry him and beating and insulting her when she refused to speak, is bound to follow her and comply with the rules under water. Sylvia Andriamampianina’s comments about the situation in this tale are worth quoting. She says that Andriambahoaka’s “behaviour, whereby it is the man who chooses to live at the woman’s place, is a degradation in society’s eyes. The situation is reversed: the woman takes the power, the man is emasculated.”¹⁹⁷ It can thus be asserted that in this tale, the

¹⁹⁶ « Surtout, la très belle et très jeune fille de l’eau cherche un beau jeune homme pour fonder un foyer. » Bernard Terramorsi. *Les filles des eaux dans l’Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations*. Paris: Editions l’Harmattan, 2010. P. 13. (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁷ « Comportement, où c’est l’homme qui élit domicile chez la femme, est une déchéance aux yeux de la société. La situation est inversée : la femme prend le pouvoir, l’homme est dévirilisé. » Sylvia Andriamampianina. « La

“zazavavindrano” represents a threat to male supremacy. However, as we have already seen, the tale also offers a representation of the “zazavavindrano” as a victim of male oppression. A victim who resists by refusing to speak. Nonetheless, she is a victim who is forced into an unwanted marriage, one who cannot fight back when she is beaten and insulted by her husband. This recalls the dual characterization of the “zazavavindrano” in the two tales from Gabriel Ferrand and Charles Renel’s collections. The representation of the “zazavavindrano” as an ambivalent character, being both vulnerable and dangerously powerful, presenting feminine and masculine characteristics at the same time, undoubtedly serves to highlight her alterity. But more importantly, her power as a threat to male supremacy is a source of fear and anxiety, which explains the various attempts to conquer her and the ensuing marginalization and victimization.

It can be said that the common thread that binds the female protagonists in the three tales that we have studied is their victimization, which is closely tied to their alterity. Despite their differing characterization and story line, these women are in one way or another portrayed as victims trying to fend for themselves in order to escape male physical, verbal or psychological violence. No matter how subversive or powerful they can be, the lot of these women, as the Other, remains conditioned by male supremacy. This calls to mind Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar’s views about the perpetual positioning of women as the Other in *The Madwoman in the Attic*. Quoting American cultural anthropologist Sherry Ortner’s reflections on the universal devaluation of women, these authors write that

both the subversive feminine symbols (witches, evil eye, menstrual pollution, castrating mothers) and the feminine symbols of transcendence (mother goddesses, merciful dispensers of salvation, female symbols of justice) [...] can appear from certain points

légende de Remiry, fille des eaux de l’Androy désertique et le mythe d’Ampelanosendrano. » In *Les filles des eaux dans l’Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations*. Paris: Editions l’Harmattan, 2010. P. 386. (Translation mine).

of view to stand both under and over (but really simply outside of) the sphere of culture's hegemony.¹⁹⁸

In other words, women are constantly positioned as the Other who, to borrow the terms of Florence Binard, are “men's inferior or superior, but never their equal.”¹⁹⁹ The status of the “zazavindrano” in the tales that we have studied tends to confirm this view because of their dual characterization. When they are characterized as vulnerable and powerless, they are the victims of male oppression. When they are portrayed as the powerful women who are free from any bondage, they represent a threat to male supremacy and are inevitably subdued by being marginalized or victimized. Moreover, as an ambiguous figure that stands between two realms (the human world and the sea) that attracts and frightens at the same time, the “zazavindrano” represents the Other who, in Gilbert and Gubar's words, “is not only excluded from culture [...] but [...] also becomes herself an embodiment of [the] extremes of mysterious and intransigent Otherness which culture confronts with worship or fear.”²⁰⁰ In the tales of the “zazavindrano” that we have analysed, it is fear that prevails and leads to the male characters' actions which reinforce the characterization of the “zazavindrano” as the elusive creature that needs to be conquered, subdued and marginalized. We can conclude that the blending of several aspects of the idealized form of femininity such as beauty, kindness, sensitivity and vulnerability with masculine characteristics that denote power in the characterization of the “zazavindrano” make her a complex female figure whose experiences are somehow perpetually conditioned by the ideology of male supremacy.

¹⁹⁸ Sherry Ortner in Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000 [1979]. P.19.

¹⁹⁹ Direct communication with Florence Binard. 13 March 2020.

²⁰⁰ Sherry Ortner in Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar. *The Madwoman in the Attic*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000 [1979]. P.19.

1.4. The Other Women in Malagasy Folktales

This last section of the first chapter of our study, which deals with the various representations of femininity in a selection of Malagasy folktales, considers the cases of the female characters who do not fall within the categories of women that have been explored in the previous sections, namely old women, stepmothers, and adulterous women. We refer to them as the ‘other women’ not only because their experiences, roles and identities are different from those of the women in our previous analysis, but also because they can also be perceived as another group of women who have been objectified as “the Other.” In other words, these women are portrayed as “the Other” due to their embodiment of unconventional forms of femininity (stepmothers, adulteresses) or their lack of the qualities required to fit into the category of conventional women (old women). Significantly, these women, in their dissociation from the idealized form of femininity, can be perceived as a threat to male superiority,²⁰¹ which accounts for their negative representations. Nevertheless, we argue that the complex representations of the female characters in Malagasy folktales call for an in-depth analysis of their individual experiences despite their presumed alterity as a common feature. Thus, we intend to investigate the ways in which the women in our selection of folktales are depicted in their differing, often conflicting statuses and roles in the Malagasy context.

Our approach to the representations of old women in Malagasy folktales recognizes the multiple and contradictory sociocultural perceptions of old people articulated by sociologists Toni Calasanti and Kathleen Slevin in *Gender, Social Inequalities, and Aging*. Developing their argument on the social construction of old age across different cultures and time periods, these

²⁰¹ This is based on Connell’s previously quoted view about the importance of the emphasized form of femininity, which is “oriented to accommodating the interests and desires of men,” in the maintenance of the global dominance of men over women. See R.W. Connell. *Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1987. P. 183.

authors contend that “the old have been revered or reviled in different times and places.”²⁰² In other words, the perception of old people in various cultures and at different time periods are often contradictory, involving both respect and denigration. Calasanti and Slevin precisely write that “in Classical Greece old age was seen as an ‘unmitigated misfortune’”²⁰³ whereas in other countries, it is considered as a source of “‘great power’ (Japanese culture) and represents ‘the pinnacle of life’ (Samoa).”²⁰⁴ Significantly, the same authors point to “the informal channels through which power can be wielded”²⁰⁵ while referring to the case of old women in Hausa society who “enjoy considerable power [...] [by] exert[ing] power through their control over younger women.”²⁰⁶ Indeed, although the power exercised by old women in this context is limited, it is significant in the understanding of old women’s experiences of power. The Malagasy folktales in our study precisely provide complex portraits of old women, which reflect the contradictory views about their status and their relation to power. Nevertheless, we can observe in these tales the prevalence of the victimization of old women despite the existence of narratives which show the power that they may hold within the community. Moreover, these tales are also marked by the invisibility of old women who often play peripheral roles in comparison with the other characters. Our analysis explores the various aspects of the victimization of old women and their invisibility based on social, cultural, and gender factors.

Considering the case of stepmothers in the Malagasy folktales that we have selected, we notice that their representations are very similar to those of the wicked stepmothers in Western fairy tales. Linda J. Lee, a researcher from the University of Pennsylvania who specializes on gender issues in folklore, writes that “wicked stepmothers are perhaps the most ubiquitous

²⁰² Toni Calasanti and Kathleen Slevin. *Gender, Social Inequalities, and Aging*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2001. P. 15.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* P. 41.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

powerful female characters in folktales and fairy tales.”²⁰⁷ The same author goes on to say that stepmothers as “the most common villainous characters [are] closely aligned with other hostile female characters, including witches, ogresses, enchantresses, and the like.”²⁰⁸ Their “cruel[ty], greed, malicious[ness] and jealous[y]”²⁰⁹ reinforce the contrast between good and bad women in folk and fairy tales. These representations of stepmothers as wicked and powerful women associated with negative characteristics call to mind Andrea Dworkin’s concept of “the cardinal principle of sexist ontology [whereby] the only good woman is a dead woman [and] [when the woman is active and alive], she is characterized by overwhelming malice, devouring greed, uncontrollable avarice.”²¹⁰ Dworkin particularly refers to the characterization of stepmothers in fairy tales who, unlike the good and kind mothers who die at the very beginning of the tales, and the good young girls who are the passive victims in desperate situations that are saved by the male characters, are the active women who perpetrate evil actions against their stepchildren. Hence, the negative perception of stepmothers is closely related to the characterization of active and powerful female characters as “bad” and “evil.”²¹¹

Conflicts between wicked stepmothers and their male or female stepchildren often revolve around the desire to gain more favours from the husband who is either absent or unbothered by the evil actions perpetrated by the stepmother on his children.²¹² Stepmothers’ wickedness may also result from their excessive jealousy, as is the case of Snow White’s stepmother who is jealous of her stepdaughter’s beauty. In either case, the understanding of the

²⁰⁷ Linda J. Lee. « Stepmothers. » In Donald Haase. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairytales Volumes 1 – 3*. Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 2008. P. 640.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Andrea Dworkin. *Woman Hating*. USA: Plume, 1974. P. 41.

²¹¹ Jeana Jorgensen, a researcher who focuses on gender and power in fairy tales, reinforces this view when she writes in *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy Tales* that “many female characters occupying a role of power are demonized as antagonists; this is especially the case with the stepmother and the witch.” P. 403.

²¹² In *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy tales*, D.L. Ashliman, an emeritus Professor at the University of Pittsburgh, says that “in stories about cruel stepmothers, the fathers typically are either negligent in allowing their wives to abuse the children, or they are absent altogether... In most instances, such fathers remain in the background throughout the tale.” In *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairy Tales*. P. 334.

motivations for stepmothers' attitude towards their stepchildren requires an in-depth analysis of the context in which the actions take place. British writer Marina Warner offers a perspective on the "historical reasons for women's cruelty within the home"²¹³ in her *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers*. The women that are discussed here include stepmothers who abuse their stepchildren. Warner maintains that "fairy or wonder tales, however farfetched the incidents they include, or fantastic the enchantments they concoct, take on the colour of the actual circumstances in which they are or were told."²¹⁴ In other words, though fairy and wonder tales relate stories that seem to be detached from the realistic world, they somehow reflect realistic facts within the context in which they are produced. Warner precisely alludes to historical facts that reflect the antipathic relationships between stepmothers and their children when she refers to "the chronicles of the Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian dynasties, before the establishment of primogeniture, [which] are bespattered with the blood of possible heirs, done away with by consorts ambitious for their own progeny – the true wicked stepmothers of history."²¹⁵ She further explains that "when a second wife entered the house, she often found herself and her children in competition – often for scarce resources – with the surviving offspring of the earlier marriage, who may well have appeared to threaten her own children's place in their father's affection too."²¹⁶ Hence, the figure of the wicked stepmother in these contexts emanates from social circumstances which compel them to adopt what Patricia A. Watson, the author of *Ancient Stepmothers: Myth, Misogyny, and Reality*, calls the "stepmotherly attitude."²¹⁷ This attitude is mainly characterized by wickedness, cruelty, and vice. These views enable us to define our approach to the representations of stepmothers in our

²¹³ Marina Warner. *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1994. P. 213.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Patricia A. Watson. *Ancient Stepmothers: Myth, Misogyny, and Reality*. Leiden, New York, Köln : E.J. Brill, 1995. P. 126.

selection of folktales. Indeed, we intend to conduct a contextual analysis of the motivations of the stepmothers in our tales for adopting a hostile attitude towards their stepchildren. This sheds light on the social and cultural constructions of the image of the wicked stepmother.

Finally, in order to analyse the representations of adulterous women in the Malagasy tales that we have selected, we may start by referring to some of the perceptions of adultery in the Malagasy context from a gender perspective. In *La femme malgache*, Lars Vig documents some aspects of mutual infidelity in the cases of married couples with a soldier or a commercial traveler who travels far away from home for a long period. Vig writes that “the two spouses enjoyed total freedom during the period of separation.”²¹⁸ However, the same author points to the man’s aggressive reaction to his wife’s potential unfaithfulness whereas the woman’s reaction to her husband’s infidelity is not mentioned. Indeed, Vig explains that “if the husband leaves without making an agreement [about mutual sexual freedom], his wife has to remain faithful to him.”²¹⁹ Furthermore, he reports that husbands even “carried a charm that was intended to protect their wives [by] dissuading the potential suitors [or] by inflicting the most dreadful punishments on them if they ‘dared to take others’ wives.”²²⁰ This calls to mind Malagasy writer Hemerson Andrianetrazafo’s study of the representation of sexuality among the Sakalava. This author refers to the discrepancy between the practice of adultery by men and women. He says that “a man who is travelling has the freedom to be with other women. On her end, the wife can have one or more secret lovers while her husband is away, but she will be very careful so that her in-laws will never catch her. She will thus [...] preferably [choose] the dark night to welcome her partner surreptitiously.”²²¹ These statements suggest that women do

²¹⁸ « Les deux époux avaient alors chacun toute leur liberté pendant la période de séparation. » Lars Vig. *Sur la femme malgache*. Antananarivo : Editions Teza Boky & CEROI, 1994. P. 41. (Translation mine).

²¹⁹ « Si le mari partait sans avoir conclu un... accord, son épouse devait lui rester fidèle. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²²⁰ « Portaient ... un charme destiné à protéger leurs femmes restées au foyer. Un charme censé capable de dissuader les éventuels séducteurs. Ou de leur infliger des punitions des plus effroyables s’ils osaient ‘prendre les femmes des autres.’ » Ibid. P. 42. (Translation mine).

²²¹ « Un homme en déplacement est libre de fréquenter d’autres femmes. De son côté, la femme, tandis que son mari est absent, peut en cachette avoir un ou des amants, mais elle prendra toutes les précautions possibles

not enjoy the same freedom as men as far as adultery is concerned. Other views seem to allude to the unpopularity of female adultery as opposed to a considerable tolerance of male adultery. Malanjaona Rakotomalala, for instance, maintains that “either in urban or rural areas, the married woman is subject to more scrutiny, man’s misconducts are easily tolerated ‘because he is a man.’”²²² Rakotomalala adds that “it is as if adultery and infidelity were social obligations for a man.”²²³ According to this author, the reason why women’s adultery is far less tolerated than men’s is that they are known as the “guardians of good conduct.”²²⁴ This view is shared by Malagasy writer Michèle Rakotoson who, upon sharing her views on women’s position in the religious process during an interview with PlaneteAfrique on the International Day for women in 2008, says that Malagasy women are traditionally perceived as “the guardian[s] of the household, the guardian[s] of tradition, the one[s] who educate and pass on values.”²²⁵ In that sense, adultery committed by women appears as the breaching of moral values regarding marriage and the family. Furthermore, Malanjaona Rakotomalala points to the negative perception of adulterous women in his glossary of sexual terms in *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. He writes that the Malagasy phrase “vehivavy janga, a biblical expression,”²²⁶ refers to an “adulterous woman as well as a prostitute,”²²⁷ which is also “a synonym of a ‘sinful woman.’”²²⁸ The same author comments that the term “pijangajanga,”

pour ne pas se faire surprendre par sa belle-famille. Elle [...] choisi[ra] de préférence la nuit noire, pour accueillir subrepticement son partenaire. » Hemerson Andrianetrazafo. P. 21. (Translation mine).

²²² « Quel que soit le milieu, urbain ou rural, on surveille beaucoup plus la femme mariée, on tolère plus facilement les écarts de l’homme ... ‘car c’est un homme.’ » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina, Madagascar. A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 149. (Translation mine).

²²³ « Tout se passe comme si l’adultère et l’infidélité étaient des impératifs sociaux pour l’homme. » Ibid. P. 150. (Translation mine).

²²⁴ « Gardiennes des bonnes mœurs. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²²⁵ « La femme gardienne du foyer, gardienne de la tradition, celle qui éduque et transmet les valeurs. » « 8 mars 2008. Michèle Rakotoson. Femme et religion dans la littérature malgache. » *Planeteafrique*. 7 March 2008. planeteafrique.com/amis/Index.asp?affiche=News_display.asp&ArticleID=752.

²²⁶ « Vehivavy janga, expression biblique. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina, Madagascar. A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 484. (Translation mine).

²²⁷ « Femme adultère mais aussi prostituée. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²²⁸ « Syn. Vehivavy mpanota (« femme pécheresse »). » Ibid. (Translation mine).

which literally means adulterer, “seems to refer mainly to women.”²²⁹ In other words, the pejorative meaning of adultery when committed by women, namely the perception of adultery as a sin, reinforces the unpopularity of female adultery. In the light of these views, we intend to identify in our selection of tales the extent to which the representations of the female characters who commit adultery adhere to this negative perception of female adultery in favour of the idealized image of women as the “guardians of good conduct.”²³⁰

1.4.1. Exploring the Invisibility and Victimization of Old Women in Malagasy folktales

One of the most striking features shared by the tales that we have selected for the analysis of the representations of old women is their omission of elaborate descriptions of old female characters’ physical appearances. This appears as a stark contrast with the descriptive details about the beauty of young female characters in other Malagasy tales. The descriptions of the “zazavavindrano” in Malagasy oral traditions, for instance, highlight these young supernatural creatures’ beauty. Sylvia Andriamampianina points to the meaning associated to the “zazavavindrano’s” luscious hair in particular. She writes that “a fixation on the hair is observed in [Malagasy culture] [whereby] the wavy hair, along with its length and abundance, is extremely feminine and erotic.”²³¹ Contrarily, the absence of detailed physical descriptions of old female characters seems to hint at the general assumptions about the unattractiveness of old women’s bodies. As American writer and essayist Susan Sontag writes in her 1972 article “The Double Standard of Aging”: “aging in women is a process of becoming obscene sexually, for the flabby bosom, wrinkled neck, spotted hands, thinning white hair, waistless torso, and

²²⁹ « Semble s’adresser surtout aux femmes. » Ibid. P. 467. (Translation mine).

²³⁰ Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A coeur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris : Karthala, 2012. P. 150.

²³¹ « On observe une fixation sur la chevelure dans la culture malgache... L’ondoisement de la chevelure, lié à sa longueur et à son abondance, est éminemment féminine et érotique. » Sylvia Andriamampianina. « Sirènes malgaches : un flot de paroles. Les filles des eaux dans les parlers malgaches. » In *Les filles des eaux dans l’Océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations*. Paris: Editions l’Harmattan, 2010. P. 266. (Translation mine).

veined legs of an old woman are felt to be obscene.”²³² In other words, the aging body of old women, having lost its femininity and attractiveness, is associated with the negative stereotypical connotations of old age and becomes a hideous and frightful representation of the female body. This may explain the exclusion of old women from sexual concerns, as is suggested by Linda Lindsay’s statement that “women are expected to retreat to a sexless existence after the completion of childbearing and mothering.”²³³ The tale “Tambolo” from Charles Renel’s collection can be used to illustrate these points. In this tale, an old woman tries to seduce an extremely handsome young man named Tambolo who is on his way to find an equally beautiful young woman and make her his wife. The old woman calls out: “Hey! Listen to me, Tambolo! If the aim of your trip is to find a wife, take me! Aren’t I beautiful?”²³⁴ The young man ironically answers: “It is not for you that I travel, old white-haired woman, it is not for you. It is for the beautiful Faranomby.”²³⁵ Here, the young man openly exposes the inappropriateness of the old woman’s act, reminding her of her old age and her lack of beauty. The old woman’s anger, which makes her curse him, shows how much the young man’s words have hurt her. It can be argued that the male character’s attitude towards the old woman in this tale supports the general assumption that old people, specifically old women, are no longer sexually attractive and are thus excluded from sexual encounters. This assumption about the sexual unattractiveness of old women and their exclusion from issues surrounding love, sex, and marriage contributes to the representation of their invisibility in the tales that we study.

In some tales, the brief references to old female characters’ physical appearances serve to enhance other stereotypical features such as dependency and inferior status. One of the

²³² Susan Sontag. «The Double Standard of Aging. » *The Saturday Review*. 23 September 1972. P. 37.

²³³ Linda Lindsey. *Gender Roles: A Sociological Perspective 6th Edition*. London and New York : Routledge, 2016. P. 46.

²³⁴ « Ecoute! Ecoute! Tambolo! Si le but de ton voyage est de chercher une femme, prends-moi. Ne suis-je pas belle?» Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. P. 164. (Translation mine).

²³⁵ « Ce n'est pas pour toi que je voyage, vieille à cheveux blancs, ce n'est pas pour toi. C'est pour Faranomby la belle! » Ibid. (Translation mine).

common physical descriptions of old women in the tales that we have singled out points to their turd-covered eyes, which disturbs their vision or even blinds them. We can cite the example of the old woman in the tale “Bitombokoantsoro” from Bernard Terramorsi’s *La femme qui a des ouïes et autres récits de la tradition orale malgache*. This old woman is helped by the hero to remove the turd on her eyes. In exchange, she provides a valuable advice to help the hero fulfil his quest. It should be noted that in tales that feature an old woman whose sight is disturbed by a thick coat of turd, the old woman is always unable to remove the turd by herself and asks the main protagonist to help her. A portrait of old women as vulnerable and dependent on other members of society due to their declining eyesight emerges out of this description. It is paradoxical with their wise and valuable advice, as well as the remarkable power that they may possess as old female healers and soothsayers. This paradox may be explained by the necessity to highlight the achievements of the main characters through the establishment of a balance between the powerful characteristics of old women and their weakness in relation to old age and their status as women. As a result, they only play a peripheral role in relation to the hero’s achievements.

The less significant roles and the inferior status held by old female characters in our selection of tales further enhance their invisibility. Old women are indeed among the least significant characters in these tales, being almost invisible and easily forgotten throughout the development of the plot. They are most of the time assigned minor, secondary roles. Even in tales whose titles clearly mention old women, they fade into the background of the great accomplishments of the male characters whose stories have been juxtaposed to the main plot suggested by the tale’s title. This is the case of the tale “la vieille femme et la bête qui fait peur” or “the old woman and the frightening beast” from Renel’s collection. The tale begins with the story of an old woman, the king’s cook, who hears the cries of a frightening beast while she is fetching water at the well. She runs back to the village to warn the king, but the latter hardly

believes her. The beast somehow destroys the whole village and eats everyone one except a pregnant woman who gives birth to twin brothers. The latter grow up and defeat the beast and all the inhabitants come out of its belly. The tale stresses the glorification of the twin brothers' act, marked by the king's gratitude and willingness to surrender his kingdom to them. However, the king does not keep his words and a war breaks out. The tale ends with a statement that explains how people have come to keep their words. It is clear in this tale that the old woman who initially served as a messenger to warn the villagers about the frightening beast is completely forgotten throughout the most significant events of the tale. Moreover, her words are worthless because the king refuses to believe her. In fact, he sends other people to check for themselves and even threatens to kill the old woman if she lied.

Furthermore, it should be noted that old women in Malagasy tales are rarely given proper names. Most of the time, pejorative terms like "Rafotsy," "Rafotsibe" or "Nenibe" are used to refer to them. The terms Rafotsy and Rafotsibe not only allude to old women's white hair but have negative connotations which can even be insulting. Literally, Rafotsy means "the white one" and the word Rafotsibe might thus be translated as the "big white one," with white referring to the colour of the hair and not the woman's complexion. Malanjaona Rakotomalala explains the meaning of the word "Rafotsy" as follows: "a slang word used in a joking way exclusively by men to refer to the wife or the fiancée, usually in their absence."²³⁶ British explorer James Richardson's definition of the word "Rafotsy" as "an appellation of respect in addressing a woman"²³⁷ certainly fails to record the pejorative meaning of the term, which can further be discerned in the pejorative meaning of the colour white developed by Pela Ravalitera, a columnist for the Malagasy newspaper l'Express de Madagascar. In her article "Du bleu

²³⁶ "Terme arg. de plaisanterie utilisé exclusivement par les hommes pour désigner l'épouse ou la fiancée, généralement en leur absence." Malanjaona Rakotomalala. "Mots et expressions merina sur la sexualité (Hautes terres centrales de Madagascar)." *Etudes océan indien* 45 document 7 (2010). Put online on 17 October 2011. Accessed on 23 April 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/929>. (Translation mine).

²³⁷ James Richardson. *A New Malagasy-English Dictionary*. London: London Missionary Society, 1885. (Translation mine).

honorifique au blanc péjoratif,” Ravalitera gives various examples of the uses of the word “fotsy” or white and their pejorative meanings:

a person who has a bad voice is called ‘fotsy feo’ [literally, white voice]; a woman who spends most of her time at her neighbour’s house, instead of taking care of her household is qualified as ‘fotsy varavarana’ [literally, a woman who has a white door]; [...] a child who does not follow his/her parents’ advice ‘turn the latter’s words into white’: ‘mamotsifotsy.’ And the parents whose children do not listen to them speak with white saliva: “fotsy roar miteny.” Their speech is thus said to be ‘white’: ‘fotsy teny.’ It is also said that those who go to sleep without eating sleep white, ‘mandry fotsy.’²³⁸

Based on the characterization of the old women in our tales, it can be said that the negative connotations of the word “fotsy” in these contexts are echoed in the use of the terms “Rafotsy” or “Rafotsibe” to refer to old female characters. The third word, “Nenibe,” which is also used, literally means grandmother. It is not a flattering term either, especially when neutral terms like “bebe” [grandmother] are used when old women are portrayed in a more positive light.²³⁹ In the trickster tales of Ikotofetsy and Imahaka, for instance, the two tricksters call their old female victims “nenibe” in a mocking and sadistic way. These women are the vulnerable victims of the tricks of Ikotofetsy and Imahaka as the latter pretend to care about them by offering their help in some painstaking tasks such as herding a flock of sheep or harvesting some crops. In reality, the tricksters plot to deceive the gullible old women and steal their meagre possessions.

²³⁸ « Une personne, dont la voix est désagréable est dite ‘fotsy feo’ ; et la femme qui aime passer son temps chez sa voisine - au lieu de s’occuper de son ménage – est qualifiée de ‘fotsy varavarana,’ c’est-à-dire qu’elle a la porte blanche... Un enfant qui ne suit pas les conseils de ses parents blanchit les paroles de ceux-ci : ‘mamotsifotsy.’ Et les parents que leur enfant n’écoute pas, parlent avec la salive blanche : ‘fotsy rora miteny.’ Leur parole est ainsi dite blanche, ‘fotsy teny.’ On dit aussi de ceux qui se couchent sans manger, qu’ils se couchent à blanc, ‘mandry fotsy.’ » Pela Ravalitera. « Du bleu honorifique au blanc péjoratif. » *Madatana*. Accessed on 26 May 2020. <http://www.madatana.com/article-du-bleu-honorifique-au-blanc-pejoratif.php>.

²³⁹ This is the case in tales like “Le roi qui voulait avoir un enfant” or “The king who wanted a child” and “L’homme habile et le brave homme” or “The skilled man and the brave man” from Charles Renel’s collection. In these tales, the old woman who is a soothsayer and healer is called “grand-mère” [grandmother] by the main characters who benefit from her help.

Indeed, unlike old women in Western fairy tales who are usually depicted as villain witches, the old women in Malagasy tales are not only portrayed as kind benefactresses who readily help the main characters in their quest but also as vulnerable and helpless women, who, unlike young girls that are rescued by heroic male figures, end up dead or victims of robbery and tricks. Considering Susan Sontag's view that men and women do not enjoy the same treatment when it comes to aging, it may be interesting to compare the characterizations of the old male and old female victims of the two popular tricksters in the Malagasy oral tradition, that is, Ikotofetsy and Imahaka. Sontag suggests that "society is much more permissive about aging in men [as] women become sexually ineligible much earlier than men do. [And] [a] man, even an ugly man, can remain eligible well into old age."²⁴⁰ Although this writer's statement mainly refers to the perceptions of old men and old women's physical appearances in relation to sexuality, it is somehow relevant to the analysis of the differing perceptions of old men and old women in general. In the tales of Ikotofetsy and Imahaka from Dahle's collection, there are several old female victims as opposed to only one old male victim. The old female victims are single women, living alone because they are either childless or have been left by their grown-up children whereas the male one is depicted as a married man with children.²⁴¹ Another striking difference in the characterization of old men and old women in the tales of Ikotofetsy and Imahaka is the emphasis put on the old women's vulnerability. The tales highlight both the physical and emotional sensitivity of the old female characters as the victims of the tricks played by Ikotofetsy and Imahaka. The narrative that features the old man, on the other hand, does not enhance his vulnerability as a victim of the two rascals. Indeed, it is significant that the intensity of the tasks performed by the old women is stressed in the tales in order to expose their frailty. For instance, an old woman is found transplanting rice seedlings, which is a tiring and

²⁴⁰ Susan Sontag. « The Double Standard of Aging. » *The Saturday Review*. 23 September 1972. P. 31.

²⁴¹ See Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P.45.

painstaking task. Aware of her pain, Ikotofetsy and Imahaka pretend to take pity on her and volunteer to do the work in her stead. Another old woman is described herding sheep. The narrator clearly states that she is busy and tired while trying to prevent them from going astray.²⁴² What Ikotofetsy and Imahaka say to the old woman reinforces this point: “we will advise you, grandmother, so that you will no longer face the difficulty of herding sheep, look at you, you don’t even have time to rest, herding these difficult sheep all day long.”²⁴³ By contrast, no reference to the intensity or difficulty of the task is made in the tale that features the old male victim herding cattle in the fields. Moreover, the two tricksters use their wit to deceive this old man by appealing to the generalized human fear of death clouded by Malagasy customs and beliefs. Indeed, in order to get one of the old man’s oxen killed and steal its meat for themselves, one of the two tricksters, Ikotofetsy, hides under a rock and utters frightening statements that prompt the old man to kill an ox. He says that the old man would be dead unless he kills an ox. The old man thus kills an ox and entrusts the sharing of the meat to Imahaka. The latter cleverly makes the old man opt for the worst pieces. He says, “excellent head, good head, for me or for the old man?”²⁴⁴ And the old man replies, “let it be mine.”²⁴⁵ For the best pieces, namely the ones that are fleshy and fat, Imahaka says, “dangerous ribs, disastrous ribs, for me or for the old man?”²⁴⁶ to which the old man replies: “let it be yours, son.”²⁴⁷ After getting the best pieces of the meat, Imahaka’s statement to the old man indicates that what they have done corresponds to the Malagasy practice of “ala faditra” or the provision of an offering to avert evil. He says to the old man, “you are delivered of the disaster, Sir, may you live long,

²⁴² Ibid. P. 41.

²⁴³ « Hanoro hevitra anao izahay, ry inenibe, mba tsy hahasahirana anao intsony ny fiandrasana ondry, fa he ity hianao tsy mahita hipetrahana akory, fa misakana ireo ondry sarotra ireo ihany tontolo andro. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²⁴⁴ « Lohany soa, lohany tsara ; ho ahy, sa ho an-dRangahy ? » Ibid. P. 46. (Translation mine).

²⁴⁵ « Aoka ary ho ahy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²⁴⁶ « Soro-doza, sorok’antambo. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²⁴⁷ « Ento ihany ho anao anaka. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

farewell.”²⁴⁸ This reinforces our previous argument about the strategy used by the tricksters to deceive the old man. Indeed, the old man in this tale is obviously not associated to physical weakness and emotional sensitivity. He is certainly easily deceived, but the strategy used by the tricksters, which appeals to his fear of death and his belief in the effectiveness of the ritual of “ala faditra,” does not allude to his vulnerability in relation to his gender or his old age.

Finally, it is important to note that when old women are among the main characters, as is the case in the tales “Rafotsibe matin-kiry” or “old woman killed because of her stubbornness”²⁴⁹ and “Ny nenina tsy aloha” or “regret is never before”²⁵⁰ from Dahle’s *Anganon’ny Ntaolo*, they are endowed with negative personality traits that lead to their downfall. The old woman in “Rafotsibe matin-kiry” sends out her son to survey the market and identify the most valuable thing there so that they can try to find it and sell it in order to acquire wealth. The son returns with the information that crocodiles’ teeth are the most valuable and most expensive thing in the market. As a result, the old woman sets out to hunt a crocodile on shore in order to take its teeth. However, she is soon bested by the crocodile and when her son insists on calling people for help, she stubbornly says that she can handle the situation. She even scolds her son for being so foolish as to call other people who would claim the crocodile’s teeth if they came to help. The tale ends with the old woman being lost to the crocodile in the depths of the sea. It is clearly shown in this tale that the old woman, whose physical condition is inappropriate for the overwhelming task that she seeks to achieve, is a subject of ridicule and scorn. If we consider Calasanti and Slevin’s reference to the “informal rules [that] [...] define what is considered appropriate by age,”²⁵¹ we may say that in the same way that “an old woman

²⁴⁸ « Afa-paditra hianao Rangahy, ka ho ela velona, fa dia veloma. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²⁴⁹ Ibid. Pp. 155 – 156.

²⁵⁰ Ibid. Pp. 162 – 164.

²⁵¹ Toni Calasanti and Kathleen Slevin. *Gender, Social Inequalities, and Aging*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2001. P. 15.

wearing a miniskirt [...] would draw scorn or even disgust from many people,”²⁵² this old woman’s obstinacy in performing a physically challenging but potentially lucrative task would elicit similar reactions because of the inappropriateness of the actions. The old woman in the second tale is also subject to social scorn because of her foolishness. The old woman is traveling far away with her daughter and son-in-law to find food during a long period of famine. She behaves in a mindless way when the three of them find a place where there is abundant food. The daughter suggests that they should leave because bandits might come and attack them if they stay too long at that place. However, the old woman stubbornly decides to stay and even insults her daughter. Eventually, the bandits come and that is when the old woman regrets her actions. It can be argued that these two tales advocate a critical reception of old women’s presumptuous behaviour based on the assumption that old age has made them wiser. As a Malagasy proverb goes, “those who have had their hair cut long ago, have long hair,”²⁵³ which in Norwegian Professor in cultural knowledge Øyvind Dahl’s words, means that old people “are the most experienced and are expected to give advice to the younger ones.”²⁵⁴ In these two tales, however, the foolishness of the old women not only disproves this thinking but also creates negative assumptions about old women. Hence, old women as the main characters of the tales under study are not heroic figures that inspire awe and admiration. On the contrary, they are ridiculous figures who serve as an example of deplorable conduct in Malagasy society.

1.4.2. Wicked Stepmothers in Malagasy Folktales: Between Myth and Reality

We have analysed in the previous section the representations of old women in some Malagasy tales. Our analysis highlighted the intersection of gender with old age through the

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ “Ny ela nihetezana lava volo.” In Øyvind Dahl. *Meanings in Madagascar*. Westport, Connecticut, London: Bergin & Garvey, 1999. P. 82. (Translation by Øyvind Dahl).

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

negative characteristics attributed to old women, who are often made invisible, insignificant, and victimized compared to the other characters. These characteristics underline the old female characters' vulnerability and helplessness. We have also explored the portraits of old women who, unlike the passive and gullible victims of the other characters' ill-treatment, are subject to sharp criticism when they perform actions that are judged inappropriate for their age. These tales draw on the general association of old people with obstinacy to ridicule the old female characters' actions. In the present section, we intend to focus on the social and cultural constructions of the image of the wicked stepmother in a selection of Malagasy tales.

Stepmothers in the folk and fairy tale tradition, according to Patricia A. Watson, are often viewed as a “one-dimensional character [whose] anonymity – [stepmothers are always nameless in folktales] – is a product of the genre.”²⁵⁵ In *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folk and Fairy Tales*, a number of scholars agree that the image of the wicked stepmother serves to “exemplify the ‘bad’ mother who allows the fantasy of the ‘good’ mother to remain.”²⁵⁶ Nevertheless, while their character may appear to be one-sided, stepmothers' motivations for hating and harming their stepchildren are manifold. Our purpose is to explore the reasons that motivate the stepmothers' wickedness and hostility towards their stepchildren in various contexts in our selection of tales in an effort to highlight the social and cultural construction of the image of the wicked stepmother.

The first set of tales that we are going to discuss present the common feature of a wicked stepmother who mistreats her stepchildren but favours her own. In the tale “Nenina” or “Regret,” collected by Michel Razafiarivony, the stepmother's cruelty towards her stepson named Nenina is apparent in her uneven sharing of food between her stepson and her own children. Her contempt even leads her to plot Nenina's death by convincing his father to

²⁵⁵ Patricia A. Watson. *Ancient Stepmothers: Myth, Misogyny, and Reality*. Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995. P. 265.

²⁵⁶ See Linda J. Lee. In Donald Haase. *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairytales Volumes 1 – 3*. Westport, Connecticut, London: Greenwood Press, 2008. P. 640.

denounce him to the village chief as a disobedient and unbearable child that deserves to die. The second tale “Mpanarivo roa ray,” which has already been studied earlier, illustrates a stepmother’s maliciousness towards her stepchildren. In this tale, the stepmother’s evil character is mainly motivated by jealousy because her stepdaughters are more beautiful than her own daughter. She is afraid that the father may display more affection and provide more gifts to his daughters and withhold these favours from her daughter. Hence, she urges the latter to steal all the gifts whenever the father equally shares something to the three girls. The last tale, “Rafaranomby”²⁵⁷ from Gabriel Ferrand’s collection, also features a stepdaughter abused by her stepmother who beats her and unfairly forces her to perform difficult tasks under difficult circumstances while her own children are favoured. In these tales, the father is always a minor character who is most of the time absent (“Rafaranomby”) or a powerless figure in front of his new wife’s cruelty (“Mpanarivo roa ray”). It is only in the tale “Nenina” that the father is a willing participant in the suffering of his son.

In order to understand the motivations for these women’s wickedness towards their stepchildren, we may refer to Sarah Fee’s ethnological approach to her study of a selection of Bara folktales. Though the folktales in this study mainly feature handicapped heroes who outdo their wicked brothers in the challenging tasks of catching wild beasts and monsters, the writer provides useful arguments about the conflictual relationships between women and their stepchildren. Referring to the common practice of polygyny in Southern Madagascar as a means to “overcome the problem of barrenness,”²⁵⁸ Fee argues that the main aim is to produce strong sons, which generates competitions between the wives, and in the case of a stepmother, urges the latter to “abuse the children of other wives, working them like ‘little slaves.’”²⁵⁹ The same

²⁵⁷ Gabriel Ferrand. *Contes populaires malgaches*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1893. Pp. 60 – 68.

²⁵⁸ Sarah Fee. « Handicapped heroes, Sambilo the bull, and the treacherous terrain of polygynous relations in southern Madagascar. » *Etudes océan indien* (2008). Put online on 18 March 2013. Accessed on 30 April 2019. P. 4.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 7.

writer explains that the rivalry between the wives of a polygynous man and the stepmother's open contempt for a late rival's children result from their concern to compete for "the husband's affections and resources."²⁶⁰ She goes on to say that "strict rules known as 'alo' govern the husband's allocation of time and resources [...] although several economic advantages and honorific privileges belong to the senior wife"²⁶¹ and by extension her children. In other words, it is the senior wife's children who benefit most from the inheritance.²⁶² Considering the portraits of the wicked stepmothers in the three tales that have been presented above, we may argue that these women are purposefully painted as wicked and malicious in their effort to secure favours for their own children. These women mistreat and even attempt to eliminate the stepchildren, either male or female, who have stronger claims to the husband's affections and resources.

To further understand the portraits of the stepmothers in these tales, we may consider the minor role attributed to the fathers. Indeed, the fathers in these three tales are barely involved in the conflicts between stepmothers and stepchildren in these tales. Yet, it is mainly the fathers' marriage with other women which entails the conflicts between the stepmothers and their stepchildren. This situation calls to mind the process of masking the male characters' wrong doings through the ascription of stereotyped feminine roles to the female characters as is developed by the authors of the article "Unmasking Women's Rivalry in Cameroonian Folktales" from the *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. These authors, Susan Weinger et al, contend that women, who are depicted as evil doers that harm each other, "are deserving of punishment while men go free from any penalty."²⁶³ Although the authors focus on the rivalry

²⁶⁰ Ibid. P. 6.

²⁶¹ Ibid. P. 7.

²⁶² As Fee puts it, they "inherit the best fields, while the herd (or money for education) may be depleted by the time the sons of the youngest wives come of age. They inherit the authority of the father and will eventually rule the village." Ibid.

²⁶³ Susan Weinger et al. « Unmasking Women's Rivalry in Cameroonian Folktales. » *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15 (1) (2006). P. 16.

and competition between the female characters, their analysis somehow enables us to support our argument about the construction of the image of the wicked stepmother. Indeed, the characterization of the men in the Cameroonian folktales analysed by Weinger et al as “the victims of circumstance or the tools for [the wicked/bad women’s] machinations”²⁶⁴ is very similar to the characterization of the fathers in the three tales under study in that these men are either absent, powerless in front of the wicked stepmothers’ ill-treatment of their children, or complicit in their evil plans. Hence, what is highlighted in the tales is the stepmothers’ cruelty, which tends to minimize the fathers’ responsibility in generating the hostility between the stepmothers and the stepchildren. In that sense, it can be suggested that the construction of the image of the stepmother as a one-dimensional character marked by wickedness and cruelty towards her stepchildren contributes to the perpetuation of stereotypical perceptions of some categories of women in favour of the male characters.

The second set of tales that we have selected feature childless stepmothers who are equally cruel towards their stepchildren. These tales are “Ifaranomby sy ny rafiny” or “Ifaranomby and her rivals” and “Haitraitran’olombelona, zaka an’Nanahary” or “Humans’ whims can be endured by the Creator” from Dahle’s *Anganon’ny Ntaolo*. These tales are mainly characterized by the rivalry between the wives of a polygamous man, which further confirms our previous arguments about the association of the bad female characters with evil actions in order to mask the male characters’ wrong doings. In these tales, the stepmothers are the wives of a man who has married three sisters at the same time. The elder childless wives are jealous of the youngest one who, being already the favourite wife, is more beautiful than them and has borne children. In this context, children represent an asset to please the husband. As Dahle writes in the tale “Haitraitra an’olombelona, zaka an’Nanahary,” the two women’s “hearts were shattered when they saw that their younger sister has borne [triplets], and all they had in mind

²⁶⁴ Ibid. P. 20.

was to make their husband love them.”²⁶⁵ Significantly, instead of stealing the children and pretending that they are their own, the childless wives in both tales throw away the youngest wife’s children into the river or keep them and treat them as their little slaves. It may be suggested that the evidence of their sterility – the husband has been with the three women for some period but only the third wife is pregnant - prevents these women from stealing the children and pretending them to be their own. In the tale “Ifaranomby sy ny rafiny,” in particular, the wicked wives are described as “fotsianty” or infertile. Nevertheless, after killing their rival, these women somehow “carefully raise [her] child.”²⁶⁶ It is only when the child grows up and asks them about his biological mother that they begin to abuse him. Like the third wife’s rivals in the previous tale, these women are faced with the unchangeable reality of their barrenness, which causes them to direct their frustration to their rival’s child. It can be inferred that the portrait of the childless mother is that of a woman imbued with self-interest, which explains the mistreatment of potential adoptive children in case they are not advantageous in her attempt to please her husband and keep his resources to herself. What underlies the stepmothers’ wickedness is thus the implicit rivalry between co-wives generated by their competition to win a man’s love and care. To further develop Weinger et al’s argument about the “precarious roles of women in traditional Cameroonian society whereby [women’s] purpose is clearly to supplement and enhance the lives of men on whom they are dependent for survival and social position,”²⁶⁷ we may refer to American feminist writer Kate Millet’s conceptualization of women as a “dependency class”²⁶⁸ within a patriarchal system. Millet says that the patriarchal system “decrees that the status of both child and mother is primarily or

²⁶⁵ « Lotika ny atin’izy mirahavavy nony nahita ny zandriny teraka, ka izay hitiavan’ny vadiny azy no masaka tao am-pony. » Lars Dhale. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 64. (Translation mine).

²⁶⁶ « Notezainy tsara. » Ibid. P. 90. (Translation mine).

²⁶⁷ Susan Weinger et al. « Unmasking Women’s Rivalry in Cameroonian Folktales. » *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15 (1) (2006). P. 23.

²⁶⁸ Kate Millet. *Sexual Politics*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1970. P. 38.

ultimately dependent upon the male. And since it is not only his social status, but even his economic power upon which his dependents generally rely, the position of the masculine figure within the family – as without – is materially, as well as ideologically, extremely strong.”²⁶⁹ In other words, the superior position of the male figure who is in possession and in control of the valuable resources in society inevitably puts women and children in a position of dependency. In that case, women are pitted against each other in an effort to gain more favours from the powerful male figure. Indeed, in the tales under study, the three women’s lives revolve around their husband on whom they are dependent for survival, both emotionally and economically. Economic dependency precedes emotional dependency since being the favourite wife has its advantages, such as getting more food or more gifts from the husband. Going back to the characterization of the stepmothers in these tales, it can be said that the construction of their one-dimensional character marked by wickedness and cruelty supports the ideology of male superiority and female subordination. The complex world of the tales that we have analysed is thus infused with social norms and practices that endorse women’s lack of access to financial resources. This not only defines the power relations between men and women in the context under study but also generates hostility among women as a dependent group in search for favour from the dominant group.

1.4.3. Adulterous Women in Malagasy Folktales

In our previous analysis, we explored the social and cultural constructions of the image of the wicked stepmother in our selection of Malagasy tales. We focused on the motivations for the stepmothers’ hostility and cruelty towards their stepchildren in these tales. It was argued that the stepmothers’ attitude and actions are mainly motivated by the desire to secure more

²⁶⁹ Ibid. P. 35.

favours and privileges for themselves or for their own children from the husband who represents the dominant group that is in possession of the valuable resources in society. In that sense, the stereotypical characterization of stepmothers as evil serves to perpetuate the ideology of male supremacy and female subordination. In this last section, we will analyse the representations of adulterous women in the Malagasy tales that we have selected, with particular focus on the extent to which these representations reflect the general antipathy towards adulterous women. We have already referred to the perception of Malagasy women as the “guardians of good conduct,”²⁷⁰ which mainly accounts for the pejorative connotations of the practice of adultery by women. In our analysis, we will reflect on the attitudes adopted by the male characters in relation to the female characters who commit adultery in two tales from Charles Renel’s *Contes de Madagascar*: “Origine du tabac” or “the origin of tobacco” and “l’origine du tabac et de l’arbre à Vahajo” or “the origin of tobacco and the Vahajo tree.” In these tales, the adulteresses are compared to a tobacco plant, which, implies that they are insignificant because, like tobacco, they are thrown away after being used. This idea is openly expressed in the first tale which ends with a disparaging remark about women, “the love of women and the juice of tobacco are both excellent things, but one must disdain them after having used them.”²⁷¹ This statement not only degrades women but also asserts the immutability of male superiority. In fact, it objectifies women as sexual objects that are exclusively meant to satisfy men’s needs and thrown away once they have served their purpose. This image of women who commit adultery sheds light on the male characters’ attitudes and reactions to female adultery, and by extension the general perception of adulteresses in the tales under study.

²⁷⁰ Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A coeur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris : Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 150.

²⁷¹ « L’amour de la femme et le jus de tabac sont deux choses excellentes, mais il faut les dedaigner apres s’en etre servi. Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. P. 7. (Translation mine).

Before further exploring these themes in the two tales, we may consider men's attitudes to female adultery in different regions of Madagascar. In fact, we can observe men's tremendous effort to prevent their wives from being unfaithful in various Malagasy societies, which reflects their intolerance of their female partners' adultery or potential adultery. French historian Bernard Koechlin, for instance, reports that among the Vezo, in South-western Madagascar, "one can sometimes come across an isolated house on the coast, approximately a kilometer away from the village: it refers to a jealous man who has isolated himself with his wife and children in order to keep his wife away from risks of adultery."²⁷² In the same vein, Hemerson Andrianetrazafoy refers to the regulations of women's sexual practices through strict prescriptions and rituals among the Sakalava. This author suggests that these are actually meant to circumscribe their sexual freedom, saying that

there are in fact cases in which the wife has to observe sexual continence for a reason or another, but more precisely during a ceremony or when the husband is travelling or at sea; it is said then that she is 'praying' (*mitan-tehe*). The fact that the woman strays during these times, as it seems, might thwart the proper functioning of the husband's enterprise or fishing; he might even lose his life.²⁷³

Such practices call to mind the rules that govern copulation in Kalauna, Papua New Guinea as are documented in American academic Michael W. Young's article "Skirts, yams and sexual pollution: the politics of adultery in Kalauna." In Young's view, these rules are

²⁷² « On rencontre quelquefois sur la côte, à un kilomètre environ d'un village, une maison seule : il s'agit là d'un homme jaloux qui s'est isolé avec femme et enfants de manière à soustraire sa femme à des risques d'adultère. » Bernard Koechlin. *Les Vezo du sud-ouest de Madagascar*. Paris, La Haye : Mouton, 1975. P. 116. (Translation mine).

²⁷³ « Il est en effet des cas où la femme doit observer une continence sexuelle pour une raison ou pour une autre, mais plus particulièrement lors d'une cérémonie ou lorsque le mari est en voyage ou en mer ; on dit alors qu'elle « est en prière » (*mitan-tehe*). Les écarts qu'elle pourrait commettre en ces moments risqueraient, paraît-il, de perturber la bonne marche de l'entreprise ou de la pêche de son mari ; celui-ci pourrait même perdre la vie. » Hemerson Andrianetrazafoy. « Notes sur la représentation de la sexualité dans la société sakalava du Menabe. L'exemple du village de Mangily, Madagascar. » *études océan indien* 45 (2010). Put online on 13 October 2011. Accessed on 14 May 2020. <https://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/901>. (Author's italics, translation mine).

based on the Kalauna's beliefs that sexual secretions pollute farming products. He writes, for instance that, a couple "should never make love in the gardens at any time, and they should not make love during the period of yam plantation."²⁷⁴ Significantly, the same author writes that women's infidelity is particularly dreaded in this society because of the diseases that men allegedly catch from it. He precisely refers to Kalauna men's fear of "Doke" or the cuckold's disease which is "engendered by an adulterous wife when she cooks her husband's food with her contaminated hands."²⁷⁵ Hence, more than prescribing good conduct for the sake of the harvest or for the purpose of the husband's travelling, the rules that govern women's sexuality are mainly meant to dissuade wives from being unfaithful.

Another example which reflects men's attitudes to female adultery in the Malagasy context is provided by French ethnographer M.G. Grandidier in his "Le mariage à Madagascar." This writer describes the dangerous practices in some societies in the north-eastern part of Madagascar to test the wife's fidelity upon the husband's return from his travels:

The woman is taken on the neighbouring river bank filled with crocodiles and she has to swim to the other side; if she manages to cross the river unharmed, her husband gives her the gift he brought from his travel [...] but if she refuses to get into the water or if she is caught by a crocodile while crossing the river, he repudiates her and from then on, she is stigmatized, without finding a man who would want to marry her.²⁷⁶

It can be said that these men's reactions to their wives' infidelity not only connote possessiveness but also reveal their wounded masculinity. This may explain the reason why the cuckold attempts to reassert his masculinity by indulging in violence. As Andrianetrazafy puts

²⁷⁴ Michael W. Young. « Skirts, Yams, and Sexual Pollution: The Politics of Adultery in Kalauna. » *Journal de la Société des océanistes* 84 (1987). Pp. 63, 64.

²⁷⁵ Ibid. P. 65.

²⁷⁶ « On conduit alors la femme au bord de la rivière voisine, où pullulent les crocodiles, et qu'elle doit traverser à la nage ; si elle sort indemne de l'épreuve, son mari lui fait le cadeau qu'il lui rapporte de son voyage [...], mais si elle refuse de se jeter à l'eau ou si elle est happée par un crocodile pendant la traverse, il la répudie et, dès lors, elle vit dans l'opprobre, sans trouver homme qui veuille l'épouser. » M.G. Grandidier. « Le mariage à Madagascar. » *Bulletins et mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* VIe Série. Tome 4 fascicule 1 (1913). P. 43. (Translation mine).

it, “marital infidelity can be a cause of [...] scenes of violence and even of a crime of passion.”²⁷⁷ We may also recall Malagasy historian Raombana’s statement that “for wives of the sovereigns to lay with men is death by Malagasy law,”²⁷⁸ which refers to the perception of female adultery during the precolonial period. This author mainly documents Malagasy king Andrianampoinimerina’s practices. He reports that this sovereign “treated his wives in the most brutal manner [...] and on the mere suspicion of any of them being unfaithful to his bad, he orders them to be killed.”²⁷⁹ Turning our attention to the cases of the female characters who commit adultery in the tales that we have selected, we may argue that their experiences tend to confirm the gendered attitudes towards adultery in that male adultery is largely tolerated whereas female adultery is heavily sanctioned and perceived as a major offense.

The tale “origine du tabac” illustrates the cuckold husband’s violent and revengeful reaction upon hearing about his wife’s affair. The man attacks his rival and both men get killed during the fight. Subsequently, the people in the village decide to bury the woman alive because she is the cause of the two men’s deaths. The fact that the woman’s infidelity is made public and it is precisely the members of the community who implement the communal sanction of burying her alive suggests that her promiscuity is condemned by society as a serious violation of the established moral codes. The woman is then buried with the two men, her husband and her lover, and a mysterious plant grows between her legs, which the villagers will later consume and call tobacco. They eventually discover that they have to spit the tobacco after chewing it.

²⁷⁷ “L’infidélité conjugale peut être cause de [...] scène de violence et même de crime passionnel.” Hemerson Andrianetrazafy. « Notes sur la représentation de la sexualité dans la société sakalava du Menabe. L’exemple du village de Mangily, Madagascar. » *études océan indien* 45 (2010). Put online on 13 October 2011. Accessed on 14 May 2020. URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/901>. (Translation mine).

²⁷⁸ Raombana in Susan Kus and Victor Raharijaona. « Longing, Lust and Persuasion: Powerful and Powerfully Sensuous Women in Imerina. » *Etudes océan indien* (2010) 45 Document 2. Put online 14 October 2011. Accessed on 15 May 2020. <https://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/904>.

²⁷⁹ Susan Kus and Victor Raharijaona. « Longing, Lust and Persuasion: Powerful and Powerfully Sensuous Women in Imerina. » *Etudes océan indien* 45 Document 2 (2010). Put online 14 October 2011. Accessed on 15 May 2020. URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/904>.

This explains the previously quoted remark about the similarity between women and tobacco, namely the fact that they are to be thrown away once they have been used.

It is significant that the closing statement in this tale refers to women in general even though it is the promiscuity of the adulterous woman that is initially criticized. This appears as a stark contrast to the representations of women's power in relation to sexuality in anthropologist and archaeologist Susan Kus and Victor Raharijaona's article "Longing, Lust and Persuasion: Powerful and Powerfully Sensuous Women in Imerina." Indeed, these authors claim that women, instead of being mere "pawns in the power plays of men who fathered them or of men who desired them,"²⁸⁰ can be active "political player[s]."²⁸¹ This is the case of Miangaly, the woman with whom Andrianampoinimerina was infatuated. Kus and Raharijaona argue that "Miangaly, as a clever and intelligent woman, became a powerful political player."²⁸² They explain that "being so beautiful, she excited passion. Andrianampoinimerina, desiring her, took her for wife. However, the 'Capricious One' taunted the 'Desired One' by constantly seeking excuses to return to the home of her parents, like a bird that swoops down to lightly touch the water's surface and then only to fly again."²⁸³ Moreover, Miangaly is also reported to have "betrayed [the king's] bed."²⁸⁴ This woman is indeed remarkable for teasing Andrianampoinimerina. As she returns to her parents, refusing to stay permanently with the king, she makes him suffer by making him long for her, and by indulging in adultery. When Andrianampoinimerina voices his longing for Miangaly, saying "how I long for Miangaly,"²⁸⁵ his counselor, Hagamainty, twists the meaning of his statement by suggesting that "it is Miangaly who longs for [Andrianampoinimerina.]"²⁸⁶ In fact, the story of Miangaly and

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Andrianampoinimerina, according to the same authors, is mainly associated with “situations where one must choose between personal desires, on the one hand, and personal and moral obligations, on the other.”²⁸⁷ It means that Miangaly is considered as a distraction that prevents the king from ruling effectively. This calls to mind Simone de Beauvoir’s statement about women’s sexual power as she writes that “the mere presence of [woman’s] flesh swells and erects the male’s sex.”²⁸⁸ The same power is certainly perceived by the narrator of the tale “Origine du tabac” who concludes the narrative with a caustic remark about female sexuality. In that sense, it can be said that the tale expresses men’s anxiety in the face of women’s potential power, which is reflected in the attitudes of unsubmitive, self-assertive, and transgressive women. In the same way that Miangaly’s power over the king has been tempered by the reference to the more important issues at hand, women in general, as a potentially transgressive group, are objectified in order to reassert male power.

The second tale “l’origine du tabac et de l’arbre à Vahajo” is a variant of the first one. It equally denounces adulterous women’s licentiousness. The tale features a woman named Lahamana, who divorces her husband in order to engage in debauchery because she wants “to be eaten by everybody.”²⁸⁹ Later, she is bewitched by one of her partners and catches leper. In order to get rid of the disease so that she might be desirable and enjoy sexual favours again, Lahamana seeks the advice of a foreigner. The latter gives her two grains of which she should take good care. He also tells her to “be assured that [she] will always be eaten by men.”²⁹⁰ Years later, Lahamana dies and the two grains become tobacco and vahajo plants that grow from her house. People consume these plants and the story of this woman is said to be the origin of the

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Simone de Beauvoir. *The Second Sex*. New York: Vintage Books, 1989. Translation of *Le deuxième sexe* by H.M. Parshley. P. 599.

²⁸⁹ « Mangée par tout le monde. » Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. P. 116. (Translation mine).

²⁹⁰ « Vous serez toujours mangée par les hommes. » Ibid. P. 117. (Translation mine).

expression “give me some if you have any Lahamana.”²⁹¹ Here, the word “Lahamana” is taken to refer to the plants that are requested. However, it can also be a distorted pronunciation of the Malagasy expression “raha manana [ianao],” which means, “if you have any,” whereby the /r/ sound is confused with the /l/ sound. Reflecting on the use of the word “Lahamana” in the tale, which emphasises the comparison of women with tobacco and vahajo plants, we may suggest that this use points to the popular Malagasy phrase “lany mamy.”²⁹² This phrase, which literally means one whose sweetness is depleted, usually expresses the association of women with fruits or flowers that are replaced or thrown away when they run out of their “sweetness.” This reinforces the pejorative perception of women in the first tale.

Furthermore, it is obvious that the adulterous woman in this tale receives leper as a punishment for enjoying too much sexual freedom. The punishment is delivered by one of her suitors whose marriage proposal, among many others, she refused. It enables us to argue that adultery in this tale seems to denounce the female appropriation of male prerogatives. This calls to mind the view of Nancy Frelick, a Professor of French Renaissance at the University of British Columbia, on female infidelity in her analysis of Marguerite de Navarre’s *Heptaméron*. Frelick describes adulterous women’s behaviour as the appropriation of “the right to desire in a typically ‘masculine’ way [whereby] [the woman] not only becomes a subject rather than just an object of desire, but she allows herself to focus her attentions on several objects of desire.”²⁹³ Referring to English and Comparative Literature Professor Jane Gallop’s view, Frelick further writes that female infidelity is “a feminist practice undermining the patriarchal order”²⁹⁴ and it

²⁹¹ “Mba omeo aho Lahamana hianao (donnez-moi, si vous en avez, du Lahamana). » Ibid. P. 118. (Translation mine).

²⁹² As can be observed in the lyrics of Malagasy singer Olombelo Ricky’s song « Adinony ianao » or « He forgot you, » the woman who is left by her lover is described as ‘lany mamy.’ The lyrics go : « He did not even look at you, he said you were tasteless [...] He is enjoying the taste of someone else/ He makes fun of you, saying you are depleted of your sweetness. » [Tsy nojereny akory, lazainy fa matsatso .../ lzy ery an-kafa maka tsirony any aminy/ Ianao hanalany azy, lazainy lany mamy]. Olombelo Ricky. Lyrics to « Adinony ianao. » *Gasy ka manja*. www.gasykamanja.com. (Translation mine).

²⁹³ Nancy Frelick. « Female infidelity : Ideology, Subversion, and Feminist Practice in Marguerite de Navarre’s *Heptaméron*. » *Dalhousie French Studies* vol. 56 (2001). P. 20.

²⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 18.

“emphasizes the use value rather than the exchange value of women, creating an opposition between the acquisition (possession and exchange) and enjoyment (use, usufruct) that destabilizes traditional phallic modes of circulation.”²⁹⁵ In other words, adulterous women challenge the identification of women as possessions that are exchanged in male transactions as they become the actors who are in control of their interactions with men. The female character Lahamana’s experience in the tale under study illustrates this view as she deliberately leaves her husband in order to enjoy sexual freedom and rejects any other marriage proposals in order to preserve this freedom, thus refusing, in Frelick’s words, “the reintegration into the system of exchange traditionally reserved for women.”²⁹⁶ However, Lahamana’s transgressive actions are constantly thwarted by the patriarchal values that are ingrained in the Malagasy mindset. The punishment that she receives and the solution that is given to her prevent her from fulfilling her wish to enjoy sexual freedom. Ironically, she is identified with tobacco and vahajo plants which must be thrown away once they have served their purposes. Hence, not only is Lahamana’s claim to desire in a masculine way denied but she is also severely sanctioned in the whole process: she is afflicted with leper, a disease that obviously makes her unattractive, and she dies later on in order to symbolize the objectification of women as something to be thrown away once it has been consumed.

It can be said that it is women’s lasciviousness, as a threat to male superiority, which is strongly condemned in these two tales that depict adulteresses. In the first tale, the woman who intentionally gives herself to another man, is subject to severe public judgment in order to emphasize the inappropriateness of her act and to reestablish the gender order whereby women are perceived as men’s possessions which they can dispose of at will. In the second tale, the woman who chooses to be a prostitute in order to fulfil her wish to desire like a man subverts male superiority. Indeed, she does not merely appropriate male roles and behaviour in sexual

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid. p.20.

relations, she also adopts a subversive identity that challenges the conventional image of women. She experiences the same objectification as the adulteress in the first tale, which not only serves to condemn her transgressive behaviour but also to reestablish the gender order.

Conclusion.

To conclude, our analysis of Malagasy folktales in this first part of our study explored the different representations of femininity as well as the relationships between various forms of femininity and masculinity through the female characters' experiences. It shed light on the diversity of the female characters' experiences in relation to the idealized form of femininity and in relation to the male characters. In that sense, it gave an insight into the cases of the female characters whose experiences may have been left out in the existing literature on the representations of women in Malagasy tales because they do not fully adhere to the idealized form of femininity. Indeed, as we have seen in the introduction to this study, scholars that write about the representations of women in Malagasy tales tend to magnify women's status as water princesses, goddesses of fertility, or civilizing heroines. By exploring the images of the female characters who do not entirely fit into these categories, we give visibility to the experiences of various types of female characters who are either constrained to adapt their characters to and live their experiences in conformity with the idealized notion of femininity or portrayed as the archetypes of the "marginalized forms of femininity."²⁹⁷

Our analysis revealed that even though the female characters' experiences in the tales do not always reflect their embodiment of the idealized form of femininity, the latter is somehow represented as the conventional form of femininity. We particularly focused on the experiences of these female characters as mothers, young girls, supernatural creatures, old

²⁹⁷ R.W. Connell. *Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1987. P. 188.

women, stepmothers, and adulteresses. In our analysis of the female characters' experiences of motherhood, we pointed to the irrelevance of the myth about the maternal instinct which holds that women are naturally loving and caring towards their children based on the female characters in our tales' experiences of motherhood. Nevertheless, we also argued that there is an underlying message in these tales about motherhood which somehow invites women to adopt the motherly attitude characterized by the natural inclination to take care of their children. Apart from that, we analysed the socialization of the young female characters in our tales into their gender roles. We argued that the socialization of these female characters is constantly defined in accordance with the idealized form of femininity. The importance of the foundation of the family in the socialization process of these female characters has been stressed, along with their possession of stereotypical feminine qualities such as passivity, humility, and kindness. Furthermore, we drew the portrait of the supernatural female characters from a selection of "zazavindrano" or mermaid tales. We argued that these tales reflect the victimization of potentially powerful women such as the "zazavindrano" whose dual characterization as both vulnerable and powerful serves to perpetuate male supremacy. The same argument applies to the other female characters in our tales, namely stepmothers and adulteresses, who exercise power, either over their husbands or their stepchildren. The characterization of these women as evil and the attribution of severe punishment for their actions serve to support the negative perception of powerful or potentially powerful women. As regards the old female characters, we highlighted their invisibility, their victimization, as well as the differing representations of old male and female characters in our selection of tales. Our analysis underlined the prevalence of the ideology of male superiority which is intricately maintained throughout the experiences of the female characters in various contexts. In fact, the constant definition of the female characters' roles and experiences in relation to the idealized form of femininity, along with the

marginalization and negative representations of unconventional female characters, reinforce the pattern of gender power relations based on male dominance and female subordination.

CHAPTER 2: Understanding Male Dominance through the Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity in Malagasy Folktales

Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the representations of femininities in relation to the dominant or idealized form of femininity and masculinity in written Malagasy folktales from the 19th century to the present. Our analysis has demonstrated that despite the incoherence of the female characters' experiences with the idealized form of femininity, the latter, as the conventional form of femininity, defines the status and shapes the roles and experiences of the female characters as well as their relationships with each other and with the male characters. This tends to perpetuate male supremacy and female subordination. In this chapter, we aim to explore the conceptualization of male dominance in written Malagasy tales from the 19th century to the present. For that purpose, we intend to focus on the male characters' experiences in relation to the concept of hegemonic masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity is an elusive concept. Connell and Messerschmidt, as we have already seen, articulate hegemonic masculinity as “the pattern of practice that allow[s] men’s dominance over women to continue.”¹ In that way, it “embodie[s] the currently most honored way of being a man [and] require[s] all other men to position themselves in relation to it [though] only a minority of men might enact it.”² In other words, the concept of hegemonic masculinity refers to the practices that support male superiority and male dominance over women, and the majority of men and women adhere to this notion as part of the social order. Definitions of hegemonic masculinity are also subject to historical change since a given society may uphold a specific definition of masculinity for a given time period and switch to a different

¹ R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt. “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept.” *Gender and Society*, vol. 19, No. 6 (2005). P. 829.

² Ibid.

definition at some point. As Connell and Messerschmidt put it, “older forms of masculinity might be displaced by new ones”³. Paul McIlveny, an associate Professor in the Department of Language and Intercultural Studies at the University of Aalborg, Denmark, provides some pertinent examples of the changing notions of hegemonic masculinity throughout time in his article “The Disabled Male Body Writes/Draws Back: The Graphic Fictions of Masculinity and the Body in the Autobiographical Comic ‘The Spiral Cage.’” This author refers to masculinity ideals in Western culture in the 19th century which emphasized “Christian manliness”⁴ and are characterized by “spiritual, cerebral and moral precepts and the dignity of labour and the importance of manly independence and autonomy.”⁵ This, in the same author’s words, gave way to the “competing ‘muscular’ masculinity [which] emphasizes ability, superhuman strength and stamina, physical violence, unemotionality, hardness, autonomy, potency, assertiveness, authority, the abjection of other bodies (the feminine, the homosexual, the grotesque), and the shame of failure”⁶. These views show that the concept of hegemonic masculinity cannot be reduced to a static definition of what it means to be a real man in a given society. Although the ideals of hegemonic masculinity that coexist within a society have a contradictory quality, they share the common feature of supporting male supremacy and legitimizing male dominance over women. It is this argument that justifies our claim about the idealization of the dominant forms of masculinity and femininity in Malagasy folktales because even though the notions of hegemonic masculinity are subject to historical and social changes, the fact that they perpetuate male dominance and support women’s subordination defies these changes.

³ R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt. “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept.” *Gender and Society*, vol. 19, No. 6 (2005). P.833.

⁴ Paul McIlvenny. “The Disabled Male Body ‘Writes/Draws’ Back: The Graphic Fictions of Masculinity and the Body in the Autobiographical Comic ‘The Spiral Cage.’” Eds. Tuana, Nancy et al. *Revealing Male Bodies*. USA: Indiana University Press, 2002. P. 103.

⁵Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

As a matter of fact, masculinity ideals are imprinted in several aspects of the Malagasy's lives. For instance, the socialization of boys emphasizes the pressure to conform to the Malagasy notions of manliness. Lars Vig reports that at an early age, Malagasy boys are given "a charm (*tsilaky*) which 'will enable them to overcome any form of timidity,'" ⁷ which means that they are already taught masculine values, namely the fact that boys are expected to be tough and brave. The idealization of male strength and toughness is further epitomized by Malagasy proverbs like "men are like water, they cannot be wounded even when they are cut" ⁸ or "he is a man and he is at the same time strong, but I, am only a woman who is weak." ⁹ The comparison of men with water not only connotes resilience in the face of difficulties but also reflects the elusive characteristic of masculinity. The second proverb highlights gender differences based on stereotypes and binary oppositions. Another proverb, "it takes three paces for men to come up with an idea while a woman has to stoop four times to come up with hers," ¹⁰ expresses the hierarchical differences between men and women by assuming that men are more intelligent than women. The words used in this proverb signal the emphasis put on men's superiority over women. While men "walk," women "stoop." These ideologies of maleness are further supported by notions of Malagasy men as "andrin'ny tokantrano" or "the pillar of the household." They are expected to be the head of the household as the main provider for the family. Furthermore, the names of the remarkable male protagonists in Malagasy tales often depict physical fitness, strength, and youth. For instance, the name "Ramanongavato" in the tale of the same title from Charles Renel's collection, literally means stone-lifter and is attributed to a strong male character who displays considerable perseverance and extraordinary

⁷ « Les garçons recevaient un charme (*tsilaky*) 'pour leur permettre de surmonter toute timidité.' » Lars Vig. *Sur la femme malgache*. Antananarivo: Editions Teza Boky & CEROI, 1994 [1907]. P.16. (Author's italics, translation mine).

⁸ « Kapain-tsy hita fery tahaka ny rano ny lehilahy. » (Translation mine).

⁹ "Izy lahy sady mahery, fa izaho sady vavy no malemy." J.A. Houlder. *Ohabolana ou proverbes malgaches*. Antananarivo : Imprimerie de Faravohitra, 1915. p.69. (Translation mine).

¹⁰ "Ny lahy mamindra in-telo ka mahao hevitra; ny vavy miondrika inefatra vao mahazo ny azy." Ibid. p.50.

force while engaging in his quest for a spouse and facing his enemies. A variant of this tale in which the hero is called “Ifaralahy-Mahery” or the strong youngest son from the same collection echoes the representation of the hero “Faralahy-Mahery” in Colleen J. McElroy’s collection whereby the protagonist is renowned for his skills as a healer and his superhuman strength that enabled him to defeat his rival. Nevertheless, considering Connell and Messerschmidt’s statement that “hegemonic masculinities [...] do not correspond closely to the lives of actual men, [y]et [...] express widespread ideals, fantasies and desires,”¹¹ we may suggest that the heroes of Malagasy tales inspire grandeur and embody the cultural norms of the ideal man although they are not necessarily powerful, invincible men.

As was stated earlier, our purpose in this chapter is to analyze the experiences of the male characters in relation to the notions of hegemonic masculinity represented in a selection of Malagasy folktales. For that purpose, we will primarily identify the different representations of hegemonic masculinity in relation to subordinated masculinities and femininity. After that, we will consider the impacts of the male protagonists’ experiences and enactment of hegemonic masculinity ideals on gender relations with particular focus on the unconventional enactments of masculinity by both genders.

2.1. Representations of Hegemonic Masculinity in Malagasy Folktales

Malagasy folktales provide various representations of hegemonic masculinity ideals which touch upon core aspects of Malagasy men’s lives: men’s bodies, men’s status and roles and their sexuality. Hegemonic masculinity ideals can be understood as “hegemonic principles” whose objectives are developed by Australian sociologist Richard Howson in his article

¹¹ R.W. Connell and James Messerschmidt. “Hegemonic Masculinity. Rethinking the Concept.” *Gender and Society* vol 19 No 6 (2005). P. 839.

“Deconstructing Hegemonic Masculinity: Contradiction, Hegemony and Dislocation.” Howson contends that hegemonic principles

define and describe the hegemony by setting out the broad principles that then determine the identifications, configurations of practice and relationships that in turn become legitimate and ultimately, normative [...] [They] represent the desires, interests and values that the hegemonic is able to extend into social life and thereby expand the hegemony [...] [and] that must be protected so as to ensure the continuation of the nature, operation and ultimately the reproduction of hegemony [...] They are always the historical product of the complex accumulation of contradictions imposed on and being imposed by real social relations, practices and consciousness.¹²

In other words, the cultural assumptions that go into the making of manhood and frame social relations and identification are informed by the principles of hegemony. The male body is one of the main parameters of masculinity whose social construction reflects the complex process of identification with hegemonic ideals of manhood. Developing an approach to the study of the relationship between masculinity and men’s bodies, Connell argues that “true masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men’s bodies – to be inherent in a male body or to express something about a male body.”¹³ The male body can be understood as a site of masculine ideals subject to social construction and modulation. In Malagasy folktales, it plays a significant role in validating hegemonic masculinity. Many Malagasy heroes’ worth is measured by their achievements which, most of the time, implies the possession of a fit, strong and powerful body. Linda Lindsey reinforces this view when she states that “we readily bestow the title of hero on those who come out on top through the use of physical means.”¹⁴ Most of the time, however, the heroes’ actual experiences do not match the idealized representations of

¹² Richard Howson. « Deconstructing Hegemonic Masculinity: Contradiction, Hegemony and Dislocation. » *Nordic Journal for Masculinity Studies* 4 (1) (2009). P. 17.

¹³ R.W. Connell. *Masculinities*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005 [1995]. Pp. 45.

¹⁴ Linda Lindsey. *Gender Roles. A Sociological Perspective*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990. P. 164.

the male body. Considering the views exposed in current analyses of the mismatch between ideology and practice in the definition of hegemonic masculinity, we can argue that the idealization of the male body in Malagasy folktales serves to perpetuate male supremacy through a complex process of identification which endorses women's subordination. The cult of physical fitness and strength also entails the marginalization of unfit male bodies. Yet, even these male protagonists who do not fit into what Paul McIlvenny calls "society's ableist understanding of hegemonic masculinity"¹⁵ remain remarkable heroes in some Malagasy tales. To understand the contradiction between the idealization of the male body and the representation of physically unfit heroes, we will investigate the ways in which subordinated masculinities, in the personalities of handicapped heroes, position themselves in relation to the hegemonic form of masculinity.

With regard to the definitions of men's status and roles in relation to the standards of hegemonic masculinity, we can take into account some of the views developed by sex role theorists. Despite the limitations of sex role theories in masculinity studies, being "unworkable as a general framework for social analysis,"¹⁶ in Connell's words, they provide useful concepts for the definition of the social status and roles of the male characters in our tales. Sex role theorists argue that "being a man or a woman means enacting a general set of expectations which are attached to one's sex [...] [and] masculinity and femininity are [...] interpreted as internalized sex roles, the products of social learning or 'socialization'"¹⁷ In the tales under study, the set of social expectations for men and women is implicitly conveyed through the socialization process and the sexual division of labour. Within this context, male authority is legitimized by social practices that emphasize men's superior position in society and in the

¹⁵ Paul McIlvenny. "The Disabled Male Body 'Writes/Draws' Back: The Graphic Fictions of Masculinity and the Body in the Autobiographical Comic 'The Spiral Cage.'" Eds. Tuana, Nancy et al. *Revealing Male Bodies*. USA: Indiana University Press, 2002. P. 103.

¹⁶ R.W. Connell. *Masculinities*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005 [1995]. Pp. 26.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* P. 22.

family. Our analysis of the representation of men's status and roles in relation to the principles of hegemonic masculinity will focus on the gendered distribution of roles among men and women as a practice that not only confers a superior status to men but also fosters gender inequality.

The last aspect of men's lives that reflects the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity ideals is their sexuality. The study of men's sexualities in relation to the concept of hegemonic masculinity is significant in that it gives insight into the various patterns of male sexualities within a society and the underlying structure that frames them. In Malagasy folktales, the enactment of hegemonic masculinity ideals primarily goes in line with heterosexuality and, by extension, the possession of several wives. Even though polygyny – a form of polygamy in which a man has more than one wife - is mainly practised for practical, social and cultural reasons, not merely for sexual gratification,¹⁸ the custom is part of the patriarchal system which sustains male supremacy and women's subordination. It is significant that Malagasy men are rarely considered to be sterile, as opposed to women; this explains the endorsement of men's practice of polygyny as a means to have children in case the previous wives are barren. The representation of male sexuality in Malagasy tales also promotes the images of women as preys to be hunted and to be possessed by men. This yields another facet of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity tied to male dominance. Conversely, Malagasy tales also give insight into homosocial bonding among male protagonists. Homosexual practices are not openly reported in Malagasy tales, they can only be inferred in allusive narratives about homosociality. This not only generates confusion about the male protagonists' sexualities but also serves to reinforce notions of hegemonic masculinity tied to other factors than sexuality. This enables us to

¹⁸ See Sarah Fee. « Handicapped heroes, Sambilo the bull, and the treacherous terrain of polygynous relations in southern Madagascar. » *Etudes océan indien* (2008). Put online on 18 March 2013. Accessed on 30 April 2019. P. 4.

consider the case of subordinated male sexualities in relation to conventional heterosexual norms.

Based on these descriptions of the three aspects of men's lives that are informed by hegemonic principles, our analysis will be divided into three subparts. The first part will analyse the relationship between the male body and conventional standards of hegemonic masculinity as is reflected in Malagasy tales. The second part will focus on the definitions of men's status and roles in Malagasy folktales and the last part will tackle the different practices that characterize Malagasy male sexualities in relation to hegemonic masculinity ideals.

2.1.1. The Intersection of the Male Body and Masculine Identity in Malagasy Folktales

The body, in Foucauldian discourse, is perceived as “object and target of power [that is] manipulated, shaped, trained, [...] obeys, responds, becomes skilful and increases its forces.”¹⁹ In his book *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*, Michel Foucault develops his views on discipline as a modern form of exercising power, shedding light on the wider issue of domination and socialization of individuals. Social control of the body operates through discipline which “dissociates power from the body; on the one hand, it turns it into an ‘aptitude,’ a ‘capacity,’ which it seeks to increase; on the other hand, it reverses the course of the energy, the power that might result from it, and turns it into a relation of strict subjection.”²⁰ This statement points to the intensity of social control on the body through the dual stimulation and circumscription of physical power. Understanding the mechanisms of power in the subjugation of the body enables us to define the framework within which the idealized male body is considered as a parameter of hegemonic masculinity. The male body, in this sense, is subject to

¹⁹ Michel Foucault. *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison*. New York : Vintage Books, 1995 [1977]. Translation by Alan Sheridan. P. 136.

²⁰ Ibid. P. 138.

social control whose meanings are socially constructed and whose worth is mainly measured in terms of physical prowess. Indeed, physical strength and physical courage are exalted as tokens of manliness in Malagasy folktales that feature heroic male protagonists. The male protagonists strive to conform to hegemonic masculinity ideals in relation to the male body. The tension experienced by the male subject who wishes to prove his masculinity is best illustrated in tales whereby the heroes do not possess the fit and strong body expected of them. This triggers various responses which define the male protagonists' experience of physical disability in relation to hegemonic standards of masculinity. One of the responses documented by Raewyn Connell is particularly relevant to the experiences lived by the male characters in our folktales. It consists in "redoubl[ing] efforts to meet the hegemonic standards, overcoming the physical difficulty."²¹ Indeed, the handicapped male protagonists in the tales that have been selected for our study adopt the same attitude in order to prove their masculinity. It is not surprising that Lee Haring describes the handicapped heroes of Malagasy tales as "deformed and unpromising heroes, who accomplish quests and succeed where others fail."²² In these tales, the heroes' manliness is measured by the aptitude or capacities of their bodies in the performance of challenging, life-threatening tasks.

Significantly, the male body, which is central to the performance of a successful masculine identity, is not fully described in these tales. The body is only alluded to as a key component of hegemonic masculinity in the elaborate descriptions of the achievements of heroic male figures. This points to the characteristic of hegemonic masculinity, which, according to Richard Howson "can only ever be successful if the distinction between the categories hegemonic and other/s is clear [...] while the conditions for the distinction/exclusion

²¹ R.W. Connell. *Masculinities*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005 [1995]. Pp. 55.

²² Lee Haring. *How to Read a Folktale. The Ibonia Epic from Madagascar*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2013. P. 40.

is obfuscated.”²³In other words, the great achievements of the heroes are magnified in order to highlight their embodiment of hegemonic masculinity ideals. Conversely, the conditions that guarantee the hegemonic status, namely the physical characteristics required in the performance of these significant deeds, are indistinct. Indeed, the absence of a clear definition of the physical characteristics of the hegemonic male figures in the tales under study emphasizes the ambiguity that surrounds the concept of hegemonic masculinity and the male characters’ position in relation to it. The concept of hegemonic masculinity defined in terms of physical prowess mainly refers to abstract ideologies of manhood that are different from the male characters’ actual situations. This is best illustrated in the tales of “Isilakolona” and “Imbahatrilala,” two of the notable handicapped heroes of Malagasy tales from Dahle and Renel’s collections.

The tale “Isilakolona”²⁴ depicts the major role played by physical fitness and strength in the acknowledgement and maintenance of a male individual’s masculinity. On the one hand, the hero’s name, “Isilakolona,” literally means half-man as he is an abnormal child, being half-man, half-tree. The word “half” already signals the idea of lack, or incompleteness with reference to the whole, precisely the qualities of being a man. On the other hand, Andrianjatovo, his father, who is also the king of the village, is an imposing male figure that exercises power over his subjects and his sons. The name “Andrianjatovo” literally means “king of the youth,” which points to the society’s particular veneration of youth and its perks, namely physical strength and the ability to perform outstanding actions. The community upholds these values in a man and these are seen as the prerequisites for one’s masculinity as those who fail to present these qualities are ostracized. This is the case for Isilakolona, the king’s youngest son. One can easily uncover the system of binary oppositions played out in the tale: fit/unfit, strong/weak, valid/invalid, handsome/repulsive, and so on. Isilakolona is thus marginalized and cast out,

²³ Richard Howson. « Deconstructing Hegemonic Masculinity: Contradiction, Hegemony and Dislocation. » *Nordic Journal for Masculinity Studies* 4 (1) (2009). P. 21.

²⁴ Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. Pp. 116 – 122.

being repulsive and despicable in the eyes of his three elder brothers and father. The three brothers, on the other hand, are cherished because they belong to the category “fit” and “normal.”

The cult of physical fitness is further emphasized in the tale “Imbahitrila”²⁵ which features a hero who is at the same time crippled and deformed, being, like Isilakolona, half-man and half-tree. For that matter, he is cast out by his parents who, after being forced by their other sons to choose between them and Imbahitrila, decide to “keep the six sons because they are numerous and strong; whereas Imbahitrila is alone, weak and deformed.”²⁶ The parents’ motivation in keeping the physically fit sons parallels Sarah Fee’s argument about the “overarching ideological motivation for polygyny [which resides in] [...] its role in producing ‘strong sons.’”²⁷ Strong sons, in this context, refer to those who would honour the father’s name by being successful in competitions, becoming wealthy and gaining social recognition. This shows that physical fitness is one of the standards by which masculinity is achieved. Significantly, the hero who also goes by the name of Imbahitrila from Renel’s collection does not present any of the infirmities shared by Isilakolona and Imbahitrila from Dahle’s collection. On the contrary, he mysteriously “becomes as strong as an adult when he is two months old.”²⁸

The common feature shared by these three tales is the heroes’ attempt to prove their masculinity in terms of physical prowess by engaging in highly risky adventures such as hunting and killing dreadful creatures and monsters that have never been defeated by any man in history. This propensity to kill wild beasts and engage in life-threatening challenges pertains to what

²⁵ Ibid. Pp. 104 – 116.

²⁶ « Izy enina mirahalahy no nalainy, fa sady maro no matanjaka; fa Imbahitrila kosa olona irery sady osa no sampona. » Ibid. P. 105. (Translation mine).

²⁷ See Sarah Fee. « Handicapped heroes, Sambilo the bull, and the treacherous terrain of polygynous relations in southern Madagascar. » *Etudes océan indien* (2008). Put online on 18 March 2013. Accessed on 30 April 2019. P. 4.

²⁸ « Au bout de deux mois, le petit enfant était devenu aussi fort qu’une grande personne. » Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. P. 90. (Translation mine).

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu calls “the principle of immense vulnerability”²⁹ whereby the vulnerable nature of masculinity compels men to preserve their masculinity by all means. Bourdieu contends that it is this vulnerable characteristic of masculinity that “paradoxically leads to the investment [...] in all masculine games of violence [...] and most specifically the ones that are best meant to produce the visible signs of masculinity.”³⁰ The concern to validate one’s manliness through such practices is even stronger in males who are initially considered to be unfit because of their infirmities. As McIlveny observes in his article on the disabled male body, “the cultural inscription of disability is one of failure or the inability to act or perform.”³¹ Indeed, the disabled male characters’ attempt to change the cultural perceptions of disabled male bodies can be observed in our selection of tales through their excessive effort to reassert their manliness by trying to become remarkable masculine figures.

It is significant that the heroes of Malagasy tales do not always measure up to the standards of hegemonic masculinity as far as physical fitness and strength are concerned. In reality, they manage to defeat dangerous beasts and monsters with the help of animals or supernatural forces. It is true that Renel’s Imbahatrila succeeds thanks to his physical strength as he boldly attacks his enemies such as wild bulls, ferocious caimans, and a seven-headed snake. In this tale, the hero’s skills and courage are emphasized by a vivid description of his victory against the wild beasts. We read that “all the caimans came to attack Imbahatrila [...]; there were so many of them that the canoe disappeared in their midst. But Imbahatrila attacked his enemies, and soon most of them were dead, except for two caimans that swam back into the

²⁹ « Le principe d’une immense vulnérabilité. » Pierre Bourdieu. *La domination masculine*. Paris : Editions du Seuil, 1998. P. 76. (Translation mine).

³⁰ « Conduit, paradoxalement, à l’investissement... dans tous les jeux de violence masculins... et tout spécialement ceux qui sont les mieux faits pour produire les signes visibles de la masculinité. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

³¹ Paul McIlvenny. “The Disabled Male Body ‘Writes/Draws’ Back: The Graphic Fictions of Masculinity and the Body in the Autobiographical Comic ‘The Spiral Cage.’” Eds. Tuana, Nancy et al. *Revealing Male Bodies*. USA: Indiana University Press, 2002. P. 101.

depths of the river.”³² However, as impressive as it may be, the strength displayed by Imbahatrila is supernatural as is clearly suggested by the fact that he became strong and powerful like an adult person when he was only two months old. The success of the other heroes, Isilakolona and Imbahitrila, from Dahle’s collection, is also marked by the prevalence of supernatural forces. Isilakolona, for instance, manages to face his challenges by appealing to his birthright as noble. He uses the formula “if I am born of a noble father and a noble mother”³³ to subdue the wild creatures. Similarly, Imbahitrila succeeds with the help of a third party, namely God’s son, who gives him two magical objects - the angavola eggs - that enable him to overcome all obstacles and defeat his enemies. What is true for the three tales, however, is that either the male protagonist is fit or crippled, he manages to capture or defeat the wild creatures and is acclaimed by society. In fact, the heroes’ worth and masculinity are validated by social recognition after the performance of significant deeds. This points to the ideology of physical fitness that governs men’s identification with masculinity ideals. Even though the male protagonists do not actually possess the required physical attributes, it is their investment in challenging activities driven by the desire to abide by the ideals of hegemonic masculinity that guarantees their success and thereby social recognition.

Malagasy tales also feature male protagonists whose outstanding strength translates into great achievements, which Lee Haring, in *How to read a folktale. The Ibonia Epic from Madagascar*, describes as “the fantastic deeds of a man or men endowed with something more than human might.”³⁴ Iboniamasiboniamanoro in Dahle’s *Anganon’ny Ntaolo* and Rajinilahy in Renel’s *Contes de Madagascar* are among the renowned heroes of such tales. These two

³² “Tous les caïmans arrivèrent pour attaquer Imbahatrila... Il y en avait tant que la pirogue disparaissait au milieu d’eux. Mais Imbahatrila attaqua ses ennemis, et bientôt presque tous furent morts, à l’exception de ceux qui plongèrent dans les profondeurs du fleuve. » Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. P. 91, 92. (Translation mine).

³³ « Raha andrian-dray aho, raha andrian-dreny. » Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. Pp. 116 – 122.

³⁴ Lee Haring. *How to Read a Folktale. The Ibonia Epic from Madagascar*. Cambridge : Open Book Publishers, 2013. P. 45.

heroes speak from their mothers' wombs, asking their respective mothers to swallow a knife with a banana so that they can tear the mother's womb open and force their way out before term. "Iboniamasiboniamanoro" portrays a hero whose glory is predicted long before his birth. The mysterious circumstances of his birth emphasize the power and might embodied by Ibonia. It is reported that "on the day of his birth, all the living creatures sprained their ankles, stones were torn apart, the earth quaked and lightnings filled the skies. It was, they say, the origin of earthquakes."³⁵ While "Iboniamasiboniamanoro" is mainly characterized by an abstract representation of the hero's physical force through magnified accounts of his achievements, the tale "Rajinilahy and the kaka" depicts a hero who actually possesses physical strength. Indeed, it is his strength that enables him to defeat the kaka - a monster that terrorizes the people of the village - in all the competitive trials they participate in. For example, he manages to stay under water longer than the kaka, carry a heavy stone and turn it into sand, and subdue the kaka by dragging it along to the village so that he can be admired by everybody and he eventually "becomes famous for his strength."³⁶ Nevertheless, natural and supernatural elements work together to define the heroes' greatness in both tales. Rajinilahy, despite his outstanding strength, cannot be dissociated from the supernatural circumstances of his birth and the fact that he is supernaturally strong right after his birth. Similarly, we read about the implied supernatural strength of Ibonia in the elaborate descriptions of his exploits. The impressive ways in which he subdues the dangerous creatures that inhabit the river that he needs to cross in order to meet his rival is a pertinent example.³⁷ In fact, his supernatural strength is implied, not affirmed, in

³⁵ « Tamin'ny andro nahaterahany dia fola-pe avokoa ny zava-manana aina rehetra na inona na inona, nitresatresaka ny vato, nivadibadika ny tany, ary nikotrokotroka ny lanitra. Izany hono no nisehoan'ny horohoron-tany. » Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P.12 (Translation mine).

³⁶ « Devint célèbre par sa force. » Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1910. P. 104 (Translation mine).

³⁷ See Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P.28.

his ability to defeat creatures that “a hundred oxen and a hundred men”³⁸ could not put down. This abstract reference to the hero’s physical strength in “Ibonia” sheds light on what the hero represents to the Malagasy. Lee Haring suggests a political interpretation of the tale, saying that it “would flatter the sovereign and members of the royal family, indirectly through inviting their identification with the hero’s exploits and directly through praise poetry.”³⁹ Hence, the epic account of the hero’s exploits mainly serves to encourage Malagasy men to identify with the ideologies of manliness embodied by the hero, regardless of the fact that he does not entirely possess the physical qualities implied in his successes.

The contradiction between ideology and practice in the conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity in Malagasy folktales echoes what Australian sociologist Michael Flood describes as the “‘slippage’ between what is understood to be masculine and the practices and relations of actual men.”⁴⁰ Connell also points to the discrepancy between ideology and practice when she says that “the public face of hegemonic masculinity is not necessarily what powerful men are, but what sustains their power and what large numbers of men are motivated to support.”⁴¹ It means that the standards of hegemonic masculinity are ideals that all men strive to meet but only few or none of them manage to attain them. The processes of socialization and identification rely on the promotion of the “public face of hegemonic masculinity” or the dominant form of masculinity in a specific society for a specific period. Similarly, in the Malagasy context, notions of hegemonic masculinity are sustained by the constant production of various images of epic heroes and their great exploits although it is impossible for men to attain the ideals that they embody.

³⁸ « Omby zato sy olona arivo. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

³⁹ Lee Haring. *How to Read a Folktale. The Ibonia Epic from Madagascar*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2013. P.52.

⁴⁰ Michael Flood in Richard Howson. « Deconstructing Hegemonic Masculinity: Contradiction, Hegemony and Dislocation. » *Nordic Journal for Masculinity Studies* 4 (1) (2009). P. 8.

⁴¹ R. W. Connell. *Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1987. P. 185.

Furthermore, contemporary theories of hegemonic masculinity address the issue surrounding the differences between ideology and practice by identifying hegemonic masculinity as “an empty signifier”⁴² which means that “it represents some thing but lacks any meaning or that meaning is marked by relativism.”⁴³ In that sense, Howson contends that “hegemony can only ever express the appearance of completeness.”⁴⁴ Thus, the hegemony expressed in the idealization of the strong male body corresponds to an unattainable goal which nevertheless plays a central role in defining men’s identities and experiences. This argument is conveyed in Howson’s statement that “hegemonic masculinity as the empty signifier of gender does not set out the practices that men and women achieve but rather, what men and women aspire towards within hegemony.”⁴⁵ According to the same author, this explains the mechanisms of hegemonic masculinity whose “task is to mediate the heterogeneity of the people and the particularity of their interests into homogeneity as stability and order around the hegemonic principles.”⁴⁶ This reinforces the idea that hegemonic masculinity is a configuration of practices firmly established in culture and social institutions. Our previous analysis of the three tales which feature male protagonists with their paradoxical embodiment of masculinity ideals reflects the organization of the social order in Malagasy society around hegemonic principles. This social order is predicated upon male supremacy and the maintenance of this position through various social practices.

⁴²Richard Howson. « Deconstructing Hegemonic Masculinity: Contradiction, Hegemony and Dislocation. » *Nordic Journal for Masculinity Studies* 4 (1) (2009). P. 8.

⁴³ Ibid. P. 19.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid. P. 21.

⁴⁶ Ibid. P. 35.

2.1.2. Male Status and Roles in Malagasy Folktales

While the social construction and control of the male body ensures the perpetuation of conventional standards of hegemonic masculinity in Malagasy folktales, the enactment of these standards can further be observed in the definitions of men's status and roles within the community which produces these folktales. To understand the assignment of specific roles and status to men in Malagasy folktales, we can refer to the concept of sex roles applied in the critical studies of men. Sex role theories on masculinity, in Connell's view, are characterized by the "blend[ing] of normative with essentialist definitions"⁴⁷ of masculinity. The same author explains that while essentialist definitions of masculinity are mainly based on stereotypical masculine features, normative definitions "offer a standard: masculinity is what men ought to be."⁴⁸ In other words, sex roles are defined around gender stereotypes and conventional notions of manhood. In the Malagasy folktales under study, the structures within which masculine roles are defined and internalized are informed by notions of hegemonic masculinity which rely on essentialist and normative definitions of masculinity. This can be observed in the sexual division of labour and the exercise of male authority within the family and various social contexts.

The division of labour in traditional Malagasy society is gendered, especially in rural, agricultural societies, as they are mainly based on assumptions about physical differences between men and women in terms of ability and performances. The principle of division of labour and responsibility, in Lars Vig's words, is as follows: "light and safe tasks were assigned to women whereas everything that was heavy and dangerous were assigned to men."⁴⁹ In the context of agricultural tasks, the allegedly difficult and dangerous tasks that men performed

⁴⁷ R.W. Connell. *Masculinities*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005 [1995]. Pp. 70.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ « A la femme ce qui était léger et sans danger, et à l'homme ce qui était lourd et dangereux. » Lars Vig. *Sur la femme malgache*. Antananarivo: Editions Teza Boky & CEROI, 1994 [1907]. p. 64. (Translation mine).

were mainly work in the fields which consisted in digging, irrigating rice fields and breaking the soil into pieces.⁵⁰ The latter requires the taming of oxen which will be made to stamp on the soil. Vig comments that “apart from the physical strength [involved in these activities], the danger [represented by the ill-treated animals] precisely explains the reason why women were exempted [from doing them].”⁵¹ Although Vig’s arguments about the logical distribution of tasks among men and women are pertinent, they fail to account for the strenuous tasks performed by women, namely transplanting rice plants, weeding, carrying the sheaves on their heads from the rice fields to the village, and grinding rice grains with a mortar and pestle. Women use rudimentary tools or their bare hands to perform these tasks which not only require great endurance and patience but also physical strength. This calls to mind Paola Tabet’s views on the asymmetrical relations of power between men and women in the sexual division of labour. Tabet claims that “the division of labour is not neutral but biased and asymmetrical [...] it is not a relation of reciprocity or complementarity but of domination.”⁵² Indeed, the judgment about women’s light and safe tasks masks the latter’s difficulty and the disadvantages that they represent for women in comparison to men’s less constraining roles. We can take the example of rice transplanting which is an exclusively female task, and which is not only time-consuming, but also physically constraining as women have to stoop and perform repetitive tasks for long hours. Such activities are undertaken while women are carrying their babies on their backs. As we have already seen in the previous chapter, Vig admiringly notes in his description of

⁵⁰ See *Ibid.* P. 29.

⁵¹ « Outre qu’il s’agissait d’un travail de force, ce danger expliquait précisément pourquoi les femmes en étaient exemptées. » *Ibid.* (Translation mine).

⁵² « La division du travail n’est pas neutre, mais orientée et asymétrique... il s’agit d’une relation non pas de réciprocité ou de complémentarité mais de domination. » Paola Tabet. « Les mains, les outils, les armes. » *L’Homme* tome 19 N° 3 – 4 (1979). Les catégories de sexe en anthropologie. P. 10. URL : https://www.persee.fr/doc/hom_0439-4216_1979_num_19_3_367998. (Translation mine).

Malagasy women that “whatever the circumstances, in joy as in mourning, in everyday work as in festive occasions, Malagasy mothers carried their little ones on their backs.”⁵³

Acknowledging this relation of power that characterizes the sexual division of labour in Malagasy society enables us to define the structure that frames men’s roles in Malagasy folktales. This structure is characterized by the differentiation of men and women’s spheres of influence into public and private. Men belong to the public sphere as their work is valued through its distance and dissociation with the private realm of the house. Apart from fulfilling their responsibilities in the fields, men travel far to perform masculine activities such as hunting and fishing. This pattern is illustrated in Malagasy tales (“Ifaranomby and her rivals” “The three sisters,” etc) that feature a husband who travels far away to hunt the dangerous creatures that his pregnant wife craves for. Apart from being a subsistence activity, hunting becomes a masculine activity that is performed to validate one’s manliness when it consists in proving one’s ability to capture dangerous preys. Even when hunting is practised to respond to the family’s daily needs, it still serves to reinforce male superiority. This is the case in the tale “le mari et ses deux femmes”⁵⁴ or “the husband and his two wives” from Gabriel Ferrand’s collection. The man in this tale brings home a porcupine that he caught in the forest and asks his wives to cook and share it. When the second wife shares the meat into three, the first wife corrects her and gives two shares to the husband, leaving only the third share for the two wives. This sharing is considered to be “well done”⁵⁵ and approved by the man. Indeed, it testifies to the man’s superior status as the provider for the family. Gender inequalities within the household are mainly based on this superior status inherited by men thanks to their role as provider. This parallels Adrienne Rich’s view that men’s economic domination is central to the

⁵³ « Quelles que fussent les circonstances, dans la joie comme dans le deuil, dans le travail de tous les jours comme dans les occasions de fête, les mères malgaches portaient leurs petits sur le dos. » Lars Vig. *Sur la femme malgache*. Antananarivo : Editions Teza Boky & CEROI, 1994. P. 14. (Translation mine).

⁵⁴ Gabriel Ferrand. *Contes populaires malgaches*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1893. Pp. 172 – 173.

⁵⁵ « Bien fait. » Ibid. p. 173. (Translation mine).

patriarchal order as it guarantees men's "power over others, beginning with a woman and her children."⁵⁶ As was developed in the previous chapter of this study, the husband's economic domination and thereby the wife's economic dependency stand at the heart of major conflicts between the co-wives and children of a polygamous man. Moreover, men's superior status transcends the family realm as it is extended into society whereby men are the acknowledged representatives of the family in social events. Men thus benefit from the recognition of their superior status and power outside the household. This can be observed in the tale "la femme gourmande" or "the greedy woman" from Ferrand's collection and its variant, "Ikalasarotra" in Dahle's *Anganon'ny Ntaolo*. The greedy woman in these tales desperately wants to get the meat shared at a neighbour's funeral but cannot collect it because it is the husband who is the representative of the family in public contexts and he is the one entitled to receive the meat.

The assignment of a superior status to the men in these tales reflects the endorsement of hegemonic masculinity ideals because men's entitlement to this status is based on their embodiment of the masculine role of provider or breadwinner: the husband works in the fields while the wife stays at home with the children. It is this superior status that confers to men their authority on women and children. Going back to the argument about men's power as power over others, we can develop an understanding of the concept of male authority in patriarchal societies. Marriage and divorce are among the notable areas in which men display their masculine authority on women in Malagasy society. What married women dread the most is to "get a taha ratsy" or to be suspended by their husbands.⁵⁷ The suspension of a wife, in Lars Vig's explanation, consisted in "sending to the wife a red rooster whose head [...] was

⁵⁶ Adrienne Rich. *Of Woman Born. Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1986. P. 64.

⁵⁷ In *Le mariage à Madagascar*, M.G. Grandidier explains that the « taha ratsy » or the suspension of a wife means that the husband wants « to let [his wife] know his decision to make her grow old without ever giving her the permission to remarry. » [« Lui faisait connaitre sa volonté de la laisser vieillir sans jamais lui donner l'autorisation de se remarier. »] M.G. Grandidier. « Le mariage à Madagascar. » *Bulletins et mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* VIe Série. Tome 4 fascicule 1 (1913). P. 38. (Translation mine).

suspended above the [woman's] door. The wife, on the same occasion, also received the stem of some plants with a white end [...] [a]s well as a walking stick and a coin named 'without the sixth part.'⁵⁸ These objects are highly symbolical as the suspended wife who received them is "forever deprived of the possibility to marry again."⁵⁹ Vig provides a detailed explanation of the meaning of these objects:

Red as the colour of the queen and the lords symbolized inalterability and stability. The poor woman who received the red rooster thus instantly knew that she was going to be suspended 'for eternity;' that her situation would never change ... As for the stem and the walking stick, they also represented the image of the permanence of a situation, the woman would remain suspended until her old age (it means until the age when she has white hair and when she would need a walking stick). Finally, the absence of the sixth part of the coin suggested that she would always live in poverty and sorrow because she would always lack something.⁶⁰

One of the main reasons that motivate a husband's decision to suspend his wife, as is documented by Grandidier, is the fact that she does not consent to his desire to take another wife despite the offering of several gifts that are meant to compensate for the adulterous act.⁶¹ Hence, the wife is left with no other choice than to accept the intrusion of a rival because being suspended is a worse situation than competing with her rival for the husband's affection and economic resources. This practice highlights women's economic dependency on men in

⁵⁸ « Un coq rouge, dont la tête ... était suspendue au-dessus de la porte de [la femme]. L'épouse, par la même occasion, recevait également une tige d'herbe au bout blanc... Ainsi qu'une canne et une pièce de monnaie appelée 'sans la sixième partie.' » Lars Vig. *Sur la femme malgache*. Antananarivo: Editions Teza Boky & CEROI, 1994 [1907].p. 53. (Translation mine).

⁵⁹ « Serait pour toujours privée de la possibilité de se remarier. » Ibid. P. 54. (Translation mine).

⁶⁰ « Le rouge, en tant que couleur de la reine et des seigneurs, était le symbole de l'inaltérable et du stable. La malheureuse femme qui recevait le coq rouge savait, par conséquent, tout de suite qu'elle allait être suspendue 'pour l'éternité,' que sa situation ne devrait plus changer... La tige d'herbe et la canne, quant à elles, constituaient, elles aussi, l'image de la pérennité d'une situation : elle demeurerait 'suspendue' jusque dans sa vieillesse (c'est-à-dire jusqu'à l'âge où elle aurait des cheveux blancs et où il lui serait nécessaire de s'aider d'une canne pour marcher). Enfin, l'absence de la sixième partie de la pièce de monnaie suggérait qu'elle aurait toujours à vivre dans la pauvreté et le chagrin car devant toujours manquer de quelque chose. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁶¹ See M.G. Grandidier. « Le mariage à Madagascar. » *Bulletins et mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* VIe Série. Tome 4 fascicule 1 (1913). P.38.

traditional Malagasy societies. For that reason, they are subject to male authority. The Malagasy folktales about female rivalry that have been analysed earlier reflect this reality. The barren wives are compelled to accept the third wife who is not only fertile but also younger and more beautiful. Even when they rebel by harming their rival, it is the husband who has the final say when he discovers the truth and bans or orders the execution of the evil wives.

The tale “Ratelomby et Ratelovady” or “The man with three oxen and the man with three wives” from Renel’s collection, which depicts women as men’s dependents, also reflects male authority on women. The three women in this tale are under the authority of their husband, Ratelovady, who readily offers them to another man, Ratelomby, in his attempt to trick the latter and get possession of his oxen. Male authority is pervasive in the commodification of women in this tale. Apart from being the instruments used in the acquisition of the goods desired by their husband, these three women have to consent to his orders and diligently follow his recommendations. Significantly, when Ratelomby, the victim of Ratelovady’s tricks, manages to get rich and becomes the king of a village, the three wives fall on their knees in front of him and beg him to spare them and to do whatever he wants to them. This shows that women’s fate is in the hands of the superior male that exercises his authority on them.

Authority in Malagasy folktales is indeed depicted as a natural and legitimate male privilege. One of the tales in Renel’s collection entitled “De la suprématie de l’homme sur la femme”⁶² or “On men’s supremacy over women” illustrates this point. The man in this tale is associated to the honourable position in the eastern part of the house, whereas the woman occupies the western part, which later becomes the common place reserved for women and the poultry in Malagasy society. It is the man who takes the initiative of suggesting the couple’s union while the woman passively acquiesces. Later on, gender stereotypes about male and female characteristics are confirmed when the couple’s children become ill and the Zanahary

⁶² Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. P. 54, 55.

[the Creator] says that it is only the blood of one of the parents that can cure them. Eventually, the mother is afraid of the pain that she might feel in this process, so it is the brave husband who gives his blood and thereby claims the right to have more authority than the wife on his children. Male authority is thus legitimated in the essentialization of stereotypical male and female characteristics, namely women's cowardice and men's bravery. This calls to mind essentialist definitions of masculinity, which, according to Connell, "pick a feature that defines the core of the masculine, and hang an account of men's lives on that."⁶³ The feature that defines the masculine in this tale is bravery, reflected in the husband's fearlessness in reaction to the necessity of giving his blood in order to save his children.

While the previous tale explains the origins of male authority on children, the tale "Rabenimiehaka sy ny vinantony"⁶⁴ or "Rabenimiehaka and his son in law" provides a pertinent example of how men exercise their authority on their children. The tale openly shows how a father controls the fate of his daughter. A proud and presumptuous man, Rabenimiehaka forces all his daughter's suitors to perform difficult tasks and display extraordinary intelligence in order to win his daughter. The mother in this tale is only mentioned with reference to her resemblance to her daughter. The daughter, who is young and beautiful, almost becomes an old maid because of her father's unquestionable authority. Ironically, the daughter ends up marrying a poor, insignificant young man who has managed to succeed in her father's absurd tests with the help of animals or supernatural forces.

⁶³ R.W. Connell. *Masculinities*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005 [1995]. Pp. 68.

⁶⁴ Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. Pp. 84 – 89.

2.1.3. Hegemonic Masculinity and Male Sexualities in Malagasy Folktales

We have previously discussed the ways in which notions about the physical sense of manliness as well as norms about male roles and status in Malagasy folktales are informed by hegemonic masculinity ideals. Our analysis sought to highlight the social processes at work in the shaping of dominant cultural notions of manliness. In this section, we will focus on the relationship between notions of hegemonic masculinity and male sexualities in Malagasy folktales. To understand this relationship, we will analyze the interpersonal relationships between men and women that are marked by the standards of hegemonic masculinity as well as the representations of non-heterosexual relationships insofar as they reinforce or undermine hegemonic masculinity principles.

According to Busangokwakhe Dlamini, a researcher from the University of KwaZulu-Natal whose work explores homosexuality in the African context, sexuality in African societies is “often defined in relation to reproduction, with the assumption being that Africans could not possibly display homoerotic desires or agencies.”⁶⁵ This statement not only refers to the assumption about the heterosexual nature of African male sexuality but also sheds light on the excessive emphasis on reproduction as a key component of male sexuality, which tends to disregard other important aspects of male sexuality. This view seems to be relevant in the Malagasy context since men’s sexual pleasure in the possession of several wives is often subsumed in the legitimate practice of polygyny as a means to have children. Considering this fact, we think it relevant to conduct a thorough analysis of the practice of polygyny in Malagasy folktales in order to have a critical understanding of the interplay between hegemonic ideals of masculinity and male sexuality.

⁶⁵ Busangokwakhe Dlamini in Desiree Lewis. “Representing African Sexualities.” In Sylvia Tamale. *African Sexualities. A Reader*. Cape Town, Dakar, Nairobi and Oxford: Pambazuka Press, 2011. P. 208.

Polygyny, decreed by the Malagasy king Andrianampoinimerina as men's "prerogative,"⁶⁶ is a common practice in traditional Malagasy society. In reality, polygyny is a practice that mainly benefits men in that it primarily serves their interests and reinforces their superior status according to hegemonic masculinity ideals. In the southern part of Madagascar, the possession of several wives can be a synonym of wealth and power. As Sarah Fee puts it, one of the motivations for polygyny can be located "in the prestige or 'fame' it brings to a man: only a wealthy man can undertake the great cost of contracting a second marriage and then supporting plural wives and families."⁶⁷ This suggests that men take pride in the possession of several wives, especially when hegemonic ideals of masculinity are materialized in their ability to acquire mistresses and several wives through wealth and higher social status. The tale "Kotokofafa and Dingadingana"⁶⁸ from Gabriel Ferrand's collection can be a good illustration of this point. In this tale, the sudden elevation of a poor and insignificant man's status, Kotokofafa, makes him attractive in the eyes of women and highly respected by the other members of society. As the ending words of the tale go, "Kotokofafa was happy, he had everything, wealth, slaves and beautiful partners came to him."⁶⁹

Furthermore, polygyny as a male prerogative is a practice that supports male interests and endorses male dominance over women. Indeed, in Malagasy tales that feature a polygamous man, the women have to accept the intrusion of a rival and constantly compete to serve the interests of the man. As was discussed earlier, polygyny generates competition between the wives who strive to gain more affection and economic resources from their husband. It is the husband who mainly benefits from such competitions because the wives try hard to honour him

⁶⁶ See M.G. Grandidier. « Le mariage à Madagascar. » *Bulletins et mémoires de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris* VIe Série. Tome 4 fascicule 1 (1913). P.36.

⁶⁷ Sarah Fee. « Handicapped heroes, Sambilo the bull, and the treacherous terrain of polygynous relations in southern Madagascar. » *Etudes océan indien* (2008). Put online on 18 March 2013. Accessed on 30 April 2019. P. 5.

⁶⁸ Gabriel Ferrand. *Contes populaires malgaches*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1893. Pp. 159 – 163.

⁶⁹ « Kotokofafa était heureux ; rien ne lui manquait ; richesses, esclaves, jolies compagnes venaient à lui. » Ibid. P. 163. (Translation mine).

and to be judged as good wives by society. In the tale “Les trois princesses et Andriamohamona,” which has already been analysed in the previous chapter, for instance, it is the prince who is honoured by the admiration of three beautiful women who each wants to be the most beautiful for him and who each plans to do extraordinary things to please him: while the two elder sisters intend to make beautiful mats for the prince, the youngest sister surpasses them with her desire to have the prince’s baby. Meanwhile, the prince who has promised to build a house for them and to return and make them his wives has disappeared and it is the three women who have to travel to his village in order to remind him of his promise. The ensuing events are very similar to the story of “Cinderella” in which the prince organizes a ball every night to help him choose the most beautiful girl that will become his wife. The striking contrast between the effort made by the women and the man’s effortless gratification shows that the man gains the benefits from patriarchal institutions. The man in this tale has these advantages not only because he is a man and a prince, but mainly because society endorses the practice of polygyny whereby the man has the right to choose as many beautiful wives as he wishes and he is not held accountable for any broken promises made to them. More importantly, the women themselves adhere to the system and perpetuate male supremacy.

The tale “Rafaranomby” from the same collection also depicts the competition between co-wives which turns into the husband’s advantage. In this tale, the man, Andriambahoaka from the highlands, is honoured by Rafaranomby, his third wife’s ability to coordinate the preparation of the rice fields for rice plantation. Andriambahoaka borrowed slaves from the village to do the work and his wife is expected to feed them properly so as not to dishonour him. Unlike her rivals, Rafaranomby honours her husband by properly feeding the slaves with meat and rice. As in the previous tale, it is the women who do everything in their power to win the husband’s affection and society’s acknowledgement whereas the husband merely acts as a judge and collects the benefits from the women’s efforts.

Nevertheless, despite the prevalence of the social and practical reasons for the practice of polygyny, the sexual gratification that men gain in the process cannot be ignored. The tale that explicitly links the practice of polygyny to sexual gratification is the one entitled “Le roi qui voulait avoir un enfant” or “the king who wanted to have a child” from Charles Renel’s collection. The king in this tale has married more than twenty wives in order to have a child but he constantly fails. It is upon seeking the advice of an old woman, a healer and soothsayer, that he discovers the reason why he never managed to have a child: “he had an excessive love of women.”⁷⁰ The old woman discovers this reality by changing herself into a young and beautiful girl while serving food to the king, pretending she is the old woman’s daughter. The king is so struck by her beauty that he cannot eat a bite; yet, when the old woman comes back, he greedily eats the food that she serves. The association of food with women in this tale has sexual overtones. The king’s abstinence to eat the food served by the young woman denotes the ethical restriction of his lust for the young woman’s body.

However, more than being a narrative about a lustful king, the tale offers an interesting perspective on male sexuality and power. Bearing in mind that the practice of polygyny in this tale is actually motivated by the man’s excessive love of women, we can argue that the king’s possession of more than twenty wives corresponds to a commodification of women in the terms used by French feminist philosopher and psycholinguist Luce Irigaray in *This Sex Which Is Not One*. Irigaray claims that “the possession of a woman is certainly indispensable to man for the reproductive use value that she represents; but what he desires is to have them all. To ‘accumulate’ them, to be able to count off his conquests, seductions, possessions, both sequentially and cumulatively, as measure or standard(s).”⁷¹ In other words, the reproductive value of women is given less importance than their appropriation by men. This is reflected in

⁷⁰ « Il avait un amour excessif des femmes. » Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. P. 156. (Translation mine).

⁷¹ Luce Irigaray. “Women on the Market.” *This Sex Which Is Not One*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1985 [1977]. p. 174.

the tale under study as the king's possession of several wives pertains more to a collection of women than an attempt to have children. Though the tale seems to decry the king's behaviour, it also reveals the social order within which men are the main actors in the exchange and circulation of women as commodities and women's values are defined according to men's standards and needs. The king's wives can thus be seen as commodities whose use and values depend on the king's aspirations.

Another aspect of male sexuality can be observed in the classical representation of women as preys and men as predators. Courtship in Malagasy tales often involves a male suitor pursuing his love interest and winning her as a prize. Usually, the woman does not immediately accept the man's proposal, which emphasizes the image of a chase performed by the man who does not rest until he catches his prey. Men as predators display masculinity traits such as toughness, violence and assertiveness. Andriambahoaka in the tale "Rafarazanadrano" (*Anganon'ny Ntaolo*), for instance, asserts his authority when he takes the woman against her will and uses violence to subdue her when she pretends to be mute. Andriambahoaka in "La belle aux longs cheveux" (*Le lac bleu et autres contes de Madagascar*) displays a different form of assertiveness when he insists on taking the woman as his wife despite the latter's reluctance for specific reasons. In this tale, the woman, Rasoalavavolo, warns Andriambahoaka that her mother is a cow and discourages him from marrying her. But Andriambahoaka bravely shows that he can face all the challenges mentioned by Rasoalavavolo. Although the woman imposes her own conditions for the marriage (taking the cow with them and feeding her), the relationship between the man and the woman is a power relation defined according to the man's terms insofar as the man already has two other wives and the woman suffers from the union because of the co-wives' jealousy. Ironically, the brave man that previously boasted about his ability to face any difficulty completely disappears throughout the woman's ordeal. He only

reappears when it comes to punishing the evil wives that ill-treated the latest wife. This reinforces the idea that men remain the authoritative figure who control women's lives.

Going back to the predator/prey gender role pattern, we can explore the reactions of men when the prey escapes their grip. For that purpose, we will analyse the tale "Ifaravavinanombana"⁷² from Dahle's collection, which illustrates the aggressive reactions of a man, Rafatidrambiby, who has been rejected by a woman, Ifaravavinanombana. The name Rafatidrambiby literally means someone who has contracted a "fatidra" or blood tie with beasts. This points to the bestial nature of men characterized by violence and aggression. Upon being turned down by Ifaravavinanombana, Rafatidramby calls all his animal friends and instructs them to kill the woman who rejected him. This calls to mind men's usual reaction after being turned down by a woman in central Madagascar and in the regions. These men are said to use love magic or charm in order to punish the proud woman. In his essay "Love Magic and Political Morality in Central Madagascar, 1875 – 1990," American anthropologist David Graeber singles out the difference between men and women's reactions to rejection by a love interest. Graeber writes that

[i]f a girl [...] is attracted to a boy but finds he has no interest in her, her instinct will be to try to make him love her as much as he possibly can. If a boy is turned down by a girl, he's much more likely to get angry and look for medicine that will enable him to take revenge, say, by blasting her with lightning or driving her insane.⁷³

Hence, men who are rejected by their love interest can react either by killing the woman or driving her mad in the sense that they take control of the woman's will. Graeber's arguments encompass the wider theme of political power in Malagasy society. Graeber uses the concept

⁷² Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. Pp. 99 – 100.

⁷³ David Graeber. "Love Magic and Political Morality in Central Madagascar, 1875 – 1990." In Nancy Rose Hunt, Tessie P. Liu, and Jean Quataert. *Gendered Colonialisms in African History*. UK, USA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997. P. 97.

of negative authority to refer to the exercise of authority through practices that denote enslavement and servitude. Such practices can be mainly observed in men's use of love magic to assuage their desire for retribution for a proud woman. Some medicines are indeed said to "cause its victims to lose their autonomy, to act like slaves, to be completely at the will and bidding of another."⁷⁴ This is another illustration of power over others in the Malagasy context. Going back to the tale of Ifaravavinanombana, it can be said that the male antagonist's reaction is characterised by the same feeling of anger that motivates Malagasy men's use of love magic, though it does not present the enslavement part. On the contrary, this man seeks the elimination of the woman. This can be interpreted as a more violent act than the attempt to control the woman after removing her autonomy. The violence implied in Rafatidrambiby's reaction can be viewed as an attempt to reassert his superiority and masculinity by directly acting on the woman who rejected him. Here, the male character's enactment of masculinity is characterized by the exercise of power over others oriented towards domination and violence.

The issue of male violence leads us to reflections about male homosexuality as a form of subordinated masculinities subject to heterosexual violence. However, in the tale that we are going to analyze, that is, "Imbahitрила" from Dahle's collection, the representation of violence in relation to homosexuality is complex because the reference to homosexual practices itself is blurred by the theme of a handicapped hero trying to validate his masculinity. Indeed, homosexuality is still a taboo in Malagasy society, that is probably the reason why there is no open reference to homosexual practices. The covert reference to homosexuality in "Imbahitрила" reflects the contrast between "the radically disrupted continuum [...] between sexual and nonsexual male bonds [and] the relatively smooth and palpable continuum of female homosocial desire"⁷⁵ which Eve K. Sedgwick, an American scholar in the fields of gender and

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 101.

⁷⁵ Eve K. Sedgwick. *Between Men: English Literature and Homosocial Desire*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985. p. 23.

queer studies, develops in *Between Men: English Literature and Homosocial Desire*. This means that there is a clear cut between homosocial bonding and homosexual desire among men as bonding between men is always marked by “homosexual panic”⁷⁶ or the fear of homosexuality. Homosociality, on the other hand, is broadly understood as the “social relationship between persons of the same sex,”⁷⁷ which does not involve romantic or sexual feelings. In the tale “Imbahitrila” from Dahle’s collection, we can observe a form of homosocial bonding in the friendship between the male protagonist, Imbahitrila, and the son of God who, to some extent, also acts as his mentor. In this tale, we can only infer the existence of homosexual desire from the representation of the homosocial interaction between the two male characters and the metaphors that denote the hero’s nonconformity to the conventional ways of being a man. Thus, the continuity between the homosocial interaction and the homosexual desire that characterize these two characters’ relationship can only be traced through the interpretation of the metaphors and the symbols in the tale.

Imbahitrila, after being cast out by his parents is visited by the “zanak’Andriamanitra” or the son of God. It is not specified at beginning of the tale whether the “zanak’Andriamanitra” is male or female. It is towards the end of the tale, upon his second visit to Imbahitrila, that we can clearly affirm that he is male.⁷⁸ Apart from that, the language used by the zanak’Andriamanitra to address Imbahitrila suggests that he is a man. He addresses Imbahitrila with the words “lehiroa” or “lehity,” which are terms that men use between themselves, in opposition to the neutral pronoun “ianao” [you]. The relationship between Imbahitrila and the son of God has several similarities to the relationship between lovers. First of all, the son of God takes pity on him when he learns that Imbahitrila lives alone in a remote area after being

⁷⁶ Ibid. P. 83.

⁷⁷ This is drawn from the definition of the word “homosocial.” “Homosocial.” Merriam-Webster online. Merriam-webster.com. Accessed 30 December 2018.

⁷⁸ The text refers to Imbahitrila and the “zanak’Andriamanitra” as “izy roalahy,” which means the two men. Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 113.

rejected by his family. So, he decides to stay with him. Throughout the tale, he gradually uses endearing terms to address Imbahitrila. At the beginning, Imbahitrila is addressed as “sakaiza” or friend and towards the end, he is called “havako” by the son of God. “Havako” literally means “my relative” but it is also an endearing term used by lovers as an equivalent of “my dear.” Second, the relationship between the two men is characterized by an investment on each other’s part. While the son of God is staying with Imbahitrila, he suggests that they eat all the farm animals that Imbahitrila has. It means that Imbahitrila provides for their physical needs. Before going back to heaven, the son of God leaves the gift of a couple of angavola⁷⁹ eggs to Imbahitrila, which become the source of his power and wealth. Finally, the actions undertaken by the son of God to give a strong body to Imbahitrila may have some sexual implications. The son of God asks Imbahitrila to climb on a tree to fetch some fruits for him and deliberately cuts the tree to make him fall and faint. Then, he tries to revive Imbahitrila and at the same time gives him a strong body. In the tale, the word “notsotsofiny”⁸⁰ is used to describe the action of the son of God when he tries to revive Imbahitrila. “Notsotsofiny” literally means “blowing into” or “breathing into.” The actions of the son of God are ambiguous because it is clearly stated that the main sources of Imbahitrila’s strength are the angavola eggs. Hence, we might wonder about the motivation for the accident caused by the son of God, which makes Imbahitrila faint and subsequently enables the son of God to strengthen his body. These circumstances carry sexual overtones whereby the sexual act can be interpreted as one that empowers the male hero.

It is significant that even though Imbahitrila’s physical strength is restored, he does not engage in a romantic quest for a love interest nor ever gets married as is the case of other mighty heroes like Ibonia. Instead, his life revolves around the effort to validate his masculinity by

⁷⁹ « Angavola. » Translated as « oiseaux fabuleux » in Régis Rajemisa-Raolison’s *Dictionnaire historique et géographique*. Fianarantsoa: Ambozontany, 1966.

⁸⁰ Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 105.

engaging in deadly challenges and battles. The statement of one of his adversaries, Ravoarabe, “today is your end, you will leave your wife and children, your relatives, and all your descendants”⁸¹ suggests that he could have a wife and children, but in reality he has no attachment. His main concern is to prove his masculine strength to his parents and to win social recognition. In that sense, he can be seen as the cast out homosexual son. His infirmity actually refers to his homosexual leanings which his parents refuse to accept. This argument can be further developed by analyzing the recommendations of the son of God to Imbahitrila when he invites the latter to visit heaven with him. He warns Imbahitrila not to laugh or react inappropriately to all the things that he is going to see on his way. All these things present features that are somehow contrary to nature but have their own logic. For instance, he meets skinless people who are cutting sugar canes and discovers that these people have removed their skins because they are afraid of the stingy sheaves of the sugar canes. The son of God also advises Imbahitrila to do the opposite of what the people in heaven ask him to do, which can be interpreted as a reference to the non-conventionality of homosexuality in a patriarchal society that upholds heterosexual values. For example, when he is invited to eat in a golden plate, he is expected to refuse and while he is eating, two dogs are going to come and eat with him, and he is expected to let them do so.

It can be asserted at this point that the homosocial bonding between Imbahitrila and the son of God shapes the hero’s relationships with the other characters in the tale and has major impacts on his sexual attitude and behaviour. While the competition to win the parents’ and society’s recognition characterizes his relationship with his brothers, his abstinence from heterosexual relationships points to a sexual attitude that not only connotes homosexuality but also confirms a fervent effort to prove his vulnerable masculinity. Going back to the topic of violence, we can affirm that violence in this tale is not directed at the potentially homosexual

⁸¹ “Anio mihitsy no fara-fiainan’ialahy, ka handaozan’ialahy ny vady aman-janaka sy havana ary ny tamingan’ialahy.” Ibid. P. 108. (Translation mine).

male protagonist. Instead, violence is portrayed as a component of hegemonic masculinity which involves the killing of dangerous creatures and invincible enemies.

This leads us to the conclusion that homosociality, instead of undermining the principles of hegemonic masculinity, actually reinforces them. In American sociologist Sharon R. Bird's words, "homosocial interaction among [...] men, contributes to the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity norms by supporting meanings associated with identities that fit hegemonic ideals while suppressing meanings associated with nonhegemonic masculinity identities"⁸². According to this view, meanings related to homosexual desire can be suppressed in favour of meanings that express hegemonic masculinity ideals such as competitiveness and the subordination of women. This pattern can be clearly observed in "Imbahitrila" whereby the hero's apparent homosexual inclination is masked by his endeavours to abide by hegemonic masculinity standards. Furthermore, the homosocial interaction in this tale promotes the creation of male spheres that exclude women. In fact, the tale mainly stages the great exploits of the hero and his interactions with other men who are in competition with him or who admire his achievements. It depicts a world of warfare whereby men are the main actors and women are either absent or play sideline roles. The presence of female characters is only implied as they are not referred to as distinct characters who take part in the major events of the tale. For instance, the identity of Imbahitrila's mother fades in the dominant personality of his father. Unlike the mother of Isilakolona who decides to follow her son when the latter is rejected by his father, Imbahitrila's mother does not perform any significant actions throughout the tale. She is not even portrayed as a distinct character as her presence is only implied in the phrase "ray aman-drenin'Imbahitrila" or Imbahitrila's parents. The father, on the contrary, undertakes several actions throughout the tale to harm his son. At some point in the tale, the mother is obviously ignored, namely when Imbahitrila's family try to kill him with the help of a diviner.

⁸² Sharon R Bird. "Welcome to the Men's Club: Homosociality and the Maintenance of Hegemonic Masculinity." *Gender and Society*, vol. 10 No 2 (1996). P. 121.

The narrative begins with the report that the parents and the brothers are so jealous of Imbahitrila's fame and success after his return from heaven, so they begin to plot his death. Yet, when they are in front of Imbahitrila, the latter does not mention his mother when he asks: "Do you really dare, father? Will you really do it, brothers?"⁸³ It can be concluded that the intersection of subordinated male sexualities with hegemonic masculinity ideals in this tale validate the major aspects of hegemonic masculinity by illustrating male dominance embodied by powerful men within an exclusive male sphere and by relegating women to minor, insignificant roles.

2.2. The Enactments of Hegemonic Masculinity and their Impacts on Gender Relations in Malagasy Folktales

Our previous analysis sought to investigate the meanings of hegemonic masculinity in relation to the portraits of various male protagonists in some Malagasy folktales. We explored three main aspects of the male protagonists' lives that are patterned by hegemonic masculinity ideals, namely men's bodies, men's status and roles and male sexualities. In this section, we will analyse Malagasy folktales in relation to the male protagonists' enactment and experiences of hegemonic masculinity and identify their impacts on gender relations.

Considering American philosopher and gender theorist Judith Butler's phenomenological approach to the constitution of gender can help us understand the concept of enacting or embodying hegemonic masculinity. Butler argues that gender "is an identity tenuously constituted in time – an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts."⁸⁴ This means that gender, instead of being a fixed identity that individuals embody, is an identity

⁸³ « Dia ho sahy tokoa ve hianareo, ry ikaky e ? Dia hataonareo tokoa ve izany, ry zoky e? » Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962.p. 114. (Translation mine).

⁸⁴ Judith Butler. "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory." *Theatre Journal* vol. 40 4 (1988). pp. 519.

that is constituted through the individuals' repetition of acts according to the cultural conventions that delimit their performances. Butler goes on to say that "this repetition is at once a reenactment and re-experiencing of a set of meanings already socially established."⁸⁵ In other words, each individual performs acts that have already been performed by other individuals before him/her and despite the fact that the performance is restricted by already existing norms, each individual has his/her own way of repeating or performing. Hegemonic masculinity can be analyzed as a crucial aspect of gender identity whose enactment and embodiment involve the repetition of acts that are associated with boys and men. Bearing in mind Butler's main arguments about performative acts and gender constitution, we will discuss some of the ways in which the male protagonists of Malagasy folktales enact hegemonic masculinity. This implies the consideration of the cultural restrictions that delimit the performance. In that sense, the male protagonists not only enact hegemonic masculinity ideals, but they also experience the implications of the cultural norms about hegemonic masculinity. Our aim is to analyse the male protagonists' enactment of hegemonic masculinity in parallel with their experiences of it as a gender identity produced by the performance of various acts that are already socially established. We will try to show in our analysis that instead of enabling "a different sort of repeating, in the breaking or subversive repetition of [stylized acts],"⁸⁶ in the way Judith Butler envisages gender transformation, the enactment of hegemonic masculinity by the male protagonists in our tales tends to perpetuate gender differences and male dominance.

This enables us to consider the second objective of our analysis, that is, to identify the impacts of the enactment and experience of hegemonic masculinity on gender relations. Reiterating Connell's argument about masculinity as "an object of knowledge [that] is always masculinity-in-relation"⁸⁷ to femininity or subordinated masculinities, we can explain our

⁸⁵ Ibid. P. 526.

⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 520.

⁸⁷ R.W. Connell. *Masculinities*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005 [1995]. P. 44.

choice to relate the study of masculinity to the understanding of gender relations. Our view is that the hierarchical gender relations that characterize the context of Malagasy folktales partly result from the upholding of hegemonic masculinity values. Some aspects of the asymmetrical power relations between men and women in Malagasy folktales have already been addressed in the previous section of this study, namely the subordination of women, their subjugation under male authority and their exclusion from male spheres of influence. In this section, we will focus on particular forms of masculinities and femininities and the power relations that frame their interactions in Malagasy folktales. More specifically, we intend to investigate the cases of male characters who are emasculated and female characters who display masculine characteristics or play masculine roles. We will not go so far as to label these categories as female masculinities and male femininities.⁸⁸ To some extent, our understanding of the male and female characters that present cross-sex characteristics is informed by the terminology used by Dominique Somda, an anthropologist and researcher on Madagascar from the University of Paris Oest Nanterre. Somda explains that “sary ampela and sary lahy can be confirmed transgender men and women and assumed homosexuals. But sary ampela and sary lahy may imply various identities, including masculine women and effeminate men.”⁸⁹ “Sary ampela,” literally the image of women, is the term used to refer to transgender men and “sary lahy,” literally the image of men, refers to transgender women. However, the terms masculine women and effeminate men are problematic when it comes to analyzing the power relations between the characters in our tales. In our view, it is more relevant to refer to these unconventional characters as men and women who embody cross-sex characteristics. In fact, the

⁸⁸ In *Female Masculinity*, American gender theorist Judith/Jack Halberstam explores the conventional conceptualization of masculinity in relation to the issue of “female masculinity” or the idea of masculinity expressed in a female body. Judith Halberstam. *Female Masculinity*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1998.

⁸⁹ “Sary ampela et sary lahy peuvent être transgenres affirmés et homosexuels supposés. Mais sary ampela et sary lahy peuvent impliquer des identités variées, y compris celles de femmes masculines et d’hommes effeminés. » Dominique Somda. *Une humble aura. Les grandes femmes au sud de Madagascar*. FMSH-WP-2014-56, janvier 2014. (Translation mine).

unconventional characteristics that they display in our folktales merely involve the reversal of gender roles and the expression of cross-sex characteristics but do not refer to sex changes nor distort the gender order altogether. They merely entail the accommodation of new understandings, enactment and experiences of masculinity and femininity. A contextual analysis of these characters' embodiment of unconventional masculine or feminine identities enables us to identify the extent to which behaviours that do not correspond to the conventional notions of masculinity and femininity are acceptable in the patriarchal setting of Malagasy folktales and the ways in which gender relations are structured in this context. The first part of this section will thus be devoted to a case study of three male characters' enactment of hegemonic masculinity through male initiation rites and male quests which can be experienced as a socially imposed pressure or the fulfilment of a destiny. These three male characters are Isilakolona, Imbahatrilala and Ibonia. The second part will focus on the unconventional enactments of hegemonic masculinity and their impacts on gender relations in three Malagasy tales: "Itoerambolafotsy," "Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo" and "Besorongola."

2.2.1. Hegemonic Masculinity and Male Initiation Processes in "Isilakolona," "Imbahatrilala" and "Iboniamasiboniamanoro"

There are a multitude of cultural practices and rituals throughout history and across various communities that are meant to make boys into men and reflect the roles that men are expected to play. In Malagasy society, the socialization of boys into men is marked by the observation of some rituals of manhood and symbolical social practices that guarantee the achievement of masculinity. Circumcision is one of the significant rites of entry into manhood in traditional Malagasy society. Jesuit missionary and ethnologist Henri M. Dubois affirms that "the prevailing idea of the [circumcision] rites is to underscore the child's maleness, his male

duties and future bravery in battles.”⁹⁰ In that sense, circumcision is viewed as an initiation rite that is specifically meant for boys and never for girls.⁹¹ Other traditional rituals that touch upon the masculinization of boys can be observed in the Malagasy practice of “mivoaka itany”⁹² or taking out the newborn child for the first time. Malagasy historian Pierre Randrianarisoa writes that “if the child is female, a young girl, carrying on her head two nested baskets, follows the [mother and the child]...In the case of a boy, it is a young man carrying on his shoulder: a spade, an axe, a rope and a scale that follows them.”⁹³ The same author explains that the nested baskets symbolize the wish for the female child to be “an accomplished housewife”⁹⁴ and the objects carried by the young man symbolize the wish for the male child to be “a strong and vigorous man who loves working the land, who knows how to handle the axe, who is capable of lassoing as many oxen as he wants, while remaining fair as is suggested by the scale.”⁹⁵ Hence, the early socialization of Malagasy boys emphasizes masculine values and gender specific roles that are further meant to stress gender differences.

In the tales that we are going to study, the heroes undergo various forms of initiation which somehow share the same purpose of making them into men. We will focus on a selection of three Malagasy tales of notable heroes from Dahle’s collection in order to highlight the varieties of the male protagonists’ experiences. Each of our heroes has their own ways of enacting and experiencing their initiation into manhood. Based on the pattern of initiation rites

⁹⁰ « L’idée dominante des rites (circoncision) est de marquer le maha-lehilahy (le caractère mâle) de l’enfant, ses devoirs d’homme et sa vaillance future dans les combats. » Henri M. Dubois. *Monographie des Betsileo*. Paris : Institut d’ethnologie, 1938. P. 386. (Translation mine).

⁹¹ See Pierre Randrianarisoa. *L’enfant et son éducation dans la civilisation traditionnelle malgache Tome I*. Fandriana, Madagascar : The Author, 1981. P. 39.

⁹² See *ibid.* P. 49.

⁹³ “Si l’enfant est du sexe féminin, une jeune fille, portant sur la tête deux corbeilles s’emboitant l’une dans l’autre, les suit ... Dans le cas d’un garçon, c’est un jeune homme ayant aux épaules : une bêche, une hache, une corde et une balance qui vient après eux. » *Ibid.* (Translation mine).

⁹⁴ « Une ménagère accomplie. » *Ibid.* (Translation mine).

⁹⁵ « Un homme fort et vigoureux aimant le travail de la terre, sachant manipuler la hache, capable de capturer autant de bœufs qu’il voudra au lasso, tout en étant juste (la balance). » *Ibid.* (Translation mine).

drawn from German ethnographer Arnold van Gennep's *The Rites of Passage*,⁹⁶ we can identify three stages of initiation that the heroes of the tales "Isilakolona," "Imbahitrila," and "Iboniamasoboniamanoro" undergo. The first stage is characterized by the separation from their families who symbolize their initial situation. The motivations for this separation vary for the three heroes but invariably lead to a quest that is meant to validate their masculinity. The second stage or transition stage is marked by the heroes' quests that consist in shaping and asserting their masculinity. This stage can be divided into two sub-categories: the first phase that precedes the quest is characterized by the education of the hero or the shaping of his masculinity in a context that is different from his initial situation, and the second phase which follows is the validation of his masculinity through the participation in life-threatening challenges. The last stage is defined by the heroes' reincorporation into society as strong men who have successfully validated their masculinity. Throughout our analysis, we will show that although the outcome of the process of male initiation is the same for the three heroes, the processes themselves vary according to their respective situations.

The separation stage

Sociological perspectives on male initiation rituals posit that "the separation of boys from women and submission to tests of fortitude break the boys' psychological dependency."⁹⁷ The separation stage in some cultures thus consists in separating the boys from their mothers in order to engage in manly activities under the supervision of other male figures. In the tales under study, the stage of separation is different for the three heroes. The separation can be a form of isolation, a quest to face the challenges in the tales, and a separation from the father

⁹⁶ Arnold van Gennep identifies three subcategories of rites of passage: rites of separation, rites of transition and rites of incorporation to mark the different rites related to the different stages of life. Arnold van Gennep. *The Rites of Passage*. Great Britain: Routledge, 2004 [1960]. P.11.

⁹⁷ Frank W. Young. "The Function of Male Initiation Ceremonies: A Crosscultural Test of an Alternative Hypothesis." *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 67 No 4 (1962). P. 380.

and other male characters, not the mother. In Isilakolona and Imbahitrila's cases, the separation is forced as the two protagonists are marginalized by their families because of their infirmities, namely the fact that they are half-men and half-trees. This forced separation actually symbolizes the vulnerability of their masculinity which has to be reasserted in the subsequent events. The difference between Isilakolona and Imbahitrila lies in the fact that Isilakolona is separated from his father but not from his mother (the latter follows him) and Imbahitrila is rejected by both his parents. Isilakolona's separation from his father can be viewed as a separation from the role model who also represents the ultimate power that he has to overthrow in order to achieve his masculinity. As was previously stated, Isilakolona's father, Andrianjatovo, symbolizes the notion of masculinity rooted in physical fitness and strength, qualities that are lacking in Isilakolona. Thus, in order to validate his masculinity, Isilakolona has to show that he can surpass his father either he possesses these masculine qualities or not. The idea of surpassing the father is expressed in the Malagasy proverb "izay adala no toa an-drainy" which can be literally translated into "only fools are like their fathers." Imbahitrila's seclusion, on the other hand, allows for the self-exploration of a different meaning of masculinity. His encounter with the son of God plays a major part in this experience as was discussed in the previous section of our study. In Ibonia's case, the separation is motivated by the hero's own desire to find his future wife, Iampelasoamananoro. Even though the members of his family, especially his mother, try to prevent him from fulfilling his quest, Ibonia constantly defies them and ultimately leaves to find his lover and face his rival, Raivato.

The implications of the stage of separation for Isilakolona and Imbahitrila deserve particular attention. The fact that Isilakolona is separated from his conventional role model and Imbahitrila has to create his own sense of manliness outside the patriarchal realm that rejects his unconventionality suggests that the two heroes' enactment of hegemonic ideals of masculinity will result in different formulations of what it means to be a man. Indeed, even

though the enactment of hegemonic masculinity by these male protagonists is informed by the norms that regulate their performances, the enactment itself takes various forms according to the performing character. While the events in the two tales suggest that Isilakolona and Imbahitrila strive to reassert their masculinities by following the terms that society defines for them, they also show that both characters assert their own terms throughout their quests. Their participation in the quests for wild beasts and dangerous creatures with their physically fit brothers, despite their shortcomings, points to the insertion of a different understanding of hegemonic masculinity.

Isilakolona manages to catch or defeat the creatures because of his wit and the intervention of supernatural forces. To defeat the “ampelamanano,” for instance, he tricks them by inviting them to join him and his brothers on the top of a mountain with the help of their clothes that they used as a rope. He later cuts the rope when the “ampelamanano” are halfway up so that they can be killed. The mountain itself came to be thanks to Isilakolona’s famous formula “if I am born of a noble father and a noble mother, let this stone be turned into a mountain.”⁹⁸ Hence, the male protagonist in this tale enacts hegemonic masculinity on the conventional terms that exalt physical fitness and strength but employs his own means to achieve the expected result. Imbahitrila’s case is slightly different because his physical strength has been restored by the son of God. Hence, in his fight against mighty adversaries like Ravoarabe, he displays superhuman strength. Nevertheless, the homosexual aspect of his personality, which has been mentioned previously, refers to his enactment of hegemonic masculinity ideals in accordance with his personal inclinations.

⁹⁸ « Raha andrian-dravy aho, raha andrian-dreny, misondrota avobe anie ity vatokilonjy ity! » Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 120. (Translation mine).

As for Ibonia, the separation stage consists in acquiring a male status defined by a “process of humanization”⁹⁹ which is actually a process of masculinization according to which being a man means getting married and having children. This process is marked by the separation from the mother which can be understood as what Connell qualifies as “a defense against regression to pre-oedipal identification with the mother.”¹⁰⁰ Sociologist Frank W. Young explains that identification in social learning theory refers to role rehearsal motivated by “envy of the incumbent of a privileged status.”¹⁰¹ In other words, the male child’s identification with the father is motivated by the latter’s enviable status. Socially instituted male initiation rites are meant to resolve the conflict of cross-identification or identification with the mother who provides the early care for the male child. In the tale of Ibonia, the hero’s constant defiance of his mother’s attempts to prevent him from fulfilling his quest suggests an inner fear of failing to achieve his masculinity. The fact that it is the mother who plays a central role in thwarting his destiny points to the contradictory role of the mother as both the main responsible for the socialization of the male child into a man and the one that the child should avoid identifying with lest he should fail to become a real man. The hero thus has to resolve this conflict in order to achieve his masculinity. The same can be said about Isilakolona who is separated from his father and educated by his mother but has to defy the latter by engaging in the dangerous adventures with his brothers. Isilakolona’s mother, who becomes overprotective, represents an obstacle to her son’s validation of his masculinity when she pleads with him to stop risking his life in the deadly challenges suggested by his brothers. Coming back to the tale

⁹⁹ In « Le procès d’humanisation dans le mythe d’Ibonia, » François Noiret discusses the ways in which the myth of Ibonia verifies Claude Lévi-Strauss’ statement about the connection between the process of alliance and the process of filiation. Noiret argues that the process of humanization of Ibonia corresponds to the acquisition of a masculine status through marriage and the production of offspring. François Noiret. “Le procès d’humanisation dans le mythe d’Ibonia.” *L’extraordinaire et le quotidien. Variations anthropologiques*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2000. P. 468.

¹⁰⁰ R.W. Connell. *Masculinities*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005 [1995]. P. 33.

¹⁰¹ Frank W. Young. “The Function of Male Initiation Ceremonies: A Crosscultural Test of an Alternative Hypothesis.” *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 67 No 4 (1962). P. 380.

of Ibonia, the hero's enactment of hegemonic masculinity at the first stage of his masculine initiation rites is characterized by the assertion of masculine identity through the symbolical suppression of the feminine influence represented by the mother. The identification with a male figure, namely the father, is not apparent in his masculine journey because he directly enacts the internalized norms of hegemonic masculinity. It can be concluded that the separation stage in the tales of Isilakolona, Imbahitrila and Ibonia takes different aspects which give room for various enactments of hegemonic masculinity that do not necessarily correspond to the conventional ways of performing male identity.

The Heroes' quests

The second stage of the masculine initiation that the three heroes undergo is mainly defined in relation to their masculine quests. Nevertheless, the fulfilment of these quests requires the education or mentorship that ensures their adherence to the social meaning of masculinity. The mother is primarily perceived as the social agent responsible for the socialization of boys into men. This implies the transfer of patriarchal values and the perpetuation of male power. As Adrienne Rich observes in the chapter "The Kingdom of the Fathers" from her book *Of Woman Born*, "[the mother] is [...] expected to prepare [male children] to enter [the patriarchal] system [...] and to perpetuate it in their own adult lives. Patriarchy depends on the mother to act as a conservative influence, imprinting future adults with patriarchal values."¹⁰² The mother's education is thus expected to imprint male values on the male child. Paradoxically, the mothers in the Malagasy tales under study fail to fulfil this role. As was mentioned previously, the mother of Isilakolona, instead of letting him face the ordeal of his initiation by himself, insists on staying with him and even discourages him from engaging in the dangerous activities that would prove his worth as a man. Significantly, while

¹⁰² Adrienne Rich. *Of Woman Born. Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1986. P. 61.

living with his mother, Isilakolona seems to build his masculine identity on his own, not only by contradicting his mother but also by performing activities that help him to acquire the necessary skills and qualities to succeed in the upcoming challenges in which his brothers fail. He raises dogs of different colours and builds different houses for them.¹⁰³ One of the qualities that Isilakolona develops from this activity is perseverance, which is crucial in the challenge of catching white guinea fowls. In fact, when his brothers notice that the guinea fowls all ran away once they came to catch them, they give up and say, “even though father and mother won’t love us, we won’t busy ourselves with these [creatures].”¹⁰⁴ Conversely, Isilakolona does not easily give up when he realizes the difficulty of the task, instead, he tries to catch them by using his famous formula and succeeds.

In “Iboniamasiboniamanoro,” the mother’s educative role is more complex. According to French ethnologist François Noiret, the women in the tale, including the mother, play a central role in the hero’s process of humanization. Noiret writes that the “second condition to access humanity is the education of the child whom the women urge to become a man.”¹⁰⁵ Indeed, Ibonia’s mother, by refusing to let him engage in his quest for his future wife, also causes him to take part in dangerous battles that reveal his masculine strength. When Ibonia does not get his mother’s consent, he blackmails his parents by harming the villagers and their possessions. His father then urges his wife to stop Ibonia from doing so, saying that if it was he who intervened, he would kill their son. But the woman, Rasoabemanana, lets her husband intervene, saying that Ibonia is their son and the responsibility of making him behave should not fall on her alone. When the father and his people try to attack Ibonia, however, they constantly fail, and it is his mother who ultimately comes to talk to him. Interestingly, she

¹⁰³ Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962.P. 117.

¹⁰⁴ “Na tsy ho tian’ikaky sy ineny aza isika, iza no hanasa-tena amin’ireny!” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁵ « La deuxième condition d’accès à l’humanité, c’est l’éducation de l’enfant que les femmes poussent à devenir un homme. » François Noiret. “Le procès d’humanisation dans le mythe d’Ibonia.” *L’extraordinaire et le quotidien*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2010. P. 472. (Translation mine).

provokes him and urges him to undertake the perilous adventures that are meant to prove his strength. For instance, Ibonia successfully kills the crocodile that constantly ate the villagers' possessions. He also manages to kill the huge beast that ate all the people in another village. Hence, the hero's mother indirectly fulfils her role of socializing her son into a powerful, invincible man even though she also prevents him from facing the most dangerous challenge for fear of losing him against his sworn enemy, Raivato.

Nevertheless, even though the tale highlights the hero's mother's central role in his masculinization process, the pattern of social organization within his community also influences his male initiation process. It is important to note that Ibonia's father, Ibemampanjaka, plays a minor role in his male initiation process. Ibemampanjaka is not even recognized as Ibonia's father throughout the tale. Nevertheless, he provides material heritage such as servants and land as well as the title of king of the village to Ibonia. It is the diviner who gave the instructions for his conception to his mother that Ibonia addresses as "baba" or father and who is given the authority to name him. This points to the prevalence of a form of patrilineal kinship pattern whereby the legal father who claims control over the child is not the mother's husband but its genitor, the diviner. In that case, Ibonia has important relationships with his matrilineal relatives. In fact, his main interactions occur with his mother's kin, namely his mother's sister, Endriavelo, and brother, Andriantsifamaho. Both play significant roles in Ibonia's masculine initiation. Like his mother, his aunt Endriavelo tries to dissuade him from facing his rival, which paradoxically urges him to prove his strength. Similarly, his maternal uncle, Andriantsifamaho, plays his role as "renelahe"¹⁰⁶ or masculine mother when he suggests the establishment of an endogamous marriage between his daughter and Ibonia in order to prevent the latter from conquering Iampelasoamananoro. Ibonia subverts his maternal uncle's

¹⁰⁶ In the southern part of Madagascar, the mother's brother is addressed by the mother's son as "renelahe" or "masculine mother." See Paul Ottino. *Les champs de l'ancestralité à Madagascar. Parenté, alliance et patrimoine*. Paris: Editions Karthala et Orstom, 1998.

authority by rejecting his offer and threatening to kill him, which forces his kin to let him pursue his quest. Ibonia's attitude to his mother's brother reflects the relationship between a man and his mother's brother in patrilineal systems as is described by Anglo-American anthropologist Robin Fox in his book *Kinship and Marriage*. Fox explains that "a man is allowed to joke freely with his MB [mother's brother], to steal his goods, to insult him, and even to sleep with his wife. The MB in his turn often has special duties and responsibilities towards his maternal nephew,"¹⁰⁷ which, in the same author's words, means that "in a patrilineal system, authority over a man was in his father's lineage, so he looked for indulgence to his mother's and to the men of the mother's lineage."¹⁰⁸ In other words, in a patrilineal system, even though the mother's brother has responsibility and duties towards his nephew, he does not have actual authority on him. Hence, in the tale of Ibonia, although the emphasis is put on the hero's relations with his matrilineal relatives, the mother's brother fails to exercise his authority on his nephew. The tale also reflects the patrilineal organization of inheritance as the hero inherits property and title from his father. It should be noted that after his marriage to Iampelasoamananoro, he opts for a virilocal residence when he takes his wife to his village Ileolava. This means that Ibonia perpetuates the patrilineal social organization by marrying a woman outside of his group and adopting a form of patrilocal residence. In that light, it can be said that the finality of Ibonia's male initiation process is the maintenance of the patrilineal social organization which leaves the monopoly of controlling the continuity of the lineage in the hands of the male characters.

In "Imbahitrila," the hero's entry into manhood is directed by the son of God who acts as a mentor and friend to him. As was discussed in the previous section, what the son of God teaches Imbahitrila about masculinity seems to revolve around male sexuality. In their interaction on earth, Imbahitrila learns the role incumbent on a man as food and shelter provider.

¹⁰⁷ Robin Fox, *Kinship and Marriage*. England, USA, Australia: Penguin Books Ltd., 1967. P. 231.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

Upon Imbahitrila's visit to heaven, he learns to respect the logic that underlies some of the extraordinary and unconventional things that happen in life. This in itself does not seem to explicitly refer to his masculine initiation. Indeed, Imbahitrila is merely instructed to respect the people he meets on his way, to stay humble and to go to the opposite directions given to him in order to preserve his life. He does not undergo the physical challenges that enable other Malagasy heroes to validate their masculinity. Nevertheless, his visit to heaven somehow provides him with the knowledge he needs to achieve his masculine identity. This, combined with the inculcation of masculine values through the physical challenges posed by the dangerous adventures with his brothers, characterize the second stage of Imbahitrila's masculine initiation. It is after proving his worth in physical challenges that he faces the more challenging experience of acquiring self-knowledge and coping with his unconventional sexuality.

The education and mentoring phase is followed by the heroes' quests which can be viewed as a transitional phase that enables the heroes to shape and assert their masculinities. Isilakolona and Imbahitrila's quests are motivated by the necessity to prove that they can be as good as or even better than their physically fit brothers and the desire to win social recognition. The quests consist in travelling to different places in order to hunt or kill creatures that have never been defeated by other men. This calls to mind British anthropologist Maurice Bloch's description of the importance of hunting in the definition of young Malagasy men's masculinities among the Zafimaniry: "the young men [...] are typically hunters, but hunters who venture far in the forest in search of bigger game, particularly wild boar. It is they who supply the community with meat, in both a real and symbolic sense."¹⁰⁹ Hunting in this sense becomes a public demonstration of the young men's physical abilities, which is precisely the case in the tales of Isilakolona and Imbahitrila. Every time a creature has been captured, a public

¹⁰⁹ Maurice Bloch. "Eating Young Men among the Zafimaniry." In Karen Middleton. *Ancestors, Power and History in Madagascar*. Leiden, Noston, Koln: Brill, 1999. P. 182.

reunion of all the villagers is organized to display the hunters' achievement. In Isilakolona's case, the hunting of the four creatures (white guinea fowls, red bees, a wild bull and the "ampelamananoho")¹¹⁰ symbolizes the acquisition of masculine qualities. Capturing the first two creatures requires perseverance and skill. Hunting the wild bull, Ilaisambilo, involves physical strength, which Isilakolona displays when he "jumps on the animal's back, wipes its saliva on its head so the animal falls down and he ties it."¹¹¹ The sequence of actions in the previous description shows that Isilakolona has the upper hand in his fight with the wild bull whose taming obviously requires physical strength. Pursuing the Ampelamananoho represents the hunting of women as men's preys, especially the deviant ones who are described as men-eaters in this tale. Hence, Isilakolona's ability to capture them shows that deviant women have to be put back on the right track.

In Imbahitrila's tale, the creatures to be hunted are slightly different: an ampelamananoho which is more referred to as a wild animal than a man-eater, a hippopotamus, and Ravoarabe, an invincible man who has decorated his walls with the skulls of the men he has killed. The first two creatures are captured and killed by Imbahitrila through the use of a trap that makes them fall down so that he can kill them with his sword. It is significant that the ampelamananoho's horns and tongue are removed and taken to the village as the evidences of the male characters' victory. If we refer to the meaning of ampelamananoho as women who eat men, we can suggest that the removal of their tongues may symbolize the subduing of women whose voices are silenced by male power. Hence, one of the masculine qualities that Imbahitrila acquires in this experience is the subjugation of women under male power. The third challenge

¹¹⁰ Sylvia Andriamampianina describes "ampelamananoho" as "women with a tail,[...] monstrous women with a tail and horns, [who] are men-eaters." [« Femmes-avec-une-queue ... femmes monstrueuses, pourvues d'une queue et de cornes, [qui] sont des dévoreuses d'hommes. »] In "Sirènes malgaches : un flot de paroles. Les filles des eaux dans les parlers malgaches." *Les filles des eaux dans l'océan indien. Mythes, récits, représentations.* Paris : Editions L'Harmattan, 2010. P. 265.

¹¹¹ "Niantsapazany ny lamosiny, sady nofaohany ny vorimbavany ka nasafony ny lohany, dia folaka tery izy ka nafatony." From Dahle, Lars. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany.* Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 118.

is a spear duel between Imbahitrila and Ravoarabe in which the hero manages to kill his enemy with the second throw. This implies that Imbahitrila has the adequate skills to handle the weapon and hit his target.

Ibonia's quest is different from the other two heroes' in that the mission is to find his future wife in order to achieve his manliness by getting married and having descendants. It is similar to Isilakolona and Imbahitrila's journeys in that it involves the acquisition of masculine qualities through great exploits. Nevertheless, considering Francois Noiret's reflections on Ibonia's process of humanization, we recognize that the aim of Ibonia's quest is not only to find the woman that he is destined to marry but also to achieve masculinity through self-control, that is control of all the aspects of his personality. As Noiret puts it,

Ibonia conquers himself, because a closer look reveals that he is the crocodile (huge crocodile awaiting on the bank) – he never ceased to repeat it - ; he is the bull [...] the hideous and stupid ogre (an animal, Ibonia is a bad man, a coward man, who has blockaded the village); and the Princess-who-is-like-a-prince is the one whose name he carries.¹¹²

The four enemies defeated by Ibonia cited above correspond to the aspects of his personality which he needs to control in order to be ready to face his ultimate enemy, Raivato, and fulfil his alliance with Iampelasoamananoro. Noiret suggests this interpretation because the words in the tale openly reveal the analogy between Ibonia and the enemies he has to defeat. His mother's statement that he is "a bad man, a coward man"¹¹³ who has blockaded the village alludes to the crocodile, the bull and the ogre which terrorize the villagers by destroying their possessions or by eating them. It can be concluded that what Ibonia gains from his quest is the superior masculine capacity to exercise control over all the aspects of his life, including his

¹¹² François Noiret. "Le procès d'humanisation dans le mythe d'Ibonia." *L'extraordinaire et le quotidien*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2010. P. 473.

¹¹³ « Lahy raty, lahy mavozo » Lars Dhale. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 22. (Translation mine).

bestial nature, in order to find the right balance that will guarantee his successful union with Iampelasoamananoro and victory over his rival who represents the “brutal force of sexuality.”¹¹⁴ In other words, Ibonia’s capacity to control himself makes him superior to his rival, Raivato, who merely represents physical force and brutality.

The Reincorporation Stage

The third stage of the heroes’ masculine initiation refers to the phase of reentering society after the completion of their initiation. This means that the heroes reenter society in a changed status. The reincorporation phase is explicit in “Isilakolona,” whereby the hero’s worth is acknowledged by society and his capacity to surpass his father is marked by his ascension to the throne. It is less explicit in Imbahitrila’s case because the hero has built his own village after retrieving his strength and gaining wealth and fame with the help of the son of God. When he is invited by his parents to return to his hometown, the phase of reincorporation takes a different turn. Indeed, despite Imbahitrila’s change in status, his parents and brothers are still unwilling to accept him. What follows is no longer a process of masculine initiation but a fight between the two parties which enables Imbahitrila to assert his personality, and by extension his unconventional sexuality by subduing his persecutors, namely his parents and brothers.

The reincorporation stage for Isilakolona and Imbahitrila as handicapped heroes is an interesting paradigm of the interplay between disability, power and initiation rites. Considering the heroes’ experiences during the transition phase in their liminal status between exclusion and incorporation, we can refer to British cultural anthropologist Victor Turner’s view that “liminality can [...] be described as a fructile chaos, a storehouse of possibilities, [...] a striving after new forms and structures, a gestation process, a fetation of modes appropriate to

¹¹⁴ François Noiret. “Le procès d’humanisation dans le mythe d’Ibonia.” *L’extraordinaire et le quotidien*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2010. P. 473.

postliminal existence.”¹¹⁵ In other words, the heroes’ quests enable them not only to assimilate the conditions required to be accepted in the society that initially marginalized them but also to reshape the social meanings of the concept of hegemonic masculinity in order to guarantee their successful reincorporation. Isilakolona and Imbahitrila’s experiences reveal that although physical fitness is central to the definition of masculinity, there can be alternative adjustments that enable physically unfit individuals to fit into the community’s notion of hegemonic masculinity. These alternative adjustments refer to the intervention of supernatural or external forces in the heroes’ conquests, which means that although the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity is still measured by the heroes’ great achievements, the social barriers regarding their physical disability have been lifted. Isilakolona and Imbahitrila re-enter society by acquiring a changed status thanks to their achievements. This change of status is in concert with the adoption of an assertive masculine personality in Isilakolona’s case. Prior to his coronation, Isilakolona publicly proclaims his deeds and humiliates his weak and coward brothers. In Imbahitrila’s case, the reinsertion into society and the change of status are achieved when he comes back to earth with the son of God and his subjects celebrate their return for one month. He is no longer the isolated handicapped son rejected by his family; he has become a strong man enjoying the company of the son of God and ruling an entire village.

In “Ibonia,” the reincorporation phase is marked by the hero’s return to his village, Ileolava, with the wife he has earned from his epic battle with Raivato. There is a striking contrast between the Ibonia who has not yet completed all the stages of his masculine initiation and the Ibonia who has gained self-control and fulfilled his union with Iampelasoamananoro. The first was stuck at the village’s entrance, unable to pursue his quest unless he completes the last part of his initiation. Since he has not yet acquired the status that will enable him to re-enter

¹¹⁵ Victor Turner. « Dewey, Dilthey, and Drama: An Essay in the Anthropology of Experience. » In Victor W. Turner and Edward M. Bruner. *The Anthropology of Experience*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986. P. 42.

the village, he reacts violently by blockading the village and terrorizing the villagers. This, however, does not help him to reach his goal. In order to achieve his masculinity, he has to face the challenges suggested by his mother as was discussed earlier. The Ibonia who has completed his quest and managed to take his wife from the hands of his rival is now cheerfully welcomed by his parents and the villagers who make a great celebration in his honour.¹¹⁶

At this point, we can reflect on the various enactments of hegemonic masculinity by these three male protagonists which generate different understandings of their experiences of masculinity. For Isilakolona and Imbahitrila, the enactment of hegemonic masculinity mainly results from the implicit social pressure that underlies the heroes' marginalization. The heroes are thus indirectly urged to try and attain the idealized notion of hegemonic masculinity. It is true that Imbahitrila pleads with his brothers to let him come to the forest with them in order to hunt the dangerous creatures as if it were his inmost desire to participate in these quests. In reality, his actual desire is to gain social recognition through the validation of his masculinity. Similarly, Isilakolona experiences hegemonic masculinity principles as a socially imposed pressure. While living peacefully with his mother in a remote area, he is suddenly urged by his brothers to go hunting with them, which Isilakolona perceives as the only opportunity to prove his worth. He clearly says so when his mother tries to dissuade him from hunting the ampelamanano, "let me go, mother, for this is the last fight."¹¹⁷

For Ibonia, the necessity to enact hegemonic masculinity pertains more to the hero's effort to fulfil his destiny rather than a social pressure to conform to the socially established masculinity norms. His destiny is made clear in the circumstances of his conception. The diviner who helps his mother to conceive him predicts that he will be "a dangerous child [...] a difficult

¹¹⁶ "Faly sy ravoravo ny ray aman-dreniny sy ny vahoaka ka nanao fanasan-dehibe." Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana sy ny finoana sasany nananany*. Tananarive: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 33. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁷ "Aoka ihany aho mba handeha, ry ineny, fa fara ady ity." Ibid. P. 118.

man [...] But if comes to be, he will grow and become an invincible beast, and a unique king.”¹¹⁸

All the actions undertaken by Ibonia, especially his quest for a wife, are a fulfilment of his destiny to become this powerful and unique hero. In that sense, the urge to embody hegemonic masculinity ideals is perceived as his essence, not the result of society’s pressure.

To conclude, this section of our study analyzed the intricate relationship between the multifarious enactments and experience of hegemonic masculinity and the different patterns of masculine initiation experienced by three Malagasy folktale heroes. We have explained that the heroes’ enactment of hegemonic masculinity ideals cannot be detached from the social context within which their performances take place even though they have their own ways of enacting these ideals. This results in new understandings of the meaning of hegemonic masculinity in Malagasy folktales.

2.2.2. Gender Relations and Unconventional Enactments of Masculinity

Our previous analysis has shed light on the ways in which the different enactments of hegemonic masculinity may lead to the redefinitions of the concept while maintaining its core principles that are rooted in the endorsement of male supremacy and dominance over women. The idea of redefining the concept of hegemonic masculinity enables us to consider the circumstances in which the enactments of masculinity are seen as unconventional. What we mean by unconventional enactments of masculinity are the performances of masculinity that do not go in line with the standard definitions of masculinity as regards gender roles, attitudes and status. In the context of Malagasy folktales, we have identified different examples of unconventional masculinities performed by male and female characters. In the first case, the unconventionality of the performance resides in the fact that the male characters fail to embody

¹¹⁸ “Zaza loza ... lahy sarotra ... Fa raha ho vanona dia ho vanona kosa ka ho biby tsy misy setriny, ary ho mpanjaka tokana.” Ibid. P.p. 8, 9.

some of the necessary criteria of manhood such as toughness, courage and autonomy. These male protagonists that range from exceedingly immature young men to weakly secondary male characters, somehow manage to find their way to fame and success at the end of the tale and reinforce the community's ideology of manhood. In the second case, the performance of masculine roles and the display of masculine traits by some female characters in our selection of tales are unconventional because they may distort the social order. Nevertheless, a closer look at the experiences of these female characters reveals that despite their embodiment of some masculine traits, they still preserve key aspects of their femininity. Hence, instead of being subversive, these female characters are actually similar to the other conventional female characters who help to maintain male dominance.

Dominique Somda tackles some of the pertinent issues in relation to the ambivalent relationship between Malagasy women and power in her paper "Un humble auda. Les grandes femmes au sud de Madagascar."¹¹⁹ Investigating the cases of two significant female figures in Anôsy, Somda defends her argument about "the humble power of audacious women"¹²⁰ which parallels Malagasy anthropologist Louis Paul Randriamarolaza's view that Malagasy women's potential power resides in their capacity to be flexible and humble.¹²¹ While these two authors stress women's potential access to power thanks to their humility as a feminine trait, the prevalence of male supremacy and authority cannot be dismissed. Randriamarolaza himself admits that "[women's] political power can never be exercised nor grow outside of duality, the specificities of sexual identities."¹²² In other words, women can only have access to power if gender differences are maintained, which means that the form of power available to women

¹¹⁹ Une humble aura. Les grandes femmes au sud de Madagascar. FMSH-WP-2014 – 56, janvier 2014.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ See Louis Paul Randriamarolaza. « Le pouvoir des femmes, un pouvoir au quotidien, un pouvoir en profondeur. Eléments d'anthropologie des relations homme-femme. » Centre de recherche et d'intervention culturelles. Académie Malgache, Nov. 2011.

¹²² "[Le] pouvoir politique [des femmes] ne saurait s'exercer ni se développer en dehors de la dualité, des spécificités identitaires des sexes." Ibid. (Translation mine).

remains subjugated by the superior male power. This is precisely the case of the female characters who display masculine characteristics in Malagasy folktales. Our aim in this section of our study is to understand the representations of male and female characters who display cross-sex traits and their impacts on the structure of gender relations in Malagasy folktales. For that purpose, we will focus on the analysis of the interactions between the male and female characters in the tales “Itoerambolafotsy,” “Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo” from Dahle’s collection and “Besorongola” from Renel’s. The three male characters from these tales respectively display feminine traits or fail to conform to masculine standards and the female characters in the first two tales display masculine traits or perform traditional male roles. The list of Malagasy tales that feature these character types is not exhaustive but the limitation of the scope of our analysis to these tales enables us to conduct an in-depth exploration of the various enactments of gender identities by these characters and their interactions with one another.

Gender Role Reversals in “Itoerambolafotsy” and “Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo”

In the tale “Itoerambolafotsy,” the main characters’ feminine and masculine traits seem to have been reversed. The tale relates the story of a young woman named Itoerambolafotsy who tests all her suitors before choosing the right man who fills the conditions she expects to see in a man. The test consists in asking her servants to serve food to the suitors when they come to Itoerambolafotsy’s place to make their proposals. Once the food has been consumed, Itoerambolafotsy asks her servants to make the suitors go away because in her opinion, they came for the food, not for herself. Eventually, the right man, Itoeramahamaly, manages to conquer her heart by refusing the food served and by insisting to the servants that he has come for Itoerambolafotsy and nothing else. The story takes an interesting turn when

Itoeramahamaly's rival, the suitor whom Itoerambolafotsy rejected, plants sharp weapons around the house where Itoerambolafotsy and Itoeramahamaly are staying during the night. When Itoeramahamaly comes out in the morning, he is severely hurt and asks Itoerambolafotsy to let him go back to his parents to take care of him, which the young woman accepts with great sorrow. Later on, Itoerambolafotsy undertakes a quest for a cure to save her dying husband. She gets the help of Itrimobe's wife to find this cure and disguises herself into an old woman before delivering the cure. When Itoeramahamaly recovers, Itoerambolafotsy drops her disguise and reunites with her husband who faints and cries out of joy.

The protagonists' names are significant in this tale. The name Itoerambolafotsy literally means "the place for silver" (it comes from the combination of the words "toerana" [place] and "volafotsy" [silver]) and the name Itoeramahamaly may refer to the place that makes one shy, which comes from the words "toerana" and "mahamaly" [the prefix "maha" expresses the idea of making someone into something (generally followed by an adjective), and the root "maly" means shy or bashful in Rakotosaona's unpublished *Rakibolana*].¹²³ The young woman's name associates her with wealth, which is an asset that guarantees a man's respectability and authority as was previously revealed in the analysis of the tale "Ikotokofafa sy Dingadingana." Moreover, Itoerambolafotsy is particularly concerned about her suitors' display of genuine interest in herself, and not in her wealth that is alluded to in the food served to the suitors. The masculine traits displayed by this young woman thus spring from her wealth, which makes her selective and authoritative towards the men who wish to marry her. She also plays a masculine role when she undertakes the quest to find a cure for her husband. She puts herself in danger during this quest when she ventures in the house of the ogre, Itrimobe. Nevertheless, there are no outstanding battles throughout her quest, and she preserves notable feminine traits such as sensitivity throughout the tale. This can be observed in her reactions when her husband gets

¹²³ « Maly. » « Voambolana tanindrana sy tantsiraka. » Collection privée des héritiers de Rakotosaona, 1975. <http://motmalgache.org/bins/teny2/voambolanatanindranasytantsiraka#mg.nt>

hurt: she bursts into tears,¹²⁴ and when they are reunited: she cries with her husband. It is also significant that the acquisition of the cure is made easier for her with the help of another character and when it comes to giving it to the dying husband, she has to hide her true identity for some reasons that are not specified by Itoeramobe's wife who advises her to do so. This might be interpreted as an indirect way of minimizing the young woman's heroic actions because recognizing her as Itoeramahamaly's savior would inevitably emasculate the latter. As American anthropologist David Gilmore comments in his book *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity*, "to be dependent upon another man is bad enough, but to acknowledge dependence upon a woman is worse. The reason [...] is that it inverts the normal order of family ties, which in turn destroys the formal basis for manhood."¹²⁵ Gilmore mainly talks about men's fulfilment of their role as provider for their families as a major criteria of manhood. However, his reflections can be applied to our analysis of Itoerambolafotsy's tale because the fact that a man is saved by a woman makes him dependent upon her and deprives him of his male pride. Hence, it is probably for this reason that Itoerambolafotsy cannot reveal her true identity as her husband's savior. Nevertheless, Itoeramahamaly is somehow emasculated throughout the tale, not only because he is the victim who is rescued by a woman but because of other details related to his personality. After being hurt by the weapons and after asking Itoerambolafotsy to let him go back to his parents, he borrows his wife's clothes and loincloths because his are filled with blood. This might appear as practical necessity but in the context whereby the characters' gender roles are reversed, it takes on a different meaning that symbolizes Itoeramahamaly's embodiment of his wife's character. Paul Ottino comments about

¹²⁴ Paul Ottino precisely notes the contrast between Itoerambolafotsy's and Itoeramahamaly's reactions. The former « cries abundantly ...nitomany nigogogogo [in Malagasy] » whereas the Prince remained calm. See Paul Ottino. *L'étrangère intime. Essai d'anthropologie de la civilisation de l'ancien Madagascar. Tome II*. Paris : Editions des archives contemporaines, 1986. P. 432. (Translation mine).

¹²⁵ David Gilmore. *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity*. New Haven : Yale University Press, 1990. P. 50.

this exchange of clothes between the two characters in *L'étrangère intime. Essai d'anthropologie de la civilisation de l'ancien Madagascar. Tome II*. He writes that it

can be understood as an introversion of the roles and a sex change. Fatally struck [...] Itoeramahamaly accepts to wear the female clothes of his wife and, on the same occasion, transfers to her through his own clothes, his virility [...] The unfortunate Prince is tragically condemned to assume a passive 'feminine' role, he invests Itoerambolafotsy with the opposite role, [which is] active and masculine.¹²⁶

The same author suggests that this episode in the tale “symbolizes the transformation of the Princess Silver Moon (Itoerambolafotsy) into a masculine hero.”¹²⁷ Significantly, the male protagonist, who is thus deprived of his virility, displays extreme sensitivity, like the female protagonist, when he faints and cries upon seeing her again. Ottino's view about the role and sex reversals emphasises our previous argument about the female protagonist's acquisition of the masculine role of finding the cure and saving her husband. Nevertheless, this view does not take into account the emphasis put on the preservation of Itoerambolafotsy's feminine characteristics and her disguise into an old woman while providing the cure, which tend to minimize her role as her husband's rescuer.

A variant of this tale, entitled “Boriboritinovo,” is found in the anthology of Malagasy tales coordinated by Bernard Terramorsi. This tale was collected by Sylvia Andriamampianina when it was told by a 70 year-old woman in 2005. In this tale, the heroine, Boriboritinovo, “who refuses her suitors [...] finds herself in trouble,”¹²⁸ to use Andriamampianina's words. This statement suggests that the woman is to blame for her behaviour and she becomes the victim of

¹²⁶ « Peut se comprendre comme une introversion des rôles et un échange de sexe. Atteint fatalement, ... Itoeramahamaly accepte les vêtements féminins de son épouse et, par la même occasion, lui transfère avec ses propres vêtements, sa virilité...l'infortuné Prince est tragiquement condamné à assumer un rôle passif, 'féminin,' il investit Itoerambolafotsy du rôle inverse, actif, masculin. » Paul Ottino. *L'étrangère intime. Essai d'anthropologie de la civilisation de l'ancien Madagascar. Tome II*. Paris : Editions des archives contemporaines, 1986. Pp. 434, 435. (Translation mine).

¹²⁷ « Symbolise la transformation de la Princesse Lune d'Argent en un héros masculin. » Ibid. P. 433.

¹²⁸ « La fille qui refuse ses prétendants [...] rencontre [...] des problèmes. » Bernard Terramorsi. *La femme qui a des ouïes et autres récits de la tradition orale malgache*. Ille-sur-Têt, St Pierre : Editions K', 2007. P. 19.

her own actions. In fact, the main characters in this tale remain gendered, and the male protagonist's masculinity is even stressed through his characterization as well as the sentences used by the storyteller. The man who is lucky enough to win Boriboritinovo's affection is referred to as the North Prince or Zatovo. Unlike Itoeramahamaly, he displays masculine traits that reinforce his virility. In fact, he does not profess his love with the same romantic words used by Itoeramahamaly to conquer Itoerambolafotsy. It should be noted that Boriboritinovo's test consists in having rice cooked and milk boiled while receiving her suitors. If the latter react as the rice burns or the milk boils, she rejects them. Zatovo succeeds in this test by saying nothing, which makes Boriboritinovo believe that he has come for her and not for the food. Later on, when Zatovo is wounded by the sharp weapons outside the house where they are staying, he boldly goes back to his village by himself without asking for Boriboritinovo's permission. More importantly, he keeps his clothes. The storyteller's words clearly emphasize his strength and masculine pride: "Zatovo is a man [...] A sharp object pierces his leg and wounds him, and he is unable to get up and the blood gushes. In the end, when he can no longer bear the pain but shameful, he gets into the house to retrieve his cloth, gets dressed, covers his wound and leaves."¹²⁹ This elaborate description underlines the male protagonist's stoicism and his capacity to preserve his honour despite his misfortune. When Zatovo reaches his village, we learn that he already has four other wives, unlike Itoeramahamaly who romantically sticks with one wife. Meanwhile, Boriboritinovo travels not to find a cure for the North Prince but merely to pay a visit to him. She is escorted by her grandmother and before they enter the village, she puts on a golden dress in order to impress the prince. It is the sight of Boriboritinovo in her beautiful dress that triggers the prince's recovery, although the storyteller also mentions that Boriboritinovo's grandmother heals the wound with a paste that she produced by chewing some

¹²⁹ « Zatovo est un homme ... un objet tranchant lui transperce la jambe, et il se blesse, et il n'arrive pas à se relever et le sang coule à flots. A la fin, n'en pouvant plus de douleur mais honteux, il rentre dans la case recuperer son lamba, se rhabille, couvre sa blessure, et part. » Ibid. Pp. 41, 42. (Translation mine).

plants picked on their way to the prince's village. Interestingly, the focus shifts from the prince's recovery to the hostility between the five women who each wants to be the prince's favourite wife. Eventually, the prince chooses Boriboritinovo and three of his previous wives leave, refusing to accept this situation, while the fourth one remains to serve the new wife. It is clear in this tale that the male protagonist's masculine traits and the female protagonist's feminine conditions are emphasized. Indeed, while Zatovo is portrayed as a polygamous man who bravely endures pain and escapes the shameful fate of being rescued by his betrothed, Boriboritinovo is depicted as a gullible woman who is emotionally frail and whose worth is measured by her good looks.

The comparison of these two versions of the same tale enables us to shed light on the striking differences in the characterization of the main female and male characters, which have major impacts on the interpretation of the tales. Despite these differences, however, the tales share the common feature of setting rigid boundaries to the unconventional actions of the female characters. In fact, although the female characters perform male roles or display some masculine traits, they share the same feature as the influential women described by Dominique Somda in her paper on significant female figures in the south of Madagascar. "The aura of these women," in Somda's words, "does not include the perception of a complete inversion of feminine traits, it only implies a form of hybridity."¹³⁰ In the case of the female characters in the tales under study, this form of hybridity eventually gives way to the prevalence of the feminine traits which in turn contributes to the reestablishment of the ideology of male dominance.

The tale "Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo," which we have already seen in our previous analyses, differs from "Itoerambolafotsy" in that the two protagonists, being brother and sister,

¹³⁰ « L'aura de [ces] femmes [...] n'inclut pas la perception d'une inversion complète des traits féminins, elle implique seulement une forme d'hybridité » in Dominique Somda. Une humble aura. Les grandes femmes au sud de Madagascar. FMSH-WP-2014 – 56, janvier 2014. P. 9. (Translation mine).

are not related by alliance like Itoerambolafotsy and Itoeramahamaly. This means that the brother-sister relationship in the tale is subject to strict regulations that prohibit incestuous relations. In his description of the relationships between agnates in Malagasy society, Paul Ottino reports that “the relationships between opposite-sex agnates are governed by the utmost restraint. Brothers and sisters must not touch each other’s heads [...] or bodies. Under no circumstances should a brother step over his sister [...] These actions would be seen as incestuous.”¹³¹ Significantly, the relationship between Ifaramalemy and Ikotobekibo is a complex one. Both are rejected by their parents because of their infirmities which prevent them from performing the house chores correctly: while Ikotobekibo is extremely greedy and has a huge belly, Ifaramalemy is crippled. When their parents can no longer stand them and plot to bury them alive, the pair flee together and struggle to survive on their own. On their way, the little brother, Ikotobekibo, can barely walk because he is too fat; hence, he keeps on crying and complaining while his elder sister, Ifaramalemy, constantly takes pity on him and carries him on her back despite her physical handicap. Both settle at a place far away from their home and survive by hunting. As they grow older, the brother starts to despise his sister and prevents her from hunting in the vicinity of the area where they are staying. Ifaramalemy is thus obliged to travel far in order to find food for herself. Her journey leads her to the house of the ogre Itrimobe from which she gathers plenty of food. Before the meal, Ikotobekibo always asks his sister to “build a wall”¹³² that separates them so that he can selfishly consume his food without sharing with her. Ifaramalemy, however, acts unselfishly and shares her findings with her brother. The latter insists on going to Itrimobe’s house, eats too much and is unable to flee when the ogre is on his way home. Ifaramalemy hides him and gives him ingenious instructions to kill the ogre

¹³¹ « Les relations entre agnats de sexes différents sont gouvernées par la plus grande retenue. Les frères et sœurs ne doivent pas se toucher la tête ... ou le corps. En aucun cas un frère ne saurait enjamber sa sœur... Ces actions seraient assimilées à un inceste. » Paul Ottino. *Les champs de l’ancestralité à Madagascar. Parenté, alliance et patrimoine*. Paris: Editions Karthala et Orstom, 1998. P. 114. (Translation mine).

¹³² « Nanangana efitra. » Lars Dahle. *Anganon’ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana*. Antananarivo: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. P. 148. (Translation mine).

whereas she flees home. Ikotobekibo follows her instructions and manages to kill the ogre, which enables the two siblings to move to his place and inherit all his wealth.

This brief summary of the tale sheds light on the relationship between Ifaramalemy and Ikotobekibo as well as their enactment of their gender identities. At the beginning, both protagonists display undifferentiated gender traits as both are very emotional while facing their misfortune. Nevertheless, Ikotobekibo is obviously portrayed as a weakling whereas Ifaramalemy plays the role of the brave caring sister. Indeed, her attitude pertains to a form of motherly care that consists in providing protection and food for her younger sibling. But the relationship between the two is not characterized by a parent-child bond, it is a relationship between siblings that is defined by gender inequality and power imbalance.

Taking into account David Gilmore's reflections on hunting as a masculine domain, we can suggest that the brave sister in this tale performs masculine activities when she travels far away from home to hunt. Insofar as "hunting not only involves danger but also risk [and] [...] distant journeys over rough or dangerous terrain,"¹³³ we can infer from the tale that Ifaramalemy fulfils the masculine role of travelling far away and taking the risk of entering Itrimobe's place. Furthermore, she is also the one who provides quality food such as meat, milk and honey to her brother. On the contrary, the latter hunts small insects in the neighbourhood like women in traditional societies who "perform most activities close to the home,"¹³⁴ mainly because their mobility is limited by childbirth and nursing. Ironically, Ikotobekibo's name, which literally means Ikoto with a big belly, may allude to a form of pregnancy that actually constrains his mobility. We thus witness a reversal of gender roles at the beginning of the tale.

However, the relationship between Ikotobekibo and Ifaramalemy is different from the relationship between husband and wife whereby the latter is grateful and respectful towards the

¹³³ David Gilmore. *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1990. P. 120.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

former. In fact, the relationship between the two protagonists is characterized by Ikotobekibo's hostility towards Ifaramalemy. This can be interpreted as an expression of his male frustration about his inferior condition, which is mainly due to the fact that he is tied to the home. It is significant that Ikotobekibo's hostility towards his sister only takes shape when he is no longer a child. This means that he has become aware of his vulnerable masculinity and the only way for him to reassert his masculinity is to adopt an aggressive attitude towards his sister. His aggressive attitude ranges from the use of disrespectful language (he addresses his sister as "itena¹³⁵") to threats of killing Ifaramalemy if she dares to hunt around their place or if she does not tell him where she found all the good food that she shared with him.¹³⁶ Ikotobekibo's frustration may also be related to the restrictions that govern his relationship with his sister, namely the incest taboo. It is important to note that the wall that separates the two siblings is only set up at mealtimes, which means that outside these hours, there is no shame between the two siblings. Yet, there is and cannot be any sexual activity between them, which generates Ikotobekibo's hostility towards Ifaramalemy. Since he cannot marry this woman, he adopts a hostile attitude towards her and refuses to provide for her. This attitude can be explained by American social psychologists Roy Baumeister and Kathleen Vohs' view that "men seek to acquire sex from women by offering other resources in exchange."¹³⁷ It means that men merely invest in the provision of material resources for women who can provide them with sexual gratification. Hence, we can interpret Ikotobekibo's refusal to share his food with his sister as an enactment of male attitudes towards women who cannot provide sexual gratification to them.

¹³⁵ Itena is an informal term used "to address someone, it is disrespectful, [a term] used between speakers who are angry, especially women." [Misolo ny olona itenenana raha tokana, ary tsy manaja, ifanaovan'ny olona tezitra, indrindra ny vehivavy.] From Regis Rajemisa-Raolison. *Rakibolana Malagasy*. Ambozontany, Analamahitsy, Antananarivo: Editions Ambozontany, 2003 [1985].

¹³⁶ See Lars Dahle. *Anganon'ny Ntaolo. Tantara mampiseho ny fomban-drazana*. Antananarivo: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1962. Pp. 148, 149.

¹³⁷ Roy Baumeister and Kathleen Vohs. « Sexual Economics: Sex as Female Resource for Social Exchange in Heterosexual Interactions. » *Personality and Social Psychology Review* vol. 8 No. 4 (2004). P. 339.

The gender order that upholds male superiority is later reestablished when the two siblings have to face the ogre. The female character, Ifaramalemy, flees whereas the brother faces the enemy and defeats him. Even though Ikotobekibo's victory was only possible thanks to Ifaramalemy's instructions on how to kill Itrimobe, the fact that it is not Ifaramalemy herself who accomplishes this heroic action shows that the tale supports patriarchal values whereby the female character shuns danger whereas the male character confronts it. It should be noted that Ifaramalemy does not actually face dangerous beasts while hunting far away from their home, she merely steals food from Itrimobe's house and when Itrimobe is coming, she flees, thus constantly avoiding the danger. The tale clearly suggests that it is thanks to Ikotobekibo that the two siblings inherit the ogre's wealth. Furthermore, despite the masculine roles that Ifaramalemy plays, she preserves conventional feminine traits such as empathy, humility and submission. Her empathy for her brother made her carry him on her back despite her handicap when they were running away from their murderous parents. She humbly complies with the rules set by Ikotobekibo regarding the boundaries of his hunting territories and the consumption of food. In that sense, she remains a feminine character who performs masculine actions out of necessity. She has to hunt for food in distant places in order to survive, and no matter how selfish and mean her brother is, she does not stop caring for him as she shares her food with him. It can be said that these are the conditions for the acceptance of her unconventional performance of masculine roles.

Exploring the Failed Embodiment of Hegemonic Masculinity in the Tale "Besorongola"

While the tales of Itoerambolafotsy and Ifaramalemy offer various perspectives on the impacts of unconventional enactments of masculinity on gender relations, the tale "Besorongola" initially highlights the experiences of a male character who fails to adhere to

hegemonic ideals of masculinity. The tale is that of a young man, named Faralahy, who refuses to grow up as he wastes his time playing instead of working in the fields with his brothers. His father eventually renounces him as his son and his family casts him out because of his immaturity. Faralahy invents a ludicrous game of sliding on a leaf from the top of a mountain, pretending that he intends to find death because of his family's rejection. His name is later changed into Besorongola¹³⁸ because of his addiction to this game. A "being¹³⁹" then talks to him and starts to initiate his process of masculinization by teaching him male values based on the acquisition of wealth and the establishment of an alliance through the acquisition of a wife. Besorongola undergoes several stages of masculine initiation which provide him with wealth, servants and a wife but somehow fail to make him into a real man. His masculine initiation is only partially effective when he himself motivates the quest for a second wife.

The male protagonist's failure to embody the necessary criteria of manhood in his community can be observed in his immature addiction to games and refusal to fulfil manly responsibilities such as working in the fields with his brothers. In fact, making the young men work in the fields is the means used by the parents to forge their masculine character. It is meant to teach them that work is a male responsibility that establishes their status as provider in opposition to women and children who are their dependents. The long hours spent in the fields not only teach them to persevere and endure difficult tasks but also reflect ideologies that value men's performance of activities outside the home as was previously discussed in our analysis of the topic of hunting in "Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo." Since Besorongola refuses to grow up

¹³⁸ In the tale, the name Besorongola is associated with the nature of the game as it comes from the root word "sorongola" which means sliding. In Malagasy culture, Besorongola is a folktale character known for his laziness and immaturity. Nathalie Ravelontsalama describes him as "a friendly good-for-nothing young man who represents the black sheep annoying his relatives with his laziness and insolence." ["Un jeune vaurien sympathique, mais reste l'image de la brebis galeuse qui ennui eses proches par sa paresse et son insolence."] From Nathalie Ravelontsalama, "Représentations et fonctions de la bande dessinée à Madagascar," *Etudes Ocean Indien* 40-41 (2008). Put online on 18 March 2018. Accessed on 1 May 2019. <https://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1406>. (Translation mine).

¹³⁹ "Un être." Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. P. 52. (Translation mine).

by adopting these values and embracing his responsibilities, he is no longer recognized as his father's son and is cast out of the village. The father's renunciation of his filiation with Besorongola means that the latter ceases to enjoy the privilege of membership in his father's group.¹⁴⁰ Filiation is important because it guarantees the individual's acceptability in society. The tale meaningfully begins with the phrase "a man had three sons," which signals the existence of a patrilineal social organization, that is a system which emphasizes descent, residence patterns and inheritance from the father. Besorongola thus becomes an outcast without a social existence. In order to be reincorporated in society, he has to undergo a process of masculine initiation. Unlike the previously mentioned heroes who strive to achieve social reintegration by proving their male worth, Besorongola pursues his immature habit of wasting his time at play and pretends to be seeking death because of his marginalization. It is not surprising that the intervention of the "being" in his masculine initiation fails because he remains immature throughout the process. Furthermore, the means by which the male protagonist acquires privileges like wealth, servants and wife do not involve personal effort or physical pain. He easily obtains them by indifferently following the "being's" advice of setting a trap while still privileging his game. It is only when the "being" admonishes him for his unmanly attitude of playing on the mountain despite the fact that he has become a rich and married man that he quits playing. Again, instead of acquiring a changed status, he displays immaturity and vulnerability when he gets drunk at a party and loses all his possessions and wife when he inadvertently reveals their origins. Nevertheless, he retrieves everything with a simple promise to the "being" that he will never again reveal the source of his success. It can be said that the male initiation process launched by "the being" for Besorongola fails because it lacks the laborious training that is expected to inculcate male values in the protagonist. David

¹⁴⁰ As David Schneider explains, « patrification is the distinctive symbol in terms of which the descent category is defined ... [Thus] a person's membership in the category is obtained through his father. » David Schneider "Descent and Filiation as Cultural Constructs." *Southern Journal of Anthropology* vol. 23 No 1 (1967). P. 66.

Gilmore rightfully points out that “real men do not simply emerge naturally over time like butterflies from boyish cocoons; they must be assiduously waxed from their juvenescent shells; they must be shaped and nurtured, counseled and prodded into manhood.”¹⁴¹ Indeed, the “being’s” advice to Besorongola are ineffective because they require the minimum effort on his part and the acquisition of success with the help of magic does not give credit to the male protagonist.

It is only later that Besorongola engages on a self-motivated quest which enables him to pursue his masculine initiation. His quest is motivated by the desire to acquire a second wife. In his words, “when one is rich, one must have at least two wives. A man who only has one wife is among the miserable ones.”¹⁴² This sudden awareness of the social meanings of masculinity and male authority shows that Besorongola is ready to embody male values. It also marks the tale’s reinforcement of the ideology of male dominance through the commodification of women who are ranked among men’s possessions such as wealth and servants. The male protagonist’s ensuing quest is very similar to Imbahatrilá’s visit to heaven in that a great number of interdictions have to be observed and the hero has to diligently follow the instructions given to him in order to succeed. Nevertheless, the quest is still devoid of hardship as it mainly consists in obeying the words of the “being” who gave the instructions to the hero. It should be recalled that Besorongola has been cast out by his family because of his insolence and disobedience, and he eventually succeeds in life by learning to obey, not his parents, but the “being.” Ironically, his elder brothers who were obedient towards their parents are turned into dogs at the end of the tale when they disobey the same instructions given to Besorongola in their attempt to undertake the same quest. This means that the authority that commands obedience and guarantees the access to a higher social status falls on a supernatural being.

¹⁴¹ David Gilmore. *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity*. New Haven : Yale University Press, 1990. P. 106.

¹⁴² « Quand on est riche, on doit avoir au moins deux femmes. Un homme qui n’en a qu’une est au nombre des malheureux. » Charles Renel. *Contes de Madagascar*. Paris : E. Leroux, 1910. Pp. 57, 58. (Translation mine).

Coupled with the theme of renunciation of filiation tackled earlier, this suggests that the hero's social accomplishment is based on supernatural factors that have no foundation in the social system. We also mentioned earlier that Besorongola's male initiation is only partially effective. In fact, the two women with whom he forms alliance do not have any social roots, especially the first one whom Besorongola simply catches in his trap. The second wife is still associated with the supernatural as she initially appears in the form of a syphilitic woman and is only turned into a beautiful woman when Besorongola passes the tests described by the "being." Her father is also portrayed as a dog which Besorongola must not ill-treat and which turns into a man and gives his consent for their union when Besorongola adopts the expected attitude. More importantly, after his union with these two women and his magical acquisition of wealth, he does not return to the village of his father to be reincorporated in his community. His enjoyable status is actually ephemeral as it relies on his ability to keep his promise not to reveal the sources of his success. Thus, he remains in the transitional phase of his masculine initiation. Seen from that light, Besorongola's experiences contradict the social mechanism of Malagasy tales which Bernard Terramorsi describes as follows

popular tales [...] like to represent an inversion of the power relations experienced in the social reality [...] The one who was initially held to be inferior (because of a physical or social handicap) is eventually acknowledged as superior to the privileged ones [...] [which] opens up a new sociality, a reestablished harmony based on merit and fihavanana (fraternity, solidarity).¹⁴³

This statement is relevant for heroes like Isilakolona and Imbahatrilala who are initially marginalized because of their handicap but earn social recognition and a privileged social status at the end of the tales. Besorongola's success and privileged status are not based on merit;

¹⁴³ "[L]es contes populaires ... aiment montrer une inversion des rapports de force vécus dans la réalité sociale... Celui qui a priori était tenu pour inférieur (à cause d'un handicap physique ou social) est reconnu, à la fin, comme supérieur aux privilégiés... [ce qui] ouvre sur une nouvelle socialité, une harmonie retrouvée basée sur le mérite et le fihavanana (la confraternité, la solidarité)." Bernard Terramorsi, *La femme qui a des ouïes et autres récits de la tradition orale malgache*. La Réunion: Editions K'A, 2007. P. 13. (Translation mine).

nevertheless, his tale somehow introduces a form of sociality whereby success is arbitrary and is not necessarily measured by the individual's hard work. Once this principle has been acknowledged, the social recognition that the hero gains from the possession of wealth and wives, regardless of the means by which they were acquired, validates his masculinity. This corresponds to the Malagasy adage "it is money that makes a man¹⁴⁴," which means that money is the main social parameter of masculinity and other masculinity markers such as physical strength and heroic achievements are not taken into account. These reflections lead us to the conclusion that the male protagonist's failure to embody the conventional traits attributed to masculine heroes is socially acceptable insofar as it supports the principles of hegemonic masculinity based on male superiority and dominance over women.

Conclusion

The first part of this study explored the traditional representations of femininity and masculinity in written Malagasy tales from different regions and different time periods. It sought to highlight the prevalence of gender differences and gender inequality based on gender stereotypes in the patriarchal setting of Malagasy tales. We have particularly stressed the complicated images of women within the Malagasy context based on the contradictions in the formulation of social expectations about women's roles and identities. With regard to the representation of men's roles and identities in Malagasy folktales, we have mainly focused on the influence of the concept of hegemonic masculinity in the shaping of the male characters' identities and experiences.

¹⁴⁴ « Ny vola no maha-rangahy » (Translation mine).

The first chapter investigated the various portraits of the female characters in relation to the roles that they are expected to play in the folktale as a microcosm of Malagasy society. We have singled out four portraits of women in a selection of tales according to their relevance to our topic. The first portrait of women as mothers enabled us to understand the ideology of motherhood conveyed in Malagasy folktales. We have emphasized the importance of motherhood in the lives of Malagasy women as it not only guarantees their social existence but also shapes their identities and social roles. We have demonstrated that the ideology of motherhood in Malagasy folktales is constructed within a social organization that underlines the limitation of women's roles to nutrition, caregiving and education. The second portrait is that of young girls. We directed our attention to the area of courtship and marriage as the main goal of the socialization of girls. We assimilated the portraits of young girls in Malagasy tales to the Western concept of the eternal feminine in order to illustrate their entrapment in a world that perpetually constrains their actions. The last two portraits of women that emerge from our analysis shed light on the alterity of women. We have identified the "zazavavindrano" or Malagasy mermaid as the epitome of the female other par excellence. The image of entrapment and imprisonment in a subordinate position is rendered in her experiences that reflect the embodiment of feminine values as well as the failed attempts at female emancipation. We have grouped three other types of women, namely old women, stepmothers and adulterous women in the category of "other" because of their invisibility, minor or inferior positions and their transgression of gender norms, which accounts for their association with negative characteristics.

The second chapter shifted the focus from the representation of women to the representation of men in relation to the concept of hegemonic masculinity in order to understand the foundations of male dominance in Malagasy folktales. We analysed three main aspects of the male characters' lives which reflect the conception of hegemonic masculinity in a selection

of popular Malagasy tales. In the first section, we examined the asymmetrical connection between the idealization of the male body and the male characters' experiences, as well as the affirmation of male authority through their entitlement to superior social statuses and dignified roles, and the various facets of male sexualities in relation to the concept of hegemonic masculinity. In the second section, we explored the enactment of masculinity by the characters in Malagasy tales that feature notable male characters, unconventionally heroic female characters and weakly male characters who fail to fulfil the hegemonic standards of manhood. Drawing on Judith Butler's notion of gender performativity, we identified the processes of male initiation undergone by notable male characters in popular Malagasy tales in order to reveal the structure that underlies gender identity formation and the male individual's performance of their gender identities in this context. We then investigated the unconventional performances of masculinity by both genders and their impacts on gender relations. This last part confirmed our initial argument that women are trapped in subordinate roles within a social system that constrains their actions which are perpetually defined in relation to the norms that endorse male dominance.

Part II: GENDER AWARENESS AND RESPONSIVENESS IN THE PERFORMANCE OF THE MALAGASY KABARY

The first part of this study explored the representations of gender roles and identities, as well as gender power relations in a selection of Malagasy folktales from the 19th century to the present. It showed how the male and female characters reproduce the socially established patterns of gender behaviour and gender power relations that frame a patriarchal society. This means that women's actions, whether normative or transgressive, relegate them into a subordinate position within a male-dominated society. In this part of our study, we shift our focus to the contemporary images of men and women in the performance of kabary or oratory speech as a verbal art.

However, before exploring the representations of gender in the contemporary performance of kabary, it may be fitting to provide a brief survey of the historical evolution of this genre. This enables us to understand the current changes in its performance. According to Malagasy orator Lalao Francois Rabenandrasana, kabary was initially reserved for the eldest man in the clan or foko that constituted the primary social organization of the country prior to the royal period and colonization.¹ The very origins of kabary, which are thought to be commercial transactions that required the production of well-organized and elaborate speeches, reserved the practice of kabary to men because such contexts, in this orator's words, required "great pride and were thus not meant to be performed by women and young people."² During the royal period, even though kabary was initially reserved for kings or male political leaders, the 19th century Malagasy queen Ranaivalona I also performed public speeches that were qualified as "kabarim-panjakana" or political speeches. Malagasy writer Antoine Rahajarizafy

¹An overview of the history and origins of kabary can be found in Lalao Francois Rabenandrasana's *Kabary fatsakana. Tovoizin-tsy lany atsankain-tsy mba ritra*. Antananarivo: [s.n.], 2006.

²"Kabary manetsika hambom-po izany ka 'TSY ATAOM-BEHIVAVY SY ZATOVO.'" Ibid. P. 25. (Author's emphasis, translation mine).

reports in his book entitled *Kabary* how the queen was a “tough-minded and eloquent woman.”³

He quotes the queen’s impressive speech at her appearance at Andohalo:

Lest you think ‘how can a woman lead anyone, it is a woman, she won’t be able to govern the state!’ This is what I say to you dwellers beneath the sky: I am male, not female, dwellers beneath the sky! It is a man that Andrianampoinimerina and Ilaidama and the twelve sovereigns appointed to reign over you. Isn’t that so, dwellers beneath the sky?⁴

It is significant that Ranavalona I stresses in her speech that she is a man not a woman. This reinforces the fact that the Malagasy society of the time considered political responsibilities as men’s prerogatives.⁵ It should be noted that political power is closely related to speech in Malagasy society⁶ and the fact that the queen delivers a public speech during which she openly declares that she is a man, not a woman, seems to symbolize her appropriation of political power. However, it is undeniable that the queen proclaims that she is a man in order to be acknowledged as a legitimate political leader. It means that maleness, which connotes the capacity to govern well, is more valued in the political field and female leaders must accept this fact by socially renouncing their femaleness and claiming to be socially male. The queen’s self-

³ “Henjan-tsaina sy nahay nandahatra izany raha vehivavy!” Antoine Rahajarizafy. *Ny Kabary*. Fianarantsoa: Ambozontany, 1969. P. 71. (Translation mine).

⁴ “Sao ataonareo hoe ‘Izay vehivavy avy hahatondra an-jovy? Vehivavy io, ka tsy hahazaka fanjakana!’ Izaon lazaiko aminareo ambanilanitra: lahy aho fa tsy vavy, ry ambanilanitra! Lehilahy no napetrak’Andrianampoinimerina sy Ilaidama sy ny roambinifolo manjaka aminareo. ‘Fa tsy izay, ry ambanilanitra?’ Ibid.

⁵ We may refer to Lars Vig’s statement that « the Malagasy woman... did not have any political right. And it did not seem convenient either that she had personal opinions about political affairs. » [« La femme malgache n’avait... aucun droit politique. Et il n’apparaissait pas convenable non plus qu’elle ait des opinions personnelles sur les affaires politiques. »] Lars Vig. *Sur la femme malgache*. Antananarivo: Editions Teza Boky & CEROI, 1994 [1907]. P. 64. (Translation mine).

⁶ Haring expresses this view when he refers to “the general belief in Madagascar that political power goes with speechmaking ability” in his book *Verbal Arts in Madagascar*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 117.

Similarly, Malanjaona Rakotomalala refers to the case of the Sakalava whereby the sovereign or « Ampanjaka » is the « ampanito vola » or « the one who has the authority to speak. » “Ampanito” literally means to cut, which actually refers to the sovereign’s authority to make decisions and “vola,” comes from the word “volana,” which means “speech.” In this context, political power, hence the authority to speak, belongs to men. Direct communication. 27 March 2019.

proclaimed maleness, in that sense, expresses her acknowledgement of male superiority and her compliance with the system that considers men as the relevant leaders who can govern the country well. This view is emphasized by Malanjaona Rakotomalala who reports that “to signify Ranavalona I’s social and political virility, her spokesmen said, during her enthronement, that ‘she [was] not a woman but a man.’”⁷ If we further explore Malanjaona Rakotomalala’s arguments, we may assert that the queen’s “maleness” goes beyond this social institution. In fact, Rakotomalala’s analysis of Ranavalona I’s sexuality points to her appropriation of male prerogatives through sexual practices that are typical of Merina sovereigns, namely the exercise of their right to fully enjoy sexual freedom and their power to impose the indisputability of their words. Rakotomalala singles out the historical facts about and interpretations of the paternity of the queen’s son, Radama II. While Ranavalona I claimed that it was Radama I (her late husband) who “penetrated her and gave birth to Radama II [...] fourteen months after the death of Radama I,”⁸ some historians suggest that it was Andriamihaja, her lover, who was the future king’s genitor. Others claim that it was the French explorer Jean Laborde, the only French the queen did not expel at the time she ordered all the Europeans to leave Madagascar.⁹ In either case, the queen’s words and status were powerful enough to make her supernatural account credible in the eyes of her subjects.¹⁰ Not only do these reflections point to the fact that the queen had many lovers and enjoyed sexual freedom

⁷ « Pour signifier la virilité sociale et politique de Ranavalona Ière, les porte-parole royaux disaient d’elle, lors de son accession au trône : ‘Celle-là n’est pas une femme mais un homme.’ » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A coeur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 170. (Translation mine).

⁸ « L’esprit de son défunt mari, Radama I, l’avait pénétrée et avait donné naissance à Radama II ...quatorze mois après la mort de Radama I. » Ibid. P. 171.

⁹ See *ibid.* P. 166.

¹⁰ Malanjaona Rakotomalala says that « Rational people seemed to think that this conception was impossible, not because the alleged genitor was absent (he was already dead), but because his ‘ghost... would not want to know [the queen]’ (‘know’ in the biblical sense of the term) ... In his lifetime, Radama avoided the queen. No reason thus for his ‘ghost’ to come back and ‘penetrate’ her.” [“Les personnes ‘censées’ semblaient penser que cette conception était impossible non pas parce que le prétendu géniteur n’était pas là (il était déjà décédé), mais parce que son ‘fantôme... n’avait pas voulu connaître [la reine]’ (‘connaître’ au sens biblique du terme) ... Pendant sa vie, Radama évita la reine. Aucune raison donc pour que son ‘fantôme’ revienne la ‘pénétrer’”]. Ibid. P. 172.

like the other Merina sovereigns, but they also correspond to the Malagasy's association of the sovereign to "the sacred,"¹¹ which, in Malanjaona Rakotomalala's words, enabled him/her to "enjoy an extraordinary status that pertains to the magical."¹² This means that the queen, in her quality as a sovereign, enjoyed sexual freedom as a male prerogative.

This brief exploration of the interplay between gender, power and sexuality during Ranaivalona I's reign invites more reflections on the status of Malagasy female orators nowadays. When we talk about the relationship between political power and speech making, we can think of what Sherry Ortner describes as the "social-structural arrangements that exclude women from participation in or contact with some realm in which the highest powers of society are felt to reside."¹³ In her reflections on the sources of the universal devaluation of women, this author refers to the fact that women are excluded from fields that are associated with power. We may say that kabary performance is precisely one of the fields in which women's access to power is restricted. Considering the cases of contemporary female orators in Madagascar, we can ask the following questions: while the queen as a political leader who was considered as a man was entitled to deliver political speeches, what can be said about the status of the Malagasy female orators today and what kinds of speeches are they entitled to deliver? To answer these questions, it may be fitting to start with the consideration of Lala Raharinjanahary's views about the essential qualities displayed by the contemporary female orators that she interviewed. Raharinjanahary states that "the female orators underline two apparently contradictory traits that women must have: they must combine femininity and boldness [...] they must express

¹¹ Malanjaona Rakotomalala writes that "[the queen] was associated to the sacred." ["Elle était associée au sacré. »] Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹² « Bénéficiait de conditions extra-ordinaires, relevant du magique. » Ibid.

The same view is expressed by Lars Vig who writes that « the one who reigned was 'the basis of the earth and the foundation of life' and he/she was consequently above or beyond humanity. » [« Celui ou celle qui occupait le trône était 'la base de la terre et le fondement de la vie' et se situait en conséquence au-dessus ou hors de l'humanité. » Lars Vig. *Sur la femme malgache*. Antananarivo: Editions Teza Boky & CEROI, 1994 [1907]. P. 64. (Translation mine).

¹³ Sherry Ortner. "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture." *Woman, Culture, and Society*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974. P. 69.

charm (*miangola*), a behaviour that is not expected of a man, but they must not be ‘mild and slow’ either, *bonaika*, while facing the ‘opponent.’”¹⁴ This statement has two implications: the first one is that the context and nature of the kabary performance have to be specified before determining the qualities required in the orator; the second is that depending on these two elements, the female orators have to display their femininity. Thus, compared to the 19th century queen who was remarkable for her ability to embody masculine characteristics, these 21st century female orators that Lala Raharinjanahary refers to are judged by their ability to embody both feminine and masculine traits. The emphasis put on “charm” deserves particular attention here because it is a quality that is only expected from female orators. This implies that unlike male orators, who are the traditional speechmakers, female orators have to strive and give more than what male orators give in order to win recognition.

To further address the aforementioned questions, we will return to our brief survey of the history of kabary performance. We can refer to the post-independence period during which Malagasy women’s performance of kabary gradually expanded. As is reported by some of the first female orators who integrated this field, their performances were not always unanimously acknowledged and were subject to strict regulations.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the 21st century is marked by the constant evolution of the genre, especially the acknowledgement of women’s participation in kabary performance. As Lalao Francois Rabenandrasana puts it, “if our reasonable mind accepts that Malagasy language should be uplifted and preserved through kabary performance, then women have the full right to take part in it. So let the demeaning

¹⁴« Les femmes oratrices soulignent deux traits apparemment contradictoires que les femmes doivent avoir : elles doivent allier féminité et audace...elles doivent faire du charme (*miangola*), comportement qu’on n’attend pas d’un homme, mais ne doivent pas être non plus ‘douce et lentes,’ *bonaika*, pour faire face à ‘l’adversaire.’ » Lala Raharinjanahary. “Les femmes oratrices mpikabary de l’association FIMPIMA (Fikambanan’ny Mpikabary eto Madagasikara ‘Association des rhéteurs à Madagascar.’ » *Etudes océan indien* 51 – 52 (2014). Put online on 30 September 2015. Accessed on 31 May 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1755>. (Author’s italics, translation mine).

¹⁵ Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa, the first woman who joined the association of Malagasy orators, relates that her integration into the association required the support of two important male figures of Malagasy kabary. See Appendix 5.

saying ‘crowing hen’ no longer be heard, for if they exist, there must also be ‘roosters that lay eggs.’”¹⁶ Broadly speaking, “crowing hen” refers to women who speak when they are not naturally supposed to do so because men, like roosters which crow, are the ones who are entitled to speak. In the context of kabary, even though its performance is now open to participants other than the ones who fill the traditional criteria for orators, the perception of female orators as “crowing hens” still persists in some areas of the country. In this regard, Michel Razafiarivony points out that

during a family gathering, if there is no man, old or young, who is capable of delivering the speech, a woman takes the floor. It is a shame because *speech belongs to men*. A woman who makes a public speech or even talks very much within an assembly would be accused of being a crowing hen. Such consideration remains valid even today, especially in the countryside.¹⁷

Lala Raharinjanahary confirms this fact in her article about female orators in the Malagasy association of orators when she says that

the most common mocking [remark proffered by male orators towards female ones] would be the image of the ‘crowing hen,’ it means ‘something unnatural’: she is not meant to sing, and if she unfortunately happens to sing, it is a bad omen. This metaphor is generally related to marital problems: women who encroach on their husbands’ prerogatives are shrews and deserve this appellation.¹⁸

¹⁶ «Raha eken’ny saina fa tokony hasandratra sy arovana ny fomba amam-pitenenana Malagasy amin’ny alalan’ny kabary, dia manana zo feno amin’izany ny VEHVAVY. Koa aoka tsy ho re intsony ilay teny maneso manao hoe: ‘akohovavy maneno’ fa raha misy izany dia mba misy koa ny ‘akoholahy manatody.’” Lala Francois Rabenandrasana. *Kabary Fantsakana. Tovoizin-tsy lany atsankain-tsy mba ritra*. Antananarivo: [s.n.], 2006. P. 30. (Author’s emphasis, translation mine).

¹⁷ « Dans une réunion de famille, s’il n’y a aucun homme, vieux ou jeune, qui ne soit capable de prendre la parole, une femme la saisit. C’est un déshonneur parce que la parole appartient aux hommes. Une femme qui fait un discours en public ou même parle beaucoup dans une assemblée serait taxée par l’assistance de akoho vavy maneno, une poule qui chante. De telle considération demeure valable encore aujourd’hui surtout dans les campagnes. » Michel Razafiarivony. *Richesses culturelles et pauvreté économique d’une société orale (Anosibe an’ala Madagascar)*. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2006. P. 142. (Translation and emphasis mine).

¹⁸ « La moquerie la plus courante serait l’image de la ‘poule qui chante,’ c’est-à-dire ‘quelque chose de contre-nature’ : elle n’est pas faite pour chanter et , si par malheur, elle chante, c’est signe de mauvais augure. Cette métaphore est généralement liée aux problèmes conjugaux : les femmes qui empiètent sur les prérogatives de leurs maris sont des mégères et ont droit à cette appellation. » Lala Raharinjanahary. “Les femmes oratrices mpikabary de l’association FIMPIMA (Fikambanan’ny Mpikabary eto Madagasikara ‘Association des rhéteurs à

Malanjaona Rakotomalala's reflections on the meaning of the expression "akohovavy maneno" or "crowing hen" in the Merina sexual context parallel Raharinjanahary's explanation when he states that the expression has a "social connotation as it refers to women who appropriate the rights of their husbands in the presence of the latter."¹⁹ Precisely, Rakotomalala speaks of women who perform sexual acts that are conventionally attributed to men, such as making the first move to initiate sexual intercourse. It is interesting that Rakotomalala takes into account the assimilation of such women to witches in some social contexts.²⁰ This serves to emphasize the qualification of subversive women as "antisocial."²¹ These views actually point to the prevalence of traditional perceptions of gender differences that support male superiority and dominance and condemn women's subversive actions. It is not surprising that such perceptions are based on the essentialization of gender differences in order to perpetuate male dominance.

These give us an insight into the possible answers to our previous questions. We may suggest that several factors have influenced the perceptions of female orators today and despite the important acquisitions made in relation to gender equality, there is still a long way to go before women can enjoy the same opportunities as men, especially when we talk about the interconnection between speech making and political power. It should be noted that what we mean by gender equality in this context corresponds to the distinction found in the *African Gender and Development Index* developed by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa in 2011: "Gender equality does not mean sameness between men and women, but refers

Madagascar.' » *Etudes océan indien* 51 – 52 (2014). Put online on 30 September 2015. Accessed on 31 May 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1755>. (Translation mine).

¹⁹ « Une connotation sociale car elle qualifie aussi les femmes qui s'arrogent les droits de leurs maris en présence de ces derniers. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 152.

²⁰ The author describes the killing of a crowing hen in the countryside during which the man who killed the animal cursed it, saying: 'Damn you witch!' ["espèce de sorcière, va!"] Ibid. P. 153. (Translation mine).

²¹ "Antisociales." Ibid. (Translation mine).

to equality of rights, participation, opportunities, voice and access and control over resources.”²² In other words, the concept of gender equality does not translate into the suppression of sex differences but rather concerns equal opportunities for men and women in various social contexts. This view is relevant in the field of kabary performance because the inclusion of women in this field seems to highlight sex differences which characterize male and female orators’ performances. Our project to identify the female orators’ degree of participation in the field of kabary performance not only takes into account the representations of these sex differences but also seeks to assess whether men and women enjoy the same opportunities in this field. For that purpose, it is necessary to understand the distribution of power, which is closely related to public speech making, to men and women in the Malagasy context.

Malanjaona Rakotomalala affirms that “political power belongs to men [whereas] education is the responsibility of] women,”²³ the latter being the “guardians of good conduct.”²⁴ As we have already seen in the introduction, the same author uses these arguments to claim that “it is an error to say that, in several fields, woman is inferior to man in Malagasy society [...] Actually, there should be a certain balance between the two sexes.”²⁵ We witness in Rakotomalala’s formulation of the balanced distribution of power among Malagasy men and women the reproduction of the culture/nature divide that feminists claim to be the cause of the universal devaluation of women. Sherry Ortner precisely maintains that “men are the ‘natural’ proprietors of religion, ritual, politics, and other realms of cultural thought and action [...] They are identified [...] with culture [...] in the old-fashioned sense of the finer and higher aspects of human thought.”²⁶ The association of political power to men and the attribution of

²² United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. *The African Gender and Development Index*, 2011. P. ix.

²³ « Le politique revient à l’homme, l’éducationnel à la femme. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 144. (Translation mine).

²⁴ « Gardiennes des bonnes mœurs. » Ibid. P. 150. (Translation mine).

²⁵ « C’est une erreur de dire que dans plusieurs domaines, la femme est inférieure à l’homme dans la société malgache ... En fait, il devrait y avoir un certain équilibre entre les deux sexes. » Ibid. P. 144.

²⁶ Sherry Ortner. “Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture.” *Woman, Culture, and Society*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974. P. 79.

educational responsibilities to women in Malagasy society obviously corresponds to this view because while men are in charge of the management of the system that constantly seeks to control and transcend nature, women's responsibilities constrain them to social roles that position them closer to nature, such as the caring for children, both physically and morally. The field of religion is different because even though the magico-religious dimension of human thought is primarily associated to women in Malagasy society,²⁷ in some significant circumstances, it has negative connotations and fails to endow them with the prestigious status that men gain from political power, namely leadership and decision-making positions. In fact, the association of women to the magico-religious dimension of human thought implies that the witches in Malagasy society are primarily assumed to be female and if they happen to be male, it is generally believed that it was the female witches who initiated them.²⁸ This explains David Graeber's remark about the dangers assimilated to witchcraft or love charms taking the form of enslavement: "not all of these dangers were identified with women. But many were."²⁹ The other aspect of the religious power associated to women refers to their image as the guardians of moral values and the paragons of virtues who are expected to put deviant men at their appropriate place.³⁰ In that sense, women embody both moral values and mystical powers, which constrain them in specific social statuses and roles.

²⁷ Malanjaona Rakotomalala notes that « in the traditional Malagasy conception, woman is the holder of the sacred *hasina*” [“dans la conception ‘traditionnelle’ malgache, la femme est porteuse de *Hasina*.”] Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: éditions Karthala, 2012. P. 150. (Translations mine). “*Hasina*” is defined by Joseph Webber, a catholic minister in Madagascar in the 19th century, as “an intrinsic or supernatural virtue which makes something good and effective in its kind.” [“Vertu intrinsèque ou surnaturelle qui rend une chose bonne et efficace dans son genre.”] From *Tsingy Les femmes dans l’océan indien* (2006) N°5. P. 12.

²⁸ Direct communication with Malanjaona Rakotomalala. 27 March 2019.

David Graeber also remarks that witches, “even in the nineteenth century, [...] were also seen as predominantly women.” David Graeber. “Love Magic and Political Morality in Central Madagascar, 1875 – 1990.” *Gendered Colonialisms in African History*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997. P. 109.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ See the example provided by Malanjaona Rakotomalala in *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: éditions Karthala, 2012. P. 146.

To further analyze Malanjaona Rakotomalala's view about the balanced distribution of power among Malagasy men and women, we will consider one of the pertinent examples that he uses to illustrate his point. That is the traditional Malagasy practice of providing young girls to entertain a host's male guests at night, which is somehow still encountered in some remote parts of the country. These young girls are called "fotsim-barim-bahiny" or "the grains of white rice for the guest."³¹ The possible balance that is established in this context is the fact that in exchange for the girls' sexual services, the guest is expected to give her a symbolical gift. This, according to Rakotomalala, has nothing to do with prostitution. Bearing in mind Marcel Mauss' theory on gift-giving, he explains that "each gift implies a counter-gift and the one who gives is superior to the one who receives. The counter-gift is thus necessary to reestablish the balance [...] In Imerina, the girl sees it as a token of respect and her family sees it as a means to entertain a good relationship."³² In other words, the girl has given sexual favours to the guest and the latter is expected to give something back to show her respect, which discards all connotations about the man and the woman's superior or inferior status. Nevertheless, if we recall our discussion in the first part of this study about Baumeister and Voh's conception of sex as "a female resource"³³ and men as the sources of material gratification, we might question this view of a balanced power relationship between men and women in Malagasy society. Insofar as female sexuality is constructed as a valuable good that women employ to get favours from men and the latter are perceived as the main actors in the economic and political fields, the sexual interaction between both parties remains governed by imbalanced power relations. Indeed, Malanjaona Rakotomalala acknowledges the fact that "young girls from Tananarive [...] say that they 'have given' when they have had a sexual relation; inversely, men say that they 'have

³¹ « grains de riz de l'invité. » Ibid. P. 138. (Translation mine).

³² « Tout don implique un contre-don et celui qui donne est supérieur à celui qui reçoit. Le contre-don est donc nécessaire pour rétablir l'équilibre...En Imerina, la fille y voit une marque de respect, sa famille un moyen d'entretenir une bonne relation. » Ibid. P. 144. (Translation mine).

³³ Roy Baumeister and Kathleen Vohs. « Sexual Economics: Sex as Female Resource for Social Exchange in Heterosexual Interactions. » *Personality and Social Psychology Review* vol. 8 No. 4 (2004).

been given.”³⁴ In this case, the very fact that the one who receives finds himself in a lower position than the one who gives and feels the need to reestablish the balance by giving something in return suggests the male concern to avoid a situation whereby the resources that are provided by women gain more value. Furthermore, before supporting the view that the “fotsim-barim-bahiny” who receive a counter-gift from the guests to whom they provided sexual favours are honoured by such gifts, we might take also into account the socio-economic conditions that characterize the lives of both parties. In other words, we might consider the fact that these girls probably come from rural areas whereby receiving gifts from a foreigner or an urban guest translates into the acquisition of rare, valuable goods that they would readily seek in exchange for sex. This argument can further be supported by American anthropologist Judith Shapiro’s recommendation that “one way we can know whether to speak of a particular pattern of sex-role differentiation in terms of hierarchy or complementarity is to see its relationship to other patterns of social differentiation that are less ambiguously understandable in terms of inequality.”³⁵ Thus, analyzing the relationship between the male guest and the “fotsim-barim-bahiny” in parallel with the socio-economic relations between the guest and the host enables us to conclude that the practice of giving “fotsim-barim-bahiny” to the male guest somehow reflects an asymmetrical rather than a balanced form of gender power relations.

What this examination of the political dimensions of sexual interactions in the Merina community of Madagascar tells us about the main subject of our study is that the gender power relations between men and women cannot be reduced to a hierarchical relationship, a relation of equality or complementarity or a balanced relationship. That is why we have set out to analyze the mechanisms of gender power relations at play in the field of kabary performance. This analysis shows that there are instances when gender power relations are hierarchical, others

³⁴ « Les jeunes filles de Tananarive ... disent qu’elles ‘ont donné’ quand elles ont eu une relation sexuelle ; inversement, les hommes disent qu’on ‘leur a donné.’ » Ibid. (Translation mine).

³⁵ Judith Shapiro. « Anthropology and the Study of Gender. » *A Feminist Perspective in the Academy: The Difference it Makes*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981. P. 121.

when they are balanced, and yet others when they are ambiguous. To illustrate an instance when Malagasy female orators seem to have made a significant step towards emancipation and recognition, and thereby a form of gender “equality,” we can refer to Lala Raharinjanahary’s words that women’s participation in kabary performance marks their claim for “the same rights as men”³⁶ and their audacity “to innovate [in order to] initiate the change [that] society has followed.”³⁷ This means that Malagasy women have become the principal initiators of their self-development by readily challenging the norms that bound them to traditional gender roles.

Thus, to understand the patterns of gender power relations that frame the field of kabary performance, we will particularly focus on the analysis of the experiences of Malagasy female orators. For that purpose, we will use the concepts of gender awareness and gender responsiveness as points of reference. Although these two concepts are mainly used in the field of development programming, they can be useful tools to understand the specific needs and strengths of Malagasy women in a traditionally patriarchal society. Among the various definitions of gender awareness, we will retain the explanation from the FAO’s page on gender concepts, which provides an understanding of gender awareness that corresponds to the context of our analysis. Hence, gender awareness can be understood as the acknowledgement of “gender differences [...] [while] integrating the special concerns of men and women fairly in development programs and projects.”³⁸ We read on that “projects are not limited to women’s traditional concerns such as health, nutrition and childcare, but also to the productive sphere, education and socio-cultural fields, where women are still under-represented.”³⁹ In other words, gender awareness means that gender differences in various fields are taken into account in the

³⁶ « Le même droit que les hommes. » Lala Raharinjanahary. “Les femmes oratrices mpikabary de l’association FIMPIMA (Fikambanan’ny Mpikabary eto Madagasikara ‘Association des rhéteurs à Madagascar.’ » *Etudes océan indien* 51 – 52 (2014). Put online on 30 September 2015. Accessed on 31 May 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1755>. (Translation mine).

³⁷ “Innover [pour] amorc[er] le changement et la société à suivi.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

³⁸ FAO. Gender concepts. <http://www.fao.org/3/x5203e/x5203e05.htm>.

³⁹ Ibid.

conceptualization of development projects. We can talk about gender awareness in the context of contemporary kabary performance insofar as our analysis aims to address the representations and manipulations of gender differences in the performance of this genre. In that way, our approach highlights the ways in which gender differences serve to hinder or foster gender equality in the field of kabary performance. When we talk about gender differences, we should bear in mind Sherry Ortner's assertion that "these [...] differences only take on significance of superior/inferior within the framework of culturally defined value systems."⁴⁰ It means that it is the configurations and arrangements of a given society that determine the superior or inferior meanings associated to gender differences. Our approach will thus consider the social meanings and evaluations of gender differences in kabary performance.

Closely tied to the concept of gender awareness is the concept of gender responsiveness, which can be understood as the conceptualization of policies that "pay attention to the unique needs of females, valuing their perspectives, respecting their experiences, understanding developmental differences between girls and boys, women and men and ultimately empowering girls and women."⁴¹ This definition reflects our concern for women's status and roles in Malagasy society as far as kabary performance is concerned. Using the concept of gender responsiveness in our analytical framework enables us to highlight Malagasy female orators' experiences and the difficulties they faced and continue to face in a male world while considering their potentials for self-empowerment and social development. As was stated in the introduction, to provide an in-depth analysis of gender issues in the context of kabary performance and a thorough comparative study of Malagasy male and female orators, we have

⁴⁰ Sherry Ortner. "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture." *Woman, Culture, and Society*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974. P. 70.

⁴¹ UNICEF. *Glossary of Terms and Concepts*, 2017. P.5. <https://www.unicef.org/rosa/media/1761/file/Gender%20glossary%20of%20terms%20and%20concepts%20.pdf>.

narrowed the scope of our study to the investigation of kabary performance in Antananarivo and among the Malagasy diaspora in Paris.

Our study is motivated by the following questions: How are female orators perceived by the audience and by other orators? In what ways does women's participation in kabary performance reflect changes in gender power relations? To what extent does women's participation in kabary performance endorse gender equality and female emancipation? In order to answer these questions, we have conducted two surveys about the audience's perceptions of Malagasy female orators as well as the personal experiences of male and female orators. The first survey investigates the audience's views on women's participation in kabary performance, especially the vodiondry kabary, nowadays. The second survey, which was conducted among professional orators from the FIMPIMA or association of Malagasy orators and the Havatsa UPEM or association of Malagasy poets and writers, explores the male and female orators' personal experiences and their perceptions of female orators' kabary performances. It should be noted that the FIMPIMA is one of the most renowned associations of Malagasy orators with various branches throughout Madagascar and abroad. It seeks to preserve Malagasy values through the teaching of kabary and the organization of activities centred on the promotion of Malagasy values and wisdom. The teaching of kabary is now flourishing in different areas of the country, including associations, schools, workplaces, and churches. This is due to the fact that the performance of kabary is required in most of the special events that mark these areas, for instance a New Year's speech given by the director of a company, a speech during a baptism or any special events at church.

The first survey⁴² essentially served to identify the evolution of Malagasy people's views on women's integration into the field of kabary performance. The responses in this survey can be grouped into three main categories: the group of respondents who still hold on to

⁴² See Appendices 15A and B.

traditions and resist social changes in relation to women's participation in kabary performances, the group of respondents who acknowledge and accept the evolution of kabary performances and women's participation while understating that it remains a masculine domain, and the group of respondents who admire female orators and view their performance of kabary as a brave act that upholds Malagasy values and wisdom. Significantly, the first and the second groups are predominant while only a limited number of respondents fall under the third group. This testifies to the prevalence of traditional ideas with regard to the audience's expectations for kabary performances. Although this survey provides pertinent information on the research subject, it has its limitations in that the answers lacked the necessary precision regarding gender-based differences in the field of kabary performances. These limitations prevented us from realizing a thorough assessment of the audience's awareness and responses to the conception of gender in kabary performance. In fact, we have identified questions that the majority of the respondents answered broadly or in a simplified way. To the question "in your opinion, what are the differences between a male and female performance of kabary," for instance, the respondents provided broad answers related to their voices and the audience's appreciation of female orators' physical appearance without giving further details. To the question "why do you think women are allowed to perform kabary nowadays," the respondents gave a simplified answer by referring to the acknowledgement of equal rights for men and women. The fact that the respondents' answers to some questions lack precision may pertain to their lack of in-depth knowledge about gender theories. It can also be suggested that they did not fully understand the questions and their implications. This could have probably been remedied by designing a set of more explicit and more specific questions. Nevertheless, the results of the first survey were somehow informative and useful in understanding ordinary people's reception of kabary performances and gender issues related to gender differences. However, due to the limitations mentioned above, we realized that it was necessary to conduct

a second survey among professional Malagasy orators. In fact, reformulating the questions and redistributing the questionnaires still presented the risk of getting the same limited results.

The second survey was thus meant to complete the findings from the first survey in that it sought to investigate the perspectives of male and female orators on the latter's performance of kabary. As in the first survey, we opted for a purposive sampling based on the following characteristics: the orators' sex, age, personal experiences in the field of kabary performance and their position, responsibilities, and achievements within the association FIMPIMA. We tried to select a proportional number of young, adult and elderly male and female orators who either hold key positions in the association or whose personal experiences are particularly relevant to our subject. Precisely, we contacted the current female president of the association who unfortunately did not have the time to answer our questions. Nevertheless, our informants include notable figures in the field of kabary performance and Malagasy literature, namely the head of the association of Malagasy poets and writers Havatsa/UPEM (Hajaina Andrianasolo) who also pioneered the teaching of kabary in Canada and Europe and the first female orator who joined the association in 1980 (Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline). The other informants are also renowned Malagasy orators who provided rich and valuable descriptions of their personal experiences in kabary performance and their personal views on our subject. We refer to R.R.,⁴³ Rasoazananiharisoa Voniniaina Bakoly, Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy, Joëlle Philippe Randriantody, Rasamoelina Jean Maurice, Tafika Rakotomavo, Alban Faniry Rakotoarisoa,⁴⁴ Souleman Andriamandimby, and Hasina Samoelinanja. The reading of the profile descriptions of contemporary Malagasy orators in the book *Ambarion-kabary I*, published by the association FIMPIMA in 2009, helped us to make a primary selection of orators that present the characteristics that we have previously identified. Our exchanges with Professor Malanjaona

⁴³ The orator asked that only her initials be used in our publications.

⁴⁴ He is commonly known as Gangstabab, a Malagasy artist who uses Malagasy hainteny and proverbs in the lyrics of his songs.

Rakotomalala at the National Institute of Eastern Language and Civilization (INALCO) also enabled us to interact with some Malagasy orators from the association FIMPIMA in France. We then organized our investigation among the orators who responded to our invitation and consented to be interviewed or to answer our questions. Four online interviews were conducted with three male orators⁴⁵ and one female orator.⁴⁶ Two face-to-face interviews were realized with two female orators.⁴⁷ Five questionnaires were sent by email and answered by three female orators⁴⁸ and two male orators.⁴⁹ These orators preferred this mode of interaction to the interview due to time issues. Although a set of questions had already been prepared prior to the interviews, the exchange was flexible in that we had the opportunity to ask further questions or explanations depending on the interviewee's statements. Furthermore, the informants were prompted to add their personal views on the subject, which raised important points that were not necessarily tackled in the questionnaire. The answers that the orators sent by email were also very informative as the respondents took the time to write detailed explanations of their experiences and views. The questions address the orators' awareness of gender differences in kabary performances judged from their personal experiences and knowledge of the history and performance of kabary. The questions are also aimed at analyzing the distribution of specific types of kabary to men and women and the overall response to kabary performed by male and female orators.

We have divided this part of our study into two distinct chapters. The first chapter highlights the differences and similarities between the traditional and modernized performances of kabary with regard to its meaning, functions and especially the participants that are allowed

⁴⁵ Jean Maurice Rasamoelina (See Appendix 10), Tafika Rakotomavo (See Appendix 9), Hasina Samoelinanja (See Appendix 11).

⁴⁶ Hajaina Andrianasolo (See Appendix 1).

⁴⁷ R.R. (See Appendix 2), Joëlle Phillippe Randriantody (See Appendix 4).

⁴⁸ Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa (See Appendix 5), Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa (See Appendix 6), Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy (See Appendix 3).

⁴⁹ Alban Faniry Rakotoarisoa (See Appendix 8), Souleman Andriamandimby (See Appendix 7).

to perform it. We will particularly focus on the performance of kabary in two distinct situations: marriage request ceremonies and funerals. Our analysis will be based on historical and empirical facts drawn from the writings of foreign and Malagasy scholars on kabary and the views developed by our respondents. The second chapter will examine the position of female orators in the initially male field of kabary performance. In this chapter, we will sketch the different portraits of the female orators that we interviewed in order to understand their experiences as female orators in the male world of kabary performance. We will first try to understand our informants' interest in becoming orators as well as the explicit or implicit conditions required for that. After that, we will consider the difficulties faced by these female orators and the various ways in which they tackled them. This will enable us to consider women's active contribution to social and cultural development within the Malagasy context under study. Our approach is based on the study of the responses of the female orators themselves, their fellow male orators, and the audience. Our analysis ends with the analysis of three kabary performances which feature male and female orators in order to appreciate the performances of female orators in comparison with male orators and to observe the audience's reception of the male and female orators' performances.

CHAPTER 3: Traditional Kabary versus Contemporary Kabary

Introduction

The history of kabary as a dynamic oral art form reflects the evolution of the genre throughout the years. Talking about the evolution of the performance of kabary, American linguistic anthropologist Elinor Keenan Ochs distinguishes between the “fomban-drazana” or

the “ancestral custom” and the “lalana vaovao” or “the new way.”⁵⁰ Ochs makes this distinction while referring to the ground rules that characterize the performance of a kabary. Interestingly, she acknowledges that “there is no one unified concept of the kabary shared by all members of the speech community”⁵¹ and that “notions of what is obligatory in a kabary vary.”⁵² This means that despite the fact that they are obligatory, the rules that have been established for kabary performance are not fixed and they vary from one orator to another. In Ochs’ explanation, the ancestors’ way of performing kabary suggests the production of the formal, elaborate and “winding” speech that follows the essential stages of traditional oratory, whereas the new way of performing kabary tends to make the matters “proceed in a simple and straightforward manner.”⁵³ Considering the fact that Ochs’ article was published in 1973, at a time when women’s performance of kabary was not yet unanimously accepted, we can examine the evolution of kabary performance with particular focus on the gradual acknowledgement of women as orators. In that sense, our interest in comparing the traditional and contemporary performances of kabary lies not so much in the changing structure of the genre but more in the patterns of gender power relations that are reflected in the evolution of its performance throughout the years. It means that we will examine the evolution of kabary performance with gender lenses. As was stated earlier, kabary performance was initially reserved for elderly men and the inclusion of women only started in the late twentieth century. Thus, in our analysis, the term “traditional” refers to the performances of kabary prior to the inclusion of female orators, which is referred to as the contemporary period that is marked by the various changes in the performance of kabary. In this section, we will conduct a historical analysis of the performances

⁵⁰ Elinor Keenan Ochs. “A Sliding Sense of Obligatoriness: The Polystructure of Malagasy Oratory.” *Language in Society* vol 2 N.2 (1973). P. 233.

⁵¹ Ibid. P. 230.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid. p. 233.

of kabary in order to uncover the ideologies that underlie the initial exclusion of women and understand their current position in relation to the genre.

Understanding Women's Initial Exclusion from Kabary Performance

Our research has confirmed that the primary exclusion of women from kabary performance is rooted in the ideology of male superiority and male dominance enhanced by the marginalization and subordination of women. This can be observed in the traditional social organizations that regulated the lives of the Malagasy. We can take the example of the appointment of the Tangalamena, a powerful social and masculine figure among the Betsimisaraka in Anosibe an'Ala, as is reported by Michel Razafiarivony. As the writer puts it, the holders of speech within this community are the "tangalamena" and the "vavanjaka."⁵⁴ The tangalamena, which refers to a "sacred object [...] a stick ... cut from a rather rare tree called hitsika ... usually placed at the ancestors' corner, the North-east corner of the house of the man who holds it,"⁵⁵ lends its name to the man who owns it and who "serves as the official intermediary between the living on the one hand, and the dead, the razana (the ancestors) and the Zanahary, the creator, on the other hand."⁵⁶ It is further specified that the tangalamena's function is to "invoke these invisible superior beings during common traditional ceremonies or individual enterprises to request their blessing or forgiveness."⁵⁷ What mainly stands out about the appointment of the tangalamena is the fact that "he cannot be a woman, but must be chosen among the descendants of a woman [...] the son of the sisters who did not leave the village."⁵⁸

⁵⁴ "Les détenteurs de la parole : Tangalamena et Vavanjaka. » Michel Razafiarivony. *Richesses culturelles et pauvreté économique d'une société orale (Anosibe an'ala Madagascar)*. Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2006. P. 77. (Translation mine).

⁵⁵ « Un objet sacré...un bâton... tiré d'un arbre assez rare appelé hitsika...habituellement déposé au coin des ancêtres, le coin Nord-Est de la maison de l'homme sacré qui le détient. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁵⁶ « Sert d'intermédiaire officiel entre les vivants d'un côté, et les morts, les razana et Zanahary le Créateur, de l'autre. » Ibid. Pp. 77, 78. (Translation mine).

⁵⁷ « Invoquer ces Êtres Supérieurs invisibles lors des cérémonies traditionnelles communes ou à l'occasion d'une entreprise individuelle pour demander leur bénédiction ou leur pardon. » Ibid. P. 78. (Translation mine).

⁵⁸ « Il ne peut pas être une femme, mais doit être choisi parmi les descendants d'une femme... fils des sœurs qui n'ont pas quitté le village. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

This may be explained by the community's desire to ensure that the holders of power are derived from the village, being the descendants of the women who remained in the village and not the descendants of the men who married women from other villages. Razafiarivony explains that the tangalamena represents women as he is chosen among the descendants of the women in the village but he cannot be a woman because woman "symbolizes life in the proper sense of the term, hence she cannot communicate with its opposite, death,"⁵⁹ that is why the tangalamena serves as the intermediary between the living and the dead. This means that women, being a mere channel through which power is passed among the male members of the community, are excluded from the powerful positions held by men. This calls to mind Adrienne Rich's view that matrilineal social organizations as "[variations on the more familiar western pattern of the patriarchal family] merely represent different ways of channeling position and property to the male; they may confer more status and dignity on women and reduce the likelihood of polygamy; but they are not to be confused with 'matriarchy.'"⁶⁰ This statement is true for the social organization and distribution of power among the Betsimisaraka because despite the emphasis put on matrilineal descent in the appointment of the tangalamena, women merely serve as the medium through which power is passed onto men. Eventually, the appointment of a tangalamena is subject to social changes⁶¹ but the same principle that he cannot be a woman applies.

The second example that illustrates male superiority in the Betsimisaraka community is that of the vavanjaka. The vavanjaka, in Razafiarivony's words, "literally means [...] issued from speech"⁶² and is also called "solon-kabary [or] the substitute, the representative of

⁵⁹ « Symbolise la vie au sens propre, elle ne peut donc pas communiquer avec son contraire, la mort. » Ibid. P. 80. (Translation mine).

⁶⁰ Adrienne Rich. *Of Woman Born. Motherhood as Experience and Institution*. New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1986. P. 58.

⁶¹ See Michel Razafiarivony. Op. cit. P. 78

⁶² « Littéralement ... l'issue de la parole. » Ibid. P. 80. (Translation mine).

discourse/oration, that is to say the spokesman.”⁶³ The appointment of the vavanjaka differs from that of the tangalamena in that he is “chosen among the elders, the heads of the lineage [...] of the same fireniana⁶⁴ [or group] of the village among the most eloquent men, the smooth talkers [...] he is chosen among the zanany lahy, the descendants of a masculine lineage.”⁶⁵ Razafiarivony emphasizes that the vavanjaka “symbolizes [...] the importance of speech in an oral society. It is through speech that man masters the world of the living [and] expresses his power. And the one who represents it deserves a place of honor in society.”⁶⁶ In other words, speech which represents the power of mankind over the world, is associated to men in the personality of the vavanjaka. This validates the assertion that the primary holders of speech and power in this community are men.

To provide an even more specific illustration of the exclusion and subordination of women in kabary performance, we can refer to one of our informants’ statements about the prevalence of patriarchy or “fanjakan-dehilahy,” in traditional Malagasy society. This informant, an elderly male orator, affirms that “female orators have faced and still face many difficulties due to the prevalence of patriarchy,”⁶⁷ which is the main reason for their exclusion in the field of kabary performance. This statement, according to the same informant, is based on the general assumption about women’s inferiority as is reflected by the Malagasy saying “women can’t kill a boar.”⁶⁸ This saying implies that women are the weak sex who, unlike men, are unable to perform challenging tasks that require strength and skill. Kabary performance is

⁶³ « Solon-kabary le remplaçant, le représentant du discours, c’est-à-dire le porte-parole. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁶⁴ Fireniana comes from the root “reny” or mother. Ibid. P. 78.

⁶⁵ « Choisi parmi ray aman-dreny, chefs de lignage...d’un même fireniana du village parmi les hommes les plus éloquentes, les beaux parleurs ... il est choisi parmi les zanany lahy, descendants d’une lignée masculine. » Ibid. P. 80. (Translation mine).

⁶⁶ « Symbolise... l’importance de la parole dans la société orale. C’est par la parole que l’homme maîtrise le monde des vivants, il y exprime son pouvoir. Et celui qui la représente mérite une place d’honneur dans la société. » Ibid. P. 81. (Translation mine).

⁶⁷ “Tojo olana lehibe ny vehivavy mpikabary. Henjana loatra ny fahamafisan’ny fanjakan-dehilahy.” Jean Maurice Rasamoelina. 16 March 2019. See Appendix 10.

⁶⁸ « Vehivavy tsy mahafaty lambo. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

precisely seen as a challenging practice, which, in Lee Haring's words, requires "the verbal skill of a man of words."⁶⁹ We can take the example of the kabary performed at a marriage request⁷⁰ or marriage debate⁷¹ whereby "a man of words is perceived as powerful [...] if he possesses variable techniques, strategies, and tactics of negotiation."⁷² The marriage request is a ceremony that gathers the families of the groom (the petitioner) and that of the bride-to-be (the deliverer) in order to ask the woman for marriage. The two families are represented by two spokespersons, it means the orators, who will engage in a verbal duel to discuss the terms of the marriage, the obligations of both parties, and to make negotiations to contract the marriage. In that sense, the orators are expected to be skilled enough to use the right words in the right way. Edward Louis Keenan and Elinor Keenan Ochs' views reinforce Haring's arguments about the qualities required in a man of words. Keenan and Ochs maintain in "Becoming a Competent Speaker of Malagasy" that "being a mpikabary [or a man of words] is a highly valued skill and requires a thorough knowledge of traditional lore, proverbs, and the structure of ceremonies and also requires exceptional ability to turn a good phrase."⁷³ This means that apart from being a form of artistic expression that displays the orator's skills, kabary performance also plays a major role in the perpetuation and preservation of Malagasy culture and wisdom through oral literature. We thus understand the pressure that lies on the orators who are expected to convey Malagasy wisdom and ensure the success of the ceremony through their performances. This explains the exclusion of women who are not traditionally perceived to be brave or strong enough to face this challenge.

⁶⁹ Lee Haring uses the term "a man of words" to refer to orators or mpikabary. This reflects the initial exclusion of women from kabary performance. Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 163.

⁷⁰ In Malagasy "fangataham-bady" (literal translation also used by Elinor Keenan Ochs).

⁷¹ "Marriage debate" is the term used by Lee Haring to define the ceremony of asking the woman for marriage and giving the "vodiondry" (literally the lamb's rump) to her parents. It usually stages two orators from both families who discuss the terms under which the marriage is to take place.

⁷² Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 157.

⁷³ Edward L. Keenan and Elinor Keenan Ochs. "Becoming a Competent Speaker of Malagasy." *Languages and their Speakers*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987. p. 143.

Moreover, some inherent Malagasy practices that are discussed by Elinor Ochs and Edward Louis Keenan in the same article also support the exclusion of women from public speaking. These writers argue that norms of nonconfrontation and indirectness of requests characterize the Malagasy's social interactions. As they put it, in Malagasy society, requests "are not given directly, for this would put the requestee on the spot and risk an affront to the requester if the request is denied."⁷⁴ Keenan and Ochs make the link between the Malagasy's way of making indirect requests and the practice of appointing an orator during a marriage request kabary whereby the "mpikabary [...] speaks for, or on behalf of, the entire family."⁷⁵ This means that the families, especially the petitioner's family, do not address their request directly to the woman's family and the latter entrust the delivery of their response to the orator. This practice, according to the same authors, "follows from the more general and pervasive norms of group, not individual, responsibility and nonconfrontation."⁷⁶ The same mentality is conveyed in the oral literature of the country whereby a norm of noncommittalism binds the storyteller or orator to attribute the sources of their story or artistic expressions to the ancestors.⁷⁷ When asked about the importance of innovation in the current performance of kabary, a female orator, Hajaina Andrianasolo, among our informants acknowledged that contemporary orators invent sayings and proverbs that correspond to the social context of the performance. The orator herself reported that "[she has] created a great number of expressions and proverbs that [she passes] on to [her] trainees as a teacher of kabary."⁷⁸ She underlined that "[she] severely reprimand[s] these apprentice orators if [she] hear[s] them using her expressions

⁷⁴ Ibid. P.155.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Note the noncommittal formulaic expression "It is not I who lies but the ancestors" ["tsy izaho no mavandy fa ny taloha tany"] used by Malagasy storytellers to end their tales. (Translation mine).

⁷⁸ "Efa namorona fomba fitenenana sy ohabolana maro be izay ampitaiko amin'ny mpianatro amin'ny maha mpampianatra kabary ahy." Hajaina Andrianasolo. 02 March 2019. Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

at their own kabary performances and saying that these expressions come from the ancestors.”⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the principle of noncommittalism still applies because the new expressions are passed on orally while being used at various performances and there is no copyright. Hence, the main source of the new expressions remains anonymous. The norm of noncommittalism described here is closely related to a common Malagasy feature that Malagasy politician Richard Andriamanjato defines as the “avoidance of personal responsibility, or culpability [that] weighs upon any Malagasy whether acting, speaking, or thinking.”⁸⁰ In this regard, Lee Haring says that “public speech (kabary) invariably disclaims any innovation in ancestral custom, for innovation would invite *tsiny*, reproach.”⁸¹ This does not mean that no innovation is brought to the performance of kabary, it mainly means that the authors of these inventions do not claim to be the sources of the innovation. The norm of noncommittalism is related to the norm of nonconfrontation in that the avoidance of personal responsibility prevents the disagreement or conflicts that may arise in the confrontation. In the field of kabary performance, Keenan and Ochs claim that a skilled orator has to master the use of “winding speech,” which avoids direct confrontation that would be perceived as offensive and inappropriate. This is where the exclusion of women from kabary performance comes into play. In fact, as Ochs describes the traditional perceptions about women in Malagasy society in her article “A Sliding Sense of Obligatoriness: The Polystructure of Malagasy Oratory,” women are “considered to have less tact and subtlety than men [and] they cannot be relied upon to always maintain respect despite disagreement [...] They tend to be hot-headed and openly express anger or hostility.”⁸² This explains the fact that women are mainly encouraged to intervene in informal and disturbing

⁷⁹ “Teneniko ary bedesiko mafy mihitsy ireo mpianatro ireo raha sendra ka henoko mampiasa ny fomba fitenenana noforoniko mandritra ny kabary izay ataony, ka miteny hoe, ‘hoy ny ntaolo hoe...” Ibid.

⁸⁰ Richard Andriamanjato in Lee Haring. Lee Haring, « Jean Paulhan’s Research in Oral Literature », *Cahiers de littérature orale* (2014), 75-76, put online on 29 April 2015, accessed on 01 June 2020. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/clo/1855>.

⁸¹ Lee Haring. Ibid.

⁸² Elinor Ochs. “A Sliding Sense of Obligatoriness: The Polystructure of Malagasy Oratory.” *Language in Society* vol 2 N.2 (1973). P.228.

circumstances such as bargaining at the market place or reprimanding wrong-doers in the family or the community.⁸³ Sarah Fee views this practice as men's chauvinistic exploitation of women when she says that "men consider [the female orator] as inferior; yet, they exploit her to serve their interest [...] For example, to express his anger, a man directs his wife to his adversary whom she severely reprimands. Similarly, the female orator is useful in the commercial transactions with the Europeans."⁸⁴ Antoine Rahajarizafy's account of an incident during the reign of Radama I can be used to illustrate this point. When the king cut his hair short in the style of foreign soldiers and ordered his soldiers to do the same although the custom at that time was to have long hair for men, women and children⁸⁵ were sent to perform the kabary that was aimed at admonishing him. The king ordered these women to be killed because they, in his words, tried to stop him from doing what he wanted to do. The fact that women were the appointed speakers for this difficult task not only reinforces women's status as the guardians of moral values but also confirms Fee's statement about men's exploitation of women to serve their interest. Indeed, it is a well-known fact that admonishing a sovereign and going against his/her will is a risky endeavour. These practices tend to subjugate women because they are excluded from the prestigious domain of kabary performance because of their alleged lack of the essential skills and qualities required for kabary performance, namely the mastery of winding speech and the ability to keep one's composure in conflictual situations. Yet, women's direct speech or straightforwardness in communication is exploited in other significant

⁸³ Keenan and Ochs provide a pertinent example in their article: "the man who owned the house they] lived in [...] found that the white mud coating over the bricks on the house had been damaged by the village children who were using the wall to kick a ball against. He remained in the village for two days and occasionally suggested to the parents of the children that something ought to be done about it. But the suggestion was simply overlooked. On the third day, he left and returned with his wife who vociferously lit into the first man [...] she met upon entering the village.

⁸⁴ Sarah Fee in Lala Raharinjanahary. "Les femmes oratrices mpikabary de l'association FIMPIMA (Fikambanan'ny Mpikabary eto Madagasikara 'Association des rhéteurs à Madagascar.' » *Etudes océan indien* 51 – 52 (2014). Put online on 30 September 2015. Accessed on 31 May 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1755>.

⁸⁵ This is what Antoine Rahajarizafy initially says but as his tale proceeds, he merely refers to the women who performed the said kabary to the king. Antoine Rahajarizafy. *Ny Kabary*. Fianarantsoa: Ambozontany, 1969. P. 57 – 59.

domains, including kabary that are intended to convey moral lessons, to ensure the success of social interactions and transactions. It means that it is men who initially determine the factors that disqualify women from kabary performance to serve men's own interests.

The structure of kabary as a verbal duel further excludes women from the participation in allegedly masculine activities such as duels. Indeed, the expression “spikes and retaliation”⁸⁶ describes very well the characteristic of kabary as a verbal duel. This implies that the orators must not only be skilled but also strong-minded while facing their ‘adversary.’ Most of our male informants acknowledged that women are perceived to be emotional, “prone to crying,”⁸⁷ hence, they have to control their emotions if they want to succeed in kabary performance. Here, women's exclusion from a male sphere is based on gender stereotypes, namely the assumption that women are physically, emotionally and intellectually weaker than men.

Finally, a specific illustration of the subordination of women in the field of kabary can be observed in the model of traditional marriage request kabary published by Malagasy Anglican minister Rasamuel Maurice. In this marriage request sample, an analogy between crowing hens and unconventional wives is drawn by the petitioner to remind the bride-to-be of the social prescriptions for a good and dutiful wife. Lee Haring provides a synthesis and analysis of Rasamuel's passage, which is presented in the form of “two satirical parables.”⁸⁸ In both short stories that are part of the petitioner's kabary, the wives disrespect their husbands by failing to fulfil their housewife duties of preparing meals, feeding the animals and by talking back to their husbands when they demand an explanation for their misbehavior. The women are also punished in the same way by being beaten by their husbands. The explanation “both these

⁸⁶ « Don-tany sy kapo-tandroka », « piques et ripostes » from Lala Raharinjanahary. “Les femmes oratrices mpikabary de l'association FIMPIMA (Fikambanan'ny Mpikabary eto Madagasikara 'Association des rhéteurs à Madagascar.' » *Etudes océan indien* 51 – 52 (2014). Put online on 30 September 2015. Accessed on 31 May 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1755>. (Translation mine).

⁸⁷ “Marivo ranomaso.” Jean Maurice Rasamoelina. 16 mars 2019. See Appendix 10.

⁸⁸ Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 182.

forbearing husbands raise a hand only when the wife talks back”⁸⁹ is given to justify the husbands’ reactions. It is obvious that while the husband’s recourse to violence is justified, the wife’s misbehavior is condemned. It is significant that the petitioner uses the following hainteny to refer to what constitutes an abominable wife: “she incites the dog so that he bites, she is smoked by the grass she has gathered, burnt by the fire she has lit; and like a crowing hen, she receives the evil of her actions.”⁹⁰ The use of hainteny signals a breach of the pre-established norm which puts the petitioners in a lower position while presenting the request to the deliverers.⁹¹ In fact, the use of hainteny in the Malagasy context is assimilated to the speaker’s adoption of a superior position compared to the listener as can be understood in Haring’s statement that “hainteny have a monologic and authoritative effect. The rivalry of the players must end with the victory of one.”⁹² It means that by using a hainteny to warn the bride-to-be about the unacceptable behaviour that she should avoid, the petitioner not only anticipates his victory but also reestablishes the man’s authority over the woman. Moreover, the use of the infamous phrase “crowing hen” to refer to women who dare to talk back to their husbands suggests that men are naturally entitled to speak and unsubmitive women who violate this norm deserve the bad things that happen to them.

The Gradual Integration of Women in the Field of Kabary Performance

The arguments presented above are among the common reasons for women’s initial exclusion from kabary performance in the traditional Malagasy society. At this point, we may ask about the events that led to the gradual integration of women in the field of kabary

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ « Mihantsy amboa hanaikitra azy izy; setroky ny kitay alainy ; main’ny afo natsangany ; ary akohovavy maneno ka lozain’ny ataony. » Ibid. Pp. 182, 183. (Author’s translation).

⁹¹ In this regard, Elinor Ochs says that « in all formal requests, the party who does the requesting is considered to be inferior to those to whom the request is directed.” Elinor Ochs. “A Sliding Sense of Obligatoriness: The Polystructure of Malagasy Oratory.” *Language in Society* vol. 2 N. 2 (1973). P. 228, 229.

⁹² Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 118.

performance. It is probably fitting to start with another distinction between the traditional and modernized performance of kabary in the views of one of our informants. This orator says that “traditionally, kabary was meant to be inherited from father to son,”⁹³ that is, an oral art passed on from generation to generation. Recently, since the introduction of the teaching of kabary at schools, churches, various companies, organizations and associations, kabary performance is no longer inherited but acquired through training. It is precisely this evolution of the conception of kabary from an inherited skill to a knowledge that can be acquired like any other subject at school that enabled women to participate in kabary performance. This view is further supported by another female orator who says that “what matters today is no longer either the orator is male or female since anyone who is skilled to perform kabary and knows how to be convincing can perform kabary.”⁹⁴ It can be suggested that kabary performance has become a contest or competition in which gender still matters but it is accompanied by other factors to evaluate the orator’s performance. These factors are the elements of performance, which, among other things include the voice, the skills, the appropriate use of traditional lore and the appearance, that characterize each orator and enable their evaluation. Another female orator makes a useful distinction between the acknowledged orators in the olden days and nowadays. She asserts that before, kabary was reserved for “the elderly men or raiamandreny [within the community], the descendants of nobles [...] whose oratory skills are innate, and the honourable personalities whose authority was recognized by the community.”⁹⁵ Nowadays, as she puts it, “there are no more restrictions about the age or the social class of the orators [...] anyone who can deliver a

⁹³ “Nifandovana ny kabary taloha.” Jean Maurice Rasamoelina. 16 March 2019. See Appendix 10. (Translation mine).

⁹⁴ “Ankehitriny tsy ny hoe lehilahy sa vehivavy no zava-dehibe fa izay manan-talenta hikabary ka mahay mandresy lahatra dia afaka manatanteraka kabary.” Hajaina Andrianasolo. 2 March 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

⁹⁵ “Lehilahy lehibe efa raiamandreny... zanak’andriana... efa toetra ao anaty ny azy; to teny eo amin’ny tany amamonina sady manan-kaja.” Rasoazananiharisoa Voniniaina Bakoly. 25 March 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

speech is an orator.”⁹⁶ This statement reinforces the connection between capacity and performance as opposed to an inherited right or talent.

It should be noted that the current institutionalization of kabary performance as a skill that can be acquired through training signals a notable contradiction between traditional and contemporary perceptions about the orators. While traditionally, the emphasis was put on the speaking, not the speaker,⁹⁷ nowadays, the idea of competence inevitably casts the spotlight on the orator who would then become popular for his/her skills. Although contemporary orators do not openly brag about their skills or draw particular attention to themselves, they are nonetheless internally concerned about acquiring and maintaining the prestigious status of a skilled orator, which is also expressed in the notion of “ray aman-dreny” developed by Maurice Bloch.⁹⁸ The term ray aman-dreny does not necessarily refer to elderly people in that case, rather, it corresponds to the prestigious social status held by someone who gains authority and wins respect through the power of his/her words.

Apart from the opening of the teaching of kabary to the great public, the social changes triggered by the various movements that promote gender equality also influenced the integration of women in the field of kabary performance. The male orators that we interviewed and the respondents in our first survey among ordinary people who have already attended kabary performances unanimously claimed that thanks to the politics of gender equality that are now fully in vigor in Madagascar, women’s performance of kabary no longer poses the same issues that it did several years ago. One of them, Hasina Samoelinanja, a young male orator, who was

⁹⁶ “Tsy mifidy sokajin-taona sy sokajin’olona ... izay mahay mandahatra dia afaka mikabary.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹⁷ See Kevin Ahnfeldt Ogilvie. “Breaking Words: Towards a Malagasy Oral Theology of Homiletics.” PhD thesis. University of Kwazulu-Natal Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. 2010. Accessed March 2019. P. 233.

⁹⁸ This writer explains that « becoming, and therefore being, a ray aman-dreny is an ambiguous business ... unchallenged ray aman-dreny ... [are] maintained in their position by their wisdom and their ability to make formal speeches ... This ability to make speeches and this wisdom may be as much the result as the cause of their influence. » Maurice Bloch. « Decision-Making in Councils among the Merina of Madagascar. » *Councils in Action*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1971. P. 46.

among the first children who learned kabary performance at school, argues that “it is no longer surprising to see women performing kabary. What would be controversial today is perhaps the performance of kabary by transgenders.”⁹⁹ Although this view is relevant given the growing number of female orators and the growing interest in homosexuality and transgenderism, it tends to cloak the actual difficulties that female orators face under the guise of equal rights between men and women. In reality, although women’s performance of kabary is generally acknowledged, female orators are still outnumbered by male ones according to the figures mentioned by another male informant. The latter states that “in the association of Malagasy orators [he has] adhered to, 30% are female and the rest are male.”¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the same informant argues that despite the prevalence of gender discrimination against female orators, the latter have learnt to defend themselves and manage to impose themselves in the traditionally male sphere of kabary performance. He cites the example of the second female orator, Rasoazanatsimba Abeline Eléonore, who joined the association of Malagasy orators after Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline. Our informant says that to defend women’s right to perform kabary, Rasoazanatsimba argues that “if it is widely accepted that women can be engineers, physicians or pilots, professions that are traditionally masculine, why cannot they perform kabary which abounds with Malagasy wisdom?”¹⁰¹ Hence, Malagasy women’s integration in the field of kabary performance has been influenced by the promotion of women’s liberation and gender equality.

Rasoazanatsimba’s reference to the fact that kabary conveys Malagasy wisdom parallels the views of other female orators who claim that women should be allowed to perform kabary

⁹⁹ « Tsy mahagaga intsony ankehitriny ny vehivavy mikabary. Ny mety hampisy ady hevitra angamba dia ny fisian’ny sarindahy sy ny sarim-bavy mikabary. » Hasina Samoelinanja. 28 February 2019. See Appendix 11. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁰ “Ao amin’ny fikambanana misy ahy, 30% ny vehivavy, ny ambiny dia lehilahy avokoa.” Jean Maurice Rasamoelina. 16 March 2019. See Appendix 10. (Translation mine).

¹⁰¹ “Raha tsy nosakanana ny vehivavy ‘ingenieur,’ na dokotera na ‘pilote,’ asa izay natokana ho an’ny lehilahy hatramin’izay, nahoana ny vehivavy no tsy avela handray anjara amin’ny kabary izay feno fahendrena Malagasy?” Rasoazanatsimba quoted by Jean Maurice Rasamoelina. Ibid. (Translation mine).

in order to preserve Malagasy values. In fact, among the reasons that also prompted female orators' participation in kabary performance, according to most Malagasy orators, is the awareness that kabary is "a Malagasy value that should be preserved and promoted by everyone, regardless of their sex."¹⁰² This is the idea defended by female orator Rasoazananiharisoa Voniniaina Bakoly in her discourse on the performance of kabary as a special guest for the TV show *Midi Ma'nifik* in Madagascar. The same argument is expressed by Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline who says that kabary performance is open to Malagasy women because Malagasy language should be preserved as "language is the motherland and ONE WHO loves their language loves their motherland."¹⁰³ Motherland is our translation of the Malagasy word "firenena" used by Rasamoeliasoa, which contains the root word "reny" or mother. This statement implies that any Malagasy, including women, who love their motherland, should promote Malagasy language in every possible way such as the performance of the verbal art kabary.

Another factor that led to the acceptance of women's performance of kabary is the absence of skilled male orators. This is generally acknowledged by the respondents in our first survey. The majority of our respondents maintain that "kabary is a birth mark or tandra vadin-koditra for Malagasy men, and women can only perform kabary if no skilled male orator is present."¹⁰⁴ Some respondents suggest that "it is preferable that men, as the acknowledged orators in Malagasy society, deliver the speech in formal settings and women only do the

¹⁰² « Soatoavina Malagasy izay tokony hotehirizina sy hovoizin'ny rehetra, na lahy na vavy. » « Hainteny Malagasy. » *Midi Ma'nifik*, Viva TV, 28 March 2017. Web. Accessed 31 March 2019. (Translation mine).

Tafika Rakotomavo shares this view when he refers to the reasons why Malagasy women in France learn kabary nowadays. He says that « [these women] love Malagasy language and take it as their duty to preserve it and promote it. » [Tia ny teny Malagasy izy ireo ary raisiny ho andraikitra ny fitandrovana sy fampandrosoana izany »]. Tafika Rakotomavo. 31 May 2019. See Appendix 9. (Translation mine).

¹⁰³ "Ny teny no firenena ARY IZAY tia ny tenindrazany dia tia ny tanindrazany." Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa. 7 March 2019. See Appendix 5. (Informant's emphasis and translation mine).

¹⁰⁴ « Tandra vadin-koditra ho an'ny lehilahy Malagasy ny kabary, ka rehefa tsy misy lehilahy mahay mikabary ihany vao mikabary ny vehivavy. » Interview with ordinary people about women and kabary performance. See Appendix 15 A. (Translation mine).

introductory speech in less formal contexts.”¹⁰⁵ The expression “tandra vadin-koditra,” which is explained as something that cannot be divorced from another,¹⁰⁶ suggests that men are born to perform kabary and the ability to perform kabary is an inherent characteristic that is assumed to be possessed by Malagasy men. Yet, the fact that there are situations in which there are no skilled male orators to perform the kabary reveals the contradiction in these statements. The association of kabary performance to learned ability supports the idea that anyone who masters this oral art form, including women, can perform it. The same argument is related to Rasamoelina’s account of the important number of female Malagasy pastors whose duties oblige them to perform kabary at different religious or social occasions. This male orator contends that these female pastors perform kabary on a regular basis, either while paying a visit to somebody who is sick, hosting a religious ceremony, presenting condolences to the family of the deceased, or delivering the speech at the funeral. It means that their position of authority as church leaders calls for their ability to deliver public speeches. In that sense, the acknowledgement of female orators is preceded by social facts that signal the evolution of women’s positions in Malagasy society.

Nevertheless, even though women’s performance of kabary is currently widely accepted as part of the institutionalization of gender equality, it is undeniable that the fields in which women intervene are still limited. Lala Raharinjanahary contends in her article on female orators in the association of Malagasy orators that “public speech-making is related to instances of decision-making and authority, either economic, political or social [and that] in many countries [including Madagascar], women [...] are still a minority in decision-making positions.”¹⁰⁷ Raharinjanahary cites the example of the composition of the Malagasy

¹⁰⁵ « Aleo ny lehilahy amin’ny maha-mpikabary eken’ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy azy no mikabary amin’ny lanonana ofisialy fa ny vehivavy manao ny teny fanolorana amin’ny lanonana tsotsotra. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁶ « Zavatra tsy mahay misaraka amin’ny zavatra hafa iray » from Rajemisa Raolison. *Rakibolana Malagasy*. Ambozontany : [1985] 2003.

¹⁰⁷ « La prise de parole en public est liée aux instances de décisions et d’autorités, qu’elles soient économiques, politiques ou sociales... dans beaucoup de pays... les femmes...sont en minorité aux postes de décision. » Lala

government in 2014 whereby “among the 31 ministers, only 6 are female and the latter have been assigned ministries that are ‘appropriate for women,’ namely the ministries of Justice, Higher Education, Population, and Culture and Water.”¹⁰⁸ This shows that Malagasy women’s limited access to leadership and decision-making positions is closely related to the limitation of the contexts in which they can deliver political public speeches. This brings to mind the connotation of political speeches as an expression of authority during the royal period when the sovereign gathered his/her subjects and presented his/her program in his/her speech. The sovereign would often say at the end of his/her speech, “isn’t that so, dwellers beneath the sky”¹⁰⁹ not so much to ask for the audience’s consent but to confirm the latter’s agreement to put the presented plan into effect. The audience would thus say, “that is so!”¹¹⁰ To some extent, the public speeches that female leaders, heads of companies or church leaders deliver on special occasions in relation to their work are deemed to be acceptable and normal. We can take the examples of the female pastors mentioned by one of our informants who deliver public speeches in various formal contexts such as the celebration of the New Year, marriages or funerals. We can also cite the example of one of our female informants, who is a female orator and at the same time the head of the association of Malagasy poets and writers. She reports that as the head of this association, she has “delivered formal speeches in front of important political figures such as the head of the state, the head of the National Assembly, the deputies and the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Ban Ki-moon.”¹¹¹ She was indeed the mistress of

Raharinjanahary. “Les femmes oratrices mpikabary de l’association FIMPIMA (Fikambanan’ny Mpikabary eto Madagasikara ‘Association des rhéteurs à Madagascar.’ » *Etudes océan indien* 51 – 52 (2014). Put online on 30 September 2015. Accessed on 31 May 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1755>. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁸ « Sur 31 ministres, il y a seulement 6 femmes, et on leur a confié des ministères qui ‘conviennent aux femmes,’ comme la Justice, l’Enseignement supérieur, la Population, la Culture et l’Eau. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁹ “Sa tsy zay ry ambanilanitra?” See Antoine Rahajarizafy. *Ny Kabary*. Fianarantsoa: Ambozontany, 1969. P. 71. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁰ Zay!” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹¹ “Efa nikabary manoloana ny filoham-pirenena, efa nikabary manoloana ny filohan’ny andrim-panjakana, efa nikabary teo anatrehan’ny solombavambahoaka sy ireo olom-boafidy any amin’ny faritra sy any ambanivohitra any, eny nikabary koa aza tamin’ny fandalovan’i Ban Ki Moon (SG firenena mikambana) teto Madagasikara tamin’ny 2016.” Hajaina Andrianasolo. 22 March 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

ceremony during the latter's visit in Madagascar in 2016. She underlines that "when [she] perform[s] the role of mistress of ceremony, [she] has to display [her] oratory skills."¹¹² The public acknowledgement of women's performance of political speeches that are in relation to their work implicitly echoes the previously discussed traditional assimilation of female leaders to men during the period of monarchy in Madagascar.

Our research has further revealed that the areas in which women's delivery of a public speech is less controversial are the animation of events such as marriages, family events and New Year festivities.¹¹³ This does not mean that female orators do not take part in the performance of kabary during more significant formal and traditional events. In this regard, Lala Raharinjanahary notes the striking change that has been witnessed for the past thirty years as regards "women's delivery of public speech in social and cultural contexts, [namely] the traditional oration pronounced [...] during traditional ceremonies related to the life cycles like marriages or funerals."¹¹⁴ It is the increasing participation of female orators in these traditional male spheres of influence that led us to focus our analysis on the performance of kabary in the fields of marriage requests and funerals. The following sections are thus dedicated to a case study of the performance of marriage request and funeral kabary as far as female orators are concerned. Our case study mainly considers the experiences of the female orators that we interviewed as well as the current perceptions of female orators from the perspectives of the audience and male orators. We have designed our questionnaires to address the issues surrounding these female orators' performances of kabary in the aforementioned contexts.

¹¹² "Matetika aho rehefa manao maître de cérémonie dia tsy maintsy mampiseho ny maha mpikabary." Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹³ As can be read in the description of the profiles of the female orators in the book *Ambarion-kabary* published by the association of Malagasy orators in Madagascar in 2009, the majority of the female orators are reported to embrace their career as orators by animating marriage ceremonies and other festivities.

¹¹⁴ « La prise de parole en public sur les plans social et culturel, [notamment] le discours traditionnel... lors des cérémonies traditionnelles liées au cycle de vie comme le mariage, les funérailles. » Lala Raharinjanahary. "Les femmes oratrices mpikabary de l'association FIMPIMA (Fikambanan'ny Mpikabary eto Madagasikara 'Association des rhéteurs à Madagascar.' » *Etudes océan indien* 51 – 52 (2014). Put online on 30 September 2015. Accessed on 31 May 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1755>. (Translation mine).

3.1. The Case of Marriage Request Kabary

Definitions and Context of Performance

Marriage request kabary is the oratory performed during the ceremony that gathers the families of the groom and the bride-to-be to ask the latter for marriage.¹¹⁵ It is a literal translation of the Malagasy phrase “kabary fangataham-bady,” which is also known as the “kabary vodiondry” or the speech delivered during the “vodiondry.” The word “vodiondry” refers to both the event during which the groom’s petitioner presents the request to the woman’s family and to the symbolic sum of money, which can be assimilated to the bride price, that the groom gives to the bride-to-be’s parents. Indeed, asking the woman for marriage in this context means addressing the request to her family and delivering the “vodiondry” (literally the lamb’s rump) to her parents. The “vodiondry” is thought to express the groom’s respect for and acknowledgement towards the future bride’s parents.

The kabary during the “vodiondry” proceeds as a dialogue between the two orators appointed by the groom’s and the bride’s families. These two orators thus represent the families, which is a great responsibility and, according to one of our informants,¹¹⁶ makes “the orator the pillar of the ceremony.”¹¹⁷ In fact, according to the same informant, the orators are expected to “preserve the families’ honour and respectability”¹¹⁸ through their performance of the kabary according to the traditional norms and the expectations of the families. That is why the

¹¹⁵ This is practised by most Malagasy from all social classes though the proceedings may vary depending on the families and the contexts in which the marriage request is to take place. Economic issues or time constraints, for instance, may compel the families to simplify the ceremony while keeping the basic principle of offering the « vodiondry » or a sum of money to the bride’s parents.

¹¹⁶ R.R points to the fact that nowadays, people think that kabary is merely one of the elements that compose the organization of special events such as the decoration, the catering, the music etc. Yet, as she vehemently stated, it is the pillar of the ceremony in the sense that it is a ritual genre that cannot be divorced from the ceremony and the latter’s success depends on the effective performance of the kabary. R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2.

¹¹⁷ “Ny mpikabary izay andrin’ny lanonana tanterahina.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁸ “Mitandro ny haja sy ny voninahitry ny fianakaviana.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

compensation that the orators receive from their performance is usually referred to as “hasim-bava,” which is a compound of the words “hasina” and “vava.” “Hasina,” as we have already seen earlier, corresponds to the sacred power or virtue that each individual has, it is also known as what identifies the individual and it is where his/her honour lies.¹¹⁹ “Vava” means mouth, which is related to the production of speech. Hence, “hasim-bava” is the compensation for the orator’s kabary performance, which is believed to be imbued with sacred power and virtue. This testifies to the importance of kabary in the “vodiondry.”

To further understand the context of the production of “vodiondry” kabary, we might take a closer look at its structure. We have previously alluded to Elinor Ochs’ views about the variable rules that govern the performance of kabary. Her statement that there is no unified ideal of marriage kabary¹²⁰ confirms the fact that it is difficult to identify a precise structure of the kabary, which was initially an “improvisatory art.”¹²¹ It is only after the opening of the teaching of kabary to the public that several writers have published handbooks about kabary performance. These handbooks, according to one of our informants, “define the appropriate structure of the kabary in accordance with its purpose.”¹²² The same informant goes on to say that “the order [of the various parts of the kabary] may change, depending on the orator’s convictions, but none of them is omitted during the performance [and] the orator is evaluated according to his/her ability to reflect the internal structure of his/her kabary.”¹²³ A reading of Lalao Francois Rabenandrasana’s handbook of kabary performance, entitled *Ny Kabary Tsy Ho*

¹¹⁹ See F.S. Hallanger’s *Diksonera Malagasy-Frantsay*. Antananarivo: Trano printy loterana, 1974.

¹²⁰ Elinor Ochs. “A Sliding Sense of Obligatoriness: The Polystructure of Malagasy Oratory.” *Language in Society* vol 2 N.2 (1973). P. 233.

¹²¹ Andriantsilaniarivo in Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 157.

Our informant, Rasoazananiharisoa Voniniaina Bakoly also defines the traditional performance of kabary as an improvisatory art, which explains the difficulty of identifying a clear structure of the genre. (See Appendix 6).

¹²² “Mamaritra ny tokony ho fisehon’ny kabary araka ny antony ikabariana.” Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa. 25 March 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

¹²³ « Mety misy mifamadika ny filaharany araka ny faharesen-dahatry ny mpikabary fa tsy misy latsaka kosa eo am-pikabariana [ary]anisan’ny itsarana ny olona mikabary ny fahaizany maneho ny rafitra anaty kabary. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

Mena-mijoro, enables us to identify the following major parts of a marriage request kabary which is clearly structured as a dialogue between the two orators that represent the groom's and the bride's families. The oration of the groom's spokesperson is made of the following parts: “‘fanatsafana’ (testing if it is okay to begin the speech), ‘ala sarena’ (literally, ‘the removal of the lid’ or introduction), ‘fialan-tsiny’ (removal of blame), ‘hasina sy arahaba ary firarian-tsoa’ (the sacred force/holiness, greeting and well-wishes), ranjany (the major point in discussion) and fisaorana (thanksgiving).”¹²⁴ This speech is then followed by the bride's orator's reply, which involves the intervention of the groom's orator in instances that require his/her immediate response. The dialogue is composed of the following parts:

Tari-dresaka’ (introduction), ‘ala sarena,’ ‘azafady,’ ‘fialan-tsiny,’ ‘hasina sy arahaba ary firarian-tsoa,’ ‘ranjany,’ ‘manontany tokim-pitia’ (asking about the reliability of the groom's love) [which is immediately followed by the groom's orator's reply]: ‘manome tokim-pitia’ (professing the reliability of the groom's love), ‘valin-teny’ (response), ‘fisaorana’ (thanksgiving) [expressed by the groom's orator], ‘vodiondry’ (delivery of the sum of money accompanied by a formal speech by the groom's orator), ‘misaotra ny vodiondry’ (thanksgiving by the bride's orator), ‘mangataka ny hisehoan'ny zatovovavy’ (the groom's orator requests the appearance of the bride), ‘valin-teny’ (the bride's orator's response), ‘fanolorana ny peratra’ (ring giving), ‘fiarahabana sy firarian-tsoa’ (congratulating the couple and expressing well-wishes).”¹²⁵

As can be inferred from the previous account of the proceedings of a marriage request kabary, the bride-to-be stays in a different room outside the place where the performance is held; she only makes her appearance after the delivery of the vodiondry. It is also important to note that both the groom and the bride remain silent throughout the ceremony as the

¹²⁴ Lalao Francois Rabenanadrasana. *Ny Kabary tsy ho Mena-mijoro*. Mahalavolona – Andoharanofotsy: Imprimerie de la RN 7, 2002. Pp. 33 – 44. (Translation from Ogilvie's doctoral thesis “Breaking Words: Towards a Malagasy Oral Theology of Homiletics.” P. 219).

¹²⁵ Ibid. Pp. 44 – 64. (Translation mine).

spokespersons that their families have appointed are expected to express their words, including the groom's profession of love for his future wife. We can recall here the previously discussed norm of noncommittalism drawn from Elinor Ochs' reflections. The fact that the groom and the bride entrust the delivery of their messages to other individuals does not commit them to the consequences of the marriage request proceedings. More explicitly, if the bride's family were to refuse to grant the groom's request, the groom will not be "shamed"¹²⁶ because he did not address the request directly to the woman's family. Of course, such cases are rare as, in Lee Haring's words, "the real marriage arrangements have been made offstage in literal language. What takes place onstage is the symbolism of a drama, including a plot, principal and supporting roles, fixed dialogues, narrative and lyrics."¹²⁷ Lee Haring's statement underlines the fact that marriage request kabary is a ritual genre that serves to consolidate Malagasy customs and perpetuate Malagasy values. To come back to the notion of noncommittalism in the performance of the marriage request kabary, we can refer to some Malagasy proverbs that reinforce the fact that neither party is held accountable for the possible failure of the union in case the agreements have not been respected or there are issues of incompatibility between the husband and his wife. As the Malagasy proverb goes, "marriage is not fastened with a tight-knot but with a slip knot."¹²⁸ This proverb, which alludes to divorce, means that the tie may be undone at any time. Paradoxically, another Malagasy saying stipulates that "marriage is like a fowl's feathers, only death parts them."¹²⁹ The contradictions in these sayings reflect the ambiguity of the Malagasy mentality which both idealizes and depreciates common values of faithfulness and perseverance in marriage.

¹²⁶ See Keenan and Ochs' explanation about the Malagasy concept of "henatra" or shame in "Becoming a Competent Speaker of Malagasy." *Languages and their Speakers*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

¹²⁷ Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 154.

¹²⁸ « Ny fanambadiana tsy nafehy fa nahandrotra. » from J.A. Houlder. *Ohabolana. Proverbes malgaches*. Antananarivo: Imprimerie luthérienne, 1960. P. 156. (Translation mine).

¹²⁹ « Ny fanambadiana toy ny lamban'akoho ka faty no hisarahana. » (Translation mine).

Furthermore, when we talk about the marriage request kabary, we cannot neglect the importance of kinship in the Malagasy context. The importance of kinship in the establishment of alliances between two different groups in the context of a marriage request ceremony can be illustrated by the fact that the orators' kabary must include a public presentation of the groom's and the bride's ancestors in order to make sure that they are not relatives. This is aimed to prevent the crossing of incest taboos. Beyond this concern, however, the information about each party's ancestors is also meant to avoid alliances between individuals of differing social statuses. In this regard, Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo notes that "it was one's duty to marry inside their statutory group [and] [a]ll authors have insisted on the danger of misalliance and the respect of 'castes,' which the children must take into account."¹³⁰ Hence, the social status and origins of an individual still constitute a major criterion for the selection of a spouse. The statement of one of our informants, a female orator, confirms this. In her view, "the orators at a vodiondry must be aware of the social statuses of the families that they represent as one's membership to a specific statutory group entails the observation of customs and taboos, which should be taken into account in the establishment of the alliance."¹³¹ In other words, marriage in Malagasy society does not merely involve the couple that gets married but the whole families, the ancestors and the group to which they belong.

As a matter of fact, these reflections on the proceedings of the marriage request kabary and the ideology that underlies this practice enable us to understand the context in which the orators that we interviewed perform kabary and to analyze their personal experiences accordingly. Before moving to the study of the profiles of marriage kabary orators, we judge it

¹³⁰ "On avait devoir de se marier dans son groupe statutaire. Tous les auteurs ont insisté sur le danger des mésalliances et le respect des 'castes' dont les enfants devaient tenir compte. » Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo. *La femme malgache en Imerina au début du XXI^e siècle*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2003. P. 55. (Translation mine). Drawing on Malanjaona Rakotomalala's views, the same author provides a detailed information on the classification of the different statutory groups in Madagascar.

¹³¹ « Tsy maintsy mahafantatra ny fihavian'ny fianakaviana izay entiny teny ny mpikabary satria misy ireo fomba sy fady isam-paritra tsy maintsy arahina rehefa hanangana token-trano." R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2. (Translation mine).

useful to consider one last essential aspect of the performance of the genre. This essential aspect of the performance of marriage request kabary is highlighted by Lee Haring in his literary analysis of Reverend Rasamuel Maurice's marriage request kabary. The context that Haring establishes for the performance of marriage request kabary is that of a contest between the two parties involved. Among the implicit rules that govern the performance in this context in the highlands is the fact that "tradition [...] puts the groom's family in inferior status and directs their representative to try to sweep all before him, while it allows the bride's spokesman to fight him at every step, attempting to control the contest."¹³² This parallels what Elinor Ochs refers to as "manao fandrika" or "mak[ing] traps"¹³³ when the bride's orator openly accuses the groom's orator of making errors or producing a speech that is not "according to tradition."¹³⁴ This, according to Ochs, is "a privilege [...] [that] rests only with the speechmaker for the girl's family"¹³⁵ whereas the boy's speechmaker has to express the fact that the boy's family adopts an inferior position, being "the party who does the requesting."¹³⁶ In other words, the performance of marriage request kabary is a Malagasy ritual art that stages two orators in a verbal contest whereby the one who formulates the request has to express the family of the groom's adoption of an inferior position to the bride's family. However, as the kabary unfolds, we witness how the groom's orator somehow displays his skills by establishing a balance between this power relation and by asserting the groom's manliness. We can consider Haring's comments on Rasamuel Maurice's marriage request kabary to illustrate this point. When the bride's orator expresses the warnings to the groom about the violations of the terms of the

¹³² Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 156.

¹³³ Elinor Keenan Ochs. "A Sliding Sense of Obligatoriness: The Polystructure of Malagasy Oratory." *Language in Society* vol 2 N.2 (1973). P. 96.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* P. 97.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

marriage, the groom's orator's reacts by "denying that burdens fall only on the [groom]."¹³⁷ Furthermore, as Haring puts it, "the command of traditional speech that the spokesman attributes to the bridegroom by pseudo-quotation asserts his manly status and responsibility [and thereby] hopes to have restored the equilibrium and regained the winner's position."¹³⁸ In other words, the groom's orator relies on a discourse of interdependence between the new couple to disclaim the groom's sole responsibility in cases of disagreement or violation of the marriage terms. This means that the groom's family only adopts a pseudo-inferior position because a balance is constantly established as the kabary proceeds. This, in our view, serves to maintain the masculine role and status of the groom as the future head of the household.

Female Orators at Marriage Request Ceremonies

Having explored the context of marriage request kabary performance, namely the inherent responsibility that falls on the orators for the groom and the bride, we can now investigate the profiles of socially acknowledged orators for this type of kabary. We have previously enumerated the views of some scholars who conducted their research at a time when marriage request kabary was not yet open to women. Writing at a period in which the membership and active participation of female orators in Malagasy associations of orators such as the FIMPIMA, we can say that Malagasy female orators are now acknowledged in the performance of marriage request kabary. The majority of the male and female orators that we interviewed confirmed these facts. As regards the members of the audience in the different sites where we conducted our first survey, we did not have the opportunity to encounter people who have already witnessed the performance of a marriage request kabary by a female orator. The majority of these people are somehow aware of the growing number of female orators who

¹³⁷ Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 176.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.* Pp. 176, 177.

deliver the speech at marriage request ceremonies. What we did encounter were couples and families who have witnessed or organized the vodiondry of their relatives. We asked them to explain why they opted for male orators to perform the kabary vodiondry instead of female orators. In order to analyze the performance of marriage request kabary from a gender perspective, we will first consider the motivations of contemporary families in selecting or dismissing a female orator during a marriage request ceremony from the perspectives of the orators and the members of the audience, that is, the families or the couples that organized the ceremony. Next, we will investigate the personal experiences of the male and female orators we interviewed in the field of marriage request kabary, with particular focus on their awareness of gender differences and their responses in handling gender-related issues.

Investigating the reasons why contemporary Malagasy families in Antananarivo may choose female orators to perform the traditional oratory discourse during their children's vodiondry is a worthwhile undertaking insofar as it reflects social change and the evolution of the Malagasy mentality with regard to the performance of this genre. Our discussion with the orators and reading of the book *Ambarion-kabary* which details the profiles of the members of the association FIMPIMA in 2009 revealed that the initiative to choose the orator for the vodiondry does not always come from the families themselves. One of our female informants says that it was the association that recommended her and arranged for her participation in her first vodiondry kabary at the end of her training.¹³⁹ The aim, as she explains, was to let her practise what she had learnt and display her capacities in order to gain a good reputation so that she would be solicited for further performances.¹⁴⁰ Another male orator agrees that the association plays an important role in making female orators known to the public. He says that “there are several contexts which enable all female trainees to be seen during the activities

¹³⁹ R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

organised by the association.”¹⁴¹ This reinforces what we have mentioned earlier regarding Keenan’s reflections on Malagasy orators’ concern to make a good reputation and to be perceived as impressive and effective orators. Such a good reputation, according to another female orator, will influence the families’ selection of the orators regardless of their sex. This female orator underlines that “people choose orators, [either male or female], who are already known to be skilled, who already have their reputation and position in the field of kabary performance.”¹⁴²

Apart from their membership in the association, other female orators started to build their reputation by delivering less formal speeches at private family events such as New Year celebration or baptism among others.¹⁴³ Hence, the word about the female orators’ skills spreads among relatives, friends and acquaintances, and that is how they are invited to participate in more significant kabary performances. Another female orator shares this view when she says that female orators may be selected thanks to the fact that “they are known by the families who call them.”¹⁴⁴ This means that the membership of women in the association of orators as well as the reputation that they build among their relatives constitute an opportunity for them to become renowned orators. In that sense, the selection of female orators for the performance of kabary involves their personal skills and abilities. Hence, the orators are acknowledged for their competences and not because of an institutionalized right based on their gender, social status or other criteria. Nevertheless, the selection of female orators based on their inheritance of kabary performance from their ascendants is still relevant. Indeed, some female orators are known to have made their way into the performance of kabary, including

¹⁴¹ “Maro ireo sehatra isehoan’ny vehivavy rehetra mpikambana amin’ireo hetsika rehetra karakarain’ny fikambanana.” Alban Faniry Rakotoarisoa. 02 July 2019. See Appendix 8.

¹⁴² “Izay mahay, izay efa fantampantantra fa efa manana ny toerany eo amin’ny fikabariana no alaina.” Hajaina Andrianasolo. 02 March 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

¹⁴³ See *Ambarion-kabary* Boky 1. Antananarivo: Imprimerie 2000, 2009.

¹⁴⁴ “Noho ny fahafantarany ilay vehivavy [mpikabary].” Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy. 03 April 2019. See Appendix 3. (Translation mine).

marriage request kabary, because they descend from a line of orators. This is the case of Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline whose father, Rasamoelina Andrianasolo Fidèle Auguste, was one of the founders of the FIMPIMA and the president of the association from 1980 to 1991. Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline reports that prior to her integration into the association of Malagasy orators, she started performing kabary in 1971 and the first kabary that she performed was the kabary for the vodiondry ceremony of her younger sister. When she became a member of the association, she acknowledges that the association played its role in “making her known [to the public] since she was the first female orator who dared to join [the association].”¹⁴⁵

Geographically speaking, it should be noted that some of the female orators we interviewed mentioned that while they are more acknowledged in the city, in other areas, people still favour the traditional norm about men as the relevant orators. One of them says that “if it is in Antananarivo, [female orators] are truly praised [whereas] there are many areas in Madagascar whereby [people] still cling to the traditional norms.”¹⁴⁶ Another female orator points out that “it is no longer a problem for people in the city to see female orators. They are already accustomed to many things that they see on TV. They are no longer shocked or surprised. However, in the countryside, some of the ideas related to the fact that men are the holders of speech still prevail.”¹⁴⁷

The male orators that we interviewed had different explanations for the current selection of female orators in the performance of vodiondry kabary. Rasamoelina Jean Maurice enhances the fact that “female orators have an asset that differs them from male orators but makes them

¹⁴⁵ “Nampahafantatra ahy izy ireo satria ny tenako no vehivavy voalohany sahy niditra tao.” Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa. 22 April 2019. See Appendix 5. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁶ “Raha eto Tanà tena mahazo sitraka Mbola maro eto Madagasikara no mbola masin-teny ny fitondrana ara-drazana.” Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy. 02 April 2019. See Appendix 3. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁷ “Tsy olana amin’ny olona eto an-drenivohitra ny mahita vehivavy mikabary. Efa zatra mahita zavatra maro amin’ny fahitalavitra izy ireo. Tsy tafintohina na taitra intsony. Any ambanivohitra kosa mbola misy tavela ny hoe lehilahy no tompon’ny teny.” R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2. (Translation mine).

more attractive to the audience, that is, their charm.”¹⁴⁸ According to this orator, “female orators are more pleasant not only because of their physical appearance but because of the way they perform kabary, which is marked by a touch of femininity.”¹⁴⁹ He refers to the mild and melodious voice of female orators and the ways in which they play with the different rhythm and tones of the language, which is different from the ways in which male orators speak. He also admires female orators’ ability to organize well their speech. One of the female orators that we interviewed expresses the same view as she claims that women are invited to perform vodiondry kabary because “it is uncommon and [because] women have something that distinguishes them [from men] when they speak, their charm.”¹⁵⁰ This view differs from those of the other female orators mentioned earlier in that, like the male orators’ perceptions, it particularly stresses the feminine qualities that the audience admires in female orators.

Another male orator, Hasina Samoelinanja, stresses the attraction for female orators emanating from their physical appearance. He says that “although male and female orators both wear formal outfits, including the traditional Malagasy lamba,¹⁵¹ women are always more attractive than men.”¹⁵² To single out the reference to the Malagasy lamba, it can be said that the latter has more significance when it is worn by women. As Malanjaona Rakotomalala puts it, “in everyday life, the lamba, when worn by woman, is associated with feminine beauty, but it is also a symbol of an orderly characteristic, an ‘ancestral wisdom.’”¹⁵³ This is reinforced by

¹⁴⁸ “Ny vehivavy mpikabary dia manana tombony mampivavaka azy amin’ny lehilahy saingy mahasarika kokoa ny mpijery, dia ny angola izany.” Jean Maurice Rasamoelina. 16 March 2019. See Appendix 10. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁹ “Mahaliana kokoa ny vehivavy mpikabary noho ny fahaizany mihaingo kokoa ary indrindra ny fomba fanaovany kabary izay mampisongadina ny maha-vehivavy azy.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁰ “noho izy tsy dia fahita firy, noho ny fahitany ny fiavahan’ny vehivavy rehefa miteny, angola.” Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy. 02 April 2019. See Appendix 3. (Translation mine).

¹⁵¹ It is a piece of fabric usually made of silk that Malagasy men and women alike wear on important occasions such as kabary performance or various festivities.

¹⁵² « Na dia samy manao akanjo mihaja aza ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy mpikabary, ao anatin’izany ny lamba Malagasy, dia ny vehivavy foana no mahasarika kokoa noho ny lehilahy. » Hasina Samoelinanja. 28 February 2019. See Appendix 11.

¹⁵³ « Dans le quotidien, porté par la femme, le lamba est associé à la beauté féminine, mais il est également symbole de caractère rangé, de ‘sagesse ancestrale.’ » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris : Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 30, 31.

the view of another male orator, Souleman Andriamandimby, who says that “Malagasy female orators reflect the wisdom of the ways in which Malagasy women in the olden days dressed.”¹⁵⁴ Hence, female orators are not only expected to reflect their beauty through their physical appearance but also to convey Malagasy wisdom and values. Going back to Samoelinanja’s views, we can refer to his statement about another notable difference in the physical appearance of male and female orators: “while male orators wear a hat, female orators wear a braided hair.”¹⁵⁵ What he means here is the “tanaivoho” or the braided hairstyle typical of the Merina community. The same orator claims that the “hat is very ordinary whereas the plaited hair highlights the beauty and charm of female orators.”¹⁵⁶ We might recall here what Lars Vig says about Malagasy women’s hairdo: “every Malagasy woman paid the greatest attention to their hairdo [...] It took an entire day to arrange the hair and make braids according to the tribe’s custom. But once the work was done, we saw that it was worth the while. The arrangement of the hair, in fact, was considered as a work of art or one of the most refined ornaments.”¹⁵⁷ Hence, through their hairdo and outfit, female orators not only reflect Malagasy identity and values, they also distinguish themselves from male orators in a way that makes them more attractive in the eyes of the audience. This shows that female orators’ femininity is greatly emphasized in kabary performance and it is one of the main reasons why they win the audience’s recognition and admiration. Insofar as kabary performance is regarded as a way of preserving Malagasy values, the fact that female orators reflect these values in their apparel and hairstyle is highly significant. Nevertheless, considering the time and money that female orators

¹⁵⁴ “Ny vehivavy Malagasy mikabary dia ahitan-taratra ny fahendren’ireo fitafin’ny vehivavy Malagasy fahiny.” Souleman Andriamandimby. 08 April 2019. See Appendix 7. (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁵ “Raha toa ka misatroka ny lehilahy, ny vehivavy kosa manao tanaivoho.” Hasina Samoelinanja. 28 February 2019. See Appendix 11.

¹⁵⁶ “Efa mahazatra ny satroka fa ny tanaivoho kosa mampivoitra ny hatsarana sy ny hakanton’ny vehivavy mpikabary.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁷ “Chaque femme malgache accordait la plus grande attention à sa coiffure... Il fallait une journée entière pour arranger sa chevelure et en faire des tresses selon la coutume de la tribu. Mais une fois le travail terminé, on trouvait que cela en valait la peine. Le montage des cheveux, en fait, était considéré comme une œuvre d’art ou un ornement des plus raffinés.” Lars Vig. *Sur la femme malgache*. Antananarivo : Editions Teza Boky & CEROI, 1994 [1907]. p. 10. (Translation mine).

invest in taking care of their physical appearance, we may recall American jurist Deborah L. Rhode's view that "physical appearance is an issue that we seldom link to inequality. Because women enjoy many activities associated with maintaining a feminine image, they often discount the personal costs that societal expectations impose."¹⁵⁸ In other words, since women's activities require them to mind their physical appearance, the costs of their effort to meet social standards tend to be overlooked. Indeed, as we have noticed earlier, especially in terms of hairdressing, the efforts that female orators make in order to look attractive are far more important than the effort produced by male orators.

Regarding the audience's views, other criteria come into play in the choice of orators for a vodiondry kabary. As was stated earlier, we could only interact with the families and couples who opted for male orators. Hence, we designed our questions to highlight the reasons why they made this choice. Our informants reported that basically, they selected a male orator because the latter are known as the traditional and conventional speakers during a marriage request. For instance, a mother who organized the vodiondry of her son said that "according to the Malagasy custom, [...] those who speak in public must be male, women must keep quiet."¹⁵⁹ Another informant, a young married woman, said that "men, namely the elder ones, have always been viewed as the speechmakers [...] women are for us, the Malagasy, a jewel."¹⁶⁰ Some of our informants were not even aware that female orators also perform the kabary in this kind of event nowadays and had biased perceptions of these female orators because men are the conventional speakers. This is the case of a man who appointed an elderly speechmaker that was a close friend of his family's. Nevertheless, upon learning that female orators currently

¹⁵⁸ Deborah L. Rhode. *Speaking of Sex. The Denial of Gender Inequality*. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 1997. P. 15.

¹⁵⁹ « Selon la coutume malgache [...] ce sont les hommes qui doivent parler en public, les femmes doivent se taire. » Female respondent. Interview with ordinary people about women and vodiondry kabary. 03 April 2019. See Appendix 15 B. (Translation mine).

¹⁶⁰ "Il a toujours été vu aux yeux des Malagasy que les hommes soient les orateurs, à savoir les plus âgés [...] La femme est pour nous, les Malagasy, un bijou (ravaka) ». Female respondent. Interview with ordinary people about women and vodiondry kabary. 04 April 2019. See Appendix 15 B (Translation mine).

perform vodiondry kabary, he acknowledged that “since we live in an era where women enjoy the same rights as men, it is no longer surprising to see women perform male tasks such as officiating a wedding at church or delivering the speech at a marriage request ceremony.”¹⁶¹ Apart from the fact that men are perceived to be the conventional orators by the majority of the audience we interviewed, it is important to consider the criteria that they listed for the selection of their speech maker. They mainly take into account the orator’s competence, age, reputation, and the family’s or the couple’s concerns about the orator’s compensation or salary.¹⁶² For instance, a young working-class couple said that the compensation for the speech maker was the most important criterion for them because of their tight budget.¹⁶³ The same couple said that the other criteria also mattered, namely the speech maker’s competence and age; in fact, they said that they were looking for young orators who could relate to contemporary life.¹⁶⁴ This brings to mind the comments of one of the male orators we interviewed. This male orator said that “today, a competent speechmaker is one that can adapt him/herself to the present-day context.”¹⁶⁵ This means that the couple wanted to choose an orator who could create an enjoyable atmosphere that young peoples could relate to. Another woman expressed a similar view when she said that one of the major criteria for her choice of orators during her vodiondry was “[the orator’s] sense of humour, which made the ceremony more animated, more lively.”¹⁶⁶ Hasina Samoelinanja, the orator that we quoted above, understands this couple’s and this woman’s expectations when he says that “the orator’s performance should correspond to the

¹⁶¹ Male respondent. Interview with ordinary people about women and vodiondry kabary. 30 March 2019. See Appendix 15 B.

¹⁶² See Appendix 15 B.

¹⁶³ The couple said, “nous avons des critères vu que nous avons un budget assez serré. » [« We did have some criteria since our budget was quite tight. »] Male and female respondents. Interview with ordinary people about women and vodiondry kabary. 31 March 2019. See Appendix 15 B. (Translation mine).

¹⁶⁴ In the couple’s words, “nous voulions quelqu’un de jeune, qui connaît plutôt le monde d’aujourd’hui. » [« We wanted a young person, someone who is rather familiar with today’s world. »] Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁶⁵ « Ny mpikabary mahay ankehitriny dia ny mpikabary mahay maka volon-tany. » Hasina Samoelinanja. 28 February 2019. See Appendix 11.

¹⁶⁶ « Son sens de l’humour qui rendait la célébration plus animée, plus vivant. » Female respondent. Interview with ordinary people about women and vodiondry kabary. 04 April 2019. See Appendix 15 B. (Translation mine).

context of performance, which means that you would not deliver a long, traditional speech that would make everybody sleep at an event involving young people.”¹⁶⁷ As regards their selection of male orators, the former couple that we interviewed also admitted that they opted for male orators because it is a well-known fact that men are the traditional speakers at marriage request ceremonies. However, they also mentioned that had a female orator responded to their advertisement posted on social networks and had she made an offer that corresponded to their aforementioned criteria, they would have hired her.¹⁶⁸

We can see from these various responses that several factors are involved in the selection of an orator for a vodiondry. The families or couples may be concerned about the orator’s sex, but it does not seem to be the most important criteria. We could suggest that their selection of male orators actually corresponds to their internalization and conscious enactment of a long-standing tradition about the fact that speech, especially at such a significant event as a wedding request, belongs to men. This reflection can be further developed by considering German American sociologist Amitai Etzioni’s “distinction between treating social norms as part of the actor’s environment, affecting costs and constraints, and treating them as factors that shape the actor’s predispositions.”¹⁶⁹ It means that the interpretation of an individual’s compliance with specific social norms should not only take into account the interconnection between these norms, the individual and his/her environment or the context in which he/she observes them, but also the individual’s predisposition or individual choices. As Etzioni explains,

if people follow their community’s social do’s and don’ts because they see the social norms as costs or constraints, they will tend to violate the norms when the benefits of abiding by them are lower than are the gains of violating them and the risks of detection

¹⁶⁷“Tokony hifanaraka amin’ny tontolo ikabariana ny kabary ataon’ny mpikabary, izany hoe tsy handeha hanao kabary lava be ohatran’ny tamin’ny andro taloha izay hampatory ny olona rehetra ianao mandritra ny lanonana feno tanora be dia be.” Hasina Samoelinanja. 28 February 2019. See Appendix 11.

¹⁶⁸ They said « s’il y avait une femme qui avait répondu, nous l’aurions engagé si elle répondait à nos critères.” Male and female respondents. Interview with ordinary people about women and vodiondry kabary. 31 March 2019. See Appendix 15 B. (Translation mine).

¹⁶⁹ Amitai Etzioni. “Social Norms: Internalization, Persuasion, and History.” *Law and Society Review* vol. 34 No. 1 (2000). P. 163.

are low [...] If norms shape people's preferences, they will tend to abide by these norms because such adherence is a source of intrinsic affirmation.¹⁷⁰

In other words, people take into account the costs and constraints of abiding by or violating social norms while being also influenced by their predispositions or their preferences. This formulation can be applied to the analysis of our respondents' selection of male orators rather than female ones for the vodiondry. Insofar as the families and couples that we have interviewed have been socialized into accepting the norm that speech at vodiondry ceremonies is reserved for men, their compliance with this norm would be influenced by their consideration of the possible costs and constraints of violating this norm as well as their personal preferences. It should be noted that although our informants mentioned other allegedly more important criteria for the selection of the orators, their primary response clearly expressed their belief that men are the acknowledged speakers at vodiondry. Their choice reflects their internalization of this norm as well as their conscious choice to abide by it lest their peers judge them negatively. This implies that although female orators are already widely acknowledged in the performance of marriage request kabary, the fact that some people still bear in mind and act according to the norm about men's primacy and superiority in the field testifies to its nature as a deeply entrenched tradition. All these reflections point to the discrepancy between what the orators say about women's participation in kabary performance and how the audience perceives them or reacts to their existence. It can be said that the idea of kabary as a male-specific genre, especially in the context of a vodiondry, still prevails among the audience that we interviewed. Our results would have probably been different if we had the opportunity to interview families who deliberately chose female orators. It can be concluded that specific questions about the families' social status, personal convictions and relationship with the orators should be addressed in order

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

to measure the acceptance of female orators' performance of the marriage request kabary and confirm or disclaim the prevalence of the traditional mentality about men and speech.

Turning to the analysis of male and female orators' experiences in the performance of marriage request kabary, we can measure the participants' gender-aware and gender-responsive beliefs and actions. Our questions attempted to identify the approximate number of vodiondry kabary that each of the female orators have performed in their career as orators; this required them to specify how many of their opponents were male and how many were female. Our survey also prompted our informants to evaluate their interactions with their opponents from a gender perspective. In other words, the orators were asked to identify their male or female's opponents' perceptions of and reactions to their performances, as well as the nature of the interactions between themselves and their male or female opponents.

The number of marriage request kabary that our female informants have performed ranges from 2 to more than 700. Each of these female orators has their respective status in the field of kabary performance and the possible factors that intervene in the number of marriage request kabary that they have performed. Four of the female orators that we interviewed completed their training at the FIMPIMA, which, according to one of them, was a period during which there were not yet many female orators.¹⁷¹ Two of these orators graduated in 2000 and have respectively performed more than a hundred vodiondry kabary since then; one of them provides a specific figure when she says that the average number of kabary that she performs every year is 14.¹⁷² In those numerous kabary that these two orators performed, they only had respectively 4 and 5 female orators as their opponents from the other family.¹⁷³ The other two

¹⁷¹ Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa reports that out of the 55 graduates from the FIMPIMA in Antananarivo, only 11 were female. See Appendix 6.

¹⁷² See Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy. Appendix 3.

¹⁷³ Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa, for instance, says that "[she] has performed many vodiondry kabary [since her graduation]. Since then and until now, she only had female opponents four times." She says that roughly, it corresponds to "02 %, which means that 98% of [her] opponents were male." ["Tena efa maro dia maro ny kabary am-panambadiana nataoko. Hatramin'izay ka mandraka androany dia in-4 aho no nifamaly

female orators live in France but regularly visit Madagascar. They completed their training in 2012. One of them has performed only two vodiondry kabary since then.¹⁷⁴ At both occasions, her opponent was female. The other female orator regularly performs kabary since her graduation.¹⁷⁵ The first female orator who was integrated in the association of Malagasy orators in 1980 but has already started performing kabary in 1971, reports that she has already performed hundreds of vodiondry kabary whereby 80% of her opponents were male. The female orator who has probably performed the greatest number of vodiondry kabary among our informants reports that out of the more than 700 kabary that she has performed, only few of them involved a female orator from the other family's side.¹⁷⁶

As regards the families that our informants represented, it should be noted that a female orator is normally acknowledged to represent the groom's family to express the latter's request for the future bride. Indeed, as the female orators have pointed out, they are not the ones who make the petition, they are merely the spokespersons who convey the family's message. Our informants have thus performed vodiondry kabary both as the representatives of the groom and those of the bride. One of the female orators observes that "what pleased [her] as the representative of the groom's family was the fact that even in areas where [she] had to face numerous questions and customs, [she] was always successful and the families who selected

kabary tamina vehivavy... Ataoko an-keviny hoe: 02% io. Ny 98% izany dia lehilahy avokoa no nifanehitra tamiko." Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa. 25 March 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy, reports that out of the 14 kabary that she performs per year, she only had female opponents five times ["hatreto dia vao indimy aho no nifanandrina tamina vehivavy." She adds that "for the majority of the women who learn kabary, it remains mere knowledge that they use at work, among families or within associations, but is not really meant to be a source of income." ["Ny ankamaroan'ny vehivavy mianatra kabary anefa dia mijanona ho fahalalana ampiasainy amin'ny asa na fianakaviana na fikambanana fotsiny ny kabary fa tsy dia natao hitadiavam-bola." Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy. 02 April 2019. See Appendix 3.

¹⁷⁴ See Appendix 2.

¹⁷⁵ See Appendix 4.

¹⁷⁶ Based on the orator's statement that "out of the 700 vodiondry kabary that [she] performed, [her] skills surpassed the male orators' in about 300 of them, in about 1/3 of them, [they] were on an equal footing," we may understand that more than 530 of her opponents were male. ["Tamin'ireo kabary vodiondry 700 efa nataoko, ny 300 tamin'ireo dia manatombo ireo mpifanandrina lehilahy ny fahaizako, ny am-pahatelony tamin'izy ireo dia mitovy lanja tamiko." Hajaina Andrianasolo. 02 March 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

[her] were always satisfied.”¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, as we have previously seen, some of the female orators report that in some rural areas, the fact that the groom’s family has opted for a female orator is still heavily criticized.

Based on the aforementioned figures, we can assess women’s progress as regards their participation in vodiondry kabary. The integration of the first woman in the association of orators in Madagascar in 1980 certainly bears the imprint of the early ideologies of the women’s liberation movement (1960’s), which addressed political as well as socio-cultural inequalities between men and women. Twenty years later, in 2000, the number of female orators has certainly increased but has not reached half of the number of male orators. Up to 2019, female orators’ participation in significant formal events such as the vodiondry is still outnumbered by male performances in the same domain.¹⁷⁸ It can be concluded that women’s participation in

¹⁷⁷ “Ny mahafinaritra ahy raha nangataka aho na tany amin’ny toerana tena be fanontaniana sy be fombafomba dia mahazo foana aho ary afa po foana ny fianakaviana zay maka ahy.” Pascaline Rasamoelarisoa. 22 April 2019. See Appendix 5. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁸ This is mainly based on the experiences of the orators that we interviewed. The FIMPIMA branch of Antananarivo informed us that it is impossible to provide the exact figures that indicate the number of female and male orators who perform vodiondry kabary on a regular basis. They suggested that in order to get these information, it is necessary to conduct personal interviews with the trainees that graduated from the association. We have already considered the views of two female orators who gave rather precise figures regarding the number of vodiondry kabary that they have performed and the number of male or female opponents that they encountered, as well as the views of other female orators who did not provide specific figures.

Considering the case in Paris, our interview with Tafika Rakotomavo, the director of the research and education departments of the FIMPIMA branches outside Madagascar, informed us that “not all the female trainees that graduate from the FIMPIMA become active orators.” Referring to the case of the FIMPIMA in France, he says that “out of the 200 women who graduate, approximately 10 are orators that are often invited to perform a kabary.” Instead, he reports that the majority of these female trainees are invited to “write [...] speeches for other people, for instance while paying a visit to elders or other specific events such as a confirmation [or the renewal of baptismal commitments].” The same orator explains that “women’s performance of vodiondry kabary depends on the families... there are still people who do not like female orators.” [“Tsy lasa mpikabary daholo ireo mpianatra vehivavy nivoaka tamin’ny FIMPIMA.... Raha 400 eo ho eo ny mpianatra navoaka, ny ampahany lehilahy, ny ampahany vehivavy, dia 10 eo ho eo no misy mpiantso matetika... [ny ankabeazan’ireo vehivavy nianatra kabary] [dia] antsoina hanoratra ... kabary ho ataon’olona amin’ny fotoana samy hafa, ohatra amin’ny famangiana zokiolona, na fanaovana confirmation... Miankina amin’ny fianakaviana ny hikabarian’ny vehivavy amin’ny vodiondry... Misy olona tsy tia vehivavy mikabary.”] Tafika Rakotomavo. 31 May 2019. See Appendix 9. (Translations mine).

Our interview with Joëlle Randriantody, the director of teaching of the FIMPIMA branch in Paris, contradicts Tafika Rakotomavo’s views. Randriantody says that “in 10 years, there are many women who have enrolled to learn kabary. There are more male than female trainees.” [“Tao anatin’ny 10 taona dia maro be ireo vehivavy misoratra anarana hianatra kabary. Maro kokoa ny vehivavy noho ny lehilahy.”] Nevertheless, her views confirm Tafika Rakotomavo’s statement when she reports that “many of [these women] are not ready to perform as orators, they still say, ‘if my husband is still there, let him speak first.’” [“Maro amin’ireo no tsy vonona hikabary

the performance of vodiondry kabary signals their intrusion in a traditionally male sphere as a result of gender equality ideologies which touch upon various aspects of human life. However, there is still a major gap in women's actual representation in this field that was traditionally reserved for men. Furthermore, as our informants affirmed, even the few female orators that represent Malagasy women still face society's or fellow male orators' disagreement with their participation in vodiondry kabary. In fact, our informants have expressed various views regarding the responses of their male orators' reactions to their performances of vodiondry kabary. They have also underlined the differences between their male opponents and the female ones.

The female orators we interviewed identified various kinds of reactions on the part of the male orators that they had to face during the vodiondry kabary. A female orator says that "there are male orators who praise [her], others who readily utter offensive words, and others who are indifferent."¹⁷⁹ The same orator compares her male opponents to the female ones, saying that the former are "very confident when they speak" whereas the latter are "skilled at expressing charm in their voice."¹⁸⁰ Another female orator refers to two different kinds of reactions from her male opponents. She identifies two categories of male orators: the elderly ones and the young ones. The former, in her words, "obviously like testing her knowledge of Malagasy customs and values regarding the vodiondry."¹⁸¹ Our informant notes that "some of these elderly men are not even orators, but mere 'ray aman-dreny' who have been appointed by the family because they did not hire a professional orator. Consequently, they speak in a way

antsoin'olona fa mbola miteny hoe "raha eo ny vadiko dia izy aloha no aleo hiteny." See Appendix 4. (Translations mine).

¹⁷⁹ « Misy ny midera, misy ny tonga dia mandrangaranga teny maharary, misy ny tsy taitra. » Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy. 02 April 2019. See Appendix 3. (Translation mine).

¹⁸⁰ "Raha lehilahy, manana fahatokisan-tena be amin'ny teneniny; raha vehivavy, mahay mampiasa ny angolampeo." Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁸¹ "Matetika dia mitsapatsapa anao hoe hatraiza ny fahalalana anananao momba ny fomba sy ny fanao ampanambadiana." Voniniaina Rasoazananiharisoa. 25 March 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

that does not even follow the conventional structure of kabary.”¹⁸² Still according to the same orator, “these elderly men can also be actual orators and try to entrap her as a female orator.”¹⁸³ The second group, that of younger orators, according to our informant, are happy to “display their skills and show that they are actually trained.”¹⁸⁴ However, still in our informant’s opinion, “some of them are too violent so that they think that they are better than anyone else, especially through the use of not really decent vocabulary that are merely meant to make the audience laugh.”¹⁸⁵ From these two orators’ views, it can be said that male orators’ reactions oscillate between acknowledgement, offense and indifference. A striking difference that enhances their respective gender roles and identities, is identified in the ways male and female orators speak. Indeed, male orators are described as confident when they speak because they are aware of their position as the rightful speakers in formal and public contexts. This makes them speak in an assertive manner, unlike female speakers who speak tentatively, apologetically,¹⁸⁶ or have to use their charm in order to be accepted in this traditionally male domain. Furthermore, the distinction between elderly male orators and young ones suggests that while elderly people are mainly concerned about preserving the traditional norms of kabary performance, young male orators are more concerned about building their reputation as good orators. This can be explained by the fact that speech was initially reserved for elderly people or the ray aman-dreny; thus, in order to be acknowledged, young orators, even if they are male, strive to make good impressions in front of the audience.

¹⁸² “Misy amin’ ireny [zoky ray aman-dreny ireny] tena tsy mpikabary fa raiamandreny ao amin’ ilay fianakaviana ka tsy maintsy miteny ... satria tsy naka olon-kafa malama vava. Izy ireny dia manao izay saim-pantany fotsiny mazana. Tsy manaraka izay rafitra tokony harahina akory aza.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁸³ “Fa eo koa ny efa famantsy lahy manao azy ho fetsy ka tia ny mamandritra ny vehivavy mpikabary mifanandrina aminy.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁸⁴ “Mampidera ny fahaizany izy ary mampiseho fa nianatra tokoa.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁸⁵ “Saingy misy ny mahery setra loatra ka mihevi-tena ho mahay noho ny hafa indrindra moa ami’ny fampiasana voam-bolana tsy dia mihaja loatra fa natao hihomehezan’ny olona fotsiny indraindray.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁸⁶ Lala Raharinjanahary writes that one of the female orators she interviewed always started her speech with an apology because of her being a woman. See Lala Raharinjanahary. “Les femmes oratrices mpikabary de l’association FIMPIMA (Fikambanan’ny Mpikabary eto Madagasikara ‘Association des rhéteurs à Madagascar.’ » *Etudes océan indien* 51 – 52 (2014). Put online on 30 September 2015. Accessed on 31 May 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1755>.

Regarding young male orators' speech making, it is a worthwhile undertaking to pay particular attention to the fact that the telling of jokes by male orators, although they may involve the use of vulgar or indecent vocabulary, is largely tolerated by the audience. The female orators that we interviewed openly expressed their disapproval of this practice. Their attitude points to the fact that female orators are not expected to tell jokes in vodiondry kabary. This calls to mind American linguist Robin Lakoff's explanations of the reasons why women are not expected to tell jokes in any social circumstances. It is true that Lakoff mainly talks about the English language but her reflections can be relevant to our study of kabary performance in the Malagasy context. She writes that "women don't, can't, gain from telling jokes [...] it's considered a dangerous sign of nonfemininity if a woman *can* tell a real joke (not merely recount an anecdote) without lousing up."¹⁸⁷ She goes on to say that "women don't use off-color or indelicate expressions."¹⁸⁸ According to Lakoff's conceptualization of joke telling, women are not only considered to be incapable of telling jokes but unlike men, they are also expected to maintain a respectful use of language. This echoes the view that women are the guardians of moral values, which necessarily means that they have to reflect their virtue and respectability in their speech and the way they speak. One of the female orators we interviewed emphasizes this point when she says that "the orators' use of decent vocabulary reflects their self-respect as well as their respect for the families that they represent."¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, the fact that vulgar jokes produced by male orators are tolerated but condemned if uttered by female orators corresponds to the discrepancies between the socialization of boys and girls with regard to language use. Lakoff's views are still relevant in this regard. She says that,

As children, women are encouraged to be 'little ladies.' Little ladies don't scream as vociferously as little boys, and they are chastised more severely for throwing tantrums

¹⁸⁷ Robin Lakoff. *Language and Woman's Place*. New York: Harper & Row, 1975. P. 82. (Author's emphasis).

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ « Ny fampiasan'ny mpikabary voambolana mihaja dia maneho ny fanajany ny tenany sy ny fanajany ny fianakaviana izay entiny teny. » R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2. (Translation mine).

or showing temper: 'high spirits' are expected and therefore tolerated in little boys, docility and resignation are the corresponding traits expected of little girls [...] [W]e tend to excuse a show of temper by a man where we would not excuse an identical tirade from a woman. Only a man can bellow in rage.¹⁹⁰

This reinforces the previous view that women are expected to speak and behave in a respectful way, unlike men who are less constrained by rules of propriety as they have the freedom to use indecent vocabulary or utter vulgar jokes to amuse the audience. If we take a closer look at Lakoff's statement and apply it on kabary performance, we can identify the contradictions about the norms that govern men's and women's kabary performances. As we have previously noted, Malagasy women were initially excluded from kabary performance because of their allegedly quick temper and inability to control themselves in situations of conflict. This implies that men are the opposite since they are the traditionally acknowledged orators. Yet, according to Lakoff's statement, while both girls and boys are susceptible to lose their temper, there are more restrictions for girls than for boys whose 'high spirits' are tolerated. The possible explanation that can be drawn from Lakoff's views in the field of kabary performance is that women are subject to strict regulations that require their capacity to control themselves precisely because they are perceived to be incapable of doing so, whereas men are not subject to such regulations and the display of anger in public may even be tolerated for them because they are perceived to be different from women in that they are capable of controlling themselves. In that sense, the performance of vodiondry kabary is permeated by gender differences constructed on social assumptions about feminine and masculine speech patterns as well as socially acceptable male and female behaviours.

Another female orator, instead of reporting the reactions of her male opponents, focused on the evaluation of their skills and the comparison of her performance with those of her male

¹⁹⁰ Robin Lakoff. *Language and Woman's Place*. New York: Harper & Row, 1975. P. 11.

opponents. She explains her interactions with her male opponents as follows: “out of the 700 vodiondry kabary that I performed, my skills surpassed the male orators’ in about 300 of them, in about one third of them, we were on an equal footing.”¹⁹¹ She goes on to say that “as the kabary proceeds, it is felt that the female orator impresses and captivates the audience more than the male orator. And [she] always get[s] the same feed-back when some of the families in the audience talk to her, they acknowledge and thank [her] and say: ‘it is not meant to offend that male orator but your performance was more valuable.’”¹⁹² This suggests that female orators can be more skilled and more appreciated than male orators in certain circumstances. According to this informant, however, “not all female orators are captivating and interesting in the same way [as she is].”¹⁹³ She claims that her “asset resides in the fact that she is both still young and has a captivating voice when she performs a kabary, and most of all, she is a literary person.”¹⁹⁴ In fact, she is not only a renowned orator but also a writer of Malagasy short stories and poems.

The views expressed above reflect the female orators’ as well as the male orators’ and the audience’s gender awareness, that is, their awareness of the gender differences that characterize the performances of male and female orators of the vodiondry kabary. They also point to the orators’ and the audience’s gender-responsiveness in the ways they react to and evaluate female orators’ performance of vodiondry kabary. In the first cases, gender differences are assimilated to gender stereotypes about women’s inadequacy for the performance of vodiondry kabary. This is observed in some of the elderly male orators’ reactions to the female orators’ performances of vodiondry kabary. By verbally attacking or offending their female

¹⁹¹ “Tamin’ireo kabary vodiondry 700 efa nataoko, ny 300 tamin’ireo dia manatombo ireo mpifanandrina lehilahy ny fahaizako, ny am-pahatelony tamin’izy ireo dia mitovy lanja tamiko.” Hajaina Andrianasolo. 02 March 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

¹⁹² « Rehefa mandeha ny kabary dia tsapa ho mambabo ny mpihaino kokoa ilay vehivavy mpikabary noho ilay lehilahy. Ary dia izany hatrany moa ny feed-back voaraiko, rehefa manatona ahy ny sasantsasany amin’ireo fianakaviana manatrika dia tena miaiky sy misaotra ary mampiditra hoe: tsy atao imason’itsy lehilahy itsy fa manan-danja kokoa ny anao.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁹³ “Tsy ... ny vehivavy rehetra dia manintona sy mahaliana toy izany avokoa...” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁴ “Ny hitako hoe tombony ho ahy dia sady mbola tanora no manana feo manintona angamba rehefa mikabary... fa indrindra indrindra ny maha-olon’ny haisoratra ahy.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

opponents, these male orators not only reassert ideologies of male superiority but also express their concern to preserve the performance of kabary as a male-specific genre. In the cases where the male orators acknowledge the female orators, we can refer to an awareness of gender differences in a positive way that values the female orators. Indeed, the female orators are admired and valued because of their capacity to embody the conventional feminine conduct expected of them in the male context of kabary performance. In the last case where the audience acknowledges the female orator's competences and values her way of performing kabary more than her male opponent's, the preference is not only based on her personal and professional skills but also on the quality of her voice and her youth, which necessarily point to her assets as a woman. This implies that apart from their competences, women's ability to maintain their femininity - either through their physical attributes such as their voice, their youth, the way they dress, or through their adoption of the normative feminine behaviour and speech patterns expected of women - is a precondition for their acknowledgement in the traditionally male field of kabary performance.

To end our reflections on the performance of vodiondry kabary by female orators, it may be fitting to consider the views expressed by the male orators whom we asked to describe their interactions with female orators at vodiondry kabary. Instead of providing an elaborate description of the verbal duel or their personal perceptions of female orators in this context, one of our informants, Jean Maurice Rasamoelina, drew an analogy between the male orator and the bull in the Malagasy saying "a bull struck by a mother cow, if it wins, it won't gain fame, if it is defeated, it will be beaten with a rod."¹⁹⁵ It means that it is insignificant if the bull defeats the cow for it is only a cow; however, if it is defeated by the cow, it is beaten because it is a shame to be defeated by a female. Similarly in kabary performance, if the male orator manages to best the female orator, he is not praised because he only defeated a woman, not a significant

¹⁹⁵ « Ombalahy sangehan-drenin'omby, raha maharesy tsy mahazo laza, raha resy voavely kobay. » Jean Maurice Rasamoelina. 16 March 2019. See Appendix 10. (Translation mine).

adversary. If he is defeated by the female orator, however, he is at the same time shamed and struck with a blow because it is a woman who defeated him. This statement shows that men are still expected to be superior to women in the field of kabary performance and either women win or lose, they remain insignificant. The same informant, Jean Maurice Rasamoelina, who made this analogy added that kabary can be described as “cajoling mixed with clawing.”¹⁹⁶ It means that the orators should be able to endure their opponents’ attack, which precisely comes in a disguised show of tenderness before revealing the claws. Rasamoelina claims that in cases where the opponent is female, the male orator “feels uncomfortable about doing something violent, [so] he tries to be mild.”¹⁹⁷ Another male orator, Souleman Andriamandimby, reports that when he had female orators as opponents at vodiondry kabary, “[he] became milder, [...] did not speak very much in an indirect way because [the female orators] may not necessarily understand the whole discourse [he] made.”¹⁹⁸ He adds that “facing a woman makes one forbearing.”¹⁹⁹ It can be said that these male orators reflect their awareness of gender differences in kabary performance, which causes them to respond in a masculine way because they underline their awareness of men’s capacity to be violent and to be able to produce winding speeches whose meanings women may not be able to understand. Moreover, while the first orator displays his concern for female orators who may be offended by men’s violent attacks, the second orator judges it necessary to “become milder” and “forbearing” when facing a female opponent. The second male orator’s choice to avoid the use of indirect or winding speeches while facing female opponents also reinforces the assumption that women speak in a straightforward way and they may lack the intelligence to understand indirect or winding speeches. These attitudes actually correspond to what American social psychologists Peter

¹⁹⁶ “Tambitamby miaro rangotra.” (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁷ « Saikatra... ny hanao zavatra mahery setra, miezaka ny ho malefaka. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁸ “Lasa nihanalefaka aho [...] tsy dia nanao resaka nisafelika firy satria tsy ho voatery ho takany ny resaka rehetra izay nataoko.” Souleman Andriamandimby. 8 April 2019. See Appendix 7. (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁹ “Raha tsorina dia mampandefitra ny mihaona amin’ny vehivavy.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

Glick and Susan Fiske call “benevolent sexism,” which refers to a “set of interrelated attitudes toward women that are sexist in terms of viewing women stereotypically and in restricted roles but that are subjectively positive in feeling tone (for the perceiver) and also tend to elicit behaviors typically categorized as prosocial (e.g. helping).”²⁰⁰ Benevolent sexism is also understood as “a subjectively positive orientation of protection, idealization, and affection directed toward women that [...] serves to justify women’s subordinate status to men.”²⁰¹ In other words, benevolent sexism encompasses the attitudes that are subjectively thought to be positive by the perceiver but actually serve to justify and maintain women’s subordination. In the case of our informants, their concern about the need to avoid directing violent verbal attacks at women or to adopt a mild and forbearing attitude towards women can be perceived as a form of benevolent sexism because in that sense, women are considered as frail creatures in need of men’s protection or compassion.

3.2. The Case of Funeral Kabary

We have previously analyzed the performance of vodiondry or marriage request kabary with particular focus on the audience’s and the male orators’ perceptions of female orators who participate in this form of kabary. Our analysis has revealed that the performance of vodiondry kabary remains a male privilege even though a great number of female orators are currently entering this field. Female orators are still outnumbered by male orators in the performance of vodiondry kabary and the audience that we have interviewed expressed their preferences for male orators for various reasons that somehow reaffirm the traditional norm which defines men, especially the elders, as the conventional speech makers. The female orators who perform

²⁰⁰ Peter Glick and Susan Fiske. “The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* vol. 70 No. 3 (1996). P. 491.

²⁰¹ Glick et al. “Beyond Prejudice as Simple Antipathy: Hostile and Benevolent Sexism Across Cultures.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* vol. 79 No. 5 (2000). P. 763.

vodiondry kabary have to prove their worth not only by showing that they can be as competent as their male counterparts, but also by using their femininity as an asset to solicit the audience's and fellow male orators' acknowledgement and admiration. The funeral kabary is very different from the marriage request kabary as far as female orators' participation in the field is concerned. Indeed, women's performance of funeral kabary is still widely criticized and disapproved by the audience, male orators and the female orators themselves. In this section of our study, we will explore the reasons why female orators' performance of funeral kabary is still very controversial. For that purpose, we will analyze the views expressed by our informants regarding the restrictions for female orators in the performance of funeral kabary. These may be socially or self-imposed restrictions. We will also show throughout our study that despite these restrictions and the general disapproval of the practice, there are female orators or women who can perform a kabary, who do deliver kabary at funerals. In these cases, we will identify the circumstances, if not the motivations, that enable them to perform this highly controversial task that is perceived to be only fit for men. Before addressing the aforementioned issues, we will start with the definitions and the context in which funeral kabary is performed.

Definitions and Context of Performance

Kabary as a verbal art that “mark[s] a life crisis”²⁰² plays a major role in circumstances of death in the Malagasy context. Kabary is performed not only while relatives, friends and acquaintances of the deceased present their condolences to the latter's family, but also before, during and after the burial. Before the burial, if the family keeps a vigil for the dead, a kabary is performed at midnight to thank the people who stayed with the family and to communicate

²⁰² Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 153.

information.²⁰³ A kabary is also performed before the assembly leaves to perform the burial at the tomb. Nevertheless, according to Michel-Andrianarahinjaka, “the actual kabary on death circumstances is the ‘funeral kabary’ which is actually a ‘kabary during the burial.’”²⁰⁴ The latter is the focus of our analysis in this part of our study, that is, the oratory speech delivered at funerals in Antananarivo. Precisely, it is the kabary that the orator appointed by the deceased’s family performs at the tomb during and after the burial. It is also known as “kabary ambony fasana” or kabary on top of the tomb. Apart from being a means to honour the deceased and to acknowledge the assistance that honoured him/her at the funeral,²⁰⁵ the funeral kabary, in Lee Haring’s reflections on Gustave Mondain’s transcription of a Southern Merina funeral kabary (1908), is also meant to comfort the bereaved with the message that “the living and the dead are all part of a larger order. That order is not to be directly comprehended; it can only be understood through metaphor.”²⁰⁶ This explains the prevalence of riddles in the funeral kabary which “pla[y] upon the prominence of death in the minds of the hearers, connecting it to the larger cosmic order.”²⁰⁷ The message that is conveyed here is the admission that death is inevitable and a universal order governs the living and the dead. Since our study is focused on the position of female orators in the contemporary performance of funeral kabary, we will mainly retain the structure of this type of kabary as is developed by current orators and described by our informants. The main parts of the funeral kabary, according to Lalao Francois Rabenandrasana, are “the apology and the introduction, the removal of the blame, the content, acknowledgements, the statement about the dead, the acknowledgement of the tomb keepers,

²⁰³ This type of kabary is called « Rasavolana. » Lalao Francois Rabenandrasana. *Ny Kabary tsy ho Mena-Mijoro*. Mahalavolona – Andoharanofotsy: Imprimerie de la RN 7, 2002. P. 126.

²⁰⁴ “Le ‘kabary am-paty’ ‘discours funéraires’ est en fait un kabary am-pandevenana ‘discours d’enterrement.’” Lucien X. Michel-Andrianarahinjaka. *Le système littéraire betsileo*. Fianarantsoa: Ambozontany, 1986. P. 276. (Translation mine).

²⁰⁵ This is the major theme in the sample of funeral kabary in Lalao Francois Rabenandrasana’s *Ny Kabary tsy ho Mena-Mijoro*.

²⁰⁶ Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 205.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.* P. 204.

the ending and the parting of the assembly.”²⁰⁸ In the apology and introduction, the orator apologizes for taking the floor before announcing the reason for his/her speech, which is the sad event of death. He/she alludes to the difficulty of speaking on such circumstances when he/she says that “the mouth is numb, the tongue is stuck, for one does not stand on a happy but a sad occasion.”²⁰⁹ Then, the orator proceeds to the removal of the “tsiny” through a brief definition of “tsiny” and its removal by casting it on people or social groups that are perceived to deserve it because of some unacceptable wrong that they are doing. The removal of the tsiny is followed by the content of the kabary in which the orator speaks in riddles to refer to the intensity of the loss of the deceased. The orator also highlights the importance of “fihavanana” or fellowship that is justified by the presence of the deceased’s relatives, friends and acquaintances to comfort his/her family. These people are acknowledged for showing their solidarity to the deceased’s family. It is in the statement about the dead that we find some references to the universal order that reminds of the fact that the deceased has left and will never come back. It is expressed in metaphors like “he/she is a duck that has moved to another lake, he/she will not pass by but remain there and a gamba grass forest trampled by a wild board, he/she will not come back but pass away [...] for he/she is salt dropped in water, he/she shall not return.”²¹⁰ These lines have striking similarities to those transcribed by Mondain: “the dead man is gone like the bluebird passing by the boar. He shall not be seen again, for he will sleep. He shall not find his way back, for he will be away. He is salt dropped in water, he shall not return.”²¹¹ It is clear that Rabenandrasana’s text reflects the innovative use of metaphors that

²⁰⁸ « Azafady sy ala sarena, fialan-tsiny, ranjany, teny fisaorana, mikasika ny maty, fisaorana ny valala mpiandry fasana, famaranana sy fandravana ny olona.” Lalao Francois Rabenandrasana. *Ny Kabary tsy ho Mena-Mijoro*. Mahalavolona – Andoharanofotsy: Imprimerie de la RN 7, 2002. P. 133 – 139. (Translation mine).

²⁰⁹ « Vahotra ny vava, miambakavaka ny lela satria tsy an-kafaliana no ijoroana fa an-karatsiana. » Ibid. P. 114. (Translation mine).

²¹⁰ « Ganagana nifindra farihy, tsy mandalo fa mitoetra ary veromanga noseranana-dambo, ka tsy hitampody fa nodimandry ... sira latsaka an-drano ka tsy hiverina intsony.” Ibid. P. 115. (Translation mine).

²¹¹ Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 201.

express the same idea about the fact that the deceased is never coming back. While the boar in Mondain's text is the one that causes the bluebird – which refers to the deceased – to pass away, in Rabenandrasana's text, it is the gamba grass forest trampled by the boar which represents the deceased. These expressions, according to Lee Haring, enable the orator to shift into the role of messenger and survivor after “quot[ing] [the deceased'] farewells.”²¹² In other words, the statement about the dead finds the orator impersonating the deceased by quoting their farewells,²¹³ and then switching back to his/her role as orator to confirm the fact that the deceased is never coming back. This statement is followed by the acknowledgement of the “tomb keepers”²¹⁴ with a symbolic sum of money offered by the deceased's family. The tomb keepers are the people of the village who are in charge of digging the tomb for the burial and locking it after the burial. The symbolic sum of money that they are given is said to “compensate for the oil and the soap that they have used to rub and clean their hands with,”²¹⁵ which actually expresses the family's gratitude for the fact that they are looking after the tomb. After the burial, the orator concludes by inviting the assembly to leave. Traditionally, meat is distributed at Malagasy funerals. We have seen this in the tales “Ikalasarotra” and “La femme gourmande.” It is called the “bad meat” or “hena ratsy,” “a metaphor for the deceased's corpse.”²¹⁶ Nowadays, since oxen are very expensive goods, it is no longer common to distribute meat after the funeral. Sometimes the families may merely serve food to the assembly.

It should be noted that there is only one orator at the funeral kabary. Nevertheless, the dialogical structure of kabary is maintained according to Lee Haring who says that “despite the prevalent monologism of the oration, every section of it is dialogic, depending for its meaning

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ In this regard, Haring writes that « the speaker becomes the voice of the dead man. » Ibid. P. 200.

²¹⁴ They are referred to as the “valala mpiandry fasana” in Malagasy.

²¹⁵ « Ho solon'ny menaka hihosorana sy savony hanasana tanana. » Lalao Francois Rabenanadrasana. *Ny Kabary tsy ho Mena-mijoro*. Mahalavolona – Andoharanofotsy: Imprimerie de la RN 7, 2002. P. 116. (Translation mine).

²¹⁶ « Une métaphore pour le cadavre du défunt. » Philippe Beaujard. « Mythes et rituels. Le miel et l'hydromel dans quelques sociétés de Madagascar. » *Etudes Océan Indien* 51 – 52 (2014). P. 15. (Translation mine).

on acknowledging the audience and even another speaker [...] dialogue begins by acknowledging the audience and apologizing for speaking.”²¹⁷ In that sense, the funeral kabary is not perceived as a “kabary tsy valiana”²¹⁸ or “kabary without a reply” since the audience is acknowledged throughout the oration and the purpose of the funeral kabary does not connote dictatorship as is the case of kabary without reply. These references to the nature and structure of funeral kabary bring to mind questions about the acknowledged speakers for this type of kabary. This will be discussed in depth in the next section.

Women and the Performance of Funeral Kabary

Men, especially the elderly ones, are the acknowledged speakers for funeral kabary. Some female orators or women who can deliver a speech and are entitled to do so because of their position or profession in the community, do perform funeral kabary but this still represents a contentious issue. There are several reasons that explain the fact that women are not unanimously acknowledged for the performance of funeral kabary. One of the most significant of them is the belief that women, being the sources of life through childbearing, are associated with life, hence, they should not be involved in matters related to death. This has already been alluded to in our discussion about the “tangalamena” who represents the women among the Betsimisaraka because “woman symbolizes life in the proper sense of the term, hence she cannot communicate with its opposite, death.”²¹⁹ One of our male informants, the orator Jean Maurice Rasamoelina, also claims that women should not perform funeral kabary because

²¹⁷ Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 198.

²¹⁸ See Michel Razafiarivony. *Richesses culturelles et pauvreté économique d'une société orale (Anosibe an'ala Madagascar)*. Tokyo : Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2006. P. 141.

²¹⁹ See Ibid. P. 78.

“women are the sources of progeny and tombs are the dwellings of the dead.”²²⁰ Another orator, Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa, uses the metaphorical expressions “‘bag in which one has been wrapped’ and ‘the belly in which one dwelled’”²²¹ to refer to women and to highlight the contrast between life symbolized by women and death represented by tombs which only contain decay.²²² To these, Rasamoelina adds the argument that “women should not hold the spades used for the burial because of the intensity of the task,²²³” which is also relevant in the prohibition of women’s performance of funeral kabary insofar as the latter is also assumed to be a hard task. In fact, as was stated earlier, Rasamoelina also acknowledges women’s nature as being “prone to crying,”²²⁴ which completely rules them out of the performance of funeral kabary because the orator in such circumstances is expected to hold back their tears and only show strength and courage. As one of our female informants, R.R, puts it, “it is better for men to speak in the context of funerals [...] [because] women are more sensitive compared to men who are more capable of controlling themselves.”²²⁵ What R.R means by “capable of controlling themselves” is men’s ability to hold back their tears or to hide their emotions, which corresponds to Rasamoelina’s statement about the expectations for the orator of funeral kabary. Furthermore, R.R adds that “most of the time, the family appoint [an orator] who is a close relative [of the deceased], which arouses women’s emotions [if the speaker is to be female].”²²⁶ This means that the female orator is more likely to cry while performing the funeral speech than

²²⁰ “Ny vehivavy loharanon-taranaka, ny fasana fitoeran’ny maty.” Jean Maurice Rasamoelina. 16 March 2019. See Appendix 10. (Translation mine).

²²¹ “Ny vehivavy kitapo nifonosana sy kibo nitoerana.” Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa. 15 April 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

²²² In the orator’s words, women “carry life and the living, hence it is not theirs to speak at tombs which contain death and decay.” [“Mitondra aina sy fahavelomana ka tsy anjarany ny hivolana am-pasana izay mitahiry fahafatesana sy fahalovana.”] Ibid. (Translation mine).

²²³ « Tsy tokony hitana ny angady ampiasaina amin’ny fandevenana ny vehivavy noho ny hamafin’ny asa atao. » Jean Maurice Rasamoelina. 16 March 2019. See Appendix 10. (Translation mine).

²²⁴ See Ibid.

²²⁵ « Rehefa mikasika fahoriana dia aleo ny lehilahy no mandray fitenenana... [satria] ny vehivavy mora tohina mihoatra amin’ny lehilahy izay mahay mifehy tena kokoa.” R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2. (Translation mine).

²²⁶ « Matetika ny olona tsy lavitra ny fianakaviana no antsoina ka mety hamoha fihetseham-po ny vehivavy.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

the male orator because she would have a hard time controlling her emotions, especially if she is a close relative of the deceased, which will make her more sensitive as recollections about the deceased may evoke sadness and bring her to tears. Another orator, Souleman Andriamandimby reinforces these views when he says that “women are emotionally weak, which is their nature [...] It would be difficult for women to speak when they feel sad. They wouldn’t know what should be said and even the most important part of the structure of the funeral kabary may be left out because of this emotional weakness.”²²⁷

Significantly, the same orator provides stronger arguments against women’s performance of kabary on sad occasions. We will quote his statement in full to understand his argument

on sad occasions (death), many things should be organized; for example receiving the ‘famangiana’ (sum of money in an envelope that the visitors give to the deceased’s relatives) and writing down the givers’ names is women’s responsibility, preparing the food and performing the tasks related to that is meant for women. Men should not be given too many responsibilities even if they are emotionally strong. However, men’s emotional strength is necessary for speech making. Women should not speak because men are the head of the family and women are the owner of the house.²²⁸

Two major points can be singled out in the ideas explored above, mainly those expressed by Rasamoelina, Rasoazananiharisoa and R.R. The last argument by Andriamandimby will be analyzed afterward. The first point is the assumption that since women represent life, they should not be related to death. This idea is actually rooted in the basic structure of Malagasy

²²⁷ “Ny vehivavy dia marefo ara-toe-po, izay efa voajanahary.... Sarotra amin’ny vehivavy ny handray sy hitondra fitenenana raha anatin’ny alahelo izy. Tsy ho voalaza ny tokony ho voalaza ary mety ho latsaka ny tena zavadehibe amin’ny rafitry ny kabary an-karatsiana noho izay toe-po somary marefo izay.” Souleman Andriamandimby. 08 April 2019. See Appendix 7. (Translation mine).

²²⁸ « Amin’ny fahoriana dia betsaka ny fandaminana tsy maintsy atao; ohatra mandray ny famangiana sy ny mandray an-tsoratra dia andraikitry ny vehivavy, ny mikarakara ny sakafo sy ny manodidina izay dia an’ny vehivavy. Ny lehilahy tsy azo omena andraikitra betsaka na dia matanja-tsaina aza, ilaina kosa anefa izay tanjantsain’ny lehilahy izay eo amin’ny fandraisam-pitenenana. Tsy tokony hiteny ny vehivavy satria ny lahy lohan’ny fianakaviana fa ny vehivavy no tompon’ny tokantrano.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

social systems as is reflected in Richard Huntington's study of the Bara in *Gender and Social Structure in Madagascar*. According to this author,

The Bara view kinship ties through females as ties of biological substance relating to the event of birth. Kinship through males is seen largely as a tie of social form based on the ancestral order and oriented to the event of death. The ideal trajectory of Bara personal experience is a long journey from one's mother's womb to the ancestral tomb of one's father and one's grandfather.²²⁹

Huntington signals the distinction between female vitality and male order within the Bara community whereby men represent the ancestral ordering of social life. It means that the vital force in a Bara individual is represented by his/her biological ties with the mother, whereas his/her relation with the father pertains to a social ordering that guarantees his/her access to ancestorhood. Although Huntington stresses that the Bara social organization is based on the complementarity of female vitality and male order, the association of women, due to their childbearing function, to the biological aspect of an individual's personhood and the assimilation of men to the social order brings home the nature/culture divide that Sherry Ortner refers to in her investigation of the causes of the universal devaluation of women. Taking these considerations into account in our analysis of the restrictions about women's performance of funeral kabary, we can suggest that the restrictions are based on an ideology that not only essentializes gender differences but also devalues women in that they are assimilated to the natural order and they are excluded from the male realm of culture. This idea about the devaluation of women through their exclusion from the performance of funeral kabary is related to the second point that stands out from the views mentioned above. That is the assumption about women's sensitivity and emotional weakness. Indeed, Rasamoelina's statement points to both women's physical weakness, based on the fact that they are not expected to hold the spades

²²⁹ Richard Huntington. *Gender and Social Structure in Madagascar*. Bloomington, IN, United States: Indiana University Press, 1988. P. 28.

used for the burial, and their alleged inability to control their emotions. R.R's and Andriamandimby's views, which go in line with Rasamoelina's arguments, are based on gender stereotypes which assume that men are more capable of controlling their emotions than women.

Concerning Souleman Andriamandimby's last argument, we can say that women, in this male orator's view, should maintain their traditional role as housekeepers or the peripheral secretary role of recording the names of the people who have come to present their condolences to the deceased's family, as opposed to the more significant function assigned to men as the speech makers. This function is more significant because it involves the interaction with the people who come to comfort the family and requires the knowledge and application of Malagasy customs while delivering the speech. Women's roles are certainly of great importance because preparing the food and serving it to the people who are present honour the latter as well as the deceased's family. Nevertheless, these activities can be perceived as less significant because they are part of women's daily tasks. Furthermore, Andriamandimby's last statement deserves particular attention because it reiterates the distribution of power among men and women in the Malagasy context. According to this view, men as the head of the family have authority over the wife and the children and they are the acknowledged representative of the family within the community, hence they are entitled to deliver formal public speeches. Women as the owner of the house have authority over the management of the house such as the furniture, the food, the poultry, etc. This kind of female authority is perceived to be very strong in that women are entitled to reprimand their husbands if the latter have invited people whom the wives do not appreciate.²³⁰ Similarly, it is common for the guests who come to a household to ask, "isn't the owner of the house present?"²³¹ if they are received by the husband whose wife happens to be absent. Hence, Andriamandimby's argument pertains to the observation of the

²³⁰ This is the view expressed by Malanjaona Rakotomalala when he refers to women who say to their husbands, "don't you dare invite such people in my house!" [Ny tranoko aza mba ampipidiranao olona ohatran'ireny!] Direct communication. 27 March 2019. (Translation mine).

²³¹ "Tsy ao angaha ny tompon-trano?" Ibid. (Translation mine).

traditional distribution of power among men and women, which entails the assignment of specific gender roles and responsibilities. Nevertheless, the attribution of the responsibility of delivering speech at funerals to men upholds them as the head of the household who has private and public authority whereas women maintain their traditional roles of minding tasks related to catering and housekeeping.

Apart from being perceived as unfit for the performance of funeral kabary due to their childbearing function, their traditional social role and their emotional nature, women are also excluded from this performance because of the common assumption that “women who stand on tombs are witches.”²³² This is the view expressed by one of the female orators we interviewed. As was stated earlier, the religious and magical power in society are perceived to be in the hands of women in the Malagasy context, hence the supposed prevalence of female witches. If we take into account Philippe Beaujard’s remarks in “La violence dans les sociétés du sud-est de Madagascar,” we understand that a somehow confusing distinction is made between sorcerers and diviner- healers. As Beaujard puts it,

The Malagasy and some observers of Malagasy societies distinguish classically between ombiasa, diviner-healers, who practice ‘white’ magic, and witches, sorcerers who subscribe to ‘black’ magic [...] The boundary between ‘good’ and ‘evil’ practices is difficult to grasp, and all ombiasa are called to proceed to rituals which are normally condemned and to fashion evil charms.²³³

Beaujard goes on to say that “some women can use evil charms and be accused of witchcraft, but the knowledge of charms – and that of divination through seeds or sand, sikidy

²³² “Mpamosavy ny vehivavy manitsa-pasana.” Hajaina Andrianasolo. 02 March 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

²³³ “Les Malgaches et certains observateurs des sociétés malgaches distinguent classiquement les ombiasa, devins-guérisseurs, pratiquant une magie ‘blanche,’ et les mpamosavy, sorciers adeptes de la magie ‘noire’ [...] La frontière entre ‘bonnes’ et ‘mauvaises’ pratiques est difficile à cerner, et tous les ombiasa sont appelés à procéder à des rituels en principe réprouvés et à confectionner des charmes maléfiques. » Philippe Beaujard. « La violence dans les sociétés du sud-est de Madagascar. » *Cahiers d’Etudes africaines* 138 -139 (1995). P. 576. (Translation mine).

– through a training with a master is the privilege of men.”²³⁴ This means that sorcerers and diviner-healers tend to share more similarities than differences in that both may be called to use evil charms. Nevertheless, witchcraft, understood as a “secret, hidden violence, [which] [...] has always been a sort of outlet for aggression in a constraining traditional society which attempts to prevent all open display of violence,”²³⁵ is a field that does not exclude women who use evil charms; whereas divination, which is considered to be the use of “white” magic is mainly associated with men. In other words, men’s “positive” use of magic, which is also believed to spring from a specific knowledge of elements of nature, and which requires training, thus lending it a sacred and scientific nature, is opposed to women’s “negative” use of magic, which does not come from a specific knowledge or training but is merely understood as the use of evil charms. This probably accounts for the pejorative understanding of the term “mpamosavy” or witch, especially when it refers to female witches. We can further recall popular stories about witches who “are said to take their walks abroad at midnight to visit the tombs, on top of which they dance and revile the dead. They are said to be mainly elderly females of sinister aspect, joined by young women of bad character, with occasional male associates.”²³⁶ It is this image of female witches who dance on top of tombs that people have in mind when they maintain that women who stamp on tombs are witches, hence respectable women should not perform funeral kabary lest they be associated with this negative image of women.

Yet, if we observe closely the practices of funeral orators, the performance does not necessarily require the speaker to stand on top of the tomb. Our informant herself admits that

²³⁴ « Des femmes peuvent utiliser des charmes maléfiqes et être accusées de sorcellerie, mais le savoir des charmes – et celui de la divination par les graines ou le sable, sikidy – par un apprentissage auprès d’un maitre est l’apanage des hommes. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²³⁵ « Violence secrète, dissimulée, la sorcellerie [...] représente depuis toujours une forme d’exutoire de l’agressivité dans une société traditionnelle contraignante qui tente d’empêcher toute manifestation ouverte de violence. » *ibid.* (Translation mine).

²³⁶ David Graeber. « Love Magic and Political Morality in Central Madagascar, 1875 – 1990. » *Gendered Colonialisms in African History*. Oxford, Malden: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997. P. 109.

she has never seen a woman performing a funeral speech and standing on the tomb.²³⁷ Another female informant who has performed funeral kabary several times observes that “it depends on the structure of the tomb: if it is a vault with a modern door, the kabary is performed in front of the door, if it is a traditional tomb with a door underground, the speaker stands in front of the tomb or on the tomb.”²³⁸ In either way, this orator contends that “it depends on the customs in the area, there are tombs that cannot be stamped or whereby one cannot wear shoes; [she herself] does not mind standing on [the tomb] or outside of it, this is not what makes one a witch.”²³⁹ Most of the time, the orator may merely be standing close to the tomb. In that sense, the association of female orators who perform funeral kabary to witches corresponds to a social construction that parallels the previously discussed dissociation of women from anything that is related to death since they are considered to be the sources of life. We may also recall the assimilation of “crowing hens” to witches in Malagasy rural communities as is reported by Malanjaona Rakotomalala. This author affirms that “the assimilation of ‘crowing hens’ to witches is expressive. Since they go against the tide of social rules, they are antisocial.”²⁴⁰ The antisocial characteristic of women’s actions can also be observed in the comparison of women to witches in the Etoro social universe reported by Judith Shapiro whereby “witches are the depletors par excellence of men’s [vital substance] and are the embodiment of all that is antisocial and evil.”²⁴¹ This illustrates a cross-cultural negative representation of witches and women who are perceived to be harmful to men. In other words, women who encroach on men’s

²³⁷ See Appendix 1. Hajaina Andrianasolo. 02 March 2019.

²³⁸ « Raha fasana ambony tany ny varavarana fasana moderne zany dia eo anoloan’ny fasana no mikabary, raha fasana tranainy zany hoe any ambony tany ny varavarana dia na eo anoloan’ny fasana na eny ambonin’ny fasana no miteny. » Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa. 22 April 2019. See Appendix 5. (Translation mine).

²³⁹ « Io dia miankina amin’ny fomban-tany, misy fasana tsy azo hitsahina, tsy azo hanaovana kiraro; ny tenako aloha tsy mampaninona ahy na ambony na ety ivelany, tsy izany akory no maha mpamosavy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²⁴⁰ « L’assimilation des ‘poules qui chantent’ aux sorcières est expressive. Puisqu’elles remontent à contre-courant les règles sociales, elles sont des antisociales. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 153. (Translation mine).

²⁴¹ Judith Shapiro. « Anthropology and the Study of Gender. » *A Feminist Perspective in the Academy: The Difference it Makes*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981. P. 115.

prerogatives are perceived negatively as they are considered not only as antisocial but also evil in that they disrupt the social order. It means that the pejorative image of witches, as an extension of the concept of “crowing hen,” is expected to discourage women from performing funeral kabary, which is still perceived as men’s responsibilities. This goes in line with the assertion of one of our informants, a female orator who has already performed three funeral kabary in her almost 20 years’ career as an orator. She maintains that “the deceased’s relatives and family acknowledge [her] but the majority of people in society are still uncomfortable with it, even fellow orators strongly disagree with the fact that women perform funeral kabary.”²⁴²

Hence, the restrictions regarding women’s performance of funeral kabary are mainly based on the ideology that women as the sources of life must not be involved in matters related to death. The other arguments pertain to assumed differences between men and women in terms of social roles and emotional sensitivity. The fact that some women do perform funeral kabary despite these arguments shows that women somehow manage to control their emotions and perform the kabary successfully just as male orators do. As one of our female informants puts it, “there are women who manage to stand up and speak at funerals on behalf of the deceased’s family, which has always been considered as men’s responsibility [due to] their strong voice and imposing stature.”²⁴³ We should bear in mind the fact that female pastors or female heads of communes perform the final speech to thank the assembly at funerals. Furthermore, among the six female orators we interviewed, three have already performed funeral kabary although not as many times as they have performed kabary on happy circumstances such as the vodiondry kabary. None of them reports a failure in their performances due to emotional outbursts of sadness. One of them says that “speaking on death circumstances is the most difficult because

²⁴² « Ny akaiky ny maty sy ny fianakaviana mankasitraka anao fa ny fiarahamonina mbola mihafahafa ny ankamaroany na ny samy mpikabary azamisy tsy manaiky mihitsy ny hikabarian’ny vehivavy m-pandevenana.” Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy. 2 April 2019. See Appendix 3. (Translation mine).

²⁴³ “Misy ny vehivavy mahavita mijoro mikabary am-pasana misolo tena fianakaviana azom-pahoriana, izay noheverina hatramin’izay fa anjaran’ny lehilahy avo feo sy ranjanana.” Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa. 04 April 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

we are dealing with a sad circumstance, one takes the floor in a sad circumstance, one must mind everything that is uttered.”²⁴⁴ This statement does not signal any form of emotional weakness, rather it expresses the orator’s concern for uttering the appropriate words for the circumstance. It means that the arguments against women’s performance of funeral kabary based on gender differences are not always relevant. In that case, it is the female orators’ performances of funeral kabary that should be evaluated before concluding that they are emotionally weaker than men or simply unfit for this kind of performance.

Nevertheless, the majority of these women express their reluctance to perform funeral kabary for various reasons. Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy’s view was quoted earlier; her reluctance to perform funeral kabary is felt when she says that she only performed such kabary three times in her life and she only accepted to do so for the families who really pleaded with her. She has not explicitly voiced the reason for her reluctance as she merely alludes to the fact that society and fellow orators still strongly disagree with the fact that women perform this kind of kabary. Another orator, Hajaina Andrianasolo, reports that she has performed funeral kabary several times from 1996 to 2014. In 2014, after the death of a close relative, her brother, she decided to stop performing kabary on sad circumstances, except for close relatives or close friends who really plead with her. In the case of this orator, the reluctance springs from a personal awareness of the fact that she is not meant to perform funeral kabary. In her words, after this sad circumstance in her family’s life, she “no longer want[s] to think of ever performing kabary on death circumstances, it is no longer right for [her].”²⁴⁵ Her statement seems to express the belief that performing funeral kabary is not a source of blessing for her and her relatives. This echoes what another female orator says about her refusal to perform

²⁴⁴ “Ny mikabary amin’ny fahafatesana no tena sarotra indrindra, satria fahoriana no resahina, fahoriana no handraisam-pitenenana, mil fitandremana ny teny rehetra atao.” Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa. 22 April 2019. See Appendix 5. (Translation mine).

²⁴⁵ “Tsy tia mieritreritra an’izany hoe hikabary amin’ny fahoriana izany intsony, tsy mety amin’ny fisaina[ny] intsony.” Hajaina Andrianasolo. 02 March 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

funeral kabary: “I have not been given the blessing to perform funeral kabary so I will never perform this kind of kabary.”²⁴⁶ This means that the female orators acknowledge that performing funeral kabary or kabary on sad circumstances in general may bring misfortune to themselves. What these female orators’ experiences tell us about women and the performance of funeral kabary is that women may be skilled orators even at funeral kabary, otherwise the deceased’s family would not call for their service, but their reluctance or refusal to perform such kabary is informed by the Malagasy ideology of womanhood and the general apprehension of death, which is paradoxically perceived as both “a transition between earthly existence and life beyond”²⁴⁷ and a sinister ending of existence characterized by decay.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have investigated the current performance of kabary by male and female orators from Antananarivo and among the Malagasy diaspora in Paris. Our study was mainly based on the responses provided by our informants regarding the current perceptions of female orators, the fields in which they are allowed to perform kabary and the evaluation of their performances. We have chosen to use the concepts of gender awareness and gender responsiveness to analyze the representations and manipulations of gender differences in the field of kabary performances in order to foster or hinder gender equality, which is understood as the equal access to various opportunities for men and women. We have conducted a comparative study of the traditional and modernized performances of kabary, which focuses on the primary exclusion of women from kabary performance and their gradual acknowledgement throughout the years. Several reasons explain the traditional exclusion of women in the field of

²⁴⁶ « Tsy voatso-drano hikabary am-pasana aho ka tsy hanao izany kabary izany mihitsy.” Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa. 04 April 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

²⁴⁷ Lee Haring. *Verbal Arts in Madagascar. Performance in Historical Perspective*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992. P. 195.

kabary performance, which emphasize the prevalence of male dominance and ideologies that marginalize and subordinate women. The current acknowledgement of female orators results from social changes and changes that were triggered by women themselves who carved their place in kabary performance. However, despite the general acknowledgement of female orators, there are fields in which women's performance of kabary is still contentious. This explains our choice to conduct a case study of two different types of kabary: the marriage request and the funeral kabary.

Our study has revealed that the number of women who perform marriage request kabary at the traditional vodiondry ceremony has greatly increased. While the male orators and female orators we interviewed mentioned, among other reasons, the audience's attraction for female orators due to their out of the ordinary performances and their marked difference from male performances of kabary, the audience that we interviewed still clings to the traditional assumption that men are the conventional speakers in Malagasy society. Despite the discrepancy between the orators' perceptions of women's performance of vodiondry kabary and the audience's primary motivation for selecting male orators, we noticed that women's competences are acknowledged and their femininity is emphasized. It means that women enjoy the same opportunity as men as far as the performance of vodiondry kabary is concerned and their differences are positively acknowledged. As regards the performance of funeral kabary, the constraints related to the violation of the norm about men being the conventional speakers are stronger. Arguments about the prevailing reluctance to accept women's performance of funeral kabary revolve around issues related to Malagasy values about womanhood and motherhood. It can be said that there is a strong concern about preserving a positive image for women as the sources of life. Other views simply support the traditional distribution of power among men and women, which reserves the major responsibility of delivering public speech to men and tasks related to housekeeping to women. Arguments about the intensity of the tasks

related to funerals, including speech-making, parallel these views as they uphold stereotypes about women's essential characteristics and roles. Apart from these, we have also noticed that female orators themselves seem to be convinced of the inadequacy of women's performance of funeral kabary due to social pressure or a strong belief in the possible bad consequences of this kind of performance in their lives. It can be concluded that our study of the traditional and contemporary performances of kabary, with particular focus on the vodiondry kabary and the funeral kabary, has shown that gender differences permeate relations of power between men and women and insofar as women are integrated in a traditionally masculine field, gender differences can be recognized as an asset for women in certain social contexts. Nevertheless, traditional ideas about women's statuses and roles also prevail and tend to reinforce gender inequality. It means that kabary is still understood as a male specific genre that some women can perform provided they present the qualities required for kabary performance and adhere to the rules that govern its performance, including the restrictions imposed in certain circumstances. Our purpose in the next chapter of this study is precisely to conduct an in-depth analysis of women's position in this male world of kabary performance, bearing in mind that gender differences tend to be magnified in order to encourage gender inequality. For that purpose, we will highlight our female informants' experiences as orators, mainly the difficulties they are facing and the various ways in which they tackle them.

CHAPTER 4: Women in the Male World of Kabary Performance

Introduction

The previous chapter of this study dealt with the traditional and modern performances of kabary with particular focus on women's integration in the performance of this traditionally male specific genre in Antananarivo and among the Malagasy diaspora in Paris. It examined the participation of women in two specific types of kabary, namely the "vodiondry" kabary and the funeral kabary. In the present chapter, we will turn to a deeper analysis of women's current position in the field of kabary performance. Talking about women's position in a specific field raises questions related to women's status. British feminist linguist Lia Litosseliti points to the "subtle and complex links between discourses and women's and men's social positions,"¹ which implies that an individual's social status plays a major role in defining his or her reception as an orator. Before exploring the ways in which social status and gender roles are interwoven in the experiences of female orators, it might be fitting to start with a brief reflection on the definition of women's social status and the ways in which it influences the reception of female orators. The views exposed by American anthropologists Burton Pasternak, Carol Ember and Melvin Ember in *Sex, Gender and Kinship* enable us to understand some of the theories about the social features that influence an individual's status. Drawing on American sociologist Martin K. Whyte's study of the various indicators that can be used to measure status, these authors single out two cultural features that may predict the assignment of higher or lower status for women: female-centered social structure and the level of societal complexity.² They posit that the idea that there will be more equal status for women in female-centered social structure

¹ Lia Litosseliti. « Constructing Gender in Public Arguments: The Female Voice as Emotional Voice ». *Speaking Out. The Female Voice in Public Contexts*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. P. 56.

² Burton Pasternak et al. *Sex, Gender and Kinship*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1997. P. 67.

(matrilineality and matrilocality) is not always accurate because “women in such societies do not have more say in kin group affairs, and they are not more likely to be political leaders.”³ The same authors go on to say that “in matrilineal societies it is the men of the matrilineal kin group who are likely to be most influential in kin group decisions [and] even when it comes to authority in the household, women in matrilineal societies do not always have much domestic authority as their brothers or even their husbands.”⁴ To some extent, this statement is relevant in the Malagasy context as can be illustrated by the importance of the maternal uncle or “renelahe,” who plays a significant role in his sister’s offspring’s lives. As regards the level of societal complexity, Pasternak et al argue that apart from societies that are marked by intensive agriculture (namely pre-industrial societies), “societies with complex political hierarchies and private property”⁵ also tend to ascribe lower status for women. The argument about the lower status assigned to women in agricultural societies builds on the explanation that men’s work outside the home is valued more than the house work, including child care, performed by women, which is roughly based on the principle that the gender that contributes more to primary subsistence is more valued.⁶ We have seen some examples of Malagasy social organizations that fall in this pattern in the tales that have been studied in the first part of this work. It is the notion of political hierarchy and its contribution to the assignment of lower status to women that particularly retains our attention as it can be further explored in order to understand the status of women, and thereby the position of female orators in the field of kabary performance.

In fact, investigating female orators’ personal experiences of kabary performance requires the understanding of the context of performance in light of the hierarchical structure that permeates social relations and interactions in Malagasy society. Drawing on Maurice Bloch’s reflections on the hierarchical nature of Malagasy society as can be observed in “elders

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid. Pp. 67 – 68.

⁵ Ibid P.68.

⁶ See Ibid. P. 51.

continually telling younger men what to do, in fathers similarly telling their sons, older brothers telling their younger brothers, and men telling women,”⁷ we can suggest that women’s integration into the field of kabary performance is perpetually clouded by the reality of hierarchy. This hierarchical pattern is deeply entrenched in the Malagasy mindset so that the recognition of the power and authority exercised by socially acknowledged individuals operates in an unconscious way. As Bloch puts it, “power [in the Malagasy society] [is] permeated through social intercourse on a day-to-day basis in a totally unconscious and completely accepted way [...] [and] power is just accepted and not normally challenged.”⁸ Bloch refers to the behavioural norms, namely the respect to elders that the Malagasy seem to have internalized as “the only natural way to behave.”⁹ Similarly, Øyvind Dahl, a Professor of Social Anthropology and Intercultural Communication at the School of Mission and Theology in Stavenger, Norway, singles out the “vertical hierarchical principle [...] emphasized in the parent-child relationship and in the senior-junior relationship, which permeates social structures outside the family.”¹⁰ Dahl argues that “the eldest ones who are closest to the ancestors – the sources of life – have greatest authority and influence. They receive the honourable title Ray aman-dreny.”¹¹ In other words, the hierarchical structure that governs the power relations in Malagasy society mainly relies on the principle that the young owe respect to the elders, and women owe respect to men, who have unquestionable power and authority. This explains the fact that traditionally, oratory speeches were exclusively reserved for elderly men.

Our interviews with some female orators emphasize the prevalence of hierarchy in the Malagasy context, and by extension in the field of kabary performance. For instance, a female

⁷ Maurice Bloch. “Introduction. Why Oratory.” *Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society*. London, New York, San Francisco: Academic Press, 1975. P. 3.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Øyvind Dahl. *Meanings in Madagascar*. Westport, Connecticut, London: Bergin & Garvey, 1999. P. 100.

¹¹ Øyvind Dahl. *Malagasy Meanings*. Stavenger: Centre for Intercultural Communication School of Mission and Theology, 1993. P. 97.

informant, contends that “the hierarchical structure of Malagasy society is reflected in the expression of the ‘fialan-tsiny’ or the removal of blame during the performance of kabary.”¹² The “fialan-tsiny,” as was already mentioned in the previous chapter, is meant to remove the blame for any potential mistakes, including the fact of speaking before those who are mostly entitled to speak during the kabary performance. Our talk with another female orator, Joelle P. Randriantody, enabled us to realize that the “azafady” or apologies and the “fialan-tsiny” tend to overlap in the kabary of some orators. According to Randriantody, the “azafady” is perceived as “a request for permission to speak while honouring the people in front of whom the speech is delivered.”¹³ This suggests that the alleged hierarchical structure of Malagasy society may be reflected in the “azafady,” and by extension the “fialan-tsiny” which anticipates the mistakes related to one’s appropriation of the authority to speak in the presence of the socially or traditionally acknowledged speakers. Going back to the views of our initial informant, we learn that in the “fialan-tsiny” or in the “azafady” section, the orator addresses his/her apology in hierarchical order to the other categories of people who are entitled to speak. The “raiamandreny” or parents/elders are mentioned first, they are followed by the “zoky be” or people who are older than the speaker, the people who have similar status to the speaker, the “zandry” or people who are younger than the speaker and finally, the children, and the ‘andriambavilanitra’¹⁴ or women, who are significantly referred to as follows: “though mentioned last, they have the greatest honour because they are the sources of life, the sources of family, when they walk, they are the decorations for the streets, when they stay at home, they are the jewels that decorate the house.”¹⁵ It should be noted that women come last as the

¹² “Hita taratra amin’ny fialan-tsiny amin’ny kabary ny rafitra an-tanan-tohatry ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy.” R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2 (Translation mine).

¹³ « Fangatahana alalana hiteny sady fanomezam-boninahitra ny olona hanaovana kabary. » Joelle Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

¹⁴ Previously translated as “Princesses from heaven.”

¹⁵ “Atao ampara filazana nefa faratampom-boninahitra satria loharanon’aina, loharanom-pianakaviana, mandeha izy ireny endriky ny lalana, mitoetra ravaky ny tokantrano.” (Common expressions used at current kabary performances as part of the ‘fialan-tsiny’ section) (Translation mine).

acknowledged speakers in the order mentioned earlier. However, they are valued for their gender roles as mothers and housewives as well as for their essential qualities as women, namely their beauty. Moreover, although they come after children in this order, this does not necessarily mean that children are entitled to speak before women in formal and important contexts. On the contrary, according to the same informant, “it is unacceptable to have children as orators if adults are still present. It is not acceptable for children to speak at wedding ceremonies or funerals.”¹⁶ As we have already seen in the previous chapter, the kabary performed on these occasions are currently performed by female orators. Our informant goes on to say that “children should only speak in child-appropriate contexts such as at school during the visit of a government official or the celebration of the New Year whereby a child can speak to represent the pupils”¹⁷ It means that despite the pertinence of the hierarchical structure reflected in the “azafady” and the “fialan-tsiny,” the actual value or rank of each category of person depends on various factors such as the types of kabary that are being performed and the context in which they are performed.

Furthermore, it is significant that in the sample of “fialan-tsiny” from Malagasy orator Job Rakotojaona’s *Mahay Mikabary*, women come after the elders, as can be read in the following excerpt:

I also apologize, it is not only because of my incompetence to speak, but because of your honour, you who are in front of me: there are indeed the “ray aman-dreny, the stones elevated by the earth, the fog lifted by the water [...] there are the “andriambavilanitra,” the bag in which one was wrapped and the belly in which one

¹⁶ “Tsy azo ekena hoe ankizy no mikabary raha mbola misy olon-dehibe. Tsy azo ekena ny hitenenan’ny ankizy amin’ny lanonam-pianakaviana na fandevenana.” R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2. (Translation mine).

¹⁷ “Amin’ny toerana sahaza azy ihany ny ankizy no tokony hikabary; toy ny any an-tsekoly amin’ny fandalovan’ny mpitondra fanjakana ohatra na amin’ny fankalazana ny taom-baovao ka azo atao ny hoe misy ankizy iray mikabary misolo tena ny mpianatra.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

dwelled, the bead necklace that decorates the neck, the ‘sahondra’¹⁸ that embellish the stones [...]’¹⁹

It should be noted that the characteristics of the categories of people mentioned in the “fialan-tsiny” or the “azafady” correspond to elements of nature and descriptions of natural phenomena. As Reverend Rasamuel Maurice explains, “it is through the observation of Nature and the things around them that [the Malagasy] draw the majority of the comparisons [...] They call for the help of the phenomena that people observe in Nature and several circumstances around them in order to justify and express their ideas.”²⁰ This tends to enhance the inherence of the characteristics attributed to each category of person. The characteristics attributed to women in particular call to mind American sociologist Cynthia Fuchs Epstein’s statement that “the traits and characteristics of women [are] [...] conceptualized [...] to reinforce their state of subordination and therefore legitimate male authority.”²¹ Indeed, the apparent veneration of women’s roles as childbearers and mothers in the “fialan-tsiny,” as is expressed in the images of “the bag in which one was wrapped” and the “belly in which one dwelled,” points to the assignment of gender specific roles such as childbearing and child care to women. In addition to that, the emphasis put on women’s beauty in the comparison with decorative elements and flowers endorses the ideology that women’s value primarily lies in their physical appearance, which explains the attribution of peripheral or ornamental roles to them. On the other hand, the elders or the parents whose higher social status is symbolized by the images of “stones elevated by the earth” or “the fog lifted by the water” are given the important and prestigious

¹⁸ A plant with dangling red flowers growing in the forests.

¹⁹ “Miala tsiny koa aho, tsy noho ny tsi-fahaizako miteny ihany fa noho ny voninahitrareo manoloana ahy; eto mantsy ny ray aman-dreny vato nasondrotry ny tany, zavona ningain’ny rano...eto ny andriambavilanitra, kitapo nifonosana sy kibo nitoerana, rado ravaky ny vozona, sahondra ravaky ny vato....” Job Rakotojaona. *Mahay Mikabary*. [s.i], [s.n], [s.d.]. P. 5. (Translation mine).

²⁰ “Avy amin’ny fandinihana ny Natiora sy ny zavatra manodidina no nakana ny ankamaroan’ny fanoharana ... Antsoiny hanampy azy mba hanamarina sy hiara-milaza ny heviny ny fomban’ny zavatra fahitan’ny olona eo amin’ny Natiora sy amin’ny toe-javatra maro manodidina azy.” Maurice Rasamuel. *Kabary am-panambadiana sy amin’ny fanasana. Fomba fanao raha misy maty. Kabary am-pandevenana*. Antananarivo: Trano Printy FJKM Imarivolanitra, 1986. P. 5. (Translation mine).

²¹ Cynthia Fuchs Epstein. « Women in Sociological Analysis. » *A Feminist Perspective in the Academy: The Difference it Makes*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1981. P. 152.

responsibility of transmitting social values to the other members of society. This can be observed in the following description from the same excerpt: “when they ground [rice], they managed to make [it] white, when they prepared [the rice/food], they managed to have [it] cooked.”²² In this statement, the rice or food symbolizes the offspring or the citizens who owe their success to the effective education of the elders.

Going back to the notion of hierarchical order in the delivery of public speech, we can consider the fact that women are mentioned after the elders in the excerpt of “fialan-tsiny” from *Mahay Mikabary*, which shows that the orator has the possibility to change the order in which he/she enumerates the various categories of other competent speakers to whom he addresses the “fialan-tsiny.” Similarly, in the sample of “fialan-tsiny” from Reverend Rasamuel’s book, the order in which the various categories of potential speakers does not correspond to the initial hierarchical order referred to by our informant and reflected in contemporary kabary performances. In Rasamuel’s sample, women are mentioned after the government leaders or highly-positioned personalities within the community and before the “ray aman-dreny” or elders. This supports our previous comment that the order in which the categories of people are mentioned does not necessarily refer to their social value as speakers. It should be noted that the author of *Mahay Mikabary*, Job Rakotojaona, was one of the first members of the FIMPIMA who supported the integration of Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline, the first female orator who joined the association in 1980. According to another male orator we interviewed, Rakotojaona made the request that “on the day he dies, the funeral kabary should be performed by a woman and it was Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline who delivered that speech.”²³

Our comparison of the three samples of “fialan-tsiny” mentioned above shows that the alleged social hierarchy that tends to minimize women’s value as speakers is mainly prominent

²² “Nitoto nahafotsy, nahandro nahamasaka.” Job Rakotojaona. *Mahay Mikabary*. [s.i], [s.n], [s.d.]. P. 5. (Translation mine).

²³ “Rehefa maty izy dia vehivavy no niriany hanao ny kabary eny amin’ny fasana ka i Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline no nanatanteraka izany.” Jean Maurice Rasamoelina. 16 March 2019. See Appendix 10. (Translation mine).

in current kabary performances whereas former samples of kabary, namely Rakotojaona's sample and Rasamuel's sample do not make a clear reference to the asymmetrical evaluation of the potential speakers' ranks, let alone the devaluation of women as speakers. Nevertheless, the "azafady" and "fialan-tsiny" in contemporary kabary do not always reflect this hierarchy. Indeed, the content of the "azafady" and the "fialan-tsiny" varies widely according to the orator and the context of the performance. To cite just a few of the variations that these parts of the kabary may take, we can refer to two other samples of "fialan-tsiny" from the kabary performed by contemporary male and female orators. For instance, the "fialan-tsiny" performed by a male orator whose "vodiondry" kabary we attended does not enumerate the categories of people who are entitled to speak; rather, it is a brief "fialan-tsiny" justified by the common expression that "it is the one who performs a long 'fialan-tsiny' who mainly takes the blame."²⁴ Similarly, the "fialan-tsiny" performed by the International President of the FIMPIMA at the graduation ceremony of future orators in Avignon in 2016 conveys the same idea expressed by the male orator quoted above. In the words of this female orator, "an orator who delivers a long 'fialan-tsiny' tends to take the blame for himself, especially because we cannot hold the time; so I say, let the blame be removed from me Sir, let the blame be removed from me, Madam for whatever may stain your honour here, for all the possible imperfections."²⁵ Here, the categories of people to whom the orator addresses her "fialan-tsiny" is reduced to the generic terms "Sir" and "Madam." Actually, what mainly stands out in the structure of kabary regarding its representation of the Malagasy social structure is the notion of hierarchy that stresses the importance of socially prominent individuals that are referred to as "ray aman-dreny," which

²⁴ « Izay mpikabary lava fialan-tsiny no tena manan-tsiny. » Kabary Performance 1. May 19, 2019. See Appendix 12 A. (Translation mine).

²⁵ "Raha mpikabary lava fialan-tsiny toa izy indray koa no manan-tsiny, indrindra ny fotoana tsy azo hazonina rahateo; koa ny teniko dia hoe, miala tsiny tompokolahy, miala tsiny tompokovavy ny amin'izay mety hanasy ny voninahitrareo, ny amin'izay mety ho tsy fahalavorariana rehetra." Hanitra Andriamboavonjy. "Filoha FIMPIMA tao Avignon 30 April 2016. Kabary famaranana taom-pihofanana." Uploaded by andrinjaka adamilus, 02 May 2016. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=leM7Mvyt44E>. (Translation mine).

may be, though not predominantly, related to issues of male dominance and female subordination. The expression “ray aman-dreny” itself, according to Dahl²⁶, refers both to men and women.

Nevertheless, our research has revealed that social perceptions of women’s presence and active participation in the formal and traditionally masculine context of kabary performance seem to be permeated by assumptions that support male dominance. Indeed, despite the general acknowledgement of women as competent speakers who deserve the same recognition as male orators, some people still adhere to a notion of hierarchical order that tends to belittle women’s competences to perform kabary. This can be observed in the reaction of another female orator to our questions about the current perception of female orators. This female orator acknowledges the existence of a social hierarchy that determines who are considered as the rightful speakers at formal events. She admits that women’s performance of kabary signals that “a hierarchical order is being subverted and there are people who refuse to accept that, saying that ‘if there are elder people, why should this little woman perform the kabary?’”²⁷ Another female orator points to the reactions of people who do not approve of women’s performance of kabary. She cites the common expressions and proverbs that these people enumerate to show their disapproval: “do you no longer have descendants so that it is a woman who delivers the speech? Are there no more sacred trees so that you have to use shrubs to make a walking stick? Are there no more drongo shrikes with a beautiful voice so that it is the weaver finch which is supposed to follow that leads the way”²⁸ These statements clearly point to the devaluation of women as can be observed in the negative elements that are used to represent them. The

²⁶ Øyvind Dahl writes that “the honourable title ray aman-dreny is given to men or women.” Øyvind Dahl. *Malagasy Meanings*. Westport, Connecticut, London: Bergin & Garvey, 1999. P. 96.

²⁷ « Misy rafitra an-tanan-tohatra voadingana dia misy ny olona tsy manaiky an’izay. Hoe raha misy ve ny raiamandreny be, maninona no ity vehivavy kely ity no mikabary?» Hajaina Andrianasolo. 02 March 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

²⁸ “Efa lany taranaka angaha no vehivavy no mitondra teny,” “lany angaha ny hazomanga no ambiaty no atao tehina; tsy misy ve ny railovy tsara feo no tsikirity mpanaraka no mitari-dia.” Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa. 25 March 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

“shrubs” and the “weaver finch” serve to emphasize women’s insignificant status and role compared to the main role played by the socially acknowledged male speakers symbolized by the “sacred trees” and the “drongo shrikes,” which are respectively the appropriate elements in the situations that are being described. These references to the negative reception of women’s performance of kabary show that the conscious or unconscious awareness of the hierarchical structure, which may or may not be based on gender differences and asymmetrical gender power relations, permanently impacts on women’s experiences as orators. What cannot be neglected is the very fact that a growing number of women and other categories of speakers such as children and young people perform kabary despite their alleged secondary status compared to the elders, and by extension men, who are perceived as the rightful orators. This implies that the current performance of kabary transcends the pre-established hierarchy.

Bearing in mind these reflections on the hierarchy that structures social relations and individual statuses in the Malagasy context, we intend to conduct a critical analysis of women’s experiences as orators in the present chapter. For that purpose, we will identify their motivations for becoming orators, their positions in relation to the conditions required in order to be acknowledged as effective orators, the difficulties they encounter and the different ways in which they tackle them. Understanding these women’s positions and experiences in the context of kabary performance enables us to delineate the gender power relations that permeate the discourse of public speech making in the context of our study. Our analysis will thus be conducted with gender lenses. Precisely, we will adopt a sociological perspective on gender roles in consideration of women’s appropriation of the right to speak in the contexts and style of men. Our reflections will build on the results of our surveys among professional orators and members of the audience of kabary performances as well as samples of kabary performances that we witnessed and recorded. Apart from the results of our surveys, the recording of kabary performances was judged necessary in order to appreciate and analyse the speech patterns and

performances of female orators in comparison with male orators and to observe the reception of their performances by the audience in various contexts. We will precisely analyse three kabary performances. Two of them are vodiondry kabary and the third one is an introductory speech held at the opening of an artistic Malagasy event in celebration of the 15th anniversary of the Havatsa/Upem (association of Malagasy poets and writers) branch in France.

Our work is divided into two parts. The first part examines the representations of the female voice in the field of kabary performance in relation to or in contradistinction with the masculine standards of kabary performance, the latter being traditionally a male privilege. We will mainly focus on the cases of the female orators we interviewed while taking into account the other male orators' and the audience's current perceptions of women's performance of kabary. The second part highlights the experiences of some of these female orators through the study of live kabary performances as well as the female orators' personal accounts of the resolution of gender-related issues that they encountered in their various performances. Our approach will be based on the concepts of gender awareness and gender responsiveness presented in the general introduction to this part of our study insofar as it seeks to investigate the social meanings of gender differences in kabary performance and their positive or negative impacts on women's experiences.

4.1. The Female Voice in Kabary Performance

In her article "The Discursive Performance of Femininity: Hating Hillary," Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, an American scholar who specializes in rhetorical criticism, explains the possible causes of the unpopularity of Hillary Clinton and the negative public reception of her political speeches and interventions. Her approach takes into account the assumptions regarding female political figures' public performances in terms of violations of the cultural norms that govern the public performance of gender roles. Tracing the history of the integration of the female

voice in the public sphere, Campbell goes back to the rise of the female voice in the 19th century and contends that “women speakers were expected to reaffirm their womanliness discursively at the same time that they demonstrated the ordinary rhetorical competencies [...] that were gender-coded as masculine.”²⁹ Reflecting on this statement enables us to realize that the issue tackled by Campbell in the American context presents some similarities to the 21st century Malagasy context regarding the implicit norms that govern female orators’ performances of kabary. Reiterating Lala Raharinjanahary’s conclusion³⁰ about the current rhetorical qualities female orators must possess in order to be acknowledged as “effective speakers,” we can affirm that like female speakers in the political field, Malagasy female orators are also expected to preserve their femininity while displaying their ability to abide by the standard “masculine” norms of kabary performance. This implies that talking about the female voice in kabary performance presupposes the prevalence of a feminine voice which is coherent with the cultural norms that govern the public performance of gender roles. However, asserting that female orators are mainly valued for their capacity to preserve or even to enhance their femininity in their performances of kabary tends to be an oversimplification of the understanding of these women’s experiences as orators in a traditionally masculine field. In order to have a thorough representation of Malagasy women in their performance of kabary, it is necessary to conduct an in-depth analysis of the ways in which cultural norms of gender define these women’s experiences as orators. For that purpose, we will build our analysis on our informants’ reactions to and perceptions of the cultural construction of their identities as female orators who mainly find their fulfilment in social recognition.

²⁹ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell. « The Discursive Performance of Femininity: Hating Hillary. » *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* Vol. 1 N°1 (1998). P. 4.

³⁰ Raharinjanahary points to the « two apparently contradictory traits that [female orators] must have: they must combine femininity and boldness.” [« Deux traits apparemment contradictoires que les femmes doivent avoir : elles doivent allier féminité et audace. »] Lala Raharinjanahary. “Les femmes oratrices mpikabary de l’association FIMPIMA (Fikambanan’ny Mpikabary eto Madagasikara ‘Association des rhéteurs à Madagascar.’ » *Etudes océan indien* 51 – 52 (2014). Put online on 30 September 2015. Accessed on 31 May 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1755>. (Translation mine).

In addition to that, it is particularly enlightening to consider some of the approaches adopted by the various contributors in Judith Baxter's *Speaking Out. The Female Voice in Public Contexts* in order to understand the issues related to the representations of the female voice in public contexts. The main concern of the book, in the Editor's words, is to investigate "whether women should be appropriating the genres of masculine public discourse or exploring new, alternative ways of making the public domain their own."³¹ This statement bears some similarities to Campbell's contention about the requirements for female speakers to reflect their femininity while mastering masculine oratory skills in that it involves the interaction between women's gendered performance of public speaking and the masculine standards of public discourse. The difference lies in Baxter's consideration of "the alternative ways" that women might employ to appropriate "the public domain." The concern that is expressed by Baxter can be relevant in our study of Malagasy female orators' positions in the field of kabary performance insofar as our analysis seeks to determine the extent to which the female orators that participated in our survey abide by the norms that regulate the performance of kabary, that is, the social expectations for effective orators, and to identify the nature of the female voice that these women are expressing in their kabary performances. This requires the understanding of the social and cultural contexts in which the performance of gender is closely tied to the performance of kabary. In that sense, this section of our study will focus on the analysis of the female voice expressed by the six female orators that we interviewed. For that purpose, we will consider the female orators' motivations in entering the field of kabary performance and their implicit or explicit intentions depending on the specific voices that they adopt in their public performances. At the same time, we will investigate these women's experiences as orators in relation to the cultural concept of the "effective speaker" and within the Malagasy context whereby cultural attitudes to women's performance of a traditionally male-specific genre differ.

³¹ Judith Baxter. « Introduction. » *Speaking Out. The Female Voice in Public Contexts*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006. P. XVIII.

4.1.1. Some Portraits of Female Orators

In this section, we will adopt a critical approach to the images of the six female orators who took part in our survey. Drawing on Lia Litosseliti's statement that "a critical approach entails questioning the theoretical, methodological and ideological assumptions underlying [...] representations of women [...] and of men,"³² our approach seeks to analyze the ways in which women's personalities and experiences as orators may be influenced by the ideological representations of and assumptions about women in the context of our study. Our exchanges with the six female orators enabled us to identify their main motivations for becoming orators or performing kabary. Their statements suggest that their motivations are not openly stated as a means to challenge traditional gender roles and appropriate male prerogatives in response to the currents of the women's liberation movement and gender equality ideologies. Rather, their motivations mostly stem from a personal appreciation of the beauty of the Malagasy language reflected in the performance of kabary and the attraction for kabary as a verbal art that defines Malagasy culture and identity. For instance, a female orator says that she was interested in kabary and performing kabary after attending the kabary performance of a member of her family during a vodiondry ceremony in 2012. She admits that she was "seduced by the beauty of the language and the performance,"³³ which prompted her to take a training in order to perform kabary. Similarly, another female orator explains that she particularly liked the performance of a female orator at the vodiondry ceremony of her close relatives in 1995, which confirmed her desire to express her passion for the Malagasy language through kabary performance. Indeed, she reports that she always got the best marks in the Malagasy subject at school.³⁴ Still another female orator asserts that it is by watching and listening to the kabary

³² Lia Litosseliti. Op. Cit. P. 44.

³³ "Babon'ny hakanton'ny teny Malagasy sy ny kabary aho." R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2. (Translation mine).

³⁴ See Appendix 1.

performed by her father that she discovered the beauty of kabary, which aroused in her the desire to become an orator and encouraged her to read books about kabary and learn the art of kabary performance through her personal research. The same orator says that she “loves and enjoys kabary, listening to [kabary] and doing research on them are pleasing to [her].”³⁵ These female orators also acknowledge that the nature of kabary as a verbal art is one of the major factors that prompted them to become orators. Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline, for example, refers to kabary as “a verbal art” and it is the awareness of this nature of kabary that made her “strive for the acceptance of women in the association of Malagasy orators.”³⁶ Another female orator, Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa, emphasizes the fact that “kabary is part of Malagasy culture which needs to be revived.”³⁷ This statement does not imply any form of competition, instead, it alludes to the necessity of the collaboration between men and women in order to preserve Malagasy culture.

Nevertheless, despite their personal interest in kabary as a verbal art, most of the women that we interviewed admitted that their decision to become orators was influenced by their relatives, namely the male ones who also played a major role in propelling them into their position as orators. This calls to mind American feminist linguist Judith Mattson Bean’s statement about the case of 19th century American women who chose to engage in public speaking. Bean asserts that “usually the assent and support of men was necessary, and a few men assisted women in becoming public speakers. With greater training, power, and authority than women, men could arrange for spaces, provide private encouragement and public

³⁵ « Mahafinaritra ahy ary ankafiziko ny kabary, ny mihaino azy, ny mandalina azy dia fahafinaretana ho ahy. » Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa. 22 April 2019. See Appendix 5. (Translation mine).

³⁶ « Amin’ny maha zavakanto ny kabary dia niezaka aho mba ho raisina ao anatin’ny Fikambanan’ny Mpikabary Malagasy ny vehivavy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

³⁷ « Kolontsaina ny kabary ary mila velomina. » Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa. 25 March 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

endorsements, or even assist a spouse with research.”³⁸ Indeed, the cases of our female informants reveal that their move into the male domain of kabary performance required the assistance and sometimes intervention of men. For instance, three of these female orators acknowledge the great support and assistance provided by close male relatives who also happen to be orators. One of them recalls what her father said to her after watching with her the vodiondry kabary performed by another female orator: “I wish my daughter could do the same.”³⁹ Similarly, in response to our request for further explanation regarding her statement that she has not received a blessing to perform funeral kabary, another female orator, whose father was also an orator, explains that

when [she] decided to take a training to perform kabary and expressed her desire to become an orator, [she] asked for [her] father’s permission and blessing. He was pleased by [her] talk and he said that [she] could do it and it was convenient for [her] as well. But he strongly emphasized to [her] that [she] must never ever perform funeral kabary.⁴⁰

It is her subsequent statement that stresses the important role played by her father in her decision to become an orator. She says, “I respected his words. What I want to tell you is that: I received a blessing to perform kabary; indeed, blessings are powerful to the Malagasy, so I fulfil the responsibility that has been given to me.”⁴¹ The request for an elder or a parent’s blessing is thus more than a request for permission since the blessing or “tso-drano” is traditionally believed by the Malagasy to be endowed with power. That is why this female

³⁸ Judith Mattson Bean. « Gaining a Public Voice: A Historical Perspective on American Women’s Public Speaking. » *Speaking Out. The Female Voice in Public Contexts*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006. P. 28.

³⁹ “Tiako raha mba manao toy izao koa ny zanako vavy.” Hajaina Andrianasolo. 03 March 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

⁴⁰ « Raha nanapa-kevitra ny hianatra kabary aho ka naniry ny ho lasa mpikabary dia niera sy nangataka tsodrano tamin’ny raiko. Nahafaly azy io resako io ary izy mihitsy no nilaza tamiko fa vitako izany sady mety amiko rahateo. Fa notsindriany mafy tamiko ny tsy hikabariako na rahoviana na rahoviana eny amin’ny fasana. » Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa. 04 April 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

⁴¹ « Najaiako izany teniny izany. Ny tiako ambara aminao dia izao: nahazo tsodrano hikabary aho, ny tsodrano mantsy zava-mahery amin’ny Malagasy, dia mahefa ny andraikitra nomena ho vitaiko aho. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

orator values the recommendations of her father, which not only ushered her into the field of kabary performance but also traced her path as a female orator who adheres to the traditional belief that women are not meant to perform funeral kabary. In the case of the third female orator, apart from the fact that she is the daughter of a renowned orator and first president of the association of Malagasy orators, other male figures also provided great assistance to allow her integration as the first female orator in the association in 1980. As was stated in the previous chapter, her integration into the association required the support of at least two male orators and members of the association. This orator, Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline, points to the value of the “tso-drano” that she received from the then members of the FIMPIMA. She says, “what really pleased and satisfied me was the blessing that they gave to me at the end, I almost cried, I was so happy because I had the courage to face the great personalities of kabary so that women can be acknowledged as orators.”⁴² This shows that the blessing given to the female orators, especially when it comes from a parent or the great figures in the field of kabary performance, is particularly meaningful to them not only because it shows that their choice to become orators has been acknowledged despite the fact that it was primarily considered as a violation of traditional norms of kabary performance, but also because they believe in the mystical power of the blessing. Apart from that, Rasamoeliasoa’s wish for women to be acknowledged as orators, which is also expressed in the aforementioned statement, does signal her desire as a woman to be integrated in the male field of kabary performance. However, it does not allude to an attempt to challenge male orators or transgress traditional gender norms.

It should be noted that while the majority of the female orators that we interviewed did not openly allude to women’s desire to compete with male orators when entering the field of kabary performance, some of the male orators do not share this view. Commenting on his

⁴² « NY NAHAFINARITRA AHY SY NAHAFAPO AHY DIA NY TSODRANO NOMENDRY ZAREO AHY tamin’ny farany saika latsaka ny ranomasoko, faly loatra aho satria sahy nisedra ireo olombe amin’ny kabary mba ho raisina mpikabary koa ny vehivavy. » Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa. 22 April 2019. See Appendix 5. (Orator’s emphasis, translation mine).

interactions with female orators during vodiondry kabary, a male orator says that “women always want to show that they are able to talk, hence, they tend to quibble over meaningless things. This is often the default of women, they want to surpass men when they perform kabary.”⁴³ This statement has two implications. First, women, who are not initially entitled to engage in public speaking, are thought to behave as if they were the speech holders who are entitled to make judgments and voice criticism about their male opponents’ performances. This shows that female orators are perceived to be presumptuous by some male orators, which justifies their qualification as crowing hens as was discussed in the previous chapter of this study. This goes in line with Deborah Cameron’s⁴⁴ explanation of the perception that “women talk too much and in so doing make themselves unfeminine and undesirable.”⁴⁵ Cameron says that “speaking out in public is persistently represented as something that both unsexes and de-classes women.”⁴⁶ In other words, women’s engagement in public speaking is perceived as a violation of traditional gender roles because of the assumption that women appropriate for themselves male specific domains and speaking styles. This explains our male informant’s hostile comment about his female opponents at vodiondry kabary. Significantly, this male orator feels the need to protect himself against female orators when he says, “I personally show respect and forbearance when I face women. I do not use long ‘hainteny’ but opt for history and customs in my kabary. When the kabary is based on history and customs, contemporary female orators do not have much to say.”⁴⁷ Interestingly, this statement corresponds to Cameron’s

⁴³ « Ny vehivavy dia te hampiseho foana fa mahavita miresaka, hany ka lasa tia mitsingolika amin’ny zavatra tsy misy dikany. Izany no matetika lesoka eo amin’ny vehivavy, te hihoatra ny lehilahy rehefa mikabary. » Souleman Andriamandimby. 08 April 2019. See Appendix 7. (Translation mine).

⁴⁴ Deborah Cameron is Professor of Language and Communication at the University of Oxford. She has published books on language and gender from a feminist perspective.

⁴⁵ Deborah Cameron. « Theorising the Female Voice in Public Contexts. » *Speaking Out. The Female Voice in Public Contexts*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006. P. 15.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ « Izaho manokana dia manaja ary mandefitra rehefa mihaona amin’ny vehivavy. Tsy manao hainteny lavareny fa tantara sy fomba no hitondrako ny kabariko. Rehefa miankina amin’io resaka tantara sy fomba io dia tsy dia manan-kolazaina ny mpikabary vehivavy ankehitriny. » Souleman Andriamandimby. 08 April 2019. See Appendix 7. (Translation mine).

comment that “in women’s entry in masculinist institutions [...] the female voice represents a threat to masculine hegemony which may lead to an intensification of sexism and the creation of new exclusionary practices.”⁴⁸ In the case of this male orator, the reaction, which takes the form of a fake benevolent sexism, pertains to a reinforcement of gender stereotypes and gender specific spheres of influence. In fact, not only does he express his adherence to the traditional qualification of unconventional women as “crowing hens,” but he also assumes that women are less intelligent in terms of customs and history, which, in his views, constitute domains that only men can fully master.

The second implication of our male informant’s initial statement is that kabary performance is inevitably perceived as a competition, not only between male orators, but also between male and female orators. One of our female informants shares this view when she says that “it is not the fact of being male or female that matters nowadays; [...] [kabary performance] is a contest whereby the competent takes the floor.”⁴⁹ The perception of kabary performance as a competition, regardless of the sex of the orators, raises questions related to possible gender differences in orators’ financial compensations or “hasim-bava.” Further, inquiring about the possible differences in the “hasim-bava” that male and female orators receive may also enable us to determine whether the financial reward from kabary performance may be one of factors that motivated our female informants and women in general to become orators. Our investigation provided interesting answers that highlight the parameters that are generally used to understand the notion of competition in the field of kabary performance and explain the estimation of the “hasim-bava.” Considering the traditional “economic analyses of the gender pay gap and occupational segregation”⁵⁰ referred to by American economists and labour

⁴⁸ Deborah Cameron. « Theorising the Female Voice in Public Contexts. » *Speaking Out. The Female Voice in Public Contexts*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006. P. 17.

⁴⁹ « Ankehitriny, tsy ny hoe lehilahy ianao sa vehivavy no zava-dehibe ...Fifaninanana [ny kabary] dia izay mahay no miaka-tsehatra. » Hajaina Andrianasolo. 02 March 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

⁵⁰ Francine D. Blau and Lawrence M. Khan. « The Gender Wage Gap: Extent, Trends, and Explanations. » *Journal of Economic Literature* 55 (3) (2017). URL: <https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.20160995>.

relations researchers Francine D. Blau and Lawrence M. Khan, we can single out the gender specific factors that might cause gender pay disparities, namely “gender differences in either qualifications or labor market treatment of similarly qualified individuals.”⁵¹ The concepts of gendered qualifications and labor market treatment developed by these authors will enable us to assess whether gender differences impact on men and women’s remuneration in the field of kabary performance. The first point that we will address is related to gender differences in qualifications as far as kabary performance is concerned. We will mainly try to identify whether men and women have equal opportunities to acquire the qualifications for kabary performance. It should be noted that unlike the situation described by Judith Mattson Bean in “western civilization where there is a long tradition of [written] literacy, [and where] the opportunity to speak before an audience was often limited to those with education,”⁵² the mastery of oratory skills in the context of kabary performance does not necessarily require access to education.⁵³ This may have something to do with the fact that kabary is considered as a verbal art and orators mainly prove their skills by showing their ability to observe and include elements of nature and situations of everyday life in the “hainteny” and proverbs that they use. However, formal trainings on kabary performance are now available for those who wish to master this verbal art. The qualifications for kabary performance differ for each individual according to the specific skills that they have acquired through training or inherited from their families as a talent that “flows in their veins.”⁵⁴ Nevertheless, it can be said that equal opportunities are given to men

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Judith Mattson Bean. “Gaining a Public Voice: A Historical Perspective on American Women’s Public Speaking.” *Speaking Out. Theorizing the Female Voice in Public Contexts*. P. 28.

⁵³ By way of an example, a renowned male orator who wished to remain anonymous said: “I am not ashamed to say that I did not have access to higher education. However, I did my best to reach the status that I have today.” [“Tsy mahamenatra ahy ny milaza fa tsy mba nandia fianarana betsaka aho. Niezaka anefa aho mba ho tonga amin’ny toerana misy ahy amin’izao fotoana izao] Personal communication with an anonymous male orator. 23 April 2019. (Translation mine).

⁵⁴ This expression is used by Malagasy politician Pierrot Rajaonarivelo to describe the orator Rado Rakotoarimanana in his introductory note to the latter’s second book on kabary. “Manana ra maha-mpikabary... mikoriana ao anatiny.” Pierrot Rajaonarivelo in Rado Rakotoarimanana and Marie Christine Rasoarinivo. *Kabary Mitahiry Fahendrena, Lova Sarobidy*. Madagascar: [s.n], [s,d]. (Translation mine).

and women to acquire the needed qualifications for kabary performance. The worldwide development of associations of Malagasy orators that organize the teaching of kabary at schools, churches, universities, and workplaces testifies to it. However, some of our informants maintain that despite the fact that there are almost as many female trainees as male ones, women are less inclined to put into practice their learned abilities. As was reported by our informants, some of the female trainees admitted that “they just learnt for the sake of learning but do not plan on actually performing kabary on special occasions. Others still think that it is a field reserved for men.”⁵⁵ Another informant, Tafika Rakotomavo, who is the head of the research and education department for the FIMPIMA based in France and the other branches outside Madagascar, explains that the reason why the majority of these female trainees do not become well-known orators is that “they are not given the floor or the opportunity to deliver a kabary.”⁵⁶ He goes on to say that “some women do not actually perform but write or prepare the kabary that others will perform on various occasions.”⁵⁷ Indeed, according to the same informant, “out of the 400 of trainees that graduated from the FIMPIMA in France, it can be said that about half of them are women and only about 10 of them have become experienced and well-known orators that are often solicited.”⁵⁸ That is why he stresses that “it is his duty to give the floor to the newly trained orators within the FIMPIMA, especially the female ones.”⁵⁹ This accounts for his choice to invite two female orators who graduated from the FIMPIMA in France in 2013 to perform the kabary for his daughter’s “vodiondry.” These reflections suggest that social and historical factors still prevent women from fully enjoying the same opportunities as men in the

⁵⁵ “Mianatra fotsiny mba hahay ny atao hoe kabary fa tsy mikasa ny hikabary amin’ny fotoana manokana. Misy mbola mihevitra fa tontolo natokana ho an’ny lehilahy io.” Personal communication with an anonymous male informant from a FIMPIMA branch in France. 23 May 2019. (Translation mine).

⁵⁶ “Tsy mahazo sehatra hikabariana.” Tafika Rakotomavo. 31 May 2019. See Appendix 9. (Translation mine).

⁵⁷ “Misy vehivavy tsy mikabary fa ... [m]anoratra na [m]anomana kabary ho an’ny hafa amin’ny fotoana samy hafa.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁵⁸ “400 ny mpianatra navoakan’ny FIMPIMA eto Frantsa, ny ampahany amin’izany azo lazaina fa vehivavy ary 10 amin’izy ireo no tena hoe lasa mpikabary misy miantso matetika.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁵⁹ “Andraikitra ny manome sehatra ireo mpikabary niofana tao amin’ny FIMPIMA, indrindra ny manome laka ny vehivavy.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

field of kabary performance. While men, as the traditional holders of speech, are somehow more solicited to perform kabary on special and important occasions, women themselves seem to have internalized the assumption that speech belongs to men. Those who do engage in kabary performance on formal occasions often need the intervention of male orators who have the authority to make them known in this field, which reinforces our previous comments. Our investigation of the cases of our female interviewees reveals that other factors related to the female orators' positions and personal experiences play an important part in ensuring their success and acknowledgement as orators.

Our female informants who have actually entered the traditionally male field of kabary performance report that their qualifications come from both formal training and personal research, especially in the case of those who descend from a line of orators. It should be noted that according to our various informants, people who have inborn oratory skills somehow have more credits than those who acquire these skills through training. A female orator, for instance, insisted on the fact that one should be aware of the difference between an orator and someone who can perform kabary. In her opinion, "an orator is someone who may have received training or not and performs kabary like any other professional activity"⁶⁰ whereas "someone who can perform kabary can be perceived as somebody of noble descent who is endowed with oratory skills and whose words are acknowledged by the community,"⁶¹ as is expressed in the Malagasy proverb "a calf which is not taught how to swim; a noble person who is not taught how to perform kabary."⁶² This orator was proud to announce that she considers herself as someone who can deliver a kabary rather than an orator who works for money. Despite the fact that she received a training to become an orator, she claims that she already has oratory skills running

⁶⁰ "Ny mpikabary dia olona izay nianatra na tsia ary mikabary ho fitadiavam-bola toy ny asa hafa rehetra." R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2. (Translation mine).

⁶¹ "Ny olona afaka mikabary dia izay olona azo lazaina fa taranak' 'andriana' izay efa mahay mikabary ary tò teny eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina" Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁶² "Zanak'omby tsy ampianarin-domano; hova tsy ampianarin-kabary." Ibid. (Translation mine).

through her veins and her training merely served to help her master Malagasy as a language. Another informant expressed his views about contemporary orators as follows: “See, for instance, a young orator performing a ‘vodiondry’ kabary. How do you think he is perceived by the audience? It is true that he has followed a training but people always think that it sounds like a recitation.”⁶³ Significantly, the majority of the female orators⁶⁴ we interviewed descend from a line of orators. One of them particularly claims that “[she] did not get a training to become an orator, [she] felt that the passion for kabary was innate in [her] [and] [...] as the daughter of an orator, [she] enjoyed reading books about kabary and listening to [her] father’s kabary.”⁶⁵ This suggests that oratory skills may be inherited from the families of orators as an inborn talent but at the same time, the fact that these orators have been exposed to the kabary performances of their relatives also plays a major role in the development of their competences as orators.

These reflections on our female orators’ qualifications for kabary performance enable us to suggest that based on their specific oratory skills acquired through training or inherited from their families, women may have the same opportunities as men to be acknowledged as good orators who deserve substantial remuneration provided they are given the opportunities to display their skills. One of our male informants even admits that most of the time, women surpass men at the final exams organized by the FIMPIMA.⁶⁶ However, these considerations alone are not enough to analyze the full extent of the possible differences in the “hasim-bava”

⁶³ “Jereo ohatra ny zatovolahy mikabary am-bodiondry ankehitriny. Ahoana no fijerin’ny olona azy hoy ianao. Marina fa nianatra izy saingy eo foana ny fahitana hoe manao ‘pli vava,’ manao tsianjery.” Personal communication with an anonymous male informant. 30 April 2019. (Translation mine).

⁶⁴ Four of them report that their fathers and other close relatives were orators.

⁶⁵ « Tsy dia niofana ho mpikabary aho, efa tsapako efa tato anatiko ny fitiavana ny kabary satria nahafinaritra ny mahita sy mihaino ny mpikabary amin’ny lanonana na amin’ny fahoriana; amin’ny maha zanaka mpikabary ny tenako dia tiko ny mamaky boky kabary sy mihaino an’i dadako mikabary. » Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa. 22 April 2019. See Appendix 5. (Translation mine).

⁶⁶ Tafika Rakotomavo reports that women excel in both oral and written exams. He explains that since most male trainees have already practiced kabary before attending the training, they tend to minimize written tests which concern theoretical knowledge about kabary and its history. But even in oral exams, female trainees still surpass the male ones. Tafika Rakotomavo. 31 May 2019. See Appendix 9.

received by men and women who perform kabary. In fact, we also need to take into account what was previously referred to as the gender differences in the treatment of equally qualified individuals in the labor market.⁶⁷ In the context of kabary performance, our analysis will focus on the interconnection between the remuneration of orators, their qualifications and the public reception and perception of orators and their performances. In that sense, we will attempt to identify whether women are treated or are perceived as rightful speakers in the same title as men and consequently, whether they are thought to deserve the same “hasim-bava” that other qualified male orators receive.

According to some of our informants, “there are many people who seek the services of female orators nowadays because it is uncommon, it changes from the ordinary.”⁶⁸ As was mentioned in the previous chapter, other informants assert that female orators’ performances are more captivating because of their charm.⁶⁹ This means that if female orators are actually perceived in such a positive light, they may have the opportunity to claim a substantial remuneration. Nevertheless, we should bear in mind the discrepancy between female orators’ claim about the popularity and appreciation of kabary performed by women and the results of our investigation among families who need the services of Malagasy orators developed in the previous chapter. In reality, in order to be acknowledged and gain their fame, orators need society’s approval; and once their status as effective orators has been established, they have the possibility or the duty to reflect this status in the “hasim-bava” that they claim. As one female orator explains,

When I’ve gained my status, which, in my view, the community has established as rather ranking highly in the field of kabary performance, it is no longer acceptable if the ‘hasim-bava’ does not correspond to this honour that I have. Otherwise, I would be the

⁶⁷ In Francine D. Blau and Lawrence M. Khan. « The Gender Wage Gap: Extent, Trends, and Explanations. » *Journal of Economic Literature* 55 (3) (2017). URL: <https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.20160995>.

⁶⁸ “Be dia be mihitsy amin’izao ny mitady vehivavy mpikabary [...] satria miavaka, miala amin’ny mahazatra.” Hajaina Andrianasolo. 21 May 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

⁶⁹ See the previous chapter for male orators’ perceptions of female orators.

one who tramples underfoot the honour that people have bestowed upon me if I claim the same amount of ‘hasim-bava’ received by apprentice orators or people who are constantly clumsy when they perform kabary.⁷⁰

Bearing in mind the importance of society’s approval for an orator to gain a prestigious status, we can explore the relationship between women’s social statuses and their position as orators. This would enable us to identify whether female orators’ remuneration is subject to the indirect effects of gender which Mohamad G. Alkadry and Leslie E. Tower, researchers on pay equity and gender discrimination against women from American universities, refer to as covert pay discrimination. These authors mainly point to the intervention of “authority-level variables”⁷¹ while addressing the indirect effects of gender on women’s pay in public organizations. They assert that “no laws are violated when one is paid more if one has more authority. But if an employee’s sex predicts his or her amount of authority, then authority level becomes a covert replacement for direct sex-based pay discrimination.”⁷² In other words, their view acknowledges the interconnection between an individual’s authority or influential position in the labor market and his/her remuneration. While Alkadry and Tower reflect on the form of covert discrimination related to the amount of authority attributed to individuals based on their sex, we will mainly focus on the relationship between women’s occupation of positions of authority in society or in the workplace and their ability to claim substantial financial compensation in the field of kabary performance. As was expressed in the view of the female orator quoted above, the acquisition of a highly ranking status in the field of kabary performance is a major factor that enables female orators to impose the value of their “hasim-bava” and this

⁷⁰ “Nony nanana ny anjara toerana heveriko fa mba napetraky ny fiaraha-monina ho olona ambony ihany eo amin’ny sehatry ny fikabariana aho dia tsy mety intsony kosa raha tsy mba mampifandraika izay hasina ananako izay ny hasim-bava. Manjary izaho indray no manosihosy ny hasina omen’ny olona ahy raha haneho hasim-bava mitovy amin’ny olona vao miana-mikabary na olona tsy afaka amin’ny fahavotsana rehefa mikabary.” Hajaina Andrianasolo. 21 May 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

⁷¹ Mohamed G. Alkadry and Leslie E. Tower. “Covert Pay Discrimination: How Authority Predicts Pay Differences between Women and Men.” *Public Administration Review* vol. 71 N°5 (September/October 2011). P. 740.

⁷² Ibid.

status is closely related to their social position. In fact, some of the female orators that we interviewed occupy important leadership positions either in the workplace, in the literary field, or in the community within which they perform kabary. Hajaina Andrianasolo, for instance, is the international president of the association of Malagasy writers and poets. As a literary person, she has published several books, short stories and poems and asserts, as was already quoted in the previous chapter of this work, that it is probably one of the reasons why she is widely appreciated as an orator. Another orator, Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy, the director of research and education in the FIMPIMA of Antananarivo, has also published books on kabary. She also happens to be the daughter of a writer, songwriter and poet, Marka Nirina Ramarolahy, whose work has been posthumously published and translated into French and English by his children. Rasamoeliarisoa Pascaline, apart from being a legal advisor, is the first woman who was integrated in the association of Malagasy orators and thus gained wide media coverage in the 1980s.⁷³ The other female orators that we interviewed are not less significant in the social status that they gain through their professional occupations.⁷⁴ All these five women are kabary teachers within the FIMPIMA association in their respective towns. Considering the fact that the majority of female trainees in kabary performance often refrain from putting their knowledge into practice and becoming renowned orators, we could suggest that our five female orators' prominent social and professional statuses, their being or descending from well-known literary figures and orators, and the intervention of fellow male orators somehow influenced their capacity to win society's approval and enabled them to gain their current status in the field of kabary performance.

⁷³ Rasamoeliarisoa Pascaline reports that "many newspaper articles talked about her in relation to women who perform kabary because it was something new to the public." ["Maro ny lahatsoratra an-gazety niresaka ny tenako mikasika ny vehivavy mikabary satria zava-baovao ho an'ny mpihaino sy mpijery izany"]. Pascaline Rasamoeliarisoa. 22 April 2019. See Appendix 5. (Translation mine).

⁷⁴ One of them is currently writing her Master's dissertation in Anthropology and the other occupies a management position in the field of public administration. The latter also received the Ministry of Arts and Culture's artistic award as an orator in June 2017.

The case of our sixth informant is slightly different since she does not descend from a family of orators and had to make significant effort in order to gain her current status. She was among the first kabary trainees in France in 2010 and is currently a kabary teacher and the director of teaching within the FIMPIMA branch in France. She has performed 26 “vodiondry” kabary since her graduation. Even then, she stills thinks that “[she] has not yet reached the ideal status that [she] actually wants.”⁷⁵ Her views regarding the evaluation of the “hasim-bava” are particularly interesting in the context of our study as they reflect the negotiations made by orators in order to gain a higher status and win social recognition. In fact, our informant says that “at the beginning, [she] did not dare to impose [a certain amount of money] but merely asked [the families] to give what they were willing to.”⁷⁶ This, however, made her realize that most of the time, the families who hire her “are not aware of the effort that [she] makes,”⁷⁷ namely the expenses related to transportation fees, outfits, jewels and other accessories, and the preparation of the kabary. Hence, she felt the need to impose a certain amount for the “hasim-bava” in her subsequent performances, especially when she felt that she has somehow proven her worth and made herself known as a good orator through her previous performances. In her words, “one must bear in mind that the ‘vodiondry’ ceremony cannot be realised without the orator and it is the orator who has to value the kabary that he/she performs so that people may value them as well.”⁷⁸ It means that the orator’s authority to impose their value is still dependent on the status that society confers to them, which, in the case of a female orator, somehow

⁷⁵ “Tsy mbola tonga eo amin’ny toerana tena tiako aho.” Joelle P. Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

⁷⁶ « Tamin’ny voalohany tsy sahy nametra fa dia hoe ‘izay mahafa-po anareo re e.’ » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁷⁷ « Tsy azon’ny olona an-tsaina ny ezaka ataonao. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁷⁸ “Tadidio fa ny lanonana vodiondry tsy vita raha tsy ny mpikabary ary [ny mpikabary] no tokony hanome lanja ny kabary atao[ny].” Ibid. (Translation mine).

requires significant efforts regarding their physical appearance.⁷⁹ Issues related to female orators' physical appearance will be further developed in the next section.

To further analyze the evaluation of the “hasim-bava” for male and female orators, we could refer to the views of other orators who claim that the “hasim-bava” does not have a gender dimension. As one male orator puts it, “there is no difference between the ‘hasim-bava and the hasina of the kabary received by men or women. The reason is that we do not make a distinction about being male or female in terms of public speaking or speaking in front of an audience.”⁸⁰ This view presupposes that gender equality ideals have been fully integrated into the current performance of kabary. In other orators' views, it is not gender, but the combination of various important factors that determine the amount of the “hasim-bava.” As Souleman Andriamandimby puts it, “it is not about being male or female [...] For instance, [in the ‘vodiondry’ kabary], it is more difficult to be a petitioner (the orator for the groom’s family) than a deliverer (the orator for the bride’s family). That may entail the differences in the amount of the ‘hasim-bava.’ The petitioner’s speech is longer than that of the deliverer.”⁸¹ Another orator, Hajaina Andrianasolo, expresses a similar view when she says that

in terms of ‘hasim-bava,’ there is not a definite price at all for a male or female orator; it depends on the agreement between the orator and the people who hire them, it may also depend on what may already be the fame of the orator and his/her competences [...] So in [her] opinion, there is no supplementary pay for women or for men, it really depends on their competences.⁸²

⁷⁹ Our informant reports that “since [she] became an orator, [she] spent a lot of money on clothes, shoes, jewels and other beauty accessories.” [Tamin’izaho lasa mpikabary dia nandany vola be mihitsy nividy akanjo, kiraro, firavaka sns.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁸⁰ “Tsy misy fahasamihafana ny hasim-bava sy hasin’ny kabary raisin’ny lehilahy na ny vehivavy. Ny antony dia tsy anavahana maha lahy na maha vavy ny fandraisam-pitenenana imason’olona sy imasom-bahoaka.” Alban Faniry Rakotoarisoa. 02 July 2019. Sere Appendix 8. (Translation mine).

⁸¹ « Tsy ny maha-lehilahy na vehivavy no mitondra azy. Sarotra kokoa ny mangataka noho ny mamoaka, izany no mahatonga ny fahasamihafana eo amin’ny hasim-bava. Lava kokoa ny resaka ataon’ny mpangataka noho ny mpamoaka. » Souleman Andriamandimby. 21 May 2019. See Appendix 7. (Translation mine).

⁸² « Momba ny hasim-bava tsy misy ‘prix’ izany mihitsy hoe rehefa vehivavy dia izao na rehefa lehilahy dia izao, fa tena arakaraky ny fifanarahan’ily mpikabary sy ny olona maka azy hikabary, miankina amin’ny mety ho efa lazan’ily mpikabary sy fahaizany koa io [...] Koa araka ny hevitrao dia tsy misy tombony manokana na ho an’ny

In other words, these two informants claim that the orators' worth is mainly evaluated according to their competences and specific responsibilities throughout the kabary performance. Another female orator alludes to the fact that "there do exist major differences in the 'hasim-bava' received by orators. It depends on the [orator's] competences, which distinguishes him/her, either they are male or female. [It depends on] the fact that they are expert orators, their fame, [and] the ties between them and the people who hire or invite them to perform kabary."⁸³ The first part of this statement seems to suggest the orator's awareness of differences based on gender. However, if we consider the rest of her statement, we realize that the differences that this orator refers to are more or less similar to the parameters that the previously mentioned orators use to estimate the value of the "hasim-bava." In that sense, this orator seems to share the view that differences in financial compensation for kabary performance are not mainly based on gender but on other factors, including the orators' competences and renown.

It is interesting to note that the perceptions somehow differ depending on the areas in which the orators perform kabary. In fact, according to the views of a male orator in France, since the motto of the FIMPIMA is "'to promote Malagasy language [...] through kabary,' there are no specific instructions regarding the 'hasim-bava' and it is even encouraged to minimize it or to perform kabary for free so that such matters will not represent barriers to the expansion of Malagasy values."⁸⁴ The same orator, Tafika Rakotomavo, says that his fellows from Madagascar tend to criticize the orators in France who promote this view because it "destroys

vehivavy na ho an'ny lehilahy fa tena miankina amin'ny fahaizana." Hajaina Andrianasolo. 22 May 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

⁸³ "Misy tokoa ny fahasamihafana amin'ny hasim-bava raisin'ny mpikabary. Miankina amin'ny lenta izay maha izy azy manokana izany na lahy izy na vavy. Amin'ny maha-matihanina azy mpikabary. Amin'ny lazany hahalalan'ny olona azy. Amin'ny rohim-pihavanana na finamanana na fifandraisana misy eo amin'ilay mpikabary sy ny olona maka hikabary." Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa. 23 May 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

⁸⁴ « Fampandrosoana ny ... teny Malagasy amin'ny alalan'ny kabary... tsy misy 'consignes' manokana amin'ny resaka hasim-bava... amporisihina aza ny mpikambana mba tsy hanao izany ho lafo be na hanao izany maimaim-poana mihitsy aza... mba tsy ho sakana amin'ny fivelaran'ny soatoavina Malagasy. » Tafika Rakotomavo. 31 May 2019. See Appendix 9. (Translation mine).

the market,”⁸⁵ in the sense that it decreases the value of kabary performance. One of the female orators that we interviewed confirms this fact when she asserts that “in Madagascar, kabary performance is an actual way of earning money; the orators charge an hourly rate and expert orators are very expensive; whereas in France, orators are merely recommended to value their kabary so that people may value them as well.”⁸⁶ The recommendation for FIMPIMA orators in France means that they are not prompted to perform kabary for money. Nevertheless, our male informant, Tafika Rakotomavo somehow acknowledges that the value of the “hasim-bava” mainly depends on each individual despite this recommendation to minimize the remuneration for kabary performance. He specifically points to the case of one of the female orators that he appointed to represent the groom’s family for his daughter’s “vodiondry,” who, in his words, “is strict about imposing her ‘hasim-bava.’”⁸⁷ He reports the words of this female orator, saying: “when I perform a kabary, I have to take care of myself, I have to go the hairdresser, I do not come to the ceremony by bus and dry cleaning my clothes is not free.”⁸⁸ This female orator, who is one of our interviewees, has voiced her personal dismay regarding the devaluation of the “hasim-bava.” Commenting on the two “vodiondry” kabary that she has performed since 2013, she says that “the families who organize ‘vodiondry’ or marriage nowadays tend to minimize the value of the orator who represents them throughout the ceremony.”⁸⁹ She goes on to say that “if these [people] spend 3000 or 5000 € for the wedding, what is the percentage given to the orator who is the pillar of the ceremony? Can the orator’s

⁸⁵ « Manimba tsena. » Ibid.

⁸⁶ “Any Madagasikara tena fitadiavam-bola mihitsy ny kabary; mandeha isan’ora ary ny goaika antitra tena lafo fa aty Frantsa dia hoe ‘omeo lanja ny kabary ataonao dia hanome lanja izany koa ny olona.” Joelle P. Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

⁸⁷ « Hentitra amin’ny famerana ny hasim-bava. » Tafika Rakotomavo. 31 May 2019. See Appendix 9. (Translation mine).

⁸⁸ “Izaho rehefa mikabary, tsy maintsy mikarakara tena, tsy maintsy mandeha any amin’ny mpanao volo, tsy mandeha ‘bus’ aho mankany amin’ny lanonana ary tsy maintsy entina any amin’ny ‘teinturerie’ ny akanjo hanaovako.” Female orator quoted by Tafika Rakotomavo. Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁸⁹ “Matetika hamaivanin’ny fianakaviana ny hasin’ny mpikabary izay mitondra teny ho azy amin’ny lanonana.” R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2. (Translation mine).

‘hasina’ be reduced to 50 euros?’⁹⁰ Yet, the same orator reports that the people who watched her vodiondry kabary all voiced their appreciation of her performance and our male informant who appointed her confirms this view.⁹¹ Since this female orator did not mention the exact amount of the “hasim-bava” that she received, we could only consider the “hasim-bava” for the other female orator who represented our male informant’s family. The latter said that he gave 400 € to her, which, in his words, “is even more than what he himself has gained at his kabary performances.”⁹² By way of comparison, we learnt that a young male orator who performs kabary in European countries charges 400 to 450 € for each performance.⁹³ Another elderly male orator in France, who is also a prominent literary figure within the Havatsa/Upem, is reported to charge between 125 and 150 € for his kabary performances.⁹⁴ This implies that the determination of the value of the “hasim-bava” is indeed influenced by the combination of several factors, which may or may not have a gender dimension. The criterion that seems to be mainly valued is the orators’ competences, which logically prompts the audience to acknowledge them as notable orators, which accounts for the fact that there are circumstances which favour female orators rather than male ones.

Nevertheless, despite the pertinence of these views, it would be misleading to ignore the gender dimension of the estimation of the “hasim-bava” for male and female orators, especially when it is considered as one of the factors that may prompt women to perform kabary. Thus, it might be enlightening to explore the views that do not point to explicit gender differences regarding the determination of the “hasim-bava,” but somehow tackle some of its aspects that

⁹⁰ “Raha mandany 3000 a 5000 € amin’ny marriage, firy isan-jaton’izay no omena ny mpikabary izay andrin’ny lanonana tanterahina, voavidin’ny 50 € ve ny hasin’ny mpikabary?” Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹¹ The orator herself reports how various families plead with her to repeat her previous performances at their own ceremonies. “Ataovy ohatran’ilay kabary nataonao tany... iny!” [Do the same kabary that you did at...]. Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹² Tafika Rakotomavo says that for a kabary he performed in Brussels, for instance, the family gave him 200 € to compensate for his transportation and hotel fees. Tafika Rakotomavo. 31 May 2019. See Appendix 9.

⁹³ Hasina Samoelinanja. 30 July 2019. See Appendix 11.

⁹⁴ Sources from our female informant who performed a “vodiondry” kabary with this male orator. See Appendix 4.

may be gender specific. We can refer to the statement of a female orator who initially agrees with the orators mentioned above but adds her personal view, which takes gender differences into account when it comes to evaluating the “hasim-bava” for either gender. She says,

In my opinion, there is no difference [between the ‘hasim-bava’ for male and female orators]. It is true that the families who hire orators are tempted to think that [the ‘hasim-bava’] should be less for women. To me, the ‘hasim-bava’ depends on several things, such as the time I spend for the kabary, the requirements of the families etc. In truth, it is the ‘hasim-bava’ for female orators that should be more elevated because they need to take care of their faces, their hairdos, etc, which men do not do.⁹⁵

This statement testifies to this female orator’s awareness of gender differences which calls for her gendered response that is expected to work in her advantage. Although she acknowledges the prevalence of gender specific characteristics, namely women’s need to pay more attention to their physical appearance, she also points to the fact that gender differences may favour women provided that they have enough credits to impose their rate among the families that hire them. Furthermore, the same orator says that the ‘hasim-bava’ can be motivating as it “makes a significant contribution to what she earns.”⁹⁶ Unlike other female orators who assert that their primary motivation for performing kabary was not the money earned from the performance,⁹⁷ this orator immediately acknowledges the financial value of

⁹⁵ “Raha ny hevitra dia tsy misy mahasamy hafa azy. Marina fa alaim-panahy ny fianakaviana hihevitra hoe rehefa vehivavy dia kely kokoa. Amiko miankina amin’ny zavatra maro ny ‘hasim-bava,’ ny fotoana matiko mikabary, ny takian’ny fianakaviana sns. Raha ny marina aza ange di any hasim-bava ho an’ny mpikabary vehivavy no tokony ho betsaka kokoa e, satria izy mila mikarakara tarehy, volo, izay tsy hataon’ny lehilahy.” Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy. 03 April 2019. See Appendix 3. (Translation mine).

⁹⁶ « Manampy amin’ny fidiram-bola tokoa ny kabary. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹⁷ One female orator, for instance, notes that « at the beginning, it was the attraction for kabary that prevailed in [her] mind [...] [and] [she] did not think at all of the possible financial outcome. However, later on, [she] realized that kabary performance really made a great contribution to her earnings.” [“Tany am-boalohany di any fahalinana ny kabary no nibahana tao an-tsaiko sy nahababo ahy fa tsy nihevitra izay mety ho fidiram-bola tamin’ny mihitsy aho. Kanjo taty aoriana dia tsapa tokoa fa nanampy tamin’ny fampidiram-bola ny kabary”]. Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa. 23 May 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

Another female orator also says: “When I began to perform kabary, it was not the money at all that interested me but the knowledge.” [“Tamin’izaho nanomboka nikabary dia tsy ny vola mihitsy no nahaliana ahy fa ny fahaizana”]. Hajaina Andrianasolo. 21 May 2019. See Appendix 1. (Translation mine).

kabary performance. This implies that even though money is not primarily listed as the main motivation for female orators' performance of kabary, they discover throughout their experiences as orators that working in the field of kabary can be financially rewarding. To conclude, our female informants' entry in the field of kabary performance is not initially motivated by an attempt to claim for themselves men's rights and privileges, either in terms of social status or financial benefits. Their decision to perform kabary has mainly been prompted by their desire to take part in the promotion of Malagasy values and culture and the influence and support of other male orators. While women have practically expressed their desire to enter this male field and have proven to be rather successful in the case of the ones whose careers as orators have been propelled by other factors, a significant number of female kabary trainees still adhere to the belief that kabary performance is the domain of men and they would only speak when no male orators or men who are entitled to speak are present. Nevertheless, once they have entered this traditional male field, female orators have learnt to appreciate the advantages of being orators while facing the challenges inherent to it.

4.1.2. Female Orators and the Concept of the “Effective Speaker”

Our investigation has revealed that becoming an effective and renowned orator whose speeches are impressive and whose services are solicited by many people is more than merely possessing oratory skills or mastering Malagasy language and the use of ‘hainteny,’ ‘ohabolana,’ and other literary devices. Indeed, the definition of the concept of the “effective speaker” depends on the interconnection between several elements that build the status of an individual as a renowned orator. In our analysis, we thought it fitting to classify these elements in two categories that are interrelated: the elements related to the orator's public image and the elements expressing the orator's talent as an orator, which specifically refer to the mastery of the art of kabary performance. It is true that the latter has already been touched upon in our

previous analyses, especially in the discussion on the place of training in the orators' acquisition of oratory skills but we will somehow refer to most of the relevant elements related to the orators' skills, which may define their effectiveness in the views of our informants. Apart from that, we will mainly emphasize the elements that shape the orator's public image and influence his/her reception as orator throughout our analysis. This part of our study will focus on the results of our interrogation of various orators in order to define their understanding of the concept of the "effective speaker." We will briefly explore the elements that determine an orator's effectiveness based on their oratory skills before dealing with the shaping of their public image as a defining factor of their credibility.

The discourse on public speaking that highlights the characteristics of the effective speaker developed by American specialist in the field of speech communication Elwood Murray may help us to understand the essential qualities required for a male or female orator in order to be valued as effective speakers. Murray's reflections mainly deal with the speech behaviour of the speaker whose effectiveness is based on his/her integration into the speech context. As Murray puts it, "the integrated speaker has poise and emotional control,"⁹⁸ whereby poise refers to "a state of balance, an equilibrium, a sense of satisfaction"⁹⁹ which is reflected in the posture and action, the vocal quality, enunciation and articulation of the speaker. The elements developed by Murray actually point to the technical part of public speaking which impacts on the delivery of the speech. In the context of kabary performance, we can consider the factors that influence the orators' effectiveness, namely their voice, their fluency and other characteristics that define their oratory skills. Since the performance of kabary relies heavily on the use of Malagasy sayings, "hainteny" and "ohabolana," we will also take into account the orators' comments about the content of the speeches in order to highlight the relationship

⁹⁸ Elwood Murray. *The Speech Personality*. Chicago, Philadelphia, New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1944. P. 19.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

between performances of gender and the social expectations that define the concept of the effective orator. In that sense, we will analyse the views of our informants regarding the skills and behaviour expected from male and female orators in relation to the general standards of effective public speaking.

Regarding the quality of the effective orator's voice, our informants agree with Murray's statement that "the well-integrated speaker has a pleasant and agreeable quality of voice [...] Full, rich, smooth, and agreeable voice qualities [...] [not] harsh, dull, high-pitched, raspy, rough, or monotonous."¹⁰⁰ Some of these qualities are indeed echoed in Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy's statement that the effective orator is "someone who does not have a frail voice or a high-pitched voice."¹⁰¹ In other words, orators are expected to have a pleasant voice that captivates and entertains the audience. It is relevant to refer here to the association of high-pitched voice to women, which is developed by Australian feminist scholar Dale Spender in her *Man Made Language*. Spender points to the fact that "[women's] shrill, often whining voices are difficult to listen to for a long time and they do [...] make it difficult for women to be taken seriously."¹⁰² She shares the views of Canadian language educator Ruth Brend that "women 'choose' to make use of high pitch while men 'choose' not to" in a culture which "links low pitch and masculinity, and high pitch and femininity."¹⁰³ It suggests that while both sexes have the ability to adjust the pitch of their voices, there is a general assumption that women use high pitch more than men and such practices are part of the discourses that support sex differences in language practices. In this regard, it is interesting to reconsider our female orator, Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy's recommendation regarding orators' use of high pitch in their kabary performances. Ramarolahy does not specify whether this recommendation applies for

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. P. 20.

¹⁰¹ « Tsy kely feo na marani-peo. » Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy. 02 April 2019. See Appendix 3. (Translation mine).

¹⁰² Dale Spender. *Man Made Language*. London, New York: Pandora Press, New York University Press, 1998. P. 38.

¹⁰³ Ruth Brend in Dale Spender. Ibid. p. 39.

male or female orators, which confirms the awareness that both sexes may use high pitch in their speeches but are encouraged not to because it is not perceived as a pleasant feature of kabary performance. In this case, although gender differences are alluded to, they are not particularly marked to exclude women from kabary performance.

Nevertheless, our research has revealed that gender differences permeate the evaluation of male and female orators' voice qualities. Considering the majority of our informants' observations that "men's voices tend to be stern, rigid and sometimes rather authoritative"¹⁰⁴ and "women's voices are milder, melodious and charming,"¹⁰⁵ it can be said that voice can be women's asset to captivate the audience throughout their kabary performance. However, within a context or among an audience that values male authority and strength, as well as men's traditional speech styles, the female orator's performance may be less appreciated despite its "charm." To further explain this view, we can refer to Maurice Bloch's description of the "formal speeches made by Merina elders" in his introduction to *Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society*. He writes, "the speaker began very slowly, hesitantly, and very quietly, head down, and only gradually would he appear to gain more confidence [...] He would speak somewhat louder as the speech proceeded and by the end he would again move back to the very quiet self-effacing type of speaking with which he had begun."¹⁰⁶ We had the opportunity to witness the same speech style displayed by an elderly male orator and poet¹⁰⁷ at a Malagasy artistic event in France. While observing the audience's reaction to this man's speech, we could sense their respect expressed in their silence and marked attention to the speaker's utterance.

¹⁰⁴ « Entitra, henjakenjana, somary mibetroka indraindray. » R.R. and Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline. See Appendices 2 and 5. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁵ Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline, for instance, says that « men's voices are stronger as if they were rebuking at times; women's voices, on the other hand, are naturally mild and melodious and thus seduces the heart. » [ny lehilahy be feo kokoa, ohatrany mibetroka indraindray; ny an'ny vehivavy kosa malefaka ara-boajanahary sady milantolanto ka mambabo ny fo]. 22 April 2019. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁶ Maurice Bloch. "Why Oratory." *Political Language and Oratory in Traditional Society*. London, New York, San Francisco: Academic Press, 1975. P. 7.

¹⁰⁷ For privacy issues, the identity of the orator is not disclosed. Indeed, the orator is not among the participants in the present study.

Interestingly, we also witnessed the speech of a female orator at the same event, which was very different from the aforementioned orator's style because the female orator spoke in her melodious voice with confidence from the beginning till the end of her speech, looking and smiling at the audience. This female orator's performance seemed to be equally appreciated by the audience. Both speakers are renowned personalities in the field of kabary performance and Malagasy literature, which may account for the fact that they inspired respect and acknowledgement from the audience. If the female orator had not yet had the status of a renowned orator, the audience's response may have been different in a positive or a negative way. As one of the female orators that we interviewed puts it, "if your kabary is not effective, [the audience will say that] it was because of your outward appearance, physical appearance and gestures; if it is effective, these are the same parameters by which you are evaluated."¹⁰⁸ This calls to mind British sociolinguist Peter Trudgill's contention that while "men [...] can be rated socially [...] by what they do [...] women have instead to be rated on how they appear [...] so other signals of status, including speech, are [...] more important."¹⁰⁹ In other words, the evaluation of women's effectiveness is based on more criteria, which mainly involve their outward appearance and the ways in which they speak. Although Trudgill talks about women in English and American societies, his statement is relevant for Malagasy women in the field of kabary performance. In fact, female orators are caught in a double bind, which mainly springs from the fact that they are not the traditional holders of speech and they have to strive in order to win society's approval and acknowledgement. This corresponds to gender and education researcher Allyson Jule's statement that "the nature of the female voice in public contexts seems to [be] one that is burdened by expectations of female silence."¹¹⁰ In other words, since women

¹⁰⁸ « Raha tsy mahomby ny kabary ataonao dia noho ny fiseho, fihaingo sy ny fihetsika ivelany; raha mahomby dia ireny ihany no hitsarana anao." Joelle P. Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁹ Peter Trudgill. « Sex, Covert Prestige and Linguistic Change. » *Language in Society* Vol. 1. N°2 (1972). P. 183.

¹¹⁰ Allyson Jule. "Silence as Morality: Lecturing at a Theological College." *Speaking Out. The Female Voice in Public Contexts*. Ed. Judith Baxter. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. P. 105.

are expected to be silent while men perform their traditional role as public speakers, women who engage in public speaking are subject to social regulations that shape their speech styles. This brief reference to live kabary performances merely serves to assess the reception of male and female orators depending on their speech styles and voices; an in-depth analysis of the live kabary performances that we recorded will be conducted in the last section of this chapter. Going back to our reflections on the gender differences that permeate the evaluation of the qualities of the orators' voices, we can say that the appreciation of the qualities of the orators' voices are subject to social and cultural judgments that may be influenced by gender differences.

Regarding the quality of women's voices, which is perceived to be "soft" and "mild," we asked our informants if it had a negative impact on their audibility and thereby the audience's reception of their speech. Some male orators claimed that gender differences in relation to men's and women's voices can now be tackled through the use of microphones¹¹¹ because in that case, women whose voices are weaker or lower than men's can easily make themselves heard. It can be suggested that these orators attempt to promote a discourse of gender equality in kabary performance, which relies on the minimization or neutralization of gender difference markers in male and female orators' kabary performances. However, these same orators are the ones who acknowledge that women's voices are their asset in kabary performance because they convey their charm. This drives home the idea of benevolent sexism whereby it is "not necessarily experienced as benevolent by the recipient."¹¹² Indeed, this form of benevolent sexism which is consciously or unconsciously expressed by some male orators, may have negative implications for female orators if we take into account the fact that there are

¹¹¹ Hasina Samoelinanja. 28 February 2019. See Appendix 11.

¹¹² Peter Glick and Susan Fiske. « The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism. » *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* vol 70 N. 3 (1996). P. 492.

contexts in which men's "stern" and "rigid" voices are more valued than women's "soft" and "mild" voices, which actually imply a lack of authority.

To develop further the assessment of the degree of female orators' authority in the field of kabary performance, we can consider the common differences in the vocabulary and expressions used by male and female orators in their kabary. According to a female orator, "male orators tend to use 'hainteny' related to honour and proverbs that exalt others' flaws or disrespectful expressions for the sake of humour; whereas female orators tend to use expressions about flowers and expressions that invite others to honour them."¹¹³ Our informant explains this situation, saying that "when people listen to a female orator, they expect to hear something sweet, serious; [hence,] [she herself] did not dare to use humour in her kabary at the beginning. And even if [she] started to say something funny later on, she never uses disrespectful expressions because it is not easy to gain the status [of a socially acknowledged orator]."¹¹⁴ These views are reinforced by another female orator who says that "women who perform kabary [...] should always be respectable. No fat jokes like men [...] It is more tolerated when men utter 'uncustomary' expressions."¹¹⁵ These orators' statements point to the prevalence of gender stereotypes that impact on the nature of the kabary performed by female orators. These gender stereotypes can be observed, on the one hand, in the association of men with statements that reflect their honour and their freedom to include humour and disrespectful expressions in their speech, which signals the fact that being the traditional holders of speech, they are not under the pressure to mind their language and behaviour in order to get society's

¹¹³ "Ny mpikabary lehilahy matetika mampiasa hainteny misy resaka voninahitra sy ohabolana mampisongadina ny kileman'ny hafa na teny tsy mendrika natao ho fampihomehezana; ny mpikabary vehivavy kosa matetika mampiasa fomba fiteny misy resaka voninkazo sy teny ahazoany voninahitra." Joelle P. Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁴ "Rehefa mihaino mpikabary vehivavy ny olona dia manantena zavatra kanto, matotra. Izaho manokana tsy sahy nanao mampihomehy mihitsy tamin'ny voalohany. Ary na nilaza zavatra mampihomehy aza taty aoriana dia tsy mampiasa fomba fitenenana tsy mendrika mihitsy satria tsy mora ny maka ilay toerana." Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁵ "Ny vehivavy mikabary... tokony ho maotina lalandava. Pas de plaisanteries grasses comme les hommes... Ny lehilahy eken'ny olona kokoa raha manao fitenenana hafahafa." R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2. (Translation mine).

approval. On the other hand, female orators are not only associated with flowers which connote beauty and frailty, but they are also portrayed as interlopers who are in the lower position that compels them to seek society's approval by complying with the preestablished attitudes and roles reserved for them. Drawing on American psychologists Susan T. Fiske and Laura E. Stevens' concepts of the "descriptive" and "prescriptive" components of a stereotype,¹¹⁶ we can explain the highly prescriptive nature of the gender stereotypes in the situation mentioned above in that they determine "the behaviors deemed suitable for [female orators] [...] [they] indicate how [female orators] should behave."¹¹⁷ In other words, female orators are constrained by the stereotype that they should inspire beauty, respect and conformity, which means that they are not expected to use disrespectful expressions that may stain their honour.

The other criteria that our informants listed to evaluate the effectiveness of an orator appear to be less marked by gender differences because they mainly concern the general characteristics and skills of orators. Our informants particularly stressed the importance of the orator's ability to adapt his/her speech to the context of the performance, which corresponds to what a male orator describes as "maka volon-tany"¹¹⁸ or adapting oneself to the context. This implies the use of vocabulary or expressions that are relevant to the period as well as to the audience to whom the speech is addressed. In this orator's words, "a competent orator would not perform a long kabary that makes everyone sleep to open the New Year party at the workplace."¹¹⁹ In the same vein, a female orator particularly underlines the fact that "the orator does not have to know far-fetched expressions because people do not often use proverbs and even if the words used are really beautiful, if the audience does not understand them, [the orator]

¹¹⁶ Susan T. Fiske and Laura E. Stevens. « What's So Special About Sex? Gender Stereotyping and Discrimination. » In Stuart Oskamp and Mark Costanzo. *Gender Issues in Contemporary Society*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. P. 179.

¹¹⁸ Hasina Samoelinanja. 28 February 2019. See Appendix 11. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁹ « Ny mpikabary mahay tsy handeha hanao kabary lava be mampatory amin'ny fanokafana lanonana fankalazana taom-baovao any amin'ny toeram-piasana. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

is considered as ineffective or even incompetent.”¹²⁰ She goes on to explain that the good orator is the person who “can balance the words that they use and relate them to the context of the speech.”¹²¹ Another important criterion mentioned by our informants in the evaluation of the effectiveness of an orator is fluency, which is initially understood as the absence of hesitation on the orator’s part while speaking and his/her ability to generate the adequate speech responses without hesitation or a long period of reflection. In this regard, a female orator says that “it can be observed through their gestures when an orator is concerned about remembering the kabary that they are to deliver. This destroys their image; that is why [she] said that kabary is not a recitation.”¹²² This means that apart from being able to speak smoothly and produce the appropriate responses, the fluent orator should also avoid producing a speech that sounds like a recitation or a mere repetition of popular Malagasy sayings. In addition to that, another female orator, Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline, says that “it is totally unacceptable to read during the kabary performance, except for the names of the families.”¹²³ In other words, the orator is expected to know and master what he/she is saying. It should be noted that apart from the necessity to master oratory skills, orators are also expected to know the customs or “fomban-tany” of the areas in which they perform kabary. Various books and kabary manuals such as Rado Rakotoarimanana and Cristine Rasoarinivo’s *Kabary Mitahiry Fahendrena, Lova Sarobidy* and Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy’s *Fomban-tany eo amin’ny Kabary am-panambadiana* explain the customs in various areas that orators must respect. The list is not exhaustive and a thorough analysis of the assumptions regarding the differences in male and female orators’ knowledge

¹²⁰ « Tsy voatery mahay fomba fiteny tadiavina lavitra satria ny olona tsy mampiasa ohabolana matetika ary na tsara toy inona aza ny teninao nefa tsy misy azon’ny mpijery dia tsy mahomby ary tsy mahay mihitsy aza.» Joelle P. Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

¹²¹ « Mahay mandanjanja ny teny ampiasainy ary mampifandray izany amin’ny sehatra itenenany. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹²² « Hita eo amin’ny fihetsiny rehefa variana mitadidy ny kabary tokony ataony ny mpikabary. Manimba ny endriny izany, ka izay no nahatonga ahy hilaza fa ny kabary dia tsy tsianjery.» Voniniaina Bakoly Rasoazananiharisoa. 25 March 2019. See Appendix 6. (Translation mine).

¹²³ « Tsy azo atao mihitsy ny mamaky rehefa mikabary, afatsy ny anaran’ny fianakaviana. » Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa. 22 April 2019. See Appendix 5. (Translation mine).

of customs in the context of kabary performance has already been conducted earlier in relation to a male orator, Souleman Andriamandimby's views that female orators are less knowledgeable than male ones about history and customs.

Our previous reflections focused on the understanding of the concept of the effective orator in relation to the specific skills and knowledge required for kabary performance. In the following section, we will investigate the construction of the effective orator's public image through their outward appearance and reputation. In fact, an orator's acquisition of a prestigious status and the acknowledgement of their credibility as an effective orator relies heavily on their public image or the ways in which they are perceived by the community. As one female orator puts it, "an orator has his/her specific position within the community. It is not [the orator] who establishes this position for him/herself. It is the community that puts them in that position."¹²⁴ The description of the profile of an orator in contemporary kabary manuals reinforces this idea. As can be read in the manual *Faka sy Kolo Mikabary 21.3* by Malagasy orators Hanitra Andriamboavonjy and Rakotondrandria-Gasstsar, "an orator is a man or a woman who has been selected among many other [people], to be the spokesperson of a family, an association or a company... It is an honorable personality, whose soul, spirit and ways of speaking and behaving reflect the character of ray aman-dreny."¹²⁵ This statement suggests that an orator distinguishes him/herself from ordinary people because of his/her possession of the qualities of "ray aman-dreny" and it is the members of the community who recognize them as such. This calls to mind what we have already mentioned earlier, that is, Maurice Bloch's views about the attribution of the title of "ray aman-dreny" in Malagasy society. He says that it "is rather a case of having a

¹²⁴ « Ny mpikabary dia manana ny toerany manokana eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina. Tsy izy no maka ilay toerana fa ny fiaraha-monina no mametraka azy amin'izany toerana izany." Joelle P. Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

¹²⁵ « Ny atao hoe 'mpikabary' dia lehilahy na vehivavy iray, voafidy tao anatin'ny maro, hitondra ny tenin'ny fianakaviana na fikambanana na orin'asa... Olona mendri-kaja, mifanahin-draiaman-dreny, ka hita taratra eo amin'ny fiteny sy ny fitondran-tena izany." Hanitriniaina Andriamboavonjy Joseph Constant Rakotondrandria-Gasstsar. *Faka sy Kolo Mikabary 21.3*. Antananarivo: Imprimerie 2000, 2005. P. 15. (Translation mine).

title than actually holding an office.”¹²⁶ Bloch specifically refers to the meaning of the title of *ray aman-dreny* in relation to the position of orators. He writes that “unchallenged *raiamandreny* [...] are maintained in their position by their wisdom and their ability to make formal speeches [...] [and] this ability to make speeches and this wisdom may be as much the result as the cause of their influence.”¹²⁷ In other words, orators need to be acknowledged by the community in order to establish their influential position in society and in the field of kabary performance. That is why the public image displayed by orators plays a major role in their career and the assessment of their effectiveness.

Our informants have listed a great number of qualities that an effective orator should have in order to build a good reputation and to be acknowledged by the community. Gender differences are particularly marked in the norms that govern orators’ outward appearance, namely their outfit, the accessories that they are wearing and their make-up in the case of women. A female orator precisely says, “I believe that it is not good if you are a woman and you wear trousers while performing kabary or wear a tie like men.”¹²⁸ This statement implies that it is not acceptable if women, who are already appropriating the male prerogative of performing kabary, also appropriate men’s masculinity, which is expressed in the wearing of trousers. As can be observed in the reflection of nineteenth-century abolitionist and woman’s rights advocate Jane Grey Cannon Swisshelm, “masculine supremacy lay in the form of their garments, and [...] a woman dressed like man would be as potent as he.”¹²⁹ This refers to the introduction of trousers in nineteenth-century women’s dress in order to hide their legs beneath their shortened dress to enable freer movement. It points to the symbolical nature of men’s

¹²⁶ ¹²⁶ Maurice Bloch. “Decision-making in Councils among the Merina of Madagascar.” *Councils in Action*. « Decision-Making in Councils among the Merina of Madagascar. » *Councils in Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971. P. 46

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ « Ataoko fa tsy tsara raha vehivavy ianao dia andeha hanao pataloha rahefa mikabary na manao fatotenda cravate toy ny lehilahy. Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa. 23 April 2019. See Appendix 5. (Translation mine).

¹²⁹ Jane Grey C. Swisshelm in Karlyn Kohrs Campbell. “The Discursive Performance of Femininity: Hating Hillary.” *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* Vol.1 No. 1 (1998). P. 3.

garments which is relevant to the case of female orators whose wearing of trousers during kabary performances is forbidden. In reality, our interviews with Malagasy female orators revealed that they are especially encouraged to enhance their femininity while performing kabary and the ideology that femininity distinguishes female orators prevails.¹³⁰ This calls to mind Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's comment that "[t]he wearing of trousers was a defining enactment of masculinity, and when women wore them, the most strenuous efforts were made to enforce the cultural gender code."¹³¹ It means that women's wearing of male clothes is perceived as a threat to masculinity. In the context of kabary performance, it can be suggested that female orators are not allowed to wear trousers and are instead prompted to enhance their femininity in order to remove an additional threat to men's power. This argument can be further supported by American psychologist Janet T. Spence's view that "the resistance that women encounter from men in their occupational endeavors often emphasize[s] men's attempts to retain power and control as well as their beliefs in their natural rights to supremacy."¹³² It is true that the restrictions regarding female orators' outfit and the prescriptions for them to enhance their femininity do not openly signal men's resistance to women's entry in the traditionally male field of kabary performance. In reality, this resistance is cloaked by the premise that women who perform kabary contribute to the promotion and preservation of Malagasy values, thus, they are expected to reflect these values in their ways of dressing in particular. Here, we may reiterate one of our male orator's observation that "Malagasy female orators reflect the wisdom of the ways in which Malagasy women in the olden days dressed."¹³³

¹³⁰ This view is particularly expressed by a female orator who contends that « [female orators must] showcase their femininity, which is different from the concept of 'weak furniture,' as it means that [women] are important." [Aseho ny mahavehivavy, tsy mitovy amin'ny hoe 'fanaka malemy,' fa midika fa manana ny maha-izy azy izy." R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2. (Translation mine).

¹³¹ Karlyn Kohrs Campbell. "The Discursive Performance of Femininity: Hating Hillary." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* Vol.1 No. 1 (1998). P. 3.

¹³² Janet T. Spence. « Women, Men, and Society: Plus Ça Change, Plus C'est la Même Chose. » *Gender Issues in Contemporary Society*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993. P. 12.

¹³³ Souleman Andriamandimby. 08 April 2019. See Appendix 7.

As a result, one of the preconditions for female orators' acknowledgement in the field of kabary performance is their ability to master the "masculine" art of kabary performance while expressing their femininity through their outward appearance.

Apart from their dresses, female orators also distinguish themselves and enhance their femininity through the use of other beauty accessories such as make-up, high-heeled shoes, nail polish, jewels, and the traditional Malagasy "lamba." In this regard, our reflections fit into French sociologist Christine Détrez's analysis of the representation of the body in communication. Drawing on Erving Goffman's views on the importance of appearance as a "personal façade" and indirect form of expression in social interactions,¹³⁴ Détrez contends that "this 'façade' [...] gives the first impression and is decoded as the individual's identity card through the application of stereotypes or the generalization of already known elements."¹³⁵ Since public opinion plays a major role in the acknowledgement of an orator's credibility, female orators are particularly aware that they have to be careful with the image that they reflect through their physical appearances. Opinions are divided concerning the visibility of make-up and jewels worn by female orators. On the one hand, some female orators heavily criticize their female peers who wear too visible make-up and extravagant jewels. In this regard, a female orator claims that "the orator should not put herself into the foreground [...] She cannot shock or bring shame to the people that she represents."¹³⁶ Female orators like the current international President of the FIMPIMA are reported¹³⁷ to wear light make-up and beautiful but barely noticeable jewels such as pearl earrings and they are said to be admired for their modesty. On the other hand, one of our female informants thinks that "women win more respect when they

¹³⁴ Christine Détrez. *La construction sociale du corps*. Paris : Editions du Seuil, 2002. P. 128.

¹³⁵ « Cette façade... donne la première impression et est décodée comme carte d'identité de l'individu, par l'application de stéréotypes ou la généralisation d'éléments déjà connus. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹³⁶ « Tsy ny tena no avohitra [...] Tsy afaka ny hanafintohana na hanome henatra ho an'ny olona izay entina teny." R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2. (Translation mine).

¹³⁷ One of our female informants made this reference.

adorn themselves [with more visible jewels].”¹³⁸ She points to the fact that “as a [kabary] teacher who is meant to attract learners, she needs to attract people with her jewelry.”¹³⁹ The same informant has particularly noticed that “when [she] wear[s] simple [ornaments], people tend to give [her] less consideration.”¹⁴⁰ This means that unlike male orators who are merely expected to wear elegant clothes, female orators are faced with the difficult task of choosing the appropriate outfits and accessories in order to avoid sharp criticism and win social recognition. In that sense, the idea that being a woman is an advantage in the field of kabary performance because, unlike men, they have the opportunity to enhance their beauty with the various accessories available for women on the market,¹⁴¹ is questionable. In fact, female orators are not merely judged by their oratory skills, they are also subject to society’s criticism regarding their outward appearance. If male and female orators are both expected to dress in an elegant and respectable way during a kabary performance, the former have to take into account additional prescriptions in order to be recognized as good orators.

Furthermore, when we asked some of our female informants who are used to wearing high-heeled shoes about the impact of the latter on their personal comfort while performing kabary, we received an interesting answer that highlights the difficulty of being a female orator. Our informant says that “since [she] is short, [she] always wears high heels while performing kabary because [her] self-confidence decreases if she wears flat shoes.”¹⁴² She admits that “high heels increase stage fright because these are not natural; hence, [she] has the feeling that [she]

¹³⁸ « Rehefa vehivavy mihaingo mahazo ‘respect’ kokoa. » Joelle P. Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

¹³⁹ Ilaina ny misarika olona amin’ny haingo amin’ny maha-mpampianatra mitarika olone hianatra. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁰ « Rehefa tsotsotra dia misy ‘reserves’ ny olona. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁴¹ Joëlle Randriantody precisely says that « It is a privilege for [her] to be a woman in terms of ornaments. It helps or gives more credit to the woman if her kabary performance was similar to the man’s. » [« Tombon-tsoa ny maha-vehivavy ahy eo amin’ny resaka haingo. Manampy na manatombo ny vehivavy raha mitovy ny kabary nataony sy ny an’ily lehilahy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁴² « Manao kiraro avo foana aho satria fohy. Mihena ny ‘assurance’ ny tena raha manao kiraro iva. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

is struggling in both [her] mind and body.”¹⁴³ The struggle that she refers to here is the intellectual effort required in the performance of kabary, namely the ability to respond with the appropriate words to one’s opponent, which is heightened by the discomfort caused by the high heels. This female orator has somehow found a way to feel more comfortable while performing kabary with her high-heeled shoes; she says that “when [she] does not move [her] feet but remains stable [at one place], [her] mind is also stable and [her] performance goes well.”¹⁴⁴ In that case, she only moves her arms, whose movements are also under control as she says that “the arms should not move beyond the eyes and not below the waist.”¹⁴⁵ This brings to mind the picture of an effective speaker drawn by Elwood Murray whose “posture, bodily action and gesture – the body as a whole and in all its parts – are under a purposive and exact control.”¹⁴⁶ These are, according to Murray, the characteristics of a speaker who has poise. We can conclude from this female orator’s experience that details about female orators’ physical appearance may intervene in their possession of poise while performing kabary and although the difficulties caused by these elements can be handled, it is undeniable that men and women experience the representation of their public image throughout their kabary performances in different ways.

Finally, the other factor that shapes the public image of an orator is his/her reputation, which is based on his/her character and behaviour within the community. As one of our female informants puts it, “[the orator’s] everyday actions are seen and evaluated by the community. [...] Hence, the orators strive to have their honour and fame within the community.”¹⁴⁷ Our informants agree with most writers of kabary manuals who describe the ideal orator as someone

¹⁴³ « Ny talons avo...mampitombo ny ‘trac’ satria tsy ‘naturel.’ Sady miady ao amin’ny loha no miady koa ao amin’ny vatana. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁴ « Rehefa tsy mihetsiketsika fa mitsatoka ny tongotra, dia mirindra tsara ny kabary ataoko. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁵ « Ny tanana tsy tokony hiakatra ambonin’ny maso, tsy tokony midina ambanin’ny ‘hanches.’ » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁶ Elwood Murray. *The Speech Personality*. Chicago, Philadelphia, New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1944. P. 92.

¹⁴⁷ « Hitan’ny fiaraha-monina ary tsarainy ny fihetsiky ny mpikabary andavan’andro... Araka izany dia miezaka ny hahazo ny hajany sy ny lazany eo amin’ny fiaraha-monina ny mpikabary. » Joelle P. Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

who is “persevering, masters the message conveyed, humble, forbearing, mature, respectful, honourable in all aspects.”¹⁴⁸ These qualities are not gender specific as they apply for male and female orators alike. We will somehow comment briefly on the notion of humility for orators as some of our informants provided interesting views regarding this aspect of their personality, which can be analyzed from a gender perspective. A female orator claims that “humility is an essential quality required in an orator.”¹⁴⁹ She acknowledges the contradiction in this definition because, in her words, “if one chooses to become an orator, it means that he/she wants to speak in front of many people, he/she wants to be seen,”¹⁵⁰ which is obviously inconsistent with the recommendation for orators to be humble. Our informant refers to the case of a renowned male orator from Madagascar who was her opponent at a vodiondry kabary in France. This man, according to our informant, “is a highly experienced and skilled orator but the public and herself were shocked by his ostentatious self-display during the vodiondry.”¹⁵¹ Indeed, the man is reported to have talked more about himself than about the family that he was supposed to represent and he particularly shocked everyone when he incited the photographers to take pictures of himself while the kabary was not even completed. This male orator’s behaviour has soiled his reputation not only because it is inappropriate but also because it violates the principle of noncommittalism which prevails in the performance of kabary.¹⁵² Malagasy orators’ adherence to this principle can be observed in the statement of some orators that we quoted

¹⁴⁸ « Mahari-po, mahafehy ny hafatra ampitaina, manetry tena, mandefitra, matotra, mihaja, mendrika amin’ny lafiny rehetra. » See Hanitriniaina Andriamboavonjy and Joseph Constant Rakotondrandria-Gasstsar. *Faka sy Kolo Mikabary 21.3*. Antananarivo: Imprimerie 2000, 2005. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁹ « Ny toetra tokony hananan’ny mpikabary dia ny ‘fanetren-tena.’ » Joelle P. Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁰ « Matoa misafidy ny ho mpikabary dia olona tia miteny imason’olona, izany hoe olona te hojeren’ny olona. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁵¹ « Mpikabary lehilahy sady manana traikefa no manana talenta amin’ny maha-mpikabary azy. Saingy na izaho na ny mpanatrika dia samy tohina tamin’ny fizahozahoany nandritra ny vodiondry. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁵² It may be fitting to quote Paul Ottino here. In “Les discours oratoires kabary et les joutes de paroles hainteny,” he writes that “the call to the order of things [...] authoritatively imposes a collective point of view, which, in some ways, makes individual opinions and perceptions irrelevant. » [L’appel à l’ordre des choses ... impose autoritairement une manière de voir collective, qui en quelque sorte rend les perceptions et opinions individuelles non pertinentes.” *Le Scribe et la grande maison. Etudes offertes au Professeur J. Dez*. Paris: Inalco, 1992. P. 102. (Translation mine).

earlier, who claim that it is not oneself who is exhibited or put to the foreground; rather, it is the honour of the represented family that should be exalted. Our investigation has revealed that although male and female orators alike aspire for social recognition and are tempted to exalt themselves throughout their performances, female orators tend to be less presumptuous not only because they are still trying to establish their status in a traditional male sphere but also because they are known to abide more by the rules that govern kabary performance.¹⁵³ Going back to the concept of humility as an important aspect of an orator's personality which may impact on his/her reputation, we can refer to one of our female orators' concluding remark that an effective orator is one that is "capable of finding the balance [between the desire to be seen and acclaimed by the public and the need to be humble], to forget oneself and to adopt an honourable behaviour."¹⁵⁴

This invites us to explore the definition of what is perceived as "honourable behaviour" on the part of orators in the field of kabary performance. The definition that mainly stands out touches upon the sexual lives of orators in that the latter are expected to adopt a proper conduct in every aspect of their lives, including their sexuality. Describing the profile of good orators for "vodiondry" kabary, a male orator maintains that

orators should behave in an honourable way because they are the role models for the newly-formed couples. Women particularly possess this quality as they are usually known as lesson givers and role models. Men, on the other hand, are prone to adultery, hence orators who have a bad reputation of being unfaithful would be perceived as unreliable leaders or 'mpitari-bato vilam-bava.'¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ As was stated by a male orator, female trainees surpass male ones in both oral and written exams because the former make significant efforts to succeed and follow the instructions diligently whereas the latter are usually men who have already performed kabary before and merely wish to master some aspects of kabary performance. Tafika Rakotomavo. 31 May 2019. See Appendix 9.

¹⁵⁴ « Mahay mandanjalanja [ny fitiavana te hojerena sy hoderain'ny mpanatrika sy ny tokony hananana fanetren-tena], adino ny tena ary mamoaka zavatra mendrika. » Joelle P. Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁵ « Tokony hanana fitondran-tena mendrika ny mpikabary amin'ny maha modely ho an'ny tokantrano vao niorina azy. Ny vehivavy no tena manana io toetra io satria ny vehivavy matetika no mpananatra sy modely. Ny lehilahy kosa dia mora mirona amin'ny fampirafesana, hany ka raha malaza ho mpampirafy ny mpikabary dia

This echoes Malanjaona Rakotomalala's affirmation that women are the guardians of moral values. Commenting on the differing expectations for men and women regarding their sexuality, this author contends that "the definition of the norms of conduct for men is diametrically opposed to that of women. It is conceived that a man's strength is measured by the number of his conquests, [while] the virtue of a woman [is determined by] her faithfulness and the maximum restriction of the number of her partners."¹⁵⁶ If we consider this statement in relation to the norm that requires orators to adopt an honourable conduct within the community, we can understand our male orator's assertion that female orators are particularly notable for their ability to conduct themselves properly.

There is one last element that deserves our particular attention regarding the construction of an orator's public image: it is the general concern about the marital status of women who engage in kabary performance. Our talk with Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa, the first woman who was integrated in the FIMPIMA in 1980 informed us of the importance of the marital status of women who wished to join the association at that time. Rasamoeliasoa says that it was one of the preconditions for her integration into the association as during the interview prior to her integration, some of the male orators inquired whether she was married or not and were satisfied when she said that she was. She quotes these orators' statement: "it is not appropriate for someone who is single to give moral lessons to the owners [of speech?]"¹⁵⁷ This implies that it is not appropriate for someone who is single to perform kabary. Rasamoeliasoa explains this statement, saying, "for the Malagasy, an orator should be married, have a household, know and live what it means to be married; not someone who is single, because kabary is about giving

heverina fa mpitari-bato vilam-bava." Jean Maurice Rasamoelina. 16 March 2019. See Appendix 10. (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁶ « La définition du modèle de conduite de l'homme est diamétralement opposée à celui de la femme. On conçoit que la force d'un homme se mesure par le nombre de ses conquêtes, la vertu de la femme par sa fidélité et la restriction au maximum du nombre de ses partenaires. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 147. (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁷ « Tsy mety raha ny mpitovo no mananatra ny tompony. » Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa. 22 April 2019. See Appendix 5. (Translation mine).

moral lessons and life examples.”¹⁵⁸ This means that orators should be mature enough and have enough life experiences in order to be knowledgeable about the different aspects of life that are involved in the performance of kabary. In the case of female orators, however, the fact that they are married means more than these. It is a synonym of prestige which inspires respect and confers an honourable status. We may recall the words of Malanjaona Rakotomalala in his *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*: “traditionally, among the Merina, women only acquire their full rights in society when they are married, and especially when they have children.”¹⁵⁹ Significantly, another female informant, Joelle Randriantody, admits that “women in Madagascar often strive to win respect and honour by getting married. They are under the social pressure to get married because unmarried, independent women are perceived in a negative way.”¹⁶⁰ It should be noted that this female orator has lived in France since her teenage years, hence, she is aware of the fact that the European and the Malagasy contexts are different and she herself admits that she did not live this “social pressure”¹⁶¹ to conform to the idealized image of the married woman. She reports that “although [she] is single, she has never encountered problems related to [her marital status] during her interactions with the families that hired [her].”¹⁶² In her view, “it is through the actions and the thoughts of an individual that people give them honour and respect, and not the fact that they are married or not.”¹⁶³ This comparison of the Malagasy and the French contexts enables us to understand the differing and

¹⁵⁸ « Ho an’ny Malagasy zany dia tokony efa manambady, manana tokantrano, mahafantatra sy miaina ny atao hoe fanambadiana no tokony hikabary fa tsy mpitovo, satria fananarana sy ohapiainana no lazaina rahefa mikabary. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁹ « Chez les Merina, traditionnellement, les femmes n’acquièrent leurs pleins droits dans la société qu’une fois mariées, et surtout quand elles ont des enfants. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 145. (Translation mine).

¹⁶⁰ “Matetika ny vehivavy Malagasy no manenjika hanambady mba hahazo haja sy voninahitra. Miaina ny fanerena ataon’ny fiaraha-monina azy hanambady izy ireo satria ratsy ny fomba fijery ny vehivavy manano-tena, tsy manambady.” Joelle P. Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

¹⁶¹ She says, “izaho manokana tsy niaina izay ‘pression sociale’ izay.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁶² “Izaho tsy manambady fa mbola tsy nanana olana mihitsy mikasika izay tamin’ireo fianakaviana izay niantso ahy. Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁶³ “Ny fihetsika sy fisainana no hanomezan’ny olona haja sy voninahitra anao, fa tsy ny hoe manambady na tsia.” Ibid.

even clashing values that shape the images, experiences and ideologies of women in the field of kabary performance. In either case, female orators are aware that gender differences permeate the norms that govern kabary performance and that they have to employ the appropriate strategies to tackle these differences. This theme will be explored in depth in the next section of our study through the analysis of three live kabary performances by male and female orators on various formal occasions.

4.2. Mapping Female Responses to Gender-Related Issues in Kabary performance

In the previous section, we investigated the interplay between women's social status, their identities, and their position and experiences as orators. Our approach focused on the prevalence of gender differences in the shaping of female orators' identities and experiences in the field of kabary performance. We have particularly highlighted gender specific expectations for male and female orators in order to win social recognition and establish a prestigious status for themselves. We have demonstrated how female orators strive to reach this goal by embodying the qualities of an effective orator according to the norms defined by the community, which mainly consist in embracing the traditionally masculine values that are associated with the performance of kabary while enhancing their femininity. In the present section of our study, we will focus on the analysis of three kabary performances by male and female orators in different contexts. Our study will build on some of the core principles of the Feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis (FPDA) approach developed by Judith Baxter in *Positioning Gender in Discourse. A Feminist Methodology*. This approach is mainly concerned with the analysis of "the ways in which speakers, within any discursive context, are positioned as powerful or powerless by competing social and institutional discourses,"¹⁶⁴ whereby discourses are

¹⁶⁴ Judith Baxter. *Positioning Gender in Discourse. A Feminist Methodology*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003. P. 44.

understood as “the forms of knowledge or powerful sets of assumptions, expectations and explanations governing mainstream social and cultural practices.”¹⁶⁵ In other words, the status, identities and experiences of speakers and the shifting power relations between them are shaped by different, competing discourses. In the field of kabary performance, we can identify at least four sets of dominant discourses that structure the status and experiences of orators in various contexts: social recognition observed in the audience’s reception of the performance, the orator’s display of oratory skills and knowledge of Malagasy customs, the norms that govern physical appearance and gender differentiation. According to the FPDA approach, “these discourses do not operate in discrete isolation from each other but are intertextually linked, each discourse is likely to be interconnected with and infused by traces of the others.”¹⁶⁶ For instance, as was indicated in the previous section of this study, for an orator to get the audience’s approval, he or she must embrace the values that define the characteristics of an effective orator in terms of reputation, physical appearance, mastery of oratory skills and enactment of his or her appropriate gender identity.

It is the gender dimension of the FPDA principle which “involves highlighting key discourses on gender as they are negotiated and performed within localised contexts”¹⁶⁷ that is particularly relevant to our analysis of the three kabary performances. This is related to Baxter’s concept of the subject position adopted by speakers in various contexts in relation to competing discourses. The author argues that “speakers are able to take up, accommodate, or resist relatively powerful or powerless subject positions made available within competing discourses at work within any given moment.”¹⁶⁸ It means that speakers adopt and negotiate their positions depending on the competing discourses within a given context. These positions, in Baxter’s

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. P. 46.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. P. 8.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. P. 34.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. P. 49.

words, may be “relatively powerful, powerless or a combination of both.”¹⁶⁹ Regarding Baxter’s views on the relationship between power and the shifting positions adopted by speakers, we may bear in mind the fact that “FPDA prefers not to view females as the victims of a patriarchal order, nor to view males as the villains of the piece, but to consider both biological sex categories in terms of their plurality or diversity.”¹⁷⁰ In other words, female orators are not merely associated with positions of powerlessness. Rather, male and female orators may be positioned as relatively powerful or powerless in the various contexts of their performances. Thus, our approach builds on Baxter’s concepts of power relations and the positions experienced and adopted by speakers with particular emphasis on the discourse of gender differentiation. It investigates the ways in which orators negotiate their positions throughout the kabary performance based on their awareness of various discourses, especially gender differentiation, that constitute their experiences. In that sense, our approach also falls within the broader field of sociolinguistics which investigates the intersection between sex differences in language and speech and gender power relations in social contexts.¹⁷¹ Our analysis is expected to reveal how the three kabary performances reflect the orators’ effort to prove their worth by meeting the standards of the effective orator, how male and female orators may differ in their performances, and how women respond to gender differences throughout their experiences as orators. For that purpose, we will consider in the first sub-part of this section, how male and female orators’ kabary performances are marked by discourses of gender differences and how they negotiate their subject position in accordance with this dominant discourse and other competing discourses. In the second subpart, we will highlight the orator’s awareness and responsiveness to gender differences in the three performances under study and in the course of their career as orators. Throughout our analysis, we will explore how male and

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. P. 66.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. P. 183.

¹⁷¹ See Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley. *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newsbury House Publishers, Inc., 1975.

female orators are relatively positioned as powerful or powerless in an effort to meet the standards of the effective orator in various contexts. Our reflections will be mainly based on the analysis of the recordings of the three kabary performances, the orators' interactions with their audiences, and their personal accounts and evaluation of their respective performances. It should be noted that although we expressed our wish to interview some of the members of the audience after the kabary performances, it was not possible because the events were not purposefully conceived for research purposes and the sequence of events (collation¹⁷², civil marriage at the town hall, visit to the future bridegroom's place) that followed the performances did not allow us to conduct these interviews. Hence, our analysis focuses on the previously mentioned sources which were available to us. We must bear in mind the possible shortcomings of using these methods in ethnographic studies, especially the observational method, which, according to sociolinguists, influences the researcher's judgment about which part of the material is valuable for analysis and which is not. To avoid the danger of conducting a biased analysis, we have paid equal attention to the interventions of each speaker in the kabary performances, including their silences, and our informants' views during our interactions. Nevertheless, since our study is mainly concerned with the gender dimension of kabary performances, we think it appropriate to focus on the parts of the kabary performances which best reflect the interplay between gender differences and the orators' subject positions.

Before we address the points mentioned in the outline presented earlier, we will provide a brief description of the contexts of performances for the three kabary that we are going to analyse.

¹⁷² Since the number of guests invited to take part in the collation was limited, we could not interact with the audience during the collation.

Performance 1

The first kabary was delivered during a “vodiondry” ceremony in Adavamamba, Madagascar on 19 May 2019. We could attend the performance through videoconferencing with the assistance of a close relative whose presence was kindly accepted by the families who organized the ceremony thanks to the intervention of the main orator who intervened as a representative of the groom’s family during this performance. The kabary was performed by two male orators: a professional, elderly orator, who also participated in our survey and who will be referred to as Orator 1 throughout our analysis, and a man in his late forties, who was not a professional orator but a relative appointed by the future bride’s family to represent them. He will be referred to as Opponent 1.

The kabary was preceded by an encounter between the two orators surrounded by the audience at the entrance of the house in order to complete the first custom of asking to step on the threshold or “dika tokonana” in order to gain entry into the family of the bride’s house. This enabled both orators to discuss and discern each other’s skills and capacities. Our informant, Orator 1, reports that his opponent already sensed their differences at this point and whispered to him, “do not make strong attacks towards me.”¹⁷³ After getting the permission to come in from the orator that represents the bride’s family, Orator 1 and the groom’s family followed the former into the house and arrangements regarding the distribution of seats and the use of microphones were made by Orator 1 to ensure the smooth proceeding of the event. Orator 1 naturally began the speech according to the traditional pattern of the Malagasy kabary. Some complications occurred, which will be discussed in our analysis, due to a slight misunderstanding between the two orators, but this did not prevent the future bride’s family from granting their daughter to the young man represented by Orator 1 at the end of the kabary.

¹⁷³ « Aza dia asiana mafy loatra aho e. » Interview with Orator 1. 08 July 2019. See Appendix 12B. (Translation mine).

This was followed by the tradition of ring giving, which was directed by Orator 1. The latter also led the discussion about the arrangements regarding the rest of the program.

The audience was made up of elderly people, adults, young people, children and toddlers. There were about one hundred guests from the groom's side, whereas the representatives of the bride were 97, hence the room was filled with about two hundred people. The event took place at a modest restaurant rented by the bride's family. Most of the adults, especially the elderly, were invited to sit inside, whereas the children and some young people were requested to remain standing near the door or outside. Music and some songs by some popular artists were played upon the request of Orator 1 to enhance the main idea of his speech and to conclude the marriage request. This also helped to create a festive environment.

Performance 2

The kabary was delivered by a female orator as an opening speech to the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the association of Malagasy poets and writers (HAVATSA – UPEM) in L'Hay les Roses, France, on 4 May 2019. About twenty people, including poets, renowned writers, literary figures, a journalist, the coordinator of Malagasy sports activities in Europe, and ordinary guests, namely women with their children, were present. The event took place in a small church room probably rented for the occasion. The door was equipped with a doorbell which produced a particularly loud sound every time someone went in or out of the room. The chairs were arranged in a way that made it difficult to move between them, hence, anyone who went in or out unintentionally called for attention by trying to move between or behind the chairs. The speech was brief but it followed the structure of the traditional kabary with the main parts that include the apologies, the removal of blame, the greeting and good wishes and the main objective of the kabary. The orator who made this speech, who is also among our interviewees, will be referred to as Orator 2.

Performance 3

The last kabary performance was a marriage request kabary in France on 1 June 2019, which we could not attend because the families who organized the event were not prepared to include an outsider among their guests. Hence, it was the orator, who also happens to be one of our informants, who recorded the performance and shared the audio recording with us. She will be referred to as Orator 3.

The event took place in a small room at the future bride's place. About 30 people were present, 15 from the groom's side and 12 from the bride's, apart from the orators. The groom and his followers were about twenty minutes' late. The groom's representative, who will be referred to as Opponent 3, was an elderly man who, according to himself, was not a skilled orator and had been appointed by the family at the last minute because the orator who was supposed to deliver the speech was suddenly unavailable. For that matter, the marriage request kabary had been simplified and shortened as much as possible. Moreover, although Opponent 3 tried to follow the different stages of a traditional kabary at the beginning by expressing an apology, a removal of blame, as well as greetings and good wishes, he failed to observe some of the important customs that are usually performed during the vodiondry such as the request for the permission to come in or to step on the threshold. His speech was very straightforward with a minimum of stylistic devices such as proverbs and hainteny.

The recording starts while Orator 3 is waiting with the future bride's family for the arrival of the groom, his family and their representative, Opponent 3. In our analysis, more will be said about Orator 3's talk with the future bride's family during this time. It is followed by the kabary per se, after the guests' arrival. As was stated earlier, the kabary was rather short and simplified but many of its aspects are worth analyzing in the following sections of our study. The kabary is concluded after the young man's request has been granted, that is, the family has

accepted to give their daughter in marriage. The recording ends as everyone gets prepared for the refreshments before heading to the town hall for the civil marriage.

4.2.1. Tackling Gender Differences

From our study of the three kabary performances described above, we could observe the prevalence of gender differences in some significant aspects of the orators' performances, namely their authority to make the necessary arrangements related to the kabary performance and the event, their capacity to manage their interaction with the audience, that is, to maintain the audience's attention, to arouse their interest, and to elicit reactions from them (such as hand clapping, laughter, verbal or non-verbal responses as in the case of orders or instructions given by the orator), their speech styles, and their ability to handle conflictual and unpredictable situations. We will thus analyse how our male and female orators differ in these four major points with particular focus on the ways in which female orators tackle gender differences.

Gender, Oratory and Authority

The arrangements related to the performance of kabary include the attribution of seats to the members of the audience, the management of the people's movements, and the organization of the different stages of the event. All these require the orator's possession of leadership qualities as their authority to make themselves heard and obeyed by the audience can be measured in their ability to successfully complete these necessary arrangements. Drawing on the reflections of Luisa Martin Rojo and Concepcion Gomez Esteban, researchers in the field of gender and critical discourse analysis from the University of Madrid, we can understand the complex relationship between women and authority, which explains the marked differences in men and women's ways of exercising their authority. According to these authors,

The primary notion of authority is associated with masculinity, so that not only are the images of women in positions of responsibility marked by gender, but also their

communicational behaviour. [...] As a result, [...] women [...] find themselves obliged to perform juggling acts to minimize or conceal their authority at the same time as exercising it.¹⁷⁴

Although the authors mainly talk about Spanish women in positions of responsibility, their views may be relevant in the case of female orators in the context of our study. In fact, in the kabary performances that we studied, the female orators either refrain from adopting an authoritative attitude or their authority is not unanimously recognized by the audience while they are dealing with the various arrangements required before, during and after the kabary. In contrast, the male orators tend to speak with confidence while giving orders or making arrangements. We can take the example of Orator 1 who represents the groom's family in Performance 1. Upon entering the room for the performance, he already takes control of the situation by taking the microphone and making sitting arrangements for the guests¹⁷⁵ although he himself is a guest. He checks the performance of the microphones and soon after the beginning of the kabary, when he realises that his microphone's performance is not satisfactory, he takes the initiative of making the arrangement that he and his opponent use the good microphone alternatively. He also directs the moves of the family that he represents when he urges them to face the future bride's family. It is important to note that after Opponent 1 invites the guests to sit down, it is Orator 1's reiteration of this invitation that leads the guests to perform the act. In fact, if we compare Opponent 1's utterance, "you can sit down,"¹⁷⁶ and Orator 1's less direct order, "those who have a seat among us can sit down,"¹⁷⁷ we can say that

¹⁷⁴ Martin Rojo and Gomez Esteban. "The Gender of Power: The Female Style in Labour Organizations." In Michelle M. Lazar. *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. P. 74.

¹⁷⁵ Orator 1 says: «I request, for the families that come with us, that all the adults go close to the chairs, and if there are children, please, let them be moved way.» ["Miangavy aho zany ny fianakaviana avy any aminay mba ny olon-dehibe avokoa no manakaiky seza, fa raha misy ankizy an, dia mba akisaka kely aloha ny ankizy"]. Kabary Performance 1. May 19, 2019. See Appendix 12A. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁶ « Mahazo mipetraka ianareo. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁷ « Izay manana seza amintsika mba mipetraka. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

Orator 1 has already established his authority among the audience who readily follows his instructions. As was already mentioned in the introduction and from our talk with Orator 1, we learned that “[Opponent 1] was afraid of [Orator 1] and everything went wrong for [the former].”¹⁷⁸ This may be one of the main factors that helped Orator 1 to sustain his authority, apart from the fact that he is a renowned professional orator. Indeed, his opponent himself seems to have receded in a defensive role, which only served to destabilize him and call into question his authority and competences.

Furthermore, Orator 1 clearly displays his leadership qualities when he makes important decisions regarding the organization of the program. For instance, he orders for a specific song to be played at the end of the kabary and upon welcoming the future bride into the room. When he notices that everyone is still excited about the event and there is no immediate response to his request, he raises his voice and repeats his request with more fervor. The music is instantly played out loud throughout the room. Another example is when he requests the bride to be called forth after the groom’s request has been granted. He uses the short tale of king Andrianampoinimerina’s longing for a young woman, Miangaly,¹⁷⁹ to make his point. Just like the king’s counselor rebuked him and said that the king was not to go and look for the woman, Orator 1 strongly tells the groom that “[he] must not go and take the [young woman from where she is].”¹⁸⁰ Although the custom in the Malagasy vodiondry is for the girl to come out and appear in front of everyone at the end of the kabary, Orator 1’s vehement proscription for the groom carries authoritative overtones, especially when it is associated with the king’s tale whose institutional authority does not allow him to be in the powerless position of needing or longing for a woman.

¹⁷⁸ « Lay mpikabary natahotra ahy, tsy nisy nandeha tamin’ny laoniny ny resany.” Interview with Orator 1. 08 July 2019. See Appendix 12B. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁹ This tale has already been referred to in the first part of our study. In this tale, the king is longing for Miangaly and can hardly do anything. His counselor Hagamainty solves the issue by convincing the king that it is the girl who longs for him and thus must come to him, and not the other way around.

¹⁸⁰ « Elah tsy mandeha mankany. » Kabary Performance 1. May 19, 2019. See Appendix 12A. (Translation mine).

In contrast, the exercise of authority by Orator 2 and Orator 3 is less marked than Orator 1's and their experiences are more complex. Orator 2 intervenes in the context of practical arrangements when a couple struggles to find their way out of the room with their baby in a pram. As was previously stated, the room was small and the chairs were arranged in a way that limited the guests' movements. Hence, this couple found themselves in the uncomfortable situation of trying to get some other guests to push their chairs to make a way for them. Since this called the other guests' attention as well as Orator 2's who was introducing another poet. Orator 2 reacts by interrupting her introduction and requesting the audience to make way for the couple and their baby. Her words are brief but the request is expressed in a way that seems to lack authority: "maybe we should make way for them, they are with a baby."¹⁸¹ The members of the audience, male and female alike, reacted while Orator 2 was still speaking, by saying that instead of leaving from the side they chose, this family should leave from the other side and pass by the stage, which would be easier and faster. To evaluate the degree of authority of Orator 2 through the audience's reaction in this situation, we can take into account American linguist Deborah Tannen's views on the paradoxical relationship between the dynamics of power and solidarity. To Tannen, "what appear as attempts to dominate a conversation (an exercise of power) may actually be intended to establish rapport (an exercise of solidarity)."¹⁸² In other words, the use of linguistic strategies such as interruption in conversational interactions may be interpreted as both an attempt to dominate the scene or a display of solidarity with the speaker. In that sense, the audience's reaction may be perceived as an action of solidarity that supports the statement of Orator 2. Still in Tannen's words, "the meaning of any linguistic strategy can vary, depending at least on context, the conversational styles of participants, and the interaction of participants' styles and strategies."¹⁸³ In the context under study, it seems that

¹⁸¹ « Omentsika lalana angamba ry zareo, fa misy zazakely. » Kabary Performance 2. 04 May 2019. See Appendix 13. (Translation mine).

¹⁸² Deborah Tannen. *Gender and Discourse*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. P. 23.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* P. 32.

the audience's reaction is not an attempt to wrest the floor through the interruption of Orator 2's statement, rather it seems to be an execution of her request, which testifies to their acknowledgment of her authority. Nevertheless, other elements seem to challenge this view. In fact, Orator 2 was looking at the people who were blocking the family's way out while she was speaking, which suggests that she was referring to those people when she said that the family should be helped to get out of the room. Yet, the members of the audience, whose statements overlapped with hers, were suggesting a different solution, that is, for the family to leave from the other side of the room. This raises the question whether Orator 2's statement was too vague, which calls into question her leadership qualities; and thus, more instructions would have been more appropriate, or her prestigious status as international head of the association explains her reserved attitude, which refrained her from fully adopting the role of a chairperson whose apparent authority is temporary in contrast to the ultimate authority of the personalities whose prestigious status is already acknowledged by everyone.¹⁸⁴ This points to the complexity of a female orator's experience in relation to authority. It may be fitting here to compare this case with that of Orator 1 who also gives instructions to the audience on how they will welcome the bride-to-be at the end of the marriage request kabary. While Orator 1 is speaking, the audience is attentive although there are minor background noises, which do not seem to interfere with the delivery of his statement. Orator 1 has completely finished his statement when the audience begins to speak louder. As the members of the audience follow the instructions given by Orator 1, some of them paraphrase them. In this case, Orator 1's authority seems to be fully acknowledged by the audience.

¹⁸⁴ This view draws on Janet Holmes' reflections on the contrast between "the ultimate authority of the most senior person in the organizational hierarchy [who usually chairs regular meetings] and the "temporary authority" of the person who chairs a meeting occasionally on rotation. Janet Holmes. "Power and Discourse at Work: Is Gender Relevant?" *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. P. 37.

In the context of our study, the personalities who hold ultimate authority may be the elderly men who are renowned orators and poets.

In the case of Orator 3, the talk that precedes the kabary while the orator and the future bride's family are waiting for the groom and his followers gives us an insight into the ways in which Orator 3 negotiates for a position of power and authority while establishing her status as an effective orator. She seems to adopt what Martin Rojo and Gomez Esteban refer to as "the traditionally feminine [style]."¹⁸⁵ The features of this style that are particularly relevant to our study are "the greater attention women seem to show to others in verbal interaction"¹⁸⁶ and "the use of indirect and non-imperative forms when giving orders."¹⁸⁷ The same style presents similarities to some of the characteristics of women's speech described by Robin Lakoff: "the relatively large number of questions asked, the intonation which makes a declarative sentence a question, the compounding of requests, [...] the roundabout way of declaring ideas."¹⁸⁸ At the beginning of the recording, Orator 3 makes statements that seem to lack authority and asks tentative questions or adopting an intonation that makes her statement a question to the hosts such as, "normally, [the door] is already open downstairs, [...] what time should we leave? [...] Normally, we should set some time to...",¹⁸⁹ which is immediately interrupted by the male host. She makes other tentative statements such as, "if they bring a bouquet, we will put [it] here first, or shall we immediately switch their places?"¹⁹⁰ This may be perceived as both an inability to make decisions expressed in a request for permission before doing something or a show of concern for the family's tastes.

¹⁸⁵ Martin Rojo and Gomez Esteban. "The Gender of Power: The Female Style in Labour Organizations." In Michelle M. Lazar. *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. P. 64.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.* P. 67.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.* P. 68.

¹⁸⁸ Robin Lakoff in Cheris Kramer. "Women's Speech: Separate but Unequal?" *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, 1975. P. 50.

¹⁸⁹ "Raha ny tokony ho izy, efa misokatra ny any ambany, amin'ny firy isika no tokony hiainga? Raha ny tokony ho izy tokony asiana fotoana kely..." Kabary Performance 3. 01 June 2019. See Appendix 14A. (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁰ "Raha toa ka mitondra 'bouquet' ry zareo dia ho ataontsika eto aloha, sa ampifamadihantsika avy hatrany?" (*ibid.*).

Audience Response to Male and Female Orators' Performances

We have already explored in the previous section the major role played by the community in validating the status of an orator. This is the reason why orators are particularly concerned about the audience's responses throughout their performances. As one of our male informants says, "an effective orator is one that knows how to maintain the audience's attention."¹⁹¹ In the kabary performances that we observed, the orators displayed the concern to maintain the audience's attention to varying degrees, depending on the context of the performances. This concern was particularly marked in the case of Orator 1 who performed his kabary in front of two hundred people from different age groups for several hours. Indeed, several factors interfered with the orator's performance, such as the fact that people were talking between themselves while he was speaking, babies crying and children playing outside and thus calling for their mothers' attention. In response to these, Orator 1 tried to shift the audience's attention back to the kabary by asking humorous questions that sound as if he were playing himself down while being ironical at the same time. These strategic questions actually serve to catch and maintain the audience's attention. For instance, while Orator 1 is introducing his speech about the actual purpose of the visit, that is, the marriage request, the cry of a baby stops the flow of his speech. The baby has started crying several minutes before but the orator could somehow proceed with the custom and begin the speech that precedes the presentation of the actual purpose of the visit. It is when the cry becomes louder and draws more attention from the public that Orator 1 reacts by asking the busy mother, "anybody listening, anything disturbing?"¹⁹² This causes Opponent 1 to order the mother to calm the child. Orator 1 resumes his speech while the child is still crying but the disturbing noises recede as he continues his

¹⁹¹ « Ny atao hoe mpikabary mahomby dia izay mahay mitazona ny fifantohan'ny mpanatrika. » Hasina Samoelinanja. 28 February 2019. See Appendix 11. (Translation mine).

¹⁹² « Misy mihaino, misy manahirana ve? » This is an informal expression that Malagasy people in the highlands use in an ironic way to address the people who do not pay attention to what they are saying. Kabary Performance 1. May 19, 2019. See Appendix 12A. (Translation mine).

speech. Another example is when Orator 1 begins his speech before the giving of the “vodiondry” to the bride’s parents. In the middle of his speech, a woman suddenly yells, “mind you if you don’t finish your rice!”¹⁹³ Orator 1 immediately responds, “whose rice?”¹⁹⁴ which makes the audience laugh. These strategies show that the orator is concerned about keeping the audience focused on his performance and on what he is saying. The ironic tone of his statement does not express an actual interest in the audience’s concerns. However, through the use of humour, he manages to create a link between him and the audience who smoothly acknowledges his authority.

Since the contexts of performance for Orators 2 and 3 did not put them in the same challenging situation as Orator 1, neither of them felt the need to make significant effort to maintain the audience’s attention. For these orators’ performances, less than 30 people were present. Nevertheless, there were also circumstances that certainly interfered with their performances, such as the ringing of the interphone (Orator 3), the doorbell (Orator 2), and the crying of a baby (Orator 3). Both orators did not appear to be disturbed by these interferences and seemed to have ignored them as they went on with their speeches. It should be noted, however, that both orators somehow gave heed to the movements of the people around them and mentioned these people in their speeches in an intelligent way that did not make them feel uncomfortable. For instance, Orator 2 acknowledges the person who enters and makes the doorbell ring as she is speaking. This person happens to be an important figure, being the head of the association of Malagasy women in France. Orator 2 says, “there we see also the head of the AIFM coming in, an association which has always cooperated with the Havatsa-Upem.”¹⁹⁵ In this statement, the person who has drawn everyone’s attention because of the doorbell is not

¹⁹³ « Ataovy tsy lany eo ange ny varin’ity e! » “ity” is the informal equivalent of “ianao or anao” [you, yours]. Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁴ « Varin’iza? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁵ « Iny hitantsika miditra iny koa ny lehiben’ny AIFM, fikambanana izay niara-niasa mandrakariva tamin’ny Havatsa-Upem. » Kabary Performance 2. 04 May 2019. See Appendix 13. (Translation mine).

made to feel uncomfortable for making an entrance at the event. Rather, the person is honoured by the orator's warm welcome which also makes a reference to her important status. Similarly, Orator 3 says, "we are like pumpkin stems, creeping here and creeping there,"¹⁹⁶ to refer to the members of the future bride's family who went in and out of the room from time to time, either to open the door for someone or to take care of a baby. This statement was not meant to make the members of the family feel uncomfortable, rather, it was meant to ask the guests to understand and accept the fact that the members of the family had to attend to several things at the same time. These two orators' interactive strategies in these examples correspond to what Martin Rojo and Gomez Esteban refer to as the "relational style of management"¹⁹⁷ or women's traditional style in leadership and decision-making contexts. It means that they show greater attention to the people who watch their performances. This is particularly notable in the case of Orator 3 who takes the time to explain and summarize what has been said to the bride-to-be when she is finally summoned after waiting in another room during the marriage request. Here, we notice the differences between the strategies used by the three orators to maintain their audiences' attention. While the male orator's strategies are tainted with irony in an attempt to turn an unpleasant situation into a humorous one, the female orators' ways of dealing with people or situations that shift the audience's attention from their performance are marked by relational skills that create positive relationships between them and the members of the audience.

Regarding the orators' ability to elicit reactions from the audience, our observations revealed that among the main factors that influenced the orators' performances are the context of performance, the linguistic devices employed by the orators and the characteristics of the

¹⁹⁶ « Izahay moa dia tahaka ny ladim-boatavo e, misandrahaka atsy, misandrahaka aroa. » Kabary Performance 3. 01 June 2019. See Appendix 14A. (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁷ Martin Rojo and Gomez Esteban. "The Gender of Power: The Female Style in Labour Organizations." In Michelle M. Lazar. *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. P. 63.

audience. The effective orator, if we reiterate the views of one of our male informants, is one who knows how to adapt him/herself to the context of performance,¹⁹⁸ including the characteristics of the audience. It means that if the audience appreciates humour, the effective orator will know how to use humour appropriately to produce laughter and to impress the audience. Orator 1 is particularly skilled in this regard. Humour is a dominant component of his performance, which reinforces the link that he has established with his audience and creates a pleasant environment which alleviates the tension felt in his rather stern and nervous opponent. More will be said on the orator's use of humour in our reflections on the impacts of gender on the differing speech styles of male and female orators. Orator 1 thus maintains a smooth communication with his audience throughout the performance and the audience responds by following his instructions, clapping or laughing. It can further be said that the jokes that he makes, the songs that he chooses and some of the expressions that he uses in his performance are appropriate for the public who watches him.¹⁹⁹ These were indeed appreciated by the audience and produced the intended effect.

In the case of Orator 2, the audience does not laugh when the speaker mentions a common joke about oratory skills.²⁰⁰ At the end of Orator 2's "greetings and good wishes," the audience produces a light laughter and applauds because she made each line of her greetings rhyme but the last word in the last line does not follow the exact rhyming pattern of the previous lines: "Lovers' greetings/Promising to last forever/True friends' greetings/Smiling at each

¹⁹⁸ The orator used the Malagasy expression « mahay maka volontany. »

¹⁹⁹ As was previously stated, the event occurred in a modest area, which, according to Orator 1 « is pejoratively known as one of the slums in Antananarivo. » [« Bas quartiers an'Antananarivo, péjoratif io voambolana io »]. (Translation mine). Interview with Orator 1. 08 July 2019. See Appendix 12B. The orator knew how to adapt his performance to this context by using informal expressions and making informal jokes that held resonance with the members of his audience.

²⁰⁰ She says: "There are people who joke, saying, 'return the 'cloth' to its owner and that is it.'" [Misy be vazivazy izay moa hoe 'avereno fotsiny lay lamban'ny tompony dia samy vita]. Kabary Performance 2. 04 May 2019. See Appendix 13. In this statement, the "lamba" symbolizes the ability to make elaborate speeches. Hence, the statement quoted here means that the people who are delivering a speech in front of the most skilled speakers should give the floor to the latter. In that sense, the most skilled speakers are the owner of the 'lamba' and the others borrow it and use it in front of its owner, which can be a rather uncomfortable experience.

other, shaking hands/Patriots' greetings/To us though we are not in our country/The Havatsa-Upem's greetings/There's a lot we want to say.”²⁰¹ The audience's reaction here can be interpreted in different ways. One possible interpretation is that the people are pleased by the orator's extemporaneous production of beautiful “greetings and good wishes.” In that sense, the last line, whose utterance was marked by a slight hesitation on the speaker's part, produces a positive effect of appreciation, rather than criticism. Another interpretation is that the audience may have discerned the slight hesitation on the speaker's part and perceived it as an indication of the difficulty that she had in looking for the right word. Thus, when the word that she uses is not exactly the most appropriate one, the audience laughs because the speaker inevitably acknowledges that she had a hard time, but having tried her best, the effect is not displeasing. It means that the audience appreciates more the effort rather than the effect of the orator's statement. In either case, it can be said that Orator 2's ability to elicit reactions from the audience depends on the audience's understanding and appreciation of her statement. Since the audience was principally made of literary people, there was more pressure on Orator 2 to produce an original speech that reflects the beauty of Malagasy literature and to meet the unvoiced expectations of the audience.

In the third performance, three specific circumstances enable us to appreciate Orator 3's ability to elicit reactions from the audience. The first one is before the marriage request kabary, when Orator 3 asks for a brief moment of silence in honour of the future bride's father who recently passed away. Opponent 3 acknowledges that it is right to do so and the audience respects this request. Nevertheless, some voices are still heard from the room or from the hall. This does not signal a lack of respect for Orator 3 because, as was stated earlier, the fact that the room was very small and the bride's family had to attend to several things may account for

²⁰¹ Here, we can identify the rhyming pattern as aabbccde : « Arahaban'ny mpifankatia/Lokaloka ny hoe ho doria/Arahaban'ny tena mpinamana/Mifampitsiky mifandray tanana/Arahaban'ny tia tanindrazana/Amintsika na dia tsy any an-tanindrazana/Arahaban'ny Havatsa-Upem/(Pause) Be dia be ny tiana ho tenenina. » Kabary Performance 2. 04 May 2019. See Appendix 13. (Translation mine).

the presence of other movements and proceeding of other activities in the other rooms. The second circumstance is when the groom is asked to profess his love for the future bride and Orator 3 asks the audience to clap their hands if they are satisfied with the groom's speech. The audience claps. Our study of these two situations reveal that Orator 3 manages to elicit reactions from the audience thanks to her status as the official speaker appointed by the bride's family and her attitude and speech style throughout the performance. The latter will be developed further in the next part of our analysis.

The last circumstance is when Orator 3 responds to Opponent 3's straightforward and simplified marriage request, saying: "if we look at [the young man], we are tempted to say yes right away. Let us say yes right away. Either the..."²⁰² Here, Orator 3 is interrupted²⁰³ by Opponent 3 who praises the young man with the expression "he is both handsome and strong."²⁰⁴ Orator 3 resumes her speech but uses a sentence which is different from the one that begins with "either" before the interruption. Later on, it is Opponent 3 who invites the audience to clap their hands for Orator 3 because of the pertinence of her words. In this circumstance, the differing personalities of Orator 3 and Opponent 3 stand out. Orator 3 remains the humble orator who relies on her oratory skills and respectability to win the audience's acknowledgement. On the other hand, Opponent 3 displays confidence and, having already excused himself for not being a skilled orator, he is not liable for any breach of the norms that govern kabary performance. As a result, he unconsciously steals the attention that the audience should give to Orator 3 and casts the spotlight on himself. Hence, we can sense the withdrawal

²⁰² "Rehefa mijery azy aloha dia eee dia tena hoe andao tonga dia ekena e! Andao rangaha tonga dia ekena a! Na ny..." Kabary Performance 3. 01 June 2019. See Appendix 14A. (Translation mine).

²⁰³ Based on the distinction between overlaps and interruptions made by Don Zimmerman and Candace West, we can say that Opponent 3 violates the rule of turn-taking as he speaks at a time when Orator 3 begins a new sentence shortly after taking her speech turn, not "at or very close to a possible transition place in [Orator 3's] utterance," as in the case of an overlap. Don Zimmerman and Candace West. "Sex Roles, Interruptions and Silences in Conversation." in *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, 1975. Pp. 114 – 115.

²⁰⁴ "Sady taviny no volony." This is a figurative expression used to praise somebody. Kabary Performance 3. 01 June 2019. See Appendix 14A. (Translation mine).

of Orator 3, which corresponds to an instance of powerlessness according to the FPDA approach. In that sense, she adopts the peripheral role of a woman who lets the dominant male figure take control of the situation. From another perspective, however, we could perceive Orator 3's attitude in a positive way as she manages to remain composed and avoid a conflict that may have ruined the event despite Opponent 3's unconventional attitude. What we mean by unconventional is the inappropriateness of Opponent 3's behaviour in the context of kabary performance.

Gender Differences and the Orators' Speech Styles

Our analysis of the speech styles adopted by the three orators in our study will build on Deborah Cameron's contention that "a meaningful and effective feminist critique [of the differences in the linguistic behaviour of the sexes] will incorporate elements of both [the dominance and the difference approaches], as well as maintaining a certain skepticism about the actual facts concerning male and female use of language."²⁰⁵ The dominance approach is based on "the traditional, negative evaluation of women's language,"²⁰⁶ which, in the words of Robin Lakoff, views "women's style as a reflex of their powerlessness and men's power over them."²⁰⁷ The difference approach acknowledges men and women's different ways of using language but "reinterpret[s] [them] in a positive light as an authentic manifestation of feminine culture."²⁰⁸ In more concrete terms, while the dominance approach tends to devalue women's language and acknowledges the prestigious status of men's language, the difference approach sheds light on the positive characteristics of women's language. A dominant feature of the language used by the female orators in our study is the adoption of a polite and respectable style, which seems to correspond to some of the features that Lakoff describes as "typical of

²⁰⁵ Deborah Cameron. *The Feminist Critique of Language: A Reader*. London, New York: Routledge, 1990. P. 24.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.* P. 23.

²⁰⁷ Robin Lakoff in Deborah Cameron. *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ Deborah Cameron. *The Feminist Critique of Language: A Reader*. London, New York: Routledge, 1990. P. 23.

women's speech."²⁰⁹ This can be observed in their choice of words and expressions during the performance and the manner in which they utter them. Indeed, both female orators use formal language and vocabulary throughout their performances. It is also interesting to note the way in which they vary the tone and rhythm of their voices, which produces a melodious performance that conveys their charm. This echoes what our male and female informants say about the main characteristics of female orators as was previously explored. In contrast, the male orator in Performance 1 feels free to use informal vocabulary²¹⁰ in his speech. Furthermore, his speech is particularly marked by the variations of the speed of each utterance, which sometimes make it difficult to understand what he says. We have noticed that this orator speaks rather fast when he utters proverbs or "hainteny" and adopts a slower rate of speech when he explains their meaning. Another element that mainly characterizes this male orator's speech style is his use of humour. In his opinion, "it is [his] responsibility to bring laughter and smiles on happy occasions."²¹¹ He goes on to say that "[humour] is used to convince the audience, it prevents the performance from being monotonous or from making the public sleep, and it is an ornament of [his] kabary."²¹² It is important to note that Orator 1 somehow uses humour with caution as "[he] avoid[s] talking about subjects that are taboo, remain[s] careful when talking about people's infirmities and political matters, as views may differ."²¹³ This suggests that even though humour and the use of vulgar expressions are assumed to be mainly reserved for male orators, the latter, like female orators, are also concerned about the proper

²⁰⁹ Robin Lakoff in Deborah Cameron. *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ For instance, he uses the phrase "izy mitsam" [the two of them] to refer to the newly-formed couple and "elah" [you] when he addresses the groom, as opposed to Orator 3 who addresses the groom and the bride as "ianao" [you], which is part of the formal register. The word "elah" may connote closeness as an expression that a father might use with his son.

²¹¹ "Heveriko ho adidy ny mitondra fampitsikitsikiana ho an'ny mpanatrika amin'ny kabary an-kafaliana." Interview with Orator 1. 08 July 2019. See Appendix 12B. (Translation mine).

²¹² "Entina mandresy lahatra, tsy hahamonamonaina na hampatory ny mpanatrika, ary ravaky ny kabariko." *Ibid.* (Translation mine).

²¹³ "Fadiako ny miresaka zavatra mamoafady, tandremako ny miteny kileman'olona na resaka politika, mety tsy hampitovy ny hevitra." *Ibid.* (Translation mine).

conduct to adopt in order to avoid shocking or disappointing their audience in their performances.

In reality, even though some of the main features of the three orators' speech styles in our study seem to highlight gender differences, each orator has their own style, which can only be fully understood when placed in their contexts of performance. Hence, we could further analyse the two female orators' styles in the contexts of their performances. The solemn and serious setting of the artistic event during the celebration of the 15th anniversary of the Havatsa – Upem may account for Orator 2's adoption of a dignified speech style, which also reflects her status as the international head of the association. Similarly, the context of Orator 3's performance of her "vodiondry" kabary also seems to call for her use of a speech style that reflects her desire to be acknowledged as a respectable female orator who represents the family of the bride and honours them with her speech. Here, we may recall Tafika Rakotomavo's reflections on the differences between male and female orators. According to this male orator, "female trainees [within the FIMPIMA branch in France] excel and outdo the male ones in both written and oral tests because [...] women really do their best."²¹⁴ He explains that the men who get trained at the FIMPIMA have already performed kabary most of the time and they only choose to get a training to be familiar with the formal structure of kabary and master the art of oratory. Women, on the other hand, get a training to "embody the responsibility of promoting Malagasy language"²¹⁵ by transferring their knowledge to their children. In the case of female orators who actually choose to perform kabary instead of just sharing their knowledge of Malagasy language and values to their offspring, the fact that they strive for excellence can be explained by their desire to win social acknowledgement and establish their prestigious status as effective orators. Going back to the kabary performance of Orator 3, it can be said that her

²¹⁴ « Tsara naoty amin'ny écrit sy ny am-bava ny vehivavy ... tena milofo amin'ny fianarana fatratra. » Tafika Rakotomavo. 31 May 2019. See Appendix 9. (Translation mine).

²¹⁵ « Mandray andraikitra hampita ny teny Malagasy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

style reflects her effort to abide by the norms that govern the performance of kabary in order to win social acknowledgement. This can be illustrated by her concern to diligently follow the different steps of the kabary, from the presentation of “apologies”²¹⁶ to the “main content of the kabary.”²¹⁷ Her speech is particularly marked by the frequent use of the linking phrase “apart from that,”²¹⁸ which points to the chronological structure of her kabary. Hence, both female orators have their own speech style, which may be marked by gender differences, but which are also modulated by the contexts of performance.

Gender and the Management of Difficult Situations in Kabary Performances

Finally, while the orators’ speech styles have a significant impact on the nature and reception of their performances, another parameter that may help us to appreciate their kabary with gender lenses, is their ability to handle difficult situations throughout the performance. In this section, we will focus on the two “vodiondry” kabary performances as they are the ones that stage two orators in a verbal duel that involves difficult situations which require the orators’ skills. In the case of Orator 1, the most difficult situation is when the orator has to remain calm and find the right words and the appropriate way to say them in front of Opponent 1’s disturbing lack of knowledge of the actual proceedings of a “vodiondry” kabary and his hostile argumentation as a defensive reaction due to his avowed fear of Orator 1. For instance, when Orator 1 asks Opponent 1 if it is possible to summon the bride’s brother to perform the necessary custom²¹⁹ before proceeding to the main talk about the marriage request, Opponent 1 responds aggressively by voicing his doubts about the reliability of the groom’s love for the bride. He

²¹⁶ “Fialan-tsiny.” (Translation mine).

²¹⁷ “Ranjan-kabary.” (Translation mine).

²¹⁸ “Manaraka izany...” Kabary Performance 3. 01 June 2019. See Appendix 14A. (Translation mine).

²¹⁹ This is called the “tapimason’anadahy “ or the symbolical covering of the bride’s brother’s eyes as talks about love involving his sister will be going on and he is a “olom-pady” to her, that is, sexual relations are forbidden between them. See also in Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A coeur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris : Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 164.

says, “we are a bit surprised and wonder whether [the groom] is like a yam presented at day time and pecked by the hens [...] We want to warn that if it is not a love like the feathers of a hen, which only part at death, it is better to think first.”²²⁰ In reality, according to the custom and as Orator 1 has already pointed out in his request, Opponent 1 should have simply accepted to summon the bride’s brother so that the petitioner may honour him and proceed with the rest of the talk. Opponent 1’s response calls for a clever reply which should clarify the misunderstanding in a polite and pacific way. Orator 1 handles this situation first by avoiding to directly accuse Opponent 1 of his lack of knowledge and understanding of the custom and the proceeding of a marriage request kabary as he says: “I don’t know if we understand each other or not.”²²¹ This ability to express one’s concerns in an indirect way,²²² as we have already seen in the previous chapter, especially in a conflictual situation, constitutes one of the valuable qualities sought for in an orator. Next, Orator 1 appeals to the audience through the use of humour to support him when he says, “you have already asked about the young man, yet we haven’t even presented our request.”²²³ This produces a loud laughter among the audience. Finally, he briefly repeats his previous request to perform the necessary custom with the bride’s brother. As a result, Opponent 1 capitulates and accepts to call the bride’s brother. It can be said that Orator 1 effectively handles the difficult situation as he respects the principle of nonconfrontation while making his point and receiving what he has requested.

In the case of Orator 3, the difficult situation, apart from the instances of interruption by Opponent 3, is when the latter puts her in charge of the delivery of the speech for the ring giving

²²⁰ “Izahay anefa gaga ihany fa sao dia tahaka ny vomanga miseho andro ka hipoitra hotsaingohin’ny akoho... Fa zahay te hamarafara ihany manao hoe, raha fitia ... tsy ho lamban’akoho tsy hifametra aman’aina, aleo mandinika aloha.” Kabary Performance 1. May 19, 2019. See Appendix 12A. (Translation mine).

²²¹ « Tsy fantatro raha mifankahazo ny resatsika na tsia. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²²² See Edward L. Keenan and Elinor K. Ochs’ views about the principle of nonconfrontation. Edward L. Keenan and Elinor Keenan Ochs. “Becoming a Competent Speaker of Malagasy.” *Languages and their Speakers*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

²²³ « Efa manontany ny amin’ny tovolahy sahady ianareo nefa izahay ange mbola tsy mangataka akory e! » Kabary Performance 1. May 19, 2019. See Appendix 12A. (Translation mine).

tradition. As in Performance 1, it is the petitioner, that is, Orator 1, who delivers this speech and logically, it is Opponent 3 who should do so in Performance 3 as he is the petitioner; however, since he is not a professional orator, he excuses himself and entrusts this duty to Orator 3. It can be perceived as a difficult situation for Orator 3 insofar as it is unpredictable and during our interview with this orator, we learnt that even though kabary is mainly characterized by its extemporaneous nature, there must always be some preparations done by the orator. The same orator even said that she already keeps in mind the proverbs and hainteny that she intends to use at each of her performances.²²⁴ Hence, even though Orator 3, as a professionally trained orator, is already familiar with the speech for the ring, the unpredictability of the assignment of this task by her opponent somehow puts her in the difficult situation of arranging the appropriate words and delivering the speech in an effective way. Orator 3 handles this difficult situation effectively. She displays more confidence as she gets the public's attention and utters the phrase "ladies and gentlemen,"²²⁵ which, as she reported during our interview, always helps her to conquer her stage fright before all performances. She then provides a brief explanation of the history of the ring giving tradition in Malagasy society and instructs the couple to proceed with the tradition. While the bride is trying to find the ring, Orator 3 continues to speak fluently, providing further explanations or instructions. Significantly, Opponent 3 tries to speak at the same time but Orator 3 dominates the scene and manages to hold the floor till the end of the ring giving tradition. This incident is particularly important if we recall the previous situations in which Opponent 3 interrupted Orator 3 and the latter adopted a low profile, thus giving her opponent full control of the situation. Her more assertive attitude during the ring giving tradition may be explained by the fact that Opponent 3 has already given her the floor earlier as he admitted that "[he] knows nothing about it."²²⁶ This

²²⁴ See Interview with Orator 3. 12 July 2019. Appendix 14 B.

²²⁵ "Tompokolahy sy tompokovavy." Ibid. (Translation mine).

²²⁶ « Tsy haiko mihitsy ny momba azy. » Kabary Performance 3. 01 June 2019. See Appendix 14A. (Translation mine).

brings to mind Malanjaona Rakotomalala's contention that "when they are in their rights, Malagasy women are really aggressive."²²⁷ In the case of the kabary performance that we have observed, it means that since Orator 3 has already been given the full right to take care of the ring giving tradition, she acts accordingly.

If we compare the attitudes of Orator 1 and Orator 3 in their management of difficult situations, we may notice some aspects of gender differences such as the use of colloquial language by the male orator and the maintaining of a polite, formal style in the case of the female orator. Researchers in the fields of gender, women's studies and sociology Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley attempt to explain the difference in men and women's languages in *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*. More precisely, they try to explain why women's speech is more polite and more correct by exploring the views of various contributors to their volume. One explanation that is particularly relevant to our study is the "notion that women should be 'nice' and 'ladies,' that is, that they should carefully monitor their behavior"²²⁸ as opposed to men who seem to be "secure in status and hence able to relax."²²⁹ The writers also refer to the fact that "nonstandard speech [...] has strong connotations of masculinity, and may signal male solidarity."²³⁰ This can be observed in Orator 1's adoption of an informal style and use of slang words which draws him closer to his audience and gives him more appreciation compared to his stern male adversary. Nevertheless, the notion that men's use of an informal language may be due to the fact that they feel less concerned about establishing a prestigious status as they already feel "secure" may not be relevant in the case of Orator 1, who, as was already discussed earlier, admits that he somehow remains careful not to

²²⁷ « Rehefa anaty zony ny vehivavy Malagasy tena masiaka. » Direct communication with Malanjaona Rakotomalala. 21 March 2019. (Translation mine).

See also Malanjaona Rakotomalala in *A coeur ouvert sur la sexualite merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 137 – 174.

²²⁸ Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley. *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, 1975. P. 18.

²²⁹ Greer Litton Fox in Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley. *Ibid.*

²³⁰ Peter Trudgill in Barrie Thorne and Nancy Henley. *Ibid.*

shock or disappoint the audience in some of his performance strategies such as the use of humour. Thus, it can be said that although these two orators' performances tend to validate some of the assumptions about the differences in male and female speeches, both orators are concerned about the audience's reception of their performances as this will establish their status as effective orators.

4.2.2. From Gender Differences to Gender Awareness and Gender Responsiveness

The previous section of our study focused on the analysis of three kabary performances from a gender perspective in consideration of the impacts of discourses of gender differentiation on the performances and the subject positions of the orators. We mainly examined the issues related to male and female authority and capacity to dominate the scene, as well as their ability to elicit positive reactions from their audiences based on their speech styles, performance strategies and ability to handle difficult situations. In this last section, we will reflect on the female orators' awareness of and responses to gender differences in their various contexts of kabary performance. Our analysis is initially based on the personal accounts and evaluation of Orator 3's performance during our interview following her performance. We have decided to focus on this orator's performance because among the three performances, it is the one that enables us to best appreciate the ways in which the female orator negotiates her positions of power or powerlessness in order to establish her status as an effective orator while handling gender differences. Indeed, while Performance 1 stages two male orators, Performance 2 involves a female orator in a very brief speech which does not enable us to fully study the interplay between gender differences and the orator's negotiation of her position within the field of kabary performance. Subsequently, the views of some of the female orators that we interviewed but whose kabary performances we did not attend will also be taken into account

as they reflect the ways in which these women handled gender-related issues in the course of their career as orators.

Our interview with Orator 3 about her “vodiondry” kabary on 1 June 2019 enabled us to compare our previous analysis with her own perceptions. When asked about the two interruptions by Opponent 3 during the performance, Orator 3 admitted that she was aware of those two interruptions. For the first one, she said that “[she] didn’t mind [it] because what [Opponent 3] said enhanced what she was saying; [however,] if he were criticizing [her], [she] would have continued the speech in a different way.”²³¹ In that sense, the interruption is perceived as an overlap which, according to Deborah Tannen’s views about the dynamics of power and solidarity as is reflected in the use of various linguistic devices, “show[s] support for the speaker.”²³² As for the second interruption, Orator 3 perceived it as a moment of powerlessness for Opponent 3 since he was not a professional orator. She explains that, “most of the time, when this occurs, there is a mismatch between the orators’ competences.”²³³ Her statement does not seem to confirm our reflections on the ways in which women fully appropriate the right that has been given to them. Rather, it highlights her consideration for Opponent 3 and her concern to protect the honour of the groom’s family, which pertains to the relational speech style that is traditionally associated with women. In fact, Orator 3 underlines that “when [her] opponent is having a hard time, she tries not to make things harder [and] tries not to debase him [nor to] dishonor the people he represents.”²³⁴

The main issue that involves gender differences in this context is related to the audience’s perceptions of both speakers. Orator 3 acknowledges that Opponent 3 as an elderly man already

²³¹ « Tsy nampaninona ahy satria nanamafy ny zavatra nolazaiko ihany, raha nitsikera izy no mety ho hafa ny nitondrako ny tohin’ny kabary. » Interview with Orator 3. 12 July 2019. See Appendix 14B. (Translation mine).

²³² Deborah Tannen. *Gender and Discourse*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994. P. 35.

²³³ “Matetika rehefa misy ny tahaka izay dia tsy dia tena mifandanja ny kabary andaniny sy ankilany.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

²³⁴ “Rehefa hitako fa sahirankirana ny olona miteny eo am-pita dia miezaka hatrany aho tsy hanasarotra. Ezahiko hatrany ny tsy hampihetry azy sy tsy hampitsanga-menatra ny olona hitondrany teny.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

benefits from the family's and the audience's respect. Moreover, since he has primarily excused himself for not being a professional orator, he has tactfully managed to absolve himself of any blame despite his clumsiness. As for Orator 3, she reports that all the people in the family that she represented already knew her and vice versa. Most of them, according to her, were "women who were brought up to accept that men are the main speakers even in ordinary talks, and even when women are given the floor, they don't know what to say."²³⁵ As a result, Orator 3 was aware that she was perceived by the audience "as someone between a man and a woman, it means neither a man nor a woman."²³⁶ This confirms Deborah Cameron's contention that public speaking "unsexes"²³⁷ women. Indeed, although Orator 3 dressed in a way that enhanced her femininity,²³⁸ the audience mainly associated her with the kabary performance, which is traditionally a male preserve. Orator 3 explains that she felt this in the ways the members of the audience, especially the elderly people and the women, looked at her and behaved with her. For instance, she says that "the women watched her intently but did not dare to talk to her [...] [Opponent 3's] wife [in particular] found it hard to talk to her, although her two grown up sons wished to follow a training on kabary performance and enrolled."²³⁹ Yet, according to the same orator, these women could talk smoothly between themselves and the members of their families.

These differing perceptions of both speakers by the audience have two implications. The first one is that men, as the traditionally acknowledged speakers, are respected and are allowed to deliver a kabary even though they are not orators. On the contrary, women, in order to speak on a formal occasion, are expected to have followed a training and to display the oratory skills

²³⁵ « Vehivavy nobeazina mba hanaiky fa ny lehilahy no mandray fitenenana amin'ny resaka andavan'andro, ary na dia omena sehatra hiteny aza ny vehivavy dia tsy hitany izay lazaina. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²³⁶ "Ohatrany hoe teo anelanelan'ny lehilahy sy vehivavy izany aho raha ny fandraisan'ny olona ahy fa sady tsy lehilahy no tsy vehivavy ihany koa." Ibid. (Translation mine).

²³⁷ Deborah Cameron. Op. Cit. P. 15.

²³⁸ She was wearing a pink and golden dress with a pink "lamba." Interview with Orator 3. 12 July 2019. See Appendix 14B.

²³⁹ « Nijerijery be ahy ireo vehivavy ireo saingy tsy sahy niresaka tamiko ...Nananosarotra ho an'ny vadin'ilay mpikabary an-kilany ny niresaka tamiko, na dia samy naniry hianatra kabary sy nisoratra anarana aza ireo zanany roa lahy. » Ibid.

which are gendered “masculine.” It is true that Opponent 3, having excused himself for not being an orator from the start, showed less concern about his speech or behaviour, unlike the female orator who adopted a respectable attitude throughout the performance. Nevertheless, this attitude on Opponent 3’s part cannot be accounted for by the fact that he is a man since, as Orator 3 puts it, “there are male orators who show great concern about their speech and behaviour.”²⁴⁰ However, Opponent 3’s attitude, which Orator 3 describes as “a desire to do the kabary in a playful, humourous way,”²⁴¹ and Orator 3’s reaction to it, can be viewed as an instance that highlights gender differences of which the female orator is well aware and to which she responds in a gendered way. This points to the second implication of the audience’s differing perceptions of both orators. In fact, Orator 3 says that “there is a time for everything,”²⁴² to explain her reaction to and disapproval of her opponent’s attitude. Despite the unserious utterances of Opponent 3, Orator 3 manages to maintain the formal structure of the kabary through her own speech style and her ability to respond to her opponent in the appropriate way, that is, in a way that neither debases him nor leads her to adopt his playful style. This calls to mind Malanjaona Rakotomalala’s view that Malagasy women from Antananarivo, as the guardians of moral values, are notable for “giving to men, in one way or another, moral lessons that are conform to Malagasy values.”²⁴³ Although Rakotomalala utters this statement with reference to the Merina sexual context, it can be relevant in the case described above whereby the female orator puts her opponent back on the right track, albeit in an indirect way, in accordance with moral standards and the norms of kabary performance. This means that both speakers are made to perform their respective gender roles during the kabary

²⁴⁰ “Misy lehilahy mpikabary izay tena mitandrina amin’ny teny sy ny fihetsiny.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

²⁴¹ « Ohatrany hoe kilalao na zavatra natao hampihomehy no tiany nitondrana ilay kabary. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²⁴² « Misy fotoanany ny zava-drehetra. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²⁴³ « Donner aux hommes, d’une manière ou d’une autre, des leçons de morale conformes aux valeurs malgaches. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris : Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 146. (Translation mine).

performance. Indeed, the man, who belongs to the category of people who are traditionally entitled to speak on formal occasions, acts in a way that shows that his status is already secure; and the woman, who is “unsexed” by the performance of a traditionally male activity, finds herself behaving more like a woman by acting as the paragon of moral rectitude.

We can further consider the same orator’s account of other circumstances in which she experienced gender-related issues in the course of her career as an orator in order to identify her gendered responses in contexts that enhance gender differences and male dominance. Orator 3 precisely refers to her experience with a fellow male orator whose disapproval of women’s participation in kabary performance was expressed through his attitude towards her. Our orator says that on sad circumstances, when the association of orators organises the presentation of their condolences to the family of the deceased, this male orator was the one in charge of appointing the speaker during the visit. Orator 3 recalls that “he always selected male orators, and even the newly trained ones, instead of appointing [her]. Yet, [she] was already a renowned professional orator and kabary teacher at that time.”²⁴⁴ On another occasion, she had the opportunity to perform a “vodiondry” kabary with this man. She was the representative of the bride’s family, whereas her colleague was the petitioner for the groom’s family. According to Orator 3, the man’s speech was uncustomary and inappropriate because it revolved around divorce although the context was that of love and marriage.²⁴⁵ In both circumstances, Orator 3 says that she just let things go to avoid confrontation with this male orator. These correspond to instances of powerlessness. In the first circumstance, the orator is aware of the fact that she does not have the authority to appoint herself to speak nor to denounce the biased selection by her fellow male orator. Indeed, an orator does not appoint him/herself, he/she is appointed by the family or the authority in charge of this responsibility. As can be observed in the speech of

²⁴⁴ “Mpikabary lehilahy hatrany no nosafidiany, eny fa na ireo izay vao navoaka hikabary aza, kanefa efa mpikabary nanana ny maha-izy ahy aho ary efa mpampianatra kabary tamin’izany fotoana izany.” Joëlle Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4. (Translation mine).

²⁴⁵ Interview with Joëlle Randriantody. 11 June 2019. See Appendix 4.

the male orator that we recorded in his “apology” for taking the floor: “I apologize because the family here asked me to deliver the speech today [...] we are not meant to wrest or jostle for the floor.”²⁴⁶ The same view is expressed by another female orator who says that “[orators] are not the wind that fight for ascent, [they] are not water that fight for descent,”²⁴⁷ which means that the orator respectfully accepts the organisation and the attribution of the right to speak by the authority in charge. In that sense, the lack of power to appoint themselves to speak on various occasions is shared by all orators. However, in the case of Orator 3, the actions of the person who has the authority to appoint the speakers are based on his awareness of gender differences and his endorsement of male dominance. Orator 3’s reaction, instead of challenging these views, confirms them. In the second circumstance, Orator 3 is still in a position of powerlessness because she did not attempt to correct her opponent’s inappropriate speech as she did with her opponent in Performance 3. In fact, we could observe that in the context of “vodiondry” kabary, the petitioner has the ability to control the proceedings of the speech, as was the case with Orator 1, and the deliverer has to comply with this organisation despite the fact that the petitioner is never stronger than the deliverer. However, when the petitioner fails to perform the speech in the appropriate way, as was the case with Opponent 3, the deliverer also has the ability to take control of the proceedings of the speech. Coming back to Orator 3’s account of her encounter with a male orator who openly showed his disapproval of women’s participation in kabary performance, we witness that Orator 3 merely follows her opponent’s lead even though she is aware of the inappropriateness of his speech. The interplay between several factors may account for Orator 3’s passive reaction. A relevant interpretation may be that being aware of her opponent’s status as a professional male orator, and being concerned

²⁴⁶ “Manao azafady fa niangavian’ny fianakaviana ireto aho hitondra fitenenana ankehitriny [...] teny tsy hifandrombahana, teny tsy hifanosehana.” Kabary Performance 1. 19 May 2019. See Appendix 12A. (Translation mine).

²⁴⁷ “Tsy rivotra hiady fiakarana, tsy rano hiady fidinana.” R.R. 29 March 2019. See Appendix 2. (Translation mine).

about establishing her status as an effective orator, Orator 3 chooses to adopt a low profile, which presents less risk than indulging in a public confrontation with her opponent.

Finally, to end our reflections on female orators' awareness of and responses to gender differences, we can refer to the views of another female orator, Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa, who also recalls her personal experience of a fellow male orator's disapproval of women's participation in kabary performance. According to Rasamoeliasoa, this man called her a "crowing hen," and she immediately defied him by saying that "if [she] is a crowing hen, then [he] is a rooster that lays eggs."²⁴⁸ Our informant claims that the phrase "crowing hen," which is "used to insult and mock women, [...] is no longer relevant because it refers to an anomaly, something that doesn't exist on earth."²⁴⁹ It is useful to consider the meaning of the phrase "crowing hen" in order to understand the implications of this orator's statements. It may be fitting to start with its difference from the more common phrase "cackling hen," whereby the word "cackling" literally describes the loud, disturbing cry that hens produce after laying an egg. In the context of speech and language use, the phrase "cackling hen" may refer to women at gatherings that are called "'hen sessions' and the speech is [...] called a 'cackle'" as the "talk [is] loud and high-pitched."²⁵⁰ This description obviously refers to stereotypes about women's speech styles. On the other hand, the phrase "crowing hen" refers to the unusual phenomenon of a hen crowing like a rooster. Hence, while the phrase "cackling hen" corresponds to the pejorative evaluation of the speech style that is typically feminine, the phrase "crowing hen" refers to women's performance of activities that are not appropriate for their gender. Bearing this distinction in mind, we can move to the scientific explanation of the phenomenon of spontaneous sex reversal in chickens, which may account for the existence of "crowing hens"

²⁴⁸ « Raha akohovavy maneno ny tenako, ianao kosa izany akoholahy manatody. » Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa. 22 April 2019. See Appendix 5. (Translation mine).

²⁴⁹ « Fiteny hirabirabiana sy hanesoana ny vehivavy ... tsy mitombina intsony satria fahasamponana izany fitenenana izany ary zavatra tsy misy eto ambonin'ny tany." Ibid. (Translation mine).

²⁵⁰ Cheris Kramer. "Women's Speech: Separate but Unequal?" *Language and Sex: Difference and Dominance*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, 1975. P. 49.

and “roosters that lay eggs.” According to the research conducted by American political scientist E.V. Walter in his article “Nature in Trial: The Case of the Rooster that Laid an Egg,”

Under certain conditions, a fowl may take on secondary sex characteristics that contradict its reproductive anatomy [...] sometimes hens exhibit male plumage and other masculine attributes [...] This condition is associated invariably with tumors or some other diseased condition of the ovary [...] Some hens may experience a temporary disturbance of ovarian function [...], but as the ovary returns to normal, they continue to lay eggs. Meanwhile, the bird’s dress will be out of harmony with its physiology, and it must wait until the next molt before it looks like a hen once more [...] such a return to normal [...] [may] explain the references to ‘cock’s eggs.’²⁵¹

In other words, due to some conditions that affect the functions of their ovaries, hens may develop male characteristics, including crowing, and it is these kinds of hens which are also mistaken for roosters that lay eggs. Going back to Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline’s statements in the context of kabary performance, we may note the interesting assimilation of sex characteristics with gender roles and identities in the derogatory expressions “crowing hen” and “rooster that lays an egg.” In reality, these expressions reflect the male and the female orators’ awareness of the importance of preserving gender differences in the context of kabary performance. In fact, while the male orator’s attitude reflects his fear of women’s overthrow of men’s authority through their appropriation of male prerogatives, the female orator’s response indicates her conviction that the performance of an activity which is traditionally labelled masculine does not turn a woman into a man. This further explains the fact that female orators are encouraged to preserve or even to enhance their femininity and they adhere fully to this regulation as they do not display the desire to challenge it and take pride in performing kabary as women.

²⁵¹ E.V. Walter. “Nature in Trial: The Case of the Rooster that Laid an Egg.” *Comparative Civilizations Review* vol. 10 N.10 (1985). Pp. 52 – 53.

Conclusion

To conclude, our study of women's position and experiences in the male world of kabary performance revealed that although male and female orators are required to comply with the general norms that govern this field and ensure their social recognition as effective orators, female orators have to find the right balance between their feminine traits and the masculine qualities required for the performance of kabary. Encouraged to enhance their femininity and convinced about the appropriateness of this requirement, these women do not perform kabary in order to challenge men's authority or appropriate male prerogatives. Their main motivation for performing kabary seems to be rooted in their love for the Malagasy language and their desire to preserve Malagasy values. Furthermore, our analysis of live and recorded kabary performances demonstrated that a discourse of gender differentiation prevails in the definition of women's position and experiences as orators. We witnessed the differing speech styles, performance strategies and gendered reactions in various circumstances while observing and analysing these performances. Since kabary is traditionally the preserve of men, the awareness of women's position as interlopers in this field also influences their performances and their reception by the audience. Nevertheless, despite the prevalence of the discourse of gender differentiation, we also noticed that the effectiveness of an orator, be they male or female, depends on the interplay between several factors and other competing discourses. These mainly include the orator's mastery of oratory skills, their public image, the characteristics of the audience who evaluates the performance, and the context of performance. Thus, various discourses, among which that of gender differentiation seems to be the most dominant, influence the position of the orator, which oscillates between positions of power and powerlessness, during the kabary performance. However, the orators' awareness of and responses to gender differences in various contexts of kabary performance and in front of

different audiences enabled us to understand the construction of their complex and ambiguous experiences as orators interwoven with their gender identities.

PART III: SUCCESSES AND FAILURES OF FEMALE EMPOWERMENT IN MALAGASY ORAL LITERATURE

Introduction

The previous part of our study examined the status and experiences of Malagasy female orators from Antananarivo and among the Malagasy diaspora in Paris. It explored the gradual integration of women in the traditionally male field of kabary performance, especially in two specific kinds of kabary: the “vodiondry” and the funeral kabary. Our findings revealed that while the “vodiondry” kabary is marked by the growing acceptance of women’s participation, the funeral kabary ideologically and practically remains the reserve of male orators. The second part of our study also investigated the interconnection between Malagasy orators’ status, their awareness of their gender roles, the audience’s reception of their performances and the context of performance in order to understand the gender power relations that shape male and female orators’ experiences as orators. It has been demonstrated that male and female orators’ experiences are marked by constant negotiations for a powerful position and a prestigious status in the field of kabary performance. Nevertheless, despite the existence of several discourses that constitute the experiences of Malagasy orators, the discourse of gender differentiation plays a significant role in defining the appropriate roles and attitudes that female orators are expected to adopt in the context of public speaking. However, the orators’ awareness of gender differences and their respective responses in various contexts are part of the negotiations for social recognition and positions of power. This leads us to the main concern of the last part of our study, which is expected to highlight the possibilities for women’s empowerment in the context of Malagasy oral literature, namely in the current adaptation of Malagasy folktales by male and female storytellers and writers of children’s stories from Antananarivo.

The use of the concept of empowerment in this last part of our work relies fundamentally on the understanding of the concept of power from a feminist perspective. Exploring the various meanings attributed to the concept of empowerment across different disciplines and throughout different time periods, French urbanist and sociologist Marie-Hélène Bacqué and American sociologist Carole Biewener explain that “empowerment involves two dimensions, that of power, which constitutes the root of the word, and that of a learning process to gain access to [it]. It can denote both a state (being empowered) and a process, this state and process being at the same time individual, collective and social or political.”¹ This view takes into account the various dimensions of power and the processes involved in an individual’s or a group’s acquisition of power. Exploring the review of Bacqué and Biewener’s work by information sciences and communication specialist Gilles Boenisch, we can state that empowerment is perceived as both a process and the result of this process. In Boenisch’s words, it refers to “the power to research, to obtain, to conquer, and the process of learning, acquiring the knowledge which gives access to it both on the individual and the collective level.”² This implies that power does not necessarily refer to an attribute or something to be possessed in order to exercise domination over others. Indeed, according to Bacqué and Biewener, a feminist perspective on power tends to view power as “energy or competence instead of domination.”³ In the same vein, American feminist philosopher Nancy Hartsock refers to two perspectives on power in the context of political change, which, apart from seeking to “end sexism in all its forms, [...]”

¹ « L’empowerment articule deux dimensions, celle du pouvoir, qui constitue la racine du mot, et celle du processus d’apprentissage pour y accéder. Il peut désigner autant un état (être empowered) qu’un processus, cet état et ce processus étant à la fois individuels, collectifs et sociaux ou politique. » Marie-Hélène Bacqué, Carole Biewener. *L’empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*. Paris : Editions La Découverte, 2013. P. 6. (Translation mine).

² « Il dit à la fois le pouvoir à rechercher, à obtenir, à conquérir, et le processus d’apprentissage, d’acquisition des connaissances qui permet d’y accéder sur un double plan individuel et collectif. » Gilles Boenisch, « Marie-Hélène Bacqué, Carole Biewener, *L’empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*. » *Questions de communication* 27 (2015). P. 386. (Translation mine).

³ « L’énergie et la compétence au lieu de la domination. » Marie-Hélène Bacqué, Carole Biewener. *L’empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*. Paris : Editions La Découverte, 2013. P. 13. (Translation mine).

involves more specific and more controversial goals as well.”⁴ The first understanding of power pointed out by Hartsock is drawn from the views of social theorists and 17th century philosophical writing that consider power as “something possessed, [...] analogous to money, [...] and domination of others.”⁵ In other words, power is perceived as a commodity or an attribute that enables one to have influence on and domination over others. This understanding of power, in Hartsock’s words, helps to “discuss male supremacy”⁶ whereby male dominance is commonly understood as domination over others. The second definition of power developed by Hartsock is based on feminists’ consideration of “alternative definitions of power that do not require domination of others.”⁷ From that perspective, power is perceived as “energy, strength, and effective interaction [with the environment]”⁸ which translates into the “ability to act and capacity to perform.”⁹ This definition takes shape in the understanding of change as a dynamic process that

takes place on several levels: the personal, the group or organizational, and the level of social institutions [...] [which] involves redefining the self, building different kinds of political organizations, gaining economic power for women, and most important, a sense of how each of these arenas for change relates to the interlocking structures of patriarchy, white supremacy, and capitalism.¹⁰

This implies that the feminist understanding of power as the ability or capacity to act, not to exercise domination over others, is expected to bring about the kind of political change that may foster gender equality. The process of change in relation to the concept of power in this definition brings to mind the views of organizational sociologist and social psychologist Jean Lipman-Blumen. This author says that “power is a process characterized by subtle and

⁴ Nancy Hartsock. *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited & Other Essays*. USA, UK: Westview Press, 1998. P. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.* Pp. 16, 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.* P. 20.

⁸ *Ibid.* P. 21.

⁹ *Ibid.* P. 63.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* P. 18.

obvious but constant negotiations and renegotiations between the more and the less powerful [...] [it] includes decision-making, negotiating and acquiescing or validating, as well as ruling.”¹¹ While the aforementioned definitions acknowledge the understanding of power as a process, Lipman-Blumen’s approach puts more emphasis on the power relations between the parties that are involved in the struggle for power and considers the process of acquiring and exercising power as constituted by negotiations between these parties. Recalling our analyses of the experiences of Malagasy male and female orators who continuously negotiate their positions of power or powerlessness throughout their performances, we may say that this approach is particularly relevant while considering the process of female empowerment in the context of kabary performance. Since the context of kabary performance has already been widely explored in the previous part of our study and the focus of the present part is the contemporary adaptation of Malagasy folktales by male and female storytellers and writers of children’s stories, it may be fitting to investigate further definitions of power which may help us define our use of the concept of female empowerment..

In fact, a definition of empowerment which accommodates the idea of power as a process can be found in the motto of current feminist transnational networks such as the “Pathways of Empowerment,” which holds that “women’s empowerment [is] a journey, not a destination. [And] [u]nderstanding what enables women to embark on these journeys, what pathways are available to them, which routes they take, and what assists them along the way is essential [...] to support women to empower themselves.”¹² In other words, this definition takes into consideration the difficulties faced by women, the solutions that are available to them, and their different reactions in various contexts throughout their lives. Women’s engagement in actions that empower them presupposes their awareness of their positions in society, the causes

¹¹ Jean Lipman-Blumen. *Gender Roles and Power*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1984. P. 16.

¹² « Pathways of Empowerment. » *Institute of Development Studies*. 2006. <http://archive.ids.ac.uk/pathwaysofempowerment/www.pathwaysofempowerment.org/index.html>.

of gender inequality, as well as their potentials for positive changes, which pertains to the stage of consciousness raising articulated in gender and development projects.

In light of these different approaches to the concepts of power and empowerment, which are far from being exhaustive considering the massive literature on the subject, we may frame our understanding of female empowerment by identifying the ways in which women's awareness of their position and roles within their communities, as well as the opportunities that are open to them thanks to social, economic, historical, cultural and other changes, may trigger responses that engage them in a journey of empowerment within their different social and historical contexts. Our main concern lies in the investigation of the successes and failures of the actions undertaken by women in order to negotiate their positions within the community and to bring about changes that may have significant impacts on the personal, the organizational and the institutional levels. For that purpose, we will mainly focus on the cases of women in the current adaptations of Malagasy folktales by male and female storytellers and writers of children's stories.

Our approach compels us to consider Malanjaona Rakotomalala's reflections on the mechanisms of Malagasy historical traditions. This author points to the common mistakes made by scholars who deal with the analysis of written or oral tales, namely the fact that they "follow to the letter what the authors or narrators report [...] [or] being confused by anachronisms and the supernatural aspect of some historical traditions which relate them to tales, [they] more or less fully disregard some of the oral documents because, as they say, 'the narrator talks nonsense.'"¹³ This view touches upon the common debate that questions the extent to which folk or fairy tales reflect social reality. Drawing on Rakotomalala's contention that "one cannot

¹³ « Suivre à la lettre ce que rapportent les auteurs ou les narrateurs... désorientés par les anachronismes et l'aspect merveilleux de certaines traditions historiques qui apparentent celles-ci aux contes, [ils] font abstraction plus ou moins totale de certains documents oraux parce que, disent-ils, 'le narrateur raconte n'importe quoi.' » Malanjaona Rakotomalala, « Remarques sur le mécanisme des traditions historiques malgaches, » *Etudes océan indien* 40 – 41 (2008). Put online on 18 March 2013. Accessed on 16 March 2020. URL : <https://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1383>. (Translation mine).

[...] look for factual reality [in tales] [...] [but tales] rather enable the understanding of the behaviour of a definite group insofar as people do not behave according to historical fact, but according to their interpretation of this reality,”¹⁴ we may reflect on the ways in which contemporary storytellers interpret reality and express their own views in the tales and stories that they tell or write. In that sense, we can identify the extent to which the notion of empowerment may be part of female storytellers’ experiences and constitute their interpretation of reality. That is why, apart from analyzing the tales and stories produced by contemporary male and female storytellers, we also build our approach on personal interviews with these male and female storytellers and some of the members of their audiences in order to explore their views regarding their storytelling practices and the functions of Malagasy folktales. This will enable us to identify their understanding of gender relations and their positions in relation to female empowerment.

Furthermore, considering Jack Zipes’ contention that “the oral and literary fairy tales enunciated, articulated, and communicated feelings in efficient metaphorical terms that enabled listeners and readers to envision possible solutions to their problems so that they could survive and adapt to their environment,”¹⁵ we can say that tales refer to circumstances that happen in the real world and situations to which individuals can relate. This is precisely one of the reasons why tales, which Zipes perceives as memes, are continuously transmitted because they are relevant to the context in which they are created. From the same perspective which considers the resemblance of tales to memes, the storyteller can be perceived as a cognitive agent¹⁶ who

¹⁴ « [Je ne crois pas ... qu’] on puisse y rechercher la réalité événementielle, ... ils permettent de comprendre le comportement d’un groupe bien défini, dans la mesure où les gens ne se comportent pas en fonction de la réalité historique mais en fonction de leur interprétation de cette réalité. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala, « Remarques sur le mécanisme des traditions historiques malgaches, » *Etudes océan indien* 40 – 41 (2008). Put online on 18 March 2013. Accessed on 16 March 2020. URL : <https://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1383>. (Translation mine).

¹⁵ Jack Zipes. *Why Fairy Tales Stick: The Evolution and Relevance of a Genre*. New York, London: Routledge, 2006. P. xii.

¹⁶ Drawing on Italian cognitive psychologist Cristiano Castelfranchi’s views, Zipes explains that the individual agent who hosts a meme as part of a social group plays a major role in cultural transmission and social identity formation. See Cristiano Castelfranchi in Jack Zipes. *Ibid.* P. 8.

selects the relevant tales to fit in the present context and to convey the moral values expected in this context. These further justify our choice to work on the tales produced by contemporary Malagasy storytellers in order to analyze their representations of gender-related issues and the possibilities for female empowerment in these contexts.

We have particularly selected the works of three female and one male storytellers and writers of children's stories from different towns in Antananarivo (Mahamasina, Amboditsiry, Isoraka and Antanimora). Most of these storytellers and writers are invited to tell tales to children on the radio, in public elementary schools, children's shelters, and private associations. Some of them also collaborate with NGO's that are concerned with equal rights for men and women; hence, they are invited to design tales that tackle gender issues and highlight women's interests.¹⁷ We conducted personal interviews with these storytellers and another female

¹⁷ Ny Eja and Arikaomsa Randria report having respectively collaborated with the European Centre for Electoral Support (ECES) and ECPAT France – Madagascar (End Child Prostitution And Trafficking) in the context of promoting women's rights and putting an end to the sexual exploitation of children.

ECES is a "nonlucrative private institution based in Brussels [...] which promotes sustainable democratic development by providing counselling, operational support and great projects management services in the field of electoral assistance. It works with all stakeholders in electoral activities, including electoral management branches, civil society organisations involved in the education and observation of elections, political parties, parliaments, the media, security forces, religious groups, and legal institutions that are faced with the settlement of electoral disputes." Source: <http://www.eces.eu/fr/>. Ny Eja's collaboration with ECES falls within the latter's "campaign for sensitizing the promotion of gender and the struggle against gender-based violence" which was launched on 27 March 2019 in Madagascar. The objective of this campaign is "to develop consciousness of the reality of gender-based violence and inequalities in Madagascar and to encourage action for change." Ny Eja was selected as one of "the seven inspiring women in the field of gender." Source: <http://www.eces.eu/fr/posts/campagne-de-sensibilisation-pour-la-promotion-du-genre-et-la-lutte-contre-les-violences-bases-sur-le-genre>. (Translations mine).

Arikaomsa Randria's collaboration with ECPAT results from the latter's selection of his folktales which deal with women's rights in 2018. Arikaomsa Randria says: « ECPAT France-Madagascar made a selection of tales that deal with women's rights in 2018 and [my] tales were among the ones that were selected [...] It is Editions Jeunes Malgaches which negotiated with them and asked me to be among the writers who created the tales for them. » ["Nisy fifantenana nataon'ny ECPAT France-Madagascar, momba ny angano mahakasika ny zon'ny vehivavy, tamin'ny taona 2018, ka anisan'ny voafantina tamin'izany ireo angano ireo... Ny Editions Jeunes Malgaches no nifampiraharaha tamin-dry zareo ka niantso ahy mba ho isan'ireo mpamorona angano hatolotra an-dry zareo."] The same storyteller and writer says that ECPAT informed [him and the other writers] about its objectives and the tales that they were looking for. » ["Nisy fampahafantarana nataon'ny ECPAT momba ireo tanjon'izy ireo, mahakasika an'ireo angano nampanaoviny."] (Translations mine).

Editions Jeunes Malgaches is specialised in the publication of books for children and young people in two languages, Malagasy and French. It collaborates with several NGOs. In 2018, Editions Jeunes Malgaches published 12 folktales, including Arikaomsa Randria's, for the project « Ranavalona » developed by ECPAT which involves « the prevention, the management, and the access to justice for girls that survive from sexual exploitation in Madagascar. » Sources : <http://www.editions-jeunes-malgaches.mg/livre/1167/>; <https://ecpat->

storyteller whose works have not been shared. These storytellers are Solonomenjanahary Eugenie who is commonly known as Ny Eja, Nirina Randriamamonjy, Andrianaivalontseho Haritiana whose pen name is Rakemba Raketamavo, Tsikimilamina Rakotomavo and Randriamanantena Arsène who is known as Arikaomisa Randria. Most of the tales told and published as children's story books by these storytellers were inspired by some of the renowned Malagasy folktales that have been analysed in the first part of our study. Nevertheless, the storytellers also claim to invent their own tales and stories. Their tales mainly deal with matters of concern for the community. The storytellers affirm that their tales are basically meant to educate the members of the community and to preserve Malagasy values.¹⁸ The main audience targeted by these tales are children but the storytellers acknowledge that adults may also benefit from them.

For our purpose, we will analyse how these storytellers and writers characterize their heroines in the current Malagasy context, and how the female characters' passive or active participations in the stories can be measured as part of a process of empowerment and change, which testifies to the storyteller's or writer's awareness of the main issues faced by women in contemporary Malagasy society and the adequate female responses to them. The rewriting and retelling of Malagasy tales from the perspectives of female storytellers compel us to conduct a comparison of current tales and children's stories with the Malagasy tales published after the 19th century from which they were inspired. Furthermore, for comparative purposes, we will also consider the storytelling practices of male and female storytellers and the ways in which their stories or tales tackle gender-related issues. Based on these itineraries, our work will be divided in two chapters. The first chapter will examine the conceptualization of female empowerment around the issue of vulnerability. Drawing on Jean Lipman-Blumen's contention

france.fr/www.ecpat-france/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Fiche-projet-Madagascar-Ranavalona.pdf. (Translations mine).

¹⁸ Ny Eja for instance says that the function of folktales is to « educate, transmit values. » [« Mitaiza, mampita ny soatoavina. »] Ny Eja. 27 July 2019. See Appendix 16. (Translation mine).

that “control over resources, particularly institutional resources, is a vital aspect of power relationships,”¹⁹ meaning that access to valuable resources enables specific individuals to exercise power, this chapter acknowledges the fact that men, being part of the powerful group, have access to society’s most valuable resources and control society’s major institutions, and women who are among the less powerful have to find the appropriate strategies to redress gender inequality. Exploring the various strategies used by women to offset male power, we will analyze how vulnerability, which is closely tied to women’s limited access to valuable resources, can serve to foster empowerment for women in current Malagasy tales. Nevertheless, taking into account the complex understandings of the mechanisms of power, our study goes beyond the conceptualization of women as victims and highlights the circumstances that may or may not allow for adequate empowerment for women. The second chapter considers the possible shapes of female empowerment with particular focus on the art of storytelling as is lived and practiced by men and women and received by the members of the audience. It is based on the conceptualization of empowerment as a process whose essence lies in its components rather than its end results. Drawing on the previously mentioned vision of the Pathways of women’s empowerment, we suggest that in order to understand the process of empowerment experienced by the women in the tales, we need to consider the factors that foster empowerment, the opportunities or the options that are available to them, and the “routes” that the women take, which correspond to the various shapes that the women’s journeys may take depending on their respective experiences. Two itineraries to female empowerment can be traced based on the interplay between the storytellers’ performances, the ideologies conveyed by their tales and the audiences’ responses to their performances. Our analysis traces the evolution of Malagasy women’s social status and gender roles as are reflected by the female characters in current tales and children’s stories. We argue that the process of female empowerment may take various

¹⁹ Jean Lipman-Blumen. *Gender Roles and Power*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1984. P. 6.

shapes depending on the storytellers' representations of the experiences of the female characters in the tales and the audiences' reception of these representations. Throughout these chapters, we will identify the possible successes or failures of the empowerment processes in which women are consciously or unconsciously engaged.

CHAPTER 5: Vulnerability: An Obstacle or A Steppingstone Towards Female Empowerment

Drawing on Judith Butler's formulation of the relationship between power and subjection in *The Psychic Life of Power*, we can suggest an understanding of vulnerability as the subject's dependency on a pre-existing power in order to exist. As Butler puts it, "if the terms by which 'existence' is formulated, sustained, and withdrawn are the active and productive vocabulary of power, then to persist in one's being means to be given over from the start to social terms that are never fully one's own."²⁰ The author further explains that, "bound to seek recognition of its own existence in categories, terms, and names that are not of its own making, the subject seeks the sign of its own existence outside itself."²¹ In other words, the subject is vulnerable in the sense that he/she cannot escape from the subordination to social terms that are not of his/her own making. In the case of gendered subjects, among the terms that constitute their existence are the ones that express their roles and statuses within society. Gendered subjects are thus constituted by the social terms that define their roles and statuses, and in order to sustain their existence, they have to comply with these terms. The social roles and statuses of gendered subjects in turn facilitate or hinder their access to valuable resources which give them power to act or power over others. The subject's dependency on the norms that define his/her identity can be perceived as a state of vulnerability whereby the gendered

²⁰ Judith Butler. *The Psychic Life of Power. Theories in Subjection*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997. P. 28.

²¹ Ibid. P.20.

subjects are subordinated to social terms that they never made and the level of vulnerability depends on the subjects' position in relation to and enactment of these social terms. These reflections enable us to avoid the reductive discourses which cast women as victims of male oppression while considering the possibilities for female empowerment around the issue of both genders' vulnerability. Vulnerability, then, is not a state specific to women, rather, it can be experienced by men and women alike depending on the power relations and the social terms that constitute their gendered identities in their specific social contexts. Nevertheless, since the terms that constitute gendered subjects' identities also define their access to resources that give them power, we can draw from Jean Lipman-Blumen's contention that women are part of the less powerful group whose access to valuable resources within the community is restricted in order to analyze the ways in which this position of women can be perceived as a state of vulnerability which may trigger their empowerment. Lipman-Blumen's reflections on the mechanisms of gender power relations are particularly relevant in this regard. This author states that "each gender cultivates and protects its resources from inroads by the other [...] Men and women create, nourish, stockpile their own resources, resisting attempts by the other group to capture or reduce those resources."²² In that sense, women, despite their lack of resources, are active participants in the power struggle between genders. In the same way, women who find themselves in a vulnerable condition have to react effectively in order to survive. This explains our intention to analyse the ways in which vulnerability may initiate empowerment for women.

When asked about their perceptions of the representations of women in Malagasy tales, some of the storytellers that we interviewed confirmed most of the characteristics discussed in the first part of this study, which tend to enhance female vulnerability. Ny Eja, for instance, affirms that "women are the ones that are taken for marriage, the ones that take care of men,

²² Jean Lipman-Blumen. *Gender Roles and Power*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1984. P. 38.

take care of the descendants, [and] always follow men's lead.”²³ Similarly, Nirina Randriamamonjy refers to some of the major characteristics of women in Malagasy folktales:

weakness, mildness, taking care of the household, not going far from the household [...] daughters obeying their parents, mothers expected to be the sources of offspring and have to endure hardship to have children and ensure the livelihood of their descendants, mothers as caring, especially towards the weak, women as their husbands' helpers in decision-making, women following the hard decisions made by their husbands.²⁴

Yet another female storyteller, Tsikimilamina Rakotomavo, reiterates these views by underlining the contrast between male and female characters in Malagasy folktales. She says that “men are the embodiment of force and strength, they solve the problems. Women, on the other hand, are the ones who have a mild character, hence they are easily discouraged and shocked when faced with hardship.”²⁵ Although these statements do not directly point to women's vulnerability, they highlight women's lack of authority and their dependency on men which put them in a weaker position. This position may render women vulnerable in social contexts that threaten their well-being, especially in the folktale as a microcosm of gender power relations. Indeed, the female characters in the tales told or written by the storytellers who took part in our study experience a state of vulnerability at various points in the stories. However, their vulnerability can be perceived as a source of empowerment, either through the strategies employed by the female characters in the tales or the impacts of the storyteller's awareness and critical representations of the various forms of inequality which are meant to

²³ « Ny vehivavy dia ilay alaina ho vady, ilay mikarakara lehilahy, ilay mikarakara taranaka ... ilay manaraka ny fitondran'ny lehilahy hatrany. » Ny Eja. 27 July 2019. See Appendix 16. (Translation mine).

²⁴ « Malemiley, malefedefaka, misahana ny asa ao an-tokantrano, tsy mivoaka lavitra ny tokantranony ... zanaka vavy manoa ray sy reny, ... Reny natao hahazoana taranaka ka miaritra ny mafy mba hahazoana izany sy hitandremana izay hahaveloman'izay ho taranany... Reny miahny zanaka, indrindra fa ny osa sy ny malemy... Mpanampy ny vadiny amin'ny fanapahan-kevitra raisina, mpanaraka am-bokony ny hevitra sarotra tsy maintsy raisin'ny vadiny. » Nirina Randriamamonjy. 02 August 2019. See Appendix 19. (Translation mine).

²⁵ « Ny lehilahy itoeran'ny hery sy tanjaka, ary mpamaha ny olana izay mitranga. Ny vehivavy kosa ilay manana toetra malemy paika ka mora kivy sy tohina rehefa sendra ny mafy. » Tsikimilamina Rakotomavo. 16 August 2019. See Appendix 20. (Translation mine).

trigger change in favour of women. Nevertheless, the processes of empowerment are subject to failure or success, depending on the various experiences of the female characters and the storyteller's awareness and critical responses to gender inequality.

5.1. Vulnerability, Women's Strategic Reactions and Empowerment

Exploring women's reactions when they find themselves in a vulnerable position and in need of effective actions to ensure their safety and survival enables us to analyze the impacts of the decisions made and the actions taken by these women on their experiences. The latter can be perceived as a process of empowerment which provides women with the means to survive and improve their situation. Drawing on the notion of separate spheres which Jean Lipman-Blumen develops as "men's control over the body politic and women's over the body personal,"²⁶ we may suggest that the impacts of individual women's reactions in the face of danger and despite their vulnerability can mainly be appreciated on an interpersonal level. In that sense, this process may not always fully empower women because it may fail to have significant impacts on institutionally based ideologies about gender power relations. Nevertheless, there are some exceptions which can be appreciated as successful processes of female empowerment.

In this section, we will mainly focus on the cases of the female characters in four tales by Ny Eja, Nirina Randriamamonjy and Rakemba Raketamavo. The tale in which vulnerability is particularly marked is that of "Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo"²⁷ by Ny Eja and Nirina Randriamamonjy. These two storytellers' versions of "Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo" reflect one of the characteristics of Malagasy oral tales, that is, the rhythm of events made of three stages

²⁶ Jean Lipman-Blumen. *Gender Roles and Power*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1984. P. 28.

²⁷ The two storytellers have their own versions of the tale of the same title from Lars Dahle's collection, which has already been analysed in the first part of this study. It should be noted, however, that Ny Eja's version is in French whereas Randriamamonjy's is in Malagasy.

referred to by Malanjaona Rakotomalala in his “Remarques sur le mécanisme des traditions historiques malgaches.”²⁸ The tale begins with the protagonists set in a specific place, that is, their parents’ home, then continues as they are moved to a different place, in the woods, and it ends as they reach a third place, Itrimobe’s place or a new village of which they become the chiefs. Both storytellers take key elements from the older version collected by Dahle in the 19th century but it is Nirina Randriamamonjy’s version which is most faithful to Dahle’s version. While the plot is almost the same in Randriamamonjy and Dahle’s versions, Ny Eja has significantly altered and left out several elements of the plot. In Randriamamonjy’s version, thus, the two children, Ikotobekibo and Ifaramalemy, are cast away by their parents because of their incapacity to work in the field with their other brothers and sisters. They are left to fend off for themselves and rather succeed at doing so. The brother’s greed and selfishness compel the sister to seek food in the house of the ogre, Itrimobe. Upon learning this, the brother insists on going there too but finds himself stuck there after eating too much. He somehow manages to kill Itrimobe by following his sister’s recommendations. The tale ends with the two children inheriting Itrimobe’s wealth. In Ny Eja’s version, the tale begins with a conversation between the children’s parents during which the mother pleads with the father not to abandon Ikotobekibo and Ifaramalemy in the woods. The tale highlights the fact that the father has absolute authority when it comes to making crucial decisions and the mother has to comply with his decisions against her will. The part in which the children hunt and gather food to survive, as well as the one that exposes Ikotobekibo’s greed and selfishness, are completely left out in Ny Eja’s version. Instead, the children immediately go together to Itrimobe’s house and escape with the help of animals which they had kindly fed with the food that Itrimobe gave to fatten them. With the help of magical objects that they received from these animals, they

²⁸ See Malanjaona Rakotomalala, « Remarques sur le mécanisme des traditions historiques malgaches, » *Etudes océan indien* 40 – 41 (2008). Put online on 18 March 2013. Accessed on 16 March 2020. URL : <https://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1383>.

manage to prevent Itrimobe from catching them and kill him from the top of a mountain. Itrimobe's death enables all the people that he has eaten to come out of his belly. These people choose Ikotobekibo and Ifaramalemy as the heads of their village. It should be noted that Ifaramalemy remains under her brother's authority and seems to feel completely at ease in her submissive role as a follower of her brother's instructions. Hence, she does not seem to have experienced significant changes in character throughout the tale. From time to time, she does question Ikotobekibo's ideas and voices her concerns to him but she never challenges his authority nor contradicts him. For instance, when Ikotobekibo decides to send a rope down to Itrimobe, for him to send food for them, she merely asks whether this is a good idea but does not oppose her brother. Moreover, in Ny Eja's version, Kotobekibo's hostility towards his sister is not reproduced. It is also interesting to note that it is Kotobekibo who carries Ifaramalemy on his back when they are abandoned by their parents in the woods. Kotobekibo's character, namely his kindness towards Ifaramalemy, does not change throughout the tale.

These differences between the plots of the three versions are certainly significant but the details regarding the characterization of the male and female protagonists in the tales, as well as the roles that they play are particularly interesting for our investigation of the theme of vulnerability as a fuel for a successful or failed female empowerment. In the tale of Ikotobekibo and Ifaramalemy, both male and female protagonists are vulnerable because they are subject to their parents' partiality and ill-treatment. Moreover, as they are left in the forest, they are exposed to various dangers such as wild beasts, darkness, heat, cold, and rain. They also have to satisfy the primitive need to feed themselves in order to survive, which is among the key themes stressed in Dahle and Randriamamonjy's versions, but not in Ny Eja's. Despite the fact that both characters are vulnerable, it is interesting to note that the female protagonist's weakness is given more emphasis in Ny Eja and Randriamamonjy's tales. Apart from being

portrayed as a frail, easily discouraged character,²⁹ Ifaramalemy is also cast in a peripheral, insignificant role. In fact, in the two versions by these female storytellers, it is Ikotobekibo who performs the main actions and makes the important speeches throughout the tale. In Ny Eja's version, for instance, Ikotobekibo is portrayed as a clever and heroic older brother who takes care of his weak, naïve, and easily discouraged sister. For instance, when Ifaramalemy naively expects their parents to come back for them, Ikotobekibo intelligently replies that they'd better leave and "find safety as their parents will always find them wherever they are."³⁰ Here, Ikotobekibo not only protects his sister from the immediate physical danger of being out in the woods at night but also avoids to corrupt her mind with the bitter truth about their parents' actions. Once these traits for the two characters have been established, the fact that Ifaramalemy plays a peripheral role makes more sense. Indeed, it is Ikotobekibo who makes the important decisions for the two of them, such as stopping at Itrimobe's place, accepting the food that the ogre serves; he is also the one who cuts the rope on which Itrimobe climbs to reach them towards the end of the tale.

In Randriamamonjy's version, it is also Ikotobekibo who has the authority to set the rules regarding the hunting boundaries that mark the areas in which his sister is allowed to hunt, as well as the rule of building a wall between them at meal times to prevent sharing. The rules established by Ikotobekibo can be perceived as an indication of culture substituting for nature, based on Lévi-Strauss' view that "wherever there are rules we know for certain that the cultural stage has been reached."³¹ The association of the male protagonist to culture and the female

²⁹ Randriamamonjy's statement enables us to appreciate the contrast between the characterization of Ikotobekibo and Ifaramalemy : "Ikotobekibo had such a big belly, hence he could do nothing since he could barely move [...] Ifaramalemy was weak and could do nothing because she always cried whenever she receives a violent shock." ["Tena lehibe tokoa ny kibony ka tsy mba mahavita manao na inona na inona izy fa sahirana mihetsika...Malemy tsy mahavita na inona na inona fa mitomany hatrany rehefa voadona mafimafy."] Nirina Randriamamonjy. "Ikotobekibo sy Ifaramalemy." Audiofile, created 02 August 2019. (Translation mine).

³⁰ « Mettons-nous à l'abri... ils nous retrouveront où que nous soyons. » Ny Eja. « Ifaramalemy et Ikotobekibo. » (Translation mine).

³¹ Claude Lévi-Strauss. *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969. P. 8.

heroine to nature points to the feminist view regarding the causes of the universal devaluation of women. Ifaramalemy's caring, forgiving and submissive attitude towards Ikotobekibo despite his selfishness somehow corresponds to the association of nurturing roles to women. As Nirina Radriamamonjy says while telling her tale, "Ifara took pity on her brother and gave him chicken and rice in the other room."³² Here, Ifaramalemy plays the role of a sister and a mother at the same time, who unconditionally loves and cares about Ikotobekibo.

However, it is interesting to note that in Randriamamonjy's version, the part in which Ifaramalemy carries Ikotobekibo on her back has been left out. This seems to make the characterization of Ifaramalemy as a weak and easily discouraged character more credible. Nevertheless, the part in which Ifaramalemy transcends the geographical boundaries imposed by Ikotobekibo in order to survive by stealing food from Itrimobe's house has been kept. From a perspective that considers female empowerment as a process, this can be viewed as a crucial stage in which Ifaramalemy offsets male power in order to ensure her survival. In fact, once she has gained access to food as a vital commodity, she has also gained power because the quality of her food is better than that of her brother who only has access to the small insects in the neighbouring areas. Furthermore, she has the choice either to share her food with him or not. The ending of the tale, however, reestablishes the initial power relations between the two protagonists as it is Ikotobekibo who kills the ogre by following Ifaramalemy's instructions. This calls to mind Jean Lipman-Blumen's statement about women's vicarious experience of power through the men in their lives. Blumen writes: "taught that overt competition is unfeminine, most girls learn to avoid it. They compete indirectly by associating with males who are active competitors."³³ Although this statement enhances women's concern to be feminine by avoiding competition, it also refers to the fact that women tend to experience power through

³² « Nalahelo an-jandriny Ifara ka nanipy fen'akoho sy folavolam-bary ho azy ao amin'ny efitra ilany. » Nirina Randriamamonjy. "Ikotobekibo sy Ifaramalemy." Audio file. created 02 August 2019. (Translation mine).

³³ Jean Lipman-Blumen. *Gender Roles and Power*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1984. P. 61.

the men in their lives who are the active heroes that save the day. Indeed, it is interesting to ask why the storyteller chose to reproduce the ending in Dahle's version. If we consider the fact that Ifaramalemy is portrayed as a fearful and coward character at the beginning of the tale, we cannot deny the fact that she must have experienced a change in character when she becomes brave enough to travel to a farther distance and steal food from an ogre's house. It can be concluded that in Ny Eja's and Randriamamonjy's versions of the tale "Ikotobekibo sy Ifaramalemy," the process of female empowerment has not been successful. While the female character's vulnerability may constitute a source of empowerment, the female protagonist in each tale reacts differently in their respective contexts. Indeed, when the female protagonist, Ifaramalemy, in both tales is faced with circumstances which threaten her welfare and require her to deploy her personal skills in order to survive, she inevitably reacts in a way that is different from her initial characterization. In Ny Eja's version, Ifaramalemy undergoes this transformation as she gains more confidence to question Ikotobekibo's decisions and actions. However, it can be said that she is blocked at this stage and does not evolve by the end of the tale. In Nirina Randriamamonjy's version, the female protagonist reacts in an effective way as she transgresses her brother's rules and trespasses on a stranger's territory in order to find food and survive. Nevertheless, she still accepts Ikotobekibo's authority, which may account for the fact that it is Ikotobekibo who becomes the active hero who has killed the ogre and Ifaramalemy has merely played the peripheral role of a counsellor. This raises the question about an alternative ending for this tale: the female protagonists in both versions could kill Itrimobe themselves. Instead of merely calling out to her brother that it was Itrimobe who was climbing on the rope to kill them instead of sending up food to them, the Ifaramalemy in Ny Eja's version could cut the rope herself. Similarly, the Ifaramalemy in Randriamamonjy's version could have hidden herself with her brother and kill the ogre with the weapons that she advised Ikotobekibo to use. The fact that she left and thus avoided killing the ogre herself confirms the storyteller's

initial characterization of her as a weakling. The fact that these female storytellers opted for this ending, which confirms our comments about the representation of traditional gender norms in Dahle's version, has one major implication. It points to Lipman-Blumen's contention that men and women's unequal access to valuable resources results in the unequal distribution of power between them. In fact, in both tales, it is clearly established that it is the male character who has direct access to the tools or weapons that are available to both protagonists. It is also the male character who primarily controls and decides about the use of these tools. This can be particularly observed in Ny Eja's version whereby Ikotobekibo is the only one who makes use of the magical objects received from the animals that they fed. For instance, we can read that "Kotobekibo [...] took the magical egg and made his wish: let there be a big ocean between us and Trimobe. O Magical egg, unique egg!"³⁴ The unequal access to tools between men and women is a subject that Paola Tabet addresses in *La construction sociale de l'inégalité des sexes. Des outils et des corps*. Tabet's "hypothesis on the qualitative and quantitative difference in the tools made available to each of the two sexes, namely the under-equipment of women"³⁵ is particularly relevant in our approach to the tale "Ikotobekibo sy Ifaramalemy." One of the main points emphasized by Tabet is the fact that the unequal provision of tools for men and women tends to reinforce gender stereotypes and male dominance. Hence, our previous analysis of Ny Eja's and Nirina Randriamamonjy's versions of the tale "Ikotobekibo sy Ifaramalemy" reinforces the fact that even if women have the opportunity to be empowered out of their vulnerability, their processes of empowerment may be bound to failure if the institutional terms that define gender power relations remain deeply rooted in the ideology of gender inequality and male dominance.

³⁴ "Kotobekibo... prit l'œuf magique et fit son vœu : Faites qu'il y ait un grand océan qui nous sépare de Trimobe. O, œuf magique, œuf unique. » Ny Eja. « Ifaramalemy et Ikotobekibo. » (Translation mine).

³⁵ « L'hypothèse d'une différence qualitative et quantitative des outils mis à la disposition de chacun des deux sexes ; plus exactement l'hypothèse d'un sous-équipement des femmes. » Paola Tabet. « Les mains, les outils, les armes. » *La construction sociale de l'inégalité des sexes. Des outils et des corps*. Paris, Montréal : Editions l'Harmattan, 1998. Pp. 16, 17. (Translation mine).

We can further explore the intricate relationship between vulnerability and empowerment in the tale of Tsikimena by Ny Eja. The tale relates the story of a Prince from the North, Andriambahoaka avy any Avaratra, who has lost his silver bracelet on his way to pay a visit to his friend, the Prince from the East, Andriambahoaka avy any Atsinanana. The Prince is particularly concerned about retrieving the bracelet as it is a gift from his father, the King, and it is also a symbol of his royalty. All his subjects and even the animals in the compound try to find the bracelet in vain. It is a red frog, Tsikimena, which happens to be a beautiful young girl who has been turned into a frog by a witch, who manages to retrieve the bracelet and bring it to the Prince. In fact, the bracelet enables Tsikimena to recover her human form but once she is human, she is unable to speak. She has to give the bracelet to the Prince and turn back into a frog in order to tell her story to the former. The Prince, who has fallen madly in love with her, decides to follow her because Tsikimena cannot follow him, having promised to her grandmother to come back and accept her lot, that is, to remain a frog forever. The tale ends with the Prince and his subjects being turned into frogs, which, in Ny Eja's words, accounts for the existence of many species of frogs in Madagascar. This etiological function fulfilled by the tale corresponds to what Ny Eja mentioned to be one of her primary objectives in telling tales, that is, to highlight the beauty of Madagascar's flora and fauna and sensitize people to preserve the environment and the natural resources of the island.³⁶ For instance, in the same tale, Ny Eja sheds light on the existence of eyeless fish, an endemic species to Madagascar by explaining their origin with the fact that these fish's eyes were removed and given to Tsikimena's grandmother so that she could identify the place where the bracelet was hidden.

In this tale, the female protagonist, Tsikimena, experiences a state of vulnerability both as a human and as a frog. As a frog, she is rendered vulnerable to other sea creatures because

³⁶ See Appendix 16.

of her size. This is mainly observed as she struggles to get the fish's eyes. Similarly, she is also exposed to the danger of being harmed by the other sea creatures which strive to take the bracelet from a zebu horn at the same time that she does. As a human, her vulnerability is signaled by her inability to speak, which puts her in the danger of losing the Prince, since she is unable to tell her story. She also runs the risk of being mistaken for the stealer of the bracelet. The problem is only solved when Tsikimena surrenders the bracelet and turns back into a frog, so that she can explain her story to the Prince. Stuck once again in her animal form, she is vulnerable to the negative reaction of Andriambahoaka from the North, who may reject her. However, the ending of the tale, although different from Tsikimena's expectations of recovering her human form for good, raises important questions regarding the gender power relations that govern the interaction between the two main characters. Indeed, the fact that Andriambahoaka decides to follow Tsikimena and is ultimately turned into a frog points to a form of uxrilocal residence which, as is reported by Anthropologists that work on Madagascar, is perceived negatively. In "Femmes et résidence familiale. Quelques notes sur les règles, les faits contemporains et l'idéologie en Imerina," French ethnologist Sophie Blanchy writes that "this residence pattern is suspected to call into question social values: either it impacts on the position and the image of the man in the couple and in terms of marital roles, or it is contrary to an ideological structure wholly dominated by the symbolic opposition between the masculine and the feminine."³⁷ Blanchy mainly builds on her informants' justifications of the reasons why men decide to follow their wives when she asserts that in Malagasy society, this residence pattern is thought to challenge the hierarchical gender power relations between men and

³⁷ « Ce mode de résidence est soupçonné de mettre en cause des valeurs sociales : soit elle affecte la position et l'image de l'homme dans le couple et dans les rôles conjugaux, soit elle est contraire à une structure idéologique d'ensemble dominée par l'opposition symbolique du masculin et du féminin. » Sophie Blanchy. « Femmes et résidence familiale. Quelques notes sur les règles, les faits contemporains et l'idéologie en Imerina. » *Revue de l'Institut de Civilisations-Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie Taloha* 13 (2000). Repenser 'la femme malgache': de nouvelles perspectives sur le genre à Madagascar. Rethinking 'la femme malgache': New view on Gender in Madagascar. P. 60. (Translation mine).

women. She goes on to say that unlike the case in the Comoros, whereby uxori-local residence “does not reverse at all gender power relations,”³⁸ in Madagascar,

saying that a man follows his wife is to describe a contingent fact but also to say that he is acting like a woman, that he is a woman or he reverses the order of things. This is observed in the Malagasy expressions *manara-bady*, ‘to follow the wife,’ *manara-behivavy*, ‘to follow the woman,’ and the husband is said to be ‘led by the woman by the strand of his hair,’ he is said to be *resim-bavy*, ‘a man beaten by his wife.’³⁹

This, in the same author’s words, explains the reasons why the practice of uxori-local residence in the Merina village that she investigated tends to be justified by economic reasons, that is, “man may choose to live at his wife’s place if the agricultural production [...] is better there.”⁴⁰ Referring to the examples of uxori-local residences reported by French ethnologist Claude Vogel, Blanchy singles out some of the reasons why a man decides to follow his wife: “if it is an endogamous marriage, it often refers to the husband’s return to his maternal lands on which he had dormant rights. If it is a marriage between a woman of noble descent and a commoner, most of the time, the husband follows his wife who has more lands to cultivate than him.”⁴¹ This leads Blanchy to the reflection that “disturbing the ordinary order of things, uxori-local residence seems to be somehow well accepted when it on the contrary generates a rebalancing of economic resources.”⁴² In other words, even if uxori-local residence is perceived

³⁸ « N’inverse en rien le rapport entre les genres. » Ibid. P. 57. (Translation mine).

³⁹ « Dire d’un homme qu’il suit sa conjointe (*vady*), c’est décrire un fait contingent, mais c’est aussi dire qu’il se conduit comme une femme, qu’il est une femme ou qu’il inverse l’ordre des choses. On en rend compte en malgache par les expressions *manara-bady*, ‘suivre la conjointe,’ *manara-behivavy*, ‘suivre l’épouse,’ et on dit du mari qu’il est *entin’ny vehivavy amin’ny sangany*, que ‘sa femme le conduit par la mèche de cheveux sur le front,’ on dit de lui qu’il est *lehilahy resim-bavy*, un homme vaincu par sa femme. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁴⁰ « L’homme peut choisir d’habiter chez sa femme si la production agricole ... est meilleure chez elle que chez lui. » Ibid. P. 53. (Translation mine).

⁴¹ « Quand l’union est endogame, il s’agit en fait souvent d’un retour du mari sur des terres maternelles sur lesquelles il avait des droits dormants. Quand il s’agit d’une union entre une noble et un roturier, le mari suit le plus souvent sa femme qui possède plus de terres à cultiver que lui. » Claude Vogel in Sophie Blanchy. Ibid. P. 55. (Translation mine).

⁴² « La résidence uxori-locale semble néanmoins bien acceptée quand elle opère au contraire un rééquilibrage des ressources économiques. » Ibid. P. 60. (Translation mine).

in a negative way in that the man who follows his wife is thought to be inferior, the fact that men somehow adopt this residence pattern for economic reasons is somehow tolerated. It should be noted, however, that Blanchy and other anthropologists and ethnologists like Jean Francois Baré and Claude Vogel point out that the practice of uxorilocality reflects the ways in which men enjoy the freedom of choosing the residence pattern that fits them best, a fact which, in Baré's words, expresses "the coexistence of affirmed kinship rules and the actual behaviour which interpret or distort those rules."⁴³ It means that although Malagasy societies are mostly structured as patri-virilocal, uxorilocality points to the fact that the actual practices of the people tends to destabilize this structure.

In light of these views on the practice of uxorilocal residence, we can go back to the tale under study and try to identify the implications of the ending chosen by Ny Eja. We can start by trying to understand Andriambahoaka's decision to follow Tsikimena. It is made obvious in the tale that this decision is motivated by love, rather than economic reasons. Andriambahoaka says, "I love you, I love you, red frog! I will follow you wherever you go!"⁴⁴ The Prince also says to his subjects, "goodbye to you my people, for I will follow this girl."⁴⁵ The fact that Andriambahoaka's decision to follow a girl and leave his kingdom behind because of love does not fall under any of the main justifications for uxorilocal residence mentioned earlier. Indeed, being a Prince with his own kingdom, he has no economic interest in following a young girl from another village. Besides, Tsikimena is also reported to come from a noble family. Actually, Andrimbahoaka's decision seems to reflect the characteristic of Ny Eja's tale as a romantic story which at the same time seeks to draw the readers' or listeners' attention to the value of Madagascar's natural resources. Indeed, as the ending words of the tale goes, the

⁴³ « La coexistence entre des règles affirmées relative à la parenté et les comportements réels qui interprètent ou détournent ces règles. » Jean François Baré in Sophie Blanchy. Ibid. P. 54. (Translation mine).

⁴⁴ « Tiako ianao! Tiako ianao ry sahonamena! Hanaraka anao aho n'aiza n'aiza misy anao! » Ny Eja. « Tsikimena. » (Translation mine).

⁴⁵ « Veloma ry vahoaka fa hanaraka ity zazavavy ity aho. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

Prince's decision to follow the girl accounts for the "existence of many kinds of frogs in Madagascar."⁴⁶ However, particular attention should be paid to Tsikimena's statement prior to this final decision. To the Prince's profession of love, Tsikimena replies, "if you truly love me, then you follow me."⁴⁷ It means that Tsikimena imposes her terms of consent for marriage and the Prince, being in a lower position, has to comply with these terms if he wants to marry her. Furthermore, it is significant that the couple is going to live among Tsikimena's maternal family. Indeed, the girl's only parent is her grandmother, Nenibe Rasoanony. This means that matrilineal descent is enhanced and the absence of further references to the girl's male kin contradicts Lévi-Strauss' statement that "matrilineal descent is the authority of the woman's father or brother extended to the brother in law's village."⁴⁸ It should be noted that the very reason why Tsikimena refused to follow Andriambahoaka in her human form is that her grandmother, before allowing her to return his bracelet to the Prince, told her to come back to her as a red frog. Hence, it is the grandmother's authority which is recognized rather than that of Tsikimena's absent father or brother. As can be read in the tale, the grandmother says to Tsikimena, "when your mission is completed, you will turn back into a frog! [...] Remember this, child, you were a frog yesterday and today and always you will be a frog."⁴⁹ In that sense, Tsikimena's reaction, her refusal to follow Andriambahoaka, reflects the strength of her loyalty to her kin despite her inmost desire to recover her human form. It can be said that the ending of Tsikimena's tale points to a system of matrilineal descent and matrilocal or uxorilocal residence. However, contrary to Lévi-Strauss' contention that in such systems "it is the brother or eldest son of the mother's family who holds and wields authority,"⁵⁰ it is the female protagonist's grandmother who does so. We may agree with Lévi-Strauss when he says that

⁴⁶ « Nahatonga ny karazan-tzahona maro eto Madagasikara. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁴⁷ « Raha tena tia ahy ianao dia manaraka ahy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁴⁸ Claude Lévi-Strauss. *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969. P. 116.

⁴⁹ « Rehefa vita ilay iraka izay asaina atao/Dia hiverina ho sahonamena ianao! ... Izao anefa anaka no tadidio,/ sahana ianao omaly sy anio./ Sahona ianao sahana hatrany. » Ny Eja. « Tsikimena. » (Translation mine).

⁵⁰ Claude Lévi-Strauss. *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969. P. 116.

“strictly maternal systems [...] are never a pure and simple inversion of [strictly paternal systems],”⁵¹ which means that gender differences and the hierarchical gender power relations prevail regardless of the patterns of kinship, descent and residence. Nevertheless, as Lévi-Strauss puts it, matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence patterns “are in conflict with the asymmetrical relationship between the sexes.”⁵² In other words, the existence of a matrilineal and matrilocal system somehow challenges the hierarchical gender power relations. The tale of Tsikimena, which has been previously analysed can be viewed as a good illustration of this.

It may further be argued that the marriage conditions between the newly formed couple may be designed in a way that enhances gender differences and enables the man to express his superiority to compensate for the fact that he has followed his wife. However, the tale does not refer to any such terms as it merely ends with the statement that the couple, having been turned into frogs along with the subjects that followed them, has formed a community of frogs that fill the Malagasy island. Thus, instead of investigating the inexistent terms that may help us to understand the gender power relations between the Prince and Tsikimena, we may shift our focus to the changes experienced by the female protagonist throughout the tale, which may be viewed as part of a process of empowerment. Tsikimena embodies characteristics which are commonly associated to both men and women. She is at the same time strong and vulnerable. In fact, despite her anxiety, she is determined to fulfil her mission and manages to do so. The most significant change that can be noticed is the fact that upon imposing her marriage condition to Andriambahoaka, she adopts an authoritative voice, which contrasts from her mild and frail nature in the events that precede her encounter with the Prince. In fact, while addressing her grandmother and receiving directives from her, she sounds like a naïve, obedient little girl. This can be illustrated by her tentative statement as she hands the fish’s eyes to her grandmother: “Gran... Grandmother, Andriambahoaka’s bracelet which is the symbol of his

⁵¹ Ibid. P. 117.

⁵² Ibid.

royalty was lost in the river, so I beg you to gain insight through divination with the help of these eyes of Zanahary fish so that we may know where to find this bracelet.”⁵³ When she is in front of Andriambahoaka, as a speechless young woman, she struggles to make herself understood by making gestures and smiling. When she becomes a frog again, she gradually gains confidence as she explains her story and notices the Prince’s infatuation with her. Reciting her grandmother’s recommendation, she boldly says, “I cannot be human anymore, I can only be human once. I have to go back to my grandmother because I am a frog and will always remain so.”⁵⁴ To explain the process of empowerment undergone by Tsikimena and its outcome, it may be fitting to refer to Nancy Hartsock’s reflection on Lévi Strauss’ formulation of the exchange of women. Hartsock writes that “social relations [...] take place between men, the only real actors, by means of women, or through the mediation of women, who are [...] merely the occasion of this relationship.”⁵⁵ In other words, women as commodities that are exchanged to form alliances and establish kin do not enjoy men’s privilege as the actors who take part in the exchange. Yet, if we consider Tsikimena’s tale, we can say that she takes an active part in the establishment of the alliance between herself and Andriambahoaka from the North. Not only does she undertake the necessary actions to encourage her encounter with Andriambahoaka,⁵⁶ but she is also the one who exposes her marriage condition to the Prince and chooses to remain loyal to her kin. It is important to note that she has the possibility to choose either to remain a frog or to follow Andriambahoaka and keep her human form. It is her ability to choose that marks her active participation in contracting the marriage with the Prince. Furthermore, her initial vulnerability does not prevent her from achieving her goal, rather, she

⁵³ « Ne... Nenibe Rasoanony ô, very tao anaty renirano ny vangovango izay ahafantarana ny Andriambahoaka fa taranaka Mpanjaka izy, ka miangavy anao mba hanao sikidy hahitana izay misy io vangovango io amin’ny alalan’ireto voamason-trondronjanahary ireto ! » Ny Eja. « Tsikimena. » (Translation mine).

⁵⁴ « Tsy afaka miverina ho olombelona intsony aho, indray mandeha ihany aho no olombelona. Tsy maintsy miverina any amin’ny renibeko aho avy eo, satria sahona aho, ary sahona mandrakizay. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁵⁵ Nancy Hartsock. *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited & Other Essays*. USA, UK: Westview Press, 1998. P. 180.

⁵⁶ Tsikimena, as the female protagonist, performs the important actions throughout the tale whereas the Prince merely waits for his subjects to help him get back his bracelet.

knows how to exploit her weakness and turn it into her strength when she struggles against the other sea creatures to retrieve the bracelet. Similarly, her animal form, which could be the main source of her vulnerability when she meets the Prince, becomes the source of her power which enables her to become an active participant and decision-maker in the establishment of their alliance. It should be noted that the storyteller may have chosen this ending unconsciously, her primary concern being the preservation of Madagascar's natural resources through etiological tales. However, the key role played by the female protagonist, which puts her in an important position in relation to the male character, sheds light on Tsikimena's strategic efforts to achieve her goal. This can be viewed as a successful process of empowerment as the female protagonist acquires confidence and the capacity to assert herself.

Moreover, the fact that such a story is told to or read by children and adults nowadays signals the possibility of integrating new values into the existing patterns of social structure in the way that American folklorist and anthropologist William R. Bascom describes the process of integration which involves "the acceptance or rejection [of a new item] [...] into the other cultural patterns."⁵⁷ Bascom explains that "as this process continues, each new invention is adapted gradually to the needs of the society and to the pre-existing culture patterns, which may themselves be modified somewhat to conform to the new invention."⁵⁸ In other words, the ideology conveyed in a tale, along with the innovations that it brings may be accepted or rejected by the community which receives it but they inevitably influence the pre-existing culture patterns in one way or another. In the case of Ny Eja's tale, the patterns of gender power relations implied by the institution of marriage and the residence rules for the male and female protagonists may gradually reshape society's perceptions of men who follow women or women who display bravery, confidence and authority while facing adversities. We can further refer to

⁵⁷ William R. Bascom. "Folklore and Anthropology." Ed. Alan Dundes. *The Study of Folklore*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1965. P. 30.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* P. 29.

Jack Zipes' reflections on the process through which a tale gains cultural significance. Drawing on the meme replication process outlined by Belgian cyberneticist Francis Heylighen, Zipes points out that "novelty, simplicity, coherence and utility form some of the criteria that might influence the recipient's selection, as well as intersubjective criteria that determine to what extent the meme will fit group conditions and expectations."⁵⁹ Thus, tales, like memes, which are relevant to the social contexts in which they are produced, and which present the characteristics that make it easier for the listeners or readers to assimilate them, are passed on from generation to generation. It can be said that Ny Eja's "Tsikimena" displays most of the previously mentioned criteria for cultural significance. Although the tale may sound like an ordinary love story, its utility and novelty lie in the primary function that the storyteller has given to it,⁶⁰ that is, to promote the protection of Madagascar's natural resources. The storyteller developed her plot in a way that sheds light on Madagascar's endemic species. The uncommon ending of the tale inevitably raises questions related to gender power relations. The listeners or readers' acceptance of this tale and the ideology that it directly or indirectly supports depends on the tale's characteristics and its capacity to respond to the needs and expectations of the people within the social context of its production.

The last tale under study, which illustrates the female protagonist's strategic actions to transcend her vulnerability and experience empowerment, is "Ny Sira" or "Salt" by Rakemba Raketamavo. The tale is that of an extremely beautiful young woman with extremely long and luscious hair but whose eyes are covered with shells, which somehow do not prevent her from seeing properly. The woman, named Felanosy, is particularly sensitive to music, hence, she covers her ears or runs away whenever music is playing. A group of jealous women decide to

⁵⁹ Jack Zipes. *Why Fairy Tales Stick: The Evolution and Relevance of a Genre*. New York, London: Routledge, 2006. P.8.

⁶⁰ Ny Eja says that « the tales that [she] tell[s] [...] talk about Madagascar's wealth [...] because [she] believes that education is a great responsibility and [she] use[s] her talent to contribute to that." ["Ny angano tantaraiko dia ... miresaka ny harenan'i Madagasikara ... satria heveriko fa adidy be ny fanabeazana, ary ny talentako dia entiko hamitana ny anjara biriky amin'izany."] Ny Eja. 27 July 2019. See Appendix 16. (Translation mine).

harm her by inviting her to sing and dance with them. Felanosy, unable to resist the temptation to join these women, ends up dancing and singing with them. This magically removes the shells from her eyes and make her tears flow abundantly as she has a better view of the world. The tears that fall from her cheeks crystalize and become the origins of salt that the villagers begin to use from that day on. These events anger Felanosy's father who plans on locking her in a cave. Foreseeing her father's intentions, Felanosy runs away and asks for the help of the people or the animals on her way. In the end, the only help that she gets is a counsel from God who advises her to ask for the whale's help. The latter accepts to hide Felanosy from her father if she agrees to marry him and sing for him every day. Felanosy agrees and the saltiness of the sea is said to result from the tears that fall from her cheeks as she sings for her husband. Apart from that, the lower part of her body has been turned into the lower part of a "fish," that is, a mermaid, in order to conceal her from her father. This also accounts for the origins of mermaids.

Like the female protagonists in our previous analyses, Felanosy experiences a state of vulnerability throughout the tale. Her vulnerability is primarily due to her difference, her being a woman with strange hair and whose eyes are covered by shells. She is vulnerable to the villagers, especially the jealous women, who plot to harm her by enticing her to sing and dance with them, knowing that she cannot stand these. However, she is also vulnerable as a woman whose father expects her to submit to his rules and seeks to deprive her of her freedom. There are two different ways to appreciate Felanosy's reactions in these circumstances which render her vulnerable. First, she is driven by her impulses when she yields to the temptation of dancing and singing with the jealous women. Even though this reaction is triggered by external agents, namely the jealous women, it has a positive effect in that it results in Felanosy' emancipation or liberation from the restrictions imposed by her father. Indeed, the covering of her eyes may be perceived as a metaphorical representation of her immaturity, which implies her dependence on her father and her submission to his authority. The removal of the shells literally opens

Felanosy's eyes and gives her a different view of the world. When she seeks to keep her newly-acquired freedom, she shows that she prefers her new condition to her previous state, when her vision was altered by the shells, and when her actions were limited, being under her father's control. Her desire to keep her freedom leads to the second characteristic of her reaction when faced with a situation in which she is vulnerable. In that sense, her reaction is no longer triggered by external agents because she becomes the agent who takes the action to keep her safe and to protect her freedom. The opening of Felanosy's eyes, which makes her aware of her desire to keep her freedom and prompts her to take action in this regard, can be perceived as a stage of consciousness raising which is part of the five steps of empowerment outlined by Zambian feminist Sara Longwe. The stage of consciousness raising corresponds to "the second level of empowerment whereby] women take the initiative when they are aware of and try to understand the underlying causes of their problems and start to identify the strategic actions."⁶¹ Nevertheless, Felanosy cannot act on her own because she has to ask for external help. This points to Lipman-Blumen's view about women's lack of access to valuable resources as the main source of gender inequality. Indeed, it is clearly shown in Rakemba's tale that the female protagonist is frail and helpless in the face of male authority. She desperately asks for the help of villagers and animals alike but gets no positive response. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the action that she takes to transcend her vulnerability results in her submission to another male authority, that of the husband. In fact, her marriage to the whale compels her to comply with the latter's terms, which not only consist in giving him personal satisfaction,⁶² but also giving up a part of herself, that is, her feet which have to be turned into a mermaid's tail. The ending of the tale suggests that Felanosy's journey towards empowerment is marked by

⁶¹ "Le deuxième niveau [d'empowerment] ; les femmes sont à l'initiative quand elles réalisent et tentent de comprendre les causes sous-jacentes à leurs problèmes et commencent à identifier les stratégies d'action. » Sara Longwe in Marie-Helene Bacqué and Carole Biewener. *L'empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*. Paris: Editions La Découverte, 2013. P. 69. (Translation mine).

⁶² The services provided by Felanosy consist in singing for the whale as well as fulfilling her role as its wife.

three stages: the consciousness raising stage, which corresponds to her awareness of the constraining authority of her father as well as her own potentials to enjoy a new life of freedom; the stage in which personal initiative is taken when Felanosy seeks to preserve her freedom; and the stage of compromise which enables her to escape from her father's intention to lock her up while making other concessions, that is, pledging allegiance to another male authority.

Reflecting on the implications of Felanosy's decision to marry the whale with particular focus on some aspects of the social organization within the tale in terms of kinship and marriage institution enables us to identify the successes and failures of her journey towards empowerment. First, the marriage to a whale, a sea creature, implies that Felanosy has chosen to renounce her rights in her father's land as well as her ties with her kin. The separation between the two realms, the land and the sea, is clearly demarcated. The fact that Felanosy herself becomes a sea creature indicates that she can no longer return to the land, which means that she can no longer prove her loyalty to her kin. Her loyalty now lies with her husband who benefits from her services. Interestingly, this situation contradicts the marriage terms that characterize Merina societies as described by Maurice Bloch in his explanation of the proceedings of a vodiondry in *Placing the Dead: Tombs, Ancestral Villages, and Kinship Organization in Madagascar*. Bloch writes that before accepting the vodiondry,

the bride's father asks for assurances about the treatment of his daughter if she is going to live with the groom's family. He will ask for her to be allowed to come back if she is unhappy [...] The groom is made to agree to help the members of the bride's family, if they need it, either financially or by working for them. He is told to look after his parents-in-law when they are old [...] Other requests may be made such as for the son-in-law to come and help if the bride's parents are making drainage or irrigation ditches, which is a particularly arduous task.⁶³

⁶³ Maurice Bloch. *Placing the Dead: Tombs, Ancestral Villages, and Kinship Organization in Madagascar*. London and New York: Seminar Press, 1971. P. 186.

In other words, marriage does not sever the bride's link with her family. The fact that the bride may go back to her father's village in case of an unhappy marriage indicates that she keeps her rights in that village. Moreover, the fact that the groom is expected to provide his services to his wife's family implies that the ties between the married woman and her family are reinforced. Mireille Rabenoro emphasizes this point when she describes the case of the people in Southeast Madagascar. She maintains that

on getting married a woman is never considered as leaving her family, but only as going to live in her husband's village on a temporary basis [...] women, who live away from their own relatives, are bound to return to their own father's family after divorce or death, and so remain virtual strangers all along the period of their life that they spend at their husband's village, where their social existence is defined only by their being the mother of their children.⁶⁴

This statement further shows that the woman who lives in her husband's village does not renounce her rights in her father's village. Going back to the case of Felanosy, we have already pointed out that the changes brought by her marriage to the whale prevent her from returning to her father's village. Being the one who desired to leave the village, she has deliberately renounced her rights. It is important to note that the marriage is contracted without the father's consent under circumstances which are contrary to the traditional practice of vodiondry, which is meant to establish the marriage terms in the interests of both parties. Felanosy's marriage to the whale, being the fruit of her own undertaking, lacks the guarantee of security provided by a marriage contracted between two groups which acknowledge and honour the bride's parents as the main decision-makers.⁶⁵ Felanosy's action challenges the principle which states that marriages are contracted between groups whereby men are the main

⁶⁴ Mireille Rabenoro. "From Solidarity to Empowerment: Functions of the 'Sisters and Mothers' organizations in Southeast Madagascar." *Writing African Women: Poetics and Politics of African Feminist Research Conference*, University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa, 12 – 22 January 2005.

⁶⁵ As the Malagasy saying goes, "marriage is only concluded with the parents' consent." [Ny fanambadiana no raikitra, teny ierana avy amin'ny ray aman-dreny] (Translation mine).

actors and women are merely the means through which alliances are formed. Like Tsikimena, Felanosy becomes an active agent who takes a significant part in the formation of the alliance. Insofar as she has the possibility to get what she wanted, that is, to keep her freedom from her father and to keep her eyes uncovered, it can be said that her journey has borne its fruits, despite the fact that she has to acknowledge the whale's authority. Furthermore, the etiological dimension of the tale, namely the explanation of the origin of the salinity of the sea through Felanosy's story, suggests that the female protagonist is given a prestigious status. Indeed, instead of being a silenced prisoner in a cave, she becomes known as the origin of a universal fact. In reality, the ending of the tale, Felanosy's new life in the sea, forms a loop which may generate another journey towards further changes. Nevertheless, her commitment to another male authority, the whale, cannot be overlooked and may even be perceived as another form of submission.

5.2. Vulnerability, Empowerment, and the Storyteller's Critical Representations of Gender Inequality

Our approach to the concept of empowerment in this section mainly relies on the feminist vision of empowerment as a “sociopolitical process which expresses the acquisition of self-consciousness, self-esteem, critical consciousness and the development of the individual capacities with collective commitment, mobilization and action for social transformation.”⁶⁶ In that sense, it departs from the notion of empowerment as an internal and subjective experience which touches upon the interpersonal dimensions of women's lives. Rather, it considers the social changes that may result from female empowerment. What mainly stand out from this

⁶⁶ « Processus sociopolitique, articulant l'acquisition d'une conscience de soi, d'une estime de soi, d'une conscience critique et le développement des capacités individuelles avec l'engagement, la mobilisation et l'action collective pour une transformation sociale. » Marie-Hélène Bacqué, Carole Biewener. *L'empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*. Paris : Editions La Découverte, 2013. P. 54. (Translation mine).

approach is women's development of a critical consciousness and the collective dimension of the actions taken to effect social transformation. Our analysis is based on the premise that the storytellers' awareness of issues related to gender inequality and their critical response to these issues are reflected in their tales. These tales are primarily intended to raise women's critical consciousness of their status and role in society and mobilize them for action to put an end to their oppression and to claim their rights. This is particularly the case of some of the tales written by storytellers like Ny Eja and Arikaomisa Randria who collaborate with non-governmental organizations and associations which promote women's rights and gender equality. Arikaomisa Randria, for instance, worked with ECPAT France Madagascar, a non-governmental organization which seeks to end the sexual exploitation of children and to promote children's rights, in 2018. The storyteller published several story books which deal with the issues that concern the organization, namely sexism, the ill-treatment and exploitation of girls, and by extension women, and broader gender-related issues which shed light on the female characters' resilience and courage. Two of the tales that he published are going to be analyzed in the present section: "Ifaravavy mahery fo" or "the courageous youngest daughter" and "Ikala Sorona" or "the sacrificed girl." As for Ny Eja, she wrote a specific tale for the ECES during their campaign for sensitizing the promotion of gender and the struggle against gender-based violence organized in public Malagasy primary schools. This tale, entitled "Raso" was inspired by the well-known Malagasy tale "Ranoro." Apart from that, Ny Eja wrote another tale, "Ingalingalivola," which was inspired by Dahle's version in *Anganon'ny Ntaolo*. In this tale, the storyteller highlights the collective dimension of empowerment by turning the rivalry between women portrayed by Dahle into solidarity. These two tales are going to be analysed with the previously mentioned tales by Arikaomisa Randria in order to investigate the successes and failures of female empowerment which springs from the storytellers' critical responses to the various forms of gender inequality. In other words, our analysis will identify the extent to

which the storytellers' discourses of gender equality may or may not inspire the social transformation that their tales are expected to bring. Vulnerability is still a key feature of the representation of the female characters' status and roles in these tales. What makes our approach different from the one in the previous section is the focus on the means by which these vulnerable women may be empowered, considering the fact that the storyteller him/herself has designed his/her tale for that purpose, as well as the extent to which their empowerment may or may not bring about social changes.

As was stated earlier, the tales by Arikaomisa Randria are part of a project which aims at ending the sexual exploitation of children and promoting children's rights. More specifically, the two tales under study, "Ikala Sorona" and "Ifaravavy mahery fo," denounce the sexist assumptions about women within the community in various situations. In both tales, the female characters' vulnerable conditions are highlighted. The first tale, "Ikala Sorona," relates the story of a couple who travels far away to gather food for the winter. They are travelling with their two children, a boy, Ikoto, who can already walk, and a girl, Ikala, who is a newborn baby. Once they have gathered a lot of food, they have to cross a river to go back to their home. When they are half-way home, however, a violent storm almost makes their boat sink. A voice from the water tells them to sacrifice one thing, otherwise the boat will sink. Reluctant to give away any of the goods, the couple decides to throw away their baby girl into the water, thinking that the boy would be more useful to them later. At the same time, the king of the village's son is seriously ill and a diviner seer indicates that the cure for his disease is only to be found near the river. When the king and his subjects go near the river, they find the baby girl and take her to the palace as none of her parents were nearby to claim her. The king's son is healed at once and the king decides to adopt Ikala, believing that she is the blessing that healed his son. He announces this decision in a public speech, which makes the girl's actual parents realize that their daughter was alive and living in the palace. The parents thus decide to tell the king that

Ikala is their daughter, expecting to live in the palace to take care of her. However, after meeting the couple, the king sees the truth about what Ikala's parents did to her in a dream. The parents admit it when the king tells them about his dream. The king sentences the parents to 3000 days of imprisonment and takes care of Ikoto with Ikala and his own son. The king raises the three children in the same way and the two boys are reported to let their sister play with them regardless of the nature of the games.

The main female character, Ikala's vulnerability can be observed throughout the tale. As a newborn baby, she is dependent on her parents for food and protection; as opposed to her brother, Ikoto, who has already acquired the capacity to walk. Ikala's vulnerability, which stems from her physical condition rather than from her being a girl, becomes gendered, that is, specific to her as a girl, when we consider her parents' sexist behaviour upon choosing her brother over her. As can be read in the tale, the parents "decided to sacrifice their daughter instead of the son because the latter may be able to help them and will be able to look for food by himself later on."⁶⁷ The parents' decision implies the prevalence of gender inequality based on biological differences, which is best illustrated in the sexual division of labour. We can refer to Paola Tabet's explanation of the alleged complementary aspect of the sexual division of labour, based on Murdock and Provost's concepts of "masculine advantage" and "feminine advantage"⁶⁸ in terms of sex-specific task assignments. This view holds that men are assigned activities away from the household because of their physical strength whereas women are tied to tasks performed within the compound due to the limitations imposed by pregnancy and infant care. In Arikaomisa Randria's tale, the parents' partiality towards their son reflects the assumption that men, who are independent and physically strong, contribute more to the family's

⁶⁷ « Nanapa-kevitra ... izy ireo fa ny zanany vavy no atao sorona noho ny lahy satria ity farany mety afaka hanampy azy ireo ary afaka hitady sakafo irery indray koa rehefa any aoriana any. » Arikaomisa Randria. *Ikala Sorona. La fille sacrifiée*. Madagascar : Editions Jeunes Malgaches, 2018. (Translation mine).

⁶⁸ « Avantage masculin » et « avantage féminin. » Paola Tabet. "Les mains, les outils, les armes." *La construction sociale de l'inégalité des sexes. Des outils et des corps*. Paris, Montréal : L'Harmattan, 1998. P. 13. (Translation mine).

subsistence than women, who are weaker and limited in their movement because of their biologically defined roles as mothers. This, however, is paradoxical, because the tasks assigned to women do not actually represent a feminine advantage. Tabet precisely shows in her article that contrary to the assumption that women's tasks are lighter due to their physical conditions, women are assigned painstaking tasks that require strength, endurance and patience, such as travelling for hours while carrying their babies on their back along with the food or preys that they have gathered or hunted. In that sense, she asserts that "the sexual division of labour is a structure of domination [...] which is reflected in [...] the duties and the prohibitions regarding the division of labour and family obligations, as well as the creation of a sociological masculine or feminine identity, of a gender identity of beings who are biologically male or female."⁶⁹ In other words, the division of labour based on sexual differences contributes to the essentialization of gender differences. Significantly, the fact that the children's mother in Arikaomisa Randria's tale travels with her husband is a good illustration of the paradoxical nature of the sexual division of labour. In that sense, it can be said that the tale reveals the absurdity of the general assumptions about women's physical weakness and the assignment of feminine roles to them based on their biological functions. Indeed, by accompanying her husband, this woman actively takes part in the gathering of food, which is expected to satisfy the primary needs of the family. If she was only expected to take care of the children, she could have stayed at home with them. The fact that she has come with her husband suggests that she must have contributed to the gathering of food in one way or another. Apart from that, her tasks can be perceived as more difficult because she is also expected to take care of the children. Indeed, one of the illustrations in the tale supports this view. The image shows the mother carrying the baby girl in her right arm while drawing the boy to her with the other arm, probably

⁶⁹ « La division du travail est une structure de domination ... [qui] se traduit dans ...les devoirs et les interdits relatifs à la division du travail et aux obligations familiales, ainsi que dans la création d'une identité sociologique masculine ou féminine, d'une *gender identity* d'êtres qui sont biologiquement hommes ou femmess. » Ibid. Pp. 23, 16. (Author's italics, translation mine).

trying to prevent him from going astray, in which case he would be lost or exposed to some danger. Behind them, the father is hiding their boat in a clump of shrubs.



Illustration by Max Razafindrainibe. From *Ikala Sorona*. By Arikaomisa Randria.

Female vulnerability in Arikaomisa Randria's tale "Ikala Sorona" can also be observed when the baby girl is found by the king. Unable to speak in order to explain her story, Ikala is bound to accept the fate that the king has chosen for her, even though it is a positive one. In fact, Ikala plays a passive role throughout the tale. As a baby, she is a passive recipient of the care or ill-treatment from the other characters. This raises important questions regarding the ways in which the female character, who is initially portrayed as a victim, experiences empowerment. Considering the storyteller's purpose in writing the tale under study might be enlightening. Indeed, raising public awareness of the absurdity of sexist behaviour and encouraging the public to treat boys and girls as equals⁷⁰ seem to be the main purposes of the

⁷⁰ In a note on the present tale, he says "God created all human beings as equals, no one is superior or inferior." [Noharian'Andriamanitra hitovy ny olombelona rehetra fa tsy misy ambony sy ambany]. Arikaomisa Randria. *Ikala Sorona. La fille sacrifiée*. Madagascar : Editions Jeunes Malgaches, 2018. (Translation mine).

storyteller. This somehow fails to consider the female character's empowerment on a personal level. Furthermore, it is significant that a male personality, the King, speaks on behalf of Ikala, the vulnerable female character in the tale. It is the King who makes Ikala's parents realize the absurdity of their sexist behaviour towards their daughter and condemns them for their action. When the father explains that they sacrificed Ikala because "she will not inherit the 'father's name' like a man,"⁷¹ the King severely reprovés him, saying, "Really! What carried you in their belly, a stone, a tree?"⁷² It is true that the King's statement expresses the need to acknowledge women's importance in their role as mothers. However, it may be perceived as a form of benevolent sexism in the sense that it casts women in their biological role characterized by the limitations imposed by pregnancy and infant care. It is probably the father's statement, especially the reference to the "father's name" or "anaran-drain," in Malagasy, which may help us to better appreciate the storyteller's critical response to gender inequality. According to Paul Ottino, the expression "anaran-drain" refers to a "technical principle of patrilineal kinship and inheritance of charges, reputation and responsibilities, which cannot be divorced from the inheritance of goods that provide access to ancestral lands."⁷³ Hence, the concept of "anaran-drain" does not merely refer to the fact of perpetuating the father's name, it involves the inheritance of the ancestral land and the responsibilities attached to it. Ottino goes on to say that "this obligation is greatest for the son, but in the absence of a son, it is equally imposed on daughters who, acting as the feminine representatives of their father, have no other choice than to reside in their paternal residential unit and oblige their husbands to reside there uxori-locally."⁷⁴ In the tale "Ikala sorona," the parents' preference for their son over their

⁷¹ « Tsy handimby ny anaran-drain tahaka ny lehilahy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁷² « Hanky va re ! ... Fa inona moa no nitondra anareo tany am-bohoka, vato sa hazo ? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁷³ « Un principe technique patrilineaire de filiation et de succession aux charges, aux honneurs et aux responsabilités, indissociable de l'héritage aux biens ouvrant accès aux terres ancestrales. » Paul Ottino. *Les champs de l'ancestralité à Madagascar : parenté, alliance et patrimoine*. Paris : Editions Karthala, 1998. P. 282. (Translation mine).

⁷⁴ « Cette obligation est maximale pour le fils mais, à défaut de fils, elle s'impose tout aussi fortement aux filles qui, agissant en leur qualité de représentantes féminines de leur père, n'ont guère d'autre choix que de résider

daughter reflects their sexist attitude based on the belief that they could expect more support and loyalty from their son. The king's reaction to the parents' misdeed expresses the storyteller's attempt to denounce sexist behaviour as a result of the internalization of gender inequality ideologies which are closely tied to social structures. The king openly condemns female oppression when he reprimands Ikala's parents for considering her as less valuable than commodities. He then advocates the importance of equal education for male and female children. This brings us back to the case of Ikala, the vulnerable female character who has been represented as a passive recipient of the results of the other characters' actions so far. Towards the end of the tale, she is reported to have benefitted from an equal education from the king. Her peers, that is, her brother Ikoto and the Prince, are also reported to have never displayed any discriminatory actions towards her because of her sex. As can be read in the tale, "[the children] used to go hunting, fishing and skipping rope together. Ikoto and the Prince never forbid Ikala to play with them because she is a woman. She was also the bravest among them."⁷⁵ This last sentence suggests that the equal treatment and education received by Ikala shaped her character and turned her into a brave girl. Nevertheless, it may not be enough to appreciate the extent to which she experiences empowerment on an individual level. Therefore, what Arikaomisa Randria's tale does is to raise public awareness of gender inequality, which mainly takes the form of female oppression. While the tale aims to put an end to discrimination against women, it somehow adheres to what American feminist and social activist bell hooks refers to as the "male supremacist ideology [which] encourages women to believe [they] are valueless and obtain value only by relating to or bonding with men."⁷⁶ Indeed, the portrait of the female

dans leurs unités résidentielle paternelles et de forcer leurs maris à y résider uxori-localement. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁷⁵ « Miaraka mandeha mihaza, manjono ary manao dihim-bazaha. Tsy mba noraran'Ikoto na ny zanaky ny Mpanjaka hilalao miaraka amin'izy ireo izany Ikala satria vehivavy. Sady izy rahateo koa no sahisahy indrindra amin'izy ireo. » Arikaomisa Randria. *Ikala Sorona. La fille sacrifiée*. Madagascar : Editions Jeunes Malgaches, 2018. (Translation mine).

⁷⁶ bell hooks. « Sisterhood: Political Solidarity between Women. » *Feminist review* N. 23 (1986). P. 127.

character, Ikala, in Arikaomisa Randria's tale is predominantly that of a passive, helpless victim whose survival and success depend on the powerful men who take care of her. It is true that Ikala is merely a baby in the tale, hence, one cannot expect significant actions on her part. However, the dominant male figures in the tale who either oppress or provide support for Ikala tend to confirm the "male supremacist ideology" as is articulated by bell hooks. In that sense, the tale somehow teaches young girls that men, who are the main holders of power in society, can oppress or protect them, hence, in order to get favours, they may seek to be related to men who are willing to protect them.

The second tale, "Ifaravavy mahery fo," conveys similar messages to the first one in that it denounces female oppression and the discrimination against women. The difference between the two tales lies in the stress that the storyteller puts on the female protagonist's courage and strength. Indeed, Arikaomisa Randria points to Ifaravavy's "strength and willingness"⁷⁷ which made her succeed at the tale. The tale starts with the presentation of a wicked couple with only daughters who are mistreated by their parents because the latter believe that "women cannot perform many things, compared to men."⁷⁸ Ironically, the parents mistreat their daughters by forcing them to work hard and provide for the household's needs and if they failed to do so, the parents deliver corporal punishment. One of the daughters ends up dead due to the ill-treatment, namely the absence of medical care when she is ill. The others are sold to old rich men except for the youngest daughter, Ifaravavy, whom nobody wants to buy because "she is the ugliest."⁷⁹ Later on, the parents find a way to take advantage of her by enrolling her to a contest between the women in the village to become the Prince's wife. Interestingly, it is specified that the King's son is looking for a strong and courageous woman and the three tests that are organized for the contestants are designed to evaluate those qualities. Thanks to some

⁷⁷ « Hery sy fahazotoana. » Arikaomisa Randria. *Ifaravavy Mahery Fo. Ifaravavy la courageuse*. Madagascar: Editions Jeunes Malgaches, 2018. (Translation mine).

⁷⁸ « Ny vehivavy tsy dia mahavita zavatra be loatra noho ny lehilahy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁷⁹ « [Izy] no ratsy tarehy indrindra. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

magical intervention, Ifaravavy succeeds in the three tests, even though she is prone to discouragement every time. She thus becomes the wife of the King's son and delivers her other sisters who have been sold by taking them to live with her in the palace.

In this tale, the storyteller's critical response to female oppression can be observed in his attempt to challenge stereotypes about women's roles and identities by making several references to the common situations lived by women and creating a web of paradoxical responses in each situation. For instance, he alludes to the assumption that women are weaker and less productive than men, yet, the women in his tale are made to perform male tasks and are put under the pressure to meet male standards. At the same time, though, these women inevitably find themselves in a state of vulnerability because they have no other choice than to accept their lot. This can be illustrated by the cases of the daughter who died due to the absence of health care when she was sick and the daughters who were sold to other men. The first case points to the discrimination against women in terms of health care. The storyteller makes a clear reference to this when he reports the parents' reaction to the daughter's illness and death. They say, "it reduces the number of mouths to feed."⁸⁰ The tale highlights the daughter's vulnerability as it is reported that she silently endures her parents' ill-treatment, which leads to her death. The case of the daughters who have been sold aims at criticizing the commodification of women as a form of oppression whereby, in Luce Irigaray's terms, women "lend themselves to alienation in consumption, and to exchanges in which they do not participate [...] without any compensation in kind going to them."⁸¹ In that sense and in accordance with our reflections on the representations of female vulnerability, the daughters who are sold for marriage in Arikaomisa Randria's tale are cast into the roles of helpless victims who cannot make decisions about nor take control of their lives. Hence, in his attempt to expose and criticize the various

⁸⁰ « Mampihena ny vava homana. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁸¹ Luce Irigaray. « Women on the Market. » *This Sex Which is Not One.* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1985. P. 172.

situations in which women are subject to discrimination and oppression, the storyteller inevitably paints his female characters as helpless victims.

It is probably the female protagonist, Ifaravavy's case which best illustrates this point. The storyteller generates more contradictions when he claims that it is her courage and conscience which make Ifaravavy succeed. Yet, before participating in each of the three tests designed by the King, she is easily discouraged and is on the verge of giving up until a voice, which is "the conscience" referred to by the storyteller, "tells [her] not to be discouraged because it [the voice] will help her."⁸² What actually happens is a magical resolution of Ifaravavy's problems, which makes her succeed in the three tests, namely finding precious stones in a cave, filling a small basket with gold and winning the King's ancestors' consent to become the Prince's wife by removing a spear from a rock without being killed.

It should be noted that the three tests are principally meant to appreciate the female protagonist's resilience. Hence, instead of writing a tale which sheds light on the traditional expectations for a wife, such as the capacity to perform house chores or the ability to bear children, the storyteller provides an interesting alternative which suggests that women may possess qualities which are stereotypically associated with men. The major contradiction in Arikaomisa Randria's second tale can be discerned in the similarities between the connotations of some of the preconditions of the tests imposed by the King and the aspects of the commodification of women articulated by Luce Irigaray in "Women on the Market." While introducing the contest organized by the King to find a bride for his son, the storyteller suggests that beauty is not a *sine qua non* of a woman's eligibility for marriage. He writes that the King's son "is looking for a young woman who is both strong and courageous."⁸³ Paradoxically, although the storyteller claims to put the emphasis on courage and strength as the essential

⁸² "Aza kivy fa hanampy anao aho." Arikaomisa Randria. *Ifaravavy Mahery Fo. Ifaravavy la courageuse*. Madagascar: Editions Jeunes Malgaches, 2018. (Translation mine).

⁸³ « Mitady tovovavy matanjaka sady be herim-po izy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

qualities required in the future bride, he cannot help making reference to the importance of beauty as a female attribute. At the beginning of the tale, he says that “because she was the ugliest [daughter of her parents], no one wanted to buy Ifaravavy [for marriage].”⁸⁴ As she is on the process of becoming the Prince’s wife, the storyteller takes care to mention that she has become less ugly because her parents took care of her by giving her enough food and nicer clothes. This calls to mind Luce Irigaray’s statement about the commodification of women. Irigaray explains that “woman’s price is not determined by the properties of her body – although her body constitutes the material support of that price.”⁸⁵ In other words, it is not the physical qualities, namely the beauty, of women which essentially determines their value on the market, although it somehow matters. Irigaray points out that “woman has value on the market by virtue of one single quality: that of being a product of man’s labor.”⁸⁶ It means that women’s value can only be appreciated in relation to men’s needs. In the tale under study, Ifaravavy’s worth is precisely determined by her ability to fulfil the conditions established by the King, which require greater effort than looking beautiful. Thus, it can be said that the preconditions expressed in the tests support the idea that the female protagonist only acquires value in relation to the male characters’ needs.

Furthermore, the three tests may be read as a metaphorical representation of a woman’s married life which is characterized by hardship. We can have an insight into the responsibilities that weigh on a married woman if we consider the Malagasy expression “women are men’s hills.”⁸⁷ In *A coeur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*, Malanjaona Rakotomalala explains the meaning of this expression, saying that “wives, as ‘men’s hills,’ are the ones that society sees at first: if a family progresses or regresses, it is thanks to or because of the daughter-

⁸⁴ ‘Ifaravavy no ratsy tarehy indrindra tamin’ireo zanany, ka tsy mba nisy nety nivity. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁸⁵ Luce Irigaray. « Women on the Market. » *This Sex Which is Not One.* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1985. P. 175.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ « Ny vehivavy tendrombohitr’olona. » (Translation mine).

in-law.”⁸⁸ In other words, the married woman is compared to a hill which stands out within the community and she is expected to do her best for the family’s sake, to make her family thrive. In Arikaomisa Randria’s tale, the future wife is precisely expected to make significant efforts in order to prove her worth. In fact, the tests mainly consist in impressing the King as the future father-in-law, which points to the Malagasy proverb “if one loves one’s spouse, one must take care of the in-laws.”⁸⁹ It means that, as the Malagasy practice goes, one is not merely marrying an individual but the whole family in the sense that one has to mind the relationships with the other members of the family. The fact that the ancestors’ consent regarding the choice of the future wife for the King’s son is given particular importance as the last but most important test further reinforces this point.

Finally, if we go back to the significant effort that the future wife is expected to make in order to be chosen by the King, we can reflect on some marriage customs in Merina society depending on the individuals’ social class. In *Tantara Ny Andriana eto Madagasikara*, R.P. Callet writes that

The marriage custom from Andriamasinavalona upwards is: a man does not go and fetch a wife, for he sends people to fetch her. And from Andriamasinavalona downwards, anybody goes and fetches a wife with the petitioners [...] If they are getting married, a noble’s relatives do not go and fetch their spouses; and if a hova is getting married, he goes and fetches his wife at her parents’ place.⁹⁰

It means that a man of noble descent does not bother himself to complete the various steps of a marriage proposal, namely the vodiondry, as he can merely send representatives. It

⁸⁸ « Epouses, elles sont les ‘collines des gens,’ car ce sont elles que la société voit les premières : si une famille progresse ou régresse, c’est grâce ou à cause des brus. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. (Translation mine).

⁸⁹ « Raha tiana ny vady dia ny rafozana no tsinjovi-mandeha. » (Translation mine).

⁹⁰ « Ary ny fomba ny fanambadiana hatr’amy ny Andriamasinavalona no miakatra: dia tsy mandeha haka vady ralehilahy, fa ny olona no irih’ny haka azy. Ary hatr’amy ny Andriamasinavalona no midina, izao rehetra izao dia mandeha maka vady miaraka amy ny mpaka izy ... Ny Havanandriana, raha hanambady tsy mba mandeha izy mitarika ny vady ny; ary raha hova no manambady dia mandeha izy mitarika ny vady ny maka azy amy raiamandreny ny.” R.P. Callet. *Tantara Ny Andriana eto Madagasikara*. Antananarivo: Imprimerie officielle, 1908. P. 334. (Translation mine).

can be said that Arikaomisa Randria's characterization of the Prince in his tale reflects the prevalence of this custom as the Prince, through his father, merely sends his servants to fetch Ifaravavy so that she takes part in the last test. In that sense, the fact that it is the woman, Ifaravavy, who actively strives to conquer the man in the tale under study can be read as a representation of women's position and roles in a class-based society rather than the storyteller's intention to highlight women's remarkable qualities, namely their resilience and courage. In fact, the storyteller's claim that it is Ifaravavy's courage and conscience which make her succeed betrays him because his female protagonist is obviously characterized as a weak and vulnerable victim who has no other choice than to accept what the other characters decide for her and whose success results from magic rather than her own effort. Thus, it can be concluded that despite the storyteller's awareness of gender inequality and his attempt to advocate women's rights, he fails to fully empower his female protagonist who remains dependent on external help for her survival and success.

While Arikaomisa Randria's tales seek to bring about changes with regard to the perceptions of women and the roles that they play in everyday situations, Ny Eja's tales focus more on the importance of female solidarity as a means to put an end to female oppression and to empower women. The two tales that we are going to study, "Ingalingalivola" and "Raso," reflect different aspects of female vulnerability in specific social contexts and the various ways in which the female characters manage to transcend their state of vulnerability in order to achieve their goals or improve their situations. The first tale relates the story of a beautiful young woman, Ingalingalivola, who is spoiled by her two brothers as the latter are ready to do anything for her. The storyteller got her inspiration for this tale from Dahle's *Anganon'ny Ntaolo* whereby the female protagonist, Ingalingalivola, shares the same characteristics as the heroine in her tale. In both tales, Ingalingalivola meets a poor and ugly woman who lives in a cave and urges the heroine to find some extraordinary jewels and beauty accessories which are

supposed to enhance her beauty. Each time, it is Ingalingalivola's brothers who volunteer to acquire these objects by killing some dangerous creatures in order to take their teeth, scales or tails, which are to become their sister's jewels. The difference between the two tales lies in the fact that in Dahle's version, when the ugly woman, named Ikalampisimba, urges Ingalingalivola to possess these jewels, she is mainly motivated by jealousy and it can be inferred from her assignments that she intends to isolate Ingalingalivola, thus making her vulnerable. Indeed, all of Ikalampisimba's assignments put Ingalingalivola's brothers' lives in danger and even lead to their death as the final assignment consists in meeting the son of Zanahary⁹¹ in order to ask him to become their sister's husband. The brothers die because Zanahary, upon sending his servants to meet them, orders the latter to kill the guests if they are male. However, the conflict is resolved when Ingalingalivola decides to go and meet Zanahary and his son in order to check on her brothers who have never come back. In fact, when Zanahary learns that the guest is female this time, he does not order his servants to kill her. His son eventually wishes to marry Ingalingalivola because she is so beautiful but Ingalingalivola orders Zanahary to resuscitate her brothers before accepting to marry his son. In Ny Eja's version, the ugly woman, Ikalasimba's assignments are not motivated by jealousy or spite. In fact, the two characters, Ingalingalivola and Ikalasimba, entertain friendly relations from the beginning of the tale. Ingalingalivola feels pity and empathy for Ikalasimba who "only has an arm and a leg, and

⁹¹ Zanahary, according to Malagasy ancestral beliefs, refers to "a higher divinity, creator of the world." ["Une divinite superieure, creatrice du monde."] from Delphine Burguet. "Le jeune guérisseur et la sainte kalanoro." *Journal des anthropologues*, 128 – 129 (2012). P.p. 189 – 208. (Translation mine).

Another author, Rian'aina Razafimandimby Rabarihoela, explores the various understandings of the concept of Zanahary in "Les entités sacrées vues à travers le filtre des mouvements revivalistes et pentecôtistes." Her statement "the Malagasy believe in the existence of a god unrelated to the Christianity introduced by the British missionaries in the 19th century" goes in line with the meaning of the concept articulated by Burguet ["Les malgaches croient en l'existence d'un dieu, indépendamment du christianisme introduit par les missionnaires britanniques au 19e siècle."] from Rian'aina Razafimandimby Rabarihoela. « Les entités sacrées vues à travers le filtre des mouvements revivalistes et pentecôtistes. » *Etudes Océan Indien* 51 – 52 (2014), put online on 14 October 2015, accessed on 06 November 2019. URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1534>. (Translation mine).

whose face is deformed.”⁹² Ikalasimba does envy Ingalingalivola’s beauty but not in an unhealthy way that leads her to plot her downfall. Her envy is merely expressed in her “dream and desire to be like Ingalingalivola.”⁹³ When Ikalasimba encourages Ingalingalivola to acquire extraordinary jewels for herself, it is meant to make her look even more beautiful in order to deserve to become the wife of the son of Zanahary. And this, according to Ikalasimba, will enable Ingalingalivola to “ask [Zanahary] to restore her initial shape.”⁹⁴ It is significant that the ugly woman is named “Ikalampisimba” in Dahle’s version, which means the one who destroys or breaks, as is shown by the use of the prefix “mp-” before “simba” which means destroyed or broken. In Ny Eja’s version, however, the woman’s name has been changed into “Ikalasimba” or the one who is broken, which not only prevents her from being characterized as the foil with ill intentions but also sheds light on her vulnerability. As can be read in the tale, she is precisely the victim of the actual foil, the “soulless witch, who is well-known for destroying [others], and who deformed [her] face.”⁹⁵ In reality, what Ny Eja does in this tale is to give a purpose to the otherwise irrational assignments of Ikalasimba in order to convey ideals of female solidarity. Ny Eja herself says about her tale “Ingalingalivola” that it reflects the ways in which “women strive to help their friends.”⁹⁶ The ending of the tale further enhances this point since Ingalingalivola does not merely order Zanahary to resurrect her brothers and father, she also asks him to “give a beautiful shape to Ikalasimba.”⁹⁷

In her second tale, “Raso,” which was specifically designed for the campaign organized by the ECES in Malagasy primary schools to promote gender equality and put an end to gender-based violence, Ny Eja further tackles common female issues by opting for female solidarity as

⁹² “Tsy manana tanana afa tsy iray, sy tongotra iray... ary ny tarehiny koa dia samba aokizany.” Ny Eja. “Ingalingalivola.” (Translation mine).

⁹³ “Nanonofy sy nametsovetso ny mba hitovy amin’Ingalingalivola.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹⁴ “Miangavy azy hamerina ny endriko.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹⁵ “Nosomparan-dRatsisifanahy, mpamosavy malaza mpisimba ny tarehiko.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹⁶ « Ny vehivavy dia miezaka be hanampiana ny namany. » Ny Eja. 27 July 2019. See Appendix 16. (Translation mine).

⁹⁷ “Mba omeo endrika soa Ikalasimba.” Ny Eja. “Ingalingalivola.” (Translation mine).

the ultimate solution. It is interesting, however, that the actual solution comes from a male authority, Zanahary Rafahagagana (the Zanahary who performs magic⁹⁸), who is expected to give all women liberation.⁹⁹ Ny Eja's tale initially reproduces the plot in Renel's version. A beautiful young woman, Ranoro, who lives in water catches the attention of a Prince as she sits on a rock. The Prince, Andriambodilova, tries to catch her but fails several times until he traps her by seizing her with a strand of her hair. He then asks her to marry him but she imposes her marriage condition: that Andriambodilova avoids pronouncing the word "salt" in the house. Andriambodilova observes this taboo until his anger causes him to insult his wife by calling her "a child of salt"¹⁰⁰ because she has failed to follow his instructions regarding a housework. In fact, Andriambodilova requested Ranoro to tie the calf to prevent it from drinking its mother's milk since he would only milk the cow upon his return from the field. Ranoro did tie the calf but with its own tail, which enabled it to get free easily and feed on the cow's milk. Upon hearing Andriambodilova's "offensive words,"¹⁰¹ Ranoro goes back to the waters and never comes back. Using her creativity to highlight women's issues, Ny Eja continues the tale and provides an alternative ending. Hence, Andriambodilova seeks the advice of Zanahary Rafahagagana in order to make Ranoro come back. Zanahary Rafahagagana reprimands him for his actions. The solution that he provides concerns Ranoro's daughter, Rasoana, who is instructed to meet him when she grows up in order to get "the magical object"¹⁰² that will free women. On her way to Zanahary Rafahagagana's place, Rasoana meets other women who are victims of various forms of oppression: one is subject to domestic violence, another almost commits suicide because she can no longer stand the verbal abuse that she constantly endures, and the last one is a minor whose father is forcing her to marry an old man for financial

⁹⁸ The storyteller seems to combine in this personality the characteristics of a diviner healer and a creator deity.

⁹⁹ "Fanafahana ireo vehivavy." Ny Eja. "Rasoana." (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁰ "Zana-tsira." Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰¹ "Teny maharary." Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰² "Fanafahana mahagaga." Ibid. (Translation mine).

purposes. The four women, who are all called Rasoa, finally meet Zanahary Rafahagagana and ask for the magical object that will free them. Zanahary Rafahagagana says that it is their “rights which have been given to [them] a long time ago but which [they] haven’t claimed”¹⁰³ which will free them. He thus lets them know the rights¹⁰⁴ that are relevant to the issues that they are facing. He then gives them silver, a “magical jewel,”¹⁰⁵ which is supposed to remind them of their rights.

Before further analyzing the changes brought by Ny Eja to the tale in order to address women’s issues, it may be useful to refer to other scholars’ reflections on the myth of Ranoro, namely Paul Ottino’s comments in *L’étrangère intime. Essai d’anthropologie de la civilisation de l’ancien Madagascar. Tome II*. It should be noted that the cause of the separation of Ranoro and Andriambodilova varies in the different versions of the tale. In one version,¹⁰⁶ Ranoro entrusts her child to its father, Andriambodilova, while she is fetching water at the spring. The child’s cry for its mother becomes so intolerable for Andriambodilova that he ends up calling it “child of salt,” which eventually makes Ranoro leave forever. In another version,¹⁰⁷ the conflict between the couple arises when Ranoro, after giving birth to her baby, playfully refuses to eat the rice that Andriambodilova gives her. Andriambodilova gets angry and calls her “child of salt” because she is wasting his time as he has to take care of the hungry animals on the farm. Ranoro leaves, taking with her the baby, the baskets and a spindle. Ottino refers to the importance of the rites of worship that many people still perform for Ranoro nowadays. He says

¹⁰³ “Ny zo izay nomena anareo hatry ny ela no tsy ampiharinareo.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁴ Ny Eja writes that « women have the right to be protected from physical violence, from verbal abuse, they have the right to live freely and to be respected, they have the right to enjoy their childhood and not to be forced to get married, they have the right to study first and not hastily have children because the country needs intelligent citizens.” [Manana zo ... mba tsy hovanoina, zo arovana amin’ny herisetra/Manana zo tsy esoesoina sy hanaovana teny maharary, zo hiaina ankalalahana, zo hohajaina/Manana zo ... hiaina ny fahazazany fa tsy terena hanambady, manana zo hianatra aloha fa tsy maika hanana anaka, satria mila olona mahay ny firenena]. Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁵ “Firavaka mahagaga.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁶ From *Tantara ny Andriana eto Madagasikara*. R.P. Callet. *Tantara Ny Andriana eto Madagasikara*. Antananarivo: Imprimerie officielle, 1908. P. 309.

¹⁰⁷ Jean Pierre Domenichini’s translation of the version from the *Tantara*. From Paul Ottino. *L’Etrangere intime Tome II*. P. 542.

that “the rites of worship for Ranoro, performed on the banks of the river Mamba in the north-western suburbs of Tananarive, and on the opposite side as well, some twenty five kilometers away in the east of the capital, near the lake Andranoro [...] continue to attract a large crowd.”¹⁰⁸ It means that Ranoro has become a legendary personality that has marked Malagasy traditions. Indeed, the cult of Ranoro is also associated to the performance of circumcision rituals, namely the fetching of the sacred water that is used to soothe the wound.¹⁰⁹ Ottino also comments on the uxorilocal residence pattern that is highlighted in the union between Ranoro and Andriambodilova in the version from the *Tantara*. In fact, Ranoro first refuses to marry Andriambodilova and follow him when she says, “I am not leaving this place, because I am not allowed to leave my land: but if you want me for wife, well, come here on the western bank.”¹¹⁰ Commenting on Andriambodilova’s acceptance to adopt this uxorilocal residence pattern, Ottino writes that “the uxorilocal residence of Andriambodilova can [...] be explained by the status of Ranoro, which is superior to his. A daughter of a noble man, a royal Princess, Ranoro is also ‘taranak’andriana’: a descendant of nobles, or more precisely a Princess from a royal house ... and naturally, she behaves as a ‘mpaka’: the husband taker.”¹¹¹ In other words, Ranoro’s imposition of uxorilocal residence to Andriambodilova can be justified by her superior status as a noble, compared to Andriambodilova who is a Vazimba.¹¹² Interestingly, Ottino also refers to the traditional description of Ranoro as an “andriana resy” or a “defeated

¹⁰⁸ « Les rites du culte de Ranoro, accomplis sur les bords de la rivière Mamba dans la banlieue nord-ouest de Tananarive, et aussi à l’opposé, à quelques vingt-cinq kilomètres à l’est de la capitale, auprès du lac Andranoro ... continuent à attirer des foules considérables. » Paul Ottino. *L’étrangère intime. Essai d’anthropologie de la civilisation de l’ancien Madagascar. Tome II*. Paris: Editions des Archives contemporaines, 1986. P. 540. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁹ See Ibid. Pp. 547 – 550.

¹¹⁰ « Moi, je ne partirai pas d’ici, car je n’ai pas le droit d’abandonner ma terre ; mais si vous me voulez pour femme, eh bien ! venez ici sur la rive de l’Ouest. » Ibid. P. 544. (Translation mine).

¹¹¹ « La résidence uxorilocale d’Andriambodilova s’explique... par le statut de Ranoro, supérieur au sien. Zanak’andriana, Princesse royale, Ranoro est en outre taranak’andriana : ‘descendante d’andriana,’ ou plus précisément Princesse d’une maison royale ... et tout naturellement se conduit en mpaka : en ‘preneuse d’époux.’ » Ibid. Pp. 546, 547. (Translation mine).

¹¹² The Vazimba are known as the first inhabitants of Madagascar.

noble.”¹¹³ The portrait of Ranoro that stands out in these studies is that of a notable female personality who displays feminine traits and embodies feminine roles but at the same time constitutes a significant representation of female power. Compared to the Ranoro in Ny Eja’s tale, the Ranoro in the well-known myths is more than a victim of male oppression. Nevertheless, it is precisely the victimization of Ranoro and the representation of her vulnerability which justifies Ny Eja’s purpose in choosing her alternative ending as part of a project which is meant to defend women’s rights. Indeed, it is the position of the female characters as helpless victims of male oppression that enables Ny Eja to suggest female solidarity as one of the available solutions that are expected to ensure women’s liberation. It can be said that the storyteller develops a form of solidarity march when she makes the female victims walk together towards the alleged source of their liberation, each victim joining the group along the way. Furthermore, the tale is marked by a chorus that the children/listeners are invited to repeat at the time specified by the storyteller. The chorus goes, “Raso! /Yes! /You are not meant to endure [suffering] in your household /You have the right to live peacefully and not to be oppressed! /Listen to this song, it is very interesting.”¹¹⁴ The rhythm and the rhyme patterns of these lines in Malagasy make it easy for the listeners to remember them. The fact that the listeners are involved in the development of the story through the repetition of these lines which convey the message that the storyteller wants to transmit enhances the nature of the tale as a tool to sensitize people on women’s rights.¹¹⁵ However, if we recall bell hooks’ criticism of bourgeois women’s liberationist ideology which framed the concept of Sisterhood based on “shared victimization,”¹¹⁶ we can agree with her statement that “[t]his directly reflects

¹¹³ « Une andriana ‘vaincue.’ » Paul Ottino. *L'étrangère intime. Essai d'anthropologie de la civilisation de l'ancien Madagascar. Tome II.* Paris : Editions des archives contemporaines, 1986. PP. 547. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁴ « Raso! o/Ahoana a/Ny tokenrano ho aho Raso! tsy natao hiafiana a/Manana zo hiadana ianao fa tsy ampijaliana !/ Ity misy hira kely, henoy tena mahaliana an.” Ny Eja. “Raso!” (Translation mine).

¹¹⁵ The storyteller herself notes at the end of the tale that « The song is repeated several times so that it can be remembered.” [“Natao miverimberina ilay hira mba hotadidy”]. Ny Eja. “Raso!” (Translation mine).

¹¹⁶ bell hooks. « Sisterhood: Political Solidarity between Women. » *Feminist review* N. 23 (1986). P. 128.

male supremacist thinking [since] sexist ideology teaches women to be a victim.”¹¹⁷ In the case of the tales under study, this statement means that the representation of the female characters as victims supports ideologies related to the subjugation of women. In that sense, it is essential to analyze the intersection of female vulnerability, male supremacist ideology and the storyteller’s ideals of female liberation in the two tales. Hence, our study seeks to identify the extent to which the storyteller’s ideals of female liberation, and by extension empowerment, conform to or clash with the conception of female victimization rooted in male supremacist thinking. In other words, considering the storyteller’s overt support for feminist causes which highlight the importance of female solidarity, our main concern is to determine the extent to which the ideals of female solidarity conveyed in her tales may or may not constitute effective means to empower women.

For that purpose, it is probably fitting to start with a reflection on the views presented by political anthropologist Andrea Cornwall in her article “Myths to Live By? Female Solidarity and Female Autonomy Reconsidered.”¹¹⁸ Commenting on the inconsistencies of ideologies of female solidarity and female autonomy advocated in development projects with the lived experiences of women in Ado Odo, Nigeria, Andrea Cornwall affirms that “sustaining the myths that women are inherently cooperative and selfless [...] fails to acknowledge the gendered power relations that women themselves may experience as more of an obstacle to the exercise of their agency and pursuit of well-being than relations with their husbands or lovers.”¹¹⁹ In other words, she is of the view that feminist ideals of female solidarity tend to overlook the complex relationships between women, especially when studies of gender relations mainly focus on the relationship between men and women, thus making it easier to attribute the cause of gender inequality to patriarchy. Cornwall particularly sheds light on the

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Andrea Cornwall. “Myths to Live By? Female Solidarity and Female Autonomy Reconsidered.” *Development and Change* vol. 38 N.1 (2007).

¹¹⁹ Ibid. P. 164.

relations of conflict between women in Ado Odo, which reveal that the interactions between women, even within female associations, cannot be merely perceived as inherent cooperation. Citing the views of Colette Solomon, Director of the Women on Farms organization in Stellenbosch, Cornwall says that female associations, such as “savings and credit groups may often be spaces simply for transactions rather than for anything resembling solidarity.”¹²⁰ She further refers to “Ado women’s narratives on intrahousehold relations,”¹²¹ that is, tensions between co-wives or the husband’s relatives, which may lead a woman to leave the household and return to her natal village. Cornwall writes that “what drives women to leave [...] is more often that trouble with other women in the compound makes life so unbearable.”¹²² The trouble referred to here, according to the same author, is an “ill-defined but menacing ‘trouble,’”¹²³ which often involves the use of poisonous plants, thus accounting for “stories of how friends of friends had mysteriously swelled until limbs were so heavy or bodies so wasted they could scarcely move, upon which they would flee for their natal compounds in fear of their lives.”¹²⁴ Cornwall’s views point to the complexity of the relations between women, namely relations of conflict, which may not always be rooted in competition for male services or attentions. However, she does not completely reject the usefulness of ideals of female solidarity and female autonomy. What she underlines is the need to “qualify” these ideals so that they can make sense in women’s lives. In her words,

solidarity can be recast as something that can be actively constructed through identification with a shared concern about issues of social and gender injustice: it comes, thus, to reside in ‘interest’- that which people find in common, which binds them together – rather than in a presumed commonality of interests.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Ibid. P. 157.

¹²¹ Ibid. P. 159.

¹²² Ibid. P. 160.

¹²³ Ibid. P. 159.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid. P. 165.

In other words, female solidarity presupposes women's awareness of and identification with a cause that seeks women's interests. This calls to mind bell hooks' statement about the concept of shared victimization or common oppression, which, in her view, fails to consider the differences between women. Bell hooks says that

the vision of Sisterhood evoked by women's liberationists was based on the idea of common oppression [...] [which] was a false and corrupt platform disguising and mystifying the true nature of women's varied and complex social reality. Women are divided by sexist attitudes, racism, class privilege, and a host of other prejudices. Sustained woman bonding can occur only when these divisions are confronted and the necessary steps are taken to eliminate them.¹²⁶

It means that it is essential to take into account the differing and complex realities of women. In light of these views, we can go back to the two tales by Ny Eja, which mainly represent female bonding as one of the means to address women's needs and concerns. It can be said that it is useful to conduct a thorough analysis of the relations between the female characters with particular focus on the differences that might divide them instead of taking for granted the ideology of female solidarity. Apart from that, in order to identify the extent to which female solidarity can be perceived as an effective way to empower the female characters in the tales, we may also consider the means that are available to these women as well as the roles that they are assigned in relation to the tales' objectives. This approach also requires the study of the relationship between the male and female characters, which goes in line with Cornwall's statement about the contingencies of women's lived experience. Drawing on American political scientist Rosalind Petchesky and British anthropologist Marilyn Strathern, she says that "as members of families, associations and compounds, women's claims and entitlements are constantly reconfigured in relation to these others."¹²⁷ It means that women's

¹²⁶ bell hooks. « Sisterhood: Political Solidarity between Women. » *Feminist review* N. 23 (1986). P. 127.

¹²⁷ Andrea Cornwall. Myths to Live By? Female Solidarity and Female Autonomy Reconsidered." *Development and Change* vol. 38 N.1 (2007). P. 158.

identifications and life experiences depend on their relationship with the other individuals that interact with them as well as their position in relation to them. Hence, even though the main focus of our analysis is on the relationships between the female characters, we cannot neglect their relations with the male characters.

In the tale “Ingalingalivola,” there is a striking discrepancy between the two female characters: Ingalingalivola, a beautiful young girl who comes from a well-off family and who is surrounded by brothers who love and spoil her stands in contrast to Ikalasimba who is not only ugly and crippled but also poor and isolated as no member of her family is present to care about her. The main source of division in Dahle’s version is the beauty issue, which causes Ikalampisimba to be jealous of Ingalingalivola. In Ny Eja’s version, it is what connects the two women as Ingalingalivola feels empathy for Ikalasimba and is ready to do her best to restore her beauty. The only means that are made available to Ingalingalivola to help Ikalasimba, however, tend to reinforce patriarchal ideologies. Indeed, the fact that it is her brothers who hunt and kill the dangerous creatures that possess the extraordinary jewels points to the traditional division of labour and the public/private dichotomy which supports the assumption that men are physically stronger than women, hence, dangerous activities outside the home such as hunting are reserved for them. Women, on the other hand, are merely expected to look beautiful and impress men in order to catch a husband. This is exactly the aim of Ingalingalivola when she insists on possessing the extraordinary jewels; she wants to catch the attention of the son of Zanahary. The storyteller underlines in her tale: “one needs a great number of uncommon jewels and ornaments in order to deserve to become the wife of the son of Zanahary”¹²⁸ Moreover, what is perceived as female power in this tale, that is, Ingalingalivola’s capacity to make her brothers yield to her whims and her success in imposing her marriage conditions before Zanahary, actually corresponds to what Jean Lipman-Blumen qualifies as

¹²⁸ « Mila firavaka maro sy haingo maro tsy fahita firy, vao mendrika ho vadin’ny zanaky ny Zanahary » Ny Eja. “Ingalingalivola.” (Translation mine).

“micromanipulation.”¹²⁹ As was already stated earlier, this author claims that gender power relations are regulated by each gender’s control over valuable resources in society. In her view, while men control the “body politic,” that is, “society’s major institutions, as well as the social, economic, and political resources that flow from these institutional structures [...], women’s personal resources are designed for a smaller stage – in interpersonal relationships with lovers, husbands, or children, and within the confines of domestic life, not public institutions.”¹³⁰ The role played by Ingalingalivola in Ny Eja’s tale precisely illustrates this point as the heroine merely intervenes on an interpersonal level while exercising her influence on her brothers and by extension her father, and while negotiating with Zanahary.

Furthermore, confirming Lipman-Blumen’s statement, Ingalingalivola also takes advantage of her “beauty and sexuality [...] [as] women’s traditional resources for success”¹³¹ in order to make her will prevail in front of Zanahary. However, while Lipman-Blumen contends that women use assets such as beauty and sexuality “to compete for success not with men, but with one another for men, and indirectly through men,”¹³² the situation is different in Ny Eja’s tale. Indeed, Ingalingalivola uses her female assets to help another woman. The notion of competition between the two women is totally absent throughout the tale. The cooperation between Ikalasimba and Ingalingalivola revolves around the latter’s mission for the former, which, as was stated earlier, gives a purpose to the suspicious nature of the assignments. Considering Nancy Hartsock’s statement about differences between women and the concept of domination in the women’s liberation movement, we can interpret Ikalasimba’s assignments as a creative way that connects women who could be otherwise divided by their differences. Drawing on Marx’s “vision of human interaction in communism,”¹³³ Hartsock contends that

¹²⁹ See Jean Lipman-Blumen. *Gender Roles and Power*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1984. Pp. 30, 31.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.* Pp. 6, 21.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* P. 21.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ Nancy Hartsock. *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited & Other Essays*. USA, UK: Westview Press, 1998. P. 67.

“differences among people create the possibilities for complementarity and creativity [...] [and] that power or agency in a world composed of different beings need not take the form of domination.”¹³⁴ In other words, differences between women may generate cooperation and creativity in a way that prevents power from taking the form of domination. In the tale under study, Ingalingalivola, who is precisely in a more advantageous position compared to Ikalasimba, uses her power to help her friend. On the other side, Ikalasimba’s less advantageous position enables her to develop her creativity in order to identify the most appropriate ways to solve her problems. Nevertheless, both women may be perceived as joining their forces to countervail the power of the witch who harmed Ikalasimba when they seek the solution to restore the latter’s initial shape. Bearing in mind the belief¹³⁵ that the majority of witches in Malagasy society are female and agreeing with Ny Eja who affirms that “[some of the relationships between women in her tales] are characterized by depreciation such as a mother-in-law oppressing her daughter-in-law”¹³⁶ or witches cursing other women,¹³⁷ we can say that the concept of female rivalry has not completely disappeared despite the promotion of female solidarity in the tale under study.

Finally, it should be noted that the tale “Ingalingalivola” also tackles issues related to the establishment of the alliance between the female protagonist and the son of Zanahary. As can be read in the tale, it is Ingalingalivola’s kin, her brothers and her father, who willingly go to Zanahary in order to ask the latter’s son to marry Ingalingalivola. While the groom is normally expected to fetch the bride-to-be at her parents’ house, the marriage role reversal in this situation calls to mind the previously quoted statement of R.P. Callet in the *Tantara* regarding men of noble descent who, by the virtue of their higher status, do not bother to fetch

¹³⁴ Ibid. P. 68.

¹³⁵ See Part II. Chapter 3.

¹³⁶ « Samy vehivavy no mifanambany ... ohatra rafozana mampijaly vinanto. » Ny Eja. 27 July 2019. See Appendix 16. (Translation mine).

¹³⁷ This is the case in her tale *Rafitiamadio* which features a woman who has been cursed by a wicked witch.

the woman at her parents' place but merely send representatives. The case of Ingalingalivola is different, however, because it is not the man who enjoys a higher social status who sends representatives to fetch the woman; on the contrary, it is the woman who sends her representatives to ask him to marry her. The simplest interpretation of this action may be that the woman has to make the man notice her because he would have never noticed her otherwise. Another explanation may be that Ingalingalivola's desire to be married to the son of Zanahary can be perceived as a whim which her father and brothers seek to satisfy out of love. In that sense, Ingalingalivola exerts her influence on the male members of her family as a form of micromanipulation and they fulfil her wishes without even questioning the absurdity of her requests. Indeed, the absurdity lies in the fact that Ingalingalivola's request can be viewed as a violation of the social norm whereby it is the man who is expected to ask the woman to marry him and not the other way around. The tale seems to support this idea because the three men are punished for their violation of the norm by being killed by Zanahary's servants. The order is reestablished when Ingalingalivola shows herself and impresses the son of Zanahary with her beauty, making him wish to marry her and thus request his father, Zanahary, to perform the necessary action to fulfil his wish, that is, to ask for the woman's hand in marriage. In the tale, when the son of Zanahary says, "Dad, I will marry this [woman] because she is worthy and so beautiful,"¹³⁸ Zanahary instantly addresses Ingalingalivola, saying, "my son loves you so do you accept to become his wife?"¹³⁹ Here, it can be said that although Zanahary does not perform a long-winded speech, he somehow behaves as his son's spokesperson, like the orator who represents the groom and his family during vodiondry ceremonies. To conclude, the representation of female power in the tale "Ingalingalivola" mainly corresponds to a form of micromanipulation throughout the female protagonist's interactions with the male characters.

¹³⁸ « Alaiko ho vady io ry Dada fa mendrika sady tsara tarehy aokizany. » from Ny Eja. "Ingalingalivola." (Translation mine).

¹³⁹ « Tian'ny zanako ianao ka manaiky ho vadiny ve?" Ibid. (Translation mine).

The latter, on the other side, are the institutionalized holders of power, being the physically stronger sex who are entrusted the dangerous tasks outside the domestic field, the holders of speech, and the holders of the supreme authority to kill or revive people and to undo the harmful actions of a witch as can be illustrated by Zannahary's divine powers. As for the concept of female solidarity in this context, it may correspond to Jean Lipman-Blumen's contention that "women acting collectively and individually have demonstrated their ability to offset, and sometimes to undermine, the institutional control established by men."¹⁴⁰ Indeed, we may suggest that to some extent the friendly cooperation between Ingalingalivola and Ikalasimba, as well as the role played by Ingalingalivola, constitute significant steps towards female empowerment with regard to women's interpersonal relationships with men. Still, it must be acknowledged that the main objective of these women is not to offset men's power; rather, their actions tend to correspond to what Lipman-Blumen describes as women's vicarious experience of power through the powerful men in their lives.¹⁴¹ Although the two female characters in the tale do not compete to gain services or advantages from the other male characters, their primary concern about their physical appearance reflects their actual objective: to impress men in order to gain a "married" status. Actually, the representation of women's relationship to power in this tale brings to mind Lipman-Blumen's reflections on the reasons why women do not attempt to overthrow male power. This author writes that

the less powerful group – in this case females – allows itself to be dominated as long as it believes that some combination of the following conditions exists: the dominant group is more knowledgeable and capable. It has the interest of the weaker group at heart. The dominant group controls valuable and otherwise unattainable resources. The disparity in resources is so overwhelming that effort to change – even by physical force – are doomed to failure. The weaker group, if it behaves properly, can vicariously share the dominant group's power.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Jean Lipman-Blumen. *Gender Roles and Power*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1984. P. 27.

¹⁴¹ See *Ibid.* P. 9.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

Most of these conditions are met in the case of the female characters in “Ingalingalivola.” The female protagonist’s relationship with her brothers is probably the best illustration of her acknowledgement of men’s power and physical strength which enables them to fight in the outside world in order to acquire valuable resources, and her dependence on them in order to get what she wants. Knowing that her brothers care about her and she can rely upon them to satisfy her every whim, she does not seek more than what she believes to be the benefits of relating to the powerful men in her life. Apart from that, the representation of the Zanahary’s ultimate power also explains the fact that the female protagonist merely tries to influence him to use his power for her cause and not to acquire the power for herself. Hence, while Ny Eja’s tale “Ingalingalivola” foregrounds female solidarity as a desirable means to empower women, the latter remain stuck in their institutionalized roles. The concept of female solidarity developed by the storyteller does empower women to bring about the desired changes in their personal lives. However, insofar as the desired changes conform to the social expectations for women, which stand at the heart of their commodification and subordination, it can be said that the process of empowerment fails to have significant impacts on social institutions. Indeed, as Nancy Hartsock points out, “political change is a process of transforming not only ourselves but also our most basic assumptions about humanity and our sense of human possibility,”¹⁴³ which suggests that changes that occur on a personal level are not enough to put an end to issues related to gender inequality. The same author argues, however, that “the change we seek requires transforming the meanings of both power and difference not once but many times,”¹⁴⁴ which points to the fact that women’s efforts and actions to bring about change “can only be evaluated historically.”¹⁴⁵ This enables us to consider Ny Eja’s tale from another perspective

¹⁴³ Nancy Hartsock. *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited & Other Essays*. USA, UK: Westview Press, 1998. P. 70.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

which acknowledges the tale's limitations in engendering political change but also considers its representation of female solidarity as part of a process of transformation whose results can only be appreciated in the course of time. In fact, it can be suggested that the emphasis that the storyteller puts on the friendly cooperation between the two female characters may have a significant impact on the listeners'/readers' reception of the tale. The striking contrast between the hostile relationship between the two women in Dahle's version and their friendly cooperation in Ny Eja's will probably influence the listeners'/readers' reception of ideologies about female solidarity.¹⁴⁶

In the tale "Rasoà," the representation of female solidarity takes a more political tone as the female characters are brought together to defend women's cause and condemn some of the frequent sources of their oppression. While female vulnerability in "Ingalingalivola" is not related to male oppression, in "Rasoà," men are portrayed as the main perpetrators of various forms of violence against women, and ironically, the solution that is expected to liberate women comes from a man. It is true that the female characters in this tale join their forces in an attempt to put an end to the oppression of women by the powerful men in their lives. However, in order to achieve their goal, they need the support of a male authority who informs them of their rights – which means that they did not know them¹⁴⁷ – and instructs them to claim their rights. In fact, the tale fulfils three essential functions: denouncing certain men's oppression of women, raising the latter's awareness of their rights to live in better conditions, and promoting women's activism against male oppression. The first function fulfilled by Ny Eja's tale clearly marks the difference between her own version and the myths of Ranoro from the aforementioned sources.

¹⁴⁶ A thorough analysis of the listeners/readers' responses will be conducted in the last chapter of this study.

¹⁴⁷ It is made clear in the tale: the man, Rafahagagana, who is also the Zanahary, says « the reason why I summoned you is that I should inform you of women's RIGHTS/ What are they, ZANAHARY? The RIGHTS which have been given to you a long time ago but which you haven't claimed." ["Ny antony niantsoako anareo hankaty amiko dia satria tokony ampahafantariko anareo ny ZOn'ny vehivavy./ Inona izany ry ZANAHARY? Ny ZO izay nomena anareo efa hatry ny ela no tsy ampiharinareo e!"] from the tale "Rasoà" by Ny Eja. (Author's emphasis, translation mine).

As was stated earlier, while the original myths of Ranoro highlight some interesting representations of female power, the tale of Ranoro written by Ny Eja focuses on female vulnerability as a potential source of empowerment. In fact, Ny Eja interprets Andriambodilova's violation of Ranoro's taboo as a form of violence against women. She qualifies Andriambodilova's behaviour as a form of "violence through offensive words."¹⁴⁸ Ranoro's reaction emphasizes her portrait as a victim of the male protagonist's offensive words. As can be read in the tale, "once she heard the offensive words by Andriambodilova, Ranoro was sad because Andriambodilova violated her taboo [...] Ranoro remained silent and ran back to the water, leaving her children and her husband Andriambodilova."¹⁴⁹ Adopting this perception of Ranoro as a victim also means acknowledging her vulnerability even though the fact that she leaves her husband and children implies that she exerts her right to be free. In fact, if we compare the silent reaction of Ranoro in Ny Eja's version and the confident statements of the female protagonist in the one from the *Tantara*, translated by Jean Pierre Domenichini and analyzed by Ottino, we can suggest that Ny Eja's Ranoro reacts as a submissive victim who is unable to defend herself in front of the man who oppresses her. It is fitting to quote the argument between the couple in Ottino's notes in order to appreciate the contrast between the characterizations of Ranoro:

Ranoro said: "Go and follow your oxen, but don't you dare quarrel with me," and Ranoro, they say, was very angry [...] Andriambodilova said: "Is it my words about the salt in the house that you cannot tolerate, Madam?"

- Yes, Sir, said Ranoro.
- If it is only that which you cannot stand, said the husband, I apologize because I have made a mistake indeed; so forgive me.
- No, said Ranoro, for we have come to the situation described by the proverb "one food in the canoe no longer knows the way back home"; and I would no longer know

¹⁴⁸ « Herisetra amin'ny teny maharary. » Ny Eja. « Raso. » (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁹ « Vao naheno ilay teny maharary nataon'Andriambodilova i Ranoro dia nalahelo satria nanota fady azy Andriambodilova ... Nangina Ranoro ary lasa nihazakazaka niverina tany anaty rano ka nilaozany ireo zanany sy Andriambodilova vadiny. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

how to stay, for if I stayed, Sir, I would be ashamed, so goodbye Sir, for we are leaving.”¹⁵⁰

In this excerpt, it can be sensed from Ranoro’s replies that she is confident and self-assertive. Her reaction to Andriambodilova’s violation of the taboo appears as a harsh punishment for his mistake and her refusal to negotiate or to accept his apology signals her superior position. Ny Eja’s Ranoro, on the other hand, is emotive and submissive as instead of rebuking Andriambodilova, she walks away in silence. This point is further supported by the representations of the other female victims in Ny Eja’s tale, who, instead of challenging their male oppressors, walk away and seek the solution from another male figure. In fact, the latter fulfils the second function of the tale, that is, raising the female victims’ awareness of their rights to have a better life. The consciousness raising process in Ny Eja’s tale actually corresponds to one of the empowerment approaches articulated by social activist Srilatha Batliwala in South Asia. Bacqué and Biewener explain the basic tenets of this approach in the following words:

Women’s lack of power is tackled in a global way and in its complexity: it is accounted for by patriarchal ideology and practices and by socioeconomic inequalities. Education is considered as central. It is defined as a learning process which enables women to be aware of their personal worth, social and gender inequalities, to have access to knowledge and to get qualification. The strategy is centred on the collective organisation of women in order to get access to resources and to deal with the sources of subordination.¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ « Ranoro dit : ‘Allez donc suivre vos bœufs, mais ne vous permettez pas de me quereller,’ et Ranoro était, dit-on, très en colère ... Andriambodilova dit : ‘serait-ce, Madame, que vous n’accepteriez pas celle de mes paroles qui parlaient du ‘sel dans la maison?’ – oui, Monsieur, dit Ranoro. – S’il n’y a vraiment que cela que vous ne supportez pas dit le mari, je vous prie de m’en excuser car j’ai effectivement commis une faute ; aussi, pardonnez-moi. – Non, dit Ranoro, car nous en sommes à la situation que décrit le proverbe : ‘Un pied dans la pirogue, ne sait plus le chemin du retour’ ; et je ne saurai plus rester, car si je restais, Monsieur, j’aurais honte, Adieu donc, Monsieur, puisque nous partons. » Paul Ottino. *L’Etrangère intime Tome II*. Paris : Editions des archives contemporaines, 1986. P. 544, 545. (Translation mine).

¹⁵¹ « Le manque de pouvoir des femmes est appréhendé de façon globale et dans sa complexité : il est expliqué par l’idéologie et les pratiques patriarcales et par les inégalités socioéconomiques. L’éducation est considérée comme centrale. Elle est définie comme un processus d’apprentissage qui permet aux femmes de prendre

In other words, this approach addresses female issues through consciousness raising and the development of female organizations. These are expected to empower women by making them aware of their potentials as well as the main sources of their subordination and to help them get access to the valuable resources in society. The strategies used to “liberate” women in Ny Eja’s tale bear striking similarities to these principles. Indeed, patriarchal ideology and practices such as men perpetrating various forms of violence against women, thanks to their privileged social and economic statuses are denounced as the main sources of women’s oppression in the tale. Women are encouraged to react by claiming their rights to improve their conditions and education is championed as one of the means through which women could reach this goal. This can be illustrated by the case of the young woman who is forced by her father to marry an old man for money. Zanahary Rafahagagana informs this young woman that “[she] has the right to enjoy her childhood and not to be forced into marriage, she has the right to study first and not hastily bear children, because the country needs intelligent people.”¹⁵² This statement implies the importance of education as a means to empower women since it will not only give them professional qualifications and enable them to enter the professional world but it will also enable them to be aware of their worth. The fact that the female victims in the tale get together in order to find the solution to their oppression corresponds to the creation of a women’s group, referred to as the sangha in the Indian context, which, in Bacqué and Biewener’s terms “gives women a space that enables them to share their experiences, to create and entertain solidarity.”¹⁵³ This form of female solidarity may certainly be perceived as an

conscience de leur valeur personnelle, des inégalités sociales et de genre, d’accéder à la connaissance et de se qualifier. La stratégie est centrée sur l’organisation collective des femmes pour accéder aux ressources et lutter contre les sources de la subordination. » Marie-Hélène Bacqué, Carole Biewener. *L’empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*. Paris : Editions La Découverte, 2013. P. 66. (Translation mine).

¹⁵² « Manana ZO Rakalakely hiaina ny fahazazany fa tsy terena hanambady, manana zo hianatra aloha fa tsy maika ny hanana anaka, satria mila olona mahay ny firenena. » Ny Eja. « Rasoà. » (Author’s emphasis, translation mine).

¹⁵³ « Donne aux femmes un espace pour partager leurs expériences, créer et entretenir la solidarité. » Marie-Hélène Bacqué, Carole Biewener. *L’empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*. Paris : Editions La Découverte, 2013. P. 66. (Translation mine).

idealized notion of female bonding which fails to take into account the differences between the lived experiences of these women and merely serves the purposes of development agencies which, in Cornwall's words, build on "assumptions of women's inherent co-operativeness with each other and the belief that if only they were to recognize their collective interests and oppression by men, they would be able to mobilize as women to seek greater social justice."¹⁵⁴ It is this idealized notion of female solidarity, however, that enables the storyteller to fulfil the third function of her tale, that is, to encourage women to react by claiming their rights and putting an end to male oppression. Indeed, it is true that the actual solution comes from the male character Zanahary Rafahagagana who informs them of their rights and encourages them to act on them. However, it would have been impossible to identify and address the various issues faced by the women in the tale if they had not assembled and engaged in the collective march towards the alleged source of their liberation. It means that like the sangha, which is meant to enable women to share their experiences and develop solidarity, the gathering of the female victims in Ny Eja's tale somehow constitutes an essential means to identify women's needs, if not to actually empower them.

Finally, the solution provided by the male character, Zanahary Rafahagagana, deserves closer attention. As was stated earlier, he informs the four women of their rights and gives them a silver jewel to help them remember their rights. Ny Eja ends her tale by saying that "[the women] went home, happy, and no longer accepted to be oppressed since they carried the silver that Zanahary Rafahagagana gave them."¹⁵⁵ She also provides the following note which explains the choice of silver as a reminder of women's rights: "silver has been chosen as the gift that Zanahary gave to the [four] Rasoa because it is a jewel that people often wear, and we

¹⁵⁴ Andrea Cornwall. "Myths to Live By? Female Solidarity and Female Autonomy Reconsidered." *Development and Change* vol. 38 N.1 (2007). P. 150.

¹⁵⁵ « Dia nody falifaly ry zareo ka tsy nety ampijaliana intsony fa nentiny teny an-tanana ilay vatofotsy nomen'ny ZANAHARY RAFAHAGAGANA azy hahatsiarovany fa manana ZO izy. » Ny Eja. « Rasoa. » (Author's emphasis; translation mine).

take it that as long as you are a woman, who wears jewels, you will remember the RIGHT that Zanahary Mahagaga gave to the [four] Rasoa.”¹⁵⁶ This statement suggests that silver, as a metal that is more accessible to the majority of people compared to gold, which is more expensive, can be a good reminder of women’s rights since the mere fact that women wear a silver jewel reminds them of their rights in various situations in their everyday lives. In his article, “Zatovo qui n’a pas été créé par Dieu. Un conte sakalava traduit et commenté,” French anthropologist and film director Jacques Lombard points to the differing meanings associated to gold and silver. He writes that “the concept volamena (gold) refers to everything that involves royal power, whereas the concept volafotsy (silver) refers to the practices of a diviner healer [...] [who] intervene[s] at all moments in daily life.”¹⁵⁷ This implies that while gold is reserved for a select group of people, silver can be accessible to the majority. Hence, in the tale under study, it can be said that the choice of silver as a token of women’s rights drives home the storyteller’s objective to sensitize women to claim their rights in their daily lives.

Nevertheless, the fact that the male authority that champions women’s rights in Ny Eja’s tale represents Malagasy ancestral beliefs¹⁵⁸ compels us to reconsider the representations of women in Malagasy myths in relation to the storyteller’s characterization of the women in her tale and her visionary project to free them from male oppression. We can recall Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo’s exploration of the representations of women in Malagasy myths in *La femme*

¹⁵⁶ « Natao hoe volafotsy no fanomezana nomen’ny Zanahary ireo Rasoà satria firavaka tena isaloran’ny olona ny volafotsy, ka noraisina iny fa raha mbola vehivavy ianao, miravaka, dia mitadidy ilay ZO nomen’i Zanahary Mahagaga ireo Rasoà.” Ny Eja. « Rasoà. » (Author’s emphasis; translation mine).

¹⁵⁷ « Le concept volamena désigne tout ce qui concerne le pouvoir royal, alors que le concept volafotsy désigne la pratique du devin-guérisseur ... qui intervi[ent] à tous les moments de la vie quotidienne. » Jacques Lombard. « *Zatovo* qui n’a pas été créé par Dieu. Un conte sakalava traduit et commenté. » *ASEMI* vol. 7 2-3 (1976). Pp. 196, 208). (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁸ As was stated earlier, the personality Zanahary Rafahagagana may refer to both a creator deity and a diviner healer, and in either case, it represents the Malagasy’s ancestral beliefs in a god whose conception is different from the image of the Christian God.

malgache en Imerina au début du XXIe siècle. Reflecting on some of the myths that involve notable female figures, including Ranoro, this author points to the perception of women as “the significant hero[ines] that brought civilization which is associated to the practice of ody (charms), that is, the foundation of traditional religion.”¹⁵⁹ She goes on to say that “it is wom[en] who intervene either as the holders of civilization or its protectors.”¹⁶⁰ In the tales or myths that she studies, Andrianjafitrimo highlights the important role played by women upon introducing the cultivation of rice, which is not only a Malagasy staple food, but also a sacred product valued by great Malagasy sovereigns like Andrianampoinimerina.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, building on Paul Ottino’s and Claude Allibert’s arguments about the ways in which Malagasy tales reflect the shift from matrilineality to patrilineality and patrilocality, the same author concludes that “tales, legends and myths [...] convey the intentions, the defenses and the wishes of women no matter what their status was in the past.”¹⁶² In that sense, they may not always reflect the lived experiences of women and, as Jacqueline Ravelomanana puts it, “rather reflect an ideology than a real fact.”¹⁶³ Still, Ravelomanana also contends that “[tales] impose the thought and idea that they express. Tales become and are ‘the customs,’ ‘the tradition.’”¹⁶⁴ The rites of worship of Ranoro referred to earlier illustrate this point in that the cult of this notable

¹⁵⁹ “Le héros civilisateur majeur auquel est associé la pratique des ody (charmes), c’est-à-dire le support de la religion traditionnelle. » Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo. *La femme malgache en Imerina au début du XXIe siècle*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2003. P. 27. (Translation mine).

¹⁶⁰ « C’est la femme qui intervient soit comme détentrice de la civilisation, soit comme protectrice de cette dernière. » Ibid. P. 28. (Translation mine).

¹⁶¹ In *L’étrangère intime. Essai d’anthropologie de la civilisation de l’ancien Madagascar. Tome II*, Paul Ottino reports that «[Andrianampoinimerina] never ceased to insist on the noble and sacred character of rice.” [« Le grand souverain n’a jamais cessé d’insister sur la noblesse et le caractère sacré du riz. »] Paul Ottino. *L’étrangère intime. Essai d’anthropologie de la civilisation de l’ancien Madagascar. Tome II*. Paris : Editions des archives contemporaines, 1986. P. 373. (Translation mine).

¹⁶² « Les contes, les légendes et mythes ... véhiculent les intentions, les défenses et les souhaits des femmes quel qu’ait été leur statut par le passé. » Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo. *La femme malgache en Imerina au début du XXIe siècle*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2003. P. 33. (Translation mine).

¹⁶³ « Reflètent plutôt une idéologie qu’un fait réel. » Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana. *Histoire de l’éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVIe au milieu du XXe siècle*. Imarivolonitra : Editions Antso, 1996. P. 20. (Translation mine).

¹⁶⁴ « Ils imposent la pensée et l’idée qu’ils expriment. Les contes deviennent et sont ‘la coutume,’ ‘la tradition.’ » Ibid. (Translation mine).

female figure of Malagasy myths shapes the customs and practices of the people. Going back to the tale under study, it can be said that the storyteller depicts the lived experiences of Malagasy women with particular focus on the sources of their oppression. The solution that she provides, however, corresponds to the function of tales, myths and legends described by Andrianjafitrimo and Ravelomanana, that is, expressing women's wishes rather than reflecting real facts, and yet shaping the thoughts and influencing the actions of the targeted group. This leads us back to the descriptions of the role of myths articulated by Andrea Cornwall in her article "Myths to Live By? Female Solidarity and Female Autonomy Reconsidered." In this article, Cornwall draws on Georges Sorel and Ernesto Laclau's views to express her conception of gender myths, namely the ideals of female solidarity and female autonomy. She says that "myths are narratives that do more than tell a good story. They are composed of a series of familiar images and devices, and work to produce an order-of-things that takes shape and has its effects through resonance with the affective dimensions of deeply held values and norms."¹⁶⁵ In other words, myths inspire identification with the ideals that they express through devices and techniques that appeal to the emotions of the targeted group. In the case of the tale "Raso," it can be said that the fact that the storyteller drew her inspiration from the well-known myth of "Ranoro" and chose a figure that embodies Malagasy ancestral beliefs as the main source of the female victims' liberation points to her effort to make her tale an effective sensitizing tool that reflects the objectives of the organization that she collaborates with. In that sense, her technique of intertwining myths and reality in order to call women to action tends to blur concerns about the possible dissonance between the ideology of female solidarity and the lived experiences of the female characters, thus putting the focus on the need to put an end to male oppression and to claim women's rights.

¹⁶⁵ Andrea Cornwall. "Myths to Live By? Female Solidarity and Female Autonomy Reconsidered." *Development and Change* vol. 38 N.1 (2007). P. 151.

Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter explored the conceptualizations of female empowerment around the issue of vulnerability in current adaptations of Malagasy tales by male and female storytellers and writers of children's stories. Our approach was based on the premise that vulnerability may trigger actions towards empowerment in that the female characters in the tales, in their positions as dependent, subordinate, powerless and victims, react in various ways in order to sustain their existence. They may be active participants in the tales in order to improve their conditions, or passive recipients of the actions undertaken by the other characters. In either way, our perspective on female empowerment in the tales that have been studied enabled us to identify the successes and failures of the process of empowerment through the storytellers' representations of the female characters. The first part analyzed the successes and failures of female empowerment on a personal level, with particular focus on the strategies employed by the female characters in the face of their vulnerable conditions. The women's effort to seek the effective means to improve their conditions implies that they have become critically aware of the imbalanced power relations between men and women as well as the limited opportunities that are available to them in various contexts. Our study revealed that the successes of female empowerment rely heavily on the female characters' capacity to challenge the established gender order through their actions or the values that they embody. The failures of their empowerment process result from the prevalence of patriarchal values which seem to have been internalized by the storytellers and consciously or unconsciously reflected in their tales. The second part investigated the conceptualization of female empowerment on a collective level and the ways in which it may or may not trigger social change, that is, having major impacts on social institutions with regard to the definitions of gender roles and identities as well as gender power relations. Apart from the storytellers' overt messages that are meant to prevent the exploitation of women and to put an end to their oppression, the representations of

female solidarity have also been explored in order to highlight the ways in which the concept of female solidarity may or may not constitute an effective means to empower women. Our study has demonstrated that the storytellers' engagement in projects that promote women's rights and gender equality somehow fails to have resonance with the messages implied by their tales, which remain deeply entrenched in patriarchal ideologies.

CHAPTER 6: Conceptualizing Female Empowerment in Contemporary Malagasy Tales and Storytelling Performances

Introduction

The previous chapter of this study explored the conceptualization of female empowerment around the issue of vulnerability as is reflected in contemporary tales told and written by a selection of male and female Malagasy storytellers from Antananarivo. We investigated the successes and failures of female empowerment on an individual and social level. Our analysis revealed that insofar as women's efforts and actions are determined by deeply entrenched patriarchal values, their processes of empowerment are either limited by circumstances and the powerful men in their lives or are bound to failure. We argued that the portrayal of women as vulnerable victims in the tales triggers for some female protagonists the process of empowerment either on an individual or on a collective level in the form of female solidarity. Nevertheless, most of the female characters are confronted to the limitations of their efforts, hence, their processes of empowerment tend to present several points of failure.

The purpose of this last chapter is to analyze the processes of empowerment that the female characters engage into based on the feminist transnational networks' definition of empowerment as a journey and not a destination, which means that it is the process and the elements that characterize this process that matter most and not the end result. For that purpose, we have set out to examine the intersection between the storytellers' narratives, namely their representations of gender and gender equality ideologies, and the audience's responses to the storytellers' narrative performances. In other words, we will focus on the ways in which storytelling influences the audience's perceptions of gender roles and identities as well as their reactions to the ideologies of gender equality promoted in some of the tales. Our approach to the concept of female empowerment as a process thus builds on the intersection between the storytellers' narratives and the meanings that the audience draws from them. Drawing on the

views of folklorist Dan Ben-Amos in his article “Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context,”¹ and Robert Nixon, a Columbia University graduate, in his article “Reception Theory and African Oral Literature: The Question of Performance,”² we argue that the audience’s reception and interpretation of the female protagonists’ experiences in the tales are influenced by their social and cultural background as well as the ways in which the story is delivered by the storyteller, in the same way as the latter’s performance is defined by the same factors. Dan Ben-Amos contends that “the social context, the cultural attitude, the rhetorical situation, and the individual aptitude are variables that produce distinct differences in the structure, text and texture of the ultimate verbal [...] production.”³ He goes on to say that “the audience itself, be it children or adults, men or women, a stable society or an accidental grouping, affects the kind of folklore genre and the manner of presentation.”⁴ These views support the conception of folklore as “an organic phenomenon,”⁵ that is, something whose existence depends on the cultural context in which it is created. Nevertheless, while the production of folklore is largely influenced by the social and cultural contexts in which it is created, as well as the audience for which it is produced, the understanding of the meanings that the audience constructs out of folklore forms requires the consideration of the same variables, that is, the social and cultural contexts and the storytellers’ narrative performance. In that sense, the narrative performance and the meanings that are constructed out of the narratives are part of a dynamic event that engages the storyteller and the audience. This points to the views of Robert Nixon who explores the intersection between theories of Western written literature and approaches to African oral literature in order to develop an approach to oral literature performances. Drawing on Wolfgang

¹ Dan Ben-Amos. « Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context. » *The Journal of American Folklore* 84, 331 (1971).

² Robert Nixon. « Reception Theory and African Oral Literature: The Question of Performance. » *English in Africa* 12, 2 (1985).

³ Dan Ben-Amos. « Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context. » *The Journal of American Folklore* 84, 331 (1971). P. 4.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

Iser's reception theory which holds that "meaning is an event which occurs between the text and the reader,"⁶ Nixon describes oral literature as a "collaborative event"⁷ between the performer and the audience. In that sense, and in the words of Dan Ben Amos, "the narrator, his story, and his audience are related to each other as components of a single continuum which is the communicative event."⁸ These views go in line with Jean Derive's statement that "performance [as a] real space for ideological, aesthetic, and psychological expression [which] provides the speaker with a more or less great potential for variability becomes one of the essential factors which gives to oral texts their polysemic dimension."⁹ In other words, the interconnection between the storyteller, the text and the audience, along with the social and cultural contexts that shape their interactions, play a major role in establishing the various meanings of the oral tales. It is within this framework that we intend to focus on female empowerment as a process defined by the intersection between the storyteller's performance, the text, and the audience's responses.

In this chapter, we will analyze the performances of three professional storytellers, one male and two females, who agreed to tell some of the tales that have been analyzed in the previous chapter¹⁰ to audiences that have been selected by the researcher and by the storytellers depending on the circumstances. The audiences are mainly composed of children from 7 to 13 years old from a small town, Ambohidrano Andrefana, in the outskirts of Antananarivo near one of the storytellers' town of residence; from a private school at Antaninandro (La Pépîte d'Or); and from a public school at Mahamasina. The first performance was organized by the

⁶ Robert Nixon. « Reception Theory and African Oral Literature : The Question of Performance. » *English in Africa* 12, 2 (1985). P. 54.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Dan Ben Amos in Robert Nixon. Ibid. P. 55.

⁹ « Véritable espace d'expression psychologique, esthétique et idéologique, la performance procure un potentiel plus ou moins grand de variabilité à l'énonciateur et devient l'un des facteurs essentiels qui confère leur dimension polysémique aux textes oraux. » Jean Derive and Ursula Baumgardt. *Littératures orales africaines. Perspectives théoriques et méthodologiques*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2008. P. 83. (Translation mine).

¹⁰ Our previous analyses of the successes and failures of female empowerment in the tales determined our selection of the tales that we asked the storytellers to tell.

researcher who invited the children in the neighbourhood to attend the storyteller's performance. The last two performances were organized by the storytellers as they are accustomed to telling tales at private or public schools. They primarily informed the schoolteachers who agreed to dedicate some time during their teaching hours for storytelling in the presence of the researcher and the storyteller. Our analysis focuses on the storytellers' ways of delivering their stories in various contexts of performance and the extent to which their narratives and dramatic skills influence the audience's meaning construction process. Our assessment of the audience's responses to the storytelling performances vary depending on the storytellers and the organization of the events. For the first and the second performances by the two female storytellers, the questions were directly asked by the researcher to the members of the audience at the end of each tale. For the last performance, it was the male storyteller who asked the questions directly to the children at the end of his two performances. Several factors, which will be explored in the descriptions of the performances, should be considered while appreciating the children's responses in these contexts.

As was stated in the introduction, our approach was based on the combination of three methods, namely the distribution of questionnaires, the organization of a question-and-answer session following the performances, and the direct observation of the storytellers and the audiences' verbal and non-verbal actions during the performances and the question-and-answer sessions. This goes in line with our aim to analyse the interplay between the storytellers' performances, the members of the audience's responses, and the ideologies conveyed in the tales. As the events occurred in semi-formal settings (the storytelling sessions were presented as an entertaining activity to the children but they were somehow required to answer the researcher's questions seriously), there was a certain flexibility about the proceedings of the observation of the performances and the presentations of the questions to the members of the audience. It should be noted that even though our research was meant to identify the possibilities

for female empowerment in contemporary performances of Malagasy folktales, our observation was mainly guided by the storytellers' performances. Indeed, while observing the performances, we noticed that the storytellers did not necessarily convey messages about female empowerment in their tales. This somehow enabled us to develop our arguments about the main subject of our analysis through the comparison of the views expressed by the storytellers during the initial interviews and the views that could be inferred from their performances with regard to the conception of gender equality and female emancipation. Furthermore, though a set of questions was prepared for each performance, we adapted our questions to the facts that we observed about the storytellers' performances and the children's ability to answer them effectively. Each of the methods used for the question and answer session has their advantages and limitations, which will be discussed in the analyses of our findings. However, before proceeding to the analyses of the storytelling performances, it is necessary to provide a brief description of the contexts in which they occurred.

6.1. Contexts of the Storytelling Performances

Performance 1

The event took place at the researcher's private house at Ambohidrano Andrefana where the storyteller Rakemba Raketamavo was invited to tell two tales, "Ny Sira" and "Abobo," to a group of eight children (6 male, 2 female) from the neighborhood for approximately two hours, from 2 to 4 p.m. These children have been invited to attend the event a week earlier. Only one of the tales, "Ny sira" or "salt," will be thoroughly analyzed in this study because it has already been widely discussed in the previous chapter. Hence, the live performance enables us to further explore the themes that have been previously introduced.

The storyteller began her performance with a short animation which was meant to teach the children how to react to sad and happy circumstances in a tale. She prompted them to say

“wow!” in a very expressive and lively way when reacting to happy circumstances; and “Oooh” in a sad way when something sad occurs. She then drew the children’s attention to her outfit – she was dressed as a queen, with a long purple dress, a golden crown and a necklace – and introduced herself as “the queen of storytelling.”¹¹ She explained that her outfit gave her the “power of storytelling,”¹² that is, the power to answer any questions that the members of the audience may ask with a tale. She referred to this “power” as a talent. After that, Rakemba said that she was going to tell two tales to the children, which are answers to other children’s questions a long time ago. Finally, she explained the program for the afternoon: she would tell the first tale, then she would take a short break to drink water and proceed to the second tale. She announced that the researcher would ask questions to the children during this break. As was stated earlier, the focus of our study is on the first tale, “Ny Sira,” by this storyteller.

Throughout the storytelling performance, Rakemba interacted with the children and invited them to react, saying from the beginning that even though she was the one who told the tales, it was not going to be a monologue because the children would also be encouraged to participate. She often asked questions related to the children’s everyday experiences. For example, when she explained the meaning of her outfit, she referred to the white coats worn by doctors and asked the children if they were afraid of doctors before giving her personal explanation of the reason why doctors wear white coats. She also used humour to elicit reactions on the children’s part. For instance, still talking about her outfit, she used the example of soldiers’ uniforms which help them blend in with the trees in the forest in order to catch thieves. The children laughed when the storyteller referred to the fact that a thief may mistake a soldier for a “stump” and forbid the children to call policemen “stumps.”¹³ Furthermore, Rakemba

¹¹ « Mpanjaka vavin’ny angano. » Rakemba Raketamavo. Storytelling Performance 1. See Appendix 21A. (Translation mine).

¹² « Pouvoir-ny angano. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹³ Rakemba said: « Tandremo sao miteny hoe vodihazo rehefa mahita polisy an ! » [Careful, don’t say stumps when you see policemen!] Ibid. (Translation mine).

regularly checked the children's understanding by asking questions or repeating her explanations. For instance, when she used uncommon vocabulary such as the word "volom-batolalaka" when describing the female protagonist, Felanosy's hair, she asked the children, "'Volom-batolalaka?' What is that?"¹⁴ Some of the children knew the meaning of the word as they instantly gave the French translation, "gris." Rakemba then explained that "volom-batolalaka" refers to the colour grey, the colour of rocks. Apart from that, while telling the tale, she repeated her explanation of the origin of salt twice, saying that "as Felanosy sang, her tears fell down on her cheeks and were carried away by the wind and solidified into a pile of white sand."¹⁵

Furthermore, Rakemba's dramatic skills could be observed throughout her performance. She made gestures to illustrate the characters' actions, changed her voice, depending on the characters, and displayed various facial expressions. It should be noted that, apart from "expressing and eliciting emotion"¹⁶ from the audience, Rakemba's way of changing her voice for the various characters clearly expresses gender differences. In fact, she adopted a rough, authoritative voice for the male characters such as Felanosy's father and the whale, and a soft, plaintive voice for Felanosy. Indeed, her performance confirms the fact that the male character, namely Felanosy's father, holds power whereas Felanosy is the vulnerable female character who pleads for mercy in order to survive or to keep her freedom. Moreover, the change of voices by the storyteller not only emphasized the different roles and the degree of authority held by the male and female characters but also prompted the children to respond spontaneously by reproducing the "wow" and "ooh" sounds that they were taught before the performance. A good illustration of this point is Rakemba's rather exaggerated reproduction of Felanosy's pleading

¹⁴ « Volom-batolalaka? Inona izany? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁵ « Rehefa nihira izany Felanosy an, dia nikoriana ny ranomasony dia notsofin'ny rivotra dia lasa nivaingana ohatran'ny tendrombohitra kely fotsifotsy teo akaikiny teo. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁶ « La voix... exprim[e] et suscit[e] l'émotion. » Jean Derive, Ursula Baumgardt. *Littératures orales africaines. Perspectives théoriques et méthodologiques*. Paris : Karthala, 2008. P. 68. (Translation mine).

voice¹⁷ upon hearing her father's evil plans to lock her up in a cave, which evoked the children's empathy and caused them to say "Ooh" without being instructed to do so.

As regards the content of the tale, the storyteller's performance is marked by some important changes and others that are less significant. We will focus on the major changes that may have an impact on the reception of the tale. One of the most striking changes is the fact that the girls in the village who are jealous of Felanosy in the written tale are not depicted as such in the live performance. In fact, the storyteller substituted the girls for the whole children in the village whose curiosity, rather than jealousy, to discover the mystery about Felanosy's shell-covered eyes prompts them to expose Felanosy to songs. This change removes the theme of female rivalry which prevails in most of the tales that have been analyzed in our study.

Another change can be observed in the characterization of Felanosy's father. While the father of the female protagonist is portrayed as a tyrannical man who wants to control his daughter's life and deprive her of her freedom in the written text, he is painted as a man who merely hates the fact that her daughter shows off her singing talent during the oral performance. Indeed, the oral tale revolves around the issue of a father who wants his daughter to remain humble and reserved, without any hint at the father's tyrannical character. As Rakemba put it, the father hated the fact that his daughter was "gathering crowds, advertising herself, and showing off."¹⁸ The daughter's statement reinforces this point, "it is the singing [...] that he [the father] hates."¹⁹ In that sense, it can be said that through the live performance, the storyteller somehow suggests that the father had his right in trying to prevent his daughter from being showy since being humble is one of the desired qualities in a woman. In the written tale, however, the main issue is Felanosy's desire to be freed from her father who not only hates to see her sing and attract other people's attention, but also seeks to control her.

¹⁷ She said, « Oh noooo, please ! » [Andray kosa e !]. Rakemba Raketamavo. *Storytelling Performance 1*. See Appendix 21A. (Translation mine).

¹⁸ « Mamory vahoaka, manao propagandy, be zesta. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁹ « Ilay mihira anefa no tsy tiany. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

The last change concerns the ending of the tale. Rakemba omitted the marriage condition imposed by the whale before he accepted to hide Felanosy from her father. She merely stated that the whale accepted to help Felanosy and suggested that the lower part of her body be changed into a fish's tail so that her father would not recognize her. The whale and the girl's union could somehow be inferred from her statement that "[Felanosy] had children, and her children also sang in the sea. There were so many of them, so there were many of them who sang there, so the sea became salted because there were so many of them who sang there."²⁰ When we asked the storyteller the reason why she did not mention the marriage between the whale and Felanosy, she said, "because the members of the audience were children, I did not want to dwell on the subject of marriage. What matters is the fact that the whale could protect Felanosy."²¹ It means that the storyteller omitted the subject of marriage on purpose because she judged it inappropriate for the audience. While asking our questions to the children, however, we explicitly referred to the marriage between the whale and the girl and the children gave interesting answers, which will be discussed later.

Performance 2

The storyteller Ny Eja agreed to tell two tales to 3rd grade children in a public school at Mahamasina. We selected these tales, namely "Ingalingalivola" and "Raso," in order to analyze the audience's reception of the storyteller's representation of female solidarity and female empowerment as was discussed in the previous chapter. The event occurred in the morning from 11 to about 12.30 in the presence of the schoolteacher who accepted to allot the last hour of the morning program to the storytelling performance and the question and answer

²⁰ « Dia niteraka [i Felanosy], dia ny zanany koa mbola mihira ao anaty ranomasina. Fa efa lasa be dia be ry zareo an, dia lasa be dia be zany ny mihira ao an, dia lasa mangidy sira be ny ranomasina fa be mihira be ry zareo. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²¹ « Satria ankizy ny mpihaino ny tantara dia tsy dia nivalampatra tamin'ny resaka fanambadiana aho. Fa ny zava-dehibe dia hoe niaro an'i Felanosy ny trondro be. » Question and answer session for Storytelling Performance 1. See Appendix 21B. (Translation mine).

session. The storyteller had already contacted the schoolteacher beforehand in order to make the necessary arrangements for the event. Indeed, it was easy for the storyteller to organize a storytelling session at a public school because she is accustomed to telling tales at schools while collaborating with associations that organize sensitization campaigns.

There were 48 pupils between 8 and 11 years old in the classroom. The storyteller had to speak very loudly, and even scream at times, in order to keep their attention for a long time. Like Rakemba, she made gestures and changed her voice depending on the characters that she impersonated in the tales: for the male characters, she adopted a stern and rough voice, whereas for the female ones, she used a soft and high-pitched voice. The children listened carefully to the two tales and reacted well to Ny Eja's performance. They mainly laughed at her exaggerated impersonation of the various characters in the tale "Ingalingalivola." The storyteller's use of caricature to portray most of the characters in this tale was not only amusing for the audience, but it also served a specific purpose, that is, to make the characters' personalities correspond to the roles attributed to them. For instance, Ny Eja sang and danced playfully²² while playing the role of Ingalingalivola who was happy to take a walk on the mountains where she was going to meet Ikalasimba. In that way, Ny Eja portrayed Ingalingalivola as a spoiled and mindless girl who merely does whatever she wants without ever thinking of the implications of her actions. As is suggested in her request for her parents' permission: "Daddy, Mummy, I want to take a walk on the mountains that are far, far away from here!"²³ The storyteller also exaggerated her impersonation of the king, Ingalingalivola's father, and the two brothers. The latter were portrayed as brave and pretentious young men who mindlessly fulfilled their sister's every wish regardless of the danger that they represented. As for the king, Ny Eja imitated the voice of an elderly man who mockingly warned Ingalingalivola and her brothers of the dangerous creatures

²² She said « I'm going for a walk, la la la la la la. » « Handeha hitsangatsangana, ah la la la la la. » Ny Eja. Storytelling Performance 2. See Appendix 22A. (Translation mine).

²³ « Dada a, Neny a, za te hitsangatsangana ary an-tendrombohitra lavitra be ary. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

that they intended to capture. Ny Eja's performance of the tale "Raso" was also marked by her exaggerated representation of the female characters as vulnerable and powerless in front of the oppressive male characters. For instance, Andriambodilova was portrayed as a ruthless, authoritative character whereas Ranoro and the other female characters were represented as frail victims. The storyteller played with the tone and rhythm of her voice to embody each of the characters.

Apart from that, the storyteller interacted with the audience throughout the performance and took the care to explain the unordinary words that were mentioned in her tales or the facts or situations that she considered as important. In the first tale "Ingalingalivola," she explained the difficult or unordinary words referring to the extraordinary creatures that Ingalingalivola's brothers capture. This also helped her to present these creatures as specific to Madagascar. For instance, she explained that the "'fano,' [whose scales will serve as earrings for Ingalingalivola], is a sea turtle which is only found in Madagascar."²⁴ This fulfils one of the storyteller's main purposes in storytelling: to protect the environment by making known some of Madagascar's endemic species in her tales.²⁵ Paradoxically, the tale does not support the protection of the creatures. In the second tale, "Raso," the storyteller asked questions to the children to check their understanding of the story. For example, when she introduced Ranoro as a mermaid, she asked, "where does a mermaid live?"²⁶, to which the children replied, "in the sea!"²⁷. She also explained some facts or situations that were important but might seem a little difficult for the children to understand. For instance, she explained the choice of silver as a

²⁴ « Ny fano an, dia sokatra any anaty ranomasina izay tsy hita afatsy eto Madagasikara. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²⁵ See Appendix 16.

²⁶ « Aiza no mipetraka ny zazavavin-drano ? » Ny Eja. Storytelling Performance 2. See Appendix 22C. (Translation mine).

²⁷ « Any anaty rano! » Ibid. (Translation mine).

reminder of women's need to claim their rights in every situation. She said that "in the South, everybody wears silver bracelets. Silver is used in taboo removal rituals."²⁸

Regarding the proceedings of the event, the storyteller started her performance after being introduced by the schoolteacher. The latter encouraged the children to listen carefully and to pay attention to the storyteller's gestures. She also informed them that the researcher would ask them a few questions after the tales. Ny Eja then took the floor. She greeted the children and performed a short animation before telling the tales. She explained that when she says "ao ve?" [literally 'Are you there?' but can be understood as 'are you ok?'] the children are expected to reply "Ao tsara!" ['very well!'].²⁹ Afterwards, she started with the story of Ingalingalivola. The messages expressed throughout the performance were strikingly very different from the ones that we discerned in the written text. While we read the tale as a story which foregrounds the importance of female solidarity and displays circumstances in which the female protagonist is endowed with a semblance of power in the form of micromanipulation, the oral performance conveyed contrasting messages. First, the storyteller's characterization of Ingalingalivola as a spoiled, mindless girl in her performance casts her as a powerless young woman who entirely depends on the male characters. Ny Eja's representation of Ingalingalivola's interaction with Zanahary is a good illustration of this point. While facing Zanahary who ordered the killing of her brothers and father, Ingalingalivola pleads and speaks in a humble way, out of fear and reverence, to present her request to resurrect her relatives and give a beautiful face to Ikalasimba. It should be recalled that in the written tale, Ingalingalivola presents her request as a marriage condition in a bold way. She says, "there is one thing that I ask from you, Zanahary, before I marry your son."³⁰ In the oral tale, however, the storyteller's performance makes

²⁸ « Any amin'ny faritra Atsimo, manao bracelet volafotsy daholo ny olona. Natao ho fanadiovana izany rehefa misy manota fady. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²⁹ See Appendix 22A.

³⁰ « Misy zavatra angatahiko aminao aloha ry Zanahary, alohan'ny hanambadiako ny zanakao. » Ny Eja. "Ingalingalivola." (Translation mine).

Ingalingalivola's request sound as a plea, which affirms her powerlessness and dependency on the male characters. In fact, during her performance, Ny Eja adopts a frail, pleading voice for Ingalingalivola and even makes her burst into tears while addressing Zanahary. When Zanahary asks Ingalingalivola if she agrees to marry his son, she says, "before I give you an answer, I have a request.... Please, give back her face to Ikalasimba. Give her also her limbs which are missing [...] And my father and brothers also (at this point, she bursts into tears), they are dead! Please, let them live again."³¹ In that way, Ny Eja's performance somehow confirms gender stereotypes which consider women as emotional and frail. Furthermore, it is interesting to note Ny Eja's description of Ingalingalivola's entrance into Zanahary's place: "[she] came in, with the jewels, she did not speak. Once the Zanahary's son saw her, he said, 'Dad, Dad, I love that [woman] very much, I will take that [woman] to wife.'³² In this scene, Ingalingalivola is portrayed as the object of the son of Zanahary's desire. Her role, that is, to remain silent as the men in the room contemplate her beauty, corresponds to the objectification of women who are thus perceived as sexual objects to be contemplated and to be possessed. This is enhanced by the son of Zanahary's statement, which indicates his desire to possess Ingalingalivola. Indeed, the Malagasy meaning of his statement, "I will take that [woman] to wife," expresses his affirmation of his will to possess the young woman whereby the word "alaiko," translated into "I will take," articulates the notion of possession.

The other significant difference in the messages conveyed in the oral performance and the written tale concerns the theme related to female solidarity, which was the main subject of our analysis in the previous chapter. In the oral performance, the main theme that the storyteller seemed to advocate is that "courage, perseverance and willingness are essential in order to

³¹ « Alohan'ny hanomezako valin-teny anao dia mba misy zavatra angatahiko. Mba avereno aminy ny tarehin'Ikalasimba, avereno aminy koa ny tanana sy tongotra izay tsy hananany... Dia ny dadako sy ny zokiko koa... maty ry zareo. Mba avereno izy ho velona indray. » Ny Eja. Storytelling Performance 2. See Appendix 22A. (Translation mine).

³² « Niditra... Ingalingalivola, niaraka tamin'ireo firavaka teny aminy, tsy niteny. Vao nahita azy ... ny zanaky ny Zanahary dia niteny hoe 'Dada a, Dada a, tiako be io, alaiko vady io. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

succeed.”³³ Ny Eja clearly expressed this idea through the characters during her performance. As can be observed in the conversation between Ikalasimba and Ingalingalivola, “if you have perseverance, willingness and love, you will succeed. – So, if I am lazy, I will not succeed? No, it is laziness which really prevents people from succeeding. If you are willing, you always succeed.”³⁴ Interestingly, it is Ingalingalivola’s brothers who actually embody the storyteller’s motto because they are the ones who display their courage and perseverance while facing the dangerous creatures in order to fulfil their sister’s wishes. It can be said that the friendly relationship between Ingalingalivola and Ikalasimba, which was not even referred to by the storyteller, served to propel and highlight the heroic actions undertaken by Ingalingalivola’s brothers. Indeed, instead of shedding light on the friendly relationship between Ingalingalivola and Ikalasimba, the storyteller’s performance emphasized the differences between these two female characters. The former was portrayed as a rich princess who haughtily addressed Ikalasimba. The latter was characterized as a poor orphan who humbly presented her request to the princess. Ny Eja’s performance did not suggest that the differences between the two women triggered actual friendship or solidarity as Ingalingalivola’s decision to help Ikalasimba merely served to highlight the central theme that the storyteller wanted to convey, that is, the importance of perseverance and courage embodied by the brothers who faced the dangerous creatures. It should be recalled, however, that in the written tale, the storyteller clearly mentions that “Ingalingalivola felt deep sympathy for [Ikalasimba] when she saw that she only had an arm and a leg and her face was very much impaired.”³⁵ Moreover, when we asked the storyteller to explain in front of the children the reason why she did not define the interaction between

³³ In our previous interview with Ny Eja, she affirmed that among the themes that she mainly conveyed in her tales is the teaching of willingness as a valuable quality, as opposed to laziness, which is a vice. See Appendix 16.

³⁴ “Raha ohatra ianao ka manana finiavana an, dia manana fahazotoana an, dia manana fitiavana an, dia tsy maintsy tafita ianao. – Ary raha kamo za zany dia tsy tafita? Ie. Io kamo io no tena mampahatonga ny olona tsy tafita io. Fa rehefa mazoto tsy maintsy tafita foana foana. » Ny Eja. Storytelling Performance 2. See Appendix 22A. (Translation mine).

³⁵ « Nangoraka azy fatratra Ingalingalivola raha nahita fa tsy manana tanana afa tsy iray, sy tongotra iray ihany ity tovovavy ity, ary ny tarehiny koa dia simba aokizany. » Ny Eja. “Ingalingalivola.” (Translation mine).

Ingalingalivola and Ikalasimba in terms of rivalry, namely the reason why she discarded the possibility of Ikalasimba attempting to become the son of Zanahary's wife once she retrieved her beauty, her answer confirmed our arguments about the messages that she wanted to convey in her performance. She said, "it is Ingalingalivola who is meant to become the son of Zanahary's wife. Ikalasimba could have never acquired the jewels. And she would have always remained broken if it hadn't been for Ingalingalivola."³⁶ In fact, instead of referring to the importance of female solidarity as the main reason for the absence of rivalry between the two female characters, she hinted at the significant actions performed by the brothers, that is, acquiring the jewels, to enable Ingalingalivola to become the wife of the son of Zanahary, and Ikalasimba to retrieve her beauty. Ny Eja's answer also points to the fact that the characters in her tale embody specific roles based on their respective statuses. This calls to mind Jack Zipes' statement about the definition of the roles of the characters in folk and fairy tales. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus, Zipes states that "characters function according to their status within a family, social class, or profession and they often cross boundaries or transform themselves."³⁷ Ingalingalivola and Ikalasimba do not cross boundaries nor transform themselves. Instead, they embody their respective roles as the future bride of the son of Zanahary and the poor victim of a wicked witch who needs to be rescued by the other characters in order to make the story move forward and highlight the male characters' remarkable actions.

Ny Eja's performance of "Ingalingalivola" was followed by our questions to the children. It should be noted that it was rather difficult for us to ask the questions because 1) the children were too many, 2) they were already tired and hungry and certainly in a hurry to go home, and 3) we did not have much time because the class was supposed to be dismissed at

³⁶ « Efa anjaran'Ingalingalivola ny ho vadin'ny mpanjaka. Tsy ho vitan'Ikalasimba mihitsy ny haka ireo firavaka. Ary raha tsy Ingalingalivola dia ho nijanona ho simba foana Ikalasimba. » Question and answer session for Storytelling Performance 2. See Appendix 22B. (Translation mine).

³⁷ Jack Zipes. *Why Fairy Tales Stick. The Evolution and Relevance of a Genre*. New York, London: Routledge, 2006. P. 49.

noon but we were keeping the pupils for the question and answer session and the second tale, which lasted for more than an hour. Indeed, at noon, while Ny Eja was beginning to tell the part where Ingalingalivola urges her father and brothers to help her become the wife of the son of Zanahary, background noises by the children from other classes were heard. This somehow disturbed the performance and the question and answer session which followed despite the storyteller's effort to keep the children's attention. Hence, our analysis will focus on the storyteller's performances and the limited answers that we got from the volunteers who replied to our questions.

Before telling the second tale, "Raso," Ny Eja repeated her previous animation. The children were still lively and reactive when they replied "very well!"³⁸. One of the significant details that characterizes Ny Eja's performance of "Raso" is the discussion between Ranoro and Andriambodilova before the former gives her consent to the latter's marriage proposal. It should be noted that the proposal was phrased in an aggressive way and sounded more like a threat than a proposal. Ny Eja adopted a rough and authoritative voice when she impersonated Andriambodilova and said, "so, will you marry me or not?"³⁹ The ensuing exchange between Ranoro and Andriambodilova makes it clear that the woman follows the man: Andriambodilova says, "will you follow me?"⁴⁰ To which Ranoro replies, "yes, I will, I want to get married anyway."⁴¹ Ny Eja's representation of this scene is important not only because it signals the difference between her version and the well-known myth whereby it is the man who follows the woman, but also because it assigns specific gender roles to the characters in a way that marks gender differences and upholds male supremacy. Furthermore, Ny Eja's performance

³⁸ « Ao tsara! » Ny Eja. Storytelling Performance 2. See Appendix 22C. (Translation mine).

³⁹ « Ka ahoana? Hanambady ahy ianao sa tsia? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁴⁰ « Hanaraka ahy ianao? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁴¹ « Eny ary fa za koa zany efa te hanambady! » Ibid. (Translation mine).

also confirmed the link between gender roles and gendered demarcation of space as she clearly mentioned that “Andriambodilova went to the forest to work while Ranoro stayed at home.”⁴²

Paradoxically, the performance was also characterized by the storyteller’s expression of moral statements which were meant to promote gender equality. For instance, after exposing the case of each female victim, Ny Eja said, “women should not be insulted. Men shouldn’t be insulted either [...] Women should not be beaten. Men should not be beaten either.”⁴³ These moral statements reflect the attitude that the storyteller holds on the issue of men’s oppression of women. Through her performance, she showed her involvement in the promotion of gender equality ideals. This corresponds to Ursula Baumgardt’s statement that “[the storyteller] can express his adherence to the utterance [...] [he] can also underline specific aspects of the text and thus generate a particular attitude on the audience’s part.”⁴⁴ In other words, through the performance, the storyteller can show his/her adherence to the ideologies conveyed by the tale and elicit the intended reaction from the audience. The performance revealed that Ny Eja mainly underlined the injustice experienced by the female characters and her voice is the main instrument that she used to fulfil her purposes in storytelling. Indeed, Ny Eja’s use of voice pertains to what Baumgardt describes as the “‘vocal trait – character’ combination”⁴⁵ whereby the male characters who represent the oppressor invariably speak in an aggressive and authoritative way and the female characters all speak in a way that reflects their vulnerability and their condition as victims. This enables the storyteller to expose and denounce the wrongs perpetrated by the male characters and encourage the audience to agree with her statement about gender equality. In that sense, Ny Eja’s performance, namely her use of voice as a dramatic

⁴² « Lasa niasa tany anaty ala Andriambodilova fa Ranoro kosa nijanona tao an-trano. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁴³ « Ny vehivavy tsy azo ompaina. Na ny lehilahy koa ary tsy azo ompaina ... Tsy azo vonoina ny vehivavy. Ny lehilahy koa tsy azo vonoina. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁴⁴ « Il peut exprimer son adhésion à l’énoncé ... [il] peut par ailleurs souligner des aspects spécifiques du texte et chercher ainsi à provoquer telle ou telle attitude au niveau du public. » In Jean Derive and Ursula Baumgardt. *Littératures orales africaines. Perspectives théoriques et méthodologiques*. Paris : Karthala, 2008. P. 83. (Translation mine).

⁴⁵ « L’association ‘trait vocal – personnage.’ » Ibid. (Translation mine).

instrument, reflects the meaning that she associates to her tale in the same way as “the intonations of voice [...] entirely participate in the elaboration of the ‘entire’ meaning of the text.”⁴⁶ This meaning is in turn perceived differently by the members of the audience depending on several factors, other than the performance itself, namely their own understandings and experiences of gender relations in their respective communities.

Most of the children’s answers to our questions about the second tale were rich and interesting despite the difficulties mentioned above. The storyteller also expressed her personal views regarding the meaning of gender equality. In fact, when we asked the children to explain how they understand the statement “equal rights for men and women,”⁴⁷ they did not know what to say. It was the storyteller who replied with an elaborate explanation: “what we mean by men and women being equal is not, men saying to women, ‘go ahead, urinate while standing up!’ or ‘carry this extremely heavy cement bag!’ No, it means that men and women are treated equally.”⁴⁸ A thorough analysis of the children’s answers and reactions will be provided in the next section of our study.

Performance 3

The last performance took place in a private school at Antaninandro. The male storyteller Arikaomisa Randria was requested to tell two tales, “Ifaravavy mahery fo” and “Ikalasorona,” to 4th grade children in the presence of the schoolteacher. There were 40 pupils (22 female and 18 male) in the classroom. The performance was very lively, and the children

⁴⁶ « Les intonations de voix ... participent pleinement à l’élaboration du sens ‘total’ de l’énoncé. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁴⁷ « Mitovy zo ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy. » Question and answer session for Storytelling Performance 2. See Appendix 22D. (Translation mine).

⁴⁸ « Mitovy ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy. Tsy midika izany hoe andeha hiteny ny lehilahy hoe ‘ndana ary mipipiza mitsangana!’ na hoe ‘ento ity ciment mavesatra be ity!’ Tsia! Ny dikan’izany dia hoe mitovy ny fitondrana ny vehivavy sy ny lehilahy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

were very reactive during the storytelling and the question and answer sessions. As was stated earlier, the questions were given to the storyteller who directly asked them to the children in an animated way. The storyteller managed to create an atmosphere conducive to interaction and exchange between himself and the children from the beginning till the end of his performance. His way of speaking to the children established a spontaneous connection which made the children feel at ease. For instance, he addressed girls as “ndry” and boys as “elah,”⁴⁹ which are terms that connote closeness as opposed to the neutral form “ianao,” which are all translations of the pronoun “you.” While telling the two tales, Arikaomisa Randria also addressed the whole group as “rankizy” or “dear children,” which expressed his awareness of his audience as meaningful participants in the storytelling event. Indeed, although he said, “I will tell the story and you will listen,”⁵⁰ it does not mean that the members of the audience were passive throughout the performance. On the contrary, the storyteller regularly interacted with the children by asking them questions in order to check their understanding of the story, to catch their attention, or to encourage their identification with the characters. For instance, after introducing the story of “Ifaravavy mahery fo,” he asked the children, “what’s her name again?”⁵¹ to which the children replied in unison, “Ifaravavy.”⁵² He also asked them if they knew what “mahery fo” or brave means and explained its meaning with the French translation “courageuse.”⁵³ Other examples include direct questions which the children could relate to their everyday experiences. In the story of “Ifaravavy,” the storyteller asked, “but your parents love you, don’t they?”⁵⁴ after talking about the female protagonist’s parents who hated and illtreated

⁴⁹ « Ndry » and « elah » are gender-marked terms. « Ndry » is usually used for girls and « elah » for boys although both are used interchangeably depending on the users and the contexts. For instance, both can be used as endearing terms between couples, regardless of their gender.

⁵⁰ « Za mitantara, ianareo mihaino. » Arikaomisa Randria. Storytelling Performance 3. See Appendix 23A. (Translation mine).

⁵¹ « Iza no anaran’le izy? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁵² “Ifaravavy.” Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ « Nefa nareo tian’ny ray aman-dreninareo moa e ? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

their female children. The storyteller also explained the meaning of uncommon words, as is the case of the word “sorona” in the second tale. Before giving the French translation, he called the children’s attention to Biblical stories whereby some notable personalities like Isaac, Abraham’s son, were sacrificed.⁵⁵ The fact that the storyteller took the care to explain the meanings of these uncommon words contributed to the effectiveness of his performance because understanding the meanings of these words was crucial for the understanding of the stories.

Apart from that, we should also refer to the storyteller’s use of anachronism for humorous effects. In the words of Bernard Papin, a lecturer at the Universities of Paris Sud and Paris 3 whose works focus on televisual fiction and the regulation of images on television, anachronism can be understood as “the action of placing a fact, a function, a character, etc. in an era other than the one where they belong or where they are actually appropriate.”⁵⁶ He goes on to say that this “time shift [...] belongs to a kind of humour which often, and at first glance, has the primary aim of making the reader or the audience laugh. These deliberate anachronisms provoke a breach in the continuity of the diegetic and the narrative frameworks and produce a comic effect.”⁵⁷ In the tale “Ifaravavy mahery fo,” Arikaomisa Randria evoked the Malagasy football team Barea while talking about Ifaravavy’s parents who have been turned into a cow and an ox. Voicing Ifaravavy’s shock upon seeing them, the storyteller said, “what are these Barea? Yet, it is only on Saturday that they are supposed to take part in a football match somewhere!”⁵⁸ Most of the children laughed because they knew well the Barea, especially since

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ « L’action de placer un fait, un usage, un personnage, etc. dans une époque autre que l’époque à laquelle ils appartiennent ou conviennent réellement. » Bernard Papin. « Anachronisme et humour : de l’usage intempestif de l’anachronisme dans la fiction en costumes. » *Mise au point* 9, put online on 02 May 2017. Accessed on 02 January 2020. <https://journals.openedition.org/map/2282>. (Translation mine).

⁵⁷ « Ce décalage temporel ... appartient à un type d’humour qui a le plus souvent, et a priori, pour ambition première de faire rire le lecteur ou le spectateur. Ces anachronismes délibérés provoquent une rupture dans la continuité du tissu diégétique et de la trame narrative et produisent un effet comique. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁵⁸ « Fa inona ireto Barea ireto? Nefa amin’ny Sabotsy vao tokony hanao baolina ary? » Arikaomisa Randria. *Storytelling Performance* 3. See Appendix 23A. (Translation mine).

the team made it to the Round of 16 for the first time during the Africa Cup of Nations in June/July 2019. This corresponds to the necessity for the audience to have the “required cultural background”⁵⁹ referred to by Papin in his previously cited article, “Anachronisme et humour: de l’usage intempestif de l’anachronisme dans la fiction en costumes.” In that sense, since the children shared the same cultural knowledge as the storyteller, the latter succeeded in producing humour through his use of anachronism.

Furthermore, the storyteller performed several animations in-between the storytelling performances, which not only amused and entertained the children but also made the event animated and captivating. Before telling the first tale, he taught a short rhythmic song to the children as an introduction to the storytelling event which was meant to express the children’s joy to listen to tales. The lyrics of the song go, “joyful, joyful we are going to listen to a tale/ listen to a tale/ listen to a tale/ Joyful, joyful we are going to listen to a tale.”⁶⁰ The children immediately caught the rhythm and sang along with the storyteller who urged them to sing louder. The second animation that Arikaomisa Randria performed was a guessing game. He started by asking if the children knew what a riddle or “ankamantatra” is and if any of them could tell any riddles. A boy, then a girl, presented their riddles. The children easily found the answer to the boy’s riddle whereas no one could answer the girl’s. The storyteller commented, “this girl is really clever! Nobody knows the answer to her riddle.”⁶¹ After that, the storyteller presented his own riddle, whose answer led to a lively and funny “recitation.”⁶² Indeed, the storyteller asked, “what is a big umbrella on which you jump?”⁶³ From the answer, a parachute,

⁵⁹ « Le bagage culturel exigé. » Bernard Papin. « Anachronisme et humour : de l’usage intempestif de l’anachronisme dans la fiction en costumes. » *Mise au point 9*, put online on 02 May 2017. Accessed on 02 January 2020. <https://journals.openedition.org/map/2282>. (Translation mine).

⁶⁰ « Falifaly hihaino angano/ Falifaly hihaino angano/ Hihaino angano/ Hihaino angano/ Falifaly hihaino angano. » Arikaomisa Randria. Storytelling Performance 3. See Appendix 23A. (Translation mine).

⁶¹ « Ary tena marani-tsaina io ankizivavy io an ! Tsiy mahafantatra ny ankamantatra zay nataony! » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁶² « Tsianjery. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁶³ « Inona ary zany, elo be itsambikinana. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

he elaborated a short recitation with rhymes and gestures. The children were greatly amused and laughed at his performance. When the storyteller invited them to repeat the recitation, they did so without difficulty. The storyteller concluded with one last game before telling the second tale. The game was a counting contest between a boy and a girl at first. The storyteller called two volunteers, a boy, and a girl, to come to the floor. His remarks about the volunteers are worth mentioning because they connote gender differences. He said, “a chubby little boy against a little Miss.”⁶⁴ In fact, the storyteller’s statement did not merely describe the two children’s actual physical appearances, it also expressed his personal judgment about their appearances. His reference to the boy’s body build and his use of the endearing words “chubby” and “little” imply that it is acceptable for boys to be a little overweight. On the other hand, his description of the girl as a “little Miss” connotes the expectations for girls to be fit and attractive. Afterwards, the game was carried out between all the girls and all the boys in the class. The two groups were instructed to count from one to ten in French and in Malagasy respectively. The group that hesitated or made a mistake lost. The children enjoyed this game very much and were even reluctant to stop when the storyteller said that he had to move to the next tale, which he concluded with two animations. The first was a short rhyming recitation⁶⁵ which related a funny event: an old man who claims compensation from a person who accidentally killed his chicks. The second was the traditional rhythmic Malagasy clapping “lamako.”⁶⁶

Arikaomisa Randria’s storytelling performance was also marked by his expressive gestures which animated the stories. As is described by Derive and Baumgardt, “[gestures] animate the text, confer reality to the fictive events that it relates, provide extra information,

⁶⁴ « Bandy bota kely contre sipa kely Miss kely. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁶⁵ It was invented by the storyteller.

⁶⁶ Most Malagasy are familiar with the « lamako. » It is commonly performed at social events. The audience performs a rhythmic clapping, following the instructions of the animator. When the latter says « lamako, » the audience claps four times. The animator may repeat « lamako » several times, which is followed by the same rhythm of clapping. When the animator says « avereno » (repeat), the audience repeats all the claps that have been previously performed. The animation is usually closed with the instruction « atambaro » (Litt. « join » but can be understood as summing up all the claps in a single clap).

create expressive nuances, [...] [and] account for the characters' personalities and their emotions."⁶⁷ In fact, apart from animating the stories, Arikaomisa Randria's gestures expressed the characters' traits in an explicit way, which completed the sense of his words. For example, describing Ifaravavy's parents' selfish and wicked actions upon selling their daughters and using the money for their own advantage, Arikaomisa Randria completed his words⁶⁸ with gestures that connote the parents' excessive eating and drinking as well as their swelling bellies. This mainly emphasized the representation of the parents as thoughtless and sexist individuals. Moreover, Arikaomisa Randria's use of expressive gestures that matched his statements added humour to his performance. Indeed, the children laughed at his impersonation of the various characters, especially the villains, that is, the parents whose actions are denounced in the two stories. It can be said that highlighting the parents' wrongdoing through his performance enabled the storyteller to enhance his message which advocates the equal treatment of boys and girls.

In terms of content, the storyteller's performances remained faithful to the written texts except for some minor details which may be accounted for by time constraints or their degree of importance in relation to the central messages conveyed by the tales. For instance, in the tale "Ifaravavy mahery fo," Arikaomisa Randria did not mention that Ifaravavy bought back her elder sisters from the men that bought them from their parents. Apart from allowing the storyteller to devote more time to his animations, the omission of this detail testifies to the fact that it plays a minor role in understanding the message about the promotion of the equal treatment of boys and girls. Indeed, the storyteller emphasized in his concluding lines, "Ifaravavy was kind and loved by the people. Girls are prestigious when they are courageous,

⁶⁷ « Les éléments relevant de la gestuelle donnent de la vie au texte, confèrent de la réalité aux événements fictifs qu'il relate, délivrent des informations supplémentaires, apportent des nuances expressives ... rendent compte du caractère des personnages et de leurs émotions. » Jean Derive, Ursula Baumgardt. *Littératures orales africaines. Perspectives théoriques et méthodologiques*. Paris: Karthala, 2008. P. 70. (Translation mine).

⁶⁸ He said, « They ate, and ate, and ate, they were so full. » [« Dia nihinana, dia nihinana, dia nihinana, voky be. » Arikaomisa Randria. Storytelling Performance 3. See Appendix 23A. (Translation mine).

wise [...] So boys, don't you think that girls are inferior to boys. That is wrong! You are equal. Do you agree or not? (to which the children replied in unison, 'we agree!')."⁶⁹ These direct statements that reiterate the main ideas in the tales recall Ny Eja's moral statements during her performance of the tale "Raso." These reinforce the two storytellers' purpose in using their tales as sensitizing tools to promote gender equality.

Finally, it should be noted that unlike the performances of the other two female storytellers, Arikaomisa Randria's performance did not display a marked differentiation of the characters' gender through voice changes. He did not give a high-pitched and pleading voice to the female characters nor a rough, authoritative voice to the male ones, which is a distinctive feature of Rakemba's and Ny Eja's performances. His voice remained natural for most of the characters regardless of their age, sex, and status. He only changed his voice while impersonating remarkable characters such as the invisible "spirit"⁷⁰ who encouraged the heroine when she felt like giving up during the contest in the tale "Ifaravavy mahery fo" or the baby girl in "Ikala sorona." He adopted a rough, solemn tone for the former, and a shrill, crying sound, which made the children laugh, for the latter. Nevertheless, his performance was far from being monotonous. On the contrary, he played with intonation to create various moods and express different meanings in his tales. He also used onomatopoeia for the sounds of thunder and oxen, which added a comic effect to his performance.

6.2. The Children's Responses to the Storytelling Performances

The previous section described the context of the performances by the three storytellers who took part in our study. This section is dedicated to the presentation and analysis of the audiences' responses to these performances. We organized a question and answer session with

⁶⁹ « Tsara fanahy sady tian'ny vahoaka Ifaravavy. Ka ny ankizivavy an, dia manana ny maha-izy azy rehefa be herim-po, hendry tsara ... Ka aza mieritreritra ny ankizilahy hoe ny ankizivavy ambany noho ny ankizilahy. Tsy marina zany! Mitovy ianareo reo. Manaiky sa tsy manaiky? (Manaiky!) » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁷⁰ "Fanahy." Ibid. (Translation mine).

the members of the audience as a group, not individually, after the performances. Time constraints did not allow us to conduct personal interviews with the children. Background information regarding the children's age, occupation, and acquaintance with storytelling⁷¹ and folktales was somehow obtained from the small group of eight children who watched Rakemba Raketamavo's performance. The questions related to the storytelling performance were asked to the whole groups. The questions were designed by the researcher before each performance, but some changes were applied during the question and answer sessions. In fact, other questions which were not in the original questionnaire were added depending on the children's answers and some of the questions that we had prepared were left out when we felt that they would be too difficult for the children to answer or when we saw that they might not be relevant when considering the storytellers' performances. The questions were carefully worded and arranged according to the degree of reflection that they required. Straightforward, noncontroversial questions that explored the children's reactions to the storytelling performances were asked first. These were followed by questions requiring more reflection, which explored the children's understanding of issues related to gender roles and identities. It should be noted that although the questions mainly focused on the events that are most relevant to the subject of our study, they somehow followed the sequence of these events as they were told in the tales. Most of the questions were open-ended in order to enable the children to express their own perspectives on the stories. Nevertheless, probes were used when necessary, namely when the questions were too difficult to understand and to answer. Bearing in mind the fact that the respondents are children, we designed clear, understandable and concise questions, using common vocabulary,

⁷¹ Most of them were familiar with folktales although they did not often have the opportunity to listen to folktales told by a storyteller during a live performance, on the radio, on TV or at school. Four boys reported that some members of their families, be it their parents, their uncle or their sister, told them tales at home from time to time. Two other boys mentioned that their schoolteacher told animal tales at school and they also read animal tales from textbooks. The two girls' statements were vague, they mainly said that they did not often listen to folktales.

simple sentences and single-itemed questions, which means that each question tackled a single subject.

As was stated earlier, the questions were asked by the researcher at the end of Performances 1 and 2. This approach was somehow challenging and has its limitations because the children were not yet familiar with the researcher who only spoke at the end of the storytelling performances. Apart from time constraints and the large number of children in Performance 2, other barriers to a fluid communication and exchange for both performances included the children's reserve and shyness, which prevented them from giving rich, detailed answers to some of the questions. For instance, only one of the children answered the question "in your opinion, what are the qualities expected in a woman?"⁷² and none answered the question "what are the qualities expected in a man?"⁷³ during the question and answer session for Performance 1. An 8-year-old boy attempted to give an answer but he spoke in an unintelligible way and ended up saying that he forgot what he wanted to say as we prompted him to say it louder. By way of comparison, we received several answers from the members of the audience when similar questions were asked during the question and answer session for Performance 3. Nevertheless, the children's answers to the other questions for Performances 1 and 2 are worth exploring.

For performance 1, we will focus on three questions⁷⁴ whose answers are most relevant to the subject of our study. Although they do not directly refer to gender issues, these questions and the children's answers to them can be analyzed with gender lenses. The first question, which was fully answered by most of the children is, "what is the message that you received from the tale?"⁷⁵ and the second one, which was partially answered, is, "in your opinion, what

⁷² « Araka ny hevitrao, inona ireo toetra tsara tokony hananan'ny vehivavy? » Questions and answers for Storytelling Performance 1. See Appendix 21B. (Translation mine).

⁷³ « Inona ny toetra tsara tokony hananan'ny lehilahy? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁷⁴ The children were asked to answer ten questions in total but there was only substance in these three.

⁷⁵ « Inona no hafatra notsoahinao tao amin'ny angano? » Question and answer session for Storytelling Performance. See Appendix 21B. (Translation mine).

is the meaning of Felanosy's tears?"⁷⁶ Probes for the second question included statements such as, "do you think they were tears of joy or tears of sadness? Why?"⁷⁷ This led to the third question, "does Felanosy's marriage to the whale mean freedom or subjugation?"⁷⁸

The children's answers to the first question reflected their capacity to make inferences. This varied according to their age and their gender. The children's answers were:

"Father and child should talk and exchange their views" (Male, 11 years old)

"(Felanosy) was almost thrown into a hole" (Male, 7)

"She was turned into a mermaid" (Male, 7)

"Men should not oppress women" (Female, 9)

"Felanosy and her friends should help one another" (Male, 13)

"Felanosy shouldn't flee from her father" (Male, 7)

"Tears turned into salt" (Male, 11)

"Felanosy should be allowed to interact with her friends"⁷⁹ (Female, 11).

It can be observed that the girls' answers reflect their awareness of gender issues whereas the boys' answers mainly refer to general and neutral statements. The seven-year-old boy's answer "Felanosy shouldn't flee from her father" seems to hint at gender issues but in favour of the male character. The children's answers call to mind psychologist and educationalist Bruno Bettelheim's description of the mechanisms of identification and the internalization of moral values in children's reading of fairy tales. In *The Uses of Enchantment*.

⁷⁶ « Araka ny hevitrao, inona no hevitra ny ranomason'i Felanosy? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁷⁷ « Midika ho fifaliana ve izany sa alahelo? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁷⁸ « Midika ho fahafahana ve sa fanagejana ny fanambadian'i Felanosy ny trondro be? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁷⁹ « Tokony hifanakalo hevitra ny ray sy ny zanaka. »

« Saika natao tao anaty lavaka. » (It should be noted that the child used the word 'lavaka' which was also used by the storyteller during the performance. In the written text, the storyteller used the word 'zohy' or cave. The storyteller may have opted for the word 'lavaka' for fear that some of the children may not be familiar with the word 'zohy').

« Nivadika ho zazavavin-drano. »

« Ny lehilahy tsy tokony hampijaly vehivavy. »

« Tokony hifanampy Felanosy sy ny namany. »

« Tokony tsy hitsoaka ny dadany i Felanosy. »

« Ranomaso nivadika sira. »

« Tokony avela hifanerasera amin'ny namany i Felanosy. » Ibid. (Translations mine).

The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales, this author writes that “the child identifies with the good hero not because of his goodness, but because the hero’s condition makes a deep positive appeal to him [...] The child decides this on the basis of projecting himself wholeheartedly into one character.”⁸⁰ In other words, the child identifies with a character, not because of the moral values that this character embodies, but because of the ways in which this character’s condition holds resonance with their own conditions. Furthermore, commenting on the differences in the meanings that children construct out of a tale, Bettelheim affirms that “the fairy tale’s deepest meaning will be different for each person, and different for the same person at various moments in his life. The child will extract different meaning from the same fairy tales, depending on his interests and needs of the moment.”⁸¹ In that sense, it can be suggested that the female respondents’ answers to our first question reflect their identification with the female protagonist’s lot as a victim of male oppression or male control as well as women’s need and desire for equality and freedom. This identification may result from their awareness of women’s condition in their respective communities or from their understanding of women’s roles and status based on their education, the influence of the media or other agents of socialization.

The children’s answers to the second and the third questions are related. The children unanimously agreed that Felanosy’s tears were tears of joy as they replied in unison, “joy!”⁸² Before asking the third question, we referred to the ending that was not specified by the storyteller, namely the marriage between the whale and Felanosy. When we asked the children whether this marriage meant freedom or subjugation for the female protagonist, most of them replied “freedom.”⁸³ The others who did not speak did not express their views. When we asked

⁸⁰ Bruno Bettelheim. *The Uses of Enchantment. The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales*. New York : Vintage Books, 1977. P. 10.

⁸¹ Ibid. P. 12.

⁸² « Fifaliana ! » Questions and answers for Storytelling Performance 1. See Appendix 21B. (Translation mine).

⁸³ « Fahafahana.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

the children to explain why they said Felanosy's marriage with the whale is synonymous with freedom, they said "because she can sing."⁸⁴ This answer, although not rich enough to explore the ambiguity of Felanosy's condition after marrying the whale, suggests that the children considered Felanosy's desire to sing as the main issue explored in the tale. In fact, the children's answers to the last two questions reveal that the central message that they received from the tale coincides with the one that the storyteller underlined during her performance. As was discussed earlier, Rakemba presented the female protagonist's desire to sing, rather than her desire to be freed from her father, as the main issue in the tale. This somehow points to the "illusion of a simple transmission of meaning or [...] the unequivocal imposition of the same meaning"⁸⁵ mentioned by philosopher and sociologist Jacques Leenhardt in his "Théorie de la communication et théorie de la réception."⁸⁶ Drawing on Wolfgang Iser's theory of readers' aesthetic responses to literature, this author explains that "meaning, as part of a singular history marked by the past, the hopes, and the interests of [the reader], cannot be reduced to its textual formulation, no matter how specific its description may be."⁸⁷ In other words, the diversity of the readers/audiences' experiences and the various factors that may influence their interpretation of the meaning of the text/performance entail the construction of a meaning that is different from the one communicated by the author/storyteller. Considering the case of the

⁸⁴ « Satria afaka mihira. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁸⁵ « L'illusion d'une simple transmission du sens ou [...] d'une imposition univoque de ce même sens. » Jacques Leenhardt. « Théorie de la communication et théorie de la réception. » *Réseaux* vol. 12 N°68 (1994). Put online on 11 April 2018. Accessed on 09 January 2020. P. 47. (Translation mine).

⁸⁶ Although Leenhardt mainly refers to readers' responses to literature, his views can be applied to our analysis of storytelling performances. He precisely quotes Pierre Zima's comment on the connection between the individual reader's reaction to a text and the social context that defines their interpretation of the meaning of the text: "Though reading [...] is almost always [an] individual [act], it is inseparable from the normative system of the community or the communities to which the individual belongs." ["Bien que la lecture ... soit presque toujours individuelle, elle est inséparable du système normatif de la collectivité ou des collectivités auxquelles appartient l'individu"] Pierre Zima dans Jacques Leenhardt. Op. Cit. p. 45. (Translation mine). This goes in line with our previous argument about the influence of the audience's social and cultural backgrounds on their responses to a storytelling performance. Hence, as the reader's interpretation of the meaning of the text is influenced by their social and cultural backgrounds, so is the audience's response to storytelling performance.

⁸⁷ « Venant à s'inscrire dans une histoire singulière marquée par le passé, les espoirs, les intérêts [du lecteur], ne saurait être réduit unilatéralement à sa formulation textuelle, si précise que puisse être la description. » Ibid. P. 46. (Translation mine).

children who attended Rakemba's performance, we may argue that due to their limited capacity for critical thinking, they failed to discern the underlying issue of female subjugation to male authority in the tale "Felanosy." It would be wrong, however, to assume that children have no critical capacity at all. Nina Mikkelsen, a graduate from Florida State University who specializes in children's literature and literacy, precisely refers to children's critical capacity in her work on children's responses to fantasy literature. Drawing on Brazilian educator and philosopher Paul Freire's concept of critical consciousness, Mikkelsen says that "for children, [critical] capacity emerges in talk and storymaking [...] the more we invite storying from children, the better able they will be to bring to conscious awareness this critical capacity."⁸⁸ In other words, talking to the children about the stories that they heard and encouraging them to tell the stories and express their own views help to develop their critical capacities. Unfortunately, the circumstances did not allow us to verify this argument. Indeed, as was stated earlier, the questions were asked to the children as a group, not individually, and the children themselves were not very reactive even though we paraphrased and re-explained the questions by trying to relate them to their everyday experiences. We somehow attempted to enhance their capacities for critical thinking by asking more questions that allowed them to express their views. For instance, in response to the seven-year-old boy's answer, "Felanosy shouldn't flee from her father,"⁸⁹ we said, "so, she should have accepted to be thrown into a hole?"⁹⁰ The boy said, "no!"⁹¹ but when we asked him, "so?"⁹² he did not know what to say. The boy's uneasiness could be felt because he had suddenly become the centre of everybody's attention, hence, he retreated into silence. The children's lack of responsiveness may be explained by the absence

⁸⁸ Nina Mikkelsen. *Powerful Magic. Learning from Children's Responses to Fantasy Literature*. New York & London : Teachers College Press, 2005. P. 68.

⁸⁹ "Tokony tsy hitsoaka ny dadany i Felanosy." Questions and answers for Storytelling Performance 1. See Appendix 21B. (Translation mine).

⁹⁰ « Tokony nanaiky nazera tao anaty lavaka zany izy? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹¹ « Aaa » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹² « Dia ahoana zany? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

of an atmosphere that encouraged them to overcome their shyness and speak freely. The previous example of the little boy who shyly answered a question in an unintelligible way reinforces this statement. Other examples include the children's verbal and non-verbal reactions while being appointed to answer a question. Some looked down and smiled shyly while rubbing their feet on the floor. Others looked away and spoke in a hesitant way while playing with their hands or moving their feet back and forth. In light of these reflections, it can be said that the children's answers, instead of being perceived as a simple reiteration of the meaning transmitted by the storyteller, reflect the interplay between the storyteller's performance, the context of the performance, and the children's attitudes and reactions during the storytelling event and the question and answer session. Hence, we can suggest that the children's perception of the ending of the tale as the happy fulfilment of Felanosy's desire to sing freely defines Felanosy's experiences as a process which has a positive impact.

For performance 2, the children's answers to the questions related to the second tale, "Rasoa" were richer than the ones related to the first tale, "Ingalingalivola" because, as was mentioned earlier, background noises disturbed the ending of the storytelling performance and the proceedings of the question and answer session for the first tale. Nevertheless, all the answers are worth exploring. We will start with the children's answers to the questions about "Ingalingalivola." To the question "what is the message that you received from the tale?"⁹³ the children's answers varied. Some merely expressed the literal meaning of the tale when they replied, "marriage."⁹⁴ Others displayed a higher level of thinking when they said,

"one shouldn't practice witchcraft" (Female)

"we should help people who are in need, as did Ingalingalivola" (Male)

"we should help one another." (Male)⁹⁵

⁹³ « Inona no hafatra noraisinao tao amin'ny tantara? » Questions and answers for Storytelling Performance 2. See Appendix 22B. (Translation mine).

⁹⁴ « Manambady! » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹⁵ « Tsy tokony hamosavy olona »

« Tokony hanampy olona sahirana ohatran'Ingalingalivola. »

It is significant that the girl who replied, “one should not practice witchcraft,” was particularly marked by the detail about the witch who cursed Ikalasimba despite the fact that the storyteller mentioned it only once and did not dwell on the subject for too long. The abundance of stories about witches and witchcraft within the community or broadcast on radio channels may have influenced the girl’s reaction.

The children’s identification with the notable characters in the tale was gendered as is reflected in the volunteers’ answers to the next question, “who was your favourite character in the tale?”⁹⁶ The girls replied, “Ingalingalivola,” whereas the boys said, “the brothers.”⁹⁷ Bettelheim’s views about children’s identification with the hero or heroine of the tale are relevant here. It can be said that the girls identified with Ingalingalivola whose concerns for beauty and marriage hold resonance with their own experiences. The boys, on the other hand, identified with the brothers whose actions connote strength and courage, which are stereotypical qualities that are associated to men.

Our next questions investigated the children’s perception of female solidarity in the tale as is illustrated by the relationship between Ingalingalivola and Ikalasimba. The children were aware that the two female characters were in good terms and they helped each other. We then drew their attention to the women in their communities and asked them to define the characteristics of the relationship between these women. The children unanimously agreed that “women are always in conflict with one another.”⁹⁸ When we further asked, “so there are no friendly relations at all between women?”⁹⁹, they replied, “hostile relations prevail.”¹⁰⁰ This

« Tokony hifanampy. » Ibid. (Translations mine).

⁹⁶ « Iza no mpandray anjara tianao indrindra tao amin’ny tantara? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹⁷ « Izy mirahalaha. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹⁸ « Rehefa samy vehivavy miady foana. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

⁹⁹ « Dia tsy misy mpinamana mihitsy izany ny vehivavy? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁰ « Le miady no betsaka. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

prompted us to ask the next question, “in your opinion, why are women hostile to one another?”¹⁰¹ Only a boy replied, “some women are beautiful, others are ugly, and the ugly ones are jealous.”¹⁰² The children’s answers show that they are already aware of gender differences, especially stereotypes about women’s hostility towards each other.

In the final questions, we explored the children’s reception of the storyteller’s representation of gender power relations in the tale. When we asked the children to say what they thought were the reasons why it was mainly the male characters, that is Ingalingalivola’s brothers, who engaged in dangerous activities in the tale, they provided interesting answers:

“Because men are not lazy” (Male)

“Women are afraid” (Female)

“Women are afraid of being hurt or killed” (Male).¹⁰³

This led us to ask, “so women are weak?”¹⁰⁴ Interestingly, the children replied in unison, “no!”¹⁰⁵ When we asked them, “so what?”¹⁰⁶, a boy said, “[they are] not strong.”¹⁰⁷ This produced laughter from the rest of the class. These answers confirm gender stereotypes which relegate negative characteristics to women, and which women themselves, as can be observed in one of the female respondents’ answer, seem to accept. Furthermore, the litotes, “not strong,” in the boy’s answer enables him to maintain a safe distance from the situation and thus prevents him from being perceived as a sexist. However, it reinforces the stereotypical characteristics associated to women, namely “weakness,” in an ironical way. The fact that the others laughed

¹⁰¹ « Araka ny hevitrao, nahoana ary no mifandrafy ny vehivavy? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰² « Misy ny tsara tarehy, misy ny ratsy tarehy dia mialona ny ratsy tarehy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰³ « Satria tsy kamo ny lehilahy »
« matahotra ny vehivavy »

« Matahotra ny haratra na ho faty ny vehivavy. » Ibid. (Translations mine).

¹⁰⁴ « Malemy izany ny vehivavy? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁵ « Tsia! » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁶ « Fa ahoana ary? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁷ « Tsy matanjaka. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

shows that they were amused by the boy's understatement of a negative characteristic that is generally attributed to women.

Finally, the children did not answer our last question, "why do you think Ikalasimba did not attempt to become the son of Zanahary's wife when her beauty was restored?"¹⁰⁸ It was the storyteller who provided her own answer to this question, as was stated earlier in the description of the context of the performance.

Even though limited by time constraints, the children's responses to the performance of the tale "Raso" were interesting. The volunteers stated the following as the messages that they received from the tale:

"Women should not be oppressed because they have their rights" (Male)

"Women's rights should be respected" (Male)

"Women shouldn't accept to be oppressed"¹⁰⁹ (Female).

Even if these statements support women's rights and denounce the oppression of women, they also reflect the respondents' gendered identification with the victims or the oppressors. In fact, the first two statements by male respondents show that they identify with men who are usually known as the ones who oppress women and who, based on the message conveyed by Ny Eja's tale, "should not oppress women" or "should respect women's rights." The last statement by a female respondent, on the other hand, shows that the speaker identifies with women who "should not accept to be oppressed."

The children's answers to the next question "who is your favourite character? Why?"¹¹⁰ also suggest that boys tend to identify with the characters who hold power whereas girls tend

¹⁰⁸ "Araka ny hevitrao, nahoana Ikalasimba no tsy niezaka ny ho lasa vadin'ny mpanjaka rehefa naverin'ny Zanahary ny hatsaran-tarehiny?" Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁰⁹ « Tokony tsy ampijaliana ny vehivavy fa manana ny zoany. »

« Tokony manaja ny zon'ny vehivavy. »

« Tokony tsy hanaiky ampijaliana ny vehivavy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁰ « Iza no mpandray anjara tianao indrindra? Nahoana? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

to identify with the victims or the female characters who display positive characteristics that are usually associated to women. Four boys provided the following answers:

“Rasoia because she protected her friends”

“Rafahagagana because he made women’s rights known to everybody”

“Rasoia because she led people to Rafahagagana”

“Rafahagagana because he brought solutions.”¹¹¹

Two girls gave the following answers,

“Rasoamiangaly because she still wanted to study but her father forced her to get married”

“Ranoro because she was kind-hearted.”¹¹²

It should be noted that though two of the boys chose the female character Rasoia, the reason for their choice stems from the character’s capacity to “protect her friends” or her possession of leadership skills. This implies that she is powerful enough to stand out as a protector or a leader, not a victim.

Our next questions focused on the children’s perceptions of women’s rights. When we asked them whether they agreed with Rafahagagana’s statement, “women know their rights but they do not claim them,”¹¹³ they all agreed. A boy explained that “[they] are afraid of being beaten by their husbands.”¹¹⁴ A girl reiterated the same answer, saying, “they are afraid of their husbands. They beat.”¹¹⁵ These answers not only show that the children are aware of women’s exposition to domestic violence, they also reveal that the children perceive men as the oppressors and women as the victims.

¹¹¹ « Rasoia satria niaro ny namany, » « Rafahagagana satria nampahafantatra ny zon’ny vehivavy tamin’ny rehetra, » « Rasoia satria nitarika ny olona ho any amin’i Rafahagagana, » « Rafahagagana satria nitondra vaha olana. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹² « Rasoamiangaly satria mbola te hianatra dia noteren’ny dadany hanambady, » « Ranoro satria malemy fanahy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹³ « Fantatry ny vehivavy ny zony saingy tsy ampihariny. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁴ « Matahotra sao vonoin’ny vadiny ny vehivavy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁵ « Matahotra ny vadiny. Mamono ny vadiny. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

To our next question, “what are some of the rights of women that you know?”¹¹⁶, the children replied:

“To have a birth certificate” (Male)

“To be given food” (Male)

“To be dressed” (Female)

“To speak” (Male)

“To go for a walk” (Female).¹¹⁷

Interestingly, when we asked the children to name some of the rights of men that they know, they answered:

“To feed their wife and children” (Female)

“To find a job” (Male)

“To feed their wife” (Male).¹¹⁸

This last set of answers obviously refers to the roles that men are expected to fulfil, not the rights that men may enjoy. Yet, the storyteller herself stressed during her performance that men and women should enjoy the same rights. For instance, when she said that women should not be beaten, she added that men should not be beaten either. The children’s confusion of men’s rights with their gender roles suggests that they may not have understood the meaning of the word “rights.” Nevertheless, their answers reflect their own conceptions of gender power relations. These imply that unlike women, men are not perceived as victims of oppression who need to claim their rights. Instead, they are expected to be the superior sex on whom women and children depend for their survival. A boy’s answer to our last question further supports this point. When we asked, “do you think that men’s and women’s rights are the same?”¹¹⁹, only this boy answered, “men’s and women’s rights are not the same because women’s rights are

¹¹⁶ « Inona avy ireo zon’ny vehivavy fantatrao ? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁷ « Manana kopia, » « omena sakafo, » « mitafy, » « miteny, » « mitsangatsangana. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁸ « Mamelona vady aman-janaka, » « mitady asa, » « mamelona vady. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹¹⁹ « Araka ny hevitrao, mitovy ve ny zon’ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy ? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

superior to men's.”¹²⁰ This answer is somehow confusing because it primarily suggests that women's rights are more important than men's in the sense that they are more valued. If we go back to the children's answers to the previous question regarding men's rights, however, we may affirm that this boy's answer mainly refers to the fact that women have more rights to claim as victims, contrary to men who enjoy a better status.

To conclude, the children's receptions of Ny Eja's storytelling performances suggest that they have internalized gender differences. Despite the ideologies of gender equality conveyed by the tale “Rasoa,” the children displayed stereotypical understandings of gender roles and identities. It is true that the storyteller's performance, particularly her use of her voice and her gendered impersonation of the characters, reinforced gender differences in roles and identities. However, the influence of gender socialization in the children's conceptions of gender roles and identities cannot be overlooked. Developmental psychologist and gender scholars Carol Nagy Jacklin and Laura A. Baker survey the theories on early gender development. Their approach is particularly relevant to our study because they provide “a comprehensive interactionist model [...] for understanding gender development [which] include[s] both biological and social factors, as well as their interplay.”¹²¹ In other words, the model that they provide considers the ways in which the interplay between children's genetic characteristics and their social environment determine their gendered behaviours. These authors particularly point to the necessity of “an individual differences approach [...] with respect to parental behaviors toward girls and boys, as well as regarding behavior and psychological characteristics of the children themselves.”¹²² Indeed, they expose the limitations of the assumption that parents are the main transmitters of gendered behaviours. Instead, they argue

¹²⁰ « Tsy mitovy ny zon'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy fa ny an'ny vehivavy ambony ny zony mihoatra noho ny lehilahy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹²¹ Carol Nagy Jacklin and Laura A. Baker. « Early Gender Development. » In Stuart Oskamp and Mark Costanzo. *Gender Issues in Contemporary Society*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1993. P. 42.

¹²² Ibid. p. 52.

that the “peers, teachers, and other adults, including other family members outside the home [...] may be most relevant cultural transmitters of stereotypes.”¹²³ Furthermore, drawing on American psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg’s “Cognitive-Developmental Analysis of Children’s Sex-Role Concepts and Attitudes,”¹²⁴ Jacklin and Baker explain that “children can be seen as responsible for their own gendered behaviors [...] through the cognitive processing that [they are] known to do concerning gender [...] [and that sex-typed behavior] [...] develops from organized rules the child induces from what has been observed.”¹²⁵ It means that children acquire notions of gender differences by developing their concepts of themselves and others in relation to organized social rules that they observe in their environment. In the case of the children in our study, we can suggest that social factors, which encompass the parents and other socialization agents’ influences, as well as the children’s capacity to decode and reproduce the gendered messages in their environment, constitute some of the key elements that shape their conceptions of gender roles and identities. This view does not exclude the influence of other factors such as race, social class and ethnicity.¹²⁶

So far, we have explored and analyzed the children’s responses to the first two performances by the female storytellers. This last section will be dedicated to the description and analysis of the children’s responses to the last performance by the male storyteller, Arikaomisa Randria. The main issues presented earlier, namely the researcher’s difficulty in eliciting rich and detailed answers from the children, were not encountered during the question and answer session for performance 3. In fact, the male storyteller managed to create a warm and relaxed atmosphere that dropped all barriers to communication from the beginning till the end of his performance. The fact that the storyteller asked the questions himself encouraged the

¹²³ Ibid. p. 44.

¹²⁴ Lawrence Kohlberg. « Cognitive-Developmental Analysis of Children’s Sex-Role Concepts and Attitudes. » In Eleanor E. Maccoby. *The Development of Sex Differences*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966.

¹²⁵ Carol Nagy Jacklin and Laura A. Baker. Op. Cit. p. 48.

¹²⁶ These are among the factors considered by Jacklin and Baker in their model for understanding early gender development. Op. Cit. p. 42.

children to participate. Volunteers raised their hands as the storyteller asked the questions. The storyteller had the authority to choose among them or to appoint other children who did not raise their hands. There was an equal participation of boys and girls during the question and answer session. Nevertheless, we noticed that two girls and several boys were more active than the rest of the class. It should also be noted that among the children who did not volunteer but were appointed by the storyteller, girls were shier than boys. For instance, when a girl was asked a question, she did not say anything, she merely shook her head in a bewildered manner. Another girl appointed by the storyteller acted in the same way. When a boy was appointed, however, he tried to speak and answer the questions.

The storyteller asked the questions to the children at the end of the two tales. He started with the questions for the tale “Ifaravavy mahery fo.” The following are the messages that the volunteers received from the tale:

“If you have many things, you should share [with others]” (Male)

“Children should be well raised because that will somehow benefit the parents” (Male)

“There shouldn’t be any discrimination between boys and girls” (Male)

“One should not dislike women while liking men, one should like both” (Female).¹²⁷

The first two answers address issues regarding the relationship between parents and children without direct reference to gender issues. The first answer reflects the child’s negative perception of Ifaravavy’s parents’ actions when they selfishly spent the money that they received from the selling of some of their daughters without giving anything to their children. The second answer merely hints at the importance of treating boys and girls equally; it mainly stresses the child’s concern for the quality of the parents’ education and treatment of their children. The last two answers show that the respondents have fully understood the main

¹²⁷ « Raha manana zavatra be dia be dia tokony hizara »

« Tokony tezaina tsara ny ankizy fa hahasoa ny ray aman-dreny ihany »

« Tsy tokony hanavakavaka ny ankizilahy sy ny ankizivavy. »

« Tsy tokony hoe tsy tiana ny vehivavy fa ny lehilahy tiana fa tokony tiana daôly. » Questions and answers for Storytelling Performance 3. See Appendix 23B. (Translation mine).

message communicated by the storyteller through his tale, that is, boys and girls should be treated equally. In that sense, the meanings constructed by the last two respondents correspond to the storyteller's intended meaning.

To the question, “who is your favourite character?”¹²⁸, only two boys replied. One said “Ifaravavy because she is brave”¹²⁹ and the other said “the king because [...] (hesitation) he loves children.”¹³⁰ Our previous reflections on children's identification with the characters whose condition and experiences resonate with the children's own experiences are also relevant here. Drawing on Bruno Bettelheim's approach to children's identification with the heroes or heroines in a fairy tale, we argued that the girls mainly identified with the female victims due to their awareness of the condition of women in their communities. In the case of the two boys who responded to our questions about Arikaomisa Randria's performance, the same argument can be put differently. The first boy identified Ifaravavy as his favourite character but the reasons for his choice point to characteristics which, instead of reinforcing the female protagonist's vulnerability or her condition as a victim, shed light on her positive qualities. The second boy's answer reflects his identification with the king whose authority and wisdom inspire admiration. The boy's short hesitation, punctuated by his nonverbal reactions, while stating the reason why he chose the king as his favourite character, suggests that he randomly provided this reason without really meaning it, but merely because there had to be an answer to the question “why?” Moreover, the fact that the king “loved children” supports rather than contradicts the representation of the king as a wise and authoritative character.

Our next questions explored the children's conception of men's and women's defining personality traits based on the representations of the male and female characters in the tale. The

¹²⁸ « Iza no mpandray anjara tianao indrindra?” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹²⁹ “Ifaravavy satria mahery fo.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹³⁰ « Ny mpanjaka satria... tia zaza.” Ibid. (Translation mine).

first question was, “what are the personality traits of Ifaravavy?”¹³¹ The children’s answers pointed to Ifaravavy’s qualities:

“courageous, kind” (Female)

“courageous” (Male)

“courageous and forbearing” (Female)

“forgiving” (Female)

“kind” (Male).¹³²

The second and the third questions, “what are the personality traits of women in your everyday lives?”¹³³ and “what are the personality traits of men in your everyday lives?”¹³⁴, were meant to identify the children’s understanding of gender differences. The following are the children’s answers to the second question, along with the storyteller’s interventions and the general reactions of the rest of the class:

“Kind!” (Male)

“So little boys are wicked?” (storyteller)

“Both are kind” (The same respondent)

“All women have a good character” (Female)

“Wanton” (Male, this made the rest of the class laugh)

“Kind and forbearing” (Female)

“Sometimes they are capricious” (Female)

“There you are! Someone is criticizing women!” (storyteller).¹³⁵

¹³¹ “Ahoana ny fahitanao ny toetran’Ifaravavy?” Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹³² « Mahery fo, tsara fanahy »

« Courageuse »

« Mahery fo sady mandefitra »

« Mamindra fo »

« Tsara fanahy. » Ibid. (Translations mine).

¹³³ « Manao ahoana ny toetran’ny vehivavy eo amin’ny fiainanao andavan’andro? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹³⁴ « Manao ahoana ny toetran’ny lehilahy eo amin’ny fiainanao andavan’andro? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹³⁵ « Tsara fanahy »

« Fa ny bandy kely ve ratsy fanahy? »

« Tsara fanahy daholo »

« Tsara toetra daholo ny vehivavy rehetra »

« Jejo »

« Tsara fanahy sy mahay mamindra fo »

« Indraindray miaingitraingitra »

The children laughed at the storyteller's comment. No further responses were produced, so the storyteller moved to the next question. To the third question, the children replied:

“Brutish” (Male, the rest of the class laughed)

“Violent” (Female)

“pretentious” (Male).¹³⁶

At this point, the storyteller interrupted by saying, “so we, men, all have a bad character? There are none of us who are different?”¹³⁷ The children continued to raise their hands and provided the following answers:

“[Men] have a rather bad character” (Male)

“Proud” (Male).¹³⁸

The storyteller reacted again, saying, “we’re all dead! Do you think that men have no good character at all? So I am a man with a very bad character.”¹³⁹ This made the children laugh but did not encourage them to say the opposite. The children’s responses obviously pertain to stereotypes about the general characteristics associated to men and women. The children’s answers to the second question point to characteristics that correspond to stereotypes about women’s gender roles. For instance, the positive qualities “good,” “kind,” and “forbearing” refer to social expectations about women’s role as caregivers. The negative characteristic “wanton” reinforces stereotypes about women as it suggests that women, being particularly concerned about their outward appearance, have embraced their categorization as sexual objects

« Zany misy manakiana vehivavy! » Ibid. (Translations mine).

¹³⁶ « Bruta bruta » (It comes from the French word « brute »)

« Maherihery setra »

« Miseho be style. » Ibid. (Translations mine).

¹³⁷ « Tena ratsy toetra be ve tsika lehilahy fa tsisy hoe mba hafa mihitsy ? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹³⁸ « Ratsiratsy toetra »

« Matikambo. » Ibid. (Translations mine).

¹³⁹ « Tena maty tsika rehetra! Tsy manana toetra tsara mihitsy ve ny lehilahy aloha e? Za zany ratsy toetra be aho zany e! » Ibid. (Translation mine).

that are meant to be contemplated. The last answer, the perception of women as “capricious,” may be viewed as an example of women’s use of micromanipulation in order to make others comply with their will. Similarly, the children’s answers to the third question point to stereotypes about masculine characteristics such as aggressiveness and men’s tendency to boast about their qualities. In order to analyze the children’s answers, we can refer to Kohlberg’s views on children’s cognitive development of gender roles and identities. Drawing on the Money and Hampson critical data on stages of development, Kohlberg asserts that children already “have a stable gender identity”¹⁴⁰ by age 5. What the author means by a stable gender identity is the “cognitive self-categorization as ‘boy’ or ‘girl’ [...] [which] results from a basic, simple cognitive judgment made early in development.”¹⁴¹ The fact that children already have a definite notion of their gender identities at this age implies that they have also developed definite notions of sex roles, being active participants in the formation of their gender roles and identities.¹⁴² In that sense, children already have clear understandings of the social conceptualizations of the differences between male and female characteristics and they construct their own experiences in relation to these concepts. Kohlberg precisely affirms that “[men] are perceived as more powerful, punitive, aggressive, fearless, instrumentally competent, and less nurturant than females.”¹⁴³ In the case of our respondents, it can be said that although their answers do not refer to all these characteristics, they already express the major differences between characteristics that are stereotypically associated with men and women.

¹⁴⁰ Lawrence Kohlberg. « A Cognitive-Developmental Analysis of Children’s Sex-Role Concepts and Attitudes. » in Eleanor Maccoby. *The Development of Sex Differences*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966. P. 89.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 99.

¹⁴² This view builds on Kohlberg’s statement that « the child’s sex-role concepts are the result of the child’s active structuring of his own experience; they are not passive products of social training. » *Ibid.* P. 85.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 99.

The children's responses to our next questions further reflect their adherence to stereotypical conceptions of male and female roles. The questions were "what are the appropriate roles for a woman in the household?"¹⁴⁴ and "what are the appropriate roles for a man?"¹⁴⁵ The storyteller asked both questions at the same time; hence, most of the children answered them at the same time. Others answered them separately. The following are the children's answers:

"Women do the dishes and men make money" (Male)

"Women are the cook; men are the bread-winner" (Female)

"Men work in the rice field" (Male)

"Women take care of the household" (Female)

"Women do the laundry and men drive taxis" (Male, the last statement made the rest of the class laugh)

"Women do the cooking and men work with mechanical stuffs" (Male)

"Women take care of her children" (Female)

"Men work. Work." (Female)

"Men make money" (Male)

"Men claim the rent" (Male)

"Men feed their wife and children" (Female)¹⁴⁶

The children, either male or female, provided answers that reflected stereotypical tasks for men and women. This calls to mind Kohlberg's reflections on children's adoption of stereotypes about sex roles. He mainly points to the "general differentiation of maternal, inside-the-home function from paternal, outside-the-home functions."¹⁴⁷ He goes on to say that "by

¹⁴⁴ « Inona no andraikitra sahaza ny vehivavy ao an-tokantrano? » Questions and answers for Storytelling Performance 3. See Appendix 23B. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁵ « Inona no andraikitra sahaza ny lehilahy? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁶ « Manasa vilia ny vehivavy dia mitady vola ny lehilahy, » « Mpahandro sakafo ny vehivavy dia mpitady vola ny lehilahy, » « Miasa tanimbary ny lehilahy, » « Vehivavy mikarakara tokantrano, » « Vehivavy manasa lamba dia lehilahy mitondra taxi, » « Vehivavy mahandro sakafo dia lehilahy manao mékanika, » « Mikarakara ny zanany ny vehivavy, » « Lehilahy miasa. Miasa », « Mitady vola ny lehilahy, » « Lehilahy mitaky hofan-trano, » « Lehilahy mamelona vady aman-janaka. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁴⁷ Lawrence Kohlberg. « A Cognitive-Developmental Analysis of Children's Sex-Role Concepts and Attitudes. » In Eleanor Maccoby. *The Development of Sex Differences*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966. p. 99.

age 4-5, almost all of a group of 16 American children showed awareness of the fact that only males play the extra-familial roles [...] [and that] children of six or older consistently attribute more social power to the father.”¹⁴⁸ Although Kohlberg specifically refers to the American context, his findings are relevant to our study as is suggested by the children’s responses to our questions. The children not only associated tasks within the home with women and work outside the home with men; they also emphasized women’s role as caregivers either to their husbands or their children while associating men with activities that involve physical strength (working in the fields), skills (mechanics, driving a taxi), and authority (claiming the rent). Furthermore, recalling Pasternak et al’s explanation of the assignment of lower status to women in agricultural societies,¹⁴⁹ we can suggest that the children are aware that men, being the gender that contributes more to the family’s subsistence by providing money to buy food and other goods, hold more social power than women who merely fulfil house work and take care of the children.

Paradoxically, the children’s answers to our last questions reveal that they adhered to the storyteller’s ideology which advocates the equal treatment of boys and girls and the recognition of women’s values. When we asked them to list the efforts made by Ifaravavy in order to improve her condition, they answered:

“She participated in a contest in order to become the wife of the king’s son” (Male)

“She worked” (Female)

“She always looked up whatever happened” (Female).¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 101.

¹⁴⁹ Burton Pasternak et al. *Sex, Gender and Kinship*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1997. P.68.

¹⁵⁰ « Nanao concurs mba ho lasa vadin’ny zanaky ny Mpanjaka »

« Niasa »

« Nitraka foana na inona na inona nanjo. » Questions and answers for Storytelling Performance 3. See Appendix 23B. (Translation mine).

These answers suggest that the children somehow associated Ifaravavy with courage as is indicated in the title of the tale, “Ifaravavy mahery fo” or “Ifaravavy, the courageous girl.” This can be explained by the stress that the storyteller put on this theme during his performance although Ifaravavy’s actions do not actually testify to her courage. The children’s acknowledgement of the female protagonist’s courage contradicts our comments in the previous chapter which highlight the fact that Ifaravavy was a weak and vulnerable victim who mainly depended on external help for her survival and success. The fact that the children perceived Ifaravavy as a courageous character implies that they accept the valorization of women’s capacities.

To our next question, “do you think that the parents treated their children fairly in the tale?”¹⁵¹, the children replied in unison that the parents were unfair. When we asked them the reasons why they thought so, only a girl explained that “they were unfair because they did not treat the girls as their children but as their servants.”¹⁵² Although the girl’s explanation does not directly point to the parents’ unequal treatment of their children based on their gender, it somehow signals her awareness of their wrongdoing.

To our last question, “do you think that boys and girls should be treated in the same way by their parents?”¹⁵³, the children also replied altogether, “yes!” This is a further indication that the storyteller managed to convey the message about the equal treatment of boys and girls through his tale. We can somehow ask whether the children’s reaction entirely results from the effectiveness of the storyteller’s skills in transmitting the intended message to the audience or it may have been influenced by the children’s background knowledge or personal experiences of parents’ treatment of their sons and daughters. This compels us to investigate parents’

¹⁵¹ « Araka ny hevitrao, rariny ve ny fitondran’ny ray aman-dreniny ireo zanany tao amin’ny tantara? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁵² « Tsy rariny satria tsy nataony tahaka ny zanany fa nataony tahaka ny mpanampy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁵³ « Araka ny hevitrao, tokony hitovy ve ny fitondran’ny ray aman-dreniny ny zanany lahy sy ny zanany vavy? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

treatment of their sons and daughters in the Malagasy context. The study¹⁵⁴ conducted by French demographer Bénédicte Gastineau and Malagasy sociologist Noro Ravaozanany on gender and schooling in Madagascar is particularly useful to us. It is true that this study focuses on children's schooling, but it somehow gives an insight into Malagasy parents' attitudes towards their male and female children. The main argument supported by the authors is that despite the relatively equal number of boys and girls who attend primary schools, discourses of gender differences persist due to the teachers' unequal treatment of boys and girls. In order to build our own argument, we need to further consider the findings of these authors which are most relevant to our subject. The authors maintain that the main reasons for the disparity between boys' and girls' schooling in other countries in sub-Saharan Africa are not relevant in the Malagasy context. In their views, while issues related to schooling conditions, namely the distance between the pupils' homes and the schools,¹⁵⁵ as well as the families' expectations from their male and female children¹⁵⁶ are among the key factors that incite parents to privilege boys' schooling over girls', the same reasons are not applicable in Madagascar. Indeed, Gastineau and Ravaozanany write that in Madagascar, "the family structures, the division of labour within the households ensure a high schooling rate for children as well as equality between the sexes in primary schools."¹⁵⁷ Their argument builds on the premise that unlike

¹⁵⁴ Bénédicte Gastineau and Noro Ravaozanany. « Genre et scolarisation à Madagascar. » *Questions Vives* vol. 8 (2011). Put online on 10 October 2011. Accessed on 22 January 2020.

¹⁵⁵ The authors say that « when the schools are far from their homes, the parents are reluctant to let their daughters travel by themselves on the road and prefer to keep them at home. » [Lorsque les établissements scolaires sont éloignés des domiciles, les parents sont réticents à laisser leurs filles seules sur le trajet et préfèrent les garder à la maison]. Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁶ The same authors explain that « parents hesitate to send their daughters to school in societies where married women exclusively contribute to the income of their in-laws' household and not that of their initial household. They cannot expect profits from their investment in the education. When boys alone play the roles of aging and health insurances towards their parents, the latter have a vested interest in providing them with an educational capital at the expense of girls. » [Les parents hésitent à scolariser leurs filles dans les sociétés où la femme mariée contribue exclusivement aux revenus du ménage de sa belle-famille et non pas à celui de son ménage d'origine. Ils ne peuvent espérer aucun retour de l'investissement dans l'éducation. Lorsque les garçons jouent seuls le rôle d'assurance vieillesse ou d'assurance maladie vis-à-vis de leurs parents, ces derniers ont alors tout intérêt à les doter d'un capital scolaire au détriment des filles]. Ibid. Pp. 1, 2. (Translation mine).

¹⁵⁷ « Les structures familiales, la division du travail au sein des ménages favorisent une forte scolarisation des enfants et une parité entre les sexes à l'école primaire. » Ibid. p. 6. (Translation mine).

parents who are reluctant to send their daughters to school due to the fact that after marriage, the daughters would mainly provide their services to their in-laws, “[Malagasy] parents can always expect emotional and economic support from their daughter’s household in the same way as their son’s.”¹⁵⁸ In other words, the structure of Malagasy families, namely the preference for neolocal residence, that is a residence pattern whereby the couple lives in an area that is neither the residence of the husband’s parents nor that of the wife’s parents, entails the couple’s equal sharing of duties towards the parents from both sides. This presupposes the equal treatment of boys and girls by their parents as far as education is concerned. In the authors’ view, it is in the school context that gender stereotypes prevail due to the teachers’ unequal treatment of boys and girls. This suggests that while parents are believed to treat their male and female children equally, the latter are exposed to other gender socializing agents at school. Hence, their understanding and appropriation of stereotypical gender roles and identities is mainly influenced by external factors rather than their parents. This goes in line with Jacklin and Baker’s previously quoted claim that external socialization agents, namely teachers, rather than the parents, are among the main transmitters of gender stereotypes.

However, it would somehow be misleading to entirely assume that parents treat their sons and daughters equally. The results of Lantsoa Andrianjafitrimo’s research among Malagasy women from rural areas in Antananarivo can be perceived as an evidence to the fact that parents somehow treat their sons and daughters differently. Andrianjafitrimo comments on her female informants’ statements, saying,

In the countryside, as our informants put it, there are no other sources of income than the selling of the extra crops and handicraft. This has an impact on the intellectual education of these girls because their schooling mainly depended on the right season. This situation is still relevant [...] In fact, during their childhood, these female informants were obliged to leave school when their parents no longer had the means to

¹⁵⁸ « Les parents peuvent toujours espérer une aide affective ou économique du ménage de leur fille au même titre que de celui de leur fils. » Ibid. p. 5. (Translation mine).

ensure their schooling. Sometimes, they decided themselves to drop out of school in order to help the parents to ensure the schooling of the younger children.¹⁵⁹

It means that the organization of tasks within the household, namely the responsibility put on girls as care takers of their younger siblings and helpers with other family duties, somehow testifies to the unequal treatment of boys and girls by parents in rural areas. Going back to the children's responses in our study, we should note that the children come from urban areas in Antananarivo, which means that girls are not subjected to family duties that may hinder their schooling. Nevertheless, factors other than schooling may signal the differences in the parents' treatment of their children. These may include the choice of clothes, toys, activities, punishment and the parents' general attitude towards boys and girls.¹⁶⁰ A pertinent example of the disparities between parents' treatment of their sons and daughters in the Malagasy context provided by Suzy Ramamonjisoa is worth mentioning. Building her argument on an enquiry conducted in a regional UNICEF programme in Betafo, regarding "the comparative opportunities and educational disparities between boys and girls"¹⁶¹ and focusing on girls' eating patterns in particular, this author comes to the conclusion that "girls found their access to food less sufficient and not enough compared to boys."¹⁶² She explains that this is due to the fact that "boys tend not to eat with their parents; mothers set aside their portion [whereas] girls

¹⁵⁹ « A la campagne, comme disent nos informatrices, il n'y a pas d'autres ressources de revenu à part la vente du reste de la récolte et l'artisanat. Cela a un impact sur l'éducation intellectuelle de ces filles car leur scolarité dépendait surtout de la bonne saison. Cette situation est toujours valable [...] En effet, pendant leur enfance ; ces informatrices ont été obligées de quitter l'école quand les parents n'avaient plus de quoi assurer leur scolarité. Quelquefois, elles ont décidé d'elles-mêmes d'abandonner les études pour pouvoir aider les parents à mieux assurer la scolarité des plus jeunes. » Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo. *La femme malgache en Imerina au début du XXI^e siècle*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2003. P. 142. (Translation mine).

¹⁶⁰ See Hugh Lytton and David Romney. « Parents' differential socialization of boys and girls. A meta-analysis. » *Psychological Bulletin* vol 109 2 (1991). Pp. 267–296 and C. Leaper et al. « Moderators of gender effects on parents' talk to their children: A meta-analysis. » *Developmental Psychology*, 34 1 (1998). Pp. 3–27. Some of the differences in parents' socialization of their daughters and sons reported by these authors are the encouragement of sex-typed activities, the preference for physical punishment for boys, and the supportive speech towards girls.

¹⁶¹ Suzy Ramamonjisoa. "Empowerment of Women & Democracy in Madagascar." *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 58 (1993). Pp. 118–123. Accessed 3 Feb. 2020. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4006114.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* p. 120.

eat with the parents and in general, the adults, particularly the father, get the best portions. Girls learn very soon *mandefitra*, resigning yourself to eat less and less well.”¹⁶³ Interestingly, Ramamonjisoa comments that “such resigned girls are unlikely in future to claim an equal share in public affairs.”¹⁶⁴ She goes on to say that the fact that “everyone states the normal practice is to treat boys and girls equally [...] [corresponds to] a slogan which conceals the subtle but efficacious discriminatory practices that make sure girls are trained for a subordinate rank.”¹⁶⁵ In other words, though the parents’ unequal treatment of their sons and daughters seem to be unconscious in this case, its impact on the personality development of girls is particularly important and even appears as a strategy to socialize girls into their stereotypical gender roles since they learn early in their lives the roles and attitudes that enhance women’s subordinate position in society. Another example is provided by Malanjaona Rakotomalala in his *A Coeur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. The author singles out parents’ unequal treatment of their sons and daughters in urban and rural areas regarding their sexuality. He writes that “once they have their first menses, the girls’ mothers warn them against boys [...]. [And while] parents rarely give total freedom to their daughters, [...] they worry less about the boys’ sexuality.”¹⁶⁶ Hence, the parents’ unequal treatment of their sons and daughters can be observed in various fields in the Malagasy context. In that sense, if we acknowledge that the children’s personal experiences differ from the ideal of equal treatment of boys and girls presented by the storyteller, their adherence to the values advocated by the storyteller mainly results from the storyteller’s ability to convey this main idea through his performance. This means that there is a direct transmission of the message from the storyteller to the children even though the

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* p.p. 120, 121. (Author’s italics).

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 121.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ « Dès leurs premières règles, avec discrétion, leurs mères les ont mises en garde contre les garçons ... rares sont les parents qui laissent le champ libre à leurs filles. Par contre, ils se soucient peu de la sexualité des garçons. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. Pp. 175-6. (Translation mine).

message does not necessarily reflect reality but rather refers to ideals that the storyteller aspires to.

The children's answers to the questions about the tale "Ikalasorona" were less rich than their answers to the questions related to the previous tale. Their answers to the first question, "what is the message that you received from the tale?"¹⁶⁷, reflect their different interpretations of the central message that the storyteller wanted to transmit. The children replied:

"We should not discriminate" (Female)

"We should not toss children in the river" (Male)

"We should not lie" (Male)¹⁶⁸

The girl's answer alludes to the parents' discrimination against their daughter in favour of their son, which is very close to the storyteller's message, that is, the promotion of parents' equal treatment of their male and female children. The two boys' answers denounce the parents' actions without hinting at gender inequality issues.

The next question, "who was your favourite character in the tale?"¹⁶⁹, was meant to investigate whether the children's identifications with the male or female characters in the tale were influenced by their own gender. The answers show that the children chose notable male or female characters to whom they invariably associated the same characteristics. In fact, a girl replied, "the King because even if Ikalasorona's parents lied, he did not kill them but imprisoned them."¹⁷⁰ A boy gave a similar but less elaborate answer, "the King because he is

¹⁶⁷ « Inona no hafatra noraisinao tao amin'ny tantara? » Questions and answers for Storytelling Performance 3. See Appendix 23B. (Translation mine).

¹⁶⁸ « Tsy manavakavaka »

« Tsy manary zanaka any anaty rano »

« Tsy mandaingalainga. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁶⁹ « Iza no mpandray anjara tianao indrindra tao amin'ny tantara? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁰ « Ny Mpanjaka satria na dia nandainga aza ny ray aman-drenin'Ikalasorona dia tsy novonoiny fa nogadrainy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

kind.”¹⁷¹ Both answers point to the two children’s admiration of the King’s qualities, that is, his kindness and compassion.

The question concerning Ikalasorona’s minor role in the tale was difficult for the children to answer. The storyteller read the question without reformulating it as he did with the other questions. He said, “Ikalasorona did not play a major role in the story. In your opinion, why?”¹⁷². When none of the children answered, the storyteller commented, “come on, she is just a baby!”¹⁷³. He somehow reiterated the question and prompted the children to answer. A girl raised her hand and paraphrased his answer, saying, “because she was just a baby, so she did not really participate.”¹⁷⁴ This shows that neither the storyteller nor the children reflected on the female protagonist’s vulnerable position and the perspectives on individual empowerment which were thoroughly discussed in the previous chapter. Instead, the focus was on the importance of encouraging parents to treat their children equally.

The last question, “Ikala is said to be the bravest among the three children at the end of the story. In your everyday lives, do you know any girls who are daring and brave?”¹⁷⁵, was reformulated by the storyteller as follows: “do you know a girl who is daring like a little boy? A girl who can defeat a boy?”¹⁷⁶ While our initial question focused on qualities such as courage and bravery without directly referring to the female character as a tomboy, the storyteller’s reformulation enhanced this categorization. One of the children replied that he knew a tomboyish girl, X¹⁷⁷, who happened to be one of his classmates. The storyteller asked, “who is

¹⁷¹ « Ny Mpanjaka satria tsara fanahy. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁷² « Tsy dia nandray anjara be loatra Ikalasorona tao amin’ny tantara. Nahoana araka ny hevitrao? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁷³ « Izy ary mbola zaza kely koa! » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁴ « Izy tsinona mbola zazakely dia tsy dia nandray anjara be loatra. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁵ « Voalaza fa Ikala no sahisahy indrindra tamin’izy telo mianadahy tamin’ny fiafaran’ny tantara. Amin’ny fiainanao andavan’andro, mahafantatra ve ianao ankizivavy izay sahisahy sy mitomban-dahy? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁶ « Misy ankizivavy ve fantatrarao sahisahy be dia tena ohatran’ny bandy kely, maharesy bandy kely? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁷ For privacy issues, the name is not revealed.

X?”¹⁷⁸ and upon seeing the well-built girl, he commented, “Oh! X is really big! Who has already been oppressed by X?”¹⁷⁹ The children did not reply and seemed to be puzzled by this question. This made the storyteller conclude that “X is very kind because she does not oppress anyone.”¹⁸⁰ However, while the storyteller was still speaking, a boy mumbled an unintelligible answer which hinted at the fact that X does oppress some kids. The storyteller reproved him, saying, “she does not oppress any kids, don’t you lie!”¹⁸¹ The storyteller’s reaction, namely his attempt to ascribe positive qualities to the tomboyish girl, somehow suggests that girls, even when they are “brave and strong like boys,” are still kind and harmless.

To conclude, the children’s reactions during the question and answer session following Arikaomisa Randria’s storytelling performances reveal that they already have “a stable gender identity,”¹⁸² to borrow Kohlberg’s term, and a clear understanding of gender differences. Nevertheless, considering their subscription to the storyteller’s message about gender equality, we can also suggest that the children’s reactions pertain to one of the hypothetical positions – that is “the dominant-hegemonic position”¹⁸³ – adopted by the audience in response to televisual discourse articulated by sociologist Stuart Hall in his article “Encoding, Decoding.” Stuart Hall contends that when the viewer or the audience operates inside the dominant-hegemonic position, “[he] takes the connoted meaning [...] full and straight, and decodes the message in terms of the reference code in which it has been encoded.”¹⁸⁴ In other words, the audience subscribes to the meaning that the broadcasters intended. Indeed, as was stated earlier, the children in our study readily expressed their agreement with the storyteller’s intended

¹⁷⁸ « Iza zany X? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁷⁹ « Ary tena glady be X a! Iza nareo no efa nampijalian’i X? » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁸⁰ « Tsara fanahy be zany X satria tsy mampijaly an’iza na iza. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁸¹ « Tsy mampijaly ankizy zany izy koa, eo elah mandainga eo! » Ibid. (Translation mine).

¹⁸² Lawrence Kohlberg. « A Cognitive-Developmental Analysis of Children’s Sex-Role Concepts and Attitudes. » in Eleanor Maccoby. *The Development of Sex Differences*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966. P. 89.

¹⁸³ Stuart Hall. « Encoding, Decoding. » in Simon During. *The Cultural Studies Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993. P. 101.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

message that girls and boys should be treated equally even though their own experiences may differ from the ideals presented in the tale. In reality, the storyteller's intended message which is received by the audience within the dominant-hegemonic position is presented as an ideal, which, in Stuart Hall's terms, "carries with it the stamp of legitimacy – it appears coterminous with what is 'natural,' 'inevitable,' 'taken for granted' about the social order."¹⁸⁵ Hence, just like the storyteller's statement that parents normally love their children, his message about the importance of treating boys and girls equally has acquired its legitimacy through his performance. This in turn facilitates the children's acceptance of the message. The discrepancies between the children's own understanding of gender differences and their adherence to the storyteller's ideals of gender equality can be explained by the fact that the children already have clear understandings of gender roles and identities that mainly express gender stereotypes. As Kohlberg puts it, "once made, [children's cognitive self-categorization as boy or girl] is relatively irreversible and is maintained by basic physical-reality judgments, regardless of the vicissitudes of social reinforcements, parent identifications, etc."¹⁸⁶ It means that the children's conceptions of gender roles and identities as a result of their active organization and structuring of their own experiences are constant. They reflect gender stereotypes because these are the dominant representations that the children are exposed to in their early development. In our study, the children's reactions to the storyteller's performances¹⁸⁷ highlight the interplay between the influence of the storyteller's performance and the children's cognitive construction of gender roles and identities. In fact, the direct transmission of the idealized message from the storyteller to the audience does not connote a passive reception of the message by the children, instead it is part of the process whereby

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. P. 516.

¹⁸⁶ Lawrence Kohlberg. « A Cognitive-Developmental Analysis of Children's Sex-Role Concepts and Attitudes. » in Eleanor Maccoby. *The Development of Sex Differences*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1966. p. 88.

¹⁸⁷ It should be recalled that the storyteller himself, despite his presentation of his ideals about gender equality, reinforced gender differences during his performance.

children actively construct their notions of gender roles and identities which are constantly marked by gender stereotypes. This brings home our argument about the intersection of the storyteller's performance, his ideologies, and the audience's reactions.

6.3. Possible Shapes of the Female Empowerment Process in Contemporary Storytelling Performances

In the previous sections, we explored the intersection of the storytellers' performances, the ideologies conveyed in their tales, and the children's responses in various contexts. Our analyses revealed that in the three storytelling performances, the meanings constructed by the children do not always coincide with our initial interpretations of the written versions of the tales presented in Chapter 5. The children's responses pertain to predictable reactions influenced by the storytellers' performances and their own social backgrounds. We have particularly witnessed throughout the performances that although the tales and the storytellers allude to ideologies of gender equality, the storytellers' performances were gendered in various ways. On the one hand, the female storytellers' use of their voices and their ways of impersonating male and female characters differently highlighted gender differences. On the other hand, the male storyteller's attitude towards the boys and the girls who attended his performance was marked by gender differentiation. In fact, the storytellers' performances mainly enhanced the children's own conceptions of gender differences. These tended to reflect stereotypes about men and women's roles and personality traits, which the children learn during their early developmental stages of socialization.

In this section, we intend to consider the possibilities for female empowerment in the context of storytelling performances despite the prevalence of gender stereotypes and the lack of concrete transformations on an individual or social level. Going back to our reflections on the Pathways of empowerment's conception of female empowerment as a journey characterized

by the opportunities open to women, as well as the routes women may take, we will take into account the factors that may promote female empowerment in the tales under study while analyzing the ways in which the storytellers depict the female characters' reactions to the circumstances that may empower them, and the ways in which the children interpret the messages conveyed in the tales. In that sense, our approach relies heavily on the results of our analyses of the performances of the storytellers and the children's responses in relation to our own interpretation of the tales.

The factors that promote female empowerment in our tales can be analyzed in relation to the views of California University graduate Amy C. Alexander and political scientist Christian Welzel in the paper that they presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association in 2007. In this paper, the authors single out four main factors to women's empowerment: "socioeconomic development, rising gender-egalitarian attitudes that transform economic development into a cultural process of human development, historical legacies stemming from a society's cultural and political traditions, and institutional design factors."¹⁸⁸ Although Alexander and Welzel mainly focus on women's political empowerment, their views regarding the first two factors to female empowerment are particularly relevant to our study. Indeed, drawing on the views of classical theorists of modernity, they underline the positive effects of economic development on women's empowerment, namely women's "eligibil[ity] for positions of power, [...] their access to educational and occupational resources, [...] the alleviation of the costs in labor and time of everyday responsibilities associated with care giving (e.g. childrearing, domestic work)."¹⁸⁹ In other words, economic development gives opportunities for women to transcend the domestic realm and to be empowered through their

¹⁸⁸ Amy C. Alexander and Christian Welzel. « Empowering Women : Four Theories Tested on Four Different Aspects of Gender Equality. » Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Palmer House Hotel, Chicago, IL, 12 April 2007. P.2 <https://www.democracy.uci.edu/files/docs/conferences/grad/alexander>

¹⁸⁹ Ibid. Pp. 5, 6.

access to education and professions in the social world. This, in the same authors' views, in turn leads to the "conversion of economic development into a cultural process of human development that gives rise to an emancipative worldview reflected in self-expression values that emphasize human choice and autonomy, including the choices and autonomy of women."¹⁹⁰ The changing attitudes about women's empowerment and gender equality are thus closely tied to socio-economic development. Interestingly, Alexander and Welzel point out that "gains in gender equality are most dramatic in countries with high levels of development and strong emancipative values."¹⁹¹ In that sense, if we consider the case of Madagascar, whose level of development is considerably low¹⁹², we can suggest that the positive outcomes of economic development in terms of gender equality are less significant. This is consistent with Suzy Ramamonjisoa's comment in her article "Empowerment of Women and Democracy in Madagascar."¹⁹³ Referring to the triple burden of women in a pre-industrial country¹⁹⁴ like Madagascar and reporting the limitations of views that hold that Malagasy women may enjoy positions of power,¹⁹⁵ Ramamonjisoa says, "how many women are there in Madagascar who are badly fed, overburdened by labour and childcare, aged before their time?"¹⁹⁶ Although

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. P. 6.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. P. 7.

¹⁹² In the World Bank's entry about Madagascar, we can read that « Madagascar is among the poorest countries in the world with 75% of the population living on less than \$1.90 per day (in purchasing power parity). The country's human capital index ranking is among the lowest worldwide and Madagascar has the world's fourth highest rate of chronic malnutrition, with almost one child in two under five years of age suffering from stunting. An estimated 1.4 million children dropped out of primary school in 2012. Living conditions remain difficult for the vast majority of the population, with a low rate of access to electricity (13%) in particular. Madagascar is one of the African countries most severely affected by climate change impacts and experiences an average of 3 cyclones per year. » last updated on 29 October 2019. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/madagascar/overview>. Accessed on 09 February 2020.

¹⁹³ Suzy Ramamonjisoa. « Empowerment of Women and Democracy in Madagascar. » *Review of African Political Economy* n° 58 (1993). P. 121. Accessed 7 February 2020. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4006114.

¹⁹⁴ Ramamonjisoa writes that « socio-economic indicators concerning the typical woman in pre-industrial countries reveal a triple burden : a) the care and education of children ; b) the care of the household and c) the production of food for consumption. » Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ramamonjisoa comments, « it is nice to recall that in Madagascar, women could be reigning queens. It is comforting too to think about the theoretical possibility that a woman may be polyandrous ... as our queens were. » Ibid. P. 122.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 121.

Ramamonjisoa's article was published in the late twentieth century, the situation has not significantly changed. This is reflected in the ambiguous responses provided by the children who attended the storytelling performances for our study. Indeed, our analysis revealed that the children's conception of gender equality does not always translate into changes in their stereotypical attitudes about gender roles and identities. Even if they acknowledged the importance of gender equality, they maintained their gendered understandings of men's and women's roles within their communities.

The children's responses call to mind what Malanjaona Rakotomalala describes as a form of syncretism which "is not a superposition but, depending on the context, an alternation of different cultures."¹⁹⁷ Reflecting on the coexistence of traditional cultures and Western values in Imerina, Rakotomalala writes that

we are currently witnessing among the Merina the amplification of some cultural traditions that are meant to be ancestral, practiced in a hidden or overt way, depending on the area, urban or rural. [The Merina] hold on to them because they think that they do not cause an imbalance between the fascinating Western productions and the precious traditions of the ancestors, or, because these traditions are considered as the primary elements of Malagasy identity in general, that are necessary to face globalization.¹⁹⁸

This author's statement points to the distinctive feature of the Merina who switch effortlessly from one culture to another depending on the context. As the same author puts it, for the Merina, "the past is far from being static: it is dynamic, adapted to the needs of the

¹⁹⁷ « Non sous la forme d'une superposition mais, selon le contexte, d'une alternance de cultures différentes. » Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris : Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 57. (Translation mine).

¹⁹⁸ « On assiste actuellement chez les Merina à l'amplification de certaines traditions culturelles censées être ancestrales, pratiquées de manière souterraine ou visible, selon le milieu, urbain ou rural. S'ils y tiennent, c'est parce qu'ils pensent qu'elles ne provoquent pas un déséquilibre entre les fascinantes productions occidentales et les précieuses traditions des ancêtres ou, alors, parce que ces traditions sont considérées comme des éléments primordiaux de l'identité malgache en général, nécessaires pour affronter la mondialisation. » *ibid.* P. 58. (Translation mine).

moment or preserved to respond to them.”¹⁹⁹ In other words, despite the growing influence of Western civilization, the Merina cling to some traditional values which are used in the appropriate contexts. This situation corresponds to American psychologist Janet T. Spence’s description of the effects of contemporary historical trends that promote gender equality on society’s conceptualization of gender power relations. Spence says that “each society must remain responsive to changes in its current circumstances, be they in the natural world or in its human institutions. Societies are caught between the need to be conservative, on the one hand, lest too rapid change lead to destabilization, and the need to change, on the other hand, lest their systems become outmoded and dysfunctional.”²⁰⁰ The children’s responses in our study reflect the basic concern about finding the right balance between new ideals and traditional values implied in this statement. We may suggest that the children’s responses present similarities to the Merina’s attitude described by Rakotomalala in that the children readily accepted the gender equality ideals presented in the tales by the storytellers, but when they were encouraged to talk about gender roles and identities in a different context, namely in their everyday lives, they maintained their stereotypical conceptions. The children thus provided various responses for various contexts. In the context of the storytelling session, they displayed their adherence to the ideology presented by the storytellers as if it were natural for them to agree that women’s rights should be respected, and boys and girls should be treated equally. However, in the context outside the storytelling session, they felt free to voice ideas that may contradict ideals of gender equality. Nevertheless, it may be argued that the children were not aware that their responses reflected stereotypical gender roles and identities that result in asymmetrical gender power relations. Indeed, they may have failed to tie women’s lack of power to their lack of access to

¹⁹⁹ « Le passé est loin d’être immobile : il est dynamique, adapté aux besoins du moment ou conservé pour y répondre. » Ibid. (Translation mine).

²⁰⁰ Janet T. Spence. « Women, Men, and Society : Plus Ça Change, Plus C’est la Même Chose. » In Stuart Oskamp and Mark Constanzo. *Gender in Contemporary Society*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi : Sage Publications, 1993. P. 16.

valuable resources within the community while responding to our questions. In any case, the children's responses reveal the limitations of efforts to empower women. Alexander and Welzel certainly make a point when they say that socio-economic development and changing attitudes about gender and women's emancipation are among the key factors to gender equality and female empowerment. However, in the context of our study, the audiences' general attitude about gender somehow hinders the process of female empowerment in that it tends to cast women into their traditional gender roles. The low level of economic development and the population's mentality may account for the slow pace at which ideals of gender equality materialize in various aspects of individual and social life. As is expressed in the view articulated by the Prospective International Centre in *Les conflits de générations*, "social structures actually change much faster than behaviours."²⁰¹ In other words, it takes longer for the individuals in a community to adapt their attitudes to the changes that are being operated on an institutional level. In that sense, while concerns about gender equality may be reflected in government policies or the objectives of non-government organizations, these do not easily translate into changing attitudes about gender and female empowerment.

These reflections enable us to articulate our conception of the shape of the female empowerment process that emerges from our analysis of the intersection of the storytellers' performances, the children's responses and our own interpretation of the tales. However, before dealing with the issue of female empowerment in the context of our study, we need to explore other scholars' perspectives on Malagasy women's empowerment. Suzy Ramamonjisoa's previously mentioned article is particularly relevant. Ramamonjisoa starts her article by commenting on the mythical representations of women's power in Madagascar. From a feminist perspective, she writes that "the privileged place of women exists not in daily life but first and

²⁰¹ « Les structures sociales changent en réalité beaucoup plus vite que les comportements. » In M. Clapier. « Contribution à l'étude de la personnalité de la jeune fille malgache. » *Civilisation malgache* 2. Paris : Editions Cujas, ouvrage publié avec le concours de l'Université de Madagascar, 1968. Pp. 48, 49. (Translation mine).

foremost in institutional myths,”²⁰² which means that the representations of women’s power in myths rarely correspond to their actual positions in society in their everyday lives. The same author refers to the case of Madagascar whereby “the founding family heads who emerge from the waves of successive migrants to the island use female ancestors for legitimation but they are in fact men.”²⁰³ She goes on to say that “in the home, the woman is all-powerful but she has no right to speak in public: that is an exclusively masculine role [...] Women are rarely found in positions of leadership and representation.”²⁰⁴ Thus, in her view, the concept of female power in Madagascar is embedded in institutional myths that fail to hold resonance with women’s lived experiences. It is mainly rooted in patriarchal ideology which limit women’s power outside the domestic sphere. The same author suggests that in order to empower women, we need to conduct an “objective analysis of our capacities and our limitations”²⁰⁵ which she refers to as a “sort of gender analysis.”²⁰⁶ This will enable the identification of “priorities in policy making, in planning the advancement of women while integrating them in a national and international effort aimed at their development.”²⁰⁷ She somehow acknowledges that “resistance to change will not disappear from one day to the next [...] Equality is never a gift. It must rest on a labour of conscientization, on organization, on reflection and on a choice of appropriate strategies.”²⁰⁸ This last statement points to the challenge of instigating concrete transformations in terms of gender power relations. This may account for the limitations of efforts to empower women in the context of our study. However, it may be argued that the absence of tangible aspects of empowerment in the tales can primarily be explained by the storytellers’ lack of concern for this issue. As has been revealed by our analysis of the

²⁰² Suzy Ramamonjisoa. “Empowerment of Women & Democracy in Madagascar.” *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 58 (1993). Pp. 118–123. Accessed 7 Feb. 2020. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/4006114.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.* Pp. 119, 120.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.* p. 121.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p. 122.

storytellers' performances, the central themes of the tales did not revolve around female empowerment and none of the female characters consciously engaged on an actual process of empowerment. This differs from the conception of empowerment as a process that requires the individual's awareness of their condition of powerlessness and the actions that they take to change their situation. As is reflected in the definition suggested by psychologists Bennett Cattaneo and Aliya Chapman, "empowerment is an iterative process in which a person who lacks power sets a personally meaningful goal oriented toward increasing power, takes action toward that goal, and observes and reflects on the impact of this action, drawing on his or her evolving self-efficacy, knowledge, and competence related to the goal."²⁰⁹ It means that the individual who wants to be empowered engages on a self-initiated quest for empowerment, a feature which is missing in the case of the female characters in the tales that we studied. The fact that the storytellers themselves were not concerned about the empowerment of the female characters in their tales reinforces this point. Indeed, though some of the storytellers, namely Ny Eja and Arikaomisa Randria, designed tales that were meant to promote gender equality, they did not specifically engage in a project to empower women. Nevertheless, considering Andrea Cornwall and Jenny Edwards' contention that "the very nature of empowerment is something far more contingent and contextual [...] [and] context is crucial in making sense of empowerment,"²¹⁰ we may develop an approach to female empowerment that does not consider women's self-initiated efforts as a precondition for empowerment. Cornwall and Edwards precisely reveal the limitations of the general acceptance of the axiom that "women cannot be empowered by others: 'real' empowerment is something that women can only do for themselves."²¹¹ They argue that "women's pathways of empowerment are pursued under

²⁰⁹ Bennett Cattaneo and Aliya Chapman. « The Process of Empowerment. A Model for Use in Research and Practice. » *American Psychologist* vol 65 N° 7 (2010). P. 647.

²¹⁰ Andrea Cornwall and Jenny Edwards. « Introduction: Negotiating Empowerment. » *IDS Bulletin Transforming Development* vol 47N° 1A (2016). P. 2.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

conditions that are not of their own choosing [...] [and] a number of [...] contextual factors impinge on the possibilities for women's empowerment – facilitating and enabling but also blocking and restricting possibilities.”²¹² In that sense, a fruitful approach to conceptualize female empowerment needs to take into consideration the contextual factors that may promote or restrict women's empowerment. In the case of the tales in our study, we considered in the previous chapter the possibilities for female empowerment by exploring the ways in which women's vulnerable conditions may trigger empowerment. However, based on the results of our analysis of the storytellers' performances and the children's responses, namely their respective conceptions of gender and gender power relations, we may view the female characters' empowerment process as one that mainly results from the influence of external forces and circumstances. Considering the storytellers' and the children's conscious or unconscious support for beliefs and practices that promote gender inequality, we may further suggest that the female characters' process of empowerment corresponds to a discontinuous process that can be represented by a series of dots separated by a series of gaps. This pattern goes in line with Roland Pfefferkorn's statement that “the move towards actual equality between men and women does appear partial and contradictory, progresses in law and in fact being counterbalanced by stagnations, and even regressions.”²¹³ Pfefferkorn insists on the prevalence of gender inequality despite the considerable changes that have improved women's status, namely their access to education, professional activities and fertility control. In the context of our study, the contradictory efforts to empower women and to promote gender equality can be observed in the intersection of the ideologies conveyed in the tales, the storytellers' performances, and the children's responses. If we take into account the plots of the

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ « Le mouvement vers une égalité réelle entre hommes et femmes apparaît bien comme partiel et contradictoire, les avancées en droit et en fait étant contrebalancées par des stagnations, voire des reculs. » Roland Pfefferkorn. *Genre et rapports sociaux de sexe*. Paris, Suisse : Editions Syllepse, Editions Page deux, 2016. P. 9. (Translation mine).

tales, we may suggest that the dots in the discontinuous pattern mentioned above refer to the factors that promote female empowerment as well as the moments of empowerment experienced by the female characters when they are given the opportunity to transcend their vulnerable conditions. As far as the storytelling events are concerned, the dots may also represent the storytellers' and the children's adherence to ideals of gender equality through their constructions of the meanings of the tales. This mainly refers to the meanings that support women's causes and shed light on the possibilities for female empowerment. The gaps, on the other hand, point to the interruption of the process of empowerment due to the limitations of the actions taken by the female characters, which, as was stated earlier, are not initially motivated by their awareness of the need to redress the gender imbalance. The gaps also correspond to the prevalence of patriarchal ideologies epitomized by the storytellers' and the children's attitudes about gender differences which tend to reinforce stereotypes about gender roles and identities. In the tale of Felanosy by Rakemba, for instance, it can be said that the female character is given the opportunity to free herself from her father's oppressive control and fulfil her will to sing freely. The children's responses to the performance of this tale show that women should not be constrained by men but should be given the opportunity to enjoy their freedom. The storyteller's gendered performance, however, highlighted Felanosy's position as a vulnerable victim of male oppression and reinforced the fact that the storyteller's primary goal was not to empower the female protagonist. The ending of the tale marks Felanosy's inevitable submission to another male authority. It may be argued that her submission does not necessarily imply oppression. It is actually a condition that she has readily accepted in exchange for a shelter from her father. Nevertheless, it can somehow be perceived as a form of submission because she has no other choice than to depend on the whale's protection and has to provide her services to the whale in order to survive. In the tale "Ingalingalivola," the heroine's assets put her in a position that enables her to impose her will before accepting to marry the son of

Zanahary. The storyteller's characterization of Ingaligalivola during her performance, however, does not stress this point and rather highlights Ingaligalivola's dependency on the male characters in the tale. In Rasoa, the female characters seem to seek empowerment as they march together towards the alleged solution to their oppression. The children who attended the performance all acknowledged the need to end the oppression of women and to promote women's rights. However, the storyteller's performance and the children's responses are marked by gender differences which tend to depict women as powerless victims and men as the perpetrators of violence and holders of power. Finally, in the two tales by Arikaomisa Randria, both female protagonists seem to enjoy a better condition at the end. From being the powerless victims of their parents' ill-treatment, they become princesses. The one receives the care and protection of a King (Ikalasorona) whereas the other marries the son of a King and becomes an influential figure who is well-loved by the whole community due to her kindness. The children who heard the tales agreed with the storyteller that boys and girls should be treated equally and there should not be any form of discrimination against girls or women. Nevertheless, the same respondents' understandings of men's and women's roles in society contradict their adherence to the values of gender equality promoted in the tales. This can be viewed as an obstacle to the process of female empowerment as women are perpetually associated to their traditional roles as housekeepers as opposed to men who are the breadwinners. The passive roles played by the female protagonists in the tales also point to the limitations of the empowerment process.

Hence, the process of empowerment for the female characters fit in the pattern of a dotted structure marked by opportunities for empowerment and interruptions of the process at various intervals. This dotted structure in turn may take various shapes depending on the different experiences of the female characters. Drawing on the concept of female journey articulated by Washington State University Professors Bonnie Frederick and Virginia Hyde in their introduction to the collection of essays on women's travels entitled *Women and the*

Journey: The Female Travel Experience, we may suggest an approach that is aimed at identifying the possible shapes of the female empowerment process for the female characters in the tales under study. The authors of the essays in the aforementioned book focus on “physical movement, not just mental journeys or journeys as metaphors for life [while acknowledging that] the physical journey leads to the metaphysical and the metaphorical.”²¹⁴ In other words, they highlight the importance of women’s physical journeys which also play a major role in defining their mental journeys. The concept of physical movement is relevant in our study of the female characters’ experiences because each of these female characters is involved in a physical movement from one point to various destinations. For instance, Felanosy departs from her father’s home and ends up living in the sea with the whale. In between these two places, two other places characterize the heroine’s journey, the public place in the village where she discovers her singing talent and the forest, where she is looking for a shelter to keep her safe from her father. In Ingalingalivola’s case, three different places can be singled out during her journey: her parents’ home, the cave on the mountains where she meets Ikalasimba, and Zanahary’s place. In “Raso,” the female characters return to the point of departure at the end of their journeys. Ranoro, who initially lives in the sea, follows Andriambodilova on land, but returns to the sea when her husband violates her taboo. Raso and the other women who follow her leave their respective homes in order to meet Zanahary Rafahagagana and return to their homes after receiving the “solution” to women’s oppression. In Arikaomisa Randria’s tale “Ikalasorona”, the heroine’s physical journey can be traced as follows: travel with her parents and her brother, forced isolation and exposition to danger when she is tossed into the sea, life with the King and his son at the palace after the King found her and adopted her. In the second tale by the same author, the main places that are involved in the female protagonist’s journey

²¹⁴ In Bonnie Frederick and Susan H. McLeod. *Women and the Journey: The Female Travel Experience*. Pullman, Washington: Washington State University Press, 1993. Pp. XVIII, XIX.

are her parents' home and the King's place where she lives at the end of the tale after succeeding at the tests designed by the King.

These different itineraries of the female characters' journeys enable us to identify the shapes that their empowerment process may take based on the opportunities available to them as well as the obstacles that they encounter. We argue that the process of empowerment for the female characters can take two forms based on the results of our previous analysis which highlighted its discontinuous aspect. The first shape is a dotted line with definite starting and ending points, and the second shape is a dotted circle which revolves around a central solid line. The dotted line describes a constant but discontinuous process with a specific point of departure and an end point which differs from the point of departure. The experiences of Felanosy, Ingalingalivola, Ikalasorona and Ifaravavy correspond to this description. Indeed, these female characters depart from their respective points of departure, which Frederick and Hyde refer to as "home,"²¹⁵ visit other places, and conclude their journey at a destination that is different from the point of departure. What is constant throughout the journey is the female characters' personalities and the roles that they play even if they are exposed to situations that could change or empower them. In the case of these four female characters, their exposition to various forms of danger prior to or during their journeys may be perceived as a situation that could trigger changes in their personalities or the roles that they play in the tales. Felanosy flees from her father who threatens to lock her up in a cave. While seeking a safe place from her father, she faces the danger of the forest. Ingalingalivola is compelled to travel by herself when her father and brothers do not come back from their visit to Zanahary's place. This exposes her to the possible dangers on the road and the challenge of facing Zanahary, the authority who ordered the killing of her father and brothers. Ikalasorona nearly dies when her parents toss her into the tumultuous sea before being succored by the King. Ifaravavy faces life-threatening challenges

²¹⁵The authors explain that « home is both the literal and metaphorical point of departure ... it is the fixed point to which other places will be explicitly or implicitly compared. » Ibid. p. XIX.

while working for her parents or while participating in the King's contests. According to Frederick and Hyde, female travelers' acceptance to face the "‘danger’ of the journey"²¹⁶ is motivated by the quest for freedom. They say that "the awareness that one is challenging the expectation of safety and security is at the heart of women's travels [...] when the journeyer exults in danger and celebrates her survival, she is glorying in the freedom to be in danger."²¹⁷ This statement mainly refers to women who deliberately embark on a journey towards a specific goal regardless of the risk and the dangers. The four female characters in our study, however, are forced in one way or another to engage in a physical journey. Hence, we cannot talk about a deliberate quest for freedom in their cases. This may account for their unchanged personalities from the beginning till the end of the journey. They remain vulnerable and dependent on the male characters for protection or for the provision of their needs. Although they are engaged on a physical journey, the significant actions that move the plot forward are performed by the male characters. In Felanosy, the heroine seeks external help and is ultimately rescued by a male character. In Ingalingalivola, it is the brothers who capture the dangerous creatures that enable their sister to become the wife of Zanahary's son. In Ikalasorona, as was stated in our previous comments, the female protagonist is merely a passive recipient of the other characters' actions. It is true that her passivity can be explained by the fact that she is merely a baby when she is a victim of her parents' sexism. Yet, little account is made of her actions and the development of her personality as she grows up at the King's palace. The same can be said about Ifaravavy whose success at the King's tests does not result from her personal effort but from the intervention of an invisible force. Furthermore, the children's responses to the storytelling performances also reinforce the constant nature of the process represented by a dotted line. During the performances of the four tales that feature the four characters mentioned above, there was a direct transmission of the message from the storytellers to the children. The

²¹⁶ Ibid. p. XXII.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

meanings constructed by the children echo the meanings that the storytellers wanted to convey in their tales. These meanings reflected the children's basic understandings of gender differences which remained constant throughout the session and were not challenged by the ideologies of gender equality introduced through our questions about the tales. In that sense, it can be said that the elements that characterize the empowerment process for the four female characters fit into the dotted line pattern which not only refers to the discontinuity of the process but also reflects the limitations of the possibilities to empower women.

The dotted circular shape of the female empowerment process which revolves around a solid line is the reverse of the first pattern in that the solid line represents the constant nature of attitudes about gender informed by patriarchal ideologies. Hence, while the gender stereotypes that shape the female characters' journeys remain constant, the female characters experience change throughout the journeys. This is the case of the female characters in the tale "Raso." The female characters evolve in a discontinuous circular journey in which the end point is the point of departure. The central line serves as a reference point in that the female characters' experiences are defined in relation to stereotypical attitudes about gender as well as norms about gender roles and identities. For instance, the storyteller's characterization of Ranoro confirms the representation of women as submissive, dependent and vulnerable. Indeed, Ranoro epitomizes the submissive woman who endures the oppression of her strong, powerful husband. This was enhanced by the storyteller's performance, which in turn influenced the children's gendered identification with the female victim or the male oppressor. It should be noted, however, that at some point before she accepts to marry Andriambodilova, Ranoro is in a position of control because she is the one who imposes a taboo as a marriage condition, which, in the case of Ny Eja's performance, can be perceived as a claim for respect and a prevention of oppression in the form of verbal violence. Moreover, unlike the forced journeys of the female characters in the previous tales, Ranoro's journey is motivated by her curiosity and desire to

discover life outside the sea. However, life outside the sea consists in learning to be a subdued housewife who is expected to follow her husband's orders diligently. Her subsequent return to the starting point of her journey, the sea, may be perceived as an opportunity for empowerment as she displays the capacity to take decisions on her own and to face its consequences. Indeed, discourses on female empowerment mainly stress agency, and by extension the ability to make choices and decisions, as a crucial part of the empowerment process. Social economist Naila Kabeer, whose works touch upon gender issues and gender equality, precisely maintains that "agency in relation to empowerment [...] implies not only actively exercising choice, but also doing this in ways that challenge power relations."²¹⁸ In other words, an individual's capacity to take decisions that challenge gender power relations can be perceived as a form of empowerment. In the tale under study, Ranoro's decision to leave her husband not only puts an end to her submission to his authority but also puts her back into her initial position of authority whereby she has the choice to reject or to accept him, which does challenge traditional power relations. Nevertheless, the storyteller's characterization of Ranoro as a vulnerable victim during the performance, somehow hinders her process of empowerment as it highlights her weaknesses and defines the limitations of her actions. Indeed, her portrait as a frail woman who silently cries and leaves instead of defying her husband and exposing his wrongdoing supports this point. Hence, even though Ranoro experiences changes which may empower her during her journey, she is constantly characterized with reference to gender stereotypes that underline women's vulnerability. This brings home our conceptualization of the discontinuous circular pattern which revolves around a solid line that remains constant throughout the process. The same pattern is relevant for the other female characters in the tale, namely the three Rasoas who follow the leading Rasoas to meet Zanahary Rafahagagana. Their journeys begin with the awareness of men's oppressive behavior. The women then embark on a journey that is aimed

²¹⁸ Naila Kabeer. « Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment : A Critical Analysis of the Third Millenium Development Goal. » *Gender and Development* vol. 13 N° 1 (2005). P. 14.

at putting an end to male oppression. After receiving the solution to their oppression from Zanahary Rafahagagana, they go back to where they have come from but with changed personalities. Nevertheless, although the storyteller claimed at the end of her tale that these Rasoa no longer accepted to be oppressed, her impersonation of the characters in the tale somehow conforms to the representation of women as vulnerable victims of male oppression who cannot save themselves but need male intervention. Hence, attempts to empower the female characters are constantly challenged by the prevalence of gender differences and gender stereotypes.

Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter investigated the possibilities for female empowerment in the performances of contemporary Malagasy tales. Our analysis highlighted the ambiguous experiences of the female characters in these tales while exploring the interplay between the storytellers' performances, the members of the audience's responses, and the ideologies conveyed in the tales. Our purpose was to identify the shapes that the empowerment process may take for these female characters. The empowerment process was compared to a journey on which the female characters involuntarily or deliberately embark. Based on the elements that characterize the empowerment process, namely the opportunities and the obstacles to empowerment observed in the different events in the tales, the storytellers' performances, and the children's reactions, we argued that the female characters' empowerment is a discontinuous process which could be linear or circular. The linear pattern refers to the female characters' lack of responsiveness to the opportunities for empowerment that are made available to them. In this case, the limitations of efforts to empower women are reflected in the invariability of the female characters' roles and personalities despite the presence of circumstances that call for changes

in the tales. This is amplified by the prevalence of stereotypical attitudes about gender expressed by the storytellers and the members of the audience. The circular pattern points to the constant characterization of the female protagonists in relation to stereotypical representations of women. This also reveals the limitations of the opportunities to empower women. In fact, even though the female characters whose experiences fit into this pattern display their awareness of male oppression and the need to promote gender equality, their characterization and the actions that they take are always defined in accordance with norms that support gender differences and gender stereotypes.

CONCLUSION

In this study, we analysed the evolution of the representations of gender and gender power relations in Malagasy folktales and the performance of oratory discourses or kabary throughout various historical periods and in different social and cultural contexts. We mainly identified the extent to which gender differences are translated into gender inequality in the contexts of Malagasy folktales and oratory. Focusing on a selection of written Malagasy folktales from the 19th century to the present, we started our analysis with the identification of the ways in which Malagasy tales are permeated by asymmetrical gender power relations that are rooted in ideologies of male dominance and female subordination. Shifting our focus to the contemporary performance of kabary and production of folktales, we considered the growing awareness of the need to promote gender equality in the Malagasy context and examined the impacts of gender equality discourses on women's experiences. In the field of kabary performance, which traditionally excluded women, we investigated the definitions of contemporary female orators' position, status, and roles based on the reception of their performance of kabary by their fellow male orators and their audiences and in relation to the norms that govern kabary performance. As regards the impacts of gender equality discourses on the conception of Malagasy folktales, we studied the case of folktales that are written, published and told by contemporary male and female storytellers. We mainly considered the possibilities for female empowerment and their limitations in the contexts depicted by these contemporary storytellers. Our study relied on the combination of several approaches, including content analysis, survey research (personal interviews and questionnaires), and observational methods. Our corpus was thus made up of written Malagasy tales from the 19th century to the present, the data collected during our interviews with Malagasy orators, storytellers, and members of the audiences, and the recordings of oratory and storytelling performances.

The first part of our study explored the representations of femininity and masculinity in written Malagasy folktales from the 19th century to the present. This was aimed at understanding the social construction of gender identities, roles and statuses and their impacts on relations between and within both genders. Our analysis built on Raewyn Connell's conceptualisation of gender power relations which highlights the relationships between various forms of femininity and masculinity and the ways in which the interrelation between these concepts contribute to male dominance and female subordination. As Connell puts it, "the interplay between different forms of masculinity is an important part of how a patriarchal social order works"¹ in that "th[e] interrelation [between the forms of femininity and masculinity] is centred on a single structural fact, the global dominance of men over women."² She goes on to say that "hegemonic masculinity is always constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities as well as in relation to women,"³ which means that definitions of masculinity and femininity are interconnected and the power relations between concepts of masculinity and femininity are constituted by their interconnectedness. This view thus acknowledges the existence of multiple forms of femininity and masculinity, as well as the prevalence of a gender power relation pattern that underlines male dominance and female subordination.

Our analysis of the interplay between the different concepts of masculinity and femininity in the Malagasy folktales that were selected for this first part of our study revealed that gender differences translate into gender inequality as the tales tend to support the ideology of male dominance and female subordination. In our first chapter, we mainly argued that idealized images of women as Princesses from heaven (Andriambavilanitra), water goddesses (Andriambavirano) or goddesses that are revered for their fertility and their crucial role in bringing civilization in popular Malagasy myths tend to overlook the experiences of ordinary

¹ R. W. Connell. *Gender and Power. Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1987. P. 183.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

women, namely their representations in relation to the idealized form of femininity and their interactions with the male characters. In order to understand the conception of gender and the power relations between the male and female characters in our tales, we analysed the female characters' portraits as mothers, young women, *zazavavindrano* or mermaids, old women, stepmothers, and adulteresses, which reflect the diversity of the female characters' gender roles and identities. Our analysis revealed that the female characters display diverse embodiments of the idealized form of femininity, which do not always reflect their adherence to the standards that define the ideology of womanhood in the context under study. Nevertheless, the tales that we studied were charged with an understated message that tended to represent the idealized form of femininity as the conventional form of femininity. These mainly rely on the images of women as caring mothers and vulnerable victims who are not only expected to be the paragons of virtue but are also appreciated in their adoption of a passive and dependent attitude in order to highlight men's active roles and their powerful positions within the community. Throughout our analysis, we have shown that the various experiences and representations of these female characters testified to the prevalence of the ideology of male superiority and female subordination despite the female characters' conscious or unconscious attempts to improve their conditions.

Regarding the female characters' experiences as mothers, we pointed to the irrelevance of the myth about the maternal instinct which holds that women are naturally loving and caring towards their children. Nevertheless, we also argued that there is an underlying message about motherhood in the tales which somehow invites women to adopt the motherly attitude characterized by the natural inclination to take care of their children. Furthermore, we demonstrated that the ideology of motherhood in the tales serves to satisfy male interests. This can be explained by the fact that the mothers' worth in these tales is measured by their capacity to bear and raise strong or remarkable male characters who embody or strive to embody

hegemonic masculinity ideals such as Ibonia, Isilakolona, and Imbahitri-la. Contrarily, the raising of daughters merely consists in making them into suitable wives and good housewives, as is the case of Imitsoanala whose mother's upbringing serves the interests of the king Andriambahoaka who took the girl for marriage. Similarly, in the tale "Aza misorom-bady an-trano," the mother's chief responsibility is to ensure that her daughter is a good (house)wife. Finally, we underlined the fact that motherhood in the tales that we studied requires the female characters' embodiment of motherly values which tend to be constraining in various ways. Self-sacrifice and selflessness are among the valuable qualities that the mothers in our tales are expected to possess, either their experiences reflect their success or their failure in their role as mothers. We can single out the case of Ibonia's mother, Rasoabemanana, who had to endure hardship and face many challenges in order to have a son. Considering the cases of mothers who are portrayed in a negative light because they fail to embody the values of self-sacrifice and selflessness, we may recall the tale of the greedy woman who is sharply criticized because of her excessive greed, which makes her put her own interest before her children's. Similarly, the woman who is portrayed as a careless mother because she left her daughter to die in the fields on a stormy night is also criticized for her failure to fulfil her motherly role because she selfishly chose to remain safely at home while her daughter was exposed to the rain outside. Mother figures like Ivorombe are also compelled to forget their self-interests in favour of their daughter's needs. Indeed, Ivorombe has to accept Imitsoanala's marriage with Andriambahoaka even though the lovers did not ask for her consent. She is even required to assist her daughter in order to sustain the marriage.

Our analysis of the experiences of the young female characters in the tales focused on the theme of gender socialization. It highlighted the socialization of young women into their gender roles in accordance with the idealized form of femininity. The importance of the foundation of the family in the socialization process of these female characters has been

stressed, along with the definition of their characters in accordance with stereotypical feminine qualities such as passivity, humility, and kindness. We also stressed the interrelation between the young female characters' experiences with the male characters, which pointed to the differences between the gender roles that they are assigned. We argued that while the young female characters' primary purpose in the tales revolves around the effort to please a man and to get married, the male characters stand out in the definition of their roles in relation to more valued activities outside the home. In that sense, the definitions of the gender roles that are assigned to the young female characters in our tales are closely tied to the limitation of their areas of circulation through gender space boundaries.

Thirdly, the portrait of the supernatural female characters in our study was drawn from the tales of "zazavindrano" or mermaids in a selection of Malagasy tales. We showed in our analysis that these tales reflect the victimization of potentially subversive and powerful women such as the "zazavindrano" whose dual characterization as both vulnerable and powerful serves to perpetuate male supremacy. Indeed, the "zazavindrano," whose elusiveness and unconventional display of authority and power represent a threat to male supremacy, are marginalised in order to curb their expression of power. Through their exclusion from the earthly life of which they obviously wish to be part, the "zazavindrano" epitomize the female "other" whose mystical powers elicit attraction, apprehension and hostility on the male characters' part.

The other female characters, namely stepmothers and adulteresses, who exercise power, either over their husbands or their stepchildren, are portrayed in a negative light. They are characterized as evil and are subject to severe punishment for their actions which tend to subvert male superiority. Indeed, the stepmothers, with their imposing presence and authority as opposed to the father figures' absence or minor roles, epitomize the bad women, who in Andrea

Dworkin's view are characterised as such because they exercise power.⁴ We argued that in reality, the image of the evil stepmother is socially constructed. A contextual analysis of the representations of the stepmothers in our tales highlighted the factors that prompt these women to adopt this negative attitude towards their stepchildren. We mainly singled out the competition and rivalry between cowives who seek to gain more favours for themselves and their own children from the polygamous husband. In that sense, the social construction of the image of the wicked stepmother points to the unequal distribution of and access to valuable resources between the male and female characters. Interestingly, the hostility is not directed at the husband who can be perceived as the main source of the conflicts between cowives and their children. Instead, the emphasis is put on the female characters, namely the stepmothers' capacity to perpetrate horrible actions against their stepchildren.

As regards the female characters who commit adultery, we also highlighted their negative representations in our selection of tales. Our study shed light on the commodification of these female characters, namely their comparison with tobacco, which implies that they are to be thrown away after being used by men. This points to the sharp criticism directed at women who encroach on men's prerogatives as adultery is mainly associated to men. In that sense, the negative portrait of adulteresses in the tales that we studied tends to underline the importance of women's adoption of an exemplary conduct in sexual relations as opposed to the sexual freedom enjoyed by the male characters. This confirms most Malagasy scholars' views about the image of Merina women as the paragons of virtue.

Our analysis of the representations of old women in our tales pointed to their invisibility, their victimization, as well as the differing representations of old male and female characters based on their gender. We suggested that old women's invisibility in the tales reflects social and cultural perceptions of old age as is experienced by women. This underlines the fact that

⁴ Dworkin precisely writes that "the evil mother ... is the nonmale source of power which must be defeated, obliterated, before male power can fully flower." Andrea Dworkin. *Woman Hating*. USA: Plume, 1974. P. 48.

old age decreases women's values which mainly reside in their physical attractiveness and their eligibility for marriage. We showed that the invisibility of the old women in our tales does not only result from their lack of physical attractiveness but is mainly rooted in the association of old women with negative or pejorative stereotypes which touch upon various aspects of their lives, namely their status and their intellectual capacities. Our comparison of the experiences of old male and female characters as victims enhanced the negative characteristics that are associated with old women such as their gullibility and their physical frailty. This points to a biased representation of old age in disfavour of old female characters in the tales that we studied.

Our second chapter dealt with the representations of the male characters in a selection of Malagasy tales from the same period in relation to the concept of hegemonic masculinity. In the first section of this chapter, we explored the impacts of hegemonic masculinity ideals on the male characters' bodily experiences, status and roles, as well as sexualities. We underlined the discrepancies between the cult of physical fitness and the male characters' actual experiences, with particular focus on the cases of the male characters that epitomize the subordinated forms of masculinity. We referred to the abstract definitions of the principles of hegemonic masculinity in relation to male bodies in the tales, which enables the accommodation of alternative ways of enacting hegemonic masculinity ideals. Further, we analysed the definitions of the male characters' status and roles with reference to hegemonic masculinity principles. We have seen that male authority is affirmed through the attribution of superior social statuses and dignified roles to the male characters, as opposed to the female characters who are given minor, peripheral roles. Our analysis mainly focused on the authority exercised by men in private and public settings. This shed light on the gendered distribution of roles among men and women, which not only confers a superior status to men but also fosters gender inequality. Finally, we also investigated the various facets of male sexualities in relation to the concept of hegemonic masculinity. Apart from highlighting the primacy of heterosexuality in

defining the male characters' enactment of hegemonic standards in their sexual experiences, we also explored the theme of homosexuality in a tale that seems to indirectly conflate homosocial bonding with homosexual interactions.

In the second section, we explored the masculinization process undergone by three notable male characters in the Malagasy oral tradition, namely, Ibonia, Isilakolona and Imbahitrila along with the unconventional enactment of masculinity by male and female characters in a selection of Malagasy tales. Our analysis of the process of male initiation experienced by the three male characters built on Judith Butler's notion of gender performativity in order to reveal the structure that underlies gender identity formation and the male individual's performance of their gender identities in this context. The three stages of this process follow the pattern of initiation rites articulated by Arnold Van Gennep in *The Rites of Passage*, namely the separation stage, the transition stage, and the stage of reincorporation. The last part of this section examined the unconventional performances of masculinity by both genders and their impacts on gender relations in tales that feature female characters who display masculine characteristics or fulfil masculine roles, as well as male characters who fail to abide by the hegemonic standards of manhood. We suggested that despite the female characters' embodiment of masculine characteristics, they are somehow constantly portrayed as the male characters' dependents and subordinates, which drives home our argument about the prevalence of male dominance and female subordination in our selection of tales.

The second part of our study, which is also made up of two chapters, focused on the current performance of kabary by male and female orators from Antananarivo and among the Malagasy diaspora in Paris. Our main objective was to analyse the impacts of gender equality discourses on women's experiences in the field of kabary performance. The first chapter surveyed the context of kabary performance nowadays based on the views of the male and female orators, as well as ordinary people who are familiar with kabary performances that we

interviewed. Using the concepts of gender awareness and gender responsiveness, we investigated the ways in which gender differences in the field of kabary performance are manipulated to foster or hinder gender equality. We primarily explored the traditional performance of kabary which tended to exclude women before analysing women's current position in this field. We have seen that women's performance of kabary is gradually accepted, especially in the context of marriage request or vodiondry kabary. Our analysis also revealed that although gender differences are emphasized in the performances of vodiondry kabary by male and female orators, they seem to be perceived positively and rather support women's participation in the performance of vodiondry kabary. In the field of funeral kabary, however, women's participation is still controversial. Indeed, the performance of funeral kabary is still perceived as men's preserve. Gender differences are enhanced in the arguments provided by our informants to explain this fact, which seem to be acknowledged by the majority of our female informants who willingly refrain from performing this kind of kabary.

The next chapter focused on women's position in the male world of kabary performance based on the results of our interviews with male and female orators, as well as ordinary people who are familiar with kabary performance. The chapter concluded with the analysis of three live kabary performances in different contexts. Our analysis shed light on the female informants' experiences as orators based on the results of our interviews and our observation of kabary performances that featured female orators. We have seen that the pressure is stronger for women in order to be acknowledged as effective orators than for men. In fact, female orators are expected to display the masculine skills required in the performance of kabary while preserving their femininity, which is perceived by male and female orators as an asset that may enable the latter to surpass male orators. This points to the contradictory expectations for female orators in the traditionally male field of kabary performance. Interestingly, we have learnt that the female orators seem to accept the pre-established masculine rules that govern the

performance of kabary. These rules, as are articulated by the male and female orators that we interviewed, are not explicitly gendered. For instance, they emphasize proper conduct, the wearing of decent clothes, and the mastery of oratory skills in general. However, some extra rules apply exclusively to female orators who are expected to remain feminine during their performances. For instance, wearing trousers is forbidden for female orators regardless of the context of performance. Other rules that are not officially exposed in kabary manuals are expressed by the orators themselves. These highlight gender differentiation in male and female orators' use of language, speech patterns, and general attitude during the performance. While vulgar jokes are, for instance, tolerated when uttered by male orators, female orators are expected to use jokes with caution or not to use them at all during their kabary performances. Furthermore, expressions that tend to denigrate others are also deliberately associated to male orators whereas female orators are constantly expected to use respectful language.

Our findings also revealed that most of the female orators do not seem to express a marked desire to challenge men's privileged position as the traditional speech holders through their performances of kabary. Indeed, based on our respondents' views, women's motivation for performing kabary seems to mainly spring from their desire to promote Malagasy language and values through kabary performance. Moreover, although kabary performance is reported to make considerable contribution to the orators' earnings, at least in Madagascar, the female orators unanimously claimed that their motivation for becoming professional orators did not spring from the desire to compete with male orators for money or for status. Rather, their love for Malagasy language and their awareness of the importance of promoting Malagasy values were emphasized.

Finally, to have a more concrete understanding of women's position in the field of kabary performance, we analysed three live performances of kabary by male and female orators. Our approach was based on Judith Baxter's Feminist Post-structuralist Discourse Analysis

which considers “the ways in which speakers, within any discursive context, are positioned as powerful or powerless by competing social and institutional discourses.”⁵ In that sense, we tried to identify the instances of power or powerlessness experienced by our male and female orators throughout the three performances. We mainly focused on the discourse of gender differentiation and the ways in which it translates into differing speech styles, performance strategies and gendered reactions in various circumstances. Our analysis confirmed the perception of female orators as “interlopers”⁶ who strive to find recognition and establish their position in the male field of kabary performance. Indeed, while the male orators were particularly at ease during these performances, either they were professional or unskilled speakers, the female orators were particularly concerned about producing speeches according to the norms that govern kabary performance and adopting attitudes that express respect and dignity.

The last part of our study focused on the current productions and adaptations of folktales and children’s stories by a selection of contemporary storytellers and writers. Apart from analysing the tales produced by these storytellers, we conducted personal interviews with them and observed some of their storytelling performances, which also enabled us to ask questions to the members of the audiences that attended their performances. The aim was to explore the possibilities for empowerment for the female characters in their tales, namely the shape that the process of empowerment may take and its limitations. We singled out the understanding of empowerment as a process based on Marie-Hélène Bacqué and Carole Biewener’s view that “empowerment involves two dimensions, that of power, which constitutes the root of the word,

⁵ Judith Baxter. *Positioning Gender in Discourse. A Feminist Methodology*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003. P. 44.

⁶ This term is used by Sylvia Shaw to refer to female MP’s in the British House of Commons. Shaw builds on Penelope Eckert’s argument that « women moving into prestigious occupations and especially elite institutions ‘are generally seen as interlopers and are at greater pains to prove that they belong.’” Sylvia Shaw. « Governed by the Rules: The Female Voice in Parliamentary Debates.” Ed. Judith Baxter. *Speaking Out. The Female Voice in Public Contexts*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2006. P. 96.

and that of a learning process to gain access to [it]. It can denote both a state (being empowered) and a process, this state and process being at the same time individual, collective and social or political.”⁷ The understanding of empowerment as a process is further expressed in the definition of empowerment as a journey by feminist transnational networks such as the “Pathways of Empowerment.” This definition underlines the importance of women’s experiences throughout the journey, namely the difficulties that they face, the solutions that are available to them, and the actions that they take. These views go in line with feminists’ consideration of “alternative definitions of power that do not require domination of others,” as is articulated by Nancy Hartsock in *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited & Other Essays*.

This last part of our study was divided into two chapters. The first chapter examined the conceptualizations of female empowerment around the issue of vulnerability based on the premise that vulnerability may trigger actions towards empowerment. We argued that despite their positions as dependent, subordinate, and victims, the female characters in the tales react in various ways in order to survive and improve their conditions. Our analysis mainly tried to identify the successes and failures of the process of empowerment based on the storytellers’ representations of the female characters. Considering the various strategies used by the female characters in the face of their vulnerable conditions, we highlighted the successes and failures of female empowerment on a personal level. We have demonstrated that while the female characters’ capacity to challenge the gender order through their actions and the values that they embody may trigger a successful empowerment process, the patriarchal values that are consciously or unconsciously expressed by the storytellers tend to limit the female characters’ actions and lead to the failure of their empowerment process. Considering the possible impacts

⁷ « L’empowerment articule deux dimensions, celle du pouvoir, qui constitue la racine du mot, et celle du processus d’apprentissage pour y accéder. Il peut désigner autant un état (être empowered) qu’un processus, cet état et ce processus étant à la fois individuels, collectifs et sociaux ou politique. » Marie-Hélène Bacqué, Carole Biewener. *L’empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*. Paris : Editions La Découverte, 2013. P. 6. (Translation mine).

of the empowerment process experienced by the female characters on the definitions of gender roles and identities and gender power relations, we investigated the conceptualization of female empowerment on a collective and on an institutional level. Our approach relied on the analysis of a selection of tales that were written by storytellers who collaborate with NGOs and private associations for the promotion of gender equality and the prevention of the exploitation and oppression of women. Our study particularly shed light on the circumstances in which female solidarity, as is reflected in the tales under study, may or may not constitute an effective means to empower women. Our analysis also revealed the discrepancies between the storytellers' professed engagement with projects that promote gender equality and the messages implied by their tales. Indeed, the tales tend to reinforce patriarchal ideologies that endorse women's weak and dependent positions in society as opposed to men's superiority.

The second chapter focused on the analysis of three storytelling performances by the contemporary storytellers who took part in our study. It examined the interplay between the storytellers' performances, the members of the audience's responses, and the ideologies conveyed in the tales in order to identify the shapes that the empowerment process may take for the female characters in the tales. The empowerment process was compared to a journey on which the female characters involuntarily or deliberately embark. We argued that the female characters' empowerment is a discontinuous process which could take a linear or a circular form. The linear pattern refers to the female characters' failure to respond effectively to the circumstances that may trigger changes in their situation. The female characters in this context do not experience significant changes in their personalities or the actions that they take from the beginning till the end of the tales. This was in parallel with the storytellers and the members of the audience's responses to the tales, which tended to express stereotypical attitudes about gender. The circular pattern corresponds to the constant characterization of the female protagonists in relation to stereotypical representations of women. These female characters do

experience changes throughout the tales and they display their awareness of male oppression and the need to take action to put an end to gender inequality. Nevertheless, the process of empowerment is limited because the experiences of the female characters are constantly defined in accordance with norms that support gender differences and gender stereotypes.

Our study has thus revealed that gender differences in the contexts of Malagasy folktales and kabary performance tend to reinforce gender inequality. Although gender equality discourses in these two genres tend to consider gender differences as an asset for women, they inevitably point to the pattern of gender power relations whereby men invariably occupy the dominant position and women, who are frequently portrayed as men's dependents, are cast in inferior positions. This is particularly relevant in the representations of subordinated masculinities in Malagasy tales which reveal that the male characters, whether they abide by hegemonic masculinity standards or not, are constantly portrayed as superior to the female characters regardless of the latter's achievements. This is mainly due to the differential valence of the sexes, which, in the context of our study, reflects the unequal values ascribed to male and female characteristics, status and roles. For instance, although motherhood is idealized in the tales that we have studied, the quality of being a mother does not necessarily confer a privileged status onto the female characters. Instead, the ideology of the good mother mainly constitutes a norm that these female characters are expected to abide by. On the contrary, the male characters' achievements in hunting competitions reward them with social acclaim and prestigious titles and positions. Our analysis also suggested that women's potential expression of their power is often curbed in order to ensure the perpetuation of male supremacy. This is mainly observed in the cases of female characters whose transgression of gender norms or unconventional embodiment of gender roles constitute a threat to male supremacy. Furthermore, the relationship between gender differences and gender inequality was enhanced in the field of kabary performance whereby women, who tentatively try to carve a place for

themselves in a traditionally male domain, are in a double bind situation which requires them to find the balance between the possession of the masculine oratory skills and the expression of their femininity, which, paradoxically, has been traditionally defined as unfit for the production of oratory discourses. Hence, the general assumption that the current performance of kabary by female orators testifies to the implementation of gender equality (*mira lenta*) principles and the alleged favourable reactions of male orators and the members of the audience to this situation, tend to mask the masculinist discourse that pervades the performance of kabary and the difficulties faced by the female orators who try to establish their renown in this field. Finally, gender differences can also be perceived as one of the essential causes of the limitations of female empowerment in the context of contemporary storytelling practices. Although contemporary tales reflect the growing awareness of the need to enforce gender equality in Malagasy society, the emphasis put on gender differences tends to reinforce stereotypical discourses about men and women's gender roles and identities, which in turn hinders women's process of empowerment.

Our study mainly reflected on the contexts of folktale production and kabary performance in Antananarivo and among the Malagasy diaspora in Paris. It may thus overlook other important patterns that define gender and gender power relations in other oral literary genres among other communities in Madagascar. It should be noted that there are myriads of oral literary forms that are produced in the different regions of Madagascar. Based on the classification of oral literary genres suggested by Lucien Xavier Michel-Andrianarahinjaka,⁸ researchers may preselect oral literary genres that could be analysed from a gender perspective and conduct field work in the areas that produce these genres. Further research could thus focus on the representations of gender in other oral literary genres from other regions of Madagascar. In the context of kabary performance in particular, specific subjects for future research that may

⁸ See Lucien Xavier Michel-Andrianarahinjaka. *Le système littéraire betsileo*. Fianarantsoa : Ambozontany, 1987.

not necessarily tackle gender issues may include the investigation of the differences between the perceptions of kabary as an inherited talent and a professional occupation.⁹ Questions may be raised as to the implications of these perceptions on the performance of kabary, be it by male or female orators. In that sense, the research could analyse the potential differences between the performances of orators who perceive kabary as an inborn talent and those of orators who have acquired the knowledge of kabary performance through training. The study of performance in this context may draw on some of the views developed by American sociolinguistic anthropologist and folklorist Dell Hymes in “Breakthrough into Performance.”¹⁰ Hymes’ consideration of “the difference between knowing tradition and presenting it; between knowing what and knowing how; between knowledge, on the one hand, and motivation and identification, on the other”¹¹ may be relevant to the study of kabary performance. The focus would be on the interplay between the knowledge of kabary as a Malagasy oral tradition and the orator’s identification with this tradition as is expressed in his/her performance. This necessarily touches upon the previously mentioned issue related to the perception of kabary as an inborn talent and a knowledge acquired through training and used to generate an income.

⁹ This view was expressed by the majority of the orators who participated in our study.

¹⁰ Dell Hymes. « Breakthrough into Performance.” From *In Vain I Tried to Tell You: Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.

¹¹ *Ibid.* PP. 84 – 86.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX 1- FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT

Je soussigné(e) _____

Autorise Mme ANDRIAMASINALIVAO Rajaofera Alyette à :

- M'enregistrer en audio/vidéo à _____

le _____ à l'occasion de _____

-
- Utiliser ces données sous leur forme enregistrée aussi bien que sous leur forme transcrite seulement dans le cadre d'une recherche scientifique à but non lucratif (mémoires, thèses, articles scientifiques).

Je comprends que les résultats obtenus à l'issu du traitement de ces données pourront faire l'objet de publications scientifiques. Je consens à ce que mon nom ainsi que mes propos apparaissent dans des publications ou présentations des résultats.

Date

Signature

ANNEX 2- FORMULAIRE DE CONSENTEMENT ECLAIRE

Vous êtes invité(e) à participer à une recherche sur les femmes oratrices malgaches. Nous vous prions de bien vouloir lire ce document explicatif attentivement et de poser toutes les questions que vous aurez avant de consentir à votre participation.

Titre du projet de recherche : Le genre dans la littérature orale malgache

Nom de la chercheuse : Andriamasinalivao Rajofera Alyette
Doctorante en cotutelle
entre l'Université d'Antananarivo et
L'Université Paris Diderot – Paris 7

Objectif de l'étude : L'objectif de cette étude est de connaître les perceptions actuelles de la participation des femmes à la production et à la performance de kabary qui est traditionnellement un domaine masculin.

Ce qu'on vous demande : Si vous consentez à participer à cette étude, on vous demandera de répondre à plusieurs questions sur le sujet de recherche préétablies par la chercheuse et de partager votre avis personnel sur le même sujet lors d'un entretien individuel.

Vos droits de vous retirer de la recherche en tout temps

Vous êtes libre de retirer votre consentement et d'interrompre votre participation à tout moment si vous le jugez nécessaire.

Diffusion et vos droits à la confidentialité

Les résultats obtenus à l'issue du traitement de ce questionnaire pourront faire l'objet de publications scientifiques. Avec votre consentement, votre nom ainsi que vos réponses pourraient apparaître dans des publications ou présentations des résultats.

Consentement :

J'atteste avoir lu l'information précédente et avoir reçu des réponses aux questions posées. Je consens à participer à cette étude et à ce que mes données personnelles apparaissent dans des publications scientifiques.

Nom et prénoms

Votre signature

Date

Consentement à l'enregistrement

Je consens à être enregistré(e). Je comprends que ces enregistrements seront archivés.

Je ne souhaite pas que mes enregistrements soient mis à la disposition d'autres chercheurs à part celle qui est impliquée dans cette étude.

Je consens à ce que mes enregistrements soient mis à la disposition d'autres chercheurs que celle impliquée dans cette étude pour une meilleure compréhension des données.

Votre signature

Date

Vous recevrez une copie de ce document

ANNEX 3- Formulaire de consentement éclairé

Vous êtes invité(e) à participer à une recherche sur la représentation des femmes dans les contes malgaches et du point de vue des conteurs/conteuses malgaches. Nous vous prions de bien vouloir lire ce document explicatif attentivement et de poser toutes les questions que vous aurez avant de consentir à votre participation.

Titre du projet de recherche : Le genre dans la littérature orale malgache

Nom de la chercheure : Andriamasinalivao Rajofera Alyette
Doctorante en cotutelle
entre l'Université d'Antananarivo et
L'Université Paris Diderot – Paris 7

Objectif de l'étude : L'objectif de cette étude est de connaître le statut des femmes dans l'adaptation des contes populaires ou angano malgaches de nos jours. L'étude se focalise sur l'analyse des contes ainsi que les propos recueillis auprès de conteurs/conteuses malgaches sur le même thème.

Ce qu'on vous demande : Si vous consentez à participer à cette étude, on vous demandera de répondre à plusieurs questions sur le sujet de recherche préétablies par la chercheure et de partager votre avis personnel sur le même sujet lors d'un entretien individuel.

Vos droits de vous retirer de la recherche en tout temps

Vous êtes libre de retirer votre consentement et d'interrompre votre participation à tout moment si vous le jugez nécessaire.

Diffusion et vos droits à la confidentialité

Les résultats obtenus à l'issue du traitement de ce questionnaire pourront faire l'objet de publications scientifiques. Avec votre consentement, votre nom ainsi que vos réponses pourraient apparaître dans des publications ou présentations des résultats.

Consentement :

J'atteste avoir lu l'information précédente et avoir reçu des réponses aux questions posées. Je consens à participer à cette étude et à ce que mes données personnelles apparaissent dans des publications scientifiques.

Nom et prénoms

Votre signature

Date

Consentement à l'enregistrement

Je consens à être enregistré(e). Je comprends que ces enregistrements seront archivés.

Je ne souhaite pas que mes enregistrements soient mis à la disposition d'autres chercheurs à part celle qui est impliquée dans cette étude.

Je consens à ce que mes enregistrements soient mis à la disposition d'autres chercheurs que celle impliquée dans cette étude pour une meilleure compréhension des données.

Votre signature

Date

Vous recevrez une copie de ce document

APPENDICES

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1. Inona no hamaritanao ny teny hoe kabary ?

Lahateny atao amim-peo avo, mety ho mafy na mora, fa natao ho re manoloana olona maromaro, ravahana sarinteny, ohabolana, hainteny, (mba ahafahan'ny olona mitadidy tsara hoe zao no tenin'ny mpanjaka) ary natao handresena lahatra.

Ny fiainan'ny Malagasy dia kabary, na misy teraka, na manao famorana, lanonam-panambadiana, raha sanatria koa misy marary na maty, dia tsy maintsy manao kabary foana.

2. Inona no mahasamy hafa ny kabary taloha sy ankehitriny?

Taloha natao ho fampitam-baovao, avy @ teny hoe kabari = filazam-baovao

Notahatahafina avy amin'izay ny dikan'ny hoe "kabary," fampitam-baovao amin'ny vahoaka

Ankehitriny, tsy ny hoe lehilahy ianao sa vehivavy no zava-dehibe, fa izay olona manana talenta afaka mikabary ka mahay mandresy lahatra dia afaka manatanteraka ny kabary.

Ankehitriny koa dia misy fivoarana ny voambolana sy fomba fitenenana ampiasaina. Izaho manokana dia efa namorona fomba fitenenana sy ohabolana maro be izay ampitaiko amin'ny mpianatro amin'ny maha mpampianatra kabary ahy. Teneniko ary bedesiko mafy mihitsy ireo mpianatro ireo raha sendra ka henoko mampiasa ny fomba fitenenana noforoniko mandritra ny kabary izay ataony ka miteny hoe "hoy ny ntaolo hoe...."

3. Inona no nahatonga anao ho liana hanao kabary?

Tamin'ny 1995 nisy fianakaviana nanambady, nisy vehivavy mpikabary, nahafinaritra, za manokana finaritra. Niteny ny raiko tamin'izay fotoana izay hoe "Tiako raha mba manao toy izao koa ny zanako vavy."

Izaho rahateo voalohany foana tamin'ny taranja Malagasy.

Dia nianatra kabary aho talohan'ny nahafahana Bacc satria nahafinaritra ahy ilay izy.

60 ny isanay tamin'izany, 4 no vehivavy.

Nifandranitra, izany hoe nahafinaritra ny iray ny nataon'ny iray dia nanara-dia.

Betsaka ny nanara-dia taty aoriana.

Namporisihana izahay nanao fikarohana ahafahana misedra ny hoe tonga dia mikabary avy eo.

Nanomboka nikabary aho tamin'ny taona 1996. Efa-taona tao aorian'zay dia efa nampianatra hatrany.

4. Nahoana araka ny hevitrao no eken'ny fiarahamonina ny fisian'ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny?

Ny zava-misy eo am FM, tsy manova ny fototra akory izany.

Misy ny lehilahy sahirana kely mieritreritra an'zay. Misy milaza hoe, "Moa ve ny kabary tsy natao ho an'ny lehilahy?"

Dia hoy aho hoe, natao ho an'ny lehilahy fa tsy ny lehilahy tanora koa fa ny lehilahy fotsivolo, tsy lehilahy tsotra koa fa lehilahy mpitondra. Ny dikan'zay rahambola voatazona ny tena fomba tranainy be dia tsy misy mahazo mikabary. Fa efa vita ny hoe rehefa mandeha ny fifaninanana dia zay mahay no miaka-tsehatra. Dia miaka-tsehatra ny vehivavy.

Dia maro ny mianatra.

Ankehitriny, zay mahavita, ohatran'ny asa. Ny ankizivavy ankehitriny efa mianatra daholo.

Samy ati-doha no miasa ao. Misy mpitondra fivavahana, pasitera vehivavy. Samy miasa dia samy mahay.

Ankehitriny, tsy ny hoe lehilahy ianao sa vehivavy no zava-dehibe. Fifaninanana [ny kabary] dia izay mahay no miaka-tsehatra

Tsy hoe mifananinana. Za raha hikabary tsy hifaninana amin'ny lehilahy fa amin'ny maha-vehivavy mahay mikabary ihany no hanehoako ny kabary.

5. Mbola misy ve fiarahamonina tsy manaiky vehivavy mikabary?

Za efa nikabary teto Antananarivo, tany Arivonimamo, Miarinarivo, Antsirabe, Toamasina (kabary ampanambadiana)

Nampianatra kabary tany Antsiranana, Mahajanga, Fianarantsoa, Tulear sns.

Za tsy nahita mihitsy olona tsy nanaiky fa nanaiky avokoa. Miankina aminao mpikabary no haneken'ny olona na tsia. Na lehilahy ianao na vehivavy ianao, rehefa tsy mahay mikabary ianao dia tsy eken'ny olona.

Fa lay hoe sakana mialoha, lay hoe mialohan'ny hikabariana mihitsy hoe aty aminay fady tsy mahazo hikabariana vehivavy, efa lefy

Zany tsy manakana ny any an-tsain'olona

Ny olona mikabary dia olona eken-teny ary marina amin'ny fomba lazainy.

Misy rafitra an-tanan-tohatra voadingana dia misy saina tsy manaiky izay. Hoe raha misy ve ny ray aman-dreny be, maninona no ity vehivavy kely ity no mikabary?

Zaho manokana rehefa hikabary dia mangataka amin'lay fianakaviana hoe teneno amin'ireo fianakavianareo reo oe izy no hitondra ny teny, dia tononina ny anarako, dia miteny amin-dry zareo

aho hoe, “ka mangata-tso-drano aho tompoko dia tsy mahazo, tsy maintsy zay moa ny valinteny, tsy terena lay olona fa dia hoe manome tso-drano anao izahay ray aman-drenibe.”

Ny vehivavy mikabary efa tany amin'ny andron-dRanavalona.

6. Misy fitsipika sy fepetra tokony arahina ve amin'ny fanaovana kabary, azonao lazaina ve hoe inona avy izany na inona avy ireo tena manan-danja amin'izany?

Mila fifantohana, fifanajana, fahamatorana.

Ny ohabolana ampiasaiko dia mahatsikaiky indraindray

7. Amin'ny fotoana inona no mikabary ny vehivavy, azon'ny vehivavy atao avokoa ve ireo kabary fataon'ny lehilahy amin'ny fotoana na lanonana rehetra tsy an-kanavaka?

Io toe-tsaina io.

Taloha aho nikabary tamin'ny fahoriana

Nanomboka tamin'ny taona 2014 tsy nety nalain'olona intsony satria ny anadahiko no maty dia nanapa-kevitra fa tsy hikabary amin'ny fahoriana raha tsy hoe fianakaviana akaiky ka miangavy be na namana akaiky be.

Fa tsy mikarama intsony.

Amin'izao aho tsy tia mieritreritra an'izany hoe hikabary amin'ny fahoriana izany intsony.

Tsy mety amin'ny fisainako intsony.

8. Kabary famangiana fahoriana ve sa kabary am-pandevenana no nataonao tamin'ny kabary an-karatsiana?

Nanao kabary amin'ny manjo, rehefa fandevenana fa tsy niakatra ambony fasana amin'ny fandevenana

Za aloha mbola tsy nahita hoe vehivavy miakatra ambony fasana

Ratsy eo amin'ny tantara izany, mpamosavy ny vehivavy manitsa-pasana.

ka tarazon'izay rehetra zay mbola tsy afaka.

9. Misy fahasamihafana lehibe ve amin'ny kabary ataon'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy? Raha eny, inona avy izany?

Raha tsia, nahoana?

Tsy hoe mifananinana. Za raha hikabary tsy hifananana amin'ny lehilahy fa amin'ny maha-vehivavy mahay mikabary ihany no hanehoako ny kabary.

Ankehitriny, zay mahavita, ohatran'ny asa. Ny ankizivavy ankehitriny efa mianatra daholo

samy ati-doha no miasa ao. Misy mpitondra fivavahana, pasitera vehivavy. Samy miasa dia samy mahay.

10. Ahoana ny fomba fahitanao ny lehilahy mpikabary?

Raha ny mpikabary lehilahy nifanandrina tamiko. Ao ny avy dia matahotra. Tonga dia mibaboka.

11. Azonao atao ve ny manazava bebe kokoa izany? Arakaraka ny sokajin-taona ve ny mamaritra ny fandraisan'ny mpikabary lehilahy anao?

Tsy hoe mibaboka avy hatrany ry zareo raha vao mahita hoe vehivavy no mifanandrina aminy, fa rehefa mandeha ny kabary dia tsapa ho mambabo ny mpihaino kokoa ilay vehivavy mikabary noho ilay lehilahy. Ary dia izany hatrany moa ny feedback voaraiko, rehefa manatona ahy ny sasantsasany amin'ireo fianakaviana manatrika dia tena miaiky sy misaotra ary mampiditra ny hoe: “tsy atao imason'itsy lehilahy itsy fa manan-danja kokoa ny anao.” Izany koa anefa tsy midika fa ny vehivavy rehetra dia manintona sy mahaliana toy izany avokoa, fa ny tranga nihatra Tamiko aloha no tantaraiko anao. Ny hitako hoe tombony ho ahy dia sady mbola tanora, no manana feo manintona angamba rehefa mikabary... fa indrindra indrindra ny maha Olon'ny haisoratra ahy; hany ka afaka mamorona ary mampianatra koa aza indraindray ao anatin'ny kabary atao, izany hoe angamba mety manana fahalalana maro momba ny tantara sy literatiora am-bava sy an-tsoratra.

12. Azonao atao ve ny manome salan'isan'ireo kabary vodiondry efa nataonao? Firy tamin'izany no vehivavy no nifanehitra taminao? Azonao lazaina ve ho enanao ahoana ny fihonanao tamin'ny mpikabary lehilahy tao anatin'ny kabary?

Raha ny kabary nataoko hatrizay ka nifanenako tamina lehilahy tamina kabary am-panambadiana dia ao ireo zokinjokiny, misy ny antitra mihitsy fa misy koa ny tanora, any amin'ny 25 taona any ho any. Izaho tsy nanao antontan'isa nitadidy azy ireny fa amin'ny ankapobeny raha ny faminavinako azy, ny lehilahy nifanena kabary am-panambadiana dia eo anelanelan'ny 25 ka hatramin'ny 78 taona eo ho eo angamba.

Tamin'ireo kabary vodiondry 700 efa nataoko, ny 300 tamin'ireo dia manatombo ireo mpifanandrina lehilahy ny fahaizako, ny am-pahatelon'ny tamin'izany ireo dia mitovy lanja tamiko.

13. Niresaka mikasika ny kabarin-dRanavalona fahiny ianao, amin'ny maha vehivavy mpikabary anao, te hanontany aho mikasika ny fandraisan'ny vehivavy anjara amin'ny kabarim-panjakana aho, sy ny fanandramana efa niainanao ao amin'izany sehatra izany.

Izaho moa tsy tompon'andraiki-panjakana ka tsy haiku tsara ny hamaly lay fanontaniana. Mpiasam-panjakana tsotra aho. Fa amin'ny maha-vehivavy filohan'ny Havatsa-Upem Fikambanan'ny Poety sy ny Mpanoratra Malagasy ahy dia efa nikabary teo anatrehan'ny vahoaka maro aho, efa nikabary nanoloana ny Filoham-pirenena, efa nikabary manoloana ny Filohan'ny Andrimpanjakana, efa nikabary teo anatrehan'ny solombavambahoaka sy ireo olom-boafidy any amin'ny Faritra sy any Ambanivohitra any, eny efa nikabary koa aza tamin'ny fandalovan'i Ban Ki moon (SG firenena mikambana) teto Madagasikara tamin'ny 2016, ka nanao maitre de cérémonie aho. Fa matetika aho rehefa manao maitre de cérémonie dia tsy maintsy mampiseho ny maha mpikabary.

14. Mikasika ny kabary vodiondry, azonao lazaina ve hoe fianakaviana manao ahoana ankehitriny no misafidy mpikabary vehivavy amin'ny kabary vodiondry? Fivoaran'ny toetsaina ve no mahatonga azy ireo hanana izay safidy izay sa misy antony hafa?

Tsy misy sokajy hoe fianakaviana manao ahoana na manao ahoana. Ho ahy manokana aloha, rehefa mikabary tsy misy dia elanelana fari-piainana be amin'ireo tokantrano efa ho 700 mahery naorina tamin'ny alalan'ny kabary, samy miezaka manao ny tsara avokoa: trano, sakafo, fampifaliana ny mpianakavy. Tsy fantatro ny fariipiainany fa amiko dia nanao fandaniana be hatrany izy ireo. Izany hoe tsy nanao ambanin-javatra ity fanorenam-panambadiana. Ny fomba fandrefesako ny fariipiainany fotsiny amiko, ahy manokana di any filazako ny tonombola ho hasimbava. Aon y vao mandre ny chiffre tonga dia manaiky, ao ny miady varotra, ary indraindray koa arakaraka ny fifandraisana, ohatra hoe ny zanaky ny mpampianatra ahy na dia fantatro aza fa zanaka mpanakarem-be dia tsy ho sahiko atao avo be ny hasimbava. Misy koa anefa ny manome ambonin'ny nifanarahana satria tena nahafinaritra azy be mihitsy. Misy ko any miady varotra be.

Asa raha fivoaran'ny toetsaina na ahoana no mahatonga ny olona nisafidy haka mpikabary vehivavy. Raha ny fijeriko azy dia noho ny fahaizana, tsy misy ankifidy hoe lehilahy na vehivavy fa izay mahay, izay fantapantatra fa efa manana ny lazany sy ny toerany eo amin'ny fikabariana no alaina.

15. Misy fahasamihafana lehibe ve amin'ny hasimbava izay omen'ny fianakaviana ny lehilahy na vehivavy mpikabary? Mety ho manana tombony ve ny hasimbava ho an'ny lehilahy na ny vehivavy sa mitovy?

Momba ny hasimbava dia tsy misy prix izany mihitsy hoe rehefa vehivavy dia izao na rehefa lehilahy dia izao, fa tena arakaraky ny fifanarahan'ilay mpikabary sy ny olona maka azy hikabary. Miankina amin'ny mety ho efa lazan'ilay mpikabary sy ny fahaizany koa io. Be dia be mihitsy amin'izao ny mitady vehivavy mpikabary amin'ny andron'ny fifamofoany satria miavaka, miala amin'ny mahazatra. Koa araka ny hevitra dia tsy misy tombony manokana na ho an'ny vehivavy na ho an'ny lehilahy fa tena miankina amin'ny fahaizana.

16. Misy ifandraisany ve ny asa amin'ny maha-mpikabary matihanina sy ny fahaliananao hikabary? Izany hoe, mety ho isan'ny nahaliana anao hikabary ve ny fidiram-bola mety ho azo avy amin'izany?

Hatramin'ny nanombohako mikabary dia tsy ny vola mihitsy no nahaliana ahy fa ny fahaizana, ny fitazonana ny hasin'ny teny Malagasy. Nony nanana ny anjara toerana heveriko fa napetraky ny fiarahamonina ho olona ambony ihany eo amin'ny sehatry ny fikabariana aho dia tsy mety intsony kosa raha tsy mba mampifandraika izay hasina ananako izay ny hasimbava. Manjary izaho ihany no manosihosy ny hasina omen'ny olona ahy raha haneho hasimbava mitovy amin'ny olona vao mianakabary na olona tsy afaka amin'ny fahavotsana rehefa mikabary.

Note: The questions were read by the orator before the interview and she spoke freely in response to them, glancing at them from time to time. The researcher asked extra questions when more clarifications were needed.

1. Azonao lazaina ve ny mombamomba anao?

Nivoaka tao amin'ny FIMPIMA tamin'ny taona 2012.

Nampianatra tao amin'ny FIMPIMA Nantes nandritra ny roa taona.

Nitondra tenin'ny mpangataka in-droa teto Paris. Vehivavy roa no nifanandrina.

Hatramin'ny kely dia nobezin'ny ray aman-dreniko hitandro ny fomba Malagasy aho, hany ka raha nisy toe-javatra niseho teo amin'ny fiarahamonina dia nanao adidy hatrany, ohatra tamin'ny famangiana rehefa misy manjo, na misy marary, na rehefa taom-baovao.

1. Inona no nahaliana anao ary nahatonga anao hikabary?

Mambran'ny FIMPIMA ny havako akaiky, lehilahy, anadahiko. Nanatrika ny kabary vodiondry nataony aho fito taona lasa izay. Izy no namporisika ahy. Heveriko ihany koa fa ny kabary dia fitaizana sy fiarovana ny teny Malagasy.

Olona roa taranaka mpikabary no nampianatra ahy. Anterioka, taranaky ny tompo'ny tany (maîtres du sol), taranaky ny Vazimba.

Ny tena nianarako dia ny fianarana miteny satria efa nahafantatra sy niaina ny fomba Malagasy aho. Tsy ny fomba izany no nianarako tao amin'ny FIMPIMA fa ny fomba fiteny ihany. Ny fomba dia mifandraika amin'ny adidy. Ny fomba fiteny dia mifandraika amin'ny hoe vava malama, mba ho tonga ho azy ny fomba fitenenana, teny voarindra. Ireo no tena nianarako tamin'ireo olona roa ireo.

Nahaliana ahy ny hatsaran'ny teny Malagasy, ny voambolana mirindra. Babon'ny hakanton'ny teny Malagasy sy ny kabary aho. Tena latsaka tao am'poko.

2. Mbola misy ve ny sata mifehy ny fikambanana FIMPIMA fahiny mikasika ny fidiran'ny vehivavy ho isan'ny mambran'ny fikambanana, raha tsia, oviana no nofohanana izany, nahoana?

Efa tsy misy intsony.

Samy hafa ny atao hoe mpikabary sy olona afaka mikabary. Ny mpikabary dia olona izay nianatra na tsia ary mikabary ho fitadiavam-bola toy ny asa hafa rehetra. Ny olona afaka mikabary dia izay olona azo lazaina fa taranak' 'andriana' izay efa mahay mikabary ary tò teny eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina. Tsy mpikabary ny andriana. Misy ilay fitenenana hoe "zanak'omby tsy ampianarin-domano; hova tsy ampianarin-kabary." Zanak'andriana tsy ampianarin-kabary.

Ny olona mikabary dia tokony sady mahay ny fomba no mahay miteny. Satria ny fomba tsy afamisaraka amin'ny fitenenana.

Matetika hamaivanin'ny fianakaviana ny hasin'ny mpikabary izay mitondra teny ho azy amin'ny lanonana.

Raha mandany 3000 a 5000 € amin'ny marriage, firy isa-jaton'izay no omena ny mpikabary izay andrin'ny lanonana tanterahina, voavidin'ny 50 € ve ny hasin'ny mpikabary?

Misy hasiny ny olona miteny. Izy no mitandro ny haja sy voninahitry ny fianakaviana. Izy no manome haja sy voninahitra ho an'ny fianakaviana.

3. Nahoana no eken'ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy ny fisian'ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny?

Amin'ny fiainana andavan'andro ny lehilahy no lohan'ny fianakaviana. Izy no mitana ny tetiarana, généalogie, ny fihaviana sy ny fomba.

Ny vehivavy izay kitapo nifonosana, mpitahiry ny soatoavina Malagasy, "gardiennes des valeurs morales et sociales. »

Taloha koa natao hoe fanaka malemy ny vehivavy, filazan'ny lehilahy io.

Nisy ny fiovàna teo amin'ny fiarahamonina.

Ny toe-javatra niseho tamin'ny 1968 dia nisy akony tany Madagasikara. Nanjary niasa ny vehivavy. Lasa nisy ny vehivavy dokotera. Nanomboka nitondra teny ihany koa.

Misy fomba fitenenana koa hoe vehivavy no mitondra teny satria tsy misy lehilahy.

Misy koa ny vavy tokana izay mitomban-dahy. Raisina ho lehilahy (genre social).

Amin'izao fotoana tsy olana amin'ny olona eto an-drenivohitra ny mahita vehivavy mikabary. Efa zatra mahita zavatra maro amin'ny fahitalavitra izy ireo. Tsy tafintohina na taitra intsony. Any ambanivohitra kosa mbola misy tavela ny hoe lehilahy no tompon'ny teny

4. Inona no maha-samy hafa ny kabary taloha sy ny ankehitriny?

Taloha ny lehilahy ihany no nikabary. Ankehitriny efa ekena ny vehivavy.

Ankehitriny dia ampianarina mikabary koa ny ankizy ho fampitana ny hasin'ny teny Malagasy.

Fa tsy azo ekena hoe ankizy no mikabary raha mbola misy olon-dehibe. Tsy azo ekena ny hitenenan'ny ankizy amin'ny lanonam-pianakaviana na fandevenana satria olon-dehibe no manoloana.

Amin'ny toerana sahaza azy ihany ny ankizy no tokony hikabary; toy ny any an-tsekoly amin'ny fandalovan'ny mpitondra fanjakana ohatra na amin'ny fankalazana ny taom-baovao ka azo atao ny hoe misy ankizy iray mikabary misolo tena ny mpianatra.

Samy hafa ko any faharetan'ny kabary taloha sy ankehitriny. Ny fianakaviana no mametra ny fotoana. Hita taratra amin'ny fialan-tsiny amin'ny kabary ny rafitra an-tanan-tohatry ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy. Ny raiamandreny tompon'ny teny, fotsy volo an-tany. Ireo zokibe toa ray. Ireo izay mitovy saranga amin'ny tena. Ireo zandry. Ny ankizy; solofo dimbin'ny ala. Ary ireo andriambavilanitra, ny vehivavy no lazaina farany.

5. Mbola mitombona ve ilay fiteny hoe “akohovavy maneno” fambara loza ho an'ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny?

Mampahatahotra ny olona ny “akohovavy maneno” satria zavatra tsy fahita andavan'andro.

6. Nisy tamin'ireo mpikabary izay niresaka tamiko nilaza fa mbola tsy azon'ny vehivavy atao ny mikabary ambony fasana satria heverina fa mpamosavy ny vehivavy manitsaka fasana. Manao ahoana ny hevitrao mikasika izany?

Misy ny fiheverana hoe vehivavy ny mpamosavy. Izaho manokana mbola tsy nahita vehivavy nikabary ambony fasana. Saingy tsy manafintohina ahy izany. An'ny fianakaviana ny safidy.

Ny hevitra kosa anefa dia rehefa mikasika ny fahoriana dia aleo ny lehilahy no mandray fitenenana. Fitanana ny fanao taloha izany. Ny vehivavy mora tohina mihoatra amin'ny lehilahy izay mahay mifehy tena kokoa.

Matetika olona tsy lavitra ny fianakaviana no antsoina ka mety hamoha fihetseham-po ny vehivavy.

Tsy sexisme akory. La nature femme est beaucoup plus émotive. Misy ny vehivavy mahafehy ny alahelony. Ny état de femme malefaka. Raha mitady hitovy amin'ny lehilahy dia contre nature. C'est à l'encontre de son état de femme. Misy antony ny hoe ny iray lehilahy, ny iray vehivavy.

7. Ahoana ny fomba fahitanao ny vehivavy Malagasy mikabary?

Azonao tsaraina ve ny fomba fanaovany kabary?

Manao ahoana ny feony, ny fihetsiny, ny vontoa'ny zavatra lazainy?

Zava-dehibe ve ny fitafy sy ny paozy ivelany ho an'ny vehivavy mpikabary, nahoana?

Torak'izany koa ve ho an'ny lehilahy mpikabary?

Ahoana no fandraisan'ny mpanatrika ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny?

Ahoana no fandraisanao ny vehivavy mikabary amin'ny maha-mpikabary anao ?

Mahafehy ireo fitsipika sy fepetra takiana amin'ny fanaovana kabary ve ny vehivavy Malagasy?

Marina ve fa tokony hitomban-dahy nefa sady tokony hitazona ny toetra mahavehivavy azy ny mpikabary vehivavy mba hahatonga azy ho lavorary eo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary?

Misy fanatsarana ilaina ve araka ny hevitrao amin'ny fanaovan'ny vehivavy kabary?

Na amin'ny fomba fiteny na fijoro na fiakanjo dia tsy ny tena no avohitra fa mitandro ny hajan'ny fianakaviana. Tsy afaka ny hanafintohana na hanome henatra ho an'ny olona izay entina teny.

Na lahy na vavy dia tokony ho tsotra, maotina.

Ny vehivavy rehefa miteny tsy tokony hanao tsianjery. Mila mahay mifehy ny zavatra lazaina. Tsy mamerina toy ny boloky.

Mila mahay mifanaja, mifandamina. "Tsy rivotra hiady fiakarana, tsy rano hiady fidinana."

Mila mahay mamorona, manana "identité," mamboatra ny fitenenana ohatra hoe fiteny samy hafa hilazana ny hoe "tsara," soava, manitra.

Ny toetra tokony hananan'ny vehivavy mikabary dia mahay manaja ny tenany, fitafy mirindra amin'ny fotoana hikabariana. Tsy manao izay hanafintohina na hanome henatra ny olona izay entina teny. Maotina lalandava. "Pas de plaisanteries grasses comme les hommes." Tsy mivanivany. Ny lehilahy eken'ny olona kokoa raha manao fitenenana hafahafa.

Ny fampiasan'ny mpikabary voambolana mihaja dia maneho ny fanajany ny tenany sy ny fanajany ny fianakaviana izay entiny teny.

Tsy tokony ho be fihetsika. Tsy be filirony. Gestes modérés. Mihaja, na amin'ny teny na ny fipetraka.

Tadidio koa fa misy ny olom-pady.

Ny olona mikabary ihany koa dia tsy mamaky satria hainy lay fomba.

Tsy ny tena no varotana fa ny haja sy voninahitry ny fianakaviana no asongadina.

Ny hoe "mitomban-dahy," tsia. Mitazona ny maha-vehivavy. Na ny fiteny na ny fihetsika, malefaka. Tsy mitovy amin'ny lehilahy. Ny lehilahy mijadojadona.

Ny vehivavy mila miangolangola mba handresy lahatra. Ny lehilahy indraindray manana "ton moqueur, sarcastique. »

Aseho ny mahavehivavy, tsy mitovy amin'ny hoe 'fanaka malemy,' fa midika fa manana ny maha-izy azy izy.

8. Ahoana ny fomba fahitanao ny mpikabary lehilahy?

Ny fomba fahitako ny mpikabary lehilahy. Samy hafa, tsy mitovy amin'ny vehivavy. Entitra kokoa. Henjakenjana. Ny vehivavy malefadefaka. Fa mifameno.

9. Misy fahasamihafana goavana ve amin'ny kabary ataon'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy

Raha eny, inona avy izany

Raha tsia, nahoana?

Tsy misy fahasamihafana goavana. Ny fomba efa raikitra amin'ny fiarahamonina. Olona matotra sy mihaja.

Eo amin'ny fomba fanehoany no mety ho samy hafa. Ny lehilahy maneho ny maha lehilahy azy. Ny vehivavy maneho ny maha vehivavy azy.

10. Misy mampiavaka ny vehivavy mpikabary ve raha mitaha amin'ny lehilahy mpikabary

Raha eny, inona izany ary inona no lafy ratsiny sy lafy tsarany amin'izany?

Tamin'ny fampiharana tao amin'ny FIMPIMA dia tsikaritra fa ny lehilahy misy humour foana. Ny vehivavy na misy humour aza mendrika hatrany.

11. Inona ny kabary tena fataonao?

Kabary vodiondry.

12. Azonao resahina bebe kokoa ve ny fanandramana niainanao tamin'izany?

Mpitondra tenin'ny tovolahy hatrany, vehivavy no nifanandritra.

Natao tamin'ny teny Malagasy sy teny Frantsay. Tsy traduction mot par mot no natao fa équivalent. Mamorona fomba fiteny vaovao raha mahay ilay teny. Tsy afaka mihoatra ny rafitra anefa fa n yeo no avadibadika. Ny fomba faneho azy no mampisongadina. Izay ilay hoe "signature de l'orateur." Betsaka ny improvisation fa tsy maintsy miomana.

Tamin'ny kabary iray nataoko dia nisy nitomany, tao ny nitehaka.

Ankehitriny dia mbola maro be ireo fianakaviana miteny hoe, "ataovy ohatran'ilay kabary nataonao tany an'anona iny."

13. Araka ny hevitrao, inona no nahatonga ireo fianakaviana roa ireo hiantso vehivavy hikabary tamin'ireo lanonana roa izay nitondranao teny ireo?

Tamin'ny kabary voalohany nataoko dia ny mpampianatra ahy tao amin'ny FIMPIMA no nanendry ahy hiteny tamin'ny vodiondrin'ny zanany tao aorian'ny fiofanana nataoko ahafahana mampihatra izay nianarana sy mampahafantatra ny tena eo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary.

1. Azonao lazaina ve ny mombamomba anao?

Anarana: Maholy Nirilala Ramarolahy, mampianatra, nivoaka ho mpikabary tao amin'ny FIMPIMA tamin'ny taona 2000.

2. Inona no antony nahatonga anao hikabary, inona no nahaliana anao hikabary?

Niangavian'olona no nikabariako voalohany, lasa fiantson'ny fianakaviana koa, izay no antony nahatonga ahy hikabary. Tamin'ny mbola tsy nikabary aho tsy liana mihitsy, rehefa tao anatin'ny, mihaino ny namana mikabary sy ny tena dia voataiza ka lasa liana sy nikaroka mihitsy indray aza.

3. Nianatra nikabary ve ianao sa nandova izany tamin'ny fianakaviana?

Na dia nikabary matetika azan y raiko fa tsy mpikabary dia heveriko fa tsy lova avy amin'izany ny naha mpikabary ahy. Nianatra aho.

4. Inona no kabary tena fataonao?

Kabary am-panambadiana no tena fataoko.

5. Eo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary am-panambadiana, azonao lazaina ve ny salan'isan'ny kabary nataonao tamin'izany sy ny fianakaviana nentinao teny, izany hoe ny isan'ny nitondrano teny ho an'ny mpangataka na ho an'ny mpamoaka. Azonao lazaina ihany koa ve ny isan'ny lehilahy sy vehivavy nifanandrina taminao tamin'izany?

Tonga teo amin'ny isa 50 aho dia niato tsy nanisa intsony. Ny manodidina ny isa no azoko lazaina. Eo ho eo ami'ny 14 isan-taona eo. Ny 2/3 avy amin'ny vavy. Hatreto vao indimy aho no nifanandrina tamina vehivavy.

6. Eo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary am-panambadiana ihany, inona no mahasamy hafa ny kabary raha vehivavy no nifanandrina taminao? Raha lehilahy?

Raha vehivavy: mahay mampiasa angolam-peo.

Raha lehilahy: manana ny fahatokisan-tena be ami'ny teneniny.

7. Manao ahoana araka ny hevitrao ny fandraisan'ny lehilahy mpikabary anao?

Misy ny midera, lisy tonga dia mandrangaranga teny maharary, misy ny tsy taitra.

8. Manao ahoana araka ny hevitrao ny fandraisan'ny lehilahy ny vehivavy mikabary amin'ny ankapobeny?

Taloha: hafahafa, toa te hiteny zany hoe aza milingilingy. Ankehitriny, raha eto Tanà mahazo sitraka.

9. Azo lazaina ve fa eken'ny fiaraha-monina, ao anatin'izany ny fianakaviana miantso hikabary sy ny mpikabary hafa, ny fisian'ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny? Indrindra eo amin'ny sehatra izay natokana hikabarian'ny lehilahy hatramin'izay (fanambadiana, fandevenana, politika, fivoriana, etc).

Miha fa tsy tena. Hazavaiko, tsy Antananarivo mira Mada. Mbola maro eto Mada, indrindra amin'ny toerana mbola masin-teny ny fitondrana ara-drazana (izay mbola maro).

Ho an'ny fianakaviana niantso kosa matoa izy niantso dia manaiky, mankato, manome tso-drano.

10. Inona araka ny hevitrao no mahasarika na mahatonga ny fianakaviana sasany hiantso vehivavy hikabary amin'ny fangataham-bady ankehitriny?

Noho izy tsy dia fahita firy, noho ny fahitany ny fiavahan'ny vehivavy rehefa miteny (angola), noho ny fahafantarany an'ilay vehivavy.

11. Efa nikabary tamin'ny fandevenana ve ianao? Raha eny, manao ahoana ny fandraisan'ny fiarahamonina izany? Raha tsia, inona no antony tsy nanaovanao izany, ankoatra ny fanajana ny fiheverana Malagasy fa ny vehivavy dia toeran'ny aina ka tsy tokony hikabary ambony fasana izay toeran'ny maty sy ny hoe mpamosavy ny vehivavy manitsaja fasana? (Ny resaka tamin'ireo mpikabary hafa no nahazoako ireo valin-teny ireo).

ENy, intelo ary tena efa fiangaviana be mihitsy vao nanaiky. Marina ny anao, ny akaiky ny maty sy ny fianakaviana mankasitraka anao fa ny fiarahamonina mbola mihafahafa ny ankamaroany na ny samy mpikabary aza misy tsy manaiky mihitsy ny hikabarian'ny vehivavy am-pandevenana.

12. Araka ny hevitrao, misy fepetra tsy maintsy fenoin'ny vehivavy ve rah ate hikabary? Na eo amin'ny fitafiana, ny paozy ivelany, na ny fitondran-tena, ny fahaiza-mandahatra sns? Mitovy ve ny fepetra takiana amin'ny mpikabary lehilahy sy vehivavy araka izany? Mahafeno izany fepetra izany ve ny vehivavy?

Tahaka ny asa rehetra, misy mason-tzivana takiana. Amiko ny fahaizana manome haj any olona maka anao sy ny olona mihaino anao no mamehy azy. Ny fitafy ohatra raha hikabary ambanivohitra be ianao dia tsy hanao akanjo landy fa soga satria mety heverin'ny olona ho "manivaiva" satria miavaka loatra noho ny tena hanambady raha tsotra ny akanjony, izany hoe, ilaina ny miavaka fa ny be elanelana be loatra tsy mety (mahabe ny sakana amin'ny fifandraisana). Olona salama saina tsara, tsy mora misafoaka fa mahay maka mora, mazava fitenenana (tsy sima...).

Tsy kely feo na marani-peo (tsy mampandry sofina), mifanahi-draiamandreny na amin'ny teny (fisafidianana ny voambolana ampiasaina, ny fitafy mendrika, ny fihetsika manaja ny hafa) mandritra ny fotoana rehetra maha ao anaty asa azy nae fa tsy mikabary intsony aza.

13. Inona araka ny hevitrao no anjara toeran'ny vehivavy eo amin'ny fampandrosoana ny firenena sy ny fikolokoloana ny soatoavina Malagasy?

Ny vehivavy no rano mpampitony ny disadisa sy ny adilahy politika amiko, ka raha ny vehivavy no oomena sehatra malalaka ahafahany mivelatra dia hiasa amin'ny fony ho fampandrosoana "marina" fa tsy ho "be kajy politika." Eo amin'ny soatoavina indray dia toy ny lehilahy ihany ny fanajana sy ny fahalalana tsy mifidy olona, mila ianarana, mila tehirizina koa tsy zara aza ve miandahy miambavy ny fandalana azy?

14. Nisy fotoana ve tamin'ny kabary izay nataonao mety ho nahatsapanao fa mbola tsy tena resy lahatra amin'ny tokony hikabarian'ny vehivavy ny mpanatrika, ny fiarahamonina?

Ny fahagagana no betsaka fa ny tsy resy lahatra vitsy (tsy miresaka ny am-pandevenana aho).

15. Raha eny, azonao lazaina ve ny fihetsikao manoloana izany sy ny ezaka nataonao haharesy lahatra azy ireo?

....

16. Mambra ao amin'ny FIMPIMA ianao. Nanampy tamin'ny fampahafantarana anao ho mpikabary ve ny fikambanana? Raha tsia, azonao lazaina ve ny nahatonga anao ho fantadaza teo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary sy ho voantso matetika tamin'ny fanatontosana kabary samy hafa?

Manampy satria sady mampianatra kabary ao koa aho, izany hoe olona tsy latsaky ny 100 isan-taona no mahalala ahy amin'ny alalan'ny fampianarana sy ny fikambanana, izaho rahateo nanoratra boky roa (kabary) izay miely ary manampy amin'ny fielezany ny fikambanana, ny fahafahana mifanerasera amina mpikabary iray fikambanana ihany koa anefa harena tsy voavidy satria mifanakalo traikefa isaky ny mihaona.

17. Eo amin'ny resaka hasim-bava, misy fahasamihafana lehibe ve amin'ny hasim-bava izay omen'ny fianakaviana ny lehilahy na vehivavy mpikabary? Izany hoe, mety ho manana tombony ve ny hasim-bava ho an'ny lehilahy sa mety hitovy?

Amiko tsy misy fahasamihafana. Alaim-panahy aloha ny tompon-draharaha hihevitra fa satria vehivavy dia kely kokoa ny hasimbava. Amiko miankina amin'ny zavatra maro ny hasimbava toy ny ora na andro matiko hikabariana, ny takian'izy ireo sns. Raha ny marina aza anie dia ny hasimbava ho an'ny mpikabary vehivavy no tokony betsaka satria izy mila mikojakoja tarehy, volo, sns, zay tsy ataon'ny lehilahy e!

18. Mety ho isan'ny nahaliana anao hikabary ve ny fidiram-bola azo avy amin'ny maha mpikabary? Misy ifandraisany ve ny asa amin'ny maha mpikabary matihanina sy ny fahaliananao hikabary?

Amiko raha toa ka efa ampy traikefa dia eny, manampy amin'ny fidiram-bola toko any kabary. Ny ankamaroan'ny vehivavy mianatra kabary anefa dia mijanona ho fahalalana ampiasainy amin'ny asa na fianakaviana na fikambanana fotsiny ny kabary fa tsy dia natao hitadiavam-bola loatra.

1. Azonao lazaina ve ny mombamoba anao?

Joëlle Phillipe Randriantody no anarako. Talen'ny fampianarana ao amin'ny FIMPIMA eto Paris.

2. Inona no nahatonga anao ho liana tamin'ny fanaovana kabary?

Ny toetrako hatramin'izay dia efa tia mitarika, sahisahy, manana fitokisan-tena. Tia taranja Malagasy koa aho ary tsara naoty tamin'izany. Mbola tanora, adolescente, aho no tonga teto Frantsa. Rehefa nianatr any kolontsaina Frantsay aho no nahatsapa ny harenan'ny kolontsaina sy ny literatiora Frantsay ka nanjary liana hahafantatra momba ny an'ny Malagasy.

Tsy very mihitsy ny fahaizako Malagasy satria tao amin'ny Akany Malagasy aho no nianatra sy niasa.

Tamin'ny taona 2010 no nandrenesako ny filazana mikasika ny fampianarana kabary Malagasy. Tonga dia niditra aho. Niantra isan-kariva. Tsapako ny harenan'ny teny Malagasy. Ny fotoana malalaka koa dia nampiasaiko tamin'ny fandalinana ny soatoavina Malagasy.

Tamin'ny taona 2012 aho no nanomboka nampianatra tany Strasbourg, Lyon ary Lille, Sabotsy roa isam-bolana.

Tao aorian'izay dia narary nandritra ny 10 volana aho. Voan'ny paralysie. Tao anatin'izany fotoana izany dia nilona tao amin'ny kabary, namaky boky mikasika ny kabary.

Niverina nampianatra aho tamin'ny 2015 ka hatramin'izao.

Amin'ny maha-talen'ny fampianarana ahy eto Paris ihany koa no ahafantaran'ny olona ahy hoe mpikabary.

3. Tamin'ianao niditra ho mpikambana tao amin'ny FIMPIMA, nisy sata ve namaritra hoe tsy maintsy atolotra mpikabary lehilahy?

Eny, nisy olona efa nikabary roa nanolotra ahy.

4. Misy ilay fomba fitenenana hoe "tsy mety raha ny mpitovo no mananatra ny tompony," izay heverina fa manome lanja kokoa ny vehivavy efa manambady eo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary. Inona no hevitrao mikasika izany?

Samy hafa ny fiaraha-monina aty France sy Madagasikara.

Matetika ny vehivavy Malagasy no manenjika hanambady mba hahazo haja sy voninahitra. Miaina ny fanerena ataon'ny fiaraha-monina azy hanambady izy ireo satria ratsy ny fomba fijery ny vehivavy manano-tena, tsy manambady.

Izaho tsy manambady fa mbola tsy nanana olana mihitsy mikasika izay tamin'ireo fianakaviana izay niantso ahy.

Izaho manokana tsy niaina izay “pression sociale” izay. Mora kokoa amin'ny Malagasy aty ny manaiky an'zay.

Ny fihetsika no hanomezan'ny olona voninahitra anao fa tsy ny hoe manambady na tsia.

5. Mitovy ve ny isan'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy liana amin'ny kabary ankehitriny?

Tao anatin'ny 10 taona dia maro be ireo vehivavy misoratra anarana hianatra kabary.

Betsaka kokoa ny vehivavy noho ny lehilahy. Maro amin'ireo anefa no tsy vonona hikabary antsoin'olona fa mbola miteny hoe “raha eo ny vadiko dia izy aloha no aleo hiteny.”

Eto Paris zao, izaho irery no vehivavy antsoina eo anivon'ny FIMPIMA. 26 ny isan'ny kabary vodiondry efa nataoko hatramin'izay.

6. Araka ny hevitrao, ahoana ny fahitan'ny lehilahy mpikabary sy ny olona amin'ny ankapobeny ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny?

Satria taty ivelany aho dia tsy dia nanana fotoana loatra hiainana ny tontolo hoe ny lehilahy no tompon'ny teny. Izaho rahateo tsy niasalasa niditra tamin'ny sehatry ny kabary.

Avy any Vohipeno, Manakara aho. Raha ny fitaizana azoko dia nitovy ny fitondran'ny dadanay anay.

7. Mety misy ve olona fantatrao izay tsy mankasitraka ny vehivavy mikabary?

Nisy lehilahy iray avy any Vohipeno nilaza hoe akohovavy maneno.

Misy koa ny olona tsy sahy miteny. Mety hoe amin'ny maha-zanaky ny mpiandraikitra ny Akany Malagasy ahy dia tsy sahy miteny ny olona.

Ao amin'ny samy mpikabary no ahitana izany kokoa. Indrindra amin'ny an-karatsiana. Rehefa misy famangiana manjo ohatra, misy lehilahy iray izay natao hisafidy ny mpikabary amin'ny fotoana samy hafa. Mpikabary lehilahy hatrany no nosafidiany, eny fa na ireo izay vao navoaka hikabary aza, kanefa efa mpikabary nanana ny maha-izy ahy aho ary efa mpampianatra kabary tamin'izany fotoana izany.

Nisy fotoana nametraka fanontaniana tamin'i Hanitra Andriamboavonjy hoe ‘manana zo hiteny amin'ny sehatra rehetra ve ny vehivavy mpikabary any Madagasikara?’ dia novaliany hoe ‘kabary am-pasana no tsy hiantsoana vehivavy mihitsy satria mandika fasana.’

Nisy fotoana koa tamin'ny volana Janoary 2019 nifanandrina tamin'ny lehilahy izay tsy manaiky vehivavy mikabary aho tamin'ny vodiondry. Fanambadiana no noresahina nefa resaka “divorce” no nitondrany azy.

8. Inona no mahasamy hafa ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy mpikabary araka ny hevitrao sy araka ny fanandramana niainanao amin'ny mahampikabary vehivavy anao?

Misy fahasamihafana eo amin'ny hainteny sy ohabolana ampiasaina. Misy ny teny ampiasain'ny vehivavy bebe kokoa, misy ny lehilahy no mampiasa azy bebe kokoa. Ny mpikabary lehilahy matetika mampiasa hainteny misy resaka voninahitra (ohatra: misolo anaran-drainy tsy satry) sy ohabolana mampisongadina ny kileman'ny hafa na teny tsy mendrika natao ho fampihomehezana (ohatra: banga, sola, antidahe, antibavy); ny mpikabary vehivavy kosa matetika mampiasa fomba fiteny misy resaka voninkazo sy teny ahazoany voninahitra.

Ankoatr'izay, mora kokoa ny kabary mampihomehy ho an'ny lehilahy.

Rehefa mihaino mpikabary vehivavy ny olona dia manantena zavatra kanto, matotra. Izaho manokana tsy sahy nanao mampihomehy mihitsy tamin'ny voalohany. Ary na nilaza zavatra mampihomehy aza taty aoriana dia tsy mampiasa fomba fitenenana tsy mendrika mihitsy satria tsy mora ny maka ilay toerana. Ao an-tsaina foana hoe vehivavy ny tena, tsy mahazatra ny olona.

Tamin'ny voalohany tamin'ny "azafady," izay fangatahana alalana hiteny sady fanomezam-boninahitra ny olona hanaovana kabary, dia nanao azafady aho amin'ny maha-vehivavy hiteny. Taty aoriana rehefa nahazo toerana dia ny lafiny amin'ny maha-mpikabary sisa no jerena. Na izany aza tsy mbola tonga eo amin'ny toerana tena tiako aho.

9. Misy mampiavaka ny vehivavy mpikabary ve araka ny hevitrao? Inona no lafy ratsy sy tsara amin'izany?

Misy ireo vehivavy¹ izay milaza hoe zanaka mpikabary tsy tokony hianatra kabary. Ohatrany manao tononkalo na teatra ry zareo rehefa mikabary. Amiko anefa tsy izay no atao hoe kabary ary somary manafintohina ahy ny fanaovan'izy ireo kabary. Ny kabary dia natao handresy lahatra olona.

Ny mampiavaka ny vehivavy mpikabary ankoatr'izay dia mitafy landy rehefa hihaingo. Indrindra ho any avy any afovoan-tany. Marihina fa lafo vidy ny landy.

10. Eo amin'ny lafin'ny haingo, tokony hanindraindra ny mahavehivavy ve ny mpikabary vehivavy?

Amiko rehefa mihaingo dia ampy ahy izay.

Ny mpikabary rehefa tonga amin'ny toerana iray dia vao mijery ny olona dia izay no efa hitany na mbola tsy miteny akory aza ilay mpikabary.

Mila miavaka amin'ny fianjaika.

Tsy miraratra be ary tsy manetry tena be koa anefa.

¹ For ethical issues, we chose not to mention these female orators' names.

Mila anontaniana ny tompon-danonana hoe inona ny “dress code.” Mila mandanjalanja arakaraka ny olona miantso. Ohatra hoe kavina lehibe kokoa ve no ho anaovana.

Rehefa lehilahy no mifanandrina dia tsy miraratra. Satria raha tsy mahomby ny kabary ataonao dia noho ny fiseho, fihaingo sy ny fihetsika ivelany; raha mahomby dia ireny ihany no hitsarana anao.

Hitako koa hoe rehefa vehivavy mihaingo dia mahazo ‘respect’ kokoa, indrindra fa avy nikabary. Rehefa tsotsotra dia misy ‘réserve’ ny olona.

Amin’ny mahampampianatra ahy koa izay natao hitarika olona hianatra dia ilaina ny mitarika amin’ny haingo.

Raisiko ho tombon-tsoa ny maha-vehivavy ahy eo amin’ny resaka haingo. Manampy na manatombo ny vehivavy raha mitovy ny kabary nataony sy ny an’ily lehilahy.

Maty lolo ny olona mijery.

11. Amin’ny resaka haingo sy fiakanjo ihany, manao ahoana ny fahitanao ny “talons”?

Manao kiraro avo foana aho satria fohy. Mihena ny ‘assurance’ ny tena raha manao kiraro iva.

Ny talons avo anefa mampitombo ny ‘trac’ satria tsy ‘naturel.’ Sady miady ao amin’ny loha no miady koa ao amin’ny vatana.

Fa rehefa tsy mihetsiketsika fa mitsatoka ny tongotra, dia mirindra tsara ny kabary ataoko.

12. Niresaka “trac” ianao teo. Manaona ny fahatsapanao ny ‘trac’ amin’ny maha-mpikabary vehivavy anao?

Misy foana ny trac. Ilaina satria vao maika manome hery handeha lavitra mihoatra ny efa vita tany aloha.

Misy trac rehefa fantatra hoe be dia be ny olona hijery anao.

Raha olona fantatra dia ianao no mitarika.

Samy hafa ny enjeu amin’ny olona efa mahafantatra ny tena sy ny olona taisy mahafantatra. Mila miezaka ny hahafa-po hametrahan’ny olona anao amin’ny toerana ambony.

Raha vao manomboka miteny aho dia afaka ny trac. Vao reko ny feoko miteny dia miala ny trac.

13. Misy fahasamihafana ve eo amin’ny hasim-bava ho an’ny mpikabary lehilahy sy vehivavy?

Tamin’izahay nianatra dia hoe tsy misy karama ny kabary fa hoe omeo lanjany ny kabary ataonao dia hanome lanja izany ko any olona.

Any Madagasikara tena fitadiavam-bola mihitsy ny kabary, mandeha isan’ora.

Ho an'ireo goaika antitra tena lafo.

Aty France, eritreretina ny hoe misy ny fandaniana amin'ny fianjaika. Lasa nandany vola tamin'ny kiraro sy akanjo ary firavaka aho. Eo koa ny fotoana, herim-po, herin-tsaina.

Tamin'ny voalohany tsy sahy nametra fa dia hoe "izay mahafa-po anareo re e." Saingy tsy azon'ny olona an-tsaina ny ezaka ataonao. Farany lasa manome "tranche."

Tany Melun nikabary aho telo taona lasa izay. "Frais" aller-retour-ko 20 euros. 30 euros no nomen'ilay olona.

Indray mandeha aho nikabary niaraka tamin'i X. Eo amin'ny 120 – 150 euros eo ny fanomen'ny olona.

Tsy dia tia nametra loatra aho.

Indraindray koa ny olona manome bebe kokoa na latsaka kokoa noho izay lazainao.

Fa amin'izao aho efa sahy miteny.

Miankina amin'ny zava-misy koa.

Tamin'ilay kabary tamin'ny 01 jona teo izao kamboty ray vao haingana ry zareo dia niteny aho hoe izay mahafa-po anareo. Nandany reo tami'nny lanonana an, fa 70 euros no nomeny.

Rehefa mifampiresaka amin'ny namana mpikabary dia ry zareo no niteny hoe "ianao no tokony hanome lanja ny kabary ataonao. Ny lanonana vodiondry tsy vita raha tsisy mpikabary."

14. Misy fahasamihafana ve araka ny hevitrao ny kabary ataon'ny Malagasy aty Frantsa sy any Madagasikara?

Aty Frantsa mianatra bebe kokoa ny mpikabary. Ny aty mbola mahay kokoa.

Teto France foana ihany aho no mbola nikabary hatreto fa mikas any hikabary any Madagasikara tsy ho ela.

15. Inona no atao hoe mpikabary mahay sy mahomby?

Tsy voatery hahay fomba fiteny tadiavina lavitra satria ny olona tsy mampiasa ohabolana matetika. Teny Malagasy tsotra no tena fampiasa. Satria na tsara toy inona azan y teninao nefa tsy azon'ny mpijery dia tsy mahomby. Tsy mahay ny dikan'izay.

Ny atao hoe mpikabary mahay sy mahomby dia olona mahay mandanjalanja ny teny sy ny fihetsika sy mampifandray ny teny ampiasainy sy ny sehatra itenenany.

Ny toetra tokony hananana dia ny fahaizana mandefitra voalohany indrindra. Mifanohitra amin'ny mahampikabary anefa izany satria matoa misafidy ny ho mpikabary dia olona tia miteny imason'olona, izany hoe olona te hojeren'ny olona.

Nisy mpikabary lehilahy iray nifanandrina tamiko. Mpikabary lehilahy sady manana traikefa no manana talenta amin'ny maha-mpikabary azy. Saingy na izaho na ny mpanatrika dia samy tohina tamin'ny fizahozahoany nandritra ny vodiondry.

Mila mahay mandanjalanja, mamoaka ny zavatra mendrika sy tsara. Adino ny tena. Tsy amin'ny mahavehivavy anao no hitondranao ny teny fa amin'ny mahaolona mpitondra teny anao.

16. Araka ny hevitrao, misy fepetra tsy maintsy fenoin'ny vehivavy ve mba hahatonga azy hoheverina fa mpikabary mahomby, izany hoe mba hahatonga azy eo amin'ny toerana haneken'ny fiaraha-monina azy fa mpikabary matihaninana, mahomby, to-teny, manana ny hasiny eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina, ary antsoina matetika? Mitovy ve ny fepetra takiana ho an'ny mpikabary lehilahy sy vehivavy mba hahatongavana amin'izany toerana izany?

Tokony hitovy ny toetra sy fepetra ho an'ny lahy sy vavy.

Ny mpikabary dia manana ny toerany manokana eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina. Tsy izy no maka ilay toerana fa ny fiaraha-monina no mametraka azy amin'izany toerana izany. Ohatra hoe raha olona tia vazivazy ianao dia olona te hihaino vazivazy no miantso anao.

Raha vao fantatra hoe mpikabary dia hitan'ny fiarah-monina ary tsarainy ny fihetsika andavan'andro. Hitan'ny olona foana ny toetranao raha mendrika. Araka izany dia miezaka ny hahazo ny hajany sy ny lazany eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina ny mpikabary.

Manan-danja be ny "reputation" amin'ny maha mpikabary.

Ianao no manao izay hanananao Hasina sy laza eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina.

Ny mpikabary dia olona tia resaka fa tsy be resaka. Tsy mitakoritsika. Misy ny atao hoe kabarimbavahady. Hafa ny kabary mihaja.

Appendix 5- Mail questionnaire. Pascaline Rasamoeliasoa.

Answers received on 07 March 2019.

Ny momba ahy dia toy izao raha fintinina fohifohy :

Anarana:RASAMOELIARISOA Pasxaline

Zanak - i RASAMOELINA ANDRIANASOLO Fidèle Auguste (maty)

SY RASOARINIVO Aline Jean Baptistine (maty)

vady navelan'i RABEARISOA LUCIEN

Miteraka telo aho ; 1 vavy ary roa lahy .

Mananjafy : 7

ny asako : CONSULTANTE Juriste

Azo lazaina fa taranaka mpikabary satria ny Raiko dia efa filohan'ny mpikabary nandritra ny fotoana maro .

efa t@ ny taona 1971 aho no efa nikabary , fa taty @ ny taona 1980 aho vao niditra tao @ ny fikambanan'ny mpikabary Malagasy .

25 Mianaka izahay t@ izany fotoana izany 24 lahy ary 1 vavy .

Mariako fa mafimafy ihany ny fanontaniana sy ny andrana natao tamiko vao voaray aho azony t@ izany mbola tsy nekena hikabary ny vehivavy

satria lazaina fa akoho vavy maneno .

Araka ny sata mifehy ny fikambanana dia tsy maintsy atolotra mpikabary mpikambana roa vao azo raisina , ary ireo mpikabary ireo efa nahita an'ilay olona nikabary .

I Jaoba RAKOTOJAONA sy ANDRIAMANANTENA Georges RADO no nanolotra ahy .

AMIKO tsy maintsy tandrovana ny teny MALAGASY satria:

"Ny teny no firenena ARY IZAY tia ny tenindrazany dia tia ny tanindrazany"

Answers received on 22 April 2019

14. Inona no hamaritanao ny teny hoe kabary?

Ny kabary dia lahateny atao @ ny feo mafy eo imason'olona maro , atao ankandrina, voaravaka ohabolana sy hainteny ,

15. Inona no nahalianaanaoarynahatongaanaohikabary?

Mahafinaritra ahy ary ankafiziko ny kabary , ny mihaino azy, ny mandalina azy dia fahafinaretana ho ahy

16. Tamin'ny taona 1971 ianao no efa nanomboka nikabary, azonao resahina ve hoe nanao ahoana ny tontolon'ny kabary teto Madagasikara tamin'izany fotoana izany, maro ve ny vehivavy hafa ankoatra anao no nikabary tamin'izany, nanao ahoana ny fandraisan'ny mpikabary hafa anao, nanao ahoana ny fandraisan'ny mpihaino teo amin'ny fiaraha-monina anao?

t@ ny taona 1971 , dia mbola vitsy ny vehivavy mpikabary ,ny tenako ihany no fantatro aloha , maro no mankasitraka , satria hafa ny mahita vehivavy mikabary , satria @ ny fiainan'ny Mlalagsy ankapobehany dia ny lehilahy ihany no mikabary, zava baovao ho an'ny mpihaino sy mpijery izany , maro ny lahatsoratra angazety niresaka ny tenako mikasika ny vehivavy mikabary .

17. Rehefa niditra ho mambran'ny fikambanan'ny mpikabary Malagasy ianao tamin'ny taona 1980, nanao ahoana ny fandraisan'ireo mpikabary lehilahy tamin'izany?

Somary nanahirana ihany satria ny lehilahy mbola nibahana t@ ny kabary , nanahirana ny sain'izy ireo ny hoe hisy vehivavy hiditra ao @ ny fikambanana ; Araka ny sata nifehy ny fikambanana dia tsy maintsy atolotr'olona roa farafahakeliny ary olona efa nahita ahy nikabary na efa nihaona tamiko . I Andramanantena Georges RADO, Rakotojaona Job , RAFIDY ravelomanantsoa no nanolotra ahy . Betsaka ny fanontaniana ,ny fanadihadiana mikasika ny kabary . Mbola tanora moa ny tena t@ ny niditra ka tadidiko ny fanontaniana nataony tamiko dia ny hoe efa manambady sa mbola mpitovo , namaly aho fa efa manambady , t@ ireo mpikabary dia tsy mety raha mpitova ihanao no mikabary satria hono "tsy mety ny mpitovo manananatra ny mpanana" .

NY NAHAFINARITRA AHY SY NAHAFAPO AHY DIA NY TSODRANO NOMENDRY ZAREO AHY T@ ny farany saika latsaka ny ranomasoko , faly loatra aho satria sahy nisedra ireo olombe @ ny kabary mba ho raiaina mpikabary koa ny vehivavy ;

18. Azonao ampitahaina ve ny toerana misy ny vehivavy eo amin'ny tontolon'ny kabary tamin'ny fotoana voalohany nidiranao ho mambran'ny FIMPIMA sy ankehitriny?

25 mianaka zahay no tao azo lazaina fa anisan'ny zandriny aho sady vavy tokana , naka sary izahay ka izao no natao teo ampovoana dia 12 lahy avy ny andaniny sy ny ankilany , ny tena nahafinaritra dia ny naneken'izy ireo ny fidirako tao @ ny fikambanana .Tsy nisy vato nanoha riana na vola nanoha randrana fa dia nanaiky tsy nisy fisalasalana rehefa vita ny adina sy ny famakafakana ny momba ny tenako sy ny momba ny Kabary Malagasy .

19. Mbola misy ve ilay sata mifehy ny fikambanana FIMPIMA fahiny mikasika ny fidiran'ny vehivavy ho isan'ny mambran'ny fikambanana, raha tsia, oviana no no fohanana izany, nahoana?

*Mbola misy io sata io , marihako ary hamafisiko fa tao anaty ny sata tsy nisy andininy milaza hoe tsy mahazo miditra mpikambana ny vehivavy, fa fomba fijery fotsiny hoe tsy mahazo mikabary ny vehivavy satria manao akoho vavy maneno hono ,ny vehivavy aza moa nolazaina fa kofehy manara panjaitra, ravaky ny tokantrano, fanaka malemy , tendrombohitr'olona sy ny sisa ,ohapitenenana hametrana ny vehivavy ho tsy mahazo mihoatra na mitovy @ ny lehilahy.
ary hatr@ izao aza mbola misy fombantany eto Madagasikara tsy mahazo mandray fitenenana ny vehivavy ;*

20. Nahoana no eken'ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy ny fisian'ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny?

Efa misy izao ny fitovian jo eo @ ny lahy sy ny vavy @ ny lafiny rehetra io na ara tsosialy , na ara kasa , na ara koltoral na ara zava-kanto , ary efa ekan'ny fiaraha monina fa manana ny maha izy azy ny vehivavy @ ny lafiny rehetra , tena mahafaly ny ankabehazan'ny olona ny mahita vehivavy mikabary .

Amin'izao fotoana izao dia efa marobe ny vehivavy mikabary ary na ny filohann'y fikambanan'ny Mpikabary Malagasy aza dia vehivavy . faly ny tenako isaky ny mifanena @ ny vehivavy aho @ ny lafiny kabary raisiko voninahitra sy reharena izany

satria nody ventiny ny rano natsakaina ka eken'ny fiarahmonina ny vehivavy mikabary.

21. Inona no maha-samy hafa ny kabary taloha sy ny ankehitriny?

Na kabary taloha na kabary ankehitriny dia misy rafitra arahina raha kabary ampanambadiana no atao.

Marina fa tokony hanaraka ny toetrandro ny kabary na izany aza tsy maintsy hajaina ny rafitra .

Ny kabary tranainy tena ohatra ny mifaninana mafy , nisy ny hoe DONTANY SY KAPOTANDROKA zay tena mifampianatsy ankabary , tsy manaiky resy , maro ny ohabolana sy fomba fiteny fiantsina nefa atao ampanajana iahany ohatra :

“raha avandra hiaraka ianao zaho tanety ampy hielezana “

“raha varatra hipoka ianao zaho vatolampy ampy handihizana” sy ny sisa

Tsoriko fa misy mpikabary tanora sasantsasany indraindray mitady hivoana ny rafitra ka mahatonga fanafintohinana @ ny mpihaino , satria manao sangisangy zary tenany ka mahamenatra, ekena fa malalaka ny fitenenana fa tsy maintsy lanjalanjaina tsara ny vohambolana tenenina .

Ny tsy azo atao indrindra dia ny mamaky teny raha mikabary, afa tsy ny tetiarana satria ny anarana fisandratana ka tsy maintsy vakiana sy tononina tsara , ny kabary tsy maintsy atao ankandrina.

22. Mbola mitombona ve ilay fiteny hoe “akohovavy maneno” fambara loza ho an’ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny?

Tsia, fiteny hirabirabiana sy hanesoana ny vehivavy io akoho vavy maneno io. EFA NISY LEHILAHY NANAHO AHY IZANY DIA NOVALIKO HOE RAHA AKOHO VAVY MANENO NY TENAKO IANAHO KOSA IZANY AKOHOLAHY MANATODY, tsy sahy niteny izany intsony satria fahasamponana izany fitenenana izany ary zavatra tsy misy eto ambonin’ny tany.

23. Nisy tamin'ireo mpikabary izay niresaka Tamiko nilaza fa mbola tsy azon'ny vehivavy atao ny mikabary ambony fasana satria heverina fa mpamosavy ny vehivavy manitsaka fasana. Manao ahoana ny hevitrao mikasika izany?

Mikasika ny kabary amapandevenana dia efa manao io kabary io ny vehivavy ny tenako efa imbetsaka no mikabary ampandevenana . Io dia miankina @ ny toetsain'ny tisrairay sy ny fombantany ary ny endriky ny fasana .

Raha fasana ambony tany ny varavarana fasana moderne zany dia eo anoloan n- ny fasana no mikabary , raha fasana tranainy zany hoe any ambony tany ny varavarana dia na eo anoloan'ny fasana na eny ambonin'ny fasana no miteny , io dia miankina @ ny fombantany , misy fasana tsy azo hitsahina , tsy azo hanaovana kiraro ;

Ny tenako aloha tsy mampaninona ahy na ambony na ety ivelany, tsy izany akory no maha mpamosavy.

Ny mikabary @ ny fahafatesana no tena sarotra indrindra , satria fahoriana no resahina, fahoriana no handraisampitenenana . mila fitandremana ny teny rehetra atao .

24. Ahoana ny fomba fahitanao ny vehivavy Malagasy mikabary?

Azonao tsaraina ve ny fomba fanaovany kabary?

Manao ahoana ny feony, ny fihetsiny, ny vontoatin'ny zavatra lazainy?

Zava-dehibe ve ny fitafy sy ny paozy ivelany ho an'ny vehivavy mpikabary, nahoana?

Torak'izany koa ve ho an'ny lehilahy mpikabary?

Ahoana no fandraisan'ny mpanatrika ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny?

Ahoana no fandraisanao ny vehivavy mikabary amin'ny maha-mpikabary anao?

Mahafehy ireo fitsipika sy fepetra takiana amin'ny fanaovana kabary ve ny vehivavy Malagasy?

Marina ve fa tokony hitomban-dahy nefa sady tokony hitazona ny toetra mahavehivavy azy ny mpikabary vehivavy mba hahatonga azy ho lavorary eo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary?

Misy fanatsarana ilaina ve araka ny hevitrao amin'ny fanaovan'ny vehivavy kabary?

Ny vehivavy mikabary dia tokony ho maotina satria fisainana Malagasy izany ary soatoavina, ny fomba fitafy sy fiteny na eo aza n y toetrandro sy fanatoloana dia tokony mihaja sy manendrika anao , ataoko fa tsy tsara raha vehivavy ianao dia andeha hanao pataloha rahefa mikabary na manao fatotenda cravate toy ny lehilahy . Maro ny fitafiana vita Malagasy manendrika sy manaja .TSARA ny vehivavy raha mitafy lamba rahefa mikabary , manavaka azy io. Fadio ny mitady randrana manendrika ny hafa.

Tokony hajaina ny tenanao mba hanajan'ny olona anao . TSY azo atao ny manao fitafiana tsy maotina toy ny mini jupe ampotopehy.

HO an'ny mpikabary lehilahy sy vehivavy tokony hadio tsara ianao, voahogo tsarany volo , voaborosy tsara any kiraro , fantaro fa mpisolotena sy mpisolovava ny fianakaviana ianao ka tokony hifanaraka @ izany ny fihetsika sy fitafinao , fadio ny manao fitafiana mioritroritra sy maloto. TSY MAINTSY ATA0 AO ANTSAINA FA VONINAHITRY NY FIANAKAVIANA NO HAROVANA SY HAJAINA.

25. Ahoananyfombafahitanaonypikabarylehilahy

@ Izay mahalehilahy azy izay dia misy tokoa ny lahilahy tsy manaja vehivavy fa mihevitra ny tenany ho ambony sy tapipahaizana raha kabary noresahina,Manoa fanontaniana be havona sy be esoeso;

Misy kosa anefa lehilahy tena manaja , marina fa misy resaka fandrampandrika ny kabary ,misy fanontaniana tsy maintsy valiana fa ampanajana no hanaovany an'izany .

@ ny Malagasy mantsy indrindra fa ny kabary tranainy “ ALEO HONO VERY VADY AMANJANAKA TOY IZAY RESY ANKABARY”

26. Misyfahasamihafanagoavanaveamin'nykabaryataon'nylehilahysynyvehivavy

Rahaeny, inonaavyizany

Eo amin'ny fomba fiteny , ny feo , ny fijoro no misy mahasamihafa azy ,ny lehilahy be feo ohatran'ny mibetroka indraindray , ny an'ny vehivavy kosa araboajanahary malefaka sy milantolanto ny fomba fiteny ka mahababo fo ,

Rahatsia, nahoana

Tsy dia misy raha manaraka rafitra tsara ny mpikabary , marihana fa tsy fifaninana akory no atao raha mikabary alain'ny fianakaviana ianao , fa fanarahana ny hetahetan'ny tompontrano zany hoe ny fianakaviana . TSAROVY FA MPIANDRY OMBY VOLAVITA NY

MPIKABARY tsy tompony fa mpamerindoha zany hoe ny teny sy hevitra ny fianakaviana no arahinao sy harovanao fa tsy ny hevitrao .

27. Misymampivavanyvehivavympikabaryverahamitahaamin'nylehilahympikabary Rahaeny, inonaizanyaryinona no lafyratsinysylafytsaranyamin'izany Araka ny efa voalaza tany aloha ny mpikabary vehivavy manintona ny olona kokoa nohon'ny lehilahy, ny vehivavy zany manana toe panahy milamina ara voajanahay ny vehivavy koa milantolanto rahefa miteny ka mora mambabo ny mpihaino , afarako ny vehivavy mpikabary mba hitsikitsiky satria ny fitsikina mananmbara ny fahatsoran'ny fo; fadio anefa ny mivanitika na mivanivany .
Kanefa kosa rahefa mikabary @ fahoriana tsy tokony hitsikitsiky.

28. Inonanykabarytenafataonao.

- Kabary ampanambadiana efa anjatony maro
- Kabary @ fahoriana
- Kabary @ lanonana samihafa
- Kabary fisaorana
- Kabary fanentanana

29. Tamin'nykabary am-panambadianaizayefanataonao,

azonaoataovenymanomenysalan'isan'nyvehivavysynylehilahyizaynifanehitrataminao. Azonaoataovenymilazalazamombanyfandehan'nykabary am-panambadiana toy izany (metyverahanyvehivavy no mangatakafatsyvoatery ho mpamoakafona, manaoahoananyfifamalianarahalehilahy nomifanehitraaminao, manaoahoanarahavehivavy).

Ny tena betsak nifanena tamiko aloha dia mpikabary lehilahy , ny vehivavy vitsivitsy ihany , ny 80% lehilahy ;ny 20% Vehivavy ;

Tsy voatery mpamoaka foana ny vehivavy , zaho matetika mpangataka , marihana fa raha mpangataka ianao tsy maintsy mahafantatra sy mahafehy ny fombantany zay alehanao sy ny fomban 'ny fianakaviana zay hiantranonao .

ny mahafinaritra ahy raha nangataka ako na tany @ ny toerana tena be fanontaniana sy be fombafomba dia mahazo foana ako ary afa po foana ny fianakaviana zay maka ahy.

@ izao fotoana izao moa dia efa mikabary @ ny zanaky ny olona nikabariko aho , raisiko voninahitra lehibe izany satria hametran'ny olona ny fitokisany aho ary tsy mahafoy ahy izy ireo.

17. Inona no nahatongaanao ho liana tamin'nyfanaovanakabary?

Amin'ny maha zavakanto ny kabary dia niezaka aho mba ho raisina ao anatin'ny Fkambanan'ny Mpikabary Malagasy ny vehivavy , satria talohan'ny nidirako tao dia voatokana ho an'ny lehilahy irery ihany ny kabary .

18. Niofana ho mpikabaryveianaosanandovaizanyamin'ny maha-zanakampikabaryanao?

Tsia tsy dia niofan a ho mpikabary aho, efa tsapako efa tato anatiko ny fitiavana ny kabary satria nahafinaritra ny mahita sy mihaino ny mpikabary @ ny lanonana na @ ny fahoriana ; @ maha zanaka mpikabary ny tenako dia tiko ny mamaky boky kabary sy mihaino an'I dadako mikabary. .

19. Arakanyhevitrao, ahoana no

fahitan'ny lehilahy mpikabary anaohatramin'izay kahatramin'izao? Ihany anefa ireo zay tsy mankasitraka satria mbola te hjeheho fa ny lehilahy irery ihany no tokony hikabary fa ny vehivavy

Mankasitraka izy ireo ary midera ny tenako raha vao voaray tao @ ny fikambanan'ny mpikabary aho, misy ihany anefa ireo lehilahy sasantsasany zay tsy mankasitraka satria hono natao ho an'ny lehilahy ihany no mikabary far aha vehivavy no mandray fitenenana dia mitovy @ ny akoho vavy maneno , efa nisy lehilahy nanao ny tenako hoe akoho vavy maneno fa nomehezako ary novaliko hoe raha akoho vavy maneno aho , ianao koasa zany akoho lahy manatody , nikombona ny vavany , ary tsy sahy niteny an'izany intsony.

20. Arakanyhevitrao, inona no

mahatongany fianakavianasasany hiantso mpikabary vehivavy ankehitriny na amin'ny vodiondry aamin'ny fandevenana?

Amin'ny vodiondry , maro ankehitrino no tena maka vehivavy hikabary , satria hafa mihintsy ny vehivavy rahefa mikabary , sady mahay mandrindra no mahay mampilamina tsara ;

Na izany aza tsy azo atao ny mirehareha diso tafahotra , marina tokony ho maontina kanefa tsy amintsy hajainao tsar any hasin'ny fianakaviana zay miandrindra anao hisolo tena sy hisolo vava azy ireo .

Rahefa mikabary tsarovana foana fa tsy fampisehona fahaizana na fideraderana sy akevohana , fa fitsinjovana ny voninahitra ny fianakaviana niantso anao.

Amin'ny fahoriana , matetika mbola lehilahy no mahavatana ny olona.

21. Efanikabary am-pandevenanaveiana, azonaolazainavenyisan'izany, ahoana no fijerin'nyfiaraha-moninasynmpikabaryhafaizany, misyvehivavyhafakoavefantraofaefanikabary am-pandevenana?

Efa imbetsaka aho no mikabary ampandevenana @ ny fianakaviana , ny olompanatatra , ny namana , misy koa anefa olonkafa mihintsy . efa ampolony maro sy t@ ny toerana maro , fa tsy miansy hajaina ny fombantany sy ny fomban'ny fianakaviana.

Amin'ny fahoriana mantsy misy ny mila mpikabary @ ny famaliana famangina , misy mila mpikabary @ ny fisaorana any ampiangonana ary misy mila mpikabary misaotra eny@ ny fasana , efa nataoko daholo izany .

22. Misyfepetravetsymaintsyfenoin'nyolonaizaytehikabary, mitovyvenyfepeetra ho an'nylahysynyvavy, mahafenoizanytanterakavenyvehivavy?

@ ny ankapobeny dia mitovy ny fepeetra @ ny kabary n any lahy n any vavy.

- *Tsy azo vakiana ny kabary fa atoa ankandrina na lahy na vavy*
- *Tsy maintsy voaravaka ohabolana sy hanteny*
- *Tsy maintsy atao @ ny feo mafy sy mazava*
- *Tsy maintsy manaja ny olona mihaino anao.*
- *Tsy maintsy manaja ny mpifanandrina aminao*
- *Tsy maintsy manaja ny voninahitry ny fianakaviana naka anao*

23. Nisyfotoanavetamin'nykabaryizaynataonaomety ho nahatsapanaofambolatsytenaresylahatraamin'nytokonyhikabarian'nyvehivavynympanatrika, nyfiaraha-monina?

Miankina @ ny fombantany io satria eto Madagasikara misy foko zay mbola tsy manaiky hoe vehivavy no mikabary mandray fitenenana .

Ny tenako aloha htr@ ny nikabariko , hitako fa mankasitraka sy mankatelina ny olona zay maka ahy ary zay ny fahafinaretako sy fahafaliampoko.

Porofony betsaka ny olona maka ny adiresy , finday , sy ny sisa .

Nisy indray mande nikabary t@ olona avy any Ambatondraka ao , vao nahita ahy izy dia hita fa tsy mitsiky mihintsy , nandeha ny kabary sady zaho mpnagataka dia nanomboka ny tsingoloka sy ny fanesoosana , tsy taitra aho zaho mahay mampilamina ny tenako sy ny olona maka ahy FARANY RESY LAHATRA IHANY izy .

24. Rahaeny,

azonaolazainavenyfihetsikaomanoloanaizansynyezakanataonaohaharesylahatraazyireo? Ny andresena hevitra azy dia @ ny alalan'ny ohabolana ihany sy fahendrampitenenana Malagasy ihany .

Efa nitety faritra maro t@ ity kabary ity indrindra faritra Analamanaga , Vakinankaratra, Alaotra Mangoro, Ambositra , Fianarantsoa sy ny sisa .

Ny tsy maintsy hajaina dia ny fomban tany , ny miteny hoe fomba tsy maninona fa ny tsy mahalala ny fomban'ny toerana hikabarinao dia tena henatra sady manala Baraka . Kanefa kosa raha misy fomba hitananao fa mifanohitra @ny eritreritrao dia aleo mijanona.

25. Mambraaminafikambananampikabary Malagasy veianao? Rahaeny, nanampytamin'nyfampahafantaranaanao ho mpikabaryvenyfikambanana? Rahatsia, azonaolazainavenynahatongaanao ho fanta-dazateoamin'nysehatrynykabarysy ho voaantsotamin'nyfanatontosanakabarysamyhafa?

Mpikambana ao @ ny Fikambanan'ny Mpikabary Malagasy aho nanomboka t@ ny taona 1980 , eny mampafantatra ahy izy ireo satria ny tenako no vehivavy voalohany sahy niditra tao nisedra ireo rayamandreny lehibe zay tena tompon'ny kabary Marihiko anefa fa ny tenako efa nanomboka t@ nt taona 1971 no efa nikabary t@ ny fifamofaoan'ny zandriko vavy no nisantarako nikabary . Taty aoriana aho nihaona t@ I RADO Andriamanantena Georges, Job Rakotojaoana, Rafidy Ravelomanantsoa dia ry zareo no nanolotra ahy ho isan'ny mpikambana araka ny sata mifehy ny fikambanana .

26. Inonaarakanyhevitrao no anjaratoeran'nyvehivavyeoamin'nyfampandrosoananyfirenenasynyfikolokoloananysoatoavina Malagasy?

Manana andraikitra lehibe ny vehivavy eo amin'ny fampandrosoana ny firenena @ ny alalan'ny kolontsaina sy ny vakoka Malagasy , tsy ny kabary ihany fa ao koa ireo vakoka hafa ny UPEM mpanoratra sy mpanao tononkalo , ny mpihira , ny mpilalao sary mihetsika sy ny sisa efa mandray anjara @ izany ny vehivavy . ary mino fa rah voakolokolo ny fomba Malagasy , ny vakoka ,ny kolontsaina dia handroso ny firenena . Mafy be ny firoborobon'ny fanatotoloana @ izao ftoana izao fa tsy maintsy miandahy maimabavy ny Malagasy miaro ny vakoka sy ny kolontsainy zay hita fa mampandroso firenena maro toy ny CHINE, COREE, JAPON sy ny sisa , aleo tsy mitomany randrana manendrika ny hafa . Anjaran'ny vehivavy ny mitaiza sy manoro ny taranany ny fomba rehetra hiarovana ny Kolontsaina sy ny Vakoka zay harena sady tsy atakalo no tsy hamidy ;

Answers to extra questions received on 26 April 2019

1. Azonao atao ve ny manome ohatra amin'ireo lahatsoratra an-gazety izay niresaka momba anao,
 - *Midi Madagascar*
 - *Gazetiko*
 - *Tribune*
 - *Express de Madagascar*
 - *ROI (Revue de l'Océan Indien)*
 - *Jeune Afrique*

Marihiko fa t@ ny tenako vehivavy voalohany mpikabary tao @ ny FIMPIMA no betsaka ny lohateny mikasika ahy ohatra : ny kabary sy ny vehivavy , miroir, la femme oratrice sy ny sisa.

2. Azonao atao ve ny manazava ny dikan'ny fitenenana hoe "Tsy mety ny mpitovo mananatra ny mpanana"

Ho an'ny Malagasy zany dia tokony efa manambady , manana tokantrano , mahafantatra sy miaina ny atao hoe fanambadiana no tokony hikabary fa tsy mpitovo , satria fananarana sy ohapiainana no lazaina rahefa mikabary .

3. Nandritra ny adina sy famakafakana momba anao, nisy fepetra hafa ihany koa ve nolazain'ireo olombe amin'ny kabary milohan'ny nanekenany anao sa dia hoe tsy tokony ho mpitovo fotsiny ihany,

Betsaka ohatra mikasika ny fahalalana momba ny kabary , ny fomban drazana ,ny hevitra ny vadin'ao raha lasa mpikabary ianao , vonina ve hisedra ireo mpifanandrina amin'ao satria Mbola ianao novehivavy voalohan'ny ato @ ny FIMPIMA sy ny sisa.

4. Mikasika ny kabary am-pandevenana:

- Azonao hazavaina bebe kokoa ve ny tianao ambara amin'ny valin'ny fanontaniana faha 10 dia ny hoe ny kabary am-pandevenana no tena sarotra indrindra, azonao lazaina ve ny mety ho anton'izany, ankoatra ny hoe mila tandremana ny teny rehetra atao. Nahoana no mila tandremana ny teny rehetra atao,

MAHA sarotra ny kabary amin'ny fahoriana dia satria tsy mba fifaliana no hitenenana , @ ny kabary fifaliana afaka mihomehy ianao afaka mamalifaly ny mpihaino sy ny mpanatrika fa @ ny fahoriana kosa na ny teny atao aza tsy maintsy tandremena, ny ohabolana ampiasaina tsy maintsy fantenina tsara sao sanatria ohabolana @ ny hafaliana no ampiasaina ka manalabaraka , tadidiko ny tenin'ny dadako @ ny hafaliana hoy izy ny kabary atao tokony hamalifaly sy hampitsikitsiky ny mpihaino fa @ 'ny fahoriana kosa ny kabary ataonao tokony hampiestimpo ary hampitomany mihintsy aza ; tena marina izany.

- Azonao lazaina ve ny kabary am-pandevenana voalohany nataonao sy ny akon'izany Kabary voalohany nataoko dia t@ ny fahafatesan'ny raibeko 113 taona zay matin'ny lozampifamoivozana t@ 1978 , tena mafy tamiko ary latsaka mihintsy ny ranomasoko sy ny olona rehetra nanatrika t@ ny kabary nataoko .Marihana fa ny zopahoriana tsy afaka miteny fa ny fianakaviana no nangataka ahy hiteny ho voninahitry ny fianakaviana sy hatsara levenana an'I dadabe satria dadabe dia anisan'ny tena faly afaka niditra tao @ FIMPIMA aho ary mankasitraka foana izy @ ny kabary ataoko .

- Mikasika ny fanontaniana faha 19: hoy ianao hoe amin'ny fahoriana, matetika mbola lehilahy no mahavantana ny olona. Saingy ianao dia efa nanao kabary am-pandevenana imbetsaka araka ny valin'ny fanontaniana faha 20. Inona araka ny hevitrao no antony nahatonga ireo fianakaviana (na fianakaviana akaiky izany na olona tsy fantatra) hiantso anao fa tsy hiantso lehilahy mpikabary tamin'izany fotoana izany.

Marina fa ny lehilahy no Mbola mahazo vahana raha hikabary @ ny fahoriana , kanefa ny tenako dia efa imbetsaka na t@ ny fianakaviana na olompantatra na olonkafa no naka ahy hikabary , nahita ny fomba fiteniko izy ireo dia hitany fa mampietsipo kokoa ny mihaino ahy , ny fanirina aloha dia tsy ho betsaka ny maty raha sitraky ny Tompo ;

Mbola MISY tokoa ny vehivavyMPIKABARY ankehitrin'ny tsy mety mikabary @ ny fahafatesana.

- Rehefa manao kabary am-pandevenana ho an'ny fianakaviana akaiky ianao, moa ve sarotra kokoa ny mamehy ny fihetseham-po noho ny ho an'ny olona izay tsy fantatra nefa niantso anao.

ENY ny fianakaviana akaiky dia tena mampihetsimpo tokoa satria akaiky anao , na izany aza n y fisarana antany mafy foana na akaiky na lavitra ny olona mangataka anao hiteny .

- Misy ihany koa ny fiheverana hoe ny vehivavy itoeran'ny aina ka tsy tokony hikabary ampandevenana na eny amin'ny fasana izay itoeran'ny maty. Miombon-kevitra amin'izany ve ianao,

Tsy dia ekeko loatra zay fitenenana sy fomba fisainana izay , rahefa mikabary ianao tokony hainao daholo na ankafaliana na ankaratsiana , fa tsy hoe fahafatesana dia tsy mahazo miteny indray ny vehivavy , rahefa hitan 'ny vehivavy kosa fa misy fomba tsy mety aminy dia tokony tsy manao izy

. Manamafy aho fa tsy maintsy hajaina ny fombantany na fifaliana na fahoriana.

5. Mifandray amin'ny valin'ny fanontaniana faha17: Azonao atao ve ny manome lohateny vitsivitsy amin'ireo boky momba ny kabary

izay novakiana

- mahay mikabary
- ny kabary sy ny fomba
- kabary ampanambadiana
- kolo sy kabary
- kolo sy faka
- le discours Malagasy
- ny ohabolana Malagasy
- Ny hainteny sy ny Kabary
- ny loharano
- kabary betsileo

1. Azonao lazaina ve ny mombamomba anao?

- ▲ ANARANA: RASOAZANANIHARISOA Voniniaina Bakoly (VONY)
- ▲ FONENANA: LOT II P 169 IA Avaradoha ANTANANARIVO
- ▲ FIFANDRAISANA: E-mail : rasoazananiharisoa@yahoo.fr
voniniainabakoly@gmail.com

- ▲ NIANATRA KABARY tamin'ny septambra 1999 tao amin'ny Fikambanan'ny Mpikabary Malagasy
- ▲ NAVOAKA HO MPIKABARY tamin'ny may 2000.
- ▲ Nanomboka nampianatra kabary ny taona 2003, sokajy taninketsa (ankizy latsaky ny 16 taona) ka mandraka ankehitriny izay efa nivelatra tamin'ny sokajy maro: mpiofana, takalo ary ny fampiofanana TSELATRA.
- ▲ Notoloran'ny ministeran'ny kolontsaina sy ny zavakanto ny « Officier des Arts et de la Culture », Mariboninahitry ny kanto ny 09 jona 2017 amin'ny maha mpikabary.
- ▲ Mpikambana raikitra ao amin'ny Fikambanan'ny Mpikabary Malagasy (efa 19 taona)
- ▲ Raha ny naha mpikabary indray : Taranaka mpikabary tokoa satria ny Dadabe avy amin'ny raiko dia mpitandrina sady mpikabary, ny raiko koa mpikabary, mpitondra tenin'ny fianakaviana, ny zokiny lahimatoa koa sady mpitandrina no mpikabary. Ny nandehanako tsindraindray tamin'ny fotoana nikabarian'ny raiko no nahitako ny hakanton'ny kabary nataony ka nahasarika ahy hianatra sy handalina ny kabary.
- ▲ Ny karazan-kabary ataoko : Ny kabary rehetra ataoko avokoa afatsy ny kabary am-pasana. Mpanentana sy mpanolotra amin'ny lanonana na raharaha hafa ihany koa aho.

- ***Tsy voatsodrano hikabary am-pasana ianao; mba azonao atao ve ny milaza amiko ny antony tsy hanaovanao izany kabary izany?***

Tena marina io nolazaiko hoe tsy voatsodrano hikabary am-pasana io aho.

Raha nanapa-kevitra ny hianatra kabary aho ka naniry ny ho lasa mpikabary dia niera sy nangataka tsodrano tamin'ny raiko. Nahafaly azy io resako io ary izy mihitsy no nilaza tamiko fa vitako izany sady mety amiko rahateo. Fa notsindriany mafy tamiko ny tsy hikabariako na rahoviana na rahoviana eny amin'ny fasana, ny ankoatra izay kosa dia azoko atao daholo. Nahoana? hoy aho nanontany azy. Tenim-pahendrena no nandraisako ny valin-teniny: "Tsy natao ho an'ny vehivavy ny hikabary am-pasana ry zanako vavy, hajaina ny maha vehivavy ny vehivavy amin'ny fotoana mangidin'ny fahafatesana." Najaiko izany teniny izany.

Ny tiako ambara aminao dia izao: nahazo tsodrano hikabary aho, ny tsodrano mantsy zava-mahery amin'ny Malagasy, dia mahefa ny andraikitra nomena ho vitaiko aho.

➤ **Tsipy teny avy amiko**

Ny KABARY ?

**Riba fahaela, tsy foiko avela, toaviko am-po ;
koloiko sy hajaiko, mba hitombo zo !**

2. Inona no hamaritanao ny teny hoe kabary

Lahabolana am-bava atao amim-peo avo izay ravahana kanto toy ny ohabolana, hainteny, tsilalaon-teny, tononkalo,...ary manaraka rafitra mazava. Natao hampitana hafatra, hilazana vaovao, hilazana hevitra handresen-dahatra ary hanome haja ny lanonana.

2. Inona no anjara asan'ny kabary eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy araka ny hevitrao

Tsy miala amin'ny antom-pisian'ny kabary ny anjara asany raha ny hevitrao.

Sompitra iray lehibe mitahiry ny fahendrena Malagasy izy. Ny maha samy hafa ny kabary amin'ny lahateny manko dia ny fananany ireo haingon-teny kanto nalaina avy amin'ny tontolon'ny fiaraha-monina, ny tontolo manodidina, ny zava-boahary isan-karazany marobe, sy ny sisa ka maha te hihaino hatrany. Tsy mba lany hamamiana toy ny fary lava vany. Mifono zava-dalina izy ireny na tsy mivantana aza fa ilana fandinihana vao mahatakatra ny tian-kambara indraindray.

Noho izany, ny kabary dia:

♣ **Natao hitaiza ny olona.**

- Raha te hanitsy olona iray nanao hadisoana ohatra dia tsy tenenina mivantana ilay olona fa ankolaka no entiny milaza ny fananarana omeny.

Ohatra:

Ny tody hono tsy misy fa ny atao ihany no miverina ka tandremo fa ny soa atao tohatry ny ho avy fa ny ratsy atao kosa hidin'ny sisa.

- Raha te hilaza ny lanjan'ny fifanampiana eo amin'ny fiainana.

Ohatra:

Fifamenoana ny fiainana fa tsy misy olona mahavita tena irery eto an-tany. Izay tsy mahay sobika mba mahay fatam-bary; ny tapa-tanana mandeha miandry omby fa ny tapa-tongotra kosa mitoto vary. Samy mamita ny manandrify ny rehetra.

♣ **Natao hanabe.**

Ireo karazam-pitenenana ampiasaina anaty kabary dia kisarisary maneho fanabeazana ny fiaraha-monina. Ilay mpikabary rahateo koa efa olona miavaka sy inoan-teny ka rehefa misy lazainy dia ankatoavin'ny rehetra.

♣ **Natao handresy lahatra sy hanentanana.**

Ny kabary Malagasy dia mitaky ny fahaiza-miteny sy mandahatra mba hambaboana ny olona mihaino hiroboka amin'ny fahaizan'ny mpikabary mandresy lahatra azy. Mandrisika ny olona hanao zavatra ny kabary. Ny asa tana-maroko sy raharaham-pokonolona ohatra dia vokatry ny faharesen-dahatry ny vahoaka nihaino ny kabary ka tsapany fa tena ilaina tokoa ny fanaovana ny asa ho tombontsoan'ny be sy ny maro.

Fahaiza-manentan'ny manam-pahefana fahiny tamin'ny kabary ange no naha Betsimitatatra lasa tanimbary mahavokatra e!

♣ **Hilazana vaovao.**

Miaraka miaiky isika rehetra fa ny kabarim-panjakana rehefa voalohan'ny taona dia andrandrain'ny vahoaka mafy. Ny antony? Misy vaovao tiany ho re ao anaty kabarin'ny olom-panjakana. Ohatra: Misondrotra ve ny karama? Inona avy no tetik'asa amin'ity taona vaovao ity?...

♣ **Manome lanja sy haja ny lanonana.**

Raha mbola lanonana tiana hanan-kaja dia tsy maintsy misy ny kabary ifandimbiasana.

Ohatra tsotra no horaisina. Raha misy zavatra vita ka hotokanana:

- An'ny fianakaviana toy ny trano, fasana,... dia misy ny kabary atao.
- Eo anivon'ny fanjakana toy ny sekoly, tobim-pahasalamana,...dia misy koa ny kabary ifandimbiasan'ireo manam-pahefana isan'ambaratonga.

♣ **Mampahery sy mampitraka anatin'ny fotoana manjombona.**

Ilaina dia ilaina ny fifanatrehan-tava amin'ny fahoriana midona fa ny teny atao koa dia manan-danja sy hery ho fampiononana ny tra-manjo. Ho an'ny Malagasy, tsy maintsy misy ny kabary am-pahoriana ho enti-misaotra ny olona, na ny alina fiandrasam-paty izany na ny eny am-bohitra, indrindra fa ny eny am-pasana ilazana fa io no fotoana farany iarahana amin'ilay maty, izay tsara levenana, ary hanehoan'ny fianakaviana nilaozany fa henin-kaja izy ireo na nozohim-pahoriana aza noho ny fifanotronan'ny havana sy sakaiza tsy mahafofy, namana sy tapaka tsy manadino, ny mpiara-monina sy ny lafy valo tsy mahasaraka.

Rehefa vita ny kabary famaranana ka hody dia mahatsiaro maivana ireo nahavita ny

adidiny na lavitra aza ny elanelan-tany mbola hiverenana. Efa nataon'ny mpikabary tsara tso-drano ho tody soa any an-tokantranony avy mantsy ny tsirairay.

3. Inona no maha-samy hafa ny kabary taloha sy ny ankehitriny

Misy lafiny maromaro ny tsy mampitovy azy.

Kabary taloha	Kabary ankehitriny
<p>▪ Ny mpikabary:</p> <p>Lehilahy lehibe efa raiamandreny, ranjanana sy avo feo.</p> <p>Zanak'andriana tsy ampianarina kabary, efa toetra ao anaty ny azy.</p> <p>To teny eo amin'ny tany ama-monina sady manan-kaja.</p> <p>Nisy mihitsy ny mpikabary fanta-daza fahiny ka nahavory lanona ny vahoaka mba hihaino rehefa fantatra fa izy no hikabary.</p> <p>▪ Ny rafitra:</p> <p>Taloha na azo lazaina ho nisy rafitra aza ny kabary dia tsy tena mazava, fa atao ny kabary araka izay tranga hita rehefa tonga eo amin'ny toerana ikabariana.</p> <p>Tsy misy fanomanana fa tonga dia vavany.</p> <p>Saika ireo mpitondra fivavahana no nandrakitra azy ireny an-tsoratra taty aoriana lavitra rehefa tonga ny misionera.</p>	<p>▪ Ny mpikabary:</p> <p>Tsy mifidy sokajin-taona sy sokajin'olona</p> <p>Tsy anavahana fa izay mahay mandahatra dia afaka mikabary.</p> <p>▪ Ny rafitra:</p> <p>Efa tena marobe ny boky nosoratan'ny mpikabary taty aoriana mamaritra ny tokony ho fisehon'ny kabary araka ny antony ikabariana.</p> <p>Samy manome rafitra mazava avokoa ny boky hita. Dia toy izany koa rehefa mikabary. Mety misy mifamadika ny filaharany araka ny faharesen-dahatry ny mpikabary fa tsy misy latsaka kosa eo am-pikabariana.</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ny toerana ikabariana: Teny an-kianja malalaka na an-tokontany be no nanaovana ny kabary. Nahavory olona marobe satria nalalaka ho an'ny rehetra ny fihainoana ny kabary na dia ampanambadiana aza. ▪ Ny faharetany Lava dia lava ny kabary taloha, naharitra ora maro mihitsy raha ny kabary ampanambadiana no resahana manokana eto. Fahizany mantsy tsy nisy afatsy ny fangataham-bady ho fanateram-bodiondry hanajana ireo loharano nipoirana no fehin'ny fanambadiana. (tsy fanao ny mitari-bady tsy lasambodiondry) ▪ Ny fisehony Natao tao anaty kabary daholo ny antsipirihan'ny raharaha rehetra. Nosokirina ny lafiny rehetra momba ny olona hivady sy ny tetiarana. Loa-bary an-dasy no azo ilazana azy satria naseho niharahy teo ny maha izy ny fianakaviana mpangataka sy ny hiantranoana. 	<p>Anisan'ny itsarana ny olona mikabary ny fahaizany maneho ny rafitra anaty kabary ataony.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ny toerana ikabariana: Anaty efitrano malalaka na tsia. Anaty tokontany voafefy. Voafetra ny olona manatrika sy afaka mihaino. ▪ Ny faharetany Mbola misy ny faritra mitazona ny fombantany an-kabary maharitra toy ny taloha, ana ora maromaro; saingy Tsy vitsy ny efa mahay mifehy ny fotoana hikabariana ankehitriny, noho ny fivoaran'ny fiainana sy maha toko telo maha masanahandro ny maha tokantrano ny fanambadiana (Vodiondry, soratra arapanjakana, fanamasinana am-piangonana). ▪ Ny fisehony Ny fahaizana mikabary hambaboana olona ho resy lahatry ny teny atao ka hanaiky no tena tanjona. Ny fifamaliana an-kabarin'ny mpangataka sy mpamoaka mandritra ny fangataham-bady no tena herin'ny fanambadiana Malagasy ankehitriny. Manao izay tsy mampitsanga-menatra ny fianakaviana isoloan-teny mba ho henin-kaja
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<p>▪ Ny voambolana</p> <p>Ireo voambolana fahiny niainana tamin'izany no nampiasain'ny mpikabary. Teny tranainy.</p>	<p>izy.</p> <p>▪ Ny voambolana</p> <p>Manaraka ny toetr'andro sy ny vanim-potoana ny fiteny ampiasaina na mbola misy vitsy aza ireo fiteny tranainy velomina sy am-bavan'ny sasany.</p>
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4. Nahoana ny vehivavy Malagasy no liana amin'ny fanaovana kabary ankehitriny

An-daniny, efa maro ny vehivavy mahatsapa fa kolontsaina ny kabary ary mila velomina.

An-kilany, efa voizina ny mira lenta amin'ny sehatra maro, ka tsy latsa-danja amin'ireny ny fikabariana ho an'ny vehivavy.

5. Nahoana no eken'ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy ny fisian'ny vehivavy mikabary

Ankehitriny?

Raha ny hevitra sy ny fahitako ny antony aneken'ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy ny fisian'ny vehivavy mikabary dia ireto antony ireto:

- ✓ Maty namela mamy ireo razantsika ary isika rehetra izao tsy ankanavaka no Ambatonamelankafatra hanandratra ny Teny Malagasy mba tsy maty maso, ary ny kabary no anakiray lehibe fanandratana izany teny izany.
- ✓ Kolontsaina arovana ny kabary, ka na aiza na aiza eto Madagasikara misy lanonana dia tsy maintsy eo hatrany ny kabary. Ary ny vehivavy no mahay mikajy sy mikolokolo ny harena sarobidy toy izany.
- ✓ Mahafinaritra sy ankafizin'ny olona ny vehivavy rehefa mikabary

6. Amin'ny fotoana inona no mikabary ny vehivavy, azon'ny vehivavy atao avokoa ve

ireo kabary fataon'ny lehilahy amin'ny fotoana na lanonana rehetra tsy an-kanavaka

Mikabary amin'ny fotoana rehetra ny vehivavy ankehitriny saingy tena ankavitsiana dia ankavitsiana kosa ny vehivavy ampitondraina teny hanao ny kabary am-pandevenana. Ny foto-pisainan'ny Malagasy mihitsy no mbola tsy manaiky ny vehivavy hikabary am-pasana. Eo ilay foto-kevitra iombonan'ny maro fa ny vehivavy dia kitapo nifonosana sy kibo nitoerana, mitondra aina

sy fahavelomana ka tsy anjarany ny hivolana am-pasana izay mitahiry fahafatesana sy fahalovana. Araka izany, misy ny vehivavy mahavita mijoro mikabary am-pasana misolo tena fianakaviana azom-pahoriana, izay noheverina hatramin'izay fa anjaran'ny lehilahy avo feo sy ranjanana. Ny kabary ankoatra io kosa dia tena azon'ny vehivavy hijoroana tsy misy fisalasa avokoa na ankafaliana izany na an-karatsiana.

7. Ahoana ny fomba fahitanao ny vehivavy Malagasy mikabary?

Tsy mihambahamba aho hilaza fa mahay mikabary ny vehivavy Malagasy. Fa ho an'ireo zandry kosa iriana mba tsy ho mpamerina be fahatany fotsiny fa hianatra sy handalina ny fomba amampy mifanaraka amin'ny kabary atao.

a. Azonao tsarina ve ny fomba fanaovany kabary?

Tsy manao tsianjery ny kabary atao akory ny mpikabary fa mikabary amin'ny fananana saina tselatra vokarin'ny toe-javatra misy amin'ny fotoana hikabariana. Izany akory tsy midika hoe: “tsy manomana kabary an”. Haintsika ilay fiteny hoe: “trandraka an-tanimena ka ny volon-tany no arahina”.

b. Manao ahoana ny feony, ny fihetsiny, ny vontoin'ny zavatra lazainy

Zavatra maro no mifameno vao lavorary ny maha kabary ny kabary araka ny famaritana nomensika tany aloha. Tsy natao ho henoina fotsiny fa hojerena ihany koa ny kabary sy ny mpikabary. Mahay mampiasa ny feony ny vehivavy indrindra amin'ny fahaizana mampisongadina ny tian-ko lazaina amin'ny feo mafy sy ny lantom-peo amin'izay tiana hampandrian'ny mpihaino sofina; mahay mibedy amin'ny fomba mandresy lahatra ny feony. Tombony ho an'ny vehivavy izany ary fitaovam-piadiana ho an'ny vehivavy manokana nomen'Andriamanitra.

Fantatra amin'ny fihetsika ataony ny mpikabary rehefa variana mitadidy ny kabary holazainy. Manimba ny endriny io ka izany no nilazako hoe tsy tsianjery akory ny kabary. Mifampiankina loatra ny fihetsika sy ny fijery rehefa mikabary: rehefa hiteny matotra sy henjakenjana ny vehivavy dia manaraka ny feo ny fihetsika sy ny fijery, mety ho masiaka hoy ny mpitazana fa fanehoana kosa izany fa tsy sangisangy ny fitondrana teny misolo tena fianakaviana

fa tena andraikitra maha “Raiamandreny”.

Mahafehy ny vontroatiny holazaina ny vehivavy mikabary, tsy misy hafa amin’ny lehilahy ampanaovina iraka. Tsy tia tsingolo-tena manko ny vehivavy fa mandrindra kosa mba hisian’ny lamina amin’ny andaniny sy ny ankilany rehefa kabary am-panambadiana.

d. Zava-dehibe ve ny fitafy sy ny paozy ivelany ho an'ny vehivavy mpikabary, nahoana?

Tena zava-dehibe tokoa ny fitafy sy ny endrikendrika ivelany ho an’ny vehivavy satria fanomezandanja ny tenanao izay mpitondra tenin’ny fianakaviana sy manome haja ny olona maka anao ary fanomezam-boninahitra ny olona rehetra manatrika hihaino ny kabary. Andeha ange alaintsika an-tsaina hoe mpikabary manao akanjo tsy mipasoka no manoloana ny olona e, miaraka amin’ny volo ratsy hogo sy ny hohon-tanana misy loko efa miendakendaka ny ampahany. Izany ve no hojeren’ny vahoaka mandritra ny fotoana ela? Tsia!

Rehefa manaiky hikabary ny vehivavy (tsy ny vehivavy ihany angamba) dia mivonona sahady manontany izay mety fitafy tian’ny olona soloiny tena. Tsara foana ny miomana mba tsy handiso fanantenana amin’ny andro tsy manam-paharoa eo amin’ny fiainan’ny mpivady vao sy ny fianakaviany. Ireny koa tena resahina amin’ny dinidinika mialoha.

Tsiahy fotsiny no ilazako eto fa asandratra amin’ny fotoana hikabariana tokoa ny hasoan’ny vehivavy Malagasy satria tononina anaty rafitra ny andriambavilanitra rehefa manao azafady. Ny vehivavy no peratra haingon’ny tanana, rado ravaky ny vozona, tatamo ravaky ny farihy, sahondra ravaky ny vato, tsipelamanga ravaky ny tanety, kintana ravaky ny lanitra, loharano nipoirana,..... Noho izany rariny loatra ny fanomezan-danja amin’ny fitafy sy izay mety ho fiseho ivelany.

e. Torak'izany koa ve ho an'ny lehilahy mpikabary?

Eny!

Tsy tokony hamaivanina velively ny andro iray manan-tantara eo amin’ny fiainantsika olombelona. Ka mila miomana sy manao ho zava-dehibe ny fiseho hiatrika olona manan-kaja hatrany ny mpikabary rehetra.

f. Ahoana no fandraisan'ny mpanatrika ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny.

Samy manana ny fomba fijeriny ny olona manatrika ny vehivavy mikabary. Roa ihany no fehiny:

✚ Vao mahita dia faly satria vehivavy miseho amin'ny maha Malagasy no hijoro hitondra ny tenin'ny mpianakavy. Mankasitraka sy miarahaba izy ireny fa nahafinaritra ny fiangaliana ny kabary, tsy diso fanantenana izy ireo fa nihaino sy nanaraka tsara ny fandehany. Misy ny milaza fa hafa ihany izany vehivavy malagasy izany na jerena na henoina rehefa mikabary. Mandrisika sy manome hery hampivoatra hatrany ny fikabariana ary misy ny milaza fa manantena ny mbola hihaona amin'ny manaraka. Misy ny voataona ho liana mihitsy noho ny kabary nataon'ny vehivavy teo.

✚ Fa eo koa ny olona manatrika izay manao fijery tsy mahitsy vao mahita fa vehivavy no hikabary. Eo ny milaza fa sao te hoderaina ka tsy tena mifantoka amin'ny raharaha akory ny toa ireny. Sahy manabanty mihitsy ny sasany ka milaza fa tsy anjaran'ny vehivavy ny fisehoana an-kabary. (Efa nisy voalazako tany aloha io)
Misy hatrany ny tsy mankasitraka ny mira lenta raha resaka fitondrana fitenenanana.

g. Ahoana no fandraisanao ny vehivavy mikabary amin'ny maha-mpikabary anao?

Ankamamiako ny fahasahian'ny vehivavy miseho amin'ny maha mpikabary. Fahasahiana hoy aho satria **lanja goavana** eo anivon'ny ankohonana sy ny fiaraha-monina io, na fikambanana na fiangonana, ary ny sehatra rehetra ihany koa. Fanehoana ny fandraisana andraikitra ny fikabariana. Rehefa mpikabary ny vehivavy dia apetraka amin' ny **hasina maha tompon'andraikitra** azy. To teny sy ekena ary manana ny hajany.

Ny adidy tsy an'olon-dratsy ary ny andraikitra tsy an'olona malaina. Ny miteny mantsy manana adidy satria ny teny soa sakafo fa ny vava ratsy adidy.

h. Misy fitsipika sy fepetra tokony arahina ve amin'ny fanaovana kabary, azonao lazaina ve hoe inona avy izany na inona avy ireo tena manan-danja amin'izany?

Raha vao handray ny andraikitra hoe mpikabary ny olona iray dia efa mivonona sahady hanaraka ny fitsipika maha kabary. Eny tokoa, ny famaritana teny am-piandohana ny fepetra tsy maintsy arahina sy hajaina. Jereo ny famaritana: atao amin'ny feo avo ny kabary, hampitana hafatra, manaja rafitra mazava, mandresy lahatra,...mifameno amin'ny fiseho efa voalazantsika koa ireo. Manan-danja avokoa izy rehetra. Fa tsy azo atao tsinontsinona ny fahaizana manaja fotoana: na

ny fahatongavana izany na ny fanombohana na ny faharetan'ny kabary atao. Fadiana ny taitaitra amin'ny tehaka ataon'ny olona ka mamorona ny tsy misy na lasa miteniteny foana.




i. Mahafehy ireo fitsipiky ny fanaovana kabary sy ireo fepetra mifehy ny kabary ve ny vehivavy Malagasy?

Tsy sahiko ny hitompo teny fantatra toa antsy kely be zarany satria tena misy ny mahavita ireo fepetra ireo na tsy ny maro aza.

j. Misy fanatsarana ilaina ve araka ny hevitrao amin'ny fanaovan'ny vehivavy kabary
Ilaina hatrany ny mandranto fanampim-pahalalana ary mandalina tsy mitsahatra satria mivoatra koa ny fanaovana ny kabary.

8. Ahoana ny fomba fahitanao ny lehilahy mpikabary

Ho tsinjaraiko ny fahitako ny lehilahy mpikabary.

-  Raha ny fiseho, fitafy ary ny feo fanehoana dia samy tsy misy ambakan'ny hafa satria mahalala daholo ny mpikabary na lehilahy na vehivavy fa ny kabary dia tsy natao hohenoina ihany fa hojerena koa. Miezaka manasongadina azy koa ny lehilahy rehefa hikabary. Nisy fotoana aza tato ho ato nampianjaika landy ny lehilahy rehefa hikabary sady te hiavaka amin'ny rehetra mpanatrika. Ravahina satroka izany. Na koa manao akanjo malabary Malagasy anehoana ny maha gasy azy. Manao izay haharesy lahatra sy hambabo ny olona dieny vao mifankahita. Tena hoe: hisy avandra hiraraka sy tafondro hipoaka eto anio.
-  Raha ny fahitako azy kosa raha safoina indray mihodina toy ny molo-bilany dia mihevitra foana ny lehilahy fa anjarany ny mitondra ny fitenenana fa tsy an'ny vehivavy velively ka mahatonga ny sasany amin'izy ireo manana fireharehana sy mihevi-tena ho tompony amin'ny fikabariana rehefa tafahaona ka hifamaly kabary amin'ny vehivavy. Tsindriako tsara ny hoe “mifamaly kabary” satria matahotra ery ry zareo lehilahy sao ho resy an-kabary ka ho very vady aman-janaka. Fomba fitenintsika io. Ankilan'izay dia eo koa ny tahotra ny hoe “resim-bavy”.
-  Fa mbola mampiavaka ny lehilahy mpikabary kosa ny bika sy fijoro rehefa ilay lazain'ny

Ntaolo hoe: “Lava ranjanana” sy “avo feo miantso”. Maha kanto ny kabary ataony ireny tombony ananany ireny.

9. Misy fahasamihafana goavana ve amin'ny kabary ataon'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy

Raha eny, inona avy izany

Raha tsia, nahoana?

Raha izaho manokana dia tsy mahita izay mety ho fahasamihafana goavana amin'ny kabary ataon'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy.

Ny antony?

Raha oharina dia tena sakamalaho sy havozo izy roa ka samy mitondra ny hanitra ho azy; toy ny sakay sy tsiperifery ka samy manana ny ngidiny; ary tahaka ny rofia ravaky ny ala sy ny aviavy haingon'ny vohitra.

Samy manana ny fomba sy fahaizana miangaly ny kabary ny tsirairay ka tsy azo ferana izay fomba enti-maneho azy imasom-bahoaka. Ny tena zava-dehibe dia ny hahatafitana ny hafatra tian-kambara sy ny fifanomezam-boninahitra eo ampanatanterahana ny kabary.

10. Misy mampiavaka ny vehivavy mpikabary ve raha mitaha amin'ny lehilahy mpikabary

Raha eny, inona izany ary inona no lafy ratsiny sy lafy tsarany amin'izany

Andeha oharintsika amin'ny loharano miboiboika an-dohasaha izay antsakain-tsy ritra ary tovozin-tsy lany ny kabary. Na koa toy ny rano am-pasika: misy tovozina fahavaratra ary azo hotsihifina raha ririnina.

Ny mpikabary kosa dia napetraky ny fiaraha-monina ho olonkendry sy mpanakanto. Maro sokajiny izy ireo fa ao ny sakely mihoa-joro sy saonjo mihoatra akondro satria zandry mihoa-joky; eo koa ny zoky izay reharenan'ny fianakaviana satria trafo nasondrotry ny nofo; mainka moa ny raiamandreny izay efa tompon'ny fitenenana rahateo fa sady kiady no voninahitra. Ka na lahy na vavy amin'ireo sokajy ireo dia mipetraka ho tomponandraikitra sy tompon'antoka rehefa voatendry hikabary. Atrehi-mahefa ary hiamboho-mahavita hoy isika satria Andrianjahonoany, sady mahatsangy no hary.

Ka raha andrianina dia tsy hitsindroka, na omen-kaja ka handady, na sanatria toloran-tehina vao ho solafaka. Tsia!

Noho izany, tsy tokony hisy mampiavaka ny vehivavy mpikabary raha mitaha amin'ny lehilahy mpikabary saingy mahita aho fa hafa ihany izany vehivavy Malagasy mpikabary izany raha manao kabary an-kafaliana indrindra indrindra. Tsy mitratrevatreva ny vehivavy fa mandrindra sy mandamina tsara eo am-pikabariana. Tombon-dahiny manokana io, indrindra moa fa miaraka amin'ny fiseho mambabo ny mpanatrika sy ny lantom-peo? Aoka fotsiny!

11- Azonao lazaina ve hoe fianakaviana manao ahoana ankehitriny no misafidy mpikabary vehivavy amin'ny kabary am-panambadiana na fangataham-bady.

Mety firy eo ny salan'isan'ny fianakaviana misafidy mpikabary vehivavy raha mitaha amin'ireo misafidy lehilahy.

Raha izay fianakaviana efa nandehanako nikabary izay dia ireo manome lanja kokoa ny mira lenta eo amin'ny lahy sy ny vavy no tia ka misafidy ny vehivavy hikabary amin'ny fangataham-bady.

Eo koa ny fianakaviana te hahita vehivavy mikabary fotsiny izao dia maka. Milaza fotsiny ny fianakaviana fa vehivavy no mpikabary ilainy.

Eo koa ny fianakaviana tsy mila mpikabary lava taria. Ireo tsy mila kabary mihodikodina sy be safelika fa mahay mifehy ny fotoana omeny nefa vita tsara sy voahaja avokoa ny dingana rehetra tsy maintsy atao amin'ny maha raharaham-panambadiana azy. Ilay saina efa feheziny rotorotom-paianana ka tsy maintsy mametra ny fotoana hanaovana ny raharaha.

Ny azoko hilazana izany hetaheta izany raha nandinika aho dia eo ny fivoaran'ny toe-tsaina te hanome lanja sy andraikitra ny vehivavy hitovy amin'ny lehilahy. Fa eo koa ny maha mpanakanto miaro ny kolontsaina ny mpikabary izay tsy mifidy io na lahy na vavy ka dia asaina haneho ny kanto ny vehivavy. Tena fampisehoana tokoa moa izany no atao eo am-pikabariana, fampisehoana ny hakanton'ny fomba malagasy amin'ny fangataham-bady, fampisehoana ny hakanton'ny teny Malagasy ravahan'ny haingon-teny mirafitra ho kabary. Ireo rehetra ireny ilay andrasan'ny fianakaviana maka mpikabary.

Araka izany, ny fianakaviana miaina an-tanan-dehibe no maro an'isa maka sy misafidy mpikabary vehivavy.

12. Inona ny kabary tena fataonao?

Raha misalotra ny anarana hoe mpikabary dia tokony hiantsehatra ka hanao ny raharaha an-kabary rehetra, saingy misy dia misy ny manavanana kokoa mitaha amin'ny hafa. Ny kabary am-panambadiana izany. Ankoatra izay, ho ahy manokana dia tsy voatsodrano hikabary am-pasana aho ka tsy hanao izany kabary am-pandevenana izany mihitsy.

13. Tamin'ny kabary am-panambadiana izay efa nataonao, azonao atao ve ny manome ny salan'isan'ny vehivavy sy ny lehilahy izay nifanehitra taminao. Azonao atao ve ny milazalaza momba ny fandehan'ny kabary am-panambadiana toy izany (mety ve raha ny vehivavy no mangataka fa tsy voatery ho mpamoaka fona, manao ahoana ny fifamaliana raha lehilahy ny mifanehitra aminao, manao ahoana raha vehivavy).

Azoko lazaina ny salan'isa ankapobe.

Ny taona 2000 aho no navoaka ho mpikabary. Mbola azo lazaina ho vitsy ny vehivavy mpikabary tamin'izany fotoana izany raha mitaha amin'izao fotoana izao. Raha 55 izahay no navoaka, ny 11 ihany no vehivavy. Tena efa maro dia maro ny kabary am-panambadiana nataoko. Hatramin'izay ka mandraka androany dia in-4 aho no nifamaly kabary tamina vehivavy, izany hoe: vehivavy no mpitondra tenin'ny mpangataka ary vehivavy ihany koa ny mpamoaka. Ataoko an-keviny hoe: 02% io. Ny 98% izany dia lehilahy avokoa no nifanehitra tamiko.

Ny naha mpikabary mpangataka kosa no tena nataoko betsaka satria eo amin'ny 70% ny kabary natrehina.

Mino aho fa efa mba nanatrika kabary am-panambadiana ianao, tsy tena ho vaovao aminao izany ny hambarako fa mety manatevina izay efa fantatra aza raha hilaza ny fandehan'ny kabary.

- ▲ Aoka aloha hazava ety am-piandohana fa ny olona mpikabary dia mpitondra teny sy misolo tena ny fianakaviana izay naka azy fa tsy sanatria hoe hangataka ho azy izy, na koa hilaza izay mahafinaritra azy fotsiny, tsy mifanaraka amin'izay resaka tokony efa nifanaovana mialohan'ny andro hikabariana.
- ▲ Tsy maintsy misy dinika mialoha hifanaovana izany vao raikitra ny kabary.
- ▲ Tsy misy olana mihitsy na mpangataka aza ny vehivavy satria mpitondra teny izy. Ny olana sedraina dia rehefa miova vakim-paritra ianao no handeha hikabary ka mpangataka dia misy manao jery vilana ny lehilahy hifamaly kabary

aminao, indraindray ny fianakaviana hiantranoana mihitsy aza no tsy mahazaka. Tsy mety amin'ny sasany ny vehivavy mikabary satria heverina hono fa hoe: "Manao akoho vavy maneno"; Na koa "efa lany taranaka angaha no vehivavy no mitondra teny", " lany angaha ny hazomanga no ambiaty no atao tehina; tsy misy ve ny railovy tsara feo no tsikiry mpanaraka no mitari-dia". Dia mijoro ho mpampianatra indray ianao amin'ny fotoana sasany hikabariana. Misy dia misy ny mandray am-pitiavana sy resy lahatra ary manaiky fa tokony hikabary ny vehivavy.

Sokajiko roa ny lehilahy nifamaly an-kabary tamiko:

Ny efa zoky raiamandreny, matetika dia mitsapatsapa anao hoe hatraiza ny fahalalana anananao momba ny fomba sy ny fanao am-panambadiana. Indrindra moa fa mbola tanoranora izay ianao. Misy amin'izy ireny tena tsy mpikabary fa ray aman-dreny ao amin'ilay fianakaviana ka tsy maintsy miteny, manaja ny fahendrena Malagasy hoe: "ny zoky mpitondra teny fa ny zandry mpilanja entana";satria tsy naka olon-kafa malama vava. Izy ireny dia manao izay saim-patany fotsiny mazàna. Tsy manaraka izay rafitra tokony harahina akory aza. Fa eo koa ny efa famantsy lahy manao azy ho fetsy ka tia ny mamandrika ny vehivavy mpikabary mifanandrina aminy. Efa imbetsaka aho no tratan'io tranga io. Fa dia mba ataoko koa hahatsapany fa tsy zaza vao amin'io ny tena raha asain'ny fianakaviana manontolo hitondra teny.

Ny mbola tanora, izy ireny raha ny fijeriko azy no ho saonjo hihoatra ny akondro ka hamelomaso rahatrizay. Mampidera ny fahaizany izy ary mampiseho fa nianatra tokoa saingy misy ny mahery setra loatra ka mihevi-tena ho mahay noho ny hafa indrindra moa amin'ny fampiasana voam-bolana tsy dia mihaja loatra fa natao hihomehezan'ny olona fotsiny indraindray. Manao teny tsy voahevitra koa ny tanora fanahy rehefa voantohina amin'ny fitenenana ka mahatonga ny ady an-kabary. Mahafinaritra kosa ny mahita ny fahavononany hiatrika ny andraikitra napetraka taminy. Goavana tokoa mantsy izany andraikitra maha mpikabary izany. Ny anaran-draindray tsy hoenti-miondrika hoy ny Malagasy fa tahaka ny volon'ampinga ka sady haingo no famantarana. Dia tena miseho eo anatrehan'ny fianakaviana fa mahavita mihitsy ary dia izany tokoa.

Ho an'ireo vehivavy nifamaly kabary tamiko kosa dia tsapa fa hafa mihitsy ny hoe samy vehivavy no mifamaly an-kabary. Mahay mifandefitra am-pitenenana ary manao izay mahababo ny mpihaino hatrany, indrindra moa fa amin'ny angolan-teny. Tsaroako ny vehivavy iray nihaona tamiko nangataka tari-dalana fa sambany izy no hangataka dia izaho no nofinidiny ho mpamoaka satria izy ihany no nasain'ny avy amin'ny zatovovavy hitady ny mpikabariny izay vehivavy koa no nilain'ny fianakaviana. Dia nitari-dalana azy aho nialoha ny andron'ny fangatahana fa tena nahafinaritra ny nahavitany ny kabaryny sy ny fihaonanay roa vavy. Ankoatra izay tena manantombo ny vehivavy amin'ny fahaizana mifehy ny fotoana nomena. Manaja ny fitafy maha mpikabary Malagasy rahateo ka mahababo ny mpanatrika.

1. Azonao lazaina ve ny mombamomba anao?

Anarana: Souleman Mpikabary (12 taona nikabariana)

Asa: mpikabary, mpampianatra kabary ao amin'ny rantsana FIMPIMA Voahary Kanton'Ambohitsaina, Université d'Antananarivo, mpanoratra

2. Inona ny kabary tena fataonao?

Mifototra kokoa amin'ny kabary an-kafaliana (vodiondry, fitokanana, famadihana)

3. Inona no atao hoe kabary araka ny hevitrao?

Ny atao hoe kabary dia lahateny atao am-peo avo sy mafy ho an'olona maromaro, haingoina teny kanto toy ny ohabolana sy hainteny sns.

4. Inona no anjara asan'ny kabary eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina?

- Fampitana lesona, hafatra, vaovao (ho an'ny mpitondra)
- Fitehirizana ireo ohabolana rakitry ny ela.

5. Inona no mahasamy hafa ny kabary taloha sy ankehitriny?

Ny rafitry ny kabary mitovy ihany fa ny voambolana dia mivoatra araky ny vanim-potoana sy ny fiovaovan'ny tantara.

6. Inona no mahatonga ny vehivavy ho liana hikabary ankehitriny?

Liana amin'ny fikabariana ny vehivavy ankehitriny satria efa mitovy zo ny lahy sy ny vavy. Rehefa teren'ny hasarotam-piainana dia efa zatra mandray andraikitra ny vehivavy ary efa zatra tsy miankin-doha amin'ny lehilahy.

7. Araka ny hevitrao, inona no mahatonga ny fiarahamonina hanaiky ny fisian'ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny?

Eken'ny fiarahamonina ny fisian'ny vehivavy mikabary satria ny vehivavy dia mahay mandray andraikitra bebe kokoa noho ny lehilahy. Ny vehivavy dia matotra, efa zatra miady amin'ny hasarotam-piainana. Ny vehivavy dia efa mitovy zo tanteraka amin'ny lehilahy ary mahavita misolo tena tanteraka ny lehilahy.

Tokony samy hahay hikabary avokoa na ny lahy na ny vavy eny anivon'ny fiarahamonina. Rehefa misy ny trangam-piaraha-monina dia afaka mandray adidy ny vehivavy rehefa tsy eo ny lehilahy.

8. Raha ny hevitrao manokana, tokony hikabary ve ny vehivavy sa tsia?

Tokony hikabary ny vehivavy satria ny fiainana efa mihasarotra, ny lehilahy mety variana amin'ny asany; anjaran'ny vehivavy ny mandray andraikitra izay tandrify azy mahakasika ireo adidy izay misy eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina sy ny fianakaviana. Tsy voatery miandry lehilahy vao handray andraikitra.

9. Azon'ny vehivavy atao ve ny mikabary amin'ny sehatra rehetra, anisan'izany ny kabary am-pandevenana?

Teo amin'ny Ntaolo ny vehivavy tsy natao hitondra teny fa natao hiandraikitra ny tokantrano. Araka ny fivoarana sy ny hasarotam-piainana dia tsy voatàna intsony izany. Izany hoe afaka omena sehatra ny vehivavy fa misy kosa anton-javatra izay tena fady aary tsy azony handraisam-pitenenana. Eo amin'ny kabary am-panambadiana afaka misehatra ny vehivavy.

Ny famadihana dia lanonana an-kafaliana. Amin'izao fotoana izao rehefa an-kafakiana dia azon'ny vehivavy atao ny mandray fitenenana. Any amin'ny faritra atsimo (Betsileo) dia tsy mahazo mandray fitenenana mihitsy ny vehivavy.

Ny kabary an-karatsiana no sehatra tsy tokony hikabarian'ny vehivavy. Amin'ny fahoriana dia betsaka ny fandaminana tsy maintsy atao; ohatra mandray ny famangiana sy ny mandray an-tsoratra dia andraikitra ny vehivavy, ny mikarakara sakafo sy ny manodidina izay dia an'ny vehivavy. Ny lehilahy tsy dia azo omena andraikitra betsaka na dia matanja-tsaina aza. Ilaina akosa anefa izay tanjan-tsain'ny lehilahy izay eo amin'ny handraisam-pitenenana. Tsy tokony hiteny ny vehivavy satria ny lahy no lohan'ny fianakaviana fa ny vehivavy no tompon'ny tokantrano.

10. Ianao manokana ve mankasitraka ny hanaovan'ny vehivavy kabary am-pandevenana?

Tsia. Ny vehivavy dia marefo ara-toe-po, izay efa voajanahary. Resaka fahoriana izany dia alahelo no tsy maintsy. Vitsy ny vehivavy mahatana alahelo ary izany no anton'ny nanaovan'ny Ntaolo hoe "ny vehivavy dia fanaka malemy." Tsy malemy ara-batana na ara-tsaina fa ara-po io resaka io. Sarotra amin'ny vehivavy ny handray sy hitondra fitenenana raha anatin'ny alahelo izy. Tsy ho voalaza ny tokony ho voalaza ary mety ho latsaka ny tena zava-dehibe amin'ny rafitry ny kabary an-karatsiana noho izay toe-po somary marefo izay.

11. Efa nanatrika kabary nataona vehivavy mpikabary ve ianao? Raha eny, azonao lazaina ve ny fahitanao izany? Misy fepetra manokana ve takiana ho an'ny mpikabary? Mahafehy ireo fepetra ireo ve ny vehivavy mpikabary?

Efa nanatrika.

Ny vehivavy Malagasy mikabary dia ahitan-taratra ny fahendren'ireo fitafin'ireo vehivavy Malagasy fahiny. Manao kabary mirindra miaraka amin'ny lantom-peo mambabo fo, ny fihetsika voarindra tsara,

ny votoatiny mifanaraka amin'ny lohahevitra izay nodinihina. Tena zava-dehibe ny endrika ivelany asehon'ny mpikabary na ho an'ny lehilahy na ho an'ny vehivavy.

Ankehitriny ny vehivavy mikabary dia tsy dia mahay mametraka ny terana tokony hisy azy satria tady ho lasa "akohovavy maneno."

Misy ny drafitra tsy maintsy arahina rehefa mikabary, misy ihany ko any fitsipika sahala amin'ny hoe tsy mahazo manao pataloha ny vehivavy. Mahafehy ireo ny mpikabary vehivavy.

Ny vehivavy tsy mbola manambady dia tsy tokony hikabary, na dia mahay mikabary aza ny vehivavy dia mila manaka sy mano any lehilahy foana na amin'ny fiteny na amin'ny fihetsika satria ny lahy no lohan'ny vavy ary izy no lohan'ny fianakaviana.

12. Manao ahoana ny fahitanao ny mpikabary lehilahy?

Ny lehilahy mikabary dia andrin'ny fianakaviana. Ny fianakaviana tsy manana mpikabary dia oharina amin'ny trano tsy misy andry.

13. Inona no mety fahasamihafana misy eo amin'ny kabary ataon'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy?

Ny kabary dia mitovy na ho an'ny lahy na ho an'ny vavy fa ny endrika hanehoany azy no mety ho samy hafa. Ny rafitra tsy miova.

14. Inona no mety mampiavaka ny mpikabary vehivavy? Inona no mety ho lafy tsara sy ratsin'izany?

Manatombo amin'ny resaka feo ny vehivavy, izany hoe mahababo olona kokoa ny vehivavy noho ireo lehilahy. Mora miampita kokoa ny hafatra omen'ny vehivavy noho ny lehilahy. Ny ho mety ho lafy ratsiny dia lasa sady ho lohan'ny fianakaviana ny vehivavy no sady tompon'ny tokantrano.

15. Mbola mitombona ve ny fitenenana hoe "akohovavy maneno" ankehitriny?

Tena mitombona satria maro amin'ireo vehivavy no manao tsinontsinona ireo lehilahy. Misy aza mahavita manambany azy ireo mihitsy.

16. Efa nifanehitra tamina mpikabary vehivavy ve ianao tamin'ny kabary vodiondry izay nataoanao? Raha eny, azonao lazaina ve ny fanandramana niainanao tamin'izany?

Efa nifanehitra. Lasa nihanalefaka aho, nanao sy nampitovitovy ny angola sy ny lantom-peo; tsy dia nanao resaka misafelika firy satria tsy ho voatery takany ny resaka rehetra izay nataoko. Raha tsarina dia mampandefitra ny mihaona amin'ny vehivavy.

17. Azonao atao ve ny manome ny salan'isan'ny kabary vodiondry efa nataonao? Firy tamin'ireo no vehivavy ny mpikabary nifanehitra taminao? Azonao lazaina ve hoe manao ahoana ny fikabarian'ireo vehivavy izay nifanehitra taminao?

800 ny isan'ny kabary vodiondry miaraka amin'ny animation mariazay. 7 tamin'ireo dia natao tamin'ny fiteny frantsay satria lehilahy vazaha nanambady vehivavy Malagasy. Efatra tamin'ireo no vehivavy no namaly azy.

Tena resaka ifamaliana ny kabary atao fa tsy hita taratra ny hoe tsianjery. Saingy ny vehivavy di ate hampiseho foana fa mahavita miresaka, hany ka lasa tia mitsingolika amin'ny zavatra tsy misy dikany. Izany no matetika lesoka eo amin'ny vehivavy, te hihoatra ny lehilahy rehefa mikabary. Izaho manokana dia manaja sy mandefitra rehefa mihaona amin'ny vehivavy. Tsy manao hainteny lavareny fa tantara sy fomba no hitondrako ny kabariko. Rehefa miankina amin'io resaka tantara sy fomba io dia tsy dia manan-kolazaina ny mpikabary vehivavy ankehitriny.

18. Azonao lazaina ve hoe nanao ahoana ireo mpikabary lehilahy sy vehivavy izay efa nifanehitra taminao?

Ny vehivavy dia maka malefaka rehefa mikabary. Rehefa lehilahy kosa dia somary miova: ao ny masiaka, mivantabantam-piteny, tia tsingolika anatin'ny fahasiahana, tia fandrika, tia vola (na valompy) izay tsy mifanaraka amin'ny fomba amam-panao fa mamorona.

19. Mambra ao amin'ny FIMPIMA ianao. Nanampy tamin'ny fampahafantarana anao ho mpikabary ve ny fikambanana? Raha tsia, azonao lazaina ve ny nahatonga anao ho fantadaza teo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary sy ho voaantso matetika tamin'ny fanatontosana kabary samy hafa?

Eny, nanampy ahy ny FIMPIMA.

20. Nianatra nikabary ve ianao sa nandova izany tamin'ny fianakaviana?

Taranaka mpikabary aho.

21. Azonao resahina ve ny lalana nodiavinao mialohan'ny nahatonga anao amin'ny toerana misy anao ankehitriny amin'ny maha mpikabary anao?

Niainga tamin'ny lanonam-pianakaviana, nithoy tamin'ny fanaovana fifaninanana. Rehefa avy eo dia nantsoina hiasa amin'ny resaka kabary tamin'ny télé VIVA. Nantsoin'ny FIMPIMA indray hampianatra. Aman-taonany vao tonga amin'ny tanjona na laza arak'izao misy ahy izao. Amin'izao fotoana izao dia sehatra iray ahafahana mampitombo io laza io ny Facebook.

22. Azonao lazaina ve ny manavanana anao kokoa, ny mifanehitra amina mpikabary lehilahy sa vehivavy?

Mety amiko na lehilahy na vehivavy. Alejo kokoa mifanehitra amin'ny lehilahy.

23. Misy fanatsarana ve izay heverinao fa ilaina ataon'ny lehilahy sy vehivavy eo amin'ny kabary?

Tokony hianatra ny tantara sy fomba ny lehilahy indrindra fa ireo vehivavy mba hampitovy lent any resaka fahaiza-mikabary. Tsy dia variana loatra amin'ny hainteny fa mila mahay mampifanaraka amin'ny lohahevitra izay hihaonana amin'ny trangam-piaraha-monina izay niainan'ny Ntaolo sy hita amin'izao fotoana izao.

1. Azonao lazaina ve ny mombamomba anao amin'ny maha-mpikabary anao? (anarana, fotoana nanombohana nikabary, nianatra nikabary ve ianao sa taranaka mpikabary)

Anarana: RAKOTOARISOA Faniry Alban

Tsy taranaka mpikabary

Nianatra kabary tao amin'ny Fikambanan'ny Mpikabary Malagasy ny taona 2003

Nikabary avy hatrany vao vita ny fiofanana

2. Inona no nahatonga anao ho liana hikabary?

Efa rà mikoriana tao anatiko ny fahazotoana mitarika olona (leadership) amin'ny sehatra rehetra: fianakaviana, namana, iray kilasy tany am-pianarana, fikambanana. Tsapako fa tsy manaraka rafitra ny fandraisako fitenenana ka izay no nahaliana ahy hianatra sy handalina ny kabary.

3. Inona no karazana kabary fataonao matetika ?

Kabary am-panambadiana, kabary am-bohitra (mamoaka razana), kabary am-pandevenana, kabary politika

4. Eo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary vodiondry, azonao atao ve ny manome salan'isan'ny kabary nataonao, mpangataka ve ianao sa mpanome tamin'izany, azonao lazaina ihany koa ve hoe firy tamin'ireo mpikabary nifanandrina taminao no vehivavy tamin'izany?

Taorian'ny namoahako ny hira “hanambady aho” dia farafahakeliny aho mikabary in-droa isam-bolana (kabary am-panambadiana). Mifandanja ny salan'isa (mpangataka, mpamoaka). Vitsy dia vitsy ny mpifanandrina vehivavy tamin'izany. Angamba ataoko hoe 2%

5. Inona no mahasamy hafa ny mpikabary lehilahy sy ny mpikabary vehivavy araka ny hevitrao sy araka ny niainanao teo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary vodiondry?

Mbola sarotra esorina ao an-tsain'ny Malagasy maro ny hoe “vehivavy fanaka malemy” sy ny hoe anjaran'ny lehilahy no tokony mandray fitenenana. Eo koa ny fomba fiteny ny vehivavy mandray fitenenana dia lazain'ny sasany hoe “akohovavy maneno”. Ny maha samy hafa azy dia ny vehivavy kanto sy milantolanto kokoa rehefa mikabary. Ny vehivavy dia mahatsapa bebe kokoa ny toeran'ny vehivavy rehefa mamoaka tovovavy indrindra indrindra.

6. Misy mampiavaka ny vehivavy mpikabary ve? Inona no lafy ratsy sy tsara amin'izany?

Ny vehivavy mikabary hendry sy maotina kokoa amiko. Voasafidy tsara ny karazana voambolana ampiasaina ary vitsy kokoa ny karazana kabary mampiomehy sy ny fampiomehezana an-kabary.

Lafy ratsy: somary mihena ny fifantohan'ny olona mihaino noho izy somary ambanimbany feo rehefa miteny

Lafy tsara: mafonja ny hevitra avoakan'ny vehivavy mpikabary am-panambadiana

7. Araka ny hevitrao, ahoana no fahitan'ny lehilahy mpikabary ny vehivavy mikabary amin'ny ankapobeny? Ahoana ny hevitrao manokana mikasika izany?

Ny fahitan'ny lehilahy mpikabary ny vehivavy mikabary dia manana eritreritra avy hatrany ny lehilahy fa ho tsotsotra kokoa sy moramora kokoa ny mifanandrina amin'ny vehivavy noho ny antony ara-boajanahary aloha voalohany. Eo ihany koa ny hoe ny lehilahy kokoa ny tandrify sy tompon'ny teny. Ny hevitra: tsy tokony manaiky lembenana amin'izany ny vehivavy. Porofon'izany: vehivavy no filohan'ny fikambanan'ny mpikabary Malagasy efa ho am-polo taonany maro.

8. Araka ny hevitrao, nahoana ny fianakaviana tompon-danonana no liana hiantso mpikabary vehivavy amin'ny vodiondry ankehitriny?

Miantso mpikabary vehivavy izy noho izay maha kanto azy izay. Efa fomba fijery diso vanim-potoana ihany koa ny resaka hoe lehilahy ihany no tokony handray fitenenana

9. Araka ny hevitrao, afaka ary tokony hikabary amin'ny sehatra sy fotoana rehetra ve ny vehivavy, anisan'izany ny kabary am-pandevenana?

Ny kabary am-pandevenana irery ihany amiko no tsy tokony ataon'ny vehivavy. Satria ny vehivavy dia loharanon'aina. Ny ankoatr'izay: azony atao avokoa

10. Efa nahita na mahafantatra vehivavy nikabary am-pandevenana ve ianao? Raha eny, ahoana ny fomba fahitan'ny fiaraha-monina izany? Raha tsia, inona no mety sakana mahatonga ny vehivavy tsy hikabary am-pandevenana, ankoatra ny hoe ny vehivavy loharanon'aina tsy tokony hampifandraisina amin'ny resaka fahafatesana, mpamosavy ny vehivavy manitsa-pasana, tsy 'pratique' ho an'ny vehivavy ny miakatra eny ambony fasana noho ny akanjo hanaovany ary noho ny hery ilaina amin'izany (ireo no valin-teny azoko amin'ny ankapobeny tamin'ireo mpikabary izay efa niresaka tamiko).

Tsy mbola nahita vehivavy nikabary am-pandevenana aho. Efa voalazanao ireo daholo ny valiny rehetra

11. Inona no atao hoe mpikabary mahay sy mahomby araka ny hevitrao?

Mpikabary mahay sy mahomby: mahafehy ny fotoana voafetra, tsy lava resaka fa tsotra, fohy, mazava. Mahay manetry tena ihany koa ary tsy manao tsindrio fa lavo raha sendra mpifanandrina tsotsotra. Mahay mitazona ny fifantohan'ny mpanotrona. Mahaliana ny olona ary antsoin'ireo mpanotrona hafa hikabary amin'ny raharaha manaraka.

12. Arak any hevitrao, misy fepetra tsy maintsy fenoin'ny vehivavy ve mba hahatonga azy hoheverina fa mpikabary mahomby, izany hoe mba hahatonga azy eo amin'ny toerana haneken'ny fiaraha-monina azy fa mpikabary matihaninana, mahomby, to-teny, manana ny hasiny eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina, ary antsoina matetika? Mitovy ve ny fepetra takiana ho an'ny mpikabary lehilahy sy vehivavy mba hahatongavana amin'izany toerana izany?

Tsy maintsy fenoin'ny vehivavy mpikabary ny famaritana ny kabary: lahateny, atao amin'ny feo mafy, ho an'ny olona maro, entina mandresy lahatra ary ravahana sy haingoana ohabolana sy hainteny. Na lehilahy na vehivavy, raha te hahomby, dia tsy maintsy mahafeno ireo fepetra ireo. Fanampin'izay ny toetra takiana amin'ny mpikabary: mahay manetry tena.

13. Mambra amin'ny fikambanan'ny mpikabary Malagasy ve ianao? Raha eny, azonao lazaina ve hoe oviana no nanomboka mambra tamin'izany ianao?

Eny, mpikambana ao aho nanomboka ny taona 2004

14. Araka ny hevitrao, manampy ny vehivavy mpikabary mambra mba ho fantatr'olona eo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary ve ny fikambanana?

Eny. Maro ireo sehatra isehoan'ny vehivavy rehetra mpikambana amin'ireo hetsika rehetra karakarain'ny fikambanana.

15. Mikasika ny hasimbava, mety misy fahasamihafana ve amin'ny hasim-bava takian'ny mpikabary lehilahy sy ny mpikabary vehivavy? Raha eny, inona no mety mahatonga izany? Raha tsia, inona no azo hanazavana izany?

Amiko, tsy misy fahasamihafana ny hasim-bava sy hasin'ny kabary raisin'ny lehilahy na ny vehivavy. Ny antony dia tsy anavahana maha lahy na maha vavy ny fandraisam-pitenenana imason'olona sy imasom-bahoaka.

1. Azonao lazaina ve ny mombamomba anao?

Izaho dia lehiben'ny fikarohana sy ny fampianarana eo anivon'ny FIMPIMA ivelan'i Madagasikara. Ny andraikitra izany dia manao izay isian'ny fampianarana kabary ivelan'i Madagasikara.

2. Azonao atao ve ny miresaka momba ny FIMPIMA sy ny sehatry ny kabary eto Frantsa?

Eto Frantsa manokana dia 10 ny sampana FIMPIMA: 5 amin'ireo vehivavy no filohany (Montpellier, Rouen: Jacqueline Ralantoaritsimba, Avignon) Ny sampana tarihin-dehilahy indray ny any: Lyon, Paris, Toulouse, Marseille, Orléans.

Any Bruxelles ny vehivavy betsaka noho ny lehilahy.

Any Munich roa ny vehivavy, iray ny lehilahy.

Any Norvège ny lehilahy no betsaka kokoa, iray ihany ny vehivavy.

Any Suisse, iray monja ny lehilahy, enina ny vehivavy.

3. Mitovy ve ny isan'ny mpikambana lehilahy sy vehivavy?

Samy hafa ny isan'ny mpikambana ao amin'ny sampana tsirairay. Raha ny eto Frantsa dia azo lazaina hoe mitovy ny isan'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy mpikambana.

4. Inona no mahatonga ny lehilahy sy vehivavy ho liana hianatra kabary?

Ny ankabeazan'ny vehivavy mianatra kabary ao amin'ny FIMPIMA eto Frantsa dia renim-pianakaviana izay tsy mahafehy ny teny Malagasy sy ny fomba Malagasy. Ka ny antony hankanesany ao amin'ny FIMPIMA di amba hianatra sy hampita amin'ny zanany ny fahaizana ny teny sy ny fomba Malagasy. Tia ny teny Malagasy izy ireo ary raisiny ho andraikitra ny fitandrovana sy fampandrosoana izany. Amiko manokana dia mavesatra kokoa izany andraikitra izany.

Ireo lehilahy mianatra kabary indray dia ireo zokiny ao amin'ny fianakaviana, ao koa ny lehilahy lohan' orinasal, tsy maintsy miteny.

5. Lasa mpikabary matihanina avokoa ve ireo mpikambana vehivavy niofana tao amin'ny FIMPIMA?

Raha 400 ny mpianatra navoakan'ny FIMPIMA eto Frantsa, ny ampahany amin'izany azo lazaina fa vehivavy ary 10 amin'izy ireo no tena hoe lasa mpikabary misy miantso matetika. Ny antony dia tsy mahazo sehatra hikabariana izy ireo. Misy vehivavy tsy mikabary fa antsoina hanoratra na hanomana kabary ho ataon'olona amin'ny fotoana samy hafa, ohatra amin'ny famangiana zokiolona, na fanaovana confirmation.

Izaho manokana dia mihevitra fa adidiko ny manome sehatra ny mpikambana. Tamin'ny vodiondrin'ny zanakovavy, enin-taona lasa izay, tamin'ny 2013, dia izaho no nisafidy ny mpikabary an-daniny sy ankilany tamin'ny vodiondry. Mpikabary vehivavy roa no nosafidiako tamin'izany.

6. Nisongadina ve ny maha-vehivavy ireo mpikabary vehivavy roa tamin'izany fotoana izany?

Samy niakanjo gasy ireo izy roa vavy. Ny toromarika dia hoe "asehoy ny mahavehivavy anareo!" Ny zavatra tsikaritra dia tsy nisy nanontany ny mpanatrika hoe nankaiza ny lehilahy. Misy fihetseham-po kokoa ny kabary ataon'ny vehivavy. Mitory zavatra mihoatra noho ny tiana tenenina. Difotra ny lehilahy.

7. Inona no fahasamihafana mety misy eo amin'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy eo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary?

Misy lehilahy tsy mahay mikabary. Mandritra ny famangiana fianakaviana mana-manjo ohatra dia mijanona aty aoriana ireny lehilahy ireny ary mangataka mba hiara-hiditra amin'ny olona izay efa manana solotena hikabary.

Nandritra ny kabary famangiana manjo iray izay natrehiko dia vehivavy no namaly ny kabarin'ny mpamangy, nefa ny vadiny teo akaikiny teo. Raha ny hevitrao dia ny vadiny no namela azy hiteny mba hananany tombontsoa hiteny, satria zavatra mahagaga sy mahasorena izany hoe lehilahy tsy mahay miteny izany.

Ny zavatra tsikaritra ihany koa dia tsara naoty amin'ny "écrit" ny vehivavy. Ny am-bava, ny vehivavy koa no mitarika. Hita fa tena milofo amin'ny fianarana fatratra ny vehivavy. Tena mandray andraikitra izy ireo hampita ny teny Malagasy. Tamin'ny fifaninanana soratononina notanterahin'ny "Association Kolo" teto Frantsa izao dia vehivavy no nandresy.

Ny lehilahy indray tsy mahery vaika amin'ny "details théoriques."

8. Araka ny hevitrao, manao ahoana ny fandraisan'ny fiaraha-monina ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny?

Misy faritra mbola tsy manaiky vehivavy miteny. Tany Anahidrano, any amin'ny faritra avaratra andrefan'i Mahajanga, ohatra. Voatery nikabary tany ny filohan'ny FIMPIMA manerantany, Ramatoa Hanitra Andriamboavonjy. Ny fepetra notakian'ireo lehilahy tany dia ny hanaovany akanjo tsy Merina. Nanao lambahoany izy. Ary nanaiky ihany ireo lehilahy nony farany. Nisongadina tamin'izany ihany koa fa ny vehivavy dia mahay mitaona olona hanao zavatra.

9. Misy fahasamihafana ve ny hasim-bava ho an'ny vehivavy sy ny lehilahy mpikabary?

Amiko dia mitovy ny hasim-bava, fa mety miankina koa amin'ny fianakaviana, misy tsy tia vehivavy.

Ny azo lazaina koa aloha dia hoe tsy ahazoana vola be ny kabary. Izaho aloha tsy mivelona amin'ny kabary e!

Ao amin'ny FIMPIMA aty Frantsa tsisy consignes manokana. Satria ny tanjon'ny FIMPIMA dia ny fiarovana sy fampandrosoana ny fomba sy ny teny Malagasy amin'ny alalan'ny kabary, dia ezahina mba tsy ho sakana amin'ny fivelaran'ny soatoavina ny resaka hasim-bava. Amporisihina aza ny mpikambana mba tsy hanao izany ho lafo be na hanao izany maimaim-poana mihitsy aza, na zay foin'ny olona no omeny. Iray na roa no sahy miteny hasim-bava.

Izay koa no anisany hitsikeran'ny mpikabary namana avy any Madagasikara hoe, “manimba tsena.”

Izaho izao nisy fotoana nantsoin'olona hikabary tany Bruxelles. 200 euros no nomen-dry zareo aho izay azo lazaina hoe saran'ny fitaterana sy ny hotely fotsiny.

Tamin'ny vodiondrin'ny zanako, 400 euros no nomeko ilay vehivavy mpikabary nisolo tena ny fianakavian'ny zatovovavy. Tsy fantatro izay nomen'ny fianakavian'ny zatovolaha ilay mpikabary ho an'ny ankilany izay nosafidiako. Ny fantatro fotsiny dia malaza ho “exigeante” amin'ny resaka hasim-bava io mpikabary io, izay azo lazaina hoe “ambom-pom-behivavy mahay mikabary. Milaza izy hoe, ‘Izaho rehefa mikabary, tsy maintsy mikarakara tena, tsy maintsy mandeha any amin'ny mpanao volo, tsy mandeha ‘bus’ aho mankany amin'ny lanonana ary tsy maintsy entina any amin'ny ‘teinturerie’ ny akanjo hanaovako.”

10. Eo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary an-karatsiana, inona ny hevitrao mikasika ny vehivavy manao kabary eny amin'ny fasana?

Fady ny vehivavy miakatra amin'ny fasana. “Question pratique” koa. Sarotra ho an'ny vehivavy ny hiakatra ambony fasana, indrindra raha tsisy tohatra. Ho an'ny lehilahy anefa fihetsika kely fotsiny izany, mitehina sy miakatra amin'ny fasana, satria izy matanjaka.

11. Betsaka ve ny Malagasy manandratra ny kabary aty ivelany?

Be ny mbola manao vodiondry “traditionnel” aty Europa. Na “couple mixte” aza. Amin'ny fahoriana koa.

I Abel Andriharimalala dia milaza fa ny fanambadiana no “manifestation de l’oralité dans la société malgache. » Misy ny fitakiana ny tokim-pitiavana avy amin'ny zatovolaha sy ny fianakaviany, izay “engagement oral.” Mafy noho ny promesse écrite izany satria manatrika eo ny fianakaviana roa tonta. Mety hiteny ny olona hoe “promesse en l’air” satria tsy voarakitra an-tsoratra, saingy tsy izany mihitsy. Ny fiandohan'ny kabary fotsiny dia maneho fa manana ny maha-izy azy ny ray aman-dreny izay angatahana tsodrano. Antsoina hoe “antsibe maharaobilona” sy “angady mahatapak’ahitra.” Izy ireo no conditions sine qua non ahafahana manao vodiondry. Raha tsy eon y ray aman-dreny tsy afaka manomboka. Izy no manana fahefana hanaiky na handà.

1. Azonao lazaina ve ny mombamomba anao?

Mpikabary mpikambana ao amin'ny FIMPIMA.

Tsy misy hifandraisany amin'ny mpanoratra Rasamuel Maurice.

2. Inona no mahasamy hafa ny kabary taloha sy ankehitriny?

Nifandovana ny kabary taloha. Ankehitriny ianarana.

Taloha tsy nekena mihitsy ny hikabarian'ny vehivavy.

Tsy dia nitombona loatra anefa ny fanilhana ny vehivavy. Porofon'izany Ranavalona I nikabary, ary nahatana tsar any fitondrana.

Ankehitriny 20% sisa no mety tsy manaiky ny vehivavy mikabary.

3. Araka ny hevitrao, betsaka kokoa ve ny mpikabary vehivavy ankehitriny raha mitaha amin'ny mpikabary lehilahy?

Ao amin'ny fikambanana misy ahy, 30% ny vehivavy, ny ambiny dia lehilahy avokoa

4. Azonao lazaina ve ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny ?

Mahafinaritra saingy tojo olana lehibe ny vehivavy mpikabary. Henjana loatra ny fahamafisan'ny fanjakan-dehilahy.

Misy ny fiheverana hoe ny “vehivavy fanaka malemy,” “fanjaitra mara-paingotra.”

Misy ny fanatsatsoana ny vehivavy. “Ny vehivavy tsy mahafaty lambo.” Marihina fa misy olona tsy mihinana biby vonoin'ny vehivavy.

Kanefa misy ny vehivavy manao hoe “raha tsy nosakanana ny vehivavy ‘ingenieur,’ na dokotera na ‘pilote,’ asa izay natokana ho an'ny lehilahy hatramin'izay, nahoana ny vehivavy no tsy avela handray anjara amin'ny kabary izay feno fahendrena Malagasy?” Anisan'ny mpikabary vehivavy niditra voalohany tao amin'ny fikambanana no nilaza io, Eléonore Rasoazanatsimba. Misy vehivavy iray ihany koa, Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline, vehivavy voalohany nekena ho mpikambana tao amin'ny FIMPIMA.

5. Amin'ny fotoana inona no mikabary ny vehivavy, azon'ny vehivavy atao avokoa ve ireo kabary fataon'ny lehilahy amin'ny fotoana na lanonana rehetra tsy ankanavaka, anisan'izany ny kabary am-pandevenana?

Ny vehivavy loharanon-taranaka, ny fasana fitoeran'ny maty. Izany hoe tsy tokony hikabary am-pandevenana ny vehivavy. Ny vehivavy velona tsy tokony hijoro ambony fasana.

Misy koa ny fiheverana hoe ny vehivavy tsy mitana hazom-pasana.

Tsy tokony hitana ny angady ampiasaina amin'ny fandevenana ny vehivavy noho ny hamafin'ny asa atao.

Eo amin'ny resaka fihetseham-po. Marivo ranomaso ny vehivavy. Mila miezaka mandresy ny fihetseham-po.

Taty aoriana nihozongozona ny fiheverana taloha.

Job Rakotojaona izao nilaza fahavelony hoe “Rehefa maty izy dia vehivavy no niriany hanao ny kabary eny amin'ny fasana” ka i Rasamoeliasoa Pascaline no nanatanteraka izany, izy ilay vehivavy voalohany noraisina ho isan'ny mpikambana tao amin'ny FIMPIMA.

Misy koa ny fandrosoana nentin'ny fivavahana Kristianina. Misy ankehitriny ireo Pasitera vehivavy manao asan-dehilahy be dia be.

6. Misy fahasamihafana goavana ve amin'ny kabary ataon'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy?

Ny kabary dia tambitamby miaro rangotra. Samy miezaka ny hahakanto ny azy.

Na izany aza saikatra ihany ny lehilahy ny hanao zavatra mahery setra, miezaka ny ho malefaka.

Misy ny fitenenana hoe “ombalahy sangehan-drenin'omby, raha maharesy tsy mahazo laza, raha resy voavely kobay.”

7. Inona no mety mampiavaka ny vehivavy mpikabary amin'ny lehilahy? Inona no mety ho lafy tsara sy ratsy amin'izany?

Ny vehivavy mpikabary dia manana tombony mampiavaka azy amin'ny lehilahy saingy mahasarika kokoa ny mpijery, dia ny angola izany.

Mahaliana kokoa ny vehivavy mpikabary noho ny fahaizany mihaingo kokoa ary indrindra ny fomba fanaovany kabary izay mampisongadina ny maha-vehivavy azy.

8. Inona no atao hoe mpikabary mahay sy mahomby arak any hevitrao?

Tokony hanana fitondran-tena mendrika ny mpikabary amin'ny maha modely ho an'ny tokantrano vao niorina azy. Ny vehivavy no tena manana io toetra io satria ny vehivavy matetika no mpananatra sy modely. Ny lehilahy kosa dia mora mirona amin'ny fampirafesana, hany ka raha malaza ho mpampirafy ny mpikabary dia heverina fa mpitari-bato vilam-bava.

30. Azonao lazaina ve ny mombamomba anao?

Mpikabary, mpitantara angano amin'ny teny Malagasy, Frantsay, Anglisy, Allemand.
Anisan'ny ankizy nianatra kabary voalohany tany an-tsekoly.

31. Inona no atao hoe kabary araka ny hevitrao?

Lahateny atao amin'ny feo avo haingoina amin'ny ohabolana sy hainteny.

32. Nahoana no eken'ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy ny fisian'ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny?

Tsy mahagaga intsony ankehitriny ny vehivavy mikabary. Ny mety hampisy ady hevitra angamba dia ny fisian'ny sarindahy sy ny sarim-bavy mikabary.

33. Ahoana ny fomba fahitanao ny vehivavy Malagasy mikabary

Azonao tsaraina ve ny fomba fanaovany kabary

Manao ahoana ny feony, ny fihetsiny, ny vontootin'ny zavatra lazainy

Zava-dehibe ve ny fitafy sy ny paozy ivelany ho an'ny vehivavy mpikabary, nahoana

Torak'izany koa ve ho an'ny lehilahy mpikabary

Ahoana no fandraisan'ny mpanatrika ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny

Ahoana no fandraisanao ny vehivavy mikabary amin'ny maha-mpikabary anao

Misy fitsipika sy fepetra tokony arahina ve amin'ny fanaovana kabary, azonao lazaina ve hoe inona avy izany na inona avy ireo tena manan-danja amin'izany

Mahafehy ireo fitsipiky ny fanaovana kabary sy ireo fepetra mifehy ny kabary ve ny vehivavy Malagasy

Misy fanatsarana ilaina ve araka ny hevitrao amin'ny fanaovan'ny vehivavy kabary

Eo amin'ny endrika ivelany no misy fahasamihafana. Na dia samy manao akanjo mihaja aza ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy mpikabary, ao anatin'izany ny lamba Malagasy, dia ny vehivavy foana no mahasarika kokoa noho ny lehilahy

Manatombo kokoa ny vehivavy amin'ny haingo. Raha toa ka misatroka ny lehilahy, ny vehivavy kosa manao tanaivoho. Efa mahazatra ny satroka fa ny tanaivoho kosa mampivoitra ny hatsarana sy ny hakanton'ny vehivavy mpikabary.”

34. Misy fahasamihafana goavana ve amin'ny kabary ataon'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy

Raha eny, inona avy izany?

Raha tsia, nahoana?

Ny feo no misy fahasamihafana. Heverina fa kely feo kokoa ny vehivavy, izay mety ho sakana indraindray, saingy efa azo vahana amin'ny fampiasana micro ankehitriny ny olana mifandraika amin'izany.

35. Inona no atao hoe mpikabary mahay sy mahomby araka ny hevitrao?

Ny mpikabary mahay ankehitriny dia ny mpikabary mahay maka volon-tany. Tokony hifanaraka amin'ny tontolo ikabariana ny kabary ataon'ny mpikabary, izany hoe tsy handeha hanao kabary lava be ohatran'ny tamin'ny andro taloha izay hampatory ny olona rehetra ianao mandritra ny lanonana feno tanora be dia be.

Ny mpikabary mahay tsy handeha hanao kabary lava be mampatory amin'ny fanokafana lanonana fankalazana taom-baovao any amin'ny toeram-piasana.”

Ny atao hoe mpikabary mahomby dia izay mahay mitazona ny fifantohan'ny mpanatrika.

Extra question. 30 July 2019.

Misy fahasamihafana ve ny hasimbava ho an'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy mpikabary? Afaka manome isa manokana ho an'ny hasimbava izay takiana ve ianao?

400 à 450 €.

Orator 1:

Azafady tompoko o, misy fandaminana tsy maintsy ifanaovantsika ihany. Ianao ve maka micro sa ity no ifandibiasantsika? (ity misy micro) dia ny toerana nefa aiza.

Vehivavy: Eto izy.

Orator 1:

Azafady tompoko. Tsy mora moa ny mandamin-javatra. Miangavy aho zany ny fianakaviana avy any aminay mba aleo ny olon-dehibe avokoa no manakaiky seza fa raha misy ankizy an, dia mba ahisaka kely aloha ny ankizy zany. Fa mbola hiresaka anie ny olona e. Mbola hiresaka tsika.

Eny ary tompoko. Tonga eto aminareo izahay araka ny teny nifanatsafana tao ivelany teo. Misy dinidinika tiana atao ka dia te handray am-bava izahay tompoko hoe moa ve mahazo mipetraka izahay sa dia hotohizantsika ady mitsangana otran'izao izy ity?

Opponent 1:

Eny tompokolahy, eny tompokovavy. Ny tonga tsy miarahaba tokoa hono naman'ny tezitra, lasa tsy manao veloma, naman'ny sosotra. Ka ty am-piandohana izahay dia te hanontany tena tokoa hoe fa angaha izy ity sodoka tahaka ny akoho ka tonga dia hiansampy eny antoeran'entana. Ankehitriny izahay dia manambara manao hoe: ny mangetaheta ambony lakana no mahantra indrindra, noana ampototry ny sompitra no fadiranovana. Ka mitsangana manoloana ny seza mahasakodiavatra ka ny teninay dia mahazo mipetraka ianareo tompoko.

Orator 1:

Izay manana seza amintsika mba mipetraka. Dia izao no izy: isika mbola hiresaka. Isika mbola hifanatrika, noho izany, ireto seza avy aty ireto, aleo hihemotra avokoa. Amin'izay isika manatrika ilay olona. Aza mbola misahirana manakaiky latabatra aloha. Mbola misy malalaka ary, fa mba mikisaka ianareo dia mba omena seza lay mpikabary.

Vehivavy: Mba omeo seza ny mpikabary. Somary miisakisana kely ianao ry Zosefa a.

Vehivavy hafa: Aleo za avy eto aminao eto. Aleo za mba aveto amin'ny sisiny eto aminao eto. Zao dia efa mety. Azafady tompoko a. Zay. Zay ka...

Orator 1: Za ve raha otraotran'izay ny haavon'ny feoko renareo?

Mpanotrona: Renay

Orator 1: Misy vanim-potoana mety tsy hampiasa an'ity fanitaram-peo ity fa raha sitrakareo dia somary mangingina kely tsika satria fantatro fa tsy hahatody hatramin'ny farany.

Tompokolahy sy tompokovavy. Raha vitan'ny tsy nisy hono tompoko tsy nilàna topimaso. Raha vitan'ny tsy nisy hono tompoko tsy nilàna topimaso. Raha vitan'ny topimaso, tsy nilàna tsikitsiky. Raha vitan'ny tsikitsiky, tsy nilàna kalokalo. Raha vitan'ny kalokalo, tsy nilàna vazo. Ary raha vazo mitovy tsy niampitana rano. Nefa raha ranom-boanio misy ao amborovy ve iampitana ranon'ny katsepy? Ka tsy etsy ambalavao isotry ve no misy voanio no mila voatsiary ho any Mahajanga? Saingy noho ny amin'ny hoe ny tiana tsy mahalavi-tany tompoko, dia indreto izahay mianakavy tonga manoloana anareo. Ny tonga tsy miarahaba anefa naman'ny

tezitra, ka dia manamafy ny fiarahabana izay efa natao taminareo ihany izahay. Arahaba mandry boamaso ka manakaiky an'itsy dia malemy. Arahaba manao ny tsara hotsaroina, arahaba manao ny soa hoasoavina. Ho ampy ny soamahasondriana sy ny mahasambatra indrindra anie ianareo. Ary ankehitriny, amin'ny vonin'andro tahaka izao dia mahatsiaro tsara fa amin'ny raharaha tahak'izao dia tsy maintsy misy ilay fanontaniana fanao fahantaolo hoe: zahay anefa tsy hila raharaha otran'ny rainizafitemena ka itady raharaha hanontany ny aminy hoe mbola misy andrasana ve tompoko? Satria fantatray fa zahay ilay efa nandrasanareo hatramin'ny 11 (hehy). Zahay koa tsy hitady raharaha otran'ilay mpiandry omby ho faty ka hiteny hoe: izao ve no isika mianakavy. Satria amin'ny tahaka izay dia mety misy ihany ny tratran'ny fotoambita tsy mahaleo ny sampona. Ary mety misy koa ny tsy maintsy voatery avoaka any an-tokotany fa tsy ampy ny seza moa fa be loatra izahay avy any. Ny fanontaniana sisa tavela tompoko raha sitrakareo dia fanontaniana tsotra manao hoe: raha mitovy ny antsika ny fahendrena ka vita izay vavaka fohy hanomezana voninahitra an'Andriamanitra eto. Mbola misy anton-javatra ve mahasakana anay tsy androso amin'ny dinika? Ambarao tompoko raha ohatra ka misy anton-javatra mahasakana anay tsy hiroso amin'ny dinika raha vita ny fivavahana fa mbola vonona ihany izahay. Satria fantatray ary inoanay fa fantatrareo tsara ny amin'ny hoe ny andao andao mahavery entana, nefa ny andraso andraso mahativa andro. Misaotra tompoko.

Opponent 1:

Eny. Ny teny tsy valiana tokoa hono mankarary ambavafo. Nefa ny hevitra tsy teny ihany fa tohiny. Ka zahay aloha raha ny fianakaviana raha ny fijery ny manodidina tokoa, dia 97 izahay no tonga eto ka tsy ampy an'izy 3. Ka raha misy hevitra tianareo ampitaina ankoatr'izay dia aleo ary andrasantsika ary izy telo mianaka tompoko.

Orator 1:

Ampiadiana tsara ny tadin-dokanga an, za tany ampiandohana nanontany am-panajana nanao hoe: te hiroso amin'ny dinika izahay raha ohatra ka mitovy ny antsika ny fahendrena sady manome voninahitra an'Andriamanitra isika. Ny valin-tenin'ny havako dia manao oe 97 izahay fa tsy ampy an'izy 3. Ka asa na hiandry an'izy 3 moa zany (hehy). Mitovy ihany ilay resatsika zany an. Samy fivavahana no tiansika tenenina. Fa raha ilay teny noteneninareo hoe Andriamanitra Ray Zanaka Fanahy Masina dia mitovy amin'ny eritreretinay izay. Izahay indray mahatsiaro ny fahendren'ny ntaolo manao hoe: raha mahita ny fitsipaka diso hono, na mahatsiaro ny maka fanao fahazaza, fa raha mahatadidy Mahatsiaro izahay fa amin'ny andro iray toa zato otrizao dia olombelona ihany. Miloloha ny lanitra ka mety ho lena. Ary mandia tany ka tsy maintsy solafaka. Araka izany dia hanome voninahitra an'Andriamanitra isika. Raha efa niomana ianareo tompoko arahaba soa, arahaba tsara... Raha ohatra ka tsy niomana kosa, dia hisy anankiray hitsanganaavy aminay hanao vavaka fohy. Ambarako hoe vavaka fohy a. Tsisy toriteny, tsisy fametrahan-tanana tsisy fijoroana vavolombelona tsisy fandroasana devoly (hehy), izay no ambarako hoe vavaka fohy zay.

Opponent 1:

Eny ary tsisy madilana hotetenana tokoa ilay teniny teo hoe nefa na izany na tsy izany, lapan'andriana hono tsy niaraha-nandry, ny efitrano tsy niaraha-natory ka izay finoana ngamba tsisy samy manana ny azy fa an'Andriamanitra iray ihany. Ka dia hiaraka hitsangana aloha isika hivavaka tompoko. Eny ry Andriamanitra manakarem-pahasoavana, mijoro manoloana anareo eto ny fianakavian'ny roa tonta. Ka sanatria tsy misy ataontsika toroina tahaka ny voanjo na asiana ny entana tahaka ny kitay, tsy asiana ankolafiny tahaka ny isatra fa ataontsika bango takatra, indray mifaoka dia vita. Ry Andriamanitra Tompo Malala o, raha vory eto izahay fianakaviana, ary ikarakara izao dinika ifanaovana izao, dia aleo mba ho ao ambany elatrao

mandrakariva, mandra-pifaran'izao lalao izao ka enga anie ny tananao tsy mahafoy fa mahavonjy hitantana ny dianay aty am-piandohana ka hatrany am-piafarana. Ka dia hisaoranay Ianao Andriamanitra Tompo Masina o. Mamela anay raha misy zavatra diso kely izahay tsy voaefa, tsy mifanaraka amin'ny sitraponao. Misaotra Tompo o. Amen.

Orator 1:

Ohatrany nifandamina izahay roa lahy hoe aleo ity no ifandimbiasana. Tsy aleo ianao mipetraka ndray? Misaotra azy aloha fa nanaiky ifandimby micro tamiko izy fa ny ahy ratsy. Tompokolahy sy tompokovavy, hiresaka tokoa izay. Misaotra anao nampindrana ani'ity fanitarana ity fa ity no ifandimbiasantsika roa lahy. Hiresaka izahay! Nefa ny fahendrena fahantaolo manao hoe ny lalam-be no miolaka hono tompoko no sakanan'ny tanimbomanga. Ianao efa nanatsafa ihany teny ambaravarana. Ary izahay koa mahatsapa fa izao tokantrano izao, izao no atao hoe sinibe lalin'aty tsy tsabahan-jaza mpaka lelo. Itony tany tony no atao hoe tany saro-tsata tsy vodikidonam-pamindra. Koa avy izahay hanome hasy, voninahitra ho vohitra ivantanana ankehitriny noho ny amin'ny tokonana nodikaina, noho ny amin'ny vavahady nidirana, dia amim-panajana lehibe tompoko no ametrahanay ny valompy voalohany ho solon'ny dika tokonana, solon'ny voa vavahady ary indrindra indrindra ho sotrobe fanala moka sy rano fanala tenda amin'izay teny rehetra ambara eto. Satria tapaka vilany mitongilana, izay tsy mety arenina ary tsy ilaozan'izay mety misy diso solafaka. Ka fanajana lehibe tompoko no hanolorana voalohany ny valompy ny amin'izany hoe solom-baravarana, solon'ny dika tokonana... Manaraka izany, misaotra anao ny amin'ny fanomezam-boninahitra an'Andriamanitra teo fa mitovy tokoa ny antsika ny fahendrena. Fa enga anie ny Fanahy Masina hameno izay resaka rehetra ifanaovantsika mirahalaha eto fa izaho moa mitondra ny tenin'ny fianakaviana. Ny hatsaka no fanombohan'asa ary ny ankihy no fanombohan'isa. Ny fanombohan'isa kosa dia ny azafady tompoko. Koa manao azafady tompokaly, manao azafady tompokovavy. Manao azafady fa niangavian'ny fianakaviana tonga eto aho itondra fitenenana ankehitriny. Nefa raha ny marina ny marina, mety ho lasa an'eritreritra ianareo hoe lany angaha ny olona no boka no ampandihizina? Lany angaha ny tsora-bavy mpanetsa no afangaro amin'ny ahi-dratsy ny vary? F'angaha dia lany olo-manga ny fianakavian'i raiamandreny X no tatafaha no ajoro eto? Tsy izany velively tompoko fa noho ny amin'ny teny tsy ifandrombahana, teny tsy ifanosehana, teny tahaka ny vato ka izay maivan-danja indrindra no atoraka. Za no maivan-danja indrindra amin'ny lehilahy aminay ireo ka za no atoraka. Mitsangana ange ialahy e (hehy). Jereo ny halavan'ny lery dia jereo ny halavako. Rehefa nidinika zany bebe dia tsapan'i bebe hoe za no fohy dia elah no fohy, dia hozy bebe hoe ento ny resaka. Aza atao mahalasa an'eritreritra zany ny fijoroako eto manao oe fa nahoana no za no mijoro eto fa zao: raha tsy hainareo dia ampianariko anareo ilay ohabolana..... manao hoe Zanahary nanao voay tompoko o, tsy mila tarehy, tsy mila bika, fa izay mafy azy iany, fa raha nahary ahy zao Zanahary ambony ao zao tsy nanome tarehy mahafatifaty Izy na bika mahate ho tia fa nomeny fanahy malama sy vava malama isaorako Azy zany. Zay no ijoroako eto tompoko. Nefa nefa nefa na malama vava tahaka ny inona aza tompoko, tsy azo atao ny Na fy aza ny amalona, ny lela tsy manao jono, na bevohoka ratsian-kena aza tsy hanaikitra omby mitsangana, ka na ho lasa aza ny ririnina, tsy fanao ny mamora zaza mbola tsy teraka (hehy). Noho izany tsy maintsy ialako ny tsiny. Ialako ny tsiny fa marobe ny fitanisan'ny ntaolo ny tsiny ary angamba fitombon'ny hoe vatolampy tenyka raha tetezina....., torimaso lalina io ka mandavo mahery ary mamingana ampinga. Dia atambatro ny filazan'ireo ny amin'ny hoe, taridamba raha mba mihazo fidinana sy faspiloka anivon-drano ny tsiny tompoko izay mijabajaba fitsapa no sehatry ny ... masia-drano mody. Andreba mpanaraka vato, dia ianao no vazavazaina. Ka hoy aho amintsika mianakavy oe hialana sy sorohina ny tsiny. Ka ndao ho lalaina ny fanahy maha olona. Anarina velona na inona amotsifotsy, alevina ny maty na hitahy na tsy hitahy, fa rehefa lalaintsika ny fanahy maha olona.....tsy kapaina, otran'ny tany sy

lanitra..... Afaka ny tsiny fanala ny vava amin'ny zay. Zay lava fialan-tsiny amin'ny raharaha toy itony no tena manan-tsiny. Averiko an, zay mpkabary lava fialan-tsiny no tena manan-tsiny. Koa hoy aho hoe, rehefa lalaintsika ny fanahy maha-olona, afaka ny tsiny fanala ny vava, fanala ny molotra (zaza mitomany). Ianareo tsy mitana, izahay tsy mitahiry. Samy afaka isika mianakavy. Izay mbola manan-komena ahy eo, izy sisa manam-be. Raha afaka ary ny tsiny fanala vava tompoko, dia hanamafy ny fiarahabana efa natao taminareo teo izahay. Arahaba tompokolahy, arahaba tompokovavy. Arahaba manao ny tsara hotsaroan'ny tsiaron'olombelona tompoko. Arahaba manao ny soa, hosafononoky ny fahasoavan'Andriamanitra. Ho ambinina amin'izay rehetra atao anie ianareo ka ho tahaka ilay mpandeha sakelika akondro, tehina fary, manao am-paosy vatomamy, izay omena anareo, mamy avokoa. Dia ho mamy toy ny vola tompoko....mamy toy ny fihavanana.....no misokatra. Manomboka eto dia atatatako ny fiarahabana anareo ka tsy hangina aho raha tsy mitehaka ny havanay. Ambarako hoe havanay dia hatreo no mankany (hehy). Rehefa mitehaka ny havanay vao hangina aho..... Ny filazany ny tehaky zareo no miteny oe aoka izay. Raha mbola tsy mitehakaMiarahaba anareo zahay tompoko. Arahaba toa an-dratatamo anie ianareo, ka hamony vony volomparasy..... voanio manjelanjelatra. Arahaba toa an-dratatamo anie ianareo Hisonenika..... Arahaba toa an-dratatamo anie ianareo tsy ho tratran'ny lalam-panimba,..... hovangian'ny olomarevaka, sy ny tantely itondra ny mamy anie ianareo, ary ny maso mpanao hitsin-dalana monja e no hanafosafo anareo tazan-davitra. Mba mitehafa re (tehaka). Zay ary no ela tompoko. Fa ela potsiny, ela naha voa vady sy elatra nahatoto nahasimba, ka tonga eto aminareo izahay, tonga tsy hitratrevatreva, mahatsiaro fa sinibe lalin'aty ianareo tompoko, tsy tsabahan-java mpaka lelo. Averiko tsara, siny be lalin'aty ianareo, tsy tsabahan-jaza mpaka lelo. Mialoha ny iresahana izay tena resakay. Mitsangana ianareo. Nahalehibe tovolahy izahay tompoko. Izy ny lehilahy miatrana manoloana anareo. Zao no ambaran'ny ntaolo amin'ny hoe, vitsy lahydrano ka sady manga no mena sady meva no meja, sady mihaja no manja (hehy, tehaka). Saingy. Saingy. Tsy manana ny ampy io na hitehaka aza ny havany (hehy, tehaka). Izay tsy fahampiany izay tompoko no ahahatongavana manoloana anareo ankehitriny. Fa tsy hoe vao mitehaka ny havany dia vita. Fa tsy ny fitalakalotrokotroky ny orana akory nozanabary mahamaitso, ary tsy ny famirapiratra ny zinga no ahaafaka hetaheta. Noho izany tsy fahanampiana eo aminy izany tompoko no ahahatongavanay manoloana anareo ankehitriny. Dia mialoha ny resaka rehetra dia mangataka iray amin'ny olom-pady mba omem-boninahitra mialoha ny iresahana izay tena antondianay.

Opponent 1:

Eny ary tompokolahy, eny tompokovavy. Marina tokoa ny voalazany teo. Nefa na izany ara, tsy adala mipetraka amoron-drano akory izahay ka tsy ahay hanohy izay tapaka no tsy ahay hanala saritaka. Efa natoriny teo ihany koa ny tsiny. Nefa raha itsangana eto ny tena, mety ho gaga iany izy hoe toa otran'ny lavabe lay namako zato. Nefa moa raha lalina ny rano, tsy difotra ny lava. Fa raha fohy ny farafara mivonkona ny lava. Tsy haiko koa ny tsy hiala tsiny satria lolohavi-tsy entana tahaka ny tandroka, fa tarihin-dava tahaka ny rambo. Nefa ny teniko tsy tenim-bozaka aman'ahitra, fa tonon-kena avy amin'andriana ka lolohavina fa manandrify ny teny. Za tokoa no natolotry ny fianakaviana hisolo tena ireto fianakaviana ireto. Nefa na izany ary, ohatrany rimorimon-drivotra hono mandrava dinika, ny rimorimon-driaka mandrava voly, ary ny rimondrimon-kevitra mandrava dinika. Ka izay no tianay ahahatongavana eto oe, tonga moa ny azy ny tokonana tsy afaka, raha niditra teo izy aloha nandika tokonana, tonga dia any am-bovonana, najorony teto tokoa ny tovolahy, ary izy ihany moa no niteny an'ilay izy hoe sady manja no meva. Izahay anefa gaga ihany fa sao dia tahaka ny vomanga miseho andro, hisehoseho eo foana tahaka ny vomanga miseho andro, ka hipoitra hotsaingohan'ny akoho (hehy). Ka zahay gaga ihany fa, raha ohatra moa mbola misy teny tian'ny raiamandreny

ahatongavana teo iany. Ny fialantsiny moa efa vitany natambany izy teo tsy nasiany ankanavaka fa ho an'ny rehetra rehetra. Izy moa niteny teo hoe mitady ny anadahin-jaza ho atao ny rehetra rehetra. Kah. Ny teniny teo koa hoe tsy ny hangirangiran'ny zinga no ahaafaka hetaheta, tsy ny fijoalajoalan'ny hazo no ahaloaka ny lanitra vetivety. Fa zahay te hamarafara ihany manao hoe, raha fitia tsy handroaka, tsy ho lamban'akoho tsy hifametra aman'aina aleo mandinika aloha. Satria raha ny tefy no tsy nandalo fofotra, mino izahay fa ho angadin'Imahakah.

Orator 1:

Tsy fantatro raha mifankahazo ny resatsika na tsy mifankahazo. Hoy ianareo hoe nandika tokonana. Efa napetrako ny amin'ny dika tokonana sy ny rehetra. Tsy iverenako ny amin'izay. Fa niteny izahay nangataka ny solon-tena amin'ny olom-pady omem-boninahitra mialoha ny irosoana Efa nanontany ny tovolahy sahadry ianareo, fa izay aloha mbola tsy nangataka (hehy). Mangataka ny olom-pady izahay omem-boninahitra alohan'ny resaka rehetra. (tehaka).

Opponent 1:

Tsy olo-mianoatra, satria lay izy araka ny teninao mpitondra tenin'ny fianakaviana teo hoe angataka ny olom-pady. Izany olom-pady zany misy antony satria resaka matoa maka ny olom-pady dia efa misy toniany sahadry zay hevitra zay. Ka ho arosonay ary aloha ny olom-pady dia ho ento ny teninareo ankoatran'izay.

Orator 1:

Tsy misy teny moa, fa rehefa mijoro izy dia mifanatrika izy mihaotra. Aiza izy. Maniry hangataka ny anabavinareo ho tokantrano ity tovolahy ity ka mialoha ny resaka anefa tsy maintsy hajaina sy omem-boninahitra ianareo ka misy fanajana maivana dia maivana mba atolotra am-pitiavana ho anareo mirahalaha. Izy telo zany. Dia tsy fantatro na bisous sa donakely no ho ataonareo. Eny ary. Izay no fanajana noheverinay fa fanao amin'ny olom-pady tompoko. Aleo r'ise miverina any amin'ny toeran'ise amin'zay fa ny seza koa..... (zaza mitomany) Tonga eto izahay tompoko manotrana ny tovolahy efa nomena toerana manokana izao rehefa vita ny fanajana ny anadahin-jaza dia hiresaka amin'izay izahay ny amin'ny antondianay. Misy mihaino? misy manahirana? Alamino aloha e. (Zaza mitomany sy mikiakiaka). (Vehivavy: tsy manina fa mikonetaka). Tonga eto tsy hitratrevatreva izahay tompoko, fa inoako fa ho tonga any tsara ny resakareo rehefa avy eo, Tonga eto tsy hanao tonga eto tsy hanao felatanam-papango ka hoe tsy haka an-kamorana fa haka an-kasarotana, tonga amin'ny raharaham-pihavanana izahay, tonga amin'ny dinidinika, tonga hifanome voninahitra, tonga hitorotoro ravina raha ohatra ka sitrakareo. Ny mpangataka anefa tsy mahery noho ny mpanome. Nefa za te hanao otran'ilay mpisikidy jamba ka hanao hoe efa hitakitako eo. Tsy fanao anefa ny mandidy aloha an'Andriamanitra otran'ny mpanotrika akoho tompoko fa tsy maintsy mandeha amin'ny antsipiriany ihany ty resaka rehetra ity. Ka eto izahay manolotra ny tovolahy izay efa natsangana teo ihany dia mbola atsangako ndray mandeha ndray. Eo am-pitoerana eo iany ise no mitsangana. Andriamatoa X izay nandalo ny fahazazany izy. Ankatoky ny fahatanorany indrindra no teza tadidy sy mandray andraikitra. Izahay koa mahatsiaro fa hoe, marina loatra ny voalazan'ny Soratra Masina ny amin'ny hoe, tsy tsara raha irery ralehilahy ka mendrika raha izahana zay saha azy izy. Dia X, eo ihany ise, dia eto ny ray sy ny reny angatahiko hiara-mitsangana. Ireo ny masoandro amambolana tompoko. Ireo no loharano nipoiran'ny tovolahy, X. Iza moa no anaranareo amin'izao. X ny lafin'i dada. Aiza ny anaran'ny renibe tompoko, efa somary osaosa ihany izy tompoko noho ny taona ka ialana tsiny fa tsy afaka itsangana. Ireo no raibe sy renibe avy amin'ny dada. Ny raibe sy raibe avy amin'ny neny kosa dia efa nialoha lalana ihany koa zany bebe X sy dadabe X. Zay ny avy aty amin'ny mama. Avy amin'ny dada izay. Ny tovolahy moa X. Dia tonga eto aminareo izy tompoko, tonga

handom-baravarana, hangataka fara hangataka dimby, hangataka ny zanakareo raha sitrakareo mba ho vady andefimandry ho azy, ho vady hiara-hiray hihary harena, vady hifanojo lavorary amin'ny fiainana, ary indrindra ho vady loharanon-taranaka ho azy. Fa zahay ray aman-dreny kosa raha sitrakareo dia hangatahinay ny zanakareo tompoko, efa hitsongo volofosy ampahaterahana, ny hanampina ireo banga, hifamahana raha noana, ary indrindra indrindra ho anay raiamandreny dia angatahinay ny zanakareo ny mba hanirina raha ho avy ny fotoana tsy maintsy ilainay raiamandreny amin'ity tany itony. Mangataka no ataonay tompoko, ny mpangataka tsy mahery noho ny mpanome. Nefa dia ataonay tahaka ny andriana izy ity, mahazo misaotra tompoko, raha sanatria aza mifanipaka amin'izay ny valin'teninareo dia ho tahian Andriamanitra amin'izay avalinareo anie ianareo. Koa satria notonina ny anaran'ny tovolahy mangataka dia rariny raha tononina amim-panajana ihany kosa ny anaran'ny tovovavy angatahina. Ny anaran'ny tovovavy angatahinay tompoko... X. Amin'ny lafin'i dada, tononina amim-panajana ihany koa ny anaran'i X sy X izay samy efa niamboho..... ny avy aty amin'ny lafin'i mama dia tahak'izany ihany koa tononina amim-panajana ny anaran'ny dadabe sy bebe (olona mikohaka) X sy X. Ka tonga eto zahay bebe a, tonga tsy hitratrevatreva tsy hanao angorongoro, fa hangataka ny zafikelinao ho tokantranon'ny zafikelin'itsy bebe anankiray itsy raha ohatra ka manaiky ianareo. Ho faranako amizay ny teniko fa fantatro fa efa betsaka no efa leo ahy sady ianao koa efa mba te hamaly amizay (hehy). Hira anakitelo no tonga ao antsaiko amzao fotoana izao. Hira voalohany hiran'ny ankizikely aminaytaotaokatsaka tany paris aiza ho anay i X (hehy) zany dia tsy tehafanlisany (tehaka). Hira faharoa, hiran'i Henri Ratsimbazafy ilay manao hoe mahafinaritra ery ny manambady. Izay efa manambady aminareo dia mahatsiaro fa mafinaritra ny manambady. Manana adidy. Manambady manana adidy ka tianay hanana adidy eto aminareo i X tompoko raha ohatra ka mety ianareo. Dia hira fahatelo hira Specialist oe o razazavavy iny, lery no asaina mihira azy rehefavieo. Faranako ny teniko tompoko, mba ahafahanareo mba mamaly satria resaka ifamaliana no mahatsara fihavanana. Hofaranako ny teniko hoe nandondona zahay novohainareo, nanao haody nampandrosoana. Ary ankehitriny, mangataka re tompoko ka mba omeo. Te hanao kabarin-tsaka lay hoe omeo omeo ihany nefa ngamba hofaranako amin'ny hirahira ihany lay izy dia hira vakodrazana navaozin'i Levelo manao hoe aza rarana hono oe ny ankizy raha hanambady. Misaotra tompoko (tehaka, hehy).

Opponent 1:

Eny, somary, ary efa ny handrina tsy naniry volo tokoa hono henatr'olona, ary ny fotsy volo amin'ny tany efa manoloana eto manao oe omeo omeo omeo. Ary nambarany ihany moa ny valinteniny hoe aza manao fangatahan-tsaka ka omeo foana. Nefa zahay koa lasalasa saina ihany manao hoe f'angaha nefa izy ity fangatahana ity manao fangatahana mila zanaka ka hanao izay ahazoana fotsiny. Marina tokoa fa voatonona teo daholo ny raiamandreny. Fa na izany ara tsy mitrebona avy amin'ny tany izy io na nitsororoka avy any an-danitra. Fa tao tokoa nisy raiamandreny fola-dohalika niampofa ary rovi-damba ririnina nitafiana azy. Ka gagagaga izahay notononina lay raiamandreny fa aiza ny hasikasin'izy ireny tompoko. Hojerevam-potsiny ve nefa olona hizaka adidy araka ny fomba fiteny teo. Mety ho gaga ngamba ianareo raha ohatra ka tonga dia hoe mangataka ianareo dia hoe io ary ny anay. Sanatria izy ity ka tahaka ny goavin'i Sabotsy Namehana ka vao nodomina dia rarakompana (hehy), tsy tahaka ny akoho tsy omby fisoko ka avoaka amin'ny andro sasakalina tompoko. Ka mahalasalasa saina anay iany hoe, averiko iany lay teny tery amboalohany hoe, hangataka ianareo, taisy mitsivalam-pidy nefa na hitsanga-ko sakana, fa sao dia manao fela-tanana mila zara ka hanao zay ahazoana fotsiny. Fa efa noteneniko teny am-pitsidihina moa hoe raha fitia tsy handroka tsy ho lamban'akoho tsy hifametra aman'aina dia aleo mandinika aloha, satria tefy tsy nahatany fofotra angamba fantatsika hoe angadin'Imahaka. Ka misaotra tompokolahy mankasitraka tompokovavy.

Orator 1:

Misaotra anareo nanadihady tompoko. Raha tonga dia nanaiky tokoa ianareo e dia mety nieritreritra izahay hoe sanatria ve, sanatria ve. Tsy zay no zava-nisy teto tompoko. Hita amizao fa fianakaviana manana ny maha-izy azy ny anankiray ivantanany. Zao ilay ambaran'ny ntaolo hoe, sinibe lalin'aty tsy tsabahan-jaza mpaka lelo. Dia niteny moa ianareo hoe raha fitia tsy izao, aza matahotra ianareo tompoko fa tia ny zanakareo izy, ary samy notezaina tamin'ny finoana ireo zaza ireo matoa izahay sahy mijoro. Ny raiamandreniny, hitako hatramin'ny raiben'ireo ny reniben'ireo itako, ny ray sy reniny koa samy zaza niara-nilalao taminay teo. Mahazo mandry ivohon'ny vato ianareo raha ny amin'izay. Nefa tsisy niteraka fanahy fa olombelona no nateraka. Fa ny hamintinako azy fotsiny dia hoe ny finoana no entina mameno izay tsy voalazan'ny vavanay. Fa notezaina tamin'ny finoana ireo zaza ireo ary mbola taizantsika amin'ny finoana hatramzao ihany koa aza matahotra ianareo. Raha ny amin'ny fitiavany azy indray, hafahafa hono hoe lay akanjon-dRazanany, fa ny morotongony indray no nasiany tanany (hehy), sampona koa ny patalohan'i Rapross fa any amin'ny fasiana azy indray no tsy nasiany paosy. Dia hafahafa ity raharaha ity, hoy ilay tsaboina zay, hafa mihitsy ity, raha ohatra ka hoe Ikotokely no vita didimpoitra dia i dadabe no voky akondro vao maraina. Ka dia tsy maintsy izay moa no fandehany satria zay e. Zanamino no vita batisa ve ka Ikotovoalavo no atsipy any an-danitra. Lay zalahy no hanambady nefa izaho no mijoro eto. Ary sahiko ny mijoro fa efa nidinika naharitra taminy aho tompoko. Tia ny zanakareo izy, lamban'akoho, aina no fetra. Teny ihany zany ka teny, ary olombelona no miteny azy, ampiako anlay hoe ny finoana no entina mameno izay tsy voalazan'ny vavanay. Fa ny fomba Malagasy ahatongavanay eto aloha dia ny angataka ara-pomba Malagasy. Aza matahotra ianao ny amin'ny raiamandreny tenenina hoe notonina nefa tsy hasikasiany. Ho avy ny fanajana rehetra sahaza ny amin'ny raiamandreny refavieo. Fa ankehitriny, mangataka aloha... manao ahona ny amin'ny valiteninay. Mbola misy ve ny olana tompoko sa Misaotra tompoko.

Opponent 1:

Eny efa nambarako teo ihany moa. Satria ny akoho no maty hono teny ierana amin'ny mpivady, fanambadiana no raikitra eran'ny fianakaviana, ny omby no maty teny ierana amin'ny fokon'olona. Ka tsika mirahalaha mianaka ity no mitsanga-mitoetra tahaka ny bevohoka tsy mahalala andro eto, kanefa izahay kosa te mba ahafantatra aloha satria ny ao am-po tsy miloaka, zavatra ihany. Satria ianao zany mangataka fa ilay olona isoantsika teny eto tsy mbola heno mihitsy ilay izay tena teny tiana ho ambara. Ka manalalaha toy ny sahafa ka ny lamosiny indray ve no ibontsina. Tsika mirahalaha mianaka no misolo tena mitsanga-mitoetra eto nefa lay olona noteneninao hoe ho tia anlay izy. Lazainao fa vonton'anatra vontom-pinoana. Marina tokoa izany, ekena satria raha ny fijery azy zao ara, efa nodokafanao teo moa hoe tahaka ny vitsilahin'ny sio-drano izy io ka sady manja no meva, sady manga no mena. Kanefa izahay koa tsy hanam-pinoana mihitsy raha tsy izy tompony mihitsy no hametraka ny vatofantsika eto anatrehanay aloha. Zay tompokolaha, mankasitraka tompokovavy.

Orator 1:

Tsy manaiky izy raha tsy izy tompony mihitsy hono no hametraka vatofantsika. Tsy olana izany. Ny tsy nampitenenako azy voalohany, sambany androany, ary sady voalohany ity no farany. Fa raha tonga dia niteny voalohany dia hozizy nareo hoe sao dia mba zatra anzaio ity bandy ity. Tena sambany androany tompoko dia ho ampiteneniko ihany izy avy eo. Saingy fanontaniana. "Rever"-nla ve hoe lay zanak'olona (hehy, tehaka).

tovolaha mangataka: Tena "rever"-ko tokoa izy (tehaka).

Tehaky ny fianakaviana.

Orator 1:

Lay tehaka ataonareo mianakavy ary dia efa malaina..... tsy ampy ve lay teny aloha??

Opponent 1:

Eny ary tompoko o. Ny teny moa tsy maintsy ifamaliana. Satria ny dinika atao tsara rindra mampanjohy ny zom-pihavanana, fa ny hevitra rehefa mitaha dia mijoro ny mari-ko raisina. Efa voalaza teo daholo ny anaran'ireto fianakaviana ireto. Fa marina tokoa fa ato ity tovovavy ity izay ho angatahin-dry zareo. Ka dia voavaly ny fanontaniana nefa izy ho angatahinareo otran'ny manalalana anay ihany aloha. Ka ny angatahiko ngamba izy mitsy no hitady anazy hoe hovaliany eo tokoa ny fanontaniana nefa lay olona io zao mbola tsy hitan'ny masonay. Raha azonao atao ngamba mba teneno kely izy hoe aiza io olona io amin'izao.

Orator 1:

Raha azonao atao angamba mba teneno kely io izy hoe aiza io olona io amin'izao fotona izao. Zahay miteny amin'ialahy: miandry eo ialahy. Tsy fahendrena mitsy zany fa mangataka tsika aloha. Ka ialahy mangataka indray no hiteny hoe aiza io olona io amin'izao. Mino aho fa tsy ianareo no hilaza hoe lasa natsaka izy. Tsy nitondra rano izy? Eny e.....na aiza na aiza. Tenin-draiamandreny, ny amiko zany dia hoe lay zalahintsika no anontaniana hoe aiza io olona io, za tsy hanontany an'ela mitsy. Zao no ataoko hoe mahareta fa..... hiran'i Rakroots alefa lay hoe "halaiko vady ianao." Manao ahoana lay valin-teninay.

Opponent 1:

Ny olona ngamba tsy misy e satria ny fahatanoran'ny andro tokoa ny maraina, fahateran'ny andro ny hariva ny dinika mbola misy maromaro ihany. Fa ny teninay fotsiny dia zaza mbola tama-mionda-tanana io ka raha mionda-milolo mikohaka e. Ka zahay te hamatrafatra tsara mihitsy hanao hoe sao dia re mba ny fitalakotrokotroky ny orana fotsiny no ijinjana ny vary mbola maitso, tsy ny fijoalajoalan'ny hazo anie no ahaloaka ny lanitra vetivety e. Ka raha ho alainareo, raha omenay ilay fianakavianay, efa nametrapetraka taminay ihany izy hoe mba teneno ihany ry dadatoa ny fombantsika, ny mombamomba antsika mianakavy ka alohan'ny anoloranay azy dia mba tena te hamakafaka izahay hoe teneno tsara izay ao am-po hoe ho tiako ilay izy, zao ilay izy. Fa otran'ny teny haingakaingana be hozy hoe tena tiako kah, zao kah, zay foana fa manjary zahay mianaka foana no mifamaly eto. Fa lay olona io ato. Ary zahay tsy hanao tahaka anlay mpikabary tsisy atao akory ka hoe hitatasika mandrapahariva ny andro eto. Fa ny anay tenin'olondehibe mafonja ihany hoe tsy ny hamaizamaizana ange akory no itiavana olona anankiray fa efa namakafaka tsara ny raiaimandreny matoa nitondra an'io mpitondra teny io ngamba. Efa olon-dehibe ary efa kinga saina amin'ny fandaharana tsisy alatsaka mitsy na tahaka ny voatsinapy ara ny teniny teo. Ka dia izay re tompoko ny ahiahy kelinay. Ka dia alao faranana, hoteneninareo ngamba ny momba an'izay dia ho atolotray izy tompokolahy, mankasitraka tompokovavy.

Orator 1:

Nisy teny teo oe zaza tama-miondatsandry ka raha mionda-mololo mikohaka. Matokisa ianareo fa tsy hampionda-mololo azy ny tovolahy fa afaka miondrakondana amin'ny sandriny. Sandry tsy entina mamono sanatria. Zay kosa aloha dia ifanarahana tsara e. Ny ahy dia eto mitsy teneniko, ny lehilahy mamono vady tsy tiako. Ny mpivady tsy miady mandainga fa mikasi-tanana zanak'olona tsy atao. Telopolo taona no niainako tao anatin'ny fanambadiana mbola tsy namely teha-maina ny vadiko aho. Tenin-dehilahy zany, tiako ianaran'ialahy koa zany. Ny

milaza oe tsy miady ny mpivady mandainga. Fa ny mikasika mamono zanak'olona tsy ataoko e. Tsy mamono zanak'olona akory aho. Mahazo mandry ivohon'ny vato ianareo tompoko raha ny amin'izay. Ary tsapanareo oe fohy loatra moa lay teniny oe tiako e, tiako e. Dia mbola tiana ampiana ve? (hehy) Za mamintina fotsiny oe, matoa izahay mianakavy tonga aty. Bebe ary teo notantanana nentina amin'ny fiara mitsy nefa avy etsy manketo a, dia tena tia ny zanakareo izy tompoko a. Mahazo mandry ivohon'ny vato ianareo. Raha ohatra mbola misy tsy ampy, mba tiany koa lay hiran'i Rakroots Iny dia iny no hampihainontsika azy rehefa tena mahalaza zavatra be dia be iny. Zay? Ka dia manaona re tompoko lay amin'ilay fangatahanay? Mbola tsy namely anie ianareo hatramzao e.

(Hira Rakroots mandeha kely, tapaka rehefa miteny ny mpanome)

Opponent 1:

Efa voavaly lay fangatahana zany fa ny mpitondra teny no niteny azy teo e. Fa ngamba ny hoteneniko amitsika izay vory manoloana eto. Fangatahana izahay tsy manoso-boho tanana mitsy. Satria oa zahay efa niteny teo oe: mety gagagaga iany nareo satria angaha izy ity tahaka ny goavin'i Sabotsy Namehana, ka raha vao domina mirara-kopana. Ka manamafy sy manantintranitra izahay. Dia ny teninay ngamba, tsotra kely sady mahitsy. Ho atolotray kanefa na izany ara, tsy mbola voavahavaha araka ny hitsiny lay izy. Dia zay no mahatonga anay miteny oe efa manolotra izahay tompoko, fohinay tanana, fohinay tongotra tompokolahy sy tompokovavy.

Orator 1:

..... Nanao haody, nampandrosonareo ary ankehitriny, nangataka dia nomenareo. Hoy ianareo oe mbola tsy voavahavaha. Raha ohatra ny mari-panajana ny raiamandreny no nieritretinareo mbola tsy voavaha dia tonga amin'izay indrindra izahay tompoko. Sa ve mbola olana hafa. Zay? (zay) Rehefa nanaiky ary ianareo tompoko, dia faly mifanatrika aminareo zahay ankehitriny. Zahay nefa tsy hanao fihavin-drery ny ombimahery oa ka, tsy haka ankamoraina fa haka an-kasarotana. Zahay koa tsy hanao felatana-papango ka hoe, hanao zipo be ho tonga amin'ny raharaham-pihavanana zahay re tompoko. Efa nanaiky ianareo tompoko, fantatray fa mbola misy fahendrena fahagola izay mbola tsy tanteraka ankehitriny. Tonga ny fotoana hanatanterahina izany zahay. Tonga dia ny soratra Masina avy hatrany ngamba no (Vehivavy: ataovy tsy lany eo nge ny varin'ity e! Ndao). Mpangataka: varin'iza? (hehy) Eny ary, ka izahay no tonga eto tompoko, tonga tsy hitratretreva, tonga tsy....fa hanatanteraka ny fomba maha Malagasy antsika. Io nefa somary manahirankirana iany, fa bebe no mbola averinay. Aza matahotra fa mbola misy anjaranao. Dia ezahako ho toko telo mahamasanahandro izy zavatra ity ho fanajana anareo tompoko. (Mozika Rakroots) Ajanona aloha lay Rakroots. Ajanona aloha lay Rakroots. Ny Soratra Masina no somary iazakazahako kely vetivety fa ny zanak'olombelona voalohany tamin'itony tany itony raha nanao fanatitra, dia i Abela no nisorona zanak'ondry, Kaina nanao sorona vokatry ny tany fa ny zanak'ondry natolotr'i Abela no nankasitranan'i Yaveh na Jehovah. Ray zany resaka ondry. Tsy miteny mafy ao ivelany ao? Raha niala teo am-bavahoan'ny tamin'izany fotoana zany dia tadidiko ny amin'ilay ondry novonoina ka nohanina, nahosotra tamin'ny tolana sy natao tamin'ny varavarana ny rany, natsatsika ny ondry dia nohanina maika. Roa zay ny resaka ondry. Ary raha iazakazahako iany ny tantara, dia i Abrahama raha notsapaina toetra fehizany dia saika natao fanatitra Isaac kely, kanjo nomena tena zanak'ondry atao solony izy. Telo zay ny resaka ondry. Ary krismasy, voalohany nandre ny vaovao mahafaly dia mpiandry ondry. Efa teraka ho anareo taranak'i Davida..... fiadanana. Dia Izy koa no nilaza fa Izy ilay mpiandry ondry tsara ka raha misy ondry iray mania dia ilaizany ny 99 itadiavany ilay iray mania. Izy moa nilaza fa Izy no zanak'ondrin'Andriamanitra Izy no hanala ny fahotan'izao tontolo izao. Izany resaka ondry ondry ondry hita tany amin'ny Soratra Masina izany dia hita taty amin'ny fahendrena

Malagasy koa tompoko satria omena ondry na vodiondry ny olo-..... Tonga izahay ankehitriny mitondra ny solom-bodiondry. Vola no nentinay tompoko. Vola hifanajana fa tsy vola entina mividy sanatria. Satria fantatray tsara fa ianareo tsy mivaro-janaka. Zahay koa raha ny marina tsy ahavita hividy olona. Ka hanatanteraka izany fomba zany zahay tompoko mitondra ny solom-bodiondry. Natao valompy tokana izy ity. Tsy ampiana tsy analana satria nahoana. Velona io ketsa mahafehy tena, ary maty io trandraka mahalevi-tena. Tsintsina mitondra vonon-tenona tompoko izay zakan'ny vava no entina. Ombalahy mifatotra, izay tratry ny tady no anaranam-po. Nataonay anaty valompy mihitsy izany ary dia nolafihina an'ireo anankiroa ireo. Izay rehetra tsy voalaza hatramin'izay, ary ho fanajana ny renibe tantely etoana koa, no hanoloranay izao valompy telo izao. Dia ao anatin'io solombodiondry io tompoko efa navondrona ao avokoa ny solo-tsaka rano, ny ala volofotsy, ny solo-tompokovavy, ny, ny hasim-boasarin-jaza nira-nihirahira. Izay fito izay, noheverinay fa fito tsy mahasaraka, izay tsy voalaza dia napetrakay ao anatin'ilay valopy anankiray fiandry, otran'ny an'i Bebe. Koa rehefa hanokatra azy neny rariva, ka itany fa betsaka ny ao, dia fantany fa santatry ny be mbola ho avy e, tsy hanatitra vodiondry eto isak'alahady no aterina eto amizay fa ny adidy aman'andraikitra manandrify azy. Raha tsinjona kosa neny fa kelikely lay natolotra, dia ho fantatrao avy hatrany fa mahay mitsinjo vodiandro ho merika lay zalahy fa tsy mba mirobaroba fahatany ary raha sanatria moa valompy tsy misy ny ao anatin'io lay vodiondry io. Dia fantatrao avy hatrany fa efa mahalala ny tsy misy sahady ilay bandikelinao (hehy). Sahinay atolotra izy ity tompoko. Fantatray fa, za tsy mba miteny anlay hoe, kristiana tsy manda fanomezana. Fantatray fa fianakaviana kristiana ianareo tompoko tsy ianareo no hamelona ny aiza ho aiza kokoa na ny ampio ampio na ny sokafy sokafy eto a. Matoky manana anareo zahay tompoko nahasahy tonga amin'izao andro alahady izao ka dia sahinay atolotra tompoko ny solombodiondry fanajana ho an'ny lehibe ary indrindra indrindra izay rehetra tsy voalaza. Zay no nahatelo an'izy iny tompoko. Dia satria nataonao tanaty satroka lay izy dia ataoko ao iany sa tonga dia efa hotsinjaraiko? Ny vodiondry zany an'i neny. Fa ny izay tsy voalaza dia ny iray an'i bebe. Zay an. Tahatahak'izay ny anton-dianay tompoko dia misaotra sahady ny amin'ny fahatsoranareo nandray an'izao fahatsoranay zao. Misaotra tompoko.

Opponent 1:

Eny tompokolahy sy tompokovavy. Tsisy madilana hotetenanana ary tsy asiana toronany tahaka ny voanjo, tsy asiana letany tahaka ny kitay, tsy asiana kitsipitsipika tahaka ny parking, satria tonga dia nataony bango takatra ny azy ity, indray mifaoka dia vita. Marina tokoa raha ny karazan'izany vodiondry zany no hotantaraina eto na ho hariva ara ny andro tsy ho vita satria tamin'ny andron-dRandriambelomaso mbola teny Alasora dia, sakin-dandy mitsy no entina miantrano vady. Ary rehefa tonga moa Randrianampoinimerina dia nofatorany tamin'ny teny tokana zany hoe solombodiondry. Ary raha nataony solombodiondry tokoa izy ity hoe vola, vola, izay tokoa. Any avaradrano any misy atao hoe Alatsinainy fivarotan'olona. Zahay koa tsy mpivarotr'olona, nareo tsy mpividy olona, fa dia teny fifanajana izy ity satria ny an'Andrianampoinimerina dia nataony teny tokana hoe hosoloina vola satria tamin'zany moa tsy hotantaraiko satria ombalahy nanatandroka mitsy no nentina niantrano vady taloha. Nefa ankehitriny tsy ho voafehintsika tsony izany ary tsy ho vita. Fa nataony solom-bodiondry. Ka dia horaisinay fianakaviana amim-panetren-tena zao solom-bodiondry zao satria raha kely ny ao hozy ianao mitsinjo ny hoaviny sahady izy roa. Raha betsaka kosa ny ao mety ho fitiavan-drafozana. Ary ny rano fotsy tokoa moa tsy azo ho vary, valala tsy an-tanana tsy atolo-jaza, tanimena tsy mba fandrehitra ka dia valopy fotsy moa no aterinareo sanatria tsy hoe hamotsifotsy ianareo fa ny teninay ngamba dia hoe efa voafatotry nareo tao izy mianakavy mihitsy dia tsy hitanay tsony zay holazaina satria raha hiditra amin'ny pipiriany hoe aiza iry, aiza iry a, mety ho hariva ny andro, ka dia raisinay amim-boninahitra, raisinay an-tanandroa ka dia misaotra tompokolahy, mankasitraka tompokovavy.

Orator 1:

Misaotra anareo zahay tompoko fa noraisinareo tamin'ny fahatsoranay fa tsy mba teto no nanao otran'ilay nalehako zay ka nanao hoe aiza ho aiza kokoa ny amin'ny hoe sokafy sokafy, ampio ampio. Misaotra anareo tompoko fa noraisinareo tamin'ny fahatsoranay izahay. Fa dia ianareo tokoa no ataon'ny ntaolo amin'ny hoe ambero vato maniry an-tanimena, mavomavo ihany fa telon'aty..... Fa zao aho te hitantara angano anankiray. Fa nisy mpanjaka hono nanana olontiana mbola tsy azo nakarina tao an-drova rakalakely fa maro loatra ny fombafomba tsy vita. Ny hevitra ny mpanjaka hono dia anaovana trano eny andrefan'ny rova eny rakalakely. Dia rehefa hariva dia alainy ny mpitendry valihy mitendry valiha eo anilany eo, dia mamelovelo eo ny mpanjaka milalao tanana, tsy fantatro otran'lay manao barazy mpanao baolina any an-dafy ireny (hehy). Dia manontany ny tandapa oe fa maninona ianao ry mpanjaka. Dia mitsotra hono izy hoe manina an'i Miangaly aho letsy a. Miangaly no anaran-drakalakely. Dia hoy ny tandapa oe tsia ny mpanjaka tsy mba manina zany. Dia nitrerona ny mpanjaka oe manina azy aho lesy e. He ty zaho, mamelovelo fatratra mila tsy ahazaka ny fitondram-panjakana. Dia zao no nataon'ny tandapa oe tsia, ny mpanjaka tsy mba manina zany fa Miangaly no manina anao. Dia mba tianay horaisina zay angano zay ankehitriny re tompoko raha sitrakareo. Sao dia manina rery any ambadika any kala X. Sao dia mba tokony antsoina amin'izay izy mba hiara-hikorana amintsika eto raha ohatra ka sitrakareo. Dia izay manko no namefeko an'ity seza ity, hozinareo oe..... elah tsy miala eo elah. Tsika nangataka dia olona nanome no manolotra fa elah tsy mandeha mankany. Ao a? Ka dia bahanako an'ity seza ty eto, raha sitrakareo a, mba alefa mafibe amin'izay lay hira hoe: "Halaiko vady ianao."..... kalakely a..... Rakroots o. Dia izao no izy, somary mikisaka kely isika. Hitsangana avokoa isika rehetra dia akatona ato lay seza, dia samy makamaka sisiny fotsiny isika aloha. Zay a. Rakroots e. Midira fa tsy mahavita azy soloin'ny expert comptable-nay a. Alefaso rangahy ny hiran'i Rakroots fa inona ary ity.

Hira "Halaiko ho vady ianao." Rakroots.

Orator 1: Dia zao no izy, nareo mianaka, mifanatona mifandray tanana, dia mba mihataka amin'zay nareo. Samy mihataka nareo mianaka. Dia ilay mpizaodahy, lay vinantonao koa mba raisin-tanana koa. Lay zaodahy kosa e. Mba mifandray tanana kosa ianareo e. Zay, sisa tavela. Mifanatrika afovoany tsara.

Mpanatrika: Bisous, bisous.

Aoka. Iza zany maimay zany. Efa nihaona nga ianareo androany? (mbola) Mifampiarahaba ary. Jereo zay sy zokibe zao. Jereo ange zay mifampiarahaba e! Ataovy anzaon'ny tanantsika dia aleo ifampiangany eto. Manatona aloha e..... (Ela, elabe).

Mpanatrika: Bisouuus.

Tehaka.

Orator 1:

Raha tsy manan-ko lazaina ny namako. Dia tonga zahay hangataka an'io tokantrano vavy io. Efa najainay ny raiamandreny a. Aleo tsy maintsy mbola manarina ihany kosa moa e. Raha

mety a, dia andao maka toerana amin'izay. Ampiana kely ngamba lay resaka. Somary mikisaka kely.

Appendix 12B Interview with Orator 1 1

1. Nisy fihaonana ve teo amin'ny mpikabarin'ny roa tonta mialohan'ny kabary fangataham-bady izay nataonao?

Tsy nisy fampihaonana mialoha izahay roa lahy. Mba hahatsara zavatra anefa tsara koa raha misy fihaonana mialoha, saingy izaho tsy mangataka izany mihitsy, tsy miavona aho anefa raha misy mila izany.

2. Ahoana ny fandraisanao ny kabary nataon'ny mpifanehitra taminao?

Nisy fandrika be nataony. Efa nanatsafa ahy izy teo am-baravarana. Vao notrongisiko somary mahery setra dia efa nangovitra, sady nampanandroso izy no nibitsika ahy hoe “aza dia asiana mafy loatra aho e.” Lay mpikabary natahotra ahy. Tsy nisy nandeha tamin'ny laoniny ny resany.

3. Nanao fampihomehezana maromaro ianao nandritra ny kabary izay nataonao. Azonao lazaina ve hoe inona no antony mahatonga anao hanao fampihomehezana rehefa mikabary?

Amin'ny kabary an-kafaliana dia heveriko ho adidy ny mitondra fampitsikitsikiana ny olona mpanatrika, sady entiko mandresy lahatra ny an-kilany izany no ravaky ny kabariko koa. Nahitako fahombiazana izany hatreto. Fadiako kosa izany amin'ny kabary an-karatsiana.

4. Inona ny tanjonao amin'izany?

Ny tanjona, hitondra hafaliana sy handresy lahatra amin'ilay hataka, marihiko fa eo no fotoana “demande de marriage” ifanatrehan'ny fianakaviana roa tonta.

5. Fampihomehezana manao ahoana no fataonao?

Fampihomehezana tsy mamofady, arakany zava-misy eo an-toerana na hira malaza, na... malalaka be. Somary tandremako kosa ny miteny kileman'olona na resaka politika mety tsy hampitovy ny fijery.

6. Mahomby hatrany ve ny fampihomehezana amin'ny famitana hafatra, amin'ny fandraisan'ny mpijery ny kabary ataonao?

Mahomby tokoa satria tsy monamonaina ny olona, tsy kabary lavareny mampatory ampitoerana.

7. Ankoatra ny hatsikana dia mampiasa tenin-jatovo ihany koa ianao araka ny hita tamin'iny kabary iny. Azo lazaina fa nifanaraka tamin'ny sehatra nanatanterahana ny kabary izany. Ny fanontaniako dia hoe, miankina amin'ny sehatra sy ny mpanatrika ve ny fampiasanao tenin-jatovo sy fanaovanao hatsikana?

Marihiko aloha fa tety Andavamamba iny raharaha iny, tanàna voatondro hoe “bas quartier,” géographiquement, saingy manana endrika péjoratif io teny io. Fa misy kabary avo lenta (niveau de langue) ataoko amin'ny sehatra sahaza izany ka.

8. Nandritra ny kabary ihany koa dia somary tsy nahazo ny fangatahanao hiantsoana ny anadahin-jaza ny mpikabary ankilany ary somary nanahirana ny tsy fifankahazahoan-

kevitra. Nampiasa fampihomehezana ianao izay somary nisy « ironie » hoe « manontany ny amin'ny tovolahy sahady ianareo nefa izahay anie mbola tsy nangataka e ! » Izay ve no fomba nataonao hahatonga saina ny mpikabary ankilany nefa tsy natao mivantana mba tsy hanafintohina ?

Mitombona tsara ny filazanao ka gaga ary aho hoe manontany ianao eto. Antony iray koa nampisavoritaka azy dia niomana mafy ny hamandrika ahy izy. Indrisy nivoraka anefa izy ka tsy tompon'ny tena sy teny intsony satria nisy tahaka izao nitranga, rehefa teo ambaravarana izahay dia efa nisy fanatsafana somary mamandrika nataony ahy teo, dia novaliako tsotra hoe « aza maika fa ho avy ny fanajàna anareo saingy mangataka hampandrosoana aloha izahay satria dinidinika ambany tafotrano no anton-dianay fa tsy kabary ambony vavahady. »

Orator 2

Misaotra indrindra. Andriamatoa filoham-boninahitry ny sampana HAVATSA UPEM Frantsa izay manoloana antsika eto. Ao ihany koa ny raiamandreny zokiolona X izay niteny teo. Ato ramatoa filohan'ny HAVATSA UPEM sampana Frantsa. Ao ihany koa ramatoa filohan'ny izay miara-miasa hatrany amin'ny HAVATSA UPEM. Tazana eto ihany koa ny mpanao gazety, tazako eto ihany koa ny filoha izay ny fihonam-ben'ny Malagasy mpanao fanatanjahan-tena sy mpanetsika ny kolotsaina na ny RNS. (lakolosy eo amin'ny varavarana) Iny miditra iny ihany koa ramatoa filohan'ny AIFM izay manotrana sy manohana hatrany ny HAVATSA UPEM. Isika rehetra izay vory manatrika etoana. Ao ianareo mpiara-miasa ny mpanao gazety, ny mpampita any amin'ny jery sy haino samihaka. Tompokolahy sy tompokovavy. Raha miteny tokoa dia handahatra. Tsy handahatra lava anefa, fa hihaino asa soratra no alehantsika eto. Izany hoe misy ny asa soratra izay natao fa ao an-tsaina izy, ny dikan'izay, aza omenareo tsiny raha hisy hamaky, hisy hitondra taratasy izahay eto. Misy moa ny mahay an-kandrina izany rehetra rehetra izany. Eo anatrehan'izay anefa dia mandaha-teny. Ka hoy aho hoe... (fianakaviana mivoaka) Omentsika lalana angamba ry zareo, fa misy zazakely. Ka hoy aho hoe ny mahalala fomba raha toa ka hitady hampiasa ny teny hanjary paikady dia maneho fa mahay sady malady ka dia voalohan-teny manao azafady. Manao azafady ho fangatahan-dalana raha hiteny sy ho fanomezam-boninahitra anareo izay hitenenana. Miala tsiny ihany koa satria mety hiambakavaka, mety ny teny tokony atao aloha lasa afara, izany sy ny toy izany no anisan'ny antony ialana tsiny ary indrindra indrindra miteny landy imason'ny vary, mitafy lamba imason'ny tompony ihany satria misy aminareo, maromaro aminareo no tena malady havanana tokoa eo amin'ny fandaharam-pitenenana, dia misy be vazivazy izay moa hoe avereno fotsiny ilay lamban'ny tompony dia samy vita. Tsy hiditra amin'izay anefa tsika. Fa dia fomba amam-pahendrentsika Malagasy ny hoe miala tsiny rehefa miteny. fitia manantombo hono, in-telo mifampiarahaba. Sady andro fifaliana rahateo ny fotoana izay ihaonantsika eto anio satria araka izay nampitaina tany amin'ny doka dia ny hoe fisantarana ny faha-15 taonan'izany sampana izany izay sampana voalohany taty ampitan-dranomasina, niforona voalohany taty ampitan-dranomasina. Angamba ho hazavaina kely indraimbava rehefa avy eo ny tantaran'izany fa dia izany no antony hoe mifampiarahaba isika. Arahaban'ny mpifankatia, lokaloka ny hoe ho doria. Arahaban'ny tena mpinamana mifampitsiky mifandray tanana. Arahaba ny tia tanindrazana, amintsika amintsika na dia tsy any an-tanindrazana. Arahaban'ny HAVATSA UPEM, be dia be ny tiana hotenenina (hehy) Ka dia hiteny, hiteny isika, hiresaka isika, (tehaka) hifaly isika rehetra ao anatin'izao fotoana izao. Dia mirary anareo ho finaritra ao anatin'izany. Mirary antsika rehetra ho finaritra ao anatin'izany. Dia mino sy manantena aho fa mbola ho ela io masoandro io vao hilentika an izay ny aty aminareo aty ampitan-dranomasina aty any amin'ny 10 alina any. Fa tsy ampalahelo akory. Fa ny fotoanantsika eto anefa voafetra ihany. Fa dia mirary anareo haharitra hatramin'ny farany amin'izao atao hoe fifampizarana fifaliana noho ny fisantarana ny faha-15 taonan'ny HAVATSA UPEM Frantsa indraimbava kosa.

Appendix 14AB- Eo am-piandrasana ny mpangataka.

Orator 3

Raha ny tokony ho izy an, efa misokatra ny any ambany, (zaza mitomany)

Vehivavy mampangina zaza

....

Lehilahy: Ie vao mi-se garer ao ry zareo

Vehivavy: hay ve! Hay vao mi-se garer

Ka nisy nanidy lay varavarana tao ambany....

Orator 3: Ay!

Vehivavy: Nihidy indray zany lay varavarana. Tsy maintsy hampaneno ndray ry zareo.

Vehivavy mitaiza: Ohatr'izao lay tsy mahazo mitabataba intsony an!

Vehivavy: Nitelephone hoe alaivo zahay ohatriny hoe efa vita omana izy

Izy alaina tsy maninona hay izy ty mbola miandry ny vadiny avy any @ dokotera hono

Lehilahy: Mbola tsy ao izy hoy Alain

....

Orator 3: Amin'ny firy isika miala eto?

Vehivavy: 14h, au plus tard.14h15 eo zany fara-fahatarany

Lehilahy: 14h.

Orator 3: Rah any tokony ho izy tokony asiana fotoana kely....

Lehilahy: misy cocktail kely nge tsika zao e! eo amin'ny 10 minitra eo.

Orator 3: aorian'ny kabary sy ny fiaingana dia tokony hoe eo amin'ny...

Vehivavy: 13h30 farafahatarany zany tsy maintsy

Orator 3: 13h 30 ezahina ts maints vita

Vehivavy: express (hehy) (mampangina zaza) An chérie an...ahoana!

Lehilahy: vita hatsasak'adiny ve?

Orator 3: azo atao fa na izany aza tsy maintsy mametraka fanontaniana ihany tsika fa tsy tonga dia hanome.

Vehivavy mitaiza: mafana be kosa ny andro fa ndry kosany e

Vehivavy: Esory aky ny collant-ny a raha vao mafana ny andro a,

Vehivavy mitaiza: ao aloha alàna ny collant

Lehilahy: zay zay Ny firaisana mihitsy no....

Vehivavy mitaiza: ao aloha al ...Tsy maninona fa

Lehilahy: jerena any ambany am'zay?

Orator 3 : Raha mitondra bouquet ry zareo de ataontsika eto moa le bouquet sa tonga dia afamadika lay toerana ?

Vehivavy : afamadika

Orator 3: afamadika?

Vehivavy:

Vehivavy mitaiza: ohatrany zavatra tazomina marina lay izy fa tsy zavatra...

Orator 3: Ay! Fa tsy... Ay!

Vehivavy: hafahafa be anefa hatsatoka eo!

Vehivavy: atao ao anatin'ilay raozy

Vehivavy: latsaka ao anaty vazy

Hehy

...

Lehilahy: tsy maintsy misy filazana kely hoe efa ao ambany ry zareo...

Vehivavy: efa ao ambany zany zareo?

Vehivavy :sady mbola mi-sonner ry zareo.

.....

Mozika

Orator 3: izy no mangataka... satria tsy maintsy heno ihany izy miteny hoe ato zahay....Raha tsy hoe nga hoe mi-sonner izy.

Vehivavy: mety tsy mi-sonner ry zareo.

Orator 3: an?

Vehivavy: sao dia tsy mi-sonner?

Orator 3: Raha ny tokony ho izy lay manao haody hoe tonga ato izahay.

...

Orator 3: misy interruptetur an'lay jiro moa eto? Eto akaikintsika eto?

Vehivavy: hum hum

....

Vehivavy: tsy haiku intsony akia e. Quelque part ao.

...

Lehilahy : tsy zay mi-sonner zay ve.

Vehivavy: tsy maintsy miakatra tsikelikely ry zareo nefa ohatrany tsy maheno ascenseur miakatra aho.

Vehivavy: amin'ny firy izao? Tsy efa 13h15 ve zao?

Vehivavy: eny hoa

Lehilahy: eo vao hiady hevitra hoe amin'ny firy marina.

....

Orator 3: lay photographie...

Vehivavy: ataovy 1 minute eo... am'zay mba misy alefa any Dago.

(Mandondona)

Orator 3: mety miandry ny sasany koa.

(olona miditra)

Salama tompoko o !

Opponent 3:

Eny àry ry izy mianakavy, ny voalohan-teny dia fialan-tsiny; miala tsiny re tompoko, miala fondro satria ny fotoam-bita moa tsy mahaleo ny sampona. Ny tena marina dia ilay olona izay efa havanana @ fitenenana toy izao no tsy afaka tampoka t@ ora farany, ka ialan-tsiny. Izaho izao no tonga @ lay fitenenana hoe fandrotrarana an-tanàna haolo ka misolo anaran-drany tsy satry; ialana tsiny raha somary miradarada satria zavatra tsy fanao nefa raisina ny adidy ary iantsorohana.

Faharoa manaraka izany dia mamerina ny arahaba ho anareo mianakavy.

Mbola misy andrasana, tompoko, sa efa ao daholo ny fianakaviana izay angady mahatapakahitra?

(sonnerie)

Lehilahy: Ah! Zay misy fianakaviana zay! Allo?

Orator 3:

Eny, tompoko, fombantsika rehefa handray ny teny tokoa ny manao fialan-tsiny, araka izay nolazain'andriamatoa nitondra ny teny teo hoe noho ny fiambakavakana miteny, ary rehefa mandray ny teny rahateo moa tsy... tahaka ny mihinam-bary, indraindray misy latsaka ka zava-

dehibe dia zava-dehibe tokoa ny fialana tsiny. Manantena aho, manantena aho anefa fa tsy ny tsininareo irery no nalainareo teo fa ao anatin'izay ihany koa ny ahy tompoko.

Manaraka izany, izahay tsy tahaka ny vatolahy eny an-dalana akory ka arahabain-tsy mamaly, fa tonga tokoa izahay hamaly ny arahaba nataonareo. Koa dia, manolotra ny arahaba voafantimpantina, tompokolahy; manolotra ny arahaba voadinidinika, tompokovavy.

Manaraka izany, nametraka ny fanontaniana ihany koa ianareo. Izahay fianakaviana moa dia tahaka ny ladim-boatavo e, misandrahaka atsy misandrahaka eroa. Ary raha toa ka andrasana ho avy ny rehetra dia kianja mihitsy angamba no antonona; kanefa na izany aza, tompoko ô, ny amin'ny antsika eto androany, dia efa ao ny atrehi-mahefa, efa ao ny iamboho-mahavita, azontsika atomboka ny fotoana. Kanefa mialoha izany, tompoko, fikasana ny antsika fianakaviana roa tonta mihaona eto anio amin'izao andro sy ora izao. Kanefa fikasana ihany ny antsika, satria matoa isika vory tahaka izao dia noho ny fitantan' Ilay Avo, ka rariny sy hitsiny raha handeha hametraka ny fotoanantsika eo amin'ny fitantanany isika, fitantan' Ilay Avo fipetraka nefa iva fijery. Kanefa mialoha izany, tompokolahy sy tompokovavy, misy ireo olontiana, fianakaviana ray aman-dreny tiana izay raha ny sitrapo, raha ny irariana indrindra dia ny niaraka tamintsika teto nefa noho ny lahatr' Ilay Avo dia tsy afaka miaraka amintsika eto intsony izy ireo, ka haka fotoana fahanginana fohifohy isika tompoko alohan'ny hidirana amin'izao raharaha izao.

(Feo maromaro)

Hivavaka isika.

Vavaka (lehilahy)

Mbola misaotra Anao lehibe izahay, Tompo Andriamanitray, mbola tafavory eto amin'ity tokantrano ity. Misaotra Anao izahay satria nomenao tombon'andro, nomenao anjara masoandro. Apetraka eo am-pelatananao, Tompo izay zavatra hataonay eto, amin'izay rehetrarehetra ny amin'ny andron'i X sy X, na ny eto izany, na ny any @ mairie, na ny any amin'ny hotely dia apetraka eo am-pelatananao. Ianao no hitantana ny dianay, tsy ho azon-tsampona, tsy ho azon-kasomparana izahay eny an-dalana fa ho tontosa soamantsara izany fifamfoan'i Dany sy Ravo izany amin'izao andro izao. Apetraka feno eo am-pelatananao izao andro izao. Misaotra Ray ô! Amena.

Orator 3: mahazoa toerana ary isika tompoko.

Opponent 3: eny, tompoko, ny fotoana mandeha, isika mbola manana adidy izay tsy maintsy hatrehina any @ firaisana. Koa ataoko ady vomangan'i Kirijavola angamba izy ity an, tonga dia ny voamasony no potsirina. Donakafon' Analakely hoy ny fitenenana aleo tonga dia any ambovonana satria lohataon-diavolana ny erika aza hita.

Eny ry izy mianakavy, tonga eto izahay fianakaviana vitsivitsy nentin'andriamatoa X. Ato aminareo no misy ny olon-tiany, izay nokasainy. Ka dia rehefa namakafaka izahay dia nahazo toky fa dia marina ny fikasany ary hankato ny fitiavany koa tsy nialasala izahay ray aman-dreny. Dia tonga eto izany X, mamany. X, dadany izay ialan-tsiny noho ny asa aman-draharaha tsy maintsy lolohavina dia tsy afaka.

Ny ray avy amin' ny rainy X.

Ny reniny, renibenany izany: X izay efa nodimandry Itompokovavy zany.

Avy amin'ny reniny indray Itompokovavy, Itompokolahy X ialan-tsiny tompoko mihinam-bary aza misy latsaka (hehy).

Avy @ reniny, renibenany zany: X.

Tonga eto izahay tompoko hangataka fara sy dimby, ho ravaky ny tokantrano ho an'andriamatoa X, an'i X, izay zanak'Itompokolahy X, X azafady tompoko! (hehy) Somary efa voa kely le...(hehy). Ny reny: X. Avy amin'ny ray: X. Ny renibe zany: X. Ny reny: X.

Eny, tompoko, notononina ireo anaran'olona ireo satria ireo no atao hoe loharano niteraka ny ony tsy azo odian-tsy hita ohatry ny tonom-bomanga vory vahoaka ka omentsika ny hasina. Marina ny tenin-dranabavy zanaka teo fa misy ny efa nodimandry, efa nonentsika voninahitra tamin'ny fahanginana. Dia mba hitahy antsika anie izy satria ny fanahy no olona. Mino aho fa mety manatrika eo ry zareo ireo fa isika no tsy mahita.

Eny, tompoko, averiko fanindroany, mangataka fara sy dimby, hanorin-tokantrano ny ankizy dia tonga izahay tsy nisalasala. Hoy ny fitenenana hoe tsy misy mangataka voan-teha-maina, hataka andriana, mahazo, misaotra tompoko; tsy mahazo, misaotra tompoko.

Orator 3:

Eny, tompoko. Voalohany indrindra aloha, manao azafady aho mandray ny teny eto anatrehanareo. Tsy ditra na haitraitra akory ny ahy fa noho ny teny lany era, ny entana tsara fehy nataony tamin'ireo fianakaviana dia natolotr'izy ireo ahy ny hitondra ny teny androany. Voninahitra lehibe ho ahy izany, tompokolahy sy tompokovavy, ka tsy atonta-ko vato tsy avalan-ko rano, fa lolohaviko an-tampon'ny loha hatramin'ny farany. Manantitra ilay aza tsiny teo ihany koa e. Araka ny nolazaiko teo hoe aleo manatevina, aleo manatevina, indrindra moa ny amin'ny fialan-tsiny satria ratsy dia ratsy ny tsiny amintsika Malagasy izany enjehin'ny tsiny. Kanefa raha hiala tsiny eto foana koa isika ka tsy mety ny atao dia hialoalo eo foana ihany zany tsiny izany, fa ndeha isika hiaraka hanao ny soa sy ny tsara. Raha izay no ataontsika dia hisaraka ho azy tsy mila sarahina tahaka ny rano sy ny menaka isika sy ny tsiny. Araka izany, anterina ny arahaba efa natolotra antsika teo satria amintsika Malagasy tokoa moa ny arahaba dia fampitsiriana ny hafaliana rehefa mifankahita. Ho tojo ny soa, tsy ilaozan'ny sambatra anie isika mianakavy ary hotahian'ny Tompo hatrany hatrany. Eny ary, zay no ela tsy lalovampotsiny fa vavahady tsy maintsy nidirana ahafahantsika miditra amin'ny dinidinika ambany tafon-trano, ny torotoro ravina, ny tapatapa-kahitra. Ka voalohany indrindra aloha dia fisaorana sy fankatelemana no atolotray anareo, tompoko, satria henin-kaja izahay, henim-boninahitra iantranoanareo tahaka izao. Iza moa zahay eo @ fiaraha-monina no....tahaka izao e. Tena tretrika tokoa izahay, tompoko, koa dia fisaorana no atolotra anareo. Manaraka izany moa, endrey koa zany anton-dianareo mitondra an'izato zatovolahy hitantsika eto izao. Rehefa mijery azy aloha dia e e e dia tena hoe andao tonga dia ekena e, andao rangaha tonga dia ekena a! Na ny....

Opponent 3: sady tavinany no volony.

Orator 3: Ary... Ombalahy ao am-pahitra, maro mpizaha, maro mpanaraka rehefa mandeha, maro mpanotrona rehefa miady. Kanefa resaka tokantrano, resaka fanambadiana no ataontsika. Iaraha-mahafantatra fa izany tokantrano izany tsy hoe iaraha-miaina andro maromaro, na volana vitsivitsy maromaro, na taona vitsivitsy maromaro fa, raha ny aminay fianakaviana, tompoko, dia tena ny ho mandrakizay mihitsy, ny ho lamban'akoho izany tokantrano izany. Ka sarobidy dia sarobidy tokoa ilay zanakavavy e, tena sarobidy tokoa ka mahasarotiny anay. Tsy hoe hanasarotra akory, tompoko; aza atao fanahy manan-tsiny akory raha toa ka hoe hanontany

e; mba fanontaniana ny anay, analana izay mety. . . Ilay izy moa an, tsorina fa mizara roa ny resaky ny fianakaviana teo: Ny tanoranora moa niteny hoe raha izao zatovolaha izao, tonga dia ekeo. Fa ireo atrehi-mahefa, ireo iamboho-mahavita milaza fa tsy te hanolo-bato mafana ny zanany vavy. Dia hoe apetraho ihany re ny fanontaniana. Izahay tsy ho sarotiny akory tompoko fa mba tianay ho fantatra hoe tahaka ny ahoana no mety mba itiavanao izany zanakay izany e. Izay no tianay ho fantatra. Raha afa-po izahay amin'izay tompoko dia izay ihany no tena zava-dehibe satria fitiavan-janaka, fitiavan-janaka. Izay ary ka dia, raha ny tena tianay aloha an, dia i X mihitsy no hitondra izany teny izany, kanefa moa. . .

(tehaka)

Opponent 3: Aleo aloha asiana tehaka. Rariny sy hitsiny izany, ary izay no tena izy satria tokantrano no aorina; ka io ianao r'ingahy X nanapa-kevitra amin'izany hoe hanorin-tokantrano. Marina dia marina ny tenin-drizareo satria tonga amin'ny fitenenana hoe ny anongotsongoana ny maty mba andevim-belona. Ary aleo miteny dieny mialoha toy izay sanatria ny vava sanatria sanatria averiko imbetsaka any aoriana any zao hono zao hono voalohany indrindra manala baraka lay fianakaviana, manome tondro maso an'ireto fianakaviana ireto ka dia io ianao.

Razazalahy: matoa izany zahay tonga eto dia. . . Avy any Madagasikara moa no nafarana; matoa tonga eto dia tena vonona ary tena tia matoa tonga eto, ary izay ilay fahatongavanay.

Orator 3: eny ary fa rentsika moa izany, natao ren-tany ren-danitra izay e ny tokim-pitiavana. Mitodika amintsika fianakaviana ihany aloha aho alohan'ny anohizana ny resaka hoe afa-po ve isika tamin'izay? Raha afa-po isika dia andeha hiara-hitehaka tompoko.

(Tehaka)

Misaotra indrindra.

Razazalahy: Mbola mangataka tokim-pitiavana ve zany? (Hehy).

Lehilahy: sarotiny lery an!

Razazalahy: averiko ihany, (hehy) matoa izaho tonga eto zany dia tena vonona e, ary tena hanome zay tsara hatrany. Milamina hatrany aminay sy X.

Orator 3: ny hafatrafan'ny tianay apetraka fotsiny dia hoe araka ny efa nolazaina moa teo hoe ny ao amin'ny fianakaviana dia tena irariana sy andrasana indrindra ho lamban'akoho re izany fitiavana izany. Raha mbola ampiana aza ny tianay ho re dia azo mbola nataonay hoe mitombo isan'andro, mitombo izany fitiavana izany, kanefa anareo, anareo roa satria ny fanambadiana fifankatiavana koa izy io, ny andaniny sy ny ankilany manome. Fa dia hoe ny aty @ andaniny aloha zany no manome izao. Afa-po tanteraka amin'ilay tokim-pitiavana? Sa tsy fahasahiana fa rehefa ianareo roa ihany no tena miresaka an'ilay izy?

Opponent 3: anankiray koa izay. (Hehy) Na na izany na tsy izany dia mety ihany lay miteny fa fitiavana io ary...Koa zaho moa efa nialako tsiny dieny mialoha fa tsy mahay an'ity zavatra ity an fa sambako manao azy. Miala tsiny fa dia raisiko arakaraka izay eritreretiko ilay izy an, ataovy ohatra ny vomanga maninona moa ka any an-tenda manitsy azy. (Hehy).

Vehivavy : vomanga bila ?

Opponent 3 : eny ary, ka raha azoko tsara izany ny fandehany dia efa nanome tokim-pitiavana izy ary nanolotra angamba hoy aho sa ahoana ianareo fianakaviana irosoana amin'ny manaraka.

Orator 3 nanolotra ny?

Opponent 3 : mamaly an'ilay fangatahana.

Orator 3: A ka niandry an'izay tokim-pitiavana izay fotsiny no anohizana ny resaka e. Nitehaka moa zany ny fianakaviana teo. Ny andro koa tsy androany fotsiny fa mbola andro rahampitso, mbola andro raha afaka ampitso, fa ny antenainay dia hoe hanao tahaka ny akoho manatody ianao, ny tsy anatodizanao roa androany an, mba ahafahanao mbola manatody rahampitso sy ny raha afaka ampitso e. Fa faly izahay satria henin-kaja heni-boninahitra. Araka ny nolazaiko teo hoe tonga eto ianareo tsy vitan'izay fa nangataka ny ho tokantrano, nangataka ny ho vohitra, nangataka ny zanakay. Voninahitra lehibe ho anay tokoa izany. Natao ... natolotrareo ny tokim-pitiavana ka raha ny fandrensanay teo ary dia tsy tokony hisy hitsangan-ko...hitsangan-ko vala na hitsivalan-ko fefy intsony ny eto aminay, fa manome... ny ataoko hoe an tanana, manome ny tongotra. Raha tany amin'ny fotoana hafa manko na tany @ faritra hafa mety nilaza izahay hoe hohazoninay ihany ny nifiny sy ny masonry. Midika izany fa hoe saika mbola hohazoninay ihany ny masonry mba hahafahany mijerijery anay ray aman-dreny sy ny fianakaviana, ary hohazoninay ihany koa ny nifiny mba hahafahany mitsikitsiky aminay ray aman-dreny sy fianakaviana, kanefa tsapanay fa fianakavian'ny fahendrena ianareo, fianakavian'ny soatoavina malagasy, mandala ny atao hoe fihavanana ka noho izany mametraka fitokisana aminareo zahay tompoko ka dia manome izahay, tompoko, manome tanana raha toa ka avy ianareo mitondra an'izato zatovolahy zato, izay efa notononina anarana teo moa, mangataka ny zanakay vavy notononina anarana teo ihany koa, i X. X sy X, ny ho tokantrano, ny ho vohitra, ny ho dimby, ny ho fara. Misaotra tompokolahy, mankasitraka tompokovavy.

Opponent 3: eny, tompoko. Ny fotoana moa mandeha ka dia hiroso isika voalohany indrindra na izany ary anefa manarakaraka izany, fa tsy voalohany indrindra dia tsy hay ny tsy hisaotra satria nangataka dia nomenareo. Ary talohan'izay aza nandondona dia novohainareo. Eny, fa na dia kely sy bitika ohatra an'izao izahay mianakavy kely, dia nomenareo voninahitra, nampandrosoinareo, ka dia mamerina fisaorana satria ny tenin-drazantsika manao hoe ny fisaorana toy ny fary lava vany ka tsy lany hamamiana. Faharoa manarakaraka izany, araka ny soatoavina malagasy, na aty an-dafin'ny riaka aza isika, dia mbola manaraka izany; dia hanolotra zahay tompoko solom-bodiondry. Izahay tsy sanatria hoe hividy olona, na sanatria hoe hividy fitiavana, fa kosa manolotra am-pitiavana. Ka io zavatra io tompoko an rehefa nifampanontany taminay i X, nifampi-tapatapak'ahitra a, dia tapaka fa nakambana ao daholo. Manao dia mianotra kely ny teniko, satria efa nisy fisehoana mialoha an, dia ny tampi-maso efa lasa. Fa dia tsy soritsoritina ohatra ny volo, na avakavahana ohatra ny ketsa, fa atao bango takatra, ka dia indray miankapoka ihany an, koa dia atolotra anareo amim-pitiavana.

Orator 3: eny, tompoko, natolotrareo moa zany ny vodiondry. Tsy ho asiana resaka loatra ny amin'izay satria araka izay nolazainareo hoe ianareo tsy mividy olona izahay rahateo koa tsy mivarotra anaka. Ary ny tena zava-dehibe aminay ankehitriny dia ny fanomezanareo haja amam-boninahitra ny fianakaviana satria voninahitra lehibe tokoa ho an'ireto ray aman-dreny sy ireo niara-nitaiza, nisy andraikitra rehetra tao amin'ny fitaizana an'i X no atolotrareo ankehitriny. Araka izay nolazaiko izay hoe, tsy ho lava resaka dia horaisinay amim-pitiavana ihany koa, raisinay amim-pifaliana, raisinay amim-panetren-tena. Ary raha ny kitapom-bolanareo nanalana azy moa tompoko, dia enga anie izany ka hanao tahaka ny fidorobok'ambora, iray no tapahina, zato no indray maniry. Hanao tahaka ny zana-kisoan'ny vonizongo, rehefa amonoana vao mainka mihadongadonga. Hanao tahaka ny anamamy

volosarika, anapahana vao mainka dofodofotra. Ary hanao tahaka ny laingom-boaloboka, laingom-boaloboka lohataona, andrantsanana vao mainka misandrahaka. Mankasitraka tompokolahy, mankatelina tompokovavy.

Opponent 3: eny, tompoko, mamerina ny fisaorana anareo izahay satria, raha jerena amin'izao fandehan'ny dinidinika rehetrarehetra izao dia tena tsy misy volo mifanoha-randrana. Ary indrindra moa natomboka tamin'ny vavaka ilay izy an, Andriamanitra no mitantana. Eny, mbola misy koa ny fandaharana manaraka ka sy hibahana angamba izahay fa zahay koa mba miangavy hoe, mba aiza ary ilay anay, satria ny anay efa hitanareo io, io moa foza lahy natakalo foza vavy, tompoko, koa mba mangataka zahay, ilay ho zanaka, ho fara sy dimby.

Orator 3: fa izy teo izay moa nisy fotoana izy nandeha nirahina nantsaka. Asa raha efa tafaverina ndeha hojereko aloha an.

Lehilahy: aty France an! Tsy mantsaka intsony.

Orator 3: hay efa tafaverina ka. Hira-hitsangana ary isika tompoko handray azy.

(Tehaka)

Orator 3: eny, X, araka ny hitanao eto izao moa dia tonga eto amintsika zatovolahy efa fantatrao loatra, eto akaikinao eto. Tonga notronin'ireo fianakaviany izy, ary araka ny efa fantatrao ihany koa, tonga hangataka anao ho tokantrano, hangataka anao ho dimby. Henin-kaja henim-boninahitra ny fianakaviana amin'izao fahatongavan'izy ireo izao, koa dia misaotra azy ireo. Nanao ny fangatahana moa izy ireo, ianao zanaka tiana, koa noho izany tsy tonga dia nanaiky izahay satria amintsika Malagasy tokoa, tsy mbola nisy zany hoe vao nangatahina dia tonga dia azo na vao nangataka dia tonga dia nomena, fa mba nanao fanadihadiana ihany izahay ary efa maro ny resaka nataon'izy ireo an, fa ny nangatahinay dia ny tokim-pitiavana. Nanao tokim-pitiavana moa izy; hita teo ihany ilay fahamenamenarana, tsy dia zatra loatra. Dia afa-po nefa, afa-po nefa ny rehetra tamin'ny tokim-pitiavana nataony teo. Ka rehefa ao anatin'ny fianakaviana, mitovy ny fifampitondrana, nangataka ny tokim-pitiavana izahay ka eto dia mitodika aminao, mitodika aminao koa zany X raha toa ka misy izay tokim-pitiavana tianao atolotra, azonao atao ihany koa ny tsy manolotra nefa raha misy ny tora-po avy any aminao dia raisina, raisina ho an'ny fianakaviana ho an'i X, ho an'ny fianakavian'i X koa izany.

Razazavavy: eto anatrehanareo ray aman-dreny, havana ary namana, no itenenako fa tiako ary dia vonona hanaja an'i X aho mandra-pahatapitry ny fofonaiko.

(Tehaka)

Opponent 3: misaotra tompoko. Ampy tsara izay. Ary izay no atao hoe trafon-kena omena mahery, am-bava homana, am-po mieritra. Afa-po zahay. Zava-dehibe izany, Ary eto moa X dia X izao an-drizareo fa ianao no anay. Iza ilay fianakaviana.....Mahaleova mahalasana ianareo roa kely. Ary ny angatahiko dia porofom-pitiavana: mba mifanoroka aloha.

Lehilahy: Tsisy souvenir fa aiza izy izany, andraso aloha.

Opponent 3: misaotra e! Asio tehaka kosa e! Misaotra betsaka e! Ny ankizy efa saro-kenatra. Isika mihomahomehy fotsiny. Tsisy madilana hotenenina na mbola ampiana fa feno. Koa tsy sanatria akory zahay hoe nangataka dia nomenareo dia faly dia handeha. Fa natomboka tamin'ny fotoam-pivavahana izy teo, dia aleo angamba faranana amin'ny fotoam-pivavahana fohy. Hay adino, azafady tompoko. Izay ilay nialako tsiny teo, tsy dia mahay an'ilay zavatra fa

dia, soa ihany fa teo ilay madamako namerina. Iny angamba dia atolotra anao fa tsy haiko mihitsy ny momba azy.

Orator 3: mahazoa toerana ary isika tompokolahy sy tompokovavy.

Tonga eto amin'ny fotoanan'ny peratra moa zany isika an, dia hazavaiko kely vetivety ny tena dikan'ilay peratra. Izy io tsy hoe fom ban'ny vahiny nentina teto amintsika fa tena fombantsika Malagasy hatramin'izay mihitsy. Tahaka ny mofo fifamofoana ihany koa fombantsika ihany koa izy ireny fa tsy hoe nalaina tamin'ny hafa akory. Tamin'ny fotoana faha-mpanjaka ny olona ampitondraina ny hafatra dia nofatorana ravin-kazo teo amin'ny rantsan-tanany mba ho tsaroana hatrany iny hafatra iny sy. ahafantaran'ny olona hoe mitondra ny hafatry ny mpanjaka izy. Eto kosa ny peratra eo amin'ny fifamofoana na eo amin'ny fanambadiana dia ataoko hoe tahaka ny inona ny endriky ny peratra. Volamena? volamena dia misy vatosoa. Ny volamena. . . ny antony ifidianana ny volamena dia satria efa vita sedra tahaka ny fifankatiavanareo, efa vita sedra tsy mataho-memy. Ny vatosoa dia sady tsara tarehy no mafy, tahaka ny fifankatiavanareo ihany koa. Izay no tena anton'io peratra io zany an, ka izy io dia fanomezana avy any amin'i X ho an'i X. Ka ny zavatra rehetra, ny zava-tsoa rehetra tsy misy hoe azo moramora zany e. Tsy misy azo moramora. Ka nafenin'i X ao anatin'ity amboaram-boninkazo ity izany ilay izy dia mba hotadiavina kely ilay izy zany an, hotadiavin'i X ka rehefa hitan'i X dia hasehon'i X anay ohatra izao, dia avy eo omeo an'i X dia i X no anolotra azy anao, eo amin'ny rantsan-tananao havia, satria ny tanana havia akaikin'ny fo, ary eo amin'ny manara-poana, satria ny manara-poana hanaraka anareo eny foana ny fifankatiavanareo. Ny amin'ny peratra ny fifankatiavana no tena resahina satria ao anatin'ny vodiondry iny. Ny any amin'ny mariazy no resaka tokantrano, fa ny @ vodiondry zany an na ny peratra, dia ny fifankatiavana indrindra indrindra. Ka hitady an'ilay peratra zany i X izao ato anatin'ity amboaram-boninkazo tsara tarehy sady mihaingo be ity. Raha toa moa misy (Opponent 3: sao dia mbola hifampiresaka aloha nareo roa?) . . . Ny zava-tsoa tsy voatery ho mora hita ihany koa an. Tahaka ny fiainana ao an-tokantrano io, ifanampiana raha ohatra ka misy ny fahasarotana, raha sendra sarotsarotra ny mitady azy dia azon'i X ampiana ihany koa izy. . . Rehefa manolotra azy izany e, rehefa manolotra azy dia izay tora-po hoe, mety hoe manomboka izao ve dia atolotra anao irery ny fitiavako sa izay tora-po avy any amin'i X zany no lazainy. Dia atao renay e! Atao renay.

Razazalahy: Manomboka androany zany atolotra ity anao peratra ity ho mari-pitiavana sy ho mariky ny fitiavako anao, fanajako anao, ary ho mandrakizay ny amintsika sy ianao.

Orator 3: dia hatreo, hatreo amin'ny peratra ny kabarin'ny vodiondry, raha ny tena izy. Dia mankasitraka indrindra tompoko.

(Tehaka).

Opponent 3: eny, tompoko, dia somary nanao dia mianotra kely teo an. Ka dia hanainga zany isika. Ho any amin'ny firaisana. Satria mbola misy zavatra tsy maintsy hatrehina. Sanatria akory tsy hoe faly nahazo izahay dia hoe ndao handeha. Fa dia mangata-dalana higodogodona tompoko.

Orator 3: ka araka izay moa, marina fa ny fotoana enjikenjehina mbola anenjika ny any @ firaisana ihany koa isika, kanefa aloha kelin'izay dia mba manasa anareo zany izahay fianakavianana mba ifampizara kely ny nofon-kena mitam-pihavanana e. Tsy ataontsika ela akory fa tena hoe voninahitra ifanomezana ny antsika tompoko, ny lalana rahateo mbola lava ka aleo ihany angamba miala hetaheta kely ihany.

Opponent 3: eny, tompoko. Miverina foana ilay fitenenana hoe lava vany ny fisaorana tsy lany hamamiana. Efa nomenareo zahay, notoloranareo tovovavy mahafatifaty mitovy @ ilay peratra mihitsy, dia mbola rosoanareo koa fialana hetaheta. Enga anie hoy izahay an, ho amin'ity tokantrano ity sy ny fianakaviana ny fiadanana avy amin'Andriamanitra mba ny soa sy ny tsara ohatra an'izao no ifamahofahoantsika mianakavy. Misaotra tompoko.

Appendix 14B Interview with Orator 3. 12 July 2019.

1. Nandritra ny kabary izay nataonao, azo lazaina ve fa somary nanelingelina ny feo hafa toy ny interphone naneno, ny zaza mitomany, ny mpanatrika nifampiresaka sns. Tsy nanakorontana ny fandaharanao teny ve izany? Nisy ezaka manokana ve nataonao hitazonana ny fifantohan'ny mpanatrika?

Kely ny trano. Nisy tamin'ny mpiantrano aza teo amin'ny lavarangana. Tsy nisy nivezivezy anefa. Tamin'ilay interphone naneno ihany no nitsangana ny tompon-trano hanokatra. Fa na izany aza nifantoka tamin'ny kabary ny olona. Ilay zazakely nitomany no indraindray nanahirana fa tsy dia nilana ezaka ny fifantohan'ny olona.

2. Tsikaritra ihany koa fa tsy nisy ny dika tokonana sy ny tapimason'anadahy. Vokatry ny fotoana tery ve sy ny hoe tsy maha havanana ny mpikabary ankilany amin'ny resaka kabary, sae fa nifanarahana mialoha fa atao tsotra ny raharaha?

Tsy nisy tokoa ireo satria efa natao tamin'ny fisehoana. Na izany aza, tokony mbola nasiana dika tokonana ihany fa tsy nisy noho ny tsy fahafantarana ny tena fomba. Notsorina ihany koa satria fohy ny fotoana, tsy nisy ray aman-dreny koa avy taty amin'ny zatovovavy fa tanora daholo. Teo koa ny tsy fahafantarana ny fomba rehetra. Nanontany aho tamin'ny fihaonana mialoha fa ny fianakaviana no nanapaka hoe tsarina.

3. Misy fotoana manapaka ny teninao ny mpikabary amin'ny ankilany, raha eo am-pitenenana ianao hoe "raha mijery ny tovolahy aloha dia hoe aleo rangah tonga dia ekena a." Amin'io dia ny feony no lasa re mafy hoe "sady taviny no volony." Tsikaritrao ve izany fanapahan-teny izany? Raha eny, azonao hazavaina ve ny fihetsikao manoloana izany sy ny hevitrao manokana mikasika izany? Raha tsia, inona no mety antony tsy nahatsapanao izany? Misy fanapahan-teny ihany koa amin'ny fotoana fanomezana ny peratra. Azonao resahina ihany koa ve ny amin'izany?

Tsikaritrao tokoa ilay fanapahan-teny voalohany fa tsy nampaninona ahy satria nanamafy ny zavatra nolazaiko ihany, raha nitsikera izy no mety ho hafa ny nitondrako ny tohin'ny kabary. Izay hatrany ny fanaoko. Ilay any amin'ny peratra indray, rehefa hitako fa sahirankirana ny olona miteny eo am-pita dia miezaka hatrany aho tsy hanasarotra. Ezahiko hatrany ny tsy hampihetry azy sy tsy hampitsanga-menatra ny olona hitondrany teny. Teto zao dia tonga dia nataoko ilay peratra nony nomeny ahy ny teny. Tahaka ny hoe nifanarahana. Eo amin'ilay hoe raha tsia tami'ny fanontaniana, tsikaritra foana ilay izy satria tsy dia fanao. Hany ka raha misy dia tsapa. Matetika koa rehefa misy tahaka izay dia tsy dia tena mifandanja ny kabary andaniny sy ankilany.

4. Nisy fahasamihafana amin'ny mahalehilahy sy vehivavy ve tsikaritrao manokana tamin'iny kabary iny? (na teo amin'ny feo, fihetsika, endrika ivelany, fandraisan'ny mpanatrika).

Teo amin'ny feo, variana aho dia tahaka ny nyresaka teo amin'ny azafady. Efa miditra aza tsiny aho vao tonga saina hoe ambany ny feoko dia nanomboka nampiakarina. Teo amin'ny fihetsika,

nanana toerana izy fa tsy nipetraka mihitsy. Tsy fantatro ny mety ho antony. Izay mihitsy ve no fanaony sa tamin'iny ihany. Izaho anefa hitany nipetra rehefa tsy anjarako ny miteny.

5. Azonao lazaina ve ny akon'ny kabary nataonao teo ami'nny mpijery tamin'iny andro iny? Mety nahatsapa ny nampivaka anao amin'ny maha vehivavy mpikabary ve ianao tamin'izany?

Raha ny tamin'ny fandraisan'ny mpanatrika, sarotra nampitahaina ihany satria izy rahateo ray aman-dreny tao amin'ilay fianakaviana no tsy tena mpikabary. Na izany aza finaritra ny andaniny sy ny ankilany. Nony niresaka tamin'ny olona aho dia ilay maha mpikabary ahy mihitsy no nisarika ny olona voalohany. Maromaro rahateo no tonga dia nisoratra anarana hianatra. Ny amin'ny maha vehivavy manokana, tsy dia nisy resaka. Na dia tsikaritro aza hoe tena nijerijery ahy be ireo vehivavy fa tsy sahy miresaka. Ohatrany hoe teo anelanelan'ny lehilahy sy vehivavy izany aho raha ny fandraisan'ny olona ahy fa sady tsy lehilahy no tsy vehivavy ihany koa.

6. Araka ny valinteninao hoe “sady tsy lehilahy no tsy vehivavy” no fandraisan'ny mpanatrika anao, azonao lazaina ve ny mety ho fihetsik'izy ireo naneho izany? Ny endrikao ivelany (fihaingoana) ve anefa manandratra ny maha vehivavy?

Ny fahitako azy ilay fijerin'ireo vehivavy, maro ny tao. Vehivavy no betsaka noho ny lehilahy. Olona efa nifankahalala ihany koa. Fa tsy fahasahiana hiresaka no nahitako azy. Ry zareo koa hitako mihitsy fa ireo karazana vehivavy nobeazina mba hanaiky fa ny lehilahy no mandray fitenenana amin'ny resaka andavan'andro, ary na dia omena sehatra hiteny aza ny vehivavy dia tsy hitany izay lazaina. Kanefa hita fa miresaka tsara raha vao ny fianakaviana, ny zanaka, ny fiainana andavan'andro ny tafa. Ry zareo koa tsy saro-kenatra anefa.

Ny fanamiako tamin'io andro io tsy akanjo tsotra fa gasigasy. Nafana be dia tsy nanao akanjo landy aho. Fa nampiadry loko mavokely sy mivolom-bolamena. Na dia izany aza tsotra ihany. Nony vita ny kabary dia nitafy lamba landy mavokely ihany koa aho. Ie! Nanandratra ny mahavehivavy aloha e!

7. Na dia nanandratra ny mahavehivavy aza ve ny fanamiana dia tsy tena vehivavy no nandraisan'ny mpijery?

Ilay fanamiana miampy ny mahampikabary no nampiova ilay fijery. Indrindra eo amin'ny zokinjokiny. Ny tanora kosa anefa tsy nahitako izay aloha e! Ny fihetsiky ry zareo naneho azy, tsy miteny fa tsy mitsahatry ny mijery ahy na dia nandritra ny fiaraha-misakafo aza. Nijerijery be ahy ireo vehivavy ireo saingy tsy sahy niresaka tamiko ...Nanosarotra ho an'ny vadin'ilay mpikabary an-kilany ny niresaka tamiko, na dia samy naniry hianatra kabary sy nisoratra anarana aza ireo zanany roa lahy. Samy liana ny hianatra dia nisoratra anarana.

8. Tsikaritro ihany koa fa teny mihaja hatrany no nataonao sady mitandrana hatrany amin'ny fomba fiteny, izay tsy dia tena hitako tamin'ny ankilany. Ny nahatonga ahy hilaza izany dia somary tsapa ho nialoka tami'nny maha tsy mpikabary azy izy hany ka tsy dia nitandrana ary hafa-tsiny na dia nisy indro kely aza izay nolazainy. Nihevitra ihany koa aho fa amin'ny mahalehilahy azy dia tsy mitandrana toy ny vehivavy. Manao ahoana ny hevitrao mikasika izany?

Misy mahamarina azy ny hevitrao satria ohatrany hoe kilalao na zavatra natao hampihomehy no tiany nitondrana ilay kabary. Nefa misy fotoanany ny zava-drehetra. Tena marina io nolazainao hoe nihaloka tamin'ny maha tsy mpikabary azy izy hatramin'ny

voalohany ka hatramin'ny farany. Dia afa-tsiny. Ilay hoe amin'ny mahalehilahy azy dia tsy dia mitandrina loatra rehefa miteny. Tena misy ary maro ny lehilahy mpikabary izay tena mitandrina amin'ny teny syn y fihetsiny. Indrindra ireo mpanao kabary avo lenta.

Appendix 15 A. Interview with ordinary people about women and kabary performance

Fanontaniana:

1. Inona no anajara asan'ny kabary eo amin'ny fiarahamonina araka ny hevitrao?
2. Ahoana ny fahitanao ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny?
3. Ahoana ny fahitanao lehilahy mikabary?
4. Misy fahasamihafana ve ny fomba fikabarian'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy? Raha eny, inona avy izany?
5. Araka ny hevitrao, nahoana no mahazo mikabary ny vehivavy ankehitriny?
6. Iza no betsaka kokoa: ny lehilahy mpikabary sa ny vehivavy mpikabary? Ny lehilahy mpitantara angano sa ny vehivavy mpitantara angano?

Valiny

vehivavy 64 taona, mampianatra

1. Ny anjara asan'ny kabary dia mametraka ny taranaka ankehitriny eo anoloan'ny soatoavina nentim-paharazana. Ny hakanton'ny tontolo iainana vita hosodoko ao an-tsaina eo am-pihainoana ny mpikabary, ny fifandraisany amin'ny fiainan'ny Malagasy andavan'andro.
2. Mbola tsy nanatrika loatra aho. Misy vehivavy mikabary amin'ny famangiana manjo saingy mbola mahalana izany satria mbola ny lehilahy no andrasana hikabary amin'izany. Tsindraindray, azo lazaina fa indray mandeha ao anatin'ny 5 taona dia efa nandray fitenenana raha misy manjo.
3. Tandra vadin-koditra ho an'ny lehilahy Malagasy ny kabary, ka rehefa tsy misy lehilahy mahay mikabary ihany vao mikabary ny vehivavy.
4.
5. Vokatry ny fivoaran'ny fiainana, efa mitovy zo ny lahy sy ny vavy.
6. Lehilahy mpikabary no betsaka. Ny vehivavy mpitantara angano no betsaka.

Lehilahy 57 taona, mpanabe

1. Mandamina ny fiaraha-monina (manome voninahitra), sady manamafy fihavanana.
2. Tsy mahazatra loatra.
3. Tena mety.
4. Misy henamaso kokoa ny mpihaino raha lehilahy.
5. Miralenta.
6. ...

Lehilahy 48 taona, mpampianatra

1. Natao hifamaliana resaka sy hiseraserana amin'ny vanim-potoana iray.
2. Tsy dia fahita firy na dia efa misy aza amin'izao fotoana izao. Matetika ataon'ny olona hoe "akohovavy maneno."

3. Ny lehilahy no tena fahita matetika ka efa manana sary ao an-tsainy ny olona.
4. Ny feo syn y fomba fanehoana azy. Matetika mantsy natao handresena lahatra ny kabary.
5. Satria efa mitovy zo ny lahy sy ny vavy.
6. Ny lehilahy mikabary betsaka kokoa.

Ny vehivavy mpitantara angano betsaka kokoa.

Vehivavy 61 taona, gargotière

1. Manabe ny kabary, saingy be sariny.
2. Mety tsara, toy ny rehetra ihany.
3. Mety tsara, tsy mifidy mpanolotra ny kabary.
4. Tsia, tsy misy fiavahany fa samy mahay haingon-teny avokoa.
5. Efa misy ny fitovian-jo.
6. Vehivavy no betsaka amin'ny angano. Lehilahy no betsaka amin'ny mpikabary.

Vehivavy 67 taona, mpampianatra

1. Ny kabary dia lahateny atao mahakasika toe-javatra iray atao mandritry ny fivoriana iray ohatra.
2. Fitarihan-dresaka angaha no ataon'ny vehivavy fa tsy kabary. Aleo ny lehilahy amin'ny maha-mpikabary eken'ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy azy no mikabary amin'ny lanonana ofisialy fa ny vehivavy manao ny teny fanolorana amin'ny lanonana tsotsotra.
3. Ny lehilahy no mahazatra hita amin'ny fanaovana kabary.
4. Raha ny lehilahy no mikabary dia manaitra kokoa noho ny feony sy ny fihetsiny manindritsindry.
5. Satria heverina ny fitovian-jo eo amin'ny lahy sy ny vavy.
6. Lehilahy no betsaka kokoa amin'ny mpikabary. Ny vehivavy mitantara angano no betsaka kokoa.

Lehilahy 37 taona, assistant éducateur

1. Ahafahana mametraka ny Hasina syn y soatoavina Malagasy.
2. Mahafinaritra, tsara.
3. Tokony hahay mikabary ny lehilahy Malagasy.
4. Tsy fantatro.
5. Satria efa mitovy zo ny lahy sy ny vavy.
6. Betsaka kokoa ny mpikabary lehilahy ary betsaka kokoa ny mpitantara angano vehivavy.

Vehivavy 29 taona, mpamboly

1. Ny kabary dia anehoana ny soatoavina mahaMalagasy.
2. Mahafinaritra.
3. Mahate hihaino.

4. Tsy misy.
5. Satria efa mitovy zo.
6. Ny lehilahy mpikabary betsaka kokoa...

Vehivavy 45 taona, mpamboly

1. Mampita hafatra, fanokafana lanonana.
2. Vonona ny handray andraikitra, mikolo ny kanto Malagasy.
3. Vonona ny handray andraikitra, mikolo ny kanto Malagasy.
4. ...
5. Satria efa mira lenta.
6. Ny mpikabary lehilahy betsaka kokoa. Mitovy amin'ny angano.

Lehilahy 20 taona, mpianatra

1. Manintona sy manaitra ary mahatalanjona, mampiova fihetseham-po.
2. Ny vehivavy mikabary dia manome hafaliana amin'ny feony milantolanto.
3. Ny lehilahy mikabary dia mahafeno tanteraka ny fepetra ilaina aminy ary dia tena manintona tanteraka.
4. Tsy dia misy fahasamihafana.
5. Satria efa mitovy ankehitriny ny lahy sy ny vavy.
6. Ny lehilahy mpikabary betsaka kokoa. Ny vehivavy mpitantara angano betsaka kokoa.

Lehilahy 27 taona, sécurité

1. Ny kabary dia mitory ny kolontsaina Malagasy.
2. Ny fahitako ny vehivavy mikabary dia mitory ny fahendren'ny ntaolo.
3. Ny lehilahy mikabary dia efa tandra vadin'koditra teto amintsika izay hiavahantsika amin'ny firenena rehetra.
4. Tsy misy.
5. Satria efa mitovy zo ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy ankehitriny.

vehivavy 11 taona, mpianatra

1. ...
2. Tsy dia mahay miteny ny lahateny.
3. Ny lehilahy kosa dia manana fandalinana ny kabary mihitsy izy ireo.
4. Misy tokoa, ny fomba fiteny sssy ny fihetsika izany.
5. Satria vitsy ny mpikabary amin'izao fotoana izao.
6. Ny lehilahy no betsaka na mpikabary na mpitantara angano.

Lehilahy 25 taona, mpiasa tena

1. Mandrindra ny fotoana, mamerina sy mitazona ny maha Malagasy.
2. Sahy mandray andraikitra.
3. Tsy miamboho ny adidy nomena.

4. Tsy dia misy.
5. Mira lenta.
6. Ny lehilahy no betsaka na ami'nny kabary na angano.

Vehivavy 55 taona, mpamboly

1. Ny kabary dia entina anehoana zavatra iray, ohatra mpanambady, fahafatesana.
2. Matotra satria efa mitovy ny lahy sy ny vavy.
3. Mahafinaritra, mahaliana.
4. Tsy misy.
5. Satria efa mitovy ny lahy sy ny vavy.
6. Lehilahy mpikabary no betsaka. Vehivavy mpitantara angano no betsaka.

Vehivavy 18 taona, mpianatra

1. Manabe, mampita anatra, hafatra.
2. Asehony amin'ny fomba kanto, malefaka, mirindra tsara.
3. Asehony amin'ny fomba kanto, somary mahery fiteny, fa mirindra tsara ihany koa.
4. Tsy dia misy loatra fa amin'ny faty izy dia tokony tsy dia hiteny loatra ny vehivavy.
5. Satria raha tsy eo ilay lehilahy dia izy no miteny fa tsisy afaka ny hisolo azy eo.
6. Ny lehilahy mpikabary no betsaka. Mitovitovy ny isa amin'ny angano.

Vehivavy 23 taona, machiniste

1. Ny kabary dia lahateny atao amin'ny feo avo imason'ny olona maro fonosina hainteny sy ohabolana mba hanintona sy handresy lahatra ny mpihaino.
2. Amiko dia mety ny vehivavy mikabary toy ny tenako satria manana zo sy manana fahalalahana hiteny aho ary eto amintsika ihany koa efa misy ny fitovian-jo sy ny miralenta.
3. Ny lehilahy mikabary dia efa lova nolovaina hatrizay teto amintsika.
4. Eny satria misy ny tokony kabary tsy azo ataon'ny vehivavy ohatra kabary eny amin'ny fandevenana.
5. Afaka mikabary ny vehivavy satria efa mitovy zo ny lahy sy ny vavy.
6. Ny lehilahy betsaka kokoa ami'nny kabary sy ny angano.

Lehilahy 46 taona, maçon

1. Ny kabary dia mitory ny kolon-tsaina Malagasy, mitory fananarana sy fahendrena ary mampahatsiahy ny fahendren'ny ntaolo teo aloha.
2. Ny tahitako ny vehivavy mikabary dia mitory ny fahendren'ny ntaolo.
3. Ny lehilahy mpikabary dia efa tandra vadin-koditra teto amintsika zay iavahantsika amin'ny firenena rehetra.
4. Misy tokoa ny mahasamy hafa azy, matetika ny vehivavy mihaotra amin'ilay teny hoe "akohovavy maneno," ka mihaotra amin'ny fotoana sasany. Ny lehilahy moa efa tompon'ny teny rahateo.

5. Afaka mikabary ny vehivavy satria io no zo itovizana amin'ny lehilahy. Ary misy ny fotoana tsy maha eo ny lehilahy ka tsy maintsy miteny ny vehivavy.
6. Ny lehilahy no betsaka kokoa na amin'ny kabary na ny angano.

Lehilahy 16 taona, mpianatra

1. Ny anjara asan'ny kabary dia manazava hevitra, mampahatsiahy ny karazan'ny teny Malagasy tsy faheno matetika.
2. Azo lazaina hoe mety ny vehivavy mikabary satria ny vehivavy manana feo milantolanto.
3. Mahomby ary mety satria manaitra ny feo entiny miteny.
4. Tsy dia misy fahasamihafana.
5. Noho ny mira lenta eo amin'ny lahy sy ny vavy.
6. Ny lehilahy no betsaka amin'ny kabary sy ny angano.

Lehilahy 52 taona, mpamboly

1. Ny kabary dia ahitana hevitra maro toy ny fisaorana, fangataham-bady sns.
2. Tsy maninona mihitsy satria efa mitovy zo ny lahy sy ny vavy.
3. Mahafinaritra ny mihaino azy.
4. Tsy misy.
5. Satria efa mitovy zo.
6. ...

Vehivavy 26 taona, mpamboly

1. Ny kabary dia lahateny atao amin'ny feo avo imason'ny olona maro mba hanintona sy hanentana ny olona ary ravahana hainteny sy ohabolana.
2. Matotra sy mahate hihaino miaraka amin'ny feony malefaka.
3. Mahafinaritra.
4. Tsy misy.
5. Satria efa natao hitovy ny zon'ny lahy sy ny vavy.
6. Ny lehilahy no betsaka kokoa amin'ny kabary sy ny angano.

Vehivavy 55 taona, mpamboly

1. Ny kabary dia entina hamerenana ny soatoavina taloha ary tokony averina indray.
2. Mahafinaritra.
3. Mahafinaritra.
4. Tsy misy.
5. Satria efa mitovy ny zo.
6. ...

Lehilahy 19 taona, mpianatra

1. Entina anehoana ny kanto sy ny kolotsaina Malagasy.
2. Ny vehivavy mikabary dia tsara sy mahafinaritra noho izy tsy dia fahita matetika.
3. Ny lehilahy mikabary dia tsara koa noho izy maneho ny fahaiza-miteny sy fahendrena.
4. Tsy misy fahasamihafana satria fianarana mitovy no narahin'izy ireo.
5. Mahazo alalana hikabary ny vehivavy ankehitriny noho ny fitovian'ny zon'ny lahy sy ny vavy.
6. Betsaka kokoa ny lehilahy mpikabary ary betsaka kokoa ny vehivavy mpitantara angano.

Lehilahy 26 taona, mpianatra

1. Fanokafana lanonana, fifanomezam-boninahitra, fangataham-bady.
2. Tsara sady mahafinaritra.
3. Mahafinaritra ihany koa.
4. Tsy misy ny mahasamy hafa azy.
5. Satria efa misy ny miralenta.
6. Lehilahy no betsaka amin'ny mpikabary sy ny mpitantara angano.

Vehivavy 18 taona, mpianatra

1. Maro ny anjara asan'ny kabary: amin'ny fahoriana dia manamaivana ny alahelo ny kabary tsara lahatra, mananatra sy manitsy izy io. Amin'ny fifaliana indray dia mahadiavolana ny fo ny fihainoana azy.
2. Ny vehivavy mikabary dia mahavariana satria ny lehilahy matetika no mikabary amin'ny maha lohan'ny vavy azy.
3. Ny lehilahy mikabary dia manintona sy mahasarika ny saina ka mahatonga ny maso syn y sofina tsy hiala any aminy sy ny zavatra lazainy.
4. Tsy misy satria samy maneho ny fihetsika sahaza an'ilay toe-javatra mitranga izy ireo. Ohatra rehefa mamangy fahoriana dia miteny moramora.
5. Mahazo alalana izy satria mety mahafeno ny fepetra mahampikabary azy izy. Ohatra tsy miboredika rehefa mikabary.

Vehivavy 36 taona, mpamboly

1. Fampitana ny fomba sy ny soatoavina ny maha Malagasy ny kabary.
2. Ny fahitako ny veivavy mikabary dia mariky ny fandrosoana sy fandraisana andraikitra amin'ny fiaraha-monina.
3. Efa zary tandra vadin-koditra teo amin'ny lehilahy ny fikabariana, fahita mahazatra.
4. Tsy misy firy fa ny lehilahy avo feo, ny vehivavy moa milantolanto eny ihany na antonony.
5. Satria efa eken'ny fiarahamonina ankehitriny ny mira lenta.
6. Betsaka kokoa ny lehilahy mpikabary ary ny vehivavy mpitantara angano.

Vehivavy 16, mpianatra

1. Ny kabary dia lahateny atao amin'ny feo avo imason'ny olona maro mba hanintona sy hanentana ny olona ary ravahina hainteny sy ohabolana.
2. Toy ny olona matotra sy maka ny toeran'ny zokiolona vehivavy (renibe).
3. Toy ny zokiolona.
4. Tsy misy.
5. Satria efa mitovy zo ny lahy sy ny vavy.
6. Ny lehilahy no betsaka kokoa amin'ny kabary sy ny angano.

Lehilahy 33 taona, mpamboly

1. ...
2. Mitovy amin'ny rehetra ihany rehefa mahafehy azy tsara.
3. Ohatran'ny rehetra ireny ihany, rehefa resy dia resy.
4. Ny fahasamihafana angamba eo amin'ny fijerin'ny olona.
5. Efa fotoana fivoarana izao tsy misy andrasana intsony.
6. Lehilahy mpikabary no betsaka. Vehivavy mpitantara angano no betsaka.

Vehivavy 48 taona, mpivarotra

1. Ny anjara asan'ny kabary dia ho entina ifamaliana sy anarahana ny fifandaminana amin'ny lanonana na fahoriana.
2. Ny fahitako ny vehivavy mikabary dia vehivavy sahisahy ary manome lanja sy zo ny vehivavy.
3. Efa mahazatra ny mihaino ny lehilahy mikabary fa samy manana ny fanaovany azy.
4. Misy fahasamihafana satria lantom-peo tsy mitovy.
5. Satria efa mitovy zo.
6. Ny lehilahy mpikabary no betsaka kokoa. Ny vehivavy mpitantara angano no betsaka kokoa.

Vehivavy 14 taona, mpianatra

1. Hampitana vaovao na hilazana hevitra izay tiana ambara.
2. Mahasarika sy manintona noho ny angolan'ny feony syn y fihetsiny sy noho izy mbola tsy di amaro.
3. Efa mahazatra saingy mahaliana sy manaitra hatrany.
4. Na ny feo na ny fihetsika samy hafa avokoa.
5. Satria noho ny miralenta dia efa eritreretina ho mitovy ny lahy sy ny vavy.
6. Ny lehilahy mpikabary no betsaka kokoa. Ny vehivavy mpitantara angano betsaka kokoa.

Lehilahy, taona tsy voalaza, mpivarotra

1. Fampitana hafatra, fanehoan-kevitra amin'ny alalan'ny teny Malagasy.
2. Tsy mbola nahita vehivavy nikabary.
3. Matotra.

4. Misy fahasamihafana tokoa satria hatrany am-boalohany dia efa nomena vahana hiteny ny lehilahy.
5. Nahazo alalana izy satria hita angamba fa mahafehy izany izy. Efa mihavitsy ko any lehilahy.
6. Lehilahy no betsaka amin'ny kabary sy ny angano.

Lehilahy 21 taona, mpianatra

1. Ny kabary dia teny entina hitahirizana ireo ohabolana sy fomba fiteny Malagasy, ary izy dia natao handraisam-pitenenana sy hanambarana ary hanomezan-kasina ny teny Malagasy.
2. Mahaliana ary mahasarika ny fahitako ny vehivavy mikabary ary matetika vehivavy matotra.
3. Ny lehilahy indray dia entitra sady mahasarika sy mahaliana ihany koa.
4. ...
5. ...
6. Ny lehilahy no betsaka kokoa amin'ny kabary sy ny angano.

Vehivavy 18 taona, mpianatra

1. Fampitan-kafatra amin'ny alalan'ny lahateny, atao amim-peo avo sy mafy eo anatrehan'ny olona maro, ravahana ohabolana, tononkalo fohy, fomba fitenenana samihafa, natao hahaliana ny mpihaino.
2. Mahafinaritra, manaitra.
3. Manaitra bebe kokoa.
4. Tsy dia misy loatra.
5. ...
6. Ny lehilahy no betsaka kokoa amin'ny kabary sy angano.

Lehilahy 24 taona, mpianatra

1. Natao hitondrana hafatra ny kabary.
2. Tsy tokony hikabary ny vehivavy.
3. Ny lehilahy no tompon'ny teny eo amin'ny fianakaviana sy ny fiarahamonina.
4. Samy hafa ny fihetsika sy ny feo.
5. ...
6. Ny lehilahy no betsaka amin'ny kabary sy ny angano.

Lehilahy 18 taona, mpianatra

1. ...
2. ...
3. Sahisahy ny lehilahy mikabary.
4. ...
5. ...
6. Ny lehilahy no betsaka.

Vehivavy 18 taona, mpianatra

1. Hanehoana fisaorana sy fiarahabana.
2. Manaitra amin'ny fihetsiny sy ny feony mba handreseny lahatra sy hampitana ny hafatra.
3. Entitra, sahisahy ary maharesy lahatra ny lehilahy mikabary.
4. Ny lohahevitra ny kabary no mahasamy hafa azy.
5. Satria efa miralenta.
6. Ny lehilahy mpikabary no betsaka. Ny vehivavy mpitantara angano no betsaka.

Appendix 15 B. Interview with ordinary people about women and vodiondry kabary

Questions:

1. Lors de votre vodiondry, avez-vous fait appel à des orateurs professionnels ?
2. Si oui, est ce qu'ils étaient des hommes ou des femmes ?
3. Quels étaient les critères de votre choix ?
4. Si les orateurs étaient des hommes, pourquoi avez-vous fait ce choix ?
5. Si les orateurs étaient des femmes, pouvez-vous expliquer ce choix ?
6. Comment percevez-vous les femmes oratrices de nos jours, surtout lors des cérémonies de vodiondry ?

Online interview with a married young woman from Soamanandrarinny

1. Oui, j'ai fait appel à un orateur professionnel.
2. C'étaient des hommes.
3. Le choix de l'orateur était basé sur ses compétences, son expérience, sa réputation, et spécialement son sens de l'humour qui rendait la célébration plus animée, plus vivant (joyeux).
4. Dans un premier temps, le choix des hommes n'a pas été basé sur une raison spécifique mais tout simplement qu'à l'époque, l'orateur officiel avait une bonne réputation en kabary, mais dans un deuxième temps, ce choix s'est coincidé au fait qu'il a toujours été vu aux yeux des malagasy que les hommes soient les orateurs, à savoir les plus âgés.
5. N/A.
6. Ce que je pense des femmes oratrices de nos jours lors des cérémonies de vodiondry ; d'abord, je n'ai jamais assisté à une cérémonie de vodiondry ayant une femme comme oratrice. Donc, pour moi, être présente à une telle cérémonie serait une expérience nouvelle, intéressante, car elle aura beaucoup de mon attention. Et comme la femme est pour nous les Malagasy un bijou (ravaka), je pense que ce serait beau à voir et à entendre. J'encourage les femmes oratrices, et surtout, je serai ravie d'être invitée à une telle cérémonie.

Online interview with a mother who organized the vodiondry of her son (in 2017) in Ambohijanamasoandro

1. Nous avons fait appel à des orateurs à la fois professionnels et qui sont membres de la famille.
2. Ils sont tous les deux des hommes.
3. Crières de choix: compétence, expérience, membre de la famille, réputation.
4. Selon la coutume magache ayant des ancêtres arabes? ce sont les hommes qui doivent parler en public, les femmes doivent se taire. Ce sont les plus âgés aussi qui doivent parler mais maintenant même les jeunes, après les belles paroles de fialan-tsiny, les jeunes de bons orateurs, sont même sollicités.
5. Les femmes mpikabary ne sont pas assez nombreuses. Les femmes mpikabary doivent chercher des ohabolana et de belles paroles un peu comiques pour justifier et convaincre leur prise de parole.
6. Les femmes qui parlent beaucoup sont toujours prises pour des akohovavy maneno, mais il est temps que les femmes montrent qu'elles peuvent parler avec sagesse et intelligence et non emportées par leurs émotions et leurs sentiments.

Online interview with a couple from Antananarivo, currently living in Toamasina, who had their vodiondry in 2018.

1. Oui, nous avons fait appel à des orateurs professionnels.
2. Nous avons choisi des hommes au lieu des femmes parce que nous n'avons reçu aucune offre féminine.

[Pouvez-vous expliquer davantage?]

Nous avons fait un petit appel d'offre sur les réseaux sociaux, aucune femme ne s'est manifestée. Aussi, selon la tradition malagasy, c'est l'homme qui est toujours la tête lorsqu'on parle de mariage.

3. Est-ce que votre choix a été influencé par vos connaissances ?

Il n'y avait aucune influence vu que les orateurs que nous avons engagés sont des personnes que nous ne connaissions même pas.

4. Oui, nous avons des critères vu que nous avons un budget assez serré donc salaire, ensuite compétences/réputation. S'il avait une femme qui avait répondu, nous l'aurions engagé si elle répondait à nos critères.

[Qu'entendez-vous par compétences ?]

Quand je dis compétence : maîtrise du domaine, maturité, flexibilité, ce qui aboutissent à la satisfaction des clients.

[Est-ce que l'âge des orateurs importait également ?]

Un peu, nous voulions quelqu'un de jeune, qui connaît plutôt le monde d'aujourd'hui.

Online interview with a man based in the United States who got married in 2009 in Antananarivo (in English)

1. For your vodiondry, did you hire professional orators, if yes, were they male or female?

He was a male, and he was like a respected person in our family.... I have never heard a female to do that, and according to the tradition, females are not for this kind of duty, basically it is a male's job.

2. What do you think about female orators at vodiondry ceremonies?

My opinion is biased by that long-standing tradition. We live in an era where women challenge men on many things.

3. There are many female orators at vodiondry nowadays. You're talking about just one orator, weren't there two from both families?

Both were males. And many of my friends who asked for that service, they were all men! I'd like to see how women perform that.

4. Can you say why did you or your friends choose male orators rather than female ones?

Simple: the tradition, in ancient times, males did that, and not women, that's the reason! It is like church problem, women pastors could not perform a marriage before ... but these days are different.... it is the same for orators. Things have changed.

Interview with a woman based in France who got married in 2006 in Antananarivo.

1. Pour le vodiondry, on était juste entre nous : mes parents, mes frères, les parents de mon mari et ses sœurs. Non, on n'a pas fait appel à des orateurs. C'était mon père et le père de mon mari qui ont fait le kabary.
2. On ne voulait pas trop compliquer le kabary, on n'avait pas les moyens de faire une grande fête et on voulait rester dans la confidentialité. Pourquoi les papas et non les mamans ? parce qu'ils étaient plus habitués à parler en public et chez nous, les zokiolona (elders) sont ceux qui ont la parole.
3. De nos jours, les femmes oratrices sont nombreuses et ont les mêmes compétences que les hommes. Par contre, pour le vodiondry, je ne sais pas trop parce que je ne suis jamais allée à un vodiondry à vrai dire.

Fanontaniana

1. Azonao lazaina ve ny mombamomba anao

Anarana: SOLONOMENJANAHARY RANIVOARISOA MONIQUE EUGENIE

Asa: MPANORATRA – animatrice jeu KALAZA –

Traikefa eoamin'ny tontolon'ny angano:

- a. Nianatra ny fitantarana angano ve ianao,
Niofana momba ny fitantarana angano teto amin'ny internet aho
Niofana tamin'ny hetsika nataon'ny minisitery soratra 2008
Nampianan-tena koa satria efa zavatra tiako dia nanatrika hatrany ireo fitantarana angano tany Frantsa sy tany La reunion,
 - b. Oviana ianao no nanomboka nitantara angano
Mbola kely aho dia efa tia mitantara angano, fa kosa ny taona tena nanaovako io dia ny 2004 tao amin'ny Cemdlac (centre Malgache de la lecture public)
 - c. Manoratra angano ihany koa ve ianao, ianao ve no mamorona izany sa miainga amin'ny angano efa nisy teo aloha
Tsy lazaiko hoe mamorona angano aho satria ny angano dia tsy misy tompony fa kosa lazaiko hoe tantarakely ho an'ny ankizy no foroniko, Misy koa ireo angano efa taloha saingy kosa nakako aingam-panahy ka nosoratako araka ny fijeriko azy .
 - d. Mbola mitantara sy manoratra angano ve ianao ankehitriny. **ENY**
 - e. Raha eny, azonao lazaina ve ny fotoana, toerana haovanao izany, rahatsia, azonaolazainavenyantony.
Ny bolongan-kevitra dia tonga anaty fotoana fohy, fa ny fanoratana azy sy fandrindrana azy dia Mandany fotoana tokoa mety amam-bolana mihitsy satria isaky ny mamerina mamaky aho dia mahita hevitra vaovao indray dia manao fanintsiana hatrany.
2. Inona no nahatonga anao ho liana tamin'ny fitantarana angano, inona no nataonao mba hidirana amin'izany sehatra izany
Vao 14 taona aho dia efa mpitantarana angano izay henoko tao amin'ny radio RNM fandaharana nataon-dramatoa Eleonore Rasolofomanana “**izaho valiha , ianao lokanga** “. Tamin'ny taona 1983 tany ho any, Ary nahafinaritra ahy sy tena tiako ny mihaino izany ary teo no nitsiry ny fitiavana te hizara, te hitantara angano . marobe ny angano notantarainy tao ary nanintona ahy tamin'izany izao ny tantaran'ny **IMAINTSOANALA**
Ny nataoko tamin'izany dia ny mizara, ary fahafinaretana ho ahy tokoa mitantara angano, radio radio nataonay tamin'izany ka misalobona anaty lamba aho dia ireo zandriko sy niece no mpihaino ahy, toy ny hoe mihaino radio izany . Rehefa misy ankizy tonga ao aminay dia tsy maintsy itantarako angano izy ireo .
Taty aoriana dia nividy boky sy namaky boky angano aho, ary ny zanako no itantarako izany ary nataoko fananarana foana mba hampahendry azy ireo izany .

Ny taona 2001 dia nisy ilay takomasoandro iny ary teo aho no nitady hevitra hoe andeha ataoko angano izany ka nanoratra tantarakely aho mikasika io ka nomeko ny lohateny hoe **ILAY MANJIRA TANY GASIKARA** satria ny teny hoe manjira no ilazana ny takomasoandro ary novoizina be tamin'ny radio sns..., niseho tele mihitsy aho tamin'io, ary tao anaty fandaharan'ny vaovao hoe nanoratra angano momba ny **MANJIRA** ity vehivavy ity .

3. Karazan'angano manao ahoana no tantarainao
Ilay karazana hoe contes de fee no tena tiako

- a. Inona no lohahevitravohizinaamin'izany, nahoana
- b. Ny angano tantaraiko dia manana endrika fananarana sy miresaka ny harenan'I Madagasikara izay no tena tiako, satria heveriko fa adidy be ny fanabeazana, ary ny talentako dia entiko hamitana ilay anjara biriky momba io, izaho rahateo voataizan'i Eleonore Rasolofomanana tao amin'ny fandaharany fahiny satria dia maro be fananarana nataony tao .
Taty aoriana aho dia nifanerasera tamin'olona marobe ary teo nahatsapako fa hay tandindomin-doza ny biby sy zavamaniry Malagasy ka nifototra tamin'io indray aho ka niezaka nanao angano mikasika fampafantarana ireo biby sy zavamaniry izay harenan'I Madagasikara (=Ilay vorona mitomany, Ireo atody mahagaga, Ilay sokatra manidina, tsikimena , ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo .)
- c. Manao ahoana ireo mpandray anjara: biby na zava-boary na olombelona ve, nahoana Ireo biby , ireo zavaboary, ireo olombelona dia resahako ao anaty angano, indraindray ry zareo mihitsy no miresaka . ary nofidiako ireo biby izay ahiana ho lany taranaka sy tena ampiavaka ny tanindrazako.
- d. Manao ahoana ny voambolana ampiasainao amin'izany
Misy boky izay misy anaran'ireo biby mihitsy arahiko, eo koa ny internet nanampy ahy, fa ny voambolana ampiasaiko dia ny voambolana akademika, .
- e. Manao ahoana ny tontolo isehoan'ny tantara: mifanaraka amin'nyvanim-potoana ankehitriny ve sa toy ny amin'ny angano fahinymalaza (oh: IkotofetsysyImahaka, Imitsoanala, sns), tontolo foronina ve sa tena misy,
Ny tontolo resahako ny tantara dia ilay misy amin'izao fotoana izao ohatra ny **Ireo ATODY MAHAGAGA** , misy koa sady maka ny fahiny ohatra **TSIKIMENA**.
- f. Karazana lesona manao ahoana no ampitainao amin'ny angano tantarainao/soratanao,
Fananarana foana amin'ny ankapobeany, mba hanana fahendrena sy hahalala fomba (civisme), eo koa ny angano izay ataoko mba ho an'ny fifanajana, fifankatiavana eo amin'ny samy olombelona . misy koa ny angano natao hanaovana fanentanana (**RASOA**) ary ny an'ny biby moa izany dia

fampafantarana azy ireo sy ny mba hanajana azy ireo satria tsy fahita firy sy mapiavaKa ny nosy .

4. Misy mpihaino voafantina manokana ve amin'izany, izany hoe natokana fotsiny ho an'ny ankizy ve sa tsy an-kanavaka ho an'ny lehibe sy tanora koa,

Ny angano nosoratako aloha dia nataoko ho an'ny ankizy e fa afaka mankafy ny lehibe

5. Inona no mahasamy hafa ny angano taloha sy ny ankehitriny,
Ny vanim-potoana niainana sy fomba amam-panao
6. Inona no hevitra sy lanjan'ny fitenenana hoe “Angano, angano, ariraarira, izaho mpitantara, ianareo mpihaino,
Tahaka ny varavarana hanakatonana ny fitantarana io, misy ny fidirana dia misy fivoahana, manana toa io avokoa ny firenena rehetra fa ny teny ampiasaina tsy mitovy, ny ahy manokana izao dia manana koa aho “ angano angano, arira arira, tantarao amin'izay te hino, aza mihinana voamanadino “ ny heviny dia hoe tantarao aelezo ny hafatra, ary tandremo sao hadino .
7. Araka ny hevitrao, inona no anjara asan'ny angano eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy,
Mitaiza , mampita ny soatoavina , mampafantatra ny fototra , ny vakoka .
8. Mbola manana toerana lehibe eo amin'ny fitaizana ny ankizy sy eo amin'ny fampandrosoana ny kolontsaina Malagasy ve ny angano ankehitriny na dia eo aza ny firoboroboan'ny fivoarana teknolojika. Rahaeny, nahoana

Eny, satria maro ireo fandaharana ao radio mbola misy angano amin'izao fotoan izao, ary izay no antompisianay mpitantara angano .azo atao amin'ny fampandrosoana izy satria raha angano mitaiza ny olona hifankatia izao dia ety hisy akony ao amin'ny rafim-piarahamonina, raha angano mitaiza olona hankahala ny hakamoana dia mety hahazoana vokatra tsara amin'ny fampandrosoana satria hiasa tsar any olona, angano mitaiza ny olona tsy hifanambaka , (marihiko fa angano TSY HATAOKO mihitsy ny IKOTOFETSY SY IMAHAKA satria mifanohtra @ fomba fijeriko, amiko dia tsy tokony atao ny angano tahaka ireny satria mitaiza ny olona ho fatsora, ho tia kely, tia fanambakana,

Rahatsia, inonaarakanyhevitrao no tokonyataohahatonganyankizy, nytanora, nylehibe ho liana amin'nyangano,

9. Araka ny hevitrao, inona no anjaraasan'ny mpitantara angano manoloana izany
Mitaiza, mizara ilay atao hoe vakoka , mampafantra ny fototra niavina,
10. Azo hitarafana ny zava-misy eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina ve ny zavatra tantaraina aoamin'nyangano, ohatra manokana ny lamina ara-tsosialy (structure sociale) na ny famaritana ny toetra tokony hanan'ny lehilahy sy vehivavy,
Ie izaho mahita izay satria raha atao ohatra izao ny angano RANORO dia taratra fa tena nisy famoretana sy fiheverana ny vehivavy ho fanaka malemy satria dia moramora foana ho an'Andriambodilova ny manao teny maharary an'I Ranoro .

11. Lehilahy sa vehivavy no tena natokana hitantara angano e oamin'nyfiaraha-monina taloha sy ankehitriny, nahoana,

Rehefa mahay mampita hevitra sy mahavariana ny ankizy dia mety foana ohatra izao I ARIKOMSA RANDRIA dia lehilahy tena mahay mitantara angano

12. Araka ny hevitrao, inona ny fahasamihafana eo amin'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy izy hita misongadina ao amin'nyangano
Eo amin'ny angano fahiny dia tsapako hoe Ny lehilahy no matetika tompon'ny teny fa ny vehivavy dia ilay mandefitra, ilay miaritra .
13. Fanontaniana mikasika ny anjaratoeran'ny vehivavy ao anatin'nyangano:
Ny vehivavy dia ilay alaina ho vady , ilay mikarakara lehilahy, ilay mikarakara taranaka .
 - a. Azonao lazaina ve ny anjara toeran'ny vehivavyaoamin'nyanganomisympandrayanjaralombelona,
Ny vehivavy dia ilay manaraka ny fitondran'ny lehilahy hatrany ,
 - b. Misy fivoarana ve ny fomba fijery ny ankizivavy na vehivavy ankehitriny raha nyangano no resahina,
Ny angano aloha ny ahy dia nataoko hoe tsara fiafara foana, izany hoe izay tsy mandiso fanantenana ny mpamaky sy mpihaino ahy, satria aho rehefa mamaky boky ka ratsy fiafarana dia tsy tiako, ny fijeriny dia faly ry zareo, maniry ho princesse moa zany ny vavikely, ny reny manatrika ny angano notantaraiko dia milaza fa mahafinaritra azy hono izay foana aloha henoko,
 - c. Inona ny fiovananafivoaranatsikaritraonatsapanaoaryhitataratraoamin'nytantarainaomikasi kanyanjaratoeran'nyvehivavy,
Nisy angano izay nataoko tao EPP Mahamasina Est sy CEG TSIMBAZAZA ary ny tsapa dia ny sary navoakan'ny ankizy rehefa vita ny angano dia hoe TSY AZO ATA0 MAMONO VEHIVAVY (mampiova ankizy hahalala ny zon'ny vehivavy ilay angano, nampiova ny ankizy karazana outil de sensibilisation izany ilay izy , voarakitra ao amin'ny ECES vondrona eropeana izay nanao ny fanentanana sy naka ahy hanao angano mikasika ny herisetra atao ny vehivavy izany, satria nanoratra angano personnalisé ho azy aho ary RASOA no lohateniny fa niainga tamin'ny angano ntaolo hoe RANORO izy io moa izany .
 - d. Hita taratra aoamin'ny anganoankehitrinyvenyivoaran'nyanjaratoeran'nyvehivavyeoamin'nyfiaraha-monina
Matoa ny ECES izay ao vondrona eropeana nampanao ahy angano personnalisé io dia misy fiatraikany izany .
Mitaiza ny angano azo ampiasaina ho fitaovana entina hanentanana ny angano Izaho dia manao ilay fampivoarana izay satria ny angano ataoko dia iezahako hanaraka ny zon'olombelona izay efa voizina amin'izao, tsy ekeko intsony ny fanambiana atao ny vehivavy, izay no voiziko sy zaraiko .

- e. Manana fahefana bebeko koa ve ny vehivavy raha mitaha amin'ny taloha, naao antokantrano aao ivelan'ny tokantrano (secteur public)

TSY AZOKO ITY FANONTANIANA ITY

- f. Misy angano ve fantatraonanotantarainaonanorosoratanaoizay vehivavy no mpandrayanjarafototraao aminy. Rahaeny, azona olazainave hoe manao ahoanany toetran'ny vehivavy a amin'ny angano toy izany (izany hoe ny "heroine").
Rafitiamadio – tsikimena – Ingalingalivola –
- Vehivavy miaritra ny mafy saingy samy vehivavy no mifanambany – (rafitiamadio) fa tsy maintsy mandresy ny manao ny tsara sy tsara fanahy .
 - Samy vehivavy mifanambany Ny vehivavy dia ampijalian'ny vehivavy lehibe ohatra ny rafozana mampijaly vinanto (tantara notantaraina)
 - Ny vehivavy ambanian'ny lehilahy (RANORO)
 - Ny vehivavy manavotra ny namany (INGALINGALIVOLA)
- g. Inona no metyzava-tsarotraatrehiny, Ahoanany fombahanatrehan'izany, Inona no nahatonga azy handresy ary ho tody amin'ny tanjonairiany (toetramanokanana ezakamanokanana taony ve, fanampiana avy any ivelany ve).
Ingalingalivola dia miezaka be hanampiana ny namany, nila fanampiana avy tamin'ny zokiny sy rainy , ary tafitany ny tanjony efa ifikirany
- h. Inona no toetratsaramampihavakany vehivavy Malagasy izay hitatratrao amin'ny angano
Mahari-pery – mandefitra – miezaka -
- i. Inona no toetraizay mety tsikeraina eo amin'ny vehivavy Malagasy amin'ny lalalan'ny angano (oh. Fahatendan-kanina o amin'ny lalangan'ny angano hoe Ikalasarotra)
**Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo dia saro-tahotra ny vehivavy (ifaramalemy)
Manaiky ny lehilahy na dia tsy sitrany aza (renin'Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo)**

Fanonataniana fanampiny

1. Hoy ianao hoe eo amin'ny angano taloha dia tsapanao fa ny lehilahy no matetika tompon'ny teny fa ny vehivavy mandefitra, miaritra. **Toy izany koa ve ny ankehitriny sa misy fahasamihafana? Inona no mety fahasamihafana misongadina** ary hita taratra amin'ny angano ankehitriny, indrindra ireo izay tantarainao/soratanao?

Ankehitriny dia izaho niezaka nanova fijery hoe mitovy zo ny lahy sy vavy, ka ampafantariko anaty angano FARAMALEMY SY IKOTOBEKIBO fa tsy azo atao manambanimbany fa sao ireo zaza tsy norarahiana no hatafita any aoriana

2. “Ny vehivavy dia ilay manaraka ny fitondran’ny lehilahy hatrany,” Manana **ohatra angano maneho io ve ianao?**

[ifaramalemy sy ikotbekbp](#) dia mazava io, ny rainy te hanary azy ary tsy nanaiky reniny nefa dia voatery nanaraka ny tann’ny rainy

Fanontaniana fanampiny mikasika ny fiaraha-miasa tamin’ny ECES

1. Fiaraha miasa tamin’ny ECES aho satria zareo no nifidy ahy, tsy misy ankoatra izay

Nisy fifantenna nataon’ny zareo fikambanana maromaro, ny vehivavy, ny société civile, ny UNION EUROPEENNE

Projet mandalo izy io, izany hoe tanaty fotoana voafetra ary efa vita ny projet ka tsy haiku raha misy projet hafa indray

Ny ECES dia nifidy ahy amin’ny maha vehivavin’ny literatiora ahy, nisy maromaro zahay no nanavana fisafidianana ary nisy naoty nomena ka izay ambiony naoty no nahazo ilay tendry

Nisy, tao amin’ny EPP MAHAMASINA ATSIMO NA ILAY ATAO HOE la maison de soldat tao an-tsekoly ary nanao fanentanana tao zahay momba ny zon’ny vehivavy

Ny mpianatra tao an-tsekoly no nihaino

2. ny ECES NY FAHALALAKO AZY DIA MPANARAMASO NY FIFIDIANANA niaraka tamin’ny vondrona eropeana ankoatra izay tsy misy haiku fa tsara aminao omeko ny adiresy responsible dia manoratra email aminy

3. Eny satria ny angano afrikana dia mifono anatra sy fahendrena ary natao hitaizana ny fiaraha monina, fomba nentina nitaizana fiaraha monina sy nametrahana foto-pisainana

FANONTANIANA SY VALINY

1. Azonao lazaina ve ny mombamomba anao ?

ANARANA: ANDRIANAVALONTSEHENO Haritiana

Daty nahaterahana: 10/12/1976

FIKAMBANANA: Havatsa Upem (birao)
RAR (Filoha mpanorina)
Fmts (birao)

ASA: Lehibena sampandraharaha iray tamina orinasa mikarakara sakafo JB
xxxxx teo aloha

Mitantana orinasa Edisiona EDIRAR sy Ekipa mpanao fanentanana
lanonana RAR CIRCUS (nefa dia mahakasika angano sisa no ataoko izao)

Traikefa eo amin'ny tontolon'ny angano:

- a- Nianatra fitantarana angano ve? ENY
 - Maro ny fikarohana nataoko tao anaty interineto momba ny hevitra ny angano. Ireo mpanoratra fanta-daza sy ny antony nampamiratra azy. Ny angano mahaliana ny olona sy ny fiovan'ny lovan-tsofina araka ny faritra misy ny mpitantara. Misy ihany koa fikarohana nataoko ho fampitahako ny angano avy any ivelany sy ny voatahiry teto an-toerana (nanomboka ny taona 2000 tany ho any anaty cyber)
 - Nianarako ihany koa ny fihetsika sy ny fisehoana ivelany (comment parler en public?) ISCAM ANKADIFOTSY 2004
 - Ankoatra ireo dia nisy fifanakalozana traikefa nataoko tamin'ny mpianatra Malagasy iray teny amin'ny anjery manontolo nanomboka ny taona voalohany nianarany hatramin'ny taona fahadimy (taona 2015 tato an-trano) ka ny momba ny angano sy ny tsara ho fantatra hatrany no nalaiko tany aminy
 - Manatrika atrik'asa momba ny lahabolana am-bava ihany koa ny tenako rehefa misy ireny (Havatsa Upem, Ministeran'ny kolontsaina, Unesco)
 - b- Taona 2000 no nanombohako nitondra ny anarana Rakemba fa teo aloha mbola tsy ofisialy
 - c- Manoratra angano aho ka angano vaovao mifanaraka amin'izao vanim-potoana misy antsika izao no soratako. Tsy maka tahaka tamin'ireo tantara teo aloha aho mba hanamarika ny vanimpotoanantsika
- 1) Mbola mitantara sy manoratra angano aho amin'ny onjam-peo ViVA FM 98.8 isaky ny Alarobia hariva @ 4 ora sy sasany

- 2) Amin'ny fahitalavitra KOLO Tv sy RTA sy VIVA TELE indraindray rehefa miantso izy ireo
- 3) Any amin'ny sekoly tsy miankina
 - EDN Ankadilalana Ambohimangakely isaky ny alakamisy faran'ny volana
 - Andrian school Andoharanofotsy alarobia hariva indroa isambolana
 - Trois Colombes Amboditsiry isaky ny fety
 - Collège le Kangourou Faliarivo Ampitatafika isaky ny fety
- 4) Ankalamanjana
 - Niarahana tamin'ny Ministeran'ny kolontsaina (hetsika iray volan'ny ankizy tsikonona sy angano) teo anoloan'ny biblioteka nasionaly Anosy
 - Niarahana t@ mpanonta boky eto Madagasikara AEDIM (hetsika foaraben'ny boky) teo anoloan'ny zaridaina Antaninarenina
 - Niarahana t@ Federasiona mpikanto ny teny sy ny soratra Malagasy FMTS angano mitety vohitra EPP Ambohimandra, EPP Avaradoha, EPP Anaty hazo Isotry, Tranompokonolona 3GAngard Isotry
- 5) Niarahana t@ ONG
 - UNESCO Antanimena fety noely sy iray volan'ny ankizy
 - SOS village d'enfant Ivontovorona fety noely
 - Niarahana t@ MARISOL EDUCATION zaridaina Andohalo
 - Alliance Française Andavamamba fety indroa isan-taona
 - Institut Français de Madagascar isaky ny fahatelon'ny herinandro amin'ny volana hatramin'izao. Daty manaraka 24 Août 2019/ 9 SEPT 2019/ 20 DEC 2019
- 6) Comune rurale Andriambilany (Ankalamanjana), Behenjy (Ankalamanjana), Arivonimamo (tranompokonolona), Ambositra (tranompokonolona), Fianarantsoa (ankalamanjana), Vatomandry (fianakaviana), Mahajanga (tranoben'ny kolontsaina)
- 7) Misy ihany koa ny fianakaviana miantso hanafana tsingerin-taona na hampilalao ankizy mandritry ny fivoriam-pianakaviana.

N.B.: kelikely ny contrat t@ ity taona ity ireo no mahafehy azy.

2. Ny nahatonga ahy ho liana amin'ny fitantarana angano:

Sehatra mbola vitsy mpitrandraka eo amin'ny tontolon'ny kolontsaina ny angano ka nahasarika ahy. Misy ihany ireo mitantara angano fa tsy manao izany ho anton'asa hivelomana. Naka karatra mahamatiana ahy tany @ ivonketra aho rehefa hitako fa azo antoka ny tsenam-barotra.

Nianatra momba ny fananganana orinasa sy ny fitantanana aho tao amin'ny ISCAM Ankadifotsy dia nisy sehatra nanoro lalana

ahy mba ahitako fahombiazana LE CEENTRE (tsy diso io e roa io fa ohatr'izao mihitsy) dia nanao hetsika fampahafantarana ahy izaho sy ny ekipako, niantso ireo mpanao gazety rehetra teto antoerana. Dia nitety sekoly nizara taratasy fampahafantarana ankoatra ny petadrindrina samihafa.

3. Amin'ny mahaangano foronina ny angano tantaraiko dia miezaka aho ny ahasahana ny karazana angano rehetra misy mba ahafahan'ny anganoko mitety vanim-potoana maharitra.

a- Fananarana sy fampianarana fahalalam-pomba mba hahaliana ny ray aman-dreny ny hividy azy satria misy hafatra

Angano fiandohana ohatra: sady tantara kely mahaliana no misy anatra entiny ihany koa. "Avy aiza no niavian'ny sira?" "Inona no mampisy elanelana ny tany sy ny lanitra?"

Nosaloran'ny mpanao gazety ny anarana hoe Mpanjakavavin'ny angano aho ka niezaka ny ho mendrika io anarana io. Mialohan'ny hitantarako ny angano efa nomaniko dia mametraka fanontaniana @ mpanatrika foana aho: "*Rehefa manao ireto fanamiana ireto aho dia manana fanomezam-pahasoavana manokana mahavaly ny fanontaniana rehetra ka fotoana izao hanontanianareo izay manitikitika anareo hatrizay*". Dia ezahiko valiana @ alalan'ny angano dia eo aho vao mamorona. Izany hoe ezahina tsy hivaona @ drafitra takian'ny angano nefa mahavaly ny fanontanian'ny mpanatrika.

b- Ahitana karazana mpandray anjara araka izany ny angano tantaraiko olona raha mahakasika ny vanim-potoana fahapanjaka no mahasahana ilay valiny sy hafatra tiako hampitaina. Biby raha misy tsimbadika mety tsy ho vitan'ny olombelona nefa azo tantaraina ho tantara. Ny hazo sy ny zava-boary hafa ihny koa : volana, kintana, rahona, sns

d- Voambolana noezahina ho takatry ny rehetra no nampiasaina, voambolana fampiasa ankehitriny

e- Mampiasa hatsikana aho no sady manao fihetsika mampihomehy rehefa mitantara angano. Ny angano mantsy amin'ny ankapobeny dia noheverina fa tantara mampatory, ka raha atao mitovy hatrany ny feo eo am-pitantarana dia hatory avokoa ny mpanatrika. Tamin'ny fikarohana nataoko no nahalalako fa tsy afaka miaritra ela loatra ny sain'ny ankizy raha misy resaka atao aminy. Dia mba hitazomako ny sainy hifantoka amiko no anton'ny hatsikana sy fihetsika miovaova ary ireo fanamiana hafa kely anaovako.

- f- Miovaova ny tontolo isehoan'ny tantara, tsy tontolo nofy tsy takatra nefa fa miainga @ zavatra hita hatrany. Ohatra: Tritriva, lanitra, ny avana (arc en ciel) sns
- g- Amin'ny ankapobeny dia fampanjakana ny rariny ny lesona ataoko, fa misy koa ireo sekoly na fikambanana manao fangatahana manokana satria fantany fa mamorona aho dia atao mifanitsy @ anatra tiany hampitaina ny tantara sy anatra atao. Ohatra: fananarana ny tsy hifohana sigara sy hisotroana toaka.

4. Tsy manavaka taona ny angano tantaraiko, ny voasoratra ho boky no natokana ho an'ny ankizy 3-16 taona, fa ny tantaraina kosa dia mahaliana ny mpanatrika rehetra, na kely izany na lehibe.
5. Ankoatry ny tsy mba nahalalana ireo mpamorona azy dia ny fampiasan'ireo nandika ny lovan-tsofina ireo voambolana sarotra sy tsy dia faheno firy ireo no mamaritra ny angano fahiny. Ny anaran'ireo mpilalao ihany koa dia tena sarotra tadidiana be ka mazàna izy ireo mifangaro be ihany. Ny mpanoratra angano ankehitriny kosa sady mampiasa ny teny fampiasa andavanandro no manamora ny fahazoana ny angano fahiny ka maro izy ireny no manoratra tantara iray fa hevitra samihafa. Ikotofetsy sy Imahaka (ahitana mpanoratra mihoatra ny fito) mitantara ny momba azy io.
6. Angano, angano, arira, arira. Izaho mpitantara, ianareo mpihaino: fizarana ny anjara andraikity ny mpihaino sy mpitantara io. Anjaran'ny mpitantara ny manamarina na manamafy ny zavatra lazainy na marin a tena marina io na marina namboarina. Ny anjaran'ny mpihaino kosa dia mihaino sy maka lesona ka na hino izy na tsia IZAHO MPITANTARA DIA IANAREO MPIHAINO; Araka ny iarahantsika mahalala dia Arira no entina milaza ny angano mampiteny biby, ny biby anefa tsy fantatra mazava ny resaka lazainy, anjaran'ny mpitantara ny manamarina fa izay tokoa no nambaran'ilay voay, ka raha liana ny mpihaino dia mety ahita anaty sary an-tsaina ilay biby miresaka.
7. Mitondra anatra tsy maty fafana ny angano, raha baiko na hafatra tsotra mety ho adino rehefa vita ny resaka. Fa ny angano kosa dia misy sary efa noforonin'ny mpitantara miaraka t@ mpihaino nandravahana azy ka mijanona maharitra anaty tadidy.
8. Mbola manana ny toerany tokoa ny angano ho an'ireo mpanjifa azy mivantana sy ho ireo efa manomboka mamoha io kolontsaina io ho lasa anaty fandaharana any am-pianarana. Ny mpamorona angano no tokony hiezaka hanaraka ny fivoaran'ny teknolojia satria tsy azo sakanana ny fampivoarana.
9. Asiana angano sary miaina ohatra dia sady entina mampianatra teny vahiny ho an'ny zaza Malagasy no azo jifain'ny vahiny te hahay fiteny Malagasy koa. Miezaka hatrany manao fikarohana ny fandrosoan'ireo firenena hafa hita fa manjifa betsaka ny angano.

10. Misy sary avy amin'ny fiaraha-monina azo tarafina tsara anaty angano tantaraiko. Raha ny angano "Abobo" ohatra dia mamaritra ny anjara andraikity ny mpampiasa sy ny mpiasa eo aminy, misy hafetsena tsikaritra nataon'ireo olona niasa nahita ny fahatsoran'ilay mpampiasa. Ny zanaka vavy no niray hevitra ka nanao izay hamahana ny olana nitranga. Midika izany eto fa izy telopolo lahy nilaza ho narary dia sady kamo no be tenda. Ny hafetsena na ny hamailahan-tsain'izy telo mirahavavy no nahavaky ny lainga tsara tototra. Eto dia voafaritra ho telo ny toetry ny mpilalao: voalohany ilay mpampiasa tsotra be ka araraotin'ny mpiasa, faharoa ireo mpiasa fetsy ka nitady hevitra ratsy hamelezana ilay mpampiasa, fahatelo izy telo mirahavavy namaha ny olana nitranga.
11. Fahiny dia ny taona na ny fahamatorana no namaritana ny lanjan'ny mpitantara angano. Ny olona efa antitra na koa noheverina ho efa matotra no nitantara angano ka tsy nampaninona io na ho lahy io mpitantara io na vavy koa. Ankehitriny kosa efa nivelatra ho an'ny sarangan-taona rehetra ny fitantarana angano ka tsy nampisy olana ho an'ny mpihaino velively izany. Mety izany na lahy na vavy ny mpitantara angano.
12. Anaty angano raha mbola io angano "Abobo" io ihany no tsoahina dia ny hery tanjaka sy ny fahefana no asehon'ny maha lehilahy, ny vehivavy kosa indray dia mitondra fandaminana; hafetsena na koa faharanitan-tsaina manoloana ny olana.
13. Anjara toeran'ny vehivavy anaty angano:
- a- Ny hatsarana na tarehy na toetra no tena mampisongadina ny vehivavy anaty angano.
 - b- Amin'ny ankapobeny dia tsapa fa manana fahatokisan-tena kokoa ny vehivavy ankehitriny raha ampitahaina @ zava-nisy teo aloha. Ny angano nisy an'i Ravolahanta ohatra vehivavy nentanim-pitia ka lasa namono tena niaraka t@ ilay olon-tiany (angano fahiny) amin'izao fotoana izao aho raha mitantara io angano io dia nanafoana tanteraka ny famonoana tena ka nitondra fijery hafa ho an'ilay porofom-pitiavana tian'ilay namorona ny angano havoitra.
 - c- Mbola misy ihany ny tsindry mahazo ny vehivavy @ sehatra andavan'andro ka izany indrindra no mahatonga ahy hanampy tosika manokana ny vehivavy na ny ankizivavy hanana fahatokian-tena rehefa mitantara angano aho.
 - d- Hita tokoa satria efa tsy mivoy loatra ny fahalemen'ny vehivavy aho @ angano vao noforoniko taty aoriana. Ny mpanoratra hafa mitrandraka ny angano fantatro ankehitriny dia ireo mamoha ny lasa na mamelona ny lovantsofina fahiny ka mamerina ny tantara efa nisy fotsiny ihany.
 - e- Tena efa eken'ny fiarahamonina ankehitriny mihitsy ny fanomezana toerana bebe kokoa ny vehivavy ankehitriny. Raha ny eto an'ivon-tany ohatra dia efa

ahitana ny vehivavy avokoa ny sehatr'asa rehetra: mpitarika posy, sofera taxi, mitondra kamio miaramila, polisy sns... Izany sehatra izany taloha dia noheverina fa sehatra natokana ho an'ny lehilahy nefa dia efa eken'ny fiaraha-monina ny hitrandrahan'ny vehivavy azy ankehitriny.

- f- Vehivavy "heroine" eny ny sira ohatra angano fiandohana entina amaliana ny fanontanian'ny ankizy hoe inona no mampangidy sira ny ranomasina na ny hoe: avy aiza ny fiavian'ny sira. Fifehezana sy tsy fahazoana alalana t@ rainy ny olana nosedrain'ilay tovovavy saingy nahazo fanampiana avy tany ivelany izy ka nivoaka ho mpandresy ihany. Tsy vitsy ireo nilany fanampiana fa nandà ny hanampy azy saingy tsy kivy izy fa nanana herim-po ka nanohy nitady mpanampy hatrany. Tonga @ tanjony izy ny fiafaran'ny tantara.
- g- Toetra tsaran'ny vehivavy Malagasy: tsotra, tia karokaroka, mandefitra fa mahay mandanjalanja ny zavatra mitranga.
- h- Amin'ny angano nosoratako dia misy ihany koa ireo vehivavy be fialonana ka mahatonga azy hanao ratsy ny hafa. (Famosaviana) anaty angano ny sokatra no ahitana an'izany.

FANAMARIHANA

- Misy ohatra tao anaty angano nosoratako t@ valinteny navaliko satria @ ankapobeny tsy dia mitantara anganon'olona hafa loatra aho raha tsy ny mpikarakara ny lanonana hotroniko no manao fangatahana momba izany. Noho izany dia tsy dia mahalala loatra ny angano vaovao @ izao fotoana aho fa ny ahy ihany.
- Raha misy valinteny mampisalasala anao dia mbola azonao angatahana fanamafisana aho @ fanontaniana hafa. Mirary ny soa sy ny tsara ho anao dia ho tonga @ tanjona irinao anie ianao.

VALIM-PANONTANIANA

1. Ny mombamomba ahy :

Anarana: RANDRIAMANANTENA Arsène

Solon'anarana: ARIKAOMISA RANDRIA

Asa: Mpitantana trano mpamokatra sy mpampianatra momba ny serasera ary mpanoratra

Traikefa eo amin'ny tontolon'ny angano:

- a- Ny fandaharana fitantarana angano, mitondra ny lohateny hoe “Angano, angano, arira arira”, izay niandraiketako tao amin'ny Radio Don Bosco, nanomboka tamin'ny taona 1996 ka hatramin'ny taona 2007, no nahatonga ahy ho lasa mpitantara angano.
 - b- Nanomboka ny taona 1996 aho no nitantara angano
 - c- Manoratra angano aho ary izaho ihany no mamorona azy
 - d- Mbola manoratra sy mitantara angano aho ankehitriny, ka anisan'izany ny tao amin'ny IVOKOLO Analakely sy ny AfT Andavamamba. Tsy misy fotoana raikitra hitantarako angano, fa rehefa misy miantso vao manao. Ohatra: tao amin'ny ONG MANDA, tamin'ny volana jona sy jolay 2019 teo.
2. Ny asako tao amin'ny radio sy ny fahatsapako ny havesa-danjan'ny angano eo amin'ny fitaizana no tena nanosika ahy ho lasa mpitantara angano
 3. Ny karazan'angano rehetra dia efa notantaraiko avokoa, indrindra t ao amin'ny radio
 - a- Tsy dia mifidy lohahevitra aho afa-tsy rehefa misy mangataka izany manokana
 - b- Mazàna ny olombelona sy ny biby no tena mpandray anjara ao amin'ny angano tantaraiko satria ireo no maro amin'ny angano misy
 - c- Miezaka mitazona ny teny Malagasy ofisialy aho rehefa mitantara angano, ary tsy manimba izany.
 - d- Miezaka manentana ny mpihaino aho rehefa mitantara angano, mba tsy hahamonamonaina azy ireo. Anisan'izany ny fanaovana fihetsika na teny kely mampihomehy. Tsapa ho mampitombo ny fahalianan'ny mpihaino izany.
 - e- Mifangaro ao anatin'ny angano foroniko ny zava-misy ankehitriny sy ny fahiny, ary ny zava-misy tena izy sy ny tontolo foronina
 - f- Mazàna, ny angano mifototra amin'ny fitaizana ny ankizy mba hahay hiaramonina sy hanam-pahendrena ny angano soratako sy tantaraiko
 4. Tsy manavaka loatra ny angano tantaraiko fa azon'ny rehetra henoina

5. Ny mampiavaka ny angano ankehitriny dia tsy mampiasa teny tranainy loatra intsony satria tsy azon'ny ankamaroan'ny olona intsony ireny, ary efa mihamaro koa ireo angano manaraka ny vanim-potoana.
6. « Ny angano angano, arira arira » dia entina hanambarana fa efa mifarana ilay angano, sady entina ilazana fa tantara noforonina ihany ilay notantaraina teo.
7. Tena fitaizana sy fialam-boly tokoa ny angano, ka azo entina hampitana hafatra, sy hanatsarana ny fiaraha-monina.
8. Tena mbola manana ny anjara toerany tokoa ny angano, indrindra ho an'ny ankizy, ary porofon'izany ny fankafizan'izy ireo sary miaina amin'ny fahitalavitra. Ny tosika avy amin'ireo tompon'andraikitra isan-tsokajiny, mba hampiroboroboana azy no tsy ampy eto Madagasikara, ka zary lasa anjorombala izy ankehitriny. Tsy amin'ny alalan'ny fibedesana na ny fitenenana fotsiny no tokony hananarana ny ankizy, fa amin'ny alalan'ny tantara kely mahaliana azy sy hahafahany mieritreritra an'izay tokony hataony. Tokony homena sehatra lehibe any an-tsekoly sy ao anatin'ireo haino aman-jery maro eto amintsika ny fitantarana angano, ary mpitantara angano matihanina no tokony hanao an'ireny, mba hahaliana ny olona, fa tsy olona tsy manome aina ny teny izay vakiany akory!
9. Tsy tokony ho kivy ireo mpitanta angano, fa miezaka manao izay vitany, mba hampiroboana ny fitantarana angano. Ny herikerika ihany manko no mahatondra-drano.
10. Tena azo hitarafana ny zava-misy eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina tokoa ny zavatra tantaraina ao amin'ny angano.
11. Fahiny, ny renibe no mpitantara angano, ka nahatonga ilay fitenenana hoe "Anganom-bavy antitra", fa ankehitriny kosa tsy mifidy taona sy karazan'olona, na lehilahy na vehivavy intsony izany. Tahaka ny kabary; izay efa azon'ny vehivavy sy ny ankizy atao ankehitriny.
12. Mazàna ny angano fahiny, manome lanja kokoa ny lehilahy sy ny heriny, ary manome lanja ny hatsaran-tarehy sy ny hatsaram-panahy eo amin'ny vehivavy.
13. Ny anjara-toeran'ny vehivavy ao anatin'ny angano:
 - a- Mazàna ny vehivavy dia taratry ny hatsarana ao anatin'ny angano, ka maro ny manao ny fiafaran'ny tantarany ho lasa vadin'ny Mpanjaka, indrindra indray koa anefa dia apetraka eo amin'ny toeran'ny mpamosavy izy, tahaka an'Iketadoza, Ranakombe.
 - b- Ny angano ankehitriny dia efa manomboka manome lanja bebe kokoa ny vehivavy, satria maro ny vehivavy mpitantara angano eto Madagasikara, raha oharina amin'ny lehilahy, ka manandraatra ny zony ao anaty angano izy ireo.
 - c- Tsy mba manavakavaka ny hoe lehilahy na vehivavy ao anaty angano aho, fa mijery ny zava-misy, satria tsy mahavita tena irery ny lehilahy raha tsy eo ny vehivavy, ary torak'izany koa ny vehivavy raha tsy eo ny lehilahy.
 - d- Eny, hita taratra amin'ny angano ankehitriny ny fivoaran'ny anjara toeran'ny vehivavy eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina.

- e- Eny
- f- Tampin'ny taona 2018 dia nisy boky angano vitsivitsy nosoratako izay navoakan'ny EDITIONS JEUNES MALGACHES fiaraha-miasa tamin'ny ECPAT France Madagascar. Ireo boky ireo dia samy vehivavy avokoa ny mpandray anjara fototra ao anatin'ny. Tsy ho ary ho voatanisa amin'ny antsipiriany eto ny momba azy ireo fa ny lohateny ihany no hotanisaiko:
 - Ifaravavy mahery fo
 - Ikala sorona
 - Ilay voninkazo hafakely
 - Ilay mpampanjaka ny rariny
 - Ilay voronkely tsara fanahy
 - Ilay hazo mahagaga
- g- Ny vehivavy Malagasy dia hitoeran'ny hatsaram-panahy sy ny hatsaran-tarehy ary ny fandeferana, raha tarafina ao anatin'ny angano. Tsy voatery ho tsara hatrany koa anefa izy ireo, fa misy hatrany ny maningana sy mahavita zava-doza manaoatra noho ny lehilahy
- h- Misy ireo vehivavy mpamosavy na mpisompatra ao anaty angano, ary matetika maka ny toeran'ny renikely izy ireny.

FANONTANIANA MOMBA NY “GENRE” AO ANATIN’NY ANGANO

14. Lehilahy sa vehivavy no tena natokana hitantara angano eo amin’ny fiaraha-monina taloha sy ankehitriny, nahoana?

Tany aloha, vehivavy (ny renibe) no natokana hitanatra angano satria tena nitana anjara toerana fanabeazana ny ankizy sy ny tanora ny angano. Ny hariva amorompatana efa fiandrasana ny sakafo hariva mametika no nanaovany izany ho an’ny ankizy madinika sy ny zatovo. Ny lehilahy manko nanana anjara asa manokana, dia ny lahasa sy ny fammokarana tany an-tsaha Noheverina mantsy fa ny fotsy volo amin’ny tany ka efa nandia fiainana maro ary afaka mampita anatra sy hafatra avy amin’ny zavatra tantarainy izy.

Ankehitriny, ny vehivavy no mbola hitako fa betsaka mitaha amin’ny isan’ny lehilahy. Afaka mitantara angano izy ireny raha manana toetra mahay maka ny fifantohan’ny ankizy (feo, fitantarana, fivoaran’ny tantara...) sy mahay mitondra azy ireny any amin’ny fakana sary an-tsaina ny zavatra tantarainy. Raha mitondra fanabeazana sy fampitana hafatra hampivoatra ny fiainan’ny hitantarana azy koa dia tsy anilohana azy tsy hitantara angano. Tsy tokony hohadinoina ihany koa fa tokony hitaiza amin’ny lafiny rehetra ny angano, mandray anjara toerana amin’izany ny fitaizana fihetseham-po (tezitra, faly, malahelo, sorena, mitrerona...), ka raha vitany eo am-pitantarana ny milalao izany dia tsy azo ailika izy (antony nandefasako ireo sary maneho fihetseham-po eo am-pitantarana any anat clé)

15. Araka ny hevitrao, inona ny fahasamihafana eo amin’ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy izy hita misongadina ao amin’ny angano,

<p>Lehilahy: matanjaka, be hery, mahavita ny lahasa mafy indrindra any an-tsaha sy an_tanàna, loham-pianakaviana, natao hiezaka izay hampisy ao an-tokantranao, miady fo amin’ny fahazoana izay ho andefimandry</p>	<p>Vehivavy: malemilemy, malefadefaka, misahana ny asa ao an-tokantrano, tsy mivoaka lavitra ny tokantranony, natao hangatahana ao an-tranon-dray aman-dreniny na amin’ny terana misy azy manokana</p>
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16. Fanontaniana mikasika ny anjara toeran’ny vehivavy ao anatin’ny angano:
 j. Azonao lazaina ve ny anjara toeran’ny vehivavy ao amin’ny angano misy mpandray anjara olombelona,

Anjara toeran’ny vehivavy ao amin’ny angano misy mpandray anjara olombelona:
 - zanakavavy manoa ray sy reny, (Ohatra, anganon’Ivorombe niteraka an’Imaitsoanala izay tsy maintsy miandry sy manoa ny reniny na dia tonga eo amin’ny fotoanan’ny fitiavana sy ny fisafidianana olon-tiana aza, cf Anganon’ny Ntaolo)

- reny natao hahazoana taranaka ka miaritra ny mafy mba hahazoana izany sy hitandremana izay hahaveloman'izay ho taranany (Ohatra : hita ao amin'ny tantaran-dRasoabemanana renin'Ibonia, cf Anganon'ny Ntaolo)
- reny miahy zanaka, indrindra fa ny osa sy ny malemy (Ohatra: ny renin'Isilakolona, tsy nety nandao azy na teo aza ny fanilihan'ny rainy sy ny iray tampo aminy an'Isilakolona noho ny kilema ananany, cf Anganon'ny Ntaolo)
- mpanampy ny vadiny amin'ny fanapahan-kevitra raisina,
- mpanaraka am-bokony ny hevitra sarotra tsy maintsy raisin'ny vadiny (Ohatra: ny renin'Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo tamin'ny fanariana azy mianadahy noho ny hasarotry ny fiainana)

k. Misy fivoarana ve ny fomba fijery ny ankizivavy na vehivavy ankehitriny raha ny angano no resahina,

Eny, misy tokoa.
Ankehitriny, voaresaka misimisy kokoa ny ankizivavy sy ny vehivavy. Tsy mainkina amin'izay fananana mampiavaka azy, toy ny hita amin'ny tantaran-drafotsibe nanana trano tataro ka nampitomany an'ilay rangahibe mba te hiara-mitoetra aminy sy nanomezana an-drafotsy ny androantokom-pananana. Saingy nvadika ny rasa rehefa rovitra ny trano tsihiny ka rangahy no nahavita trano bongo, ary nomena an-drangahy ny androantokom-pananana. (cf. Anganon'ny Ntaolo, Kitay telo an-dalana)

l. Inona ny fiovana na fivoarana tsikaritrao na tsapanao ary hita taratra ao amin'ny tantarainao mikasika ny anjara toeran'ny vehivavy,

Be herim-po, tsy manaiky lembenana amin'ny ratsy ataon'ny hafa. Tompon'andraikitra amin'ny ataony sy ny fiainana atrehany, manana anjara toerana mitovy amin'ny lehilahy fa tsy ambaniana na dia tsy ampy hery enti-mamita zavatra noho ny lehilahy aza.

m. Hita taratra aoamin'ny angano ankehitriny ve ny fivoaran'ny anjara toeran'ny vehivavy eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina

n. Manana fahefana bebe kokoa ve ny vehivavy raha mitaha , na ao an-tokantrano na ao ivelan'ny tokantrano (secteur public)

Miankina amin'ny hodidina (paramètres) sy fepetra ary fisainan'ny fiarahamonina misy azy no ananany fahefana bebe kokoa na tsia.

- Manana fahefana izy, raha manana hery sy ezaka entina mandresy ny fiheverana fa fanaka malemy ny vehivavy.
- manana fahefana izy raha manana sy fahaizana entina mihoatra na misongona izay zavatra vitan'ny lehilahy

o. Misy angano ve fantatrao na notantarainao na nosoratanao izay vehivavy no mpandray anjara fototra . Raha eny, azonao lazaina ve hoe manao ahoana ny

toetran'ny vehivavy ao amin'ny angano toy izany (izany hoe ny "heroine"). Inona no mety zava-tsarotra atrehiny, Ahoana ny fomba hanatrehany izany, Inona no nahatonga azy handresy ary ho tody amin'ny tanjona iriany (toetra manokana na ezaka manokana nataony ve, fanampiana avy any ivelany ve).

Eny, Rasoamiaramila. (jereo video)

Tsy manaiky lembenana amin'izay safidy hametrahana ny fiainan-ko aviny. Rehefa nanapa-kevitra anefa dia tsy mivadika amin'iny fa miezaka sy milofo hatrany mba hiarovana izay nekena ka mahita hirika hanatrarana ny ratsy sy hanambarana ny tena marina.

Zava-tsarotra atrehiny, fahatsorany ka anararaotan'nt hafa azy. Ny iatrehany izany dia ny fananany herim-po tsy hay tohaina izay miainga avy amin'ny ezaka manokana ataony aloha, izay vao misy ny fanampiana avy any ivelany

p. Inona no toetra tsara mampihavaka ny vehivavy Malagasy izay hita taratra ao amin'ny angano

Be herim-po, be fitiavana ny ray aman-dreny sy ny fianakaviany, mora matoky ny hafa, tia mifandray amin'ny manodidina azy, tso-piaina, mora fitahina sy mora ambakaina

q. Inona no toetra izay mety tsikeraina eo amin'ny vehivavy Malagasy amin'ny alalan'ny angano (oh. Fahatendan-kanina ao amin'ilay angano hoe Ikalasarotra)

Kamovavy nefa tendan-kanina.

Tia tena, tsy misaina hafa ankoatra ny sakafo

Tsy mahalala menatra

Manakalo vady aman-janaka amin'ny hatendana

Fanontaniana

17. Azonao lazaina ve ny mombamomba anao

Anarana: RAKOTOMAVO Tokiharimanitra Tsikimilamina

Tsiky Rakotomavo no isalorana eo amin'ny Tontolon'ny angano

Asa: Tale Misahana ny maha Izy ara-Kolontsaina (Directeur de l'Identité Culturelle) eo anivon'ny Minisiteran'ny Serasera sy ny Kolontsaina

Traikefa eo amin'ny tontolon'ny angano:

f. Nianatra ny fitantarana angano ve ianao, raha eny, azonao lazaina ve ny fotoana sy toerana nanaovanao izany. Raha tsia, ahoana no nahatonga anao ho mpitantara angano matihanina

Tsia, tsy nianatra fa tia mitantara amin'ny ankizy nobeazina teo amin'ny Skoto zazavavy izay notarihina.

g. Oviana ianao no nanomboka nitantara angano

Efa hatramin'ny taona 1999

h. Manoratra angano ihany koa ve ianao, ianao ve no mamorona izany sa miainga amin'ny angano efa nisy teo aloha

Eny,mamorona no ilazana azy ho ahy satria amin'ny maha lahabolana ny angano dia foronina sy tantaraina am-bava fa ny boky no fomba hitahirizana azy.Tamin'ny 2008 aho namoaka boky angano mitondra ny lohateny hoe:" Ombe"

i. Mbola mitantara sy manoratra angano ve ianao ankehitriny. Raha eny, azonao lazaina ve ny fotoana, toerana hanaovanao izany, raha tsia, azonao lazaina ve ny antony.

Mitantara fa tsy toy ny teo aloha ny fotoana itantarana noho ny fitomboan'ny andraikitra sahanina.Ny toerana itantarana dia ao an-tokantrano, sekoly samihafa,Ivokolo-cemdlac Analakely,eo anivon'ny fikambanana manabe samihafa.

18. Inona no nahatonga anao ho liana tamin'ny fitantarana angano, inona no nataonao mba hidirana amin'izany sehatra izany (Nisy olona na fikambanana nanampy ve nahatonga anao ho fanta-daza teo amin'ny tontolon'ny angano)

Tsy nisy araka ny efa nambarako teo fa vokatry ny fitarihana teo amin'ny fanabeazana Skoto izay nisy ahy teo aloha.

Hitako ho zava-dehibe ary mamporisika ahy hitantara angano amin'ny zanako rehefa injay fa misy delestazy na fahatesan'ny jiro.Miangona amin'ny efitrano iray mantsy izahay ka mahaliana ny ankizy ny mihaino ny angano tantaraina.

19. Karazan'angano manao ahoana no tantarainao

g. Inona no lohahevitra voizina amin'izany, nahoana

Fifankatiavana, fifanampiana, fanabeazana ho vanona, fahatsiarovan-tena,fifandraisana no lohahevitra satria toetra takina hampilamina ny fiarahamonina ireo.

h. Manao ahoana ireo mpandray anjara: biby na zava-boary na olombelona ve, nahoana

Misy angano ahitana sarim-biby toy nysaka,voalavo,omby, izaymanana toetra itovizany amin'ny olombelona.Misy indray milaza olombelona mivantana,sy nyZanahary izay namorona ny zavaboahary rehetra.

- i. Manao ahoana ny voambolana ampiasainao amin'izany (mifanaraka amin'ny vanim-potoana ankehitriny ve)
Voambolana tsotra,tsy misy tenin-jatovo
 - j. Mampiasa hatsikana na milaza zavatra mampihomehy ny mpanatrika ve ianao rehefa mitantara angano, raha eny, azonao lazaina ve ny fomba ilazanao izany sy ny fandraisan'ny mpihaino izany. Raha tsia, azonao lazaina ve ny antony tsy hanaovanao hatsikana.
Misy angano iray misy mampihomehy ihany izay heveriko fa mampifantoka bebe kokoa ny olona noho ilay izy lava loatra.
Hitako ho mamapifantoka ny mpiahino ihany koa ny fihetsiky ny Tanana ny feon'ny mpandray anjara tantaraina ao amin'ny angano.Mahavariana ny mpihaino ireny fihetsika sy feo miovaova ireny.
 - k. Manao ahoana ny tontolo isehoan'ny tantara: mifanaraka amin'ny vanim-potoana ankehitriny ve sa toy ny amin'ny angano fahiny malaza, tontolo foronina ve sa tena misy,
Tontolo foronina avokoa saingy rehefa fotoana aty aorina dia toy ny mifandray amin'ny zava-misy iainana
 - l. Karazana lesona manao ahoana no ampitainao amin'ny angano tantarainao/soratanao,
Famerenana ao an-tsain'ny ankizy fa ireny ohabolana ireny dia anganotaloha ary nampitaina am-bava hany ka lasa fehezanteny fohy sisa.Araka izany ny ankamaroan'ny anganoko dia milaza fiandohan'ohabolana.Oh “Voalavo sasatry ny miaina ka saka matory avy no alam-bolom-bava”
20. Misy mpihaino voafantina manokana ve amin'izany, izany hoe natokana fotsiny ho an'ny ankizy ve sa tsy an-kanavaka ho an'ny lehibe sy tanora koa,
Natao ho an'ny rehetra ny naganoa amiko satria mila beazina na diany olon-dehibe aza
21. Inona no mahasamy hafa ny angano taloha sy ny ankehitriny,
Sekoly fianarana ny angano fahiny fa ankehitriny toa zary fampatoriana zaza,fialana voly fotsiny izany.
22. Inona no hevitra sy lanjan'ny fitenenana hoe “Angano, angano, arira arira, izaho mpitantara, ianareo mpihaino,
Filazana amin'ireo mpihaino fa tantara toy ny tantara rehetra ihany izay nambara,ka tsy ilay mpilaza no mandainga akory fa notantaraina izany hakana lesona eoa amin'ny fiainana
23. Araka ny hevitrao, inona no anjara asan'ny angano eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy,
Manabe,manitsy fitondran-tena,mitarikany mpiara-belona handala ny tena fiarahamonina mahomby
24. Mbola manana toerana lehibe eo amin'ny fitaizana ny ankizy sy eo amin'ny fampandrosoana ny kolontsaina Malagasy ve ny angano ankehitriny na dia eo aza ny firoboroboan'ny fivoarana teknolojika. Raha eny, nahoana

Mbola mitana toerana eo amin'ny fampandrosoana ny kolontsaina tokoa ny angano satria mbola ao anatin'ny kolontsaina malagasy mihitsy nyfitiavana tantara.Koa fomba hikajiana ny angano nynfameloma-maso izanyhatrany amin'ny taranaka mifandimby

Raha tsia, inona araka ny hevitrao no tokony atao hahatonga ny ankizy, ny tanora, ny lehibe ho liana amin'ny angano,

25. Araka ny hevitrao, inona no anjara asan'ny mpitantara angano manoloana izany
Mila mitantara anganoamin'ny fomba sy sehatra rehetra tokony hanarenana izany.Manentana ny ankizy sy ny tanora ami'ny alalan'ny angano hijoro hatrany amin'ny maha malagasy Na fitetezana sekoly,na fandaharana amin'ny haino aman-jery na fanatonana fikambanana samihafa dia sehatra azo hanatontosana izany.
26. Azo hitarafana ny zava-misy eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina ve ny zavatra tantaraina ao amin'ny angano, ohatra manokana ny lamina ara-tsosialy (structure sociale) na ny famaritana ny toetra tokony hanan'ny lehilahy sy vehivavy,
Efa nambarako teo aloha fa ny zava-misy eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina ihany no ambaran'ny agano.Ho ahy manokana dia fotoana maharitra aty aorian'ny namoronako anganodia tsapako fa misy ifandraisany amin'ny zava-misy ny nambarako . Azo heverina ho faminaniana ny angano eto araka izany
27. Lehilahy sa vehivavy no tena natokana hitantara angano eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina taloha sy ankehitriny, nahoana,
Mety avokoa na lehilahy na vehivavy,saingy ny vehivavy no mahasarika kokoa na eo amin'y fihetsika n any feo,na nyfitafy.Miankina amin'ireo no maha tafita na tsia ny hafatra
28. Arakany hevitrao, inona ny fahasamihafana eo amin'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy izay hita misongadina ao amin'ny angano,
Ny lehilahy,itoeran'ny hery sy tanjaka,ary mpamaha ny olana izay mitranga.Ny vehivavy kosa ilay manana toetra malemy paika ka mora kivy sy tohina rehefa sendra ny mafy.
29. Fanontaniana mikasika ny anjara toeran'ny vehivavy ao anatin'ny angano:
 - r. Azonao lazaina ve ny anjara toeran'ny vehivavy ao amin'ny angano misy mpandray anjara olombelona,
Ny vehivavy dia mpikarakara,mpamelona,ilay malefaka
 - s. Misy fivoarana ve ny fomba fijery ny ankizivavy na vehivavy ankehitriny raha ny angano no resahina,
Tokony hisy fivoarana satria ny fandraisana andraikitry ny vehivavy no tsara ampitaina amin' ny olona
 - t. Inona ny fiovana na fivoarana tsikaritrao na tsapanao ary hita taratra ao amin'ny angano tantarainao mikasika ny anjara toeran'ny vehivavy,
Ny haratsian-toetra miova no tsikaritra toy ny fosafosa miova ho fahanginana.Ny fiatiavan-tena tonga fitiava-namana.
 - u. Hita taratra ao amin'ny angano ankehitriny ve ny fivoaran'ny anjara toeran'ny vehivavy eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina
Hita taratra

- v. Manana fahefana bebe kokoa ve ny vehivavy raha mitaha amin'ny taloha, na ao antokantrano na ao ivelan'ny tokantrano (secteur public)
Tsy mbola mipetraka eo amin'ny fiarahamonina malagasy izany satria ny lehilahy hatrany noheverina fa tompon'ny teny syfahefana. Misy hatrany ny fanamaivanana ny vehivavy. Na izany aza anefa dia efa miezaka mametraka ny vehivavy amin'ny toerana mitovy tantana amin'ny lehilahy ny fiarahamonina
- w. Misy angano ve fantatrao na notantarainao na nosoratanao izay vehivavy no mpandray anjara fototra ao aminy. Raha eny, azonao lazaina ve hoe manao ahoana ny toetran'ny vehivavy ao amin'ny angano toy izany (izany hoe vehivavy ny "heroine"). Inona no mety zava-tsarotra atrehiny, Ahoana ny fomba hanatrehany izany, Inona no nahatonga azy handresy ary ho tody amin'ny tanjona iriany (toetra manokana na ezaka manokana nataony ve, fanampiana avy any ivelany ve).
Anganoko iray hoe Ravoalavo no maka nytoeran'ny vehivavy. Niara-niaina tamin'ny olombelona izy, saingy be korontana satria niteraka foana, mananatoetra hafahafa izy toy ny managala-pihinana, mpààanakorontana, tsy manaja. Nony taty aoriana dia nanapa-kevitra ny olombelona fa asiana saka ao antokantrano. Tamin'izany no nahatarafana fa mila hahitsy ny toetran'ny voalavo saingy tsy niova izy ka sady voa no lavo.
Toetran'ny vehivavy mafy loha tsy hay atoro no hita eto. Niafara tamin'ny fahafatesana mihitsy izany. Hakana lesona fa ny vehivavy dia tokony hihaino ny manodidina hatrany mba tsy hanaonao foana.
- x. Inona no toetra tsara mampiavaka ny vehivavy Malagasy izay hita taratra ao amin'ny angano
Tsotra, mandefitra, tia mikarakara, tia misahirana amin'ny hafa
- y. Inona no toetra izay mety tsikeraina eo amin'ny vehivavy Malagasy amin'ny alalan'ny angano (oh. Fahatendan-kanina ao amin'ilay angano hoe Ikalasarotra)

Tia rendrarendra, tia mifosafosa, faingan-tanana

Appendix 21A- Rakemba Storytelling Performance 1

Rehefa misy zavatra mahafinaritra an, dia manao tsika hoe, “oeeee!” Ataovy hoe!

Tonga any zany Neny an, mitondra saribakoly kely tsara tarehy be dia hozy le ankizivavy kely oe “oe.” Zany ve? Ataovy mahafinaritra be. Isa, roa, telo, “Oeeee!” Mahafinaritra beee!

Dia rehefa misy zavatra mampalahelo koa dia manao tsika hoe, « ooooh!” Avy ny orana an, tsika anefa mbola te hilalao any an-tokontany dia ahoana ny tenenina? “oooh!”

Dia ao anatin’ny angano koa tsika rehefa misy zavatra mampalahelo dia manao tsika oe “oooh!”

Raha misy zavatra mahafinaritra ao anatin’ny angano dia manao hoe “oeeee!”

Zany hoe iainantsika ny angano an, miaraka milalao tsika. Dikan’izany an, tsy Rakemba irery no miteny irery eto an, fa mandray anjara daholo tsika retraretra.

Misy manontany zao nareo reo, fa manina ary ny akanjon-dRakemba no ohatran’izao? Otran’ny...otran’ny akanjona inona kay ny akanjoko? Akanjona inona kay ny inona kay ny akanjo anaovako? Han! Akanjona dokotera? Fa inona kay zao akanjo anaovako zao? (ankizilahy: akanjona mpanjaka vavy) le! Akanjona mpanjaka. I Rakemba no ataon’ny olona hoe “Mpanjakavavin’ny angano” an satria an, aty amina daholo ny pouvoir an’ny angano. Han! Inona zany pouvoir? (ankizy: hery).

Rehefa manao an’ireto akanjo ireto za, dia misy pouvoir magique. Ka raha misy fanontaniana apetrakareo am Rakemba dia valian-dRakemba amin’ny alalan’ny angano. Zao nefa, androany an, efa misy angano anankiroa an, nomanina hotantaraina aminareo. Ao? Dia le angano reo an, efa fanontaniana efa napetraky ny ankizy an, tany aloha be tany. Hoe, “O! Rakemba a! Fa manina kay ny ranomasina no mangidy sira be?” Dia izay no angano voalohany hotantarain-dRakemba amintsika. Dia ny faharoa, “inona hono no mahazo an’reny olona mandaingalainga reny?” Diaz ay zany ny “Abobo” an sy ny “Sira.” Zay ny anganontsika. Dia zao, mitantara anle angano aho aloha am voalohany an, dia misotro rano kely ahakony an, dia miverina mitantara angano fanindroany. Mety? (ankizy: ie) Asio tehaka be ary.

Eny ary. Ny mampahatonga ny akanjoko hoe ottran’zao an, hazavaiko kely fotsiny. Rehefa misy olona manao fanamiana, dia misy antony daholo an ny dikan’ny fanamiana tsirairay avy anaovany. Ny ana zany efa nolazaiko anareo teo, fa rehefa manao an’ireto akanjo reto aho dia zay fanontaniana retraretra anontanian’ny ankizy kely ana, antanian’ny ray aman-dreny ana, na antanian’ny zay mpanatrika an, dia voavaliko amin’ny alalan’ny angano. Zay zany le fanomezam-pahasoavana entin’ireto akanjoko ireto. Rehefa manao an’reto aho zany an dia misy pouvoir. Tena marina, tena marina. Tany am-boalohany le izy hatreo fotsiny, fa zao tena zay mihitsy, zay fanontaniana voavaliko daholo. Dia rehefa taty aoriana, manontany ny ankizy, hay misy dikany ve reny akanjo reny? le, ny an’ny miaramila, hitanareo ny an’ny miaramila misy ohatran’ny sarina raviravin-kazo be dia be reny ny akanjony? Reny ny atao hoe camouflage. Ohatran’itsy an’ise itsy. Akanjona miaramila zao maramara ottran’io. Inona ny anton’ireny? Raikitra ny fanenjehana. Hein hein hein. Manenjika mpangalatra. Mandeha mafy be, mandeha mafy be, mandeha mafy be manenjika mpangalatra. Tonga any aloha any amzay. Samy reraka le mpangalatra sy le henjehana. Mba naka aina le mpangalatra. Haa. Aiza izy teo. Nierika. Le miaramila manao akanjo raviravinkazo. Dia mierika le mpangalatra dia hozy le mpangalatra,

« ah ! tsy hita. Ary inona itsy ? hay vody hazo. » Dia naka aina teo le mpangalatra, dia ahoana? (ankizy: tratrany) Tratran'le noheveriny fa vodihazo. Tandremo sao mahita polisy dia miteny hoe vodihazo an!”

Ein ein, dia ohatr'izany koa an, reny dokotera reny, fa manina hono ny akanjon'reny dokotera reny no atao fotsifotsy fa tsy atao menamena? Fantatrareo ve? Tsy fantatra ve? Nefany an, hitanareo, rehefa le manala nify le dokotera dia asainy sokafana ny vava, “sokafy hoe ny vava!” Ah. “Aiza le marary?” Ah. “Ty ve le marary?” Ah. Enao ary tsy afaka miteny koa ! Ny vavanao asainy sokafana nefa izy mbola manontany ihany. “Aiza nareo no mipetraka?” Ah! “Iza ny anaranao?” Ah. Dia sokiriny ao le nify. Amboariny, karakarainy ao le nify. Fa rehefa mipitika any amin'ny akanjony am'zay le ra menamena dia hozizy hoe “hay tena narary!” Haaa! Hay zay kay ny dikan'reny. Mitandrina izy an, fa rehefa tsy mitandrina izy, misy ra mipitika zay vao fantany hoe hay tena narary le marary. Dia mandeha mankany amin'ny dokotera rehefa marary ny ankizy rehetrarehetra. Iza no matahotra dokotera? (ankizy: za matahotra). Adaladala zany nareo. Rehefa marary an, miteny am dada sy neny. Za ho entina mankany am dokotera. Fa ny dokotera an, nianatra ela be mihitsy an, dia afaka mitsabo antsika. Fa rehefa tsy mankany am dokotera dia... ao. Maty ao am-pandriana ao. Zay an, tsy matahotra dokotera intsony manomboka izao. Dia inona koa zany? Zay no lava be an nampidirantsika ny resaka an. Efa manomboka mitsikitsiky nareo an, miray saina tsika an, asiana tehaka farany hanombohantsika ny angano mitondra ny lohateny hoe “Sira.”

Taloha ela be tany, hono, an, nisy ankizivavy kely anankiray nantsoina hoe Sissi. Io ankizivavy io an, dia hafa, hafa, tena hafa kely raha samy tovovavy teo amin'ny tanàna misy azy. Ny volony an dia miova arakaraka ny fihetseham-pony. Ka indraindray menamena. Indraindray mangamanga. Indraindray volom-batolalaka. Inona zany volom-batolalaka azafady tompoko ? (ankizy : gris) Gris. Mitovy am volon'ny vato le izy, zany ny dikan'ny hoe gris. Inona le volom-batolalaka teo? (ankizy rehetra: gris). Dia inona le gris ? (ankizy rehetra : volom-batolalaka). Indraindray hono an, miova ho gris, na volom-batolalaka ny lokon'ny volony. Gaga ny olona. Mba inona loatra ito vehivavy ito? Fa ankoatr'zay, ny masonry an, dia nisy akoran-driaka roa lehibe nanakona azy. Moa fa tsy ireny solomaso voajanahary ireny! Mba hafahafa. Tsisy nahita mihitsy zany an, izay tao anatin'ny masonry tao. Nefa ny mahagaga dia mahita toy ny olona rehetra ihany izy fa nisary ho solomaso voajanahary ihany ilay akoran-driaka roa nanakona ny masonry. Hann! Mba hafahafa e? Dia nanontany ten any rehetra. Mba vehivavy inona loatra ary ity vehivavy ity? Fa saingy tsisy nahafantatra. Ny tena nahaliana ny ankizy teo an-tanàna dia ny fahatahorany hira. Ny ankizy sasany manatrika eto zao milaza ho matahotra dokotera. Fa i Sissi rankizy an, matahotra hira. Rehefa misy olona mihira an, dia tapenany avy hatrany ny sofiny an dia lasa izy mitsoaka be. Fa manina ary? Dia nipetraka teo ny fanontaniana. Inona no mahatonga an'azy matahotra hira? Indray andro, hono, rankizy, dia niray tsikombakomba ny ankizy rehetra tao an-tanàna ka nisarika azy tany amin'ny toerana malalaka iray. Rehefa tonga tany an, dia mody hoe andao hilalao. Fa rehefa tonga teo an dia nanolotra hira iray manokana misy ny anarany. Ny anarany tokoa mantsy an Felanosy, fa saingy ho antsika Malagasy manatsotso-javatra dia i Sissi no niantsoana azy satria Felanosy lavalava raha niantsoana. Dia nihira teo, hono, ny olona. Somadodoka ramatoa, faly, nandihy mihitsy izy, fa indrindra nanaraka ny fiverenan'ny hira. Teo vao gaga daholo ny olona rehetraretra. Hann! Fa mbola hafa koa. Nisy zavatra nitranga. Tsara dia tsara ny feon'i Felanosy. Hafa dia hafa fa toy ny misy akon-dranomasina izany any amin'ny faratendany any. Ary tsy vitan'izany fa manako mangolangola mahafinaritra lay feony. Ha aaaaaa. Tsara. Nitolagaga ny rehetra. Samy tsisy nahateny fa nihanahana teo nijery azy. Dia inona ny zavatra nitranga? Rehefa nihira naharitraritra teo hono rankizy i Sissi dia nihintsana ireo akoran-driaka lehibe nanakona ny masonry ka mbola nitohy ihany ny

fahagagan'ny rehetra fa mangamanga toy ny ranomasina ny masonry fa tsy mba maintimainty toy ny antsika reo na marron marron. Manga be ka nahafinaritra e. Nahafinaritra ny nijery azy. Nahaliana ny nihaino ny feony. Naka toerana ny rehetra dia nitolagaga nijery ny hakanton'ilay tovovavy nihira nandritra ny fotoana naharitra. Tsy mbola tapitra. Mbola nisy fahagagana hafa ihany. Mandritra azy mihira an, dia milatsaka mamorika ny tarehiny an ny ranomasony. Tsy nitomany hoe tezitra be izy an fa toa ranomasom-pifaliana ihany an no nandika nanaraka iny tarehiny iny. Ka rehefa notsofin'ny rivotra ilay rano nivoaka avy ao amin'ny masonry dia nivadika ho fasika fotsifotsy teo amin'ny faritra nilatsahany. Raha teto izy izany no nihira dia nisy ohatran'ny tendrombohitra kely teo ambany teo an, fasika fotsifotsy an, latsaka teo ambany teo. Rehefa nihira izany Felanosy an, dia nikoriana ny ranomasony dia notsofin'ny rivotra dia lasa nivaingana ohatran'ny tendrombohitra kely fotsifotsy teo akaikiny teo. Variana ny olona rehetrarehetra. Inona daholo no nahavariana ny olona? Ny volony an miova araka ny fihetseham-pony. Lay akoran-driaka an, nilatsaka dia mangamanga be ny masonry. Ny feony an, tsara dia tsara. Ny ranomasony an, nivadika ho fasika fotsifotsy. Dia gaga teo ny olona rehetraretra. Fa naheno an'zany zavatra nitranga zany ny dadany, avy any ambadika avy any, hoe Sissi anie ka mamory olona e. Mitangorona daholo ny olona ao ambony ao an, fa mihira ao izy an, dia variana ny olona. Tezitra be ny dadany. Za tsy tia an'zany. Miseho milay. Inona no alehany any? Mamory vahoaka. Hum hum. Tsy propagandy tsinona. Alaiko mody iny androany. Tezitra be izy. "Mody ianao." "Andray kosa e!" Nampalahelo be Sissi rankizy (ooh). Tena nampalahelo be mihitsy izy (ooh). Ie, ahoana moa rehefa mampalahelo be? (ooooooh) Dia lasa izy an, nandeha nody. Dia ozizin'ny dadany, "ena an, efa tenenina, tsy mahazo manao an'zany toetratoetra te ho deraina zany. Maninona enao no mamory vahoaka? Tsy mety amintsika zany. Zany ihany no nampahatonga anao tsy avelako mihaino hira." Kay hono rankizy ny dadany no tsy namela an'azy mihaino hira satria fantatry ny dadany hoe tsara feo be izy dia tsy hahatanty hihira dia zao dia zao dia zao dia zao. Dia tsy navelany. "Zao, manomboka zao enao tsy mahazo mivoaka ny trano fa mahamenatra olona." « Andray kosa e! za ange dada mbola te hihira e! » « Tsy mahazo ! » Dia nampalahelo be hono rankizy i Sissi (ooh). Lasa izy an, nandeha natory rehefa hariva ny andro. Dia ny dadany niantso olona tao amin'ny efitra mangingina tao. Fa kanjo izy naheno anle resaka. Hozizin'ny dadany hoe, "zao an, za tsy tiako mihitsy le ataon'i Sissi mamorimory olona io. Fa mandehana nareo an mandavaka lavaka ataontsika zohy lalina be. Dia alentika any izy dia raha hihira ary izy dia ao irery tsy misy mahita. Fa mandreraka ana fa tsy tiako mihitsy zany toetrany zany. Be zesta." Dia henon'i Sissi hono le notenenin'ny dadany dia lasa izy haingana nandeha hitady hevitra. "Ahoana re e, za kosa aloha tsy atao anaty lavaka zany e. tadiavin'i Dada atao anaty lavaka aho dia ao hono atsipy ao hono ny variko dia ao hono atsipy ao ny sakafoko dia atsipy aho hono ny akanjoko dia za zany tsy mivoaka intsony. Andray kosa e! Dada kosa zany ratsy fanahy. Le mihira anefa no tsy tiany. An an an, hitady hevitra aho." Dia lasa hono Sissi an, nandeha nitady hevitra tany amin'ny ala. Inona zany ala rankizy? (ankizy: hazo be). An? Hazo maninona? (ankizy: hazo misy lohasaha) Hazo an, fa tsy anankiray an fa be dia be. Dia zany hoe ny atao hoe ala zany an, tena hazo be dia be dia be an, fikambanan'ny hazo be dia be an ny atao hoe ala. Zay? Lasa izy nankany amin'le ala dia misy reniala moa zany mazava ho azy. Misy chef zany ao amle izy dia hoe, "o ry aty an'ala a, o reniala o, mba miangavy re e, aleo za mba hiafina aty aminareo e! tadiavin'i dadanay tsy mahazo mihira intsony aho, fa mba tonga aty aminareo aty an'ala aty aho." Dia ozizin'ny, ozizin'ny tao amin'ny ala, "adray dray dray, non non non," "andray kosa e! fa manina?" "ka zao, dadanareo hono an, manana an'zany afokasika zany. Raha vao dorany amin'ny afokasika zahay aty an'ala aty tonga dia may, tsisy n'inoninona intsony fa na ny atody eny ambony hazo aza mety ho tapitra maty an, ny voronkely sy ny inona an, aleo ianao tsy miafina aty fa raha tezitra aminay dadanareo an, dia ho may ny ala." Dia nampalahelo be teo hono Sissi rankizy (ankizy: ooh). Dia lasa ndray hono izy an, nandeha

nankany amin'ny voronkely, tany amin'ny vorona an'ala. Tany amin'ireny reny vorona reny. "Aleo za ry vorona mba hipetraka any aminareo fa tadiavin'i dada tsy mahazo mihira intsony hono aho dia za hono nefa mbola te hihira. Fa nareo voronkely mantsy henoko mihira kio kio kio kio. Za mba hiarahihira aminareo." Dia ozizy hono ny vorona hoe, "tray tray tray tray tray! Tsy mety." "Fa ahoana?" "Dadanareo an, manana an'le flèche le ohatran'izao reny. Raha fantany hoe miafina aty aminay vorona an, torahany zay tonga dia tsy misy taranaka, ka aok'izao, tsy mety!" Dia nampalahelo be ndray hono ry reto Sissi a (ooh). Dia lasa ndray hono izy nankany amin'ny bibilava. Hozizy hono tamin'ny bibilava, "o ry bibilava a, o ry bibilava, sao dia mba hisitrika aty anaty lavaka miaraka aminareo zay an, fa rehefa mivoaka any no mihira dia mihira dia aveo miafina miaraka aminareo ndray fa za ange tadiavin' dadanay tsy hihira nefa za tena tia mihira be mihitsy e." Dia ozizy hono ny bibilava, "non non non non non. » « Fa ahoana ? » « An, dadanareo manana antsy koa, raha tapatahany amin'ny antsy zahay bibilava dia lasa inona? Lasa biby fohy! Annn! Tsy mety!" Dia ahoana? Dia nampalahelo ndray hono Sissi (ooh). Dia teo izy nieritreritra. "Aiza ah zany no handeha." Lasa hono izy nankany amin'ny ranomasina. Dia niresaka tamin'ny trondro be. Dia ozizy oe, "o ry trondro be a, raha mba mety e, aleo za mba hiafina aty an-dranomasina aty aminao aty an, fa za an, tsy avelan'i dadanay mihira nefa za ange tia mihira e, sady za mahay mihira. Henoy ange ny hirako e! Haa aaaaa!" Nihaino teo hono ny trondro be. Dia resy lahatra hono ny trondro be. "Hay, dia hihira zany enao?" Ie. "Zao ary," ozizin'ny trondro be, "mety aho raha hipetraka aty amiko ianao, fa saingy zao, ovaina ho tapany ambany trondro ny tapany ambaninao an, am'zay tsy fantatr'i dadanareo hoe i Sissi ianao. Fa ovaina trondro ny ambany an, dia olombelona ny aty ambony. Mety enao sa tsy mety?" "Mety raha mbola afaka mihira ny vavako," ozizy hono Sissi. "Ay, ieny ary." Dia nanaiky hono an, ny trondro be. Dia nipetraka tany anaty ranomasina niaraka tamin'ny trondro be hono Sissi an dia mbola nihira tany anaty ranomasina hatram'zay ka hatram'zao an, dia niteraka izy dia ny zanany koa mbola mihira ao anaty ranomasina. Fa efa lasa be dia be ry zareo an, dia lasa be dia be zany ny mihira ao an, dia lasa mangidy sira be ny ranomasina fa be mihira be ry zareo. Fa tsy nijanona hatreo lay tantara. Fa izy zany tany dia ny olona, "aiza, aiza izy, tsy hita zay nanjavonany. Fa nankaiza izy?" Dia ozizy zareo hoe, "teto an, le fasika kely teto an, le nilatsaka tamin'ny masony." Samy nitondra nody. Samy nitondra nody. "Dia ahoana?" "Ny anay an, nataonay tamin'ny... nikosehana vilany dia ohatrany tonga dia levona." "Dia ny anay an, tsy nikosehanay vilany fa ny anay nanasanay lamba." "Ny anay ndray an, nataonay tamin'ny laoka dia nampisy tsirony tsara be ny laoka!" Dia zany hono rankizy no niandohan'ny sira.

Appendix 21B Question and answer session for storytelling performance 1

General questions

1. Iza no anaranao, firy taona ianao, kilasy fahafiry ?¹
2. Matetika mihaino angano ve ?

Aiza ? (@ radio ve, télé, ao an-trano, any am-pianarana) ?

Iza no mitantara rehefa ao an-trano, rehefa any ivelan'ny trano ?

3. Tia mihaino angano ve ianao ? Nahoana ?

¹ Personal information about the respondents will not be mentioned.

Questions and answers about Felanosy

1. Inona no hafatra noraisinao tao @ tantaran'i Felanosy ?

M: Tokony hifanakalo hevitra ny ray sy ny zanaka.

M: Saika natao tao anaty lavaka. Tsy zakan'i Felanosy ny hoe atao anaty lavaka.

M: Nivadika ho zazavavin-drano.

F: Lehilahy tsy tokony hampijaly vehivavy.

M: Tokony hifanampy Felanosy sy ny namany.

M: Ranomaso nivadika sira.

F: Tokony avela hifanerasera amin'ny namany Felanosy.

M: Tokony tsy hitsoaka ny dadany i Felanosy.

- Tokony nanaiky nazera tao anaty lavaka zany izy?

M: aaa

- Dia ahoana zany ?

...

2. Iza no mpandray anjara tianao indrindra ? Nahoana ?

Ankizy: Felanosy.

M: ny trondro be satria nanavotra an'i Felanosy.

3. Eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina misy anao, misy raim-pianakaviana ve mangeja ny zanany vavy tahaka ny ataon'ny rain'i Felanosy ?

Ankizy: Tsisy!

Maninona ary ny rain'i Felanosy no mangeja azy ?

F: Tsy tiany hihira.

Rariny ve izany sa tsia ? Nahoana ?

M: Tsy rariny. Tokony avela hampiseho ny talentany.

4. Miezaka hitsoaka ary hiafina ny rainy i Felanosy. Ho anao manokana, midika ve izany fa :

- Te hanana fahalalahana (liberté) izy ary hiala amin'ny fanagejan'ny rainy ?
- Te hihira an-kahalalahana izy ary haneho ny talentany mahay mihira ?

M: Te hanana fahalalahana.

F: Te hiala amin'ny fanagejana.

M: Te hampiseho ny talentany.

5. Mety ve ny nataon'i Felanosy, izany hoe nandao ny tranon'ny rainy mba ahazoany fahalalahana sy hahafahany mihira ?

M : Tsy mety. Satria tokony nifanakalo hevitra.

6. Mety ve raha maneho ny talentany ny vehivavy ary mahazo dera avy ety ivelany vokatr'izany ? Nahoana ?

M: Ie.

7. Inona ny toetra tsara tokony hananan'ny vehivavy ? Nahoana ?

M: Tokony hankato. Manaja ny rainy. Tsy mamalivaly.

8. Ary inona ny toetra tsara tokony hananan'ny lehilahy?

...

9. Sarotra tamin'i Felanosy ny nahita olona na biby nanaiky hanampy hanafina azy tamin'ny rainy. Ho anao manokana, tsotra sa sarotra ny mahita vaha olona rehefa tojo olona eo amin'ny fiainanao ?

....

Rehefa manana olana ianao, iza no matetika angatahanao fanampiana ?

M: Andriamanitra, ny ray aman-dreny, ny namana.

F: ny reny, Andriamanitra.

F: ny ray aman-dreny.

M: Andriamanitra, ny ray aman-dreny.

M: any amin'i dada.

M: dada sy neny.

M: neny.

M: dada.

10. Tianao ve ny fiafaran'ny tantaran'i Felanosy ? (lasa zazavavin-drano izy ary afaka mihira ka ny ranomasony izay raraka isaky ny mihira izy no nahatonga ny ranomasina ho masira, lasa vadin'ny trondro be ihany koa izy).

All: Ie!

Nahoana ?

M: mahafinaritra.

F: tsara.

M: Nitondra sira.

Araka ny hevitrao, inona no hevitra ny ranomason'i Felanosy? Ny ranomasony ilay raraka isaky ny mihira izy. Midika ho fifaliana ve izany sa alahelo ? Nahoana?

Ankizy: fifaliana!

Heverinao ve fa faly izy satria afaka tamin'ny fanagejan'ny rainy ?

Ankizy: ie!

11. Midika ho fahafahana ve sa fanagejana ny fanambadian'i Felanosy ny trondro be?

Ankizy: fahafahana.

Nahoana?

Ankizy sasany: satria afaka mihira.

12. Inona no andraikitra sahaza ny vehivavy ao amin'ny fanambadiana na ao an-tokantrano ?

M: mikarakara tokantrano.

Inona no andraikitra sahaza ny lehilahy ?

M: mamelona.

F: mampidi-bola.

13. Fanontaniana ho an-dRakemba : tao amin'ny angano an-tsoratra dia voalaza mazava fa tsy nanaiky hanafina an'i Felanosy ny trondro be raha tsy manaiky ho vadiny izy. Tsy nolazainao mivantana anefa izany tamin'ny angano notantarainao tamin'ny ankizy teo, azonao lazaina ve ny anton'izany?

Rakemba: Satria ankizy ny mpihaino ny tantara dia tsy dia nivalampatra tamin'ny resaka fanambadiana aho. Fa ny zava-dehibe dia hoe niaro an'i Felanosy ny trondro be.

Tale 1: Ingalingalivola

Eny ary. Faly miarahaba anareo aho rankizy an. Androany zany an dia misy angano ataoko ho anareo. Anankiroa zany le angano.

“Ingalingalivola” sy “Raso”

Dia zao an, alohan’ny hanaovako an’le angano an, dia misy fanentanana kely ataoko. “Ao ve?” dia mamaly hoe “ao tsara.” “Ao ve?” “Ao tsara!”

Indray andro hono rankizy an, dia nisy tovovavy kely atao hoe Ingalingalivola. Ingalingalivola dia zanaka mpanjaka. Mpanan-karena be zany. Princesse zany an. Manana zoky anankiroa izy. Dia ny zokiny roa lahy zany reo zokiny reo. Reo zokiny roa lahy ireo hono an dia tena mampihanta be an’io zandriny vavy io mihitsy. Raha ohatra misy zavatra tadiavin’Ingalingalivola an, dia miteny izy hoe, “zoky an, za zany te, te hahazo, chocolat.” Tonga hono le zokiny dia miazakazaka be mankany an-tsena mitady sokola. “Ty ry anabavy kely a, ty omeo anao ny sokola raha ty ny tianao!” Mifankatia ry zareo, fa tsy mba miadiady zany mihitsy an. Zoky sy zandry mifankatia. Dia ny dadan’zareo koa hono an, tia be an’azy. Ny mpanjaka sy ny vadiny. Ny mpanjaka lahy sy ny mpanjaka vavy. Ka rehefa misy zavatra angatahin’Ingalingalivola ihany koa an, dia ny dadany mpanjaka miteny hoe, “inona lehiretsy no tadiavin’io zanako io an, omeo azy lehiretsy a.”

Indray andro hono Ingalingalivola dia hozy hono izy, “dada a, neny a, za te handeha hitsangatsangana ary ambony an-tendrombohitra be ary!” “Ndana, ndana raha te ho any ndry.” “Ndana e, ndana Ingalingalivola raha te hitsangatsangana ndry a!” “Andeha hitsangatsangana la la la la la. » « Oay ! Fa manina kay enao no... miafina ao anatin’io vato io? Eh! Iza kay enao io?” “A... Azafady, Ikalasimba no anarako. Sampona kely dia miafina ato anatin’ity vato ity aho. “ “Iza tsara hoe ny anaranao?” “Kalasimba hoa ny anarako.” “Kalasimba? Fa inona no ataon’Ikalasimba ao anaty vato ao?” “Tsy zany fa ny tanako anankiray ihany. Dia ny tongotro koa anankiray ihany. Dia ny vatako an, mampalahelo be, dia ny tarehiko mampahatahotra be dia miafina ato aho.” “Ao hoe jereko! Mivoaha hoe ndry tao... An...Andray kosa, fa naninona kay ianao no lasa ohatran’izao ry Kalasimba?” “Nisy mpamosavy be ratsy fanahy be zay hoa. Dia nataon’le mpamosavy ohatran’izao aho.” “Andray kosa akia.” “Ingalingalivola a,” “ahoana zay Ikalasimba.” “Sambatra enao tsara tarehy, sambatra enao zanaky ny mpanjaka, sambatra enao tsy mba sampontsampona zany fa tonga lafatra. Za zao raha mba hatsasany ohatranao io an...” “Ay! Kalasimba koa! Ay! Inona ary no azoko atao an’Ikalasimba e? Aza malahelo zany fa tsy maintsy misy vahaolana foana ny zavatra rehetra rehetra. Na inona na inona, misy ny olana, dia tsy maintsy misy ny vaha olana.” “Eny ary e, zao ary e, raha ohatra zao enao ka manambady ny zanaky ny Zanahary an, dia afaka manampy ahy.” “An? Hanambady ny zanaky ny Zanahary? Han! Kalasimba a, zany ve tsy sarotra be? zanaky ny Zanahary any amin’ny toerana tena tsara be sy masina be any! Ahoana akia no hanambadiako an’zany zanaky ny Zanahary zany?” “Zao e, raha ohatra enao ka manana finiavana an, dia manana fahazotoana an,

dia manana fitiavana an, dia tsy maintsy tafita ianao.” “Ary raha kamo za zany dia tsy tafita?” “Ie, io kamo io no tena mampahatonga ny olona tsy tafita io. Fa rehefa mazoto tsy maintsy tafita foana foana.” “Ha! Aleo rangah za hazoto an. Za koa zany tena ohatrany tiako zany manampy olona zany. Dia ahoana anefa no atao?” “Zao ary e, raha ohatra enao an te ho vadin’ny zanaky ny Zanahary an, dia tsy maintsy, tsy maintsy manao firavaka tsara tarehy be.” “Dia inona lay firavaka?” “Le firavaka io an dia nifina voay.” “Han! Nifina voay? Voay masiaka be! Zany ve tsy ho lanin’ny voay raha maka ny nifiny?” “Eee, tadiavo zay, raha mahita an’zay ianao dia ho vadin’ny zanaky ny mpanjaka.” “Eny ary e! Ao fa hiresaka am’le zokinay ah! Veloma Kalasimba!” “Veloma Ingalingalivola! Matoky anao za an!”

“Zay! Andeha hody, andeha hody, andeha! Han! Vizaka! Tary an-tendrombohitra be tary ah! Ha!” “Dia ahoana, inona no vaovaon-dry tany?” “Aiza aloha le zokinay e? Asaivo mankaty daholo izy roa lahy?” Dia tonga hono ny zokiny. “Inona no tianao zay ry anabavy kely?” “zoky a, za itadiavo nifina voay!” “an? Nifina voay?” “ie! Nifim-boay zao no tiako! Nifina voay an, ataoko firavaka!” “Ah ha ha! O rankizy a, dia tena milangalanga mihitsy nareo! Voay zany ve tsy tena, ah, nifina voay, mamba, masiaka ny mamba an, ny vavany misokatra ohat’izao! Tampina ao daholo raha tafiditra ao!” “Tsy maninona zany! Aleo ry anabavikely fa ho alainay zany nifina voay na mamba zany.” “Zay mihitsy, zay an!” “Zao dieny zao dia tong adia andeha!” Lasa hono izy roa lahy, nankany anatine renirano. Nitady... (ankizy: voay). Nitady voay. Na koa... (ankizy: nifim...) Voay na inona hozy aho teo? (ankizy: mamba). Rehefa tonga tany izy dia io hono fa misy mamba be dia be mikoatra be daholo hono ny vavany fa mitady haza ry zareo. Mitanitanina andro izy fa mahamay ko any andro zao. “Io lehity misy mamba anankiray sady ny nifiny lehity tena be dia be a! Io no andao hosamborintsika. Aleo rahalina dia am’izay milamina tsara.”

Nony tonga hono ny alina dia ireny izy roa lahy. Niandriandry aloha. Io hono fa misy mamba miraikiraiky teo amoron-drano. Tonga hono dia notazonin’ny zalahy hono ny vavany. Notaritin-dry zalahy hono, tsy afaka nihetsika hono lay mamba. Nofatoran-dry zalahy hono lay mamba, le voay zany. Novonoiny hono an, dia maty tery. Ary nalainy ny nifiny. Lasa am’zay izy nody. “Anabavy kely, anabavy kely! Ity le nifina voay!” “ohh! Nahazo nifina voay ooh hun hun hun! Saotra! Misaotra zany zokiko zany! Tena tia ana mihitsy reto zokiko reto.”

Lasa hono kala Ingalingalivola nankany amin’i... (ankizy: Kalasimba). Nankany amin’Ikalasimba. Rehefa tonga tany an-tendrombohitra hono izy dia niantsoantso. “Kalasimba o! Kalasimba a! Aiza ndry?” “Ity aho e! Ity aho.” “Ity lay nifina voay!” “Ah! Tena faly be aho fa hitanao le nifina voay! Ataovy firavaka iny! Saingy tsy ampy anefa iny nifina voay iny.” “Fa ahoana koa?” “Mila... mila zavatra hafa ndray tsika.” “Inona lay izy? Lazao fotsiny fa za mazoto be. Za tonga dia ravako daholo zany hakamoana zany fa tsy maintsy tafita rehefa tsy kamo.” “Zao ary e, mila anona le izy e, aaa, fantatrao ve ny atao hoe mamokona?” “Inona koa zany mamokona zany?” “Zany mamokona zany an dia olona misy rambo. Misy rambo maranitra. Ka io rambo maranitr’ily mamokona io no hoentinao aty raha azonao.” “Oay! Zany mamokona zany ve tsy... zany rambo maranitra zany ve tsy, tsy tonga zany dia manapaka?” “Ndana e, ndana fa, teneno ny zokinao.” “Eny ary e, ndraso ary ho any amin’ny zokinay!”

“Zoky o!” “Ahoana zay ry anabavy kely?” “Za hono mila rambona mamokona.” “Ha! Ho ho ho ho ho! O rankizy a,” hoy ny dadany, “izany mamokona zany an, dia olona misy rambo mipetraka any amin’ny tanàna, Tsiakiteniteny ny anaran’lay tanàny.” “Zany ve?” “Ireo olona misy rambo reo an, dia olo-masiaka reo. Ary rehefa misy fanontaniana apetrany ka tsy voavaly, tapahany am’lay rambony ny tendanao!” “Han! Zany ve? Dia ahoana?” “Aza matahotra ry anabavy kely a! zokinao ndray tsy maintsy tafita, tsy maintsy mahavita, aleo zahay ho any! Ndao leitsy e!” Lasa izy roa lahy. Ho any amin’ny tanàna Tsiakiteniteny, misy ny mamokona.

Tonga tany hono zareo, ary indreo ny mamokona mipetrapetraka eo an-tokontany. Ny sasany ao an-trano. “Manao ahoana tompoko o!” “Manao ahoana nareo!” “Inona ny vaovao?” “Tsy misy fa nareo mitondra vaovao sa akory?” “Oay! Jereo lehity e! aiza lehity toa tsisy rambony akory? Tsisy rambo akory lehity le mamokona. Sa tsy mamokona reo?” “tsy haiko! Tsy hain’ialahy na afeniny aza le rambo fa aza ialahy tonga dia mieritreritra hoe tsisy rambo reo!” “Hono ho aho mamokona!” “ie?” “Zahay mb ate hiresadresaka e! hiresadresaka aminareo!” “Ndao, mandrosoa aty an-trano.” Dia nandroso hono zareo nankao an-trano. Tsisy rambo daholo ry zareo. Han, hain’ny mamokona kay ny nanafina le rambony. “Ein, nareo zany avy aiza aloha dia iza nareo e?” “Ah, zahay dia zanaky ny mpanjaka Andriambahoaka e!” “Ay! Eee, marina, havanay zany nareo, razanay.” “Zany?” “Ie! Fantatray tsar any taranaky ny mpanjaka, ny loharano nipoiran’ny mpanjaka Andriambahoaka an! Fa zao, raha te ho namanay nareo dia tsy maintsy ametrahanay fanontaniana. Ka hamaly sa tsy hamaly?” “Mamaly zahay koa! Zahay ara no tena mamaly! Raha misy manontany maitresse-nay any am-pianarana, tonga zahay dia manangan-tanana, miteny hoe, zao le izy maitresse a. Na diso iny na marina teneninay foana aloha dia aveo atao hoe ity lay marina raha ohatra ka diso.” “Hay ve zany ny any aminareo e!” “Ie, zay lay fiainana, tsy maintsy manontany rehefa misy tsy azo zany dia zay no izy.” “Hein hein hein, ndao fa ametrahako fanontaniana am’zay!” “Ndao, apetraho.” “Ah, fanontaniana dia ity, raha ohatra hono an, amin’ny alina hono izy a, mipoitra ho azy, dia amin’ny maraina hono izy manjavona ho azy fa tsisy nangalatra. Inona ary zany?” “Inona koa zany?” “Tadiavinareo zay e! Raha tsy mahavaly an’zay dia hun, tsy teneniko ny tohiny.” “Inona lehity zany hoe... aleo aloha ametraho hafa koa aloha dia sady eritreretinay le teo fa ametraho hafa koa zay.” “Ay! Ao koa omena hafa ndray ary aloha! Inona ary zany! Anareo misafidy. An-kifidy ty. Mitovy amin’ny ankamantatra ity an fa an-kifidy ny anarany.” “Hay, alefaso ary hoe.” “Ao ary, inona no tianareo? Be maso anaty vato ve sa kely maso anaty vero?” “Inona lehity zany? Vero, vato, be maso, kely maso.” “Ndao rangah le be maso a. Be maso anaty vato rangah no tianay ah.” “He he he, tena hain’ireto le izy. Marina. Omby zany. Omby. Ombin’ny Barea.” “Hi hi hi, nahay tsika lehity e! zay le hoe tenenina foana lehity e!” “Zay le anankiray. Inona ary zany, lay izy an, tonga tsy nantsoina amin’ny alina, lasa tsy nangalarina amin’ny maraina. Inona ary zany zay mahay?” “Kintana rangah zany a! Amin’ny alina an, tonga tsy nantsoina. Amin’ny alina feno kintana ny lanitra. Dia amin’ny maraina, tsy hita daholo le izy, tsisy nangalatra fa tsy hita ho azy.” “Oay lehity e! Maty atsiaka, maty atsiaka fa hain’ireto le izy! Tena kintana zany! Maty atsiaka lehiretsy a! Zay tsika vao hanjavona ary ho lasa kintana.” “Fa ahoana?” “Zao no ataon’ny dadabeany hoe, rehefa misy fanontaniana hono an, ka voavalin’lay olona anontaniana lay izy an, dia anahaka an’lay valiny hono tsika. Dia kintana lay izy dia lasa kintana daholo zany zay!” Oay! Oay! Niaraka tamin’izay dia lasa kintana daholo lay mamokona rehetra teo. Nisy kintana kely, nisy mamokona kely iray niraikiraiky. Tonga dia nosamborin-dry zalahy, ny

rambony notapahan-dry zalahy. Ny rambon'ilay mamokona kely niraikiraiky, zanaka mamokona. Ary dia nentiny nitsoaka ilay rambona mamokona kely niraikiraiky. Ary teo hono an, izany hono no nampahatonga ny kintana be dia be eny an-danitra. Fa mamokona lasa kintana daholo ireny.

Lasa hono izy nandeha nitsoaka. "Ah, azo ihany ny rambona mamokona." Nankany amin'ny anabaviny. "Anabavy kely o," "Ahoana zay?" "Ty retsy lay rambona mamokona a." "wow! Andeha ho entiko any amin'Ikalasimba." Lasa ndray hono izy nankany amin'i ... (ankizy: Ikalasimba). "Kalasimba o!" "Ahoana zay?" "Ity ny rambona mamokona!" "wow! Tena nahazo rambona mamokona! Sady nahazo nifim-boay! Iray sisa dia tonga vadin'ny Zanahary!" "Inona ndray lay fahatelo?" "Kavina vita amin'ny akorana sokatra." Fano zany ny anaran'ny sokatra any anaty ranomasina. Fano hono ny anarany. "Dia ahoana ary no ahazoana an'zany fano zany?" "Ndana e, teneno ndray lay zokinareo." Dia lasa ndray hono Ingalingalivola. "Zoky o, zoky o!" "Ahoana e? Ahoana ry zandrikeliko e?" "Mitady fano aho, ataoko firavaka, ataoko kavina." "Tsy olana zany, aleo zahay handeha!" "Ho ho ho, aoka aloha, aoka aloha rankizy a!" "Fa ahoana ndray ry dada a?" "Any anaty ranomasina be ange zany fano zany e. Milentika any firy andro vao mahita fano anankiray!" "Aza matahotra ianao dada, mazoto ny aty. Tsy kamo. Ho azonay zany fano."

Lasa hono izy. Andray! Tonga. Nitsambikina tany anaty rano. Tany hono izy nitady fano, nahita fano hono izy. Tonga dia nobedainy. Nongotany hono ny akorany. Fantatrareo lay akorana sokatra ataon'olona kavina reny an. "Anabavy o," "ahoana zay zoky malala?" "Iny ny akorana fano." "ooh! Aleo entiko any amin'Ikalasimba!"

"Kalasimba o, ity ny akorana fano!" "Han! Faly be aho! Izay ianao vao afaka mihaona amin'ny zanaky ny Zanahary. Ataovy kavina ny akorana fano an, ataovy firavaka ilay nifim-boay. Ary ataovy tehina ilay rambona mamokona." Ary nankany amin'ny dadany am'zay Ingalingalivola.

(Feon'ankizy mirava any ivelany).

"Dada a, za dada an, hanambady. Ary tiako tokoa an, rehefa manambady aho dia zanaka Zanahary no vadiko." "Ahoana hoe? Zanaka Zanahary ny ho vadinao?" "Eny ry dada! Zay no mba tiako. Hanambady ny zanaky ny Zanahary aho." "Ahh, eny ary fa dia, andao fa ho any amin'ny Zanahary izahay hiresaka aminy... O ry izy roa lahy an!" "Ahoana zay dada?" "Andao isika ho any amin'ny Zanahary." Dia lasa hono zareo. Nankany amin'ny... (ankizy: Zanahary)." (Feo mandondona eo amin'ny latabatra). "Haody o! Zanahary ve zao o?" "Ahoana? Iza zany mandondona zany? O ry mpiambina ahy, avia aty. Raha ohatra ka lehilahy ilay mpandondona ao izao, tonga dia vonoy. Fa raha vehivavy, ento aty hojereko." Dia lasa hono lay mpiambina. "Lehilahy sa vehivavy?" "Lehilahy anankitelo." Tonga hono dia naka sabatra lay mpiambina. Notapahiny ny tendan'izy telo. Maty tery hono an ny zokin'Ingalingalivola, maty ko any dadany. Niandry hono, "aiza ary izy teo? Ela be tsy tonga i dada, ela be i zoky. Fa maninona ary? Aleo za hiakatra any!" Dia lasa hono Ingalingalivola niakatra nankany amin'ny Zanahary. (Mandondona amin'ny latabatra). "Zovy izao mandondona aho izao? Mpiambina! Avia ialahy aty!" Tonga ny mpiambina. "Raha lehilahy, tonga dia vonoy. Raha vehivavy, ento aty hojereko." Nosokafan'ny mpiambina hono ny vavahady. "Vehivavy! Mandrosoa aty

jerena!” Niditra hono Ingalingalivola. Miaraka amin’ny firavaka teny aminy. Tsy niteny. Ary vao nahita azy hono ny zanaky ny Zanahary teo akaikin’ny dadany dia niteny hoe, “dada a, dada a, tiako be io, alaiko ho vady io!” Ary hoy ny rainy. “Eh! Ianao zazavavy io, iza no anaranao?” “Ingalingalivola tompoko ny anarako.” “Tian’ny zanako hono ianao ka ho alainy vady. Hanaiky sa tsia?” “Alohan’ny hanomezako valin-teny anao dia mba misy zavatra angatahiko.” “Lazao!” “Misy namako zay any, atao hoe Ikalasimba, ka mba avereno aminy ny tarehin’Ikalasimba, avereno aminy koa ny tanana sy tongotra izay tsy hananany.” “Ah, dia inona koa no angatahinao ankoatr’zay?” “Dia ny dadako sy ny zokiko koa... maty ry zareo. Mba avereno izy ho velona indray. Omeo azy ny aina.” “Ah! Ekena! Asaivo mankaty ry zareo lay novonoinareo teo.” Dia noabataina hono an ny razan’ily dadan’Ingalingalivola sy lay zokiny. “Fou! Fou! Fou! Mifohaza nareo!” Nifoha hono an ny dadan’Ingalingalivola. Nifoha koa hono ilay zokiny roa lahy. Ary hoy ny Zanahary, “aiza Ikalasimba?” “Andraso ampanantsoina Ikalasimba.” Nantsoina hono Ikalasimba. Tonga koa Ikalasimba. Hoy ny Zanahary. “Fou! Fou! Fou!” Nahazo tanana sy tongotra hono Ikalasimba ary lasa tsara tarehy be fa tsy simba intsony ny tarehiny. “Vita daholo! Ahoana am’zay? Manaiky ho vadin’ny zanako va ianao?” “Manaiky aho!” Tra lalala lalalalalala (maka tahaka mozika mariazy). Dia natao hono an ny mariazin’Ingalingalivola ny zanaky ny Zanahary an dia sambatra be daholo hono an ny olona rehetra. Angano, angano, arira, arira. Tantarao am’zay te hino an, dia aza mihinana voa-manadino.

Appendix 22B. Question and answer session for storytelling performance 2. Tale 1.

1. Inona no hafatra noraisinao tao @ tantara?

M : manambady !

F : tsy tokony hamosavy olona

M : tokony hanampy olona sahirana ohatran'Ingalingalivola

M : Tokony hifanampy.

2. Iza no mpandray anjara tianao indrindra tao amin'ny tantara?

F : Ingalingalivola

M : izy mirahalahy

3. Ahoana ny fahitanao ny toetran'Ingalingalivola ?

F : tsara toetra, mangoraka.

**4. Hiresaka manokana momba ny fifandraisan'Ingalingalivola sy Ikalasimba isika :
Araka ny hevitrao, mety hoe nialona an'Ingalingalivola ve Ikalasimba ? (satria
Ingalingalivola tsara tarehy)**

Ankizy: tsia!

Mifanampy ve izy roa vavy ?

M: mifanampy.

F : mifanaraka Ingalingalivola sy Ikalasimba.

- **Manao ahoana ny fifandraisana hita matetika eo amin'ny vehivavy samy
vehivavy eo amin'ny fiarahamonina misy anao ?**

F: mialona, miady.

M: rehefa samy vehivavy miady foana.

- **Dia tsy misy mpinamana mihitsy izany ny vehivavy?**

M: le miady no betsaka.

- **Araka ny hevitrao, nahoana ary no mifandrafy ny vehivavy?**

M: misy ny tsara tarehy, misy ny ratsy tarehy dia mialona ny ratsy tarehy.

- **Mba misy vehivavy ve mahay mifampiantra, indrindra ireo izay mahantra na
mijaly noho izy?**

F: mahay mifampiantra ny vehivavy, indrindra ireo mijaly.

- **Ho an'ireo vehivavy izay tena mpinamana sy mifanampy, inona no mahatonga
azy ireo hanao izany ?**

M: miray saina, mitovy saranga.

**5. Ao amin'ny tantara dia ny anadahin'Ingalingalivola foana no maka ireo firavaka
saro-tadiavina, raha ny hevitrao manokana, nahoana no tsy mba ny vehivavy no
mandeha maka izany fa ny lehilahy hatrany?**

M: satria tsy kamo ny lehilahy.

M: matahotra ny vehivavy.

M: matahotra sao haratra na ho faty ny vehivavy.

- **Malemy izany ny vehivavy?**

Ankizy: tsia!

- **Fa ahoana ary?**

M: tsy matanjaka.

6. Mila firavaka be dia be ohatran’Ingalingalivola sy hatsaran-tarehy ve ny vehivavy vao tian’ny lehilahy?

M: tsia. Mila manao tsara toetra, manana fihetsika tsara.

M : tsy sarotiny, mendrika.

F: mila firavaka sy fitafiana maotina.

7. Ny fiafaran’ny tantara dia Ingalingalivola no lasa vadin’ny zanaky ny Zanahary ary naverina taminy ny endrika امام-bika soan’Ikalasimba. Araka ny hevitrao, nahoana Ikalasimba no tsy niezaka ny ho lasa vadin’ny mpanjaka rehefa naverin’ny Zanahary ny hatsaran-tarehiny?

...

Tsy mba nieritreritra ve izy hoe za efa tsara tarehy be fa tokony za no lasa vadin’ny zanaky ny Zanahary?

...

Andeha ary anontaniansika Ny Eja e, nahoana no tsy novohizina tao amin’ny tantara izany, Ny Eja?

Ny Eja: efa anjaran’Ingalingalivola ny ho vadin’ny mpanjaka. Tsy ho vitan’Ikalasimba mihitsy ny haka ireo firavaka. Ary raha tsy Ingalingalivola dia ho nijanona ho simba foana Ikalasimba.

Appendix 22C. Ny Eja. Storytelling Performance 2.

Tale 2: Rasoa.

Zao ndray zany tsika dia hiditra amin’ny angano faharoa an, dia ny anganon’i “Rasoa.”

“Ao ve?” “Ao tsara!”

“Ao ve?” “Ao tsara!”

“Ao ve?” “Ao tsara!”

Indray andro hono an dia nisy vehivavy anankiray atao hoe Ranoro. Ranoro hono an, dia vehivavy tsara tarehy be hono izy. Ary izy hono an zazavavin-drano. Aiza no mipetraka zany? (ankizy: any anaty rano). Any anaty rano. Indray andro hono an, di amba niakatra hono Ranoro. “Andeha za mba hiakatra any ambonin’ny tany fa mafana ny andro.” Tonga teo ambonin’ny tany izy dia nisy vato teo dia nipetraka teo Ranoro. Nipetraka teo izy nakanaka aina. Nieritreritra teo. Lalalala (mihira). Tampoka teo izy, nisy nisintona ny volo. “Hay! Kay! Aie!” Nidiboka tao anaty rano izy. “Fa maninona aho kay no ataonao ohatran’zao?” “Ranoro! Izaho no Andriambodilova! Zanaky ny mpanjaka! Mila vady aho! Ka ndao ianao ho alaiko vady!” “Aza

tazoninao ohatran'io aloha ny voloko fa marary be!” “Ao ary fa hajanoko. Manaiky ho vadiko ve ianao?” “Aoka aloha za hieritreritra!” Ktchio! Lasa Ranoro niverina tany anaty rano. Iny Andriambodilova niverina. “Oay le, aiza koa ary le vehivavy efa voatazoko tsara iny!” Nandrasan'Andriambodilova. “Aleo aloha hiakatra eo ambony eo indray iny fa azoko iny!” Iny ndray hono Ranoro fa tonga. Mipetrapetraka eo amin'ilay vato eo. La lalala lalala. Vao miala tany hono Andriambodilova, lasa izy nitsoaka ! Nitsoaka foana hono izy. Fa ndray andro hono izy ohatrany varimbariana ary tratran'Andriambodilova teo amin'ny volony indray. “Ranoro! Avia ianao alaiko vady! Tsara tarehy loatra ianao!” “Eny ary e! Fa avelao hoa ny voloko fa aza sintomina a!” “Eny ary, hanaraka ahy ianao?” “Eny ary fa za koa zany efa te hanambady.” Dia nanaraka an'Andriambodilova hono izy. Lasa hono Andriambodilova nitondra azy tany antanàna. “Ndao, ndao! Ty ry zalahy ny vadiko an! Ty ry zalahy ny vadiko an!” “Ie, fa zao aloha a,” “ahoana?” “za raha hanambady anao an, dia misy fady zahay.” “Inona ny fadinao?” “Tsy azo atao ny miteny hoe sira! Fa raha vao miteny ianao hoe sira, dia iny aho no lasa! Satria ny razambenay manko dia Andriantsira ny anaran'ny dadabeany sy ny dadanay. Ka tsy azo tonontononina io resaka sira io. “Tsy maninona zany ratovovavy tsara tarehy! Alaiko vady ianao. Ekena ny fangatahana. “Ndao ary e!” Dia lasa hono nentina tany an-tanàna izy. Dia natao mariazy. Dia niteraka be dia be. Niteraka ry zareo.

Indray andro hono dia hoy Andriambodilova. “O ry Ranoro a!” “Ahoana zay dada a?” “Fatory kely io ombikely io fa za andeha ho any anaty ala, fa raha vao tsy fatoranao io an, dia lasa io minono any am'lay reniny an dia tsisy ronono intsony eo hoterena. Io zanak'omby io, afatory io zanaka ombikely io.” Dia lasa niasa tany anaty ala Andriambodilova fa Ranoro kosa nijanona tao an-trano. Dia rehefa tany hono izy dia nalain'i Ranoro hono ilay omby. “Avia ty ry omby a, avia fa fatorana hono ity! Avia! Osy!” Dia nalainy hono ny rambony dia nofatorany tamin'ny rambony ilay ombikely. Nataony teo amin'ny hazo. Nalainy ny rambony dia nofatorany tamin'ny hazo. Dia lasa izy nandeha. Nanao raharaha. Tany izy tany. Niverina Andriambodilova. Jerena lay ombikely efa minono amin'ny reniny. Tezitra be Andriambodilova. “Oadray! Fa angaha tsy nofatoranao le omby? Le zanak'omby?” “Nofatorako! Ny rambony mihitsy no nalaiko dia nofatorako tamin'ny rambony!” “Ka aiza izy zao? Ndana jereo!” Nojerena. “Oay! Toa niala! Toa niala teo amin'ny hazo?” “Ka satria enao dondrona ! Zay ny antony ! Aiza ko any hisy hoe fatorana le omby di any rambon'le omby no hamatorana azy? Vehivavy dondrona, tsy misaina! Itony tena manao lohana sira mihitsy itony! Hita mihitsy itony hoe zanaka sira!” “Oay! Noteneninao le fady! Efa niteny aho hoe tsy azo tenintenenina hoa zany sira zany fa fady!” Tsy norarahian'Andriambodilova fa lasa izy nandeha sady nimonomonona, “zao zao tsisy ronono sotroina intsony rahariva... vehivavy tsy misaina tsy... tsisy atidoha, tsy mieritreritra. Efa tenenina hoe fatory mbola niananananaa.” “Za kosa aloha tsy hijanona eto intsony e. zay, andeha aho.” Naorin'i Ranoro hono ny entany dia lasa izy nandeha, nankany amin'ilay rano fitoerany. Ary rehefa tonga teo amoron-drano izy dia, nitsambikina tao anaty rano. Teo hono Andriambodilova vao tonga qaina, “fa nankaiza ary lay vadiko iny?” Oay! Iry amoron-drano iry! Lasa hono izy niazakazaka. “Ranoro o, Ranoro! Miverena ianao e! vava tezitra ange reny e!” “Tsia! Efa nifampiteny isika fa fady! Tsy atao ohatr'izany ny vehivavy! Iny aho no lasa! Veloma enao!” Nitsambikina hono izy ka niverina tany anaty rano. “ooooh!” Nitomany hono izy. “Noro a! ny zanaky tsika anie kamboty e!” Nitomany daholo koa le ankizy kely, “neny! Neninay!” Tsy niverina intsony izy. Fa hoy kosa Ranoro hoe, “any amin'ny taranako any dia hisy vehivavy anankiray atao hoe ‘Rasoa,’ ary io Rasoa io no hampianatra fa tsy azo atao ny mampijaly vehivavy. “

Dia tany amin'ny zanak'i Ranoro sy Andriambodilova hono a, dia niteraka ireo zanany ireo. Ary ny iray tamin'ireo an, dia natao hoe... (ankizy: Raso). Raso. Teraka hono Raso. Rehefa teraka hono Raso an, dia tia olona be mihitsy hono Raso. Tia namana be hono izy. Ary rehefa natory hono Raso indray alina dia indro nisy feo niantso azy. "Raso o!" "Ahoana?" "Raso o!" "Ahoana? Iza ary zany miantso ao anaty nofinofy zany o?" "Izao ihany ilay razam-be avy any an-danitra any an," "Han? Iza ary zany? Razam-be avy any an-danitra any!" "Izao Raso, andana ianao, ento daholo ny vehivavy rehetra izay mijaly fa hanampy azy ireo aho. Ento aty amiko, Zanahary, fa miandry anareo aty an-tendrombohitry ny Zanahary aho." "Teny ary e!"

Dia nifoha hono Raso. Ary rehefa nifoha Raso dia lasa izy nandeha ho any amin'ny tendrombohitry'i Zanahary. Teny an-dalana izy dia nahita vehivavy anankiray, ompaina. Ompain'ny vadiny. Iny lay vehivavy, malahelo kely eo amoron-drano. "Maninona ary aho no ompainy? Fa za angaha olona tsisy dikany no atao an'zany?" Lay rangahy ery am-pita mbola manompa ihany. "Lay vehivavy tsisy saina, dondrona, vendrana," sy ny ompa rehetra rehetra sy zay teny rehetra ratsiratsy rehetra ireny. Nalahelo be hono lay vehivavy dia nanao hoe, "za koa zany dia, za ve zany tsy olombelona no atao an'zany? Oinnn..." Ary nandalo Raso, "eh! Vehivavy a, fa maninona ianao no mitomany?" "Jereo ange zany ompa ataon'ilay rangahy iry ana izany e! ompainy aho!" "Ndao hiaraka amina, aza malahelo zany." Dia lasa hono i Raso sy ilay vehivavy, ataontsika hoe iza no anarany, Raketaka. Niaraka. Ho aiza? Ho any amin'ny tendrombohitry'i Zanahary. "Ndao tsika handeha fa aza malahelo." Lasa ndray izy nahita ankizivavy kely miaraka amin'ny ray aman-dreniny sy miaraka amin'Ingahibe sola. Hozizy Ingahibe sola, "ho ento aty ho alaiko vady io zanakareo io." "Han! Oay! Ndana manaiky ho vadin'Ingahibe sola dia mahazo vola!" Dia hoy hono ilay ankizivavy hoe, "An, za tsy hanambady an'Ingahibe sola zany an! Dada sy neny, mifona dada sy neny, aza amidy aho re e! Aza ampanambadiana an'Ingahibesola aho re e!" Ary hoy Ingahibe sola, "he he, ha ha ha, avia hanambady ana ikala kely," "an an an, za tsy hanambady!" Ary hoy Raso sy Raketaka, "eh! Aza ampijalianareo io tovoavavy kely io! Tsy mahazo manambady an'Ingahibe sola izany izy! Ndao hiaraka aminay akia. Iza no anaran-dry?" "Ny anarako ve? Voninkazo!" "Ndao hiaraka aminay Voninkazo a!" Ho any amin'ny tendrombohitry'i Zanahary. Dia lasa hono Raso, Raketaka, Voninkazo, nankany amin'ny tendrombohitry'i Zanahary. Lasa hono izy nandeha. Lasa hono izy nandeha. Rehefa tonga teny an-dalana indray hono ry zareo, dia nahita vehivavy anankiray, tsy nompaina fotsiny, fa nodarohina mihitsy. Nodarohan'lay vadiny hono lay vehivavy. "Iny ny an'ity! Iny ny an'ity!" Maratra be daholo ny lohany. "Za ve ataonao inona?" "Ka satria tratrako niresaka tamin'ny lehilahy!" "Aza dia vonoina re aho e! Avelao mba hanana ny maha izy ahy ihany!" "Inona ny zavatra noresahan'ity an'iny lehilahy iny?" "Fa angaha za tsy mahazo miresaka amin'olona e?" "Sipan'ity iny koa!" "An an an, tsy manao sipa aho e!" Ary hoy Raso, Raketaka, Voninkazo, "aza ampijalianareo ny vehivavy, manana zo hiresaka amin'olona izy. Fa tsy izay miresaka aminy dia sipany daholo." "Andao, iza no anaranao?" "Ny anarako ve? Joséphine." "Andao hiaraka aminay Joséphine a, andao tsika hiaraka fa aza manaiky vonovonoina zany." Dia lasa hono zareo an nankany amin'ny tendrombohitry'i (ankizy: Zanahary).

Tonga tany zareo dia nandondona. (Mandondona amin'ny latabatra). « Mandrosoa e! Zanahary tsara fanahy ben y aty ! » « Hay, ie, nanofy anao za, za Raso ny anarako, za taranak'i Ranoro, dia nanofy anao ahako hoe mankaty aminao hono zahay." "Ah! Mipetrapetraha nareo!" "Ie! Reo! Io Ketaka, nompain'ny vadiny, zany hoe herisetra atao amin'ny vehivavy zany, saingy herisetra, ataontsika hoe ara-tsaina? Satria ny ompa koa dia mitovy amin'ny mamono. Dia io, ompainy io. Ketaka." "Ha! Ny vehivavy manana ny zony, tsy azo ompaina! Na ny

lehilahy koa ary tsy azo ompaina. Tsy azo atao ny mifanompa fa mandratra izany. Manozona zany ompa zany.” “Ie, misaotra.” “Dia io koa, Zanahary, io koa i Voninkazo. Voninkazo ndray an, dia terena, terena hanambady an’Ingahibe sola. Dia tsy mety izy dia nentiko koa.” “Ah! Voninkazo! Manana safidy ny olombelona. Manana zo ny olombelona hifidy zay ataony vady. Ary tsy azo teriterena zany koa ny safidiny fa manao herisetra amin’azy ny manao an’zany. Misaotra anareo tonga aty.” “Ie, misaotra Zanahary. Dia io koa Joséphine. Io ndray an dia tena herisetra tena tonga dia (kapoka) no nahazo an’azy. Daroka.” “Ah! Joséphine!” “Ie, tena marary be daholo zao aty, aty. Mpivarotra ah, manambady dia tonga dia, niresaka tam’lay zay rangah zay za nefa za naika hoe hiantoka voatabia tam’lay rangahy. Mpivarotra voatabia dia saika hoe hiaroka anle voatabia dia nety izy dia lazain’ny vadiko hoe misipa hono zay sy lay rangah dia tonga dia hun daroka be no nahazo ana.” “Ho! Manana zo ny olona hiresaka, manana zo ny olona hitady zay mahaso azy, fa tsy hoe lehilahy sy vehivavy dia mpisipa. Tsy mety zany. Ary tsy azo atao ny mamono vehivavy! Manan-janaka ve nareo?” “Ie, manana zanaka zahay! Manana zanaka zahay dia rehefa miady zahay dia eo imason’lay zanakay foana zahay no miady. Dia lay zanakay efa miteny foana hoe dada sy neny, aza miady nareo! Tsy azo atao anie ny mamono vehivavy e! Tsy mitovy ange ny hery ry dada sy neny! Lay zanakay, efa miteny mihitsy lay zanakay. Zany mihitsy ny adidin’lay zanakay isaky ny miady.” “Zao an, Joséphine, Tsy azo vonoina ny vehivavy fa manana ny zony. Ny lehilahy koa tsy azo vonoina. Manana zo. Tsy mahazo miady zany. Zao an, omeko bracelet nareo.” “Hay! Ie, dia ahoana?” “Ity bracelet ity an, volafotsy, omeko anareo. Ka anaovy izy ity amin’ny tananareo. Dia hotadidinareo foana fa manana zo ny vehivavy. Tsy azo atao ny herisetra. Zay fa tsofiko rano nareo an, dia hendre tsara daholo.” Dia nahazo bracelet volafotsy avy tany amin’ny Zanahary hono zareo. Dia nentiny foana hono iny an, fahatsiarovany an fa manana zo ny vehivavy. Tsy azo atao herisetra. Any amin’ny faritra Atsimo, manao bracelet volafotsy daholo ny olona. Natao ho fanadiovana izany rehefa misy manota fady. Na lehilahy na vehivavy fa ny vehivavy moa be dia be mihitsy. Manasitrana zany ny volafotsy. Nomen’ny Zanahary zany zay volafotsy zay izay tokony an, ny ankizy mbola kely ohatr’izao dia efa manana firavaka, eny an-tanany eny, hahatsiarovany hoe manana, zay zany no nampifandraisiko tamin’ny angano hoe ny fitondrana an’iny firavaka iny dia mampahatsiaro foana hoe za dia tsy tokony hovanovonoina, za manana ny maha izy ahy. Za tokony ho tafita. Dia ahatsiarovako an’zay ity firavaka ity. Angano angano, arira, arira. Tantarao am’zay te hino an, aza mihinana voa-manadino.

Appendix 22D. Question and answer session for storytelling performance 2. Tale 2.

1. Inona no hafatra noraisinao tao amin’ny tantaran’i Raso?

M: tokony tsy ampijaliana ny vehivavy fa manana ny zony.

M: tokony manaja ny zon’ny vehivavy.

F: tokony tsy hanaiky ampijaliana ny vehivavy.

2. Iza no mpandray anjara tianao indrindra? Nahoana?

M: Raso satria niaro ny namany.

F: Rasoamiangaly satria mbola te hianatra dia noteren’ny dadany hanambady.

M: Rafahagagana satria nampahafantatra ny zon’ny vehivavy tamin’ny rehetra.

M: Rasoà satria nitarika olona ho any amin'i Rafahagagana.

M: Rafahagagana satria nitondra vaha olana.

F: Ranoro satria malemy fanahy.

3. Manana toetrana mpitarika ve Rasoà? Nahoana?

All: ie.

4. Milaza i Zanahary Rafahagagana fa “fantatry ny vehivavy ny zony saingy tsy ampihariny.” Manaiky izany ve ianao raha mijery ny vehivavy misy eo amin'ny fiarahamonina misy anao? Nahoana?

M: ie, satria matahotra sao vonoin'ny vadiny ny vehivavy.

F: matahotra ny vadiny. Mamono ny vadiny.

5. Inona avy ireo zon'ny vehivavy fantatrao?

M: manana kopia

M: omena sakafo

F: mitafy

M: miteny

V: mitsangatsangana

6. Inona avy ireo zon'ny lehilahy fantatrao?

F: mamelona vady aman-janaka.

M: mitady vola

M: mamelona vady

7. Ahoana ny fahazoanao an'izany hoe mitovy zo ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy izany?

...

Ny Eja: Mitovy ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy. Tsy midika izany hoe andeha hiteny ny lehilahy hoe 'ndana ary mipipiza mitsangana!' na hoe 'ento ity ciment mavesatra be ity!' Tsia! Ny dikan'izany dia hoe mitovy ny fitondrana ny vehivavy sy ny lehilahy.

8. Araka ny hevitrao, mitovy ve ny zon'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy?"

M: tsy mitovy ny zon'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy fa ny an'ny vehivavy ambony ny zony mihoatra noho ny lehilahy.

Angano voalohany: Ifaravavy mahery fo

Manahoana daholo nareo! (ankizy: manao ahoana tompoko o!) Salama tsara daholo? (eny tompoko) Hendry tsara daholo ? (eny tompoko). Hitako mihitsy fa tena hendry be. Dia noho ianareo hendry be an dia hitantarana angano zany nareo androany. Dia ny fitantarana angano androany moa zany an, za mitantara angano an, fa misy olona tsara fanahy be zany rehefa avy eo an, dia sady hiresaka aminy nareo an, dia rehefa aveo nareo an, hizarana biscuit nareo rehefa aveo. Ka nareo ve aloha falifaly sa tsy falifaly hihaino angano? (falifaly). Ka raha falifaly nareo an, dia aleo ary aloha ho hitantsika zany falifaly zany, za zao faly be mihitsy mahita anareo. Dia faly nareo an, za koa faly an, dia aleo asiantsika hira kely. “Falifaly hihaino angano!” Alefa! Mafimafy kosa e! zany ve hisy haheno akory! “Falifaly hihaino angano! Falifaly hihaino angano! Hihaino angano! Hihaino angano! Falifaly hihaino angano!” Alefa! Anareo irery ary, asio tehaka! (ankizy mihira sy mitehaka) Mafy be! Tehaka daholo daholo!

Dia hihaino angano zany nareo an, dia za mitantara an, nareo mihaino. Dia ny angano tantaraina aminareo an, angano momba an’ankizivavy kely anankiray mahafinaritra dia mahafinaritra an, antsoina hoe Ifaravavy, iza no anaran’le izy?” (Ifaravavy). Ifaravavy mahery fo. Ifaravavy mahery fo, zany hoe, inona ny dikan’zany mahery fo zany? (be fitiavana) Mahery fo... ie, be fitiavana izy fa ie? (tsara fanahy!) Tsara fanahy ihany koa izy, eny e, tsara fanahy izy, fa inona no dikan’ny hoe mahery fo amin’ny teny frantsay? Coura? (geuse). Courageuse. Ka ankizivavy mahery fo na courageuse zany no hotantaraina amintsika eto. Dia fahiny hono an nisy mpivady. Reo olona mpivady reo an dia niteraka be dia be, fa zay teraka ankizivavy, teraka ankizivavy, tsy niteraka ankizilahy mihitsy izy fa ankizivavy doly doly. Dia izy mivady hono an, mampalahelo fa izy tsy tia ankizivavy. Dia nalahelo be hono izy mivady hoe, “maninona foana ary, zay teraka ankizivavy, zay teraka ankizivavy. Tsika anefa mba tokony hanana ankizilahy mba ho zanaka!” Dia izy mivady ireo rankizy an, ratsy fanahy be mihitsy, tena ratsy fanahy, ratsy fanahy, tsy tia zaza. Nefa nareo tian’ny ray aman-dreninareo moa e? (eny tompoko) Fa izy mivady zany rankizy an tsy tia ny zanany mihitsy ry zareo. Dia nampijalialiany rankizy reo zanany vavy reo. Asainy miasa, asainy mitady vola ho an’azy. Fa izy mivady an, mibaikobaiko fotsiny. Dia kapohiny. Raha ohatra hoe mandeha le ankizy ka tsy mitondra sakafo tonga ao an-trano, dia ampialiany, kapohiny, dia asainy miasa mafy. Dia nisy ny anankiray tamin’izy ireo nampalahelo fa narary. Rehefa narary dia mbola noteren’izy mivady ihany, “mandehana miasa fa inona no ataonao eto?” “za ange marary e!” “an an an, tsisy an’zany! Mandeha mandeha! Tsy maintsy mahit asakafo ianao! Ho entina ho anay mivady!” Dia lasa ihany rankizy lay ankizivavy, efa marary, efa marary fa mbola nandeha ihany, nandeha ihany. Dia niasa mafy, dia inona no niafarany? Maty lay ankizivavy. Maty lay ankizivavy. Mampalahelo zany. Dia rehefa maty lay ankizivavy an, raha ohatra ka hoe ray aman-dreny ka maty ny zanany, dia inona no ataony? (mitomany). Mitomany. Malahelo. Fa izy mivady rankizy an, vao maika falifaly. “He he he! Mihena ihany ny vava mihinana koa! Maty ny anankiray!” Dia ilay ankizivavy rahavaviny teo rankizy no nalahelo sy nikarakara fa lay izy mivady an, tsy niraharaha. “He! Aleo ho faty any! Am’zay di amba ho vitsy ny mihinan-kanina sisa!” Dia tsy vitan’zany rankizy

fa zao, rehefa nihalehibe teny nihalehibe teny ire zanany vavy, rehefa lehibebe lay zanany vavimatoa, efa lehibe noho nareo zao. Dia inona no nataon'izy mivady? Nisy rangah anankiray mpanakarena be zay rankizy. Dia io mpanankarena io an, nividy an'ilay ankizivavy. "Ohatrinona ny vidin'ny zanakareo fa vidiako?" hoziz'ilay rangah mpanankarena be. Dia namidiny rankizy lay ankizivavy, namidin'izy mivady an, lay zanany vavimatoa. Ny zanany voalohany indrindra zany namidiny. Dia lasa nentin'ilay mpanankarena nandeha tany lay ankizivavy. Dia nalahelo lay rahavaviny. Dia lay vola rankizy azony tany am'lay mpanankarena, inona no nataony azy? Tsy nomeny an'lay zanany reo fa nohanin'izy mivady. Nanaovany fety be. Dia rehefa nolanilaniany teny zany lay vola rankizy dia inona no niafarany? Lany le vola. Dia rehefa lany le vola, izy mivady efa zatra mihinana sakafo be e, mifalifaly sy ny sisa, nitady vola ndray izy. Inona no nataony? Novarotany ndray lay vavy faharoa. Namidiny tamin'olona ndray. Dia nahazo vola indray izy. Dia rehefa nahazo vola izy an, dia nihinana, dia nihinana, dia nihinana, dia nihinana, voky be. Ein ein. Lany ndray le vola. Dia inona ndray no nataony? Novarotany ndray lay zanany fahatelo. Dia ohatr'izany foana rankizy. Rehefa lany le vola dia novarotany. Farany rankizy an, tsisy afatsy Ifaravavy. Faravavy sady mahia kely no ratsiratsy tarehy kely. Dia tsisy nividy. Dia hoy izy mivady, "tokony mba nisy nividy rangah ty! Zao tokony mila vola tsika! Tsss. Mandreraka be." Dia nasainy, Ifaravavy irery rankizy, nasainy niasa mafy teo, nampijalijaliany, nasainy niasa mafy, dia efa nihanahia, nihanahia, nihanahia, nihanahia. Dia indray andro rankizy henony tamin'ny mpanjaka fa hoe, efa nihalehibe zany Ifaravavy, efa nihalehibebe. Dia henony tamin'ny mpanjaka fa hoe, ny mpanjaka hono an, ny zanaky ny mpanjaka, mitady ankizivavy sady mahery fo an no matanjaka mba ho vadin'ny zanaky ny mpanjaka rehefa tonga taona ny zanaky ny mpanjaka, rehefa lehibe afaka manambady zany ny zanaky ny mpanjaka. Diaz ay ankizivavy sady mahery fo, zany hoe mahery miasa be, sady matanjaka an, zay no tadiaviny. Ary tsara fanahy, tsara toetra. Zay zany no tadiavin'ny zanaky ny mpanjaka.

Dia ny olona rehetra, ny ankizivavy rehetra tao amin'ny fanjakana rankizy an, nasaina nandeha daholo hoe, ia, iza zany an, manatona aty zay te ho vadin'ny zanaky ny mpanjaka. Dia nandeha daholo, nandeha daholo. Dia rehefa naheno an'zany rankizy izy mivady, dia inona no nataony? Tsy nampijaliany intsony aloha Ifara. Tsy nampijaliany intsony fa nomeny sakafo be e, nokarakarainy, nividianany akanjo tsara tarehy, dia lasa tsy nahia kely intsony fa mba tsaratsara. Dia hozizy, "zao ry Fara, enao an, efa nividiananahy zavatra be dia be enao, sakafo, akanjo, sy ny sisa. Fa ianao raha vao tsy mandresy eo, raha vao tsy ianao no lasa vadin'ny zanaky ny mpanjaka, amidinay koa enao ho lasa any!" Tena, Fara hono rankizy tsy afaka nandà fa dia,eny ary fa tsy maninona e. Dia lasa rankizy izy telo mianaka. Dia hoe izy zany an, anisan'ny, Ifara zany e, ankizivavy be dia be dia be dia be nifaninana teo. "Dia ireo zany nareo no mifaninana," hoy ny mpanjaka, "ka zao ny zavatra atao, misy lavaka lalina be tena lalina be mihitsy an, ao anatin'io lavaka io an, mandehana nareo mitady vatosoa ao. Omena arona kely nareo. Ka izay mahafeno an'io arona io voalohany an, feno vatosoa, dia izay no mpandresy, ka ny anankitelo aminareo reo ihany no hiatrika ny fifaninanana manaraka. Zay anankitelo mandresy." Dia lasa rankizy ny ankizivavy kely be dia be dia be dia be nandeha, nidina tao anatin'ilay lavaka. Nitady vatosoa. Rehefa tonga tao rankizy Ifara dia oziz'Ifara hoe, "shhh, za ve hahazo an'zany vatosoa zany? Za olona sady mahantra no tsy afaka mitady an'zany ah e, tena tsy afaka mitady an'zany ah satria sady... nefany zao raha tsy mahazo an'zany ah dia tsy maintsy ho amidin'idada sy

neny dia ho ampijalijalian'i dada sy neny indray aho. (Mitomany) za tsy hiala ato anatin'ity lavaka ity intsony ka." Dia nijanona hono izy, nitombona teo Ifara rankizy. "za" ozizy, "aleoko maty aho," oziz'Ifara, "fa manjary ampijalijalian'idada sy neny any ah." Dia inona oziz'nareo? Rehefa teo izy dia nisy feo nanakoako hoe, "o ry Fara! Aza kivy fa hanampy anao aho!" Gaga Ifara rankizy, "ah! Avy aiza zany feo zany?" Tsy hitany. "Aza kivy fa hanampy anao aho!" Tampotampok'izay rankizy, feno vatosoa ny haronkelin'Ifara. Gaga izy. "Han! Avy aiza reto vatosoa reto? Han! Tena fahagagana ity!" Ny ankizy mbola tsisy nahafeno an, mbola tsisy nahafeno an'lay aron-kely, Ifara efa nahafeno anle izy. Lasa nentin'Ifara lay aron-kely rankizy, nentiny nankany amin'ny mpanjaka. "Ty ry mpanjaka lay vatosoa notadiavinao." Gaga be ny mpanjaka. "Nahangona an'reo sahadry ve ianao ry Fara?" "Eny ry mpanjaka." "Tena ianao zany no voalohany ka dia ianao no anisan'ireo anankitelo hifaninana satria ianao zao no tonga voalohany, ka dia ny valisoa anao dia omena anao daholo ireo vatosoa ireo an, entinao any an-trano." Faly Ifara rankizy, dia lasa izy. Dia rehefa tonga tany an-trano anefany an, inona ny zavatra nitranga? Nalain'ny ray aman-dreniny daholo le vatosoa. Tsy nomeny na dia anankiray aza Ifara fa nalainy doly doly le vatosoa. Dia mazava moa zany fa le ray aman-dreniny tia tena fa izy an, ny vola azont tamin'reny vatosoa reny an, dia efa azy mivady, tsisy nomeny an'Ifara na ny kely aza. Nalahelo Ifara nefa tsy hitany zay atao. Fa zao rankizy ny zavatra nitranga. Rehefa tonga hono ny alina, tampotampoka teo, nisy kotroka, nefa tsy avy ny orana an, lay omaly zao avy ny orana dia nisy kotroka, fa tam'zay tsy avy ny orana nefa nisy kotroka, koratatatatata. (Mihomehy ny ankizy). Inona ny zavatra nitranga? Vao nijanona le kotroka, naniry rambo izy mivady. Nisy rambo. Nisy rambo izy mivady. « Han ! misy rambo tsika! Enoa koa angaha misy rambo? Ie misy rambo! Iza no lava ny rambontsika sy enao? Haa! Mahamenatra! Inona no atao?" Dia nafenin'izy mivady rankizy le rambony fa mahamenatra. Dia mody nanaovany ny akanjo.

Tonga rankizy ny ampitso. Ifara an, handeha hanao an'lay fifaninanana indray. Lasa. Anankitelo sisa izy zany an. Dia hozy ny mpanjaka, "zao an, nareo anankitelo ireo zany an no hanao ny fifaninanana farany. Ka zao no atao. Mandeha nareo mankeny amoron'iry renirano iry, dia mandeha maka vatosoa ao, ka zay mahafeno arona voalohany ihany no manao ny fitsapana farany. Lasa rankizy dia nandeha Ifara. Tonga. Niaraka tamin'ireo ankizivavy. Rehefa tonga teo amoron-drano izy rankizy dia inona ny zavatra nitranga? Kivy indray Ifara. "Aiza no ahitako anzany volamena, volamena no nasaina nalaina tao anaty rano, aiza no ahitako an'zany volamena be dia be ato anaty rano ato zany? Tsy mahita an'zany ah ka!" Dia nipetraka teo fotsiny izy rankizy, nipetraka teo ambony rano teo fotsiny. Ka rehefa nipetraka teo izy dia inona indray ny zavatra nitranga? Tonga ndray lay feo. "O ry Fara, O ry Fara! Mandehana fa hanampy anao aho." Gaga be Ifara rankizy, zay ndray le feo! Tsy hita mihitsy hoe aiza ary zany feo zany? "Mandehana fa hanampy anao aho." Tampoka teo rankizy, feno volamena indray ilay aronkelin'i Fara. Izy indray no nahazo voalohany. Dia nanontanian'ny mpanjaka, "Han! Nahazo volamena be dia be sahadry ianao?" hoy ny mpanjaka. "Eny ry mpanjaka!" "Ay, zao ary e, ianao zany no voalohany, ianao zany no manao ny fitsapana farany rahampitso. Fa omena anao daholo indray reo volamena reo an hoentinao any an-trano." Dia lasa rankizy Ifara. Rehefa tonga tany an-trano izy, mbola ohatran'ilay teo ihany. Nalain'ny ray aman-dreniny daholo rankizy le volamena be dia be azon'Ifara. Nony tonga ny alina, inona no nitranga? Zay ndray lay kotroka ktatatatatata! Ein! Nikotro-baratra. Rehefa nikotroka lay varatra, inona no nitranga? Iny fa

naniry tandroka lay ray aman-dreniny. Dia lasa kitro ny tanany sy ny tongony. Dia nandady tongotra efatra. Dia ozizy hoe, “mannnn!” (Mihomehy) Lasa inona zany? (ankizy: omby!) Lasa omby! Lasa Barea! Nivadika Barea ny ray aman-dreniny. Maraina ny andro. Mahita Barea anankiroa eo amin’ny, mahita Barea anankiroa eo anoloany eo Ifara. Taitra be izy sady natahotra. “Fa inona reto Barea reto? Nefa amin’ny Sabotsy vao tokony hanao baolina ary?” (Mihomehy). Dia natahotra Ifara rankizy, dia natahotra teo izy dia fantany ihany nony farany fa ny ray aman-dreniny no nivadika omby. Dia nalahelo hono Ifara rankizy. “Eee! Dia nivadika omby ve zany dada sy neny noho ny fitiavan-tenany e?” Dia tonga rankizy ny iraky ny mpanjaka. Nitondra an’Ifara handeha hanao ny fifaninanana farany. Dia hoy ny mpanjaka, “zao an, ianao an, tsy ho afaka ho vadin’ny zanako raha tsy eken’ny razana. Ka noho izany, iry misy tendrombohitra. Tendrombohitra masina io. Ao an-tampon’io tendrombohitra masina io misy lefona anankiray. Ka raha ohatra ka eken’ny razana ho vadin’ny zanako ianao, ka mandray an’io lefona io, dia ho azonao izy. Fa raha tsy ekeny ianao, dia hitsatoka ao amin’ny fonao io lefona io an, dia maty any ianao. Ka andeha ianao sa tsy handeha?” Natahotra Ifara rankizy. “Tena tsy maintsy ho faty aho zany” hoy izy. “Mba ahoana no aneken’ny razan’ny mpanjaka hoe izaho anie no ho lasa vadin’ny zanaky ny mpanjaka, za zay olona mahantra kely, olona tsy mba tsara tarehy ohatran’ny sasany. Za ve dia ho lasa vadin’ny zanaky ny mpanjaka! Tena tsy maintsy maty aho.” Kanefa rankizy, rehefa nieritreritra Ifara dia nandeha ihany. “Tsy maninona rangah fa aleo za ho faty any!” Niakatra an’lay tendrombohitra izy rankizy, niakatra an’lay tendrombohitra. Tonga tany. Hitany le lefona, lefona maranitra be mihitsy. “Io fa mitsatoka amin’ny foko io, maty aho androany.” (Mihomehy) Dia natahotra be izy rankizy. Rehefa tonga dia oziz’lay feo ndray taminy, “o ry Fara; o ry Fara, ianao no sitraky ny razana ho vadin’ny zanaky ny mpanjaka. Tsy mila olona be voninahitra izy. Tsy mila olona mpanankarena izy. Fa olona sady manana herim-po no ilainy. Olona hendry, ary manana fahendrena. Izay no tena ilainy.” Rehefa naheno an’zay Ifara dia tapa-kevitra fa haka an’lay lefona. Dia nalainy. Azony lay izy. Tsy naninon-tsy naninona. Nentiny tany amin’ny mpanjaka lay izy. Dia resy lahatra hono ny mpanjaka fa Ifara no ho lasa vadin’ny zanaky ny mpanjaka rehefa manambady ny zanaky ny mpanjaka. Dia nihalehibe teny Ifara, nihalehibe teny ny zanaky ny mpanjaka an, dia lasa vadin’ny zanaky ny mpanjaka hono Ifara. Dia lasa mpanjaka izy taty aoriana. Rehefa maty indray ny zanaky ny mpanjaka dia izy indray no lasa mpanjaka tao am’lay fanjakana. Dia tsara fanahy sady tian’ny vahoaka mihitsy hono Ifara rankizy. Dia izay ny tantaran’Ifara rankizy.

Ka ny ankizivavy an, dia manana ny mahaizy azy rehefa be herim-po, hendry tsara, dia tonga amin’ny toerana izay ilainy. Ka aza mieritreritra ny ankizilahy hoe ny ankizivavy ambanin’ny ankizilahy. Tsy marina izany! Mitovy ianareo. Manaiky ianareo sa tsy manaiky? (ankizy: manaiky!). Asio tehaka mafy be ary e! (tehaka). Zay rankizy ny tantaran’Ifara. Ifaravavy... iza moa le anarany teo? (Ifaravavy). Ifaravavy mahery fo. Mbola misy angano anankiray tsara be ho ataoko ho anareo rehefa avy eo, fa zao aloha tsika dia hanao ankamantatra kely aminareo aho aloha an. Iza aloha no mahay ankamantatra e? (ankizilahy manangan-tanana) Hein! Alefaso! Ataovy hoe lehity le izy! (ankizilahy: “inona ary zany, rehefa any ambony izy hélicoptère, rehefa aty ambony izy dokotera?”) (ankizy mamaly: moka). Inona hono? (ankizy: moka) Moka hono. Ein ein! Tehaka mafy! Ary misy ankizivavy mahita ankamantatra? (ankizilahy mananga-tanana) Nga ialahy ankizivavy? (mihomehy ny ankizy) Hihihihihy. (Ankizivavy manomboka miteny: “inona ary zany...”) Andraso aloha, ein, aveo an’ialahy, aveo

an'ialahy. Alefaso. (ankizivavy: “inona ary zany, totoina tsy mety fotsy, avela fotsy ho azy?”) Inona ndray zany? Za ndray no banjnin'dry eo a! Inona zany? (ankizy: aloka) Aloka? Marina ve zany?” (ankizivavy: diso) Diso hono zany o, diso hono zany! Inona lay izy? ...Iza no no mahafantatra an'zany?... Tsisy ve? Oh! Ary tena marani-tsaina io ankizivavy io an! Tsisy mahafantatra ny ankamantatra zay nataony. Hum. Inona hono zany? (ankizivavy: volo). Volo. Hitanareo! Ny ana zao tsy nototoina io voloko io a, misy fotsy io, fotsy io, tsy nototoiko, totoina tsy fotsy, avela izy fotsy ho azy eo. Ie! Inona ary zany raha fantatrareo? “Elobe tsy mipika!” (ankizy: hihihihy lanitra). Inona? Mitehaka mafy be doly doly! Inona le izy? (ankizy rehetra: lanitra!). Lanitra. Ary inona ary zany, elobe itsambikinana. Hihi! Tsisy mahafantatra! Hihihihihy hahahahhaa hehehehe! (ankizy mihomehy). Alefa. Para. Dia ataontsika tsianjery kely zay para zay. Efa nahita para nareo?” (ankizy: ie!) Parachute. Tamin'ny 26 juin zao nisy para teo amoron-dranomasina. Nahita an'iny nareo ? (ie !) Ein, dia ataontsika tsianjery le izy. Ataoko le izy, ohatran'izao an, para e, para, ahitana an-dRacommandant, ahitana ny kapiteny, na lehibe aho na kely, mba misidina ambony elo, eny amoron'ny roplana, nitsambikina fa tsy fanina, miaraka am'le elobe, baridà sy ny bôty be, dia misatroka vy be, ka raha misy mijerijery, dia torahako bà kely. Ataovy ary! (ankizy rehetra miaraka amin'ny tehaka).

Dia zao ary an, asiantsika lalao anankiray farany an alohan'ny hitantarana an'lay angano. Iza no mahay manisa iray ka hatramin'ny folo? Ary iza no mahay manisa un ka hatramin'ny dix? Tena marina? Hay misy tsy mahay manisa un ka hatramin'ny dix? Zao ary, avia ndry, ndry! Avia ndry eto, miakatra eto. Dia contre bandy kely anankiray, aaa, iza.. ry maitso kely le saika nanao... ein ein, haingana, haingakaingana ialahy. Fifaninanana mahafinaritra. Zao an, bandy bota kely contre sipa kely, Miss kely. Alefa ary. (Fifaninanana iray, deux, telo, iray, dimy, enina. Ankizivavy no resy) (tehaka, mihomehy). Zao ary, lehilahy contre vehivavy! Zao an, samy te hanao daholo nareo fa azonareo atao kilalao reny rehefa amin'ny manaraka fa zao miaraka daholo. Ny vehivavy rehetra manao hoe iray, dia tohizan'ny lehilahy hoe deux, alefa ary an, ohatran'zay lay izy. Isa roa telo! (Iray, deux, telo, quatre, dimy, six, fito, huit, six...) hahahaha misy mijabaka ! misy mijabaka aloha fa tehaka ho anareo rehetra ! (tehaka).

Angano faharoa Ikalasorona.

Ny tantarantsika manaraka indray zany an dia tantaran'Ikalasorona. La fille sacrifié. Ikalasorona. Sorona moa zany, zay lay hoe sacrifié. Atao sorona, ohatrany, hitanareo zao taloha, nareo samy mahalala Baiboly an, (ankizy: oui) taloha zao an, saika natao sorona, iza no saika natao sorona teny ambony tendrombohitra dia hozy Andriamanitra hoe, “aza vonoina ny zaza.” Iza? (ankizilahy: Isaka) (ankizy hafa: Isaac). Ie, Isaka ilay zaza, arakaraka lay fomba fitenintsika azy. Ka Ikalasorona dia zao ny tantarany rankizy. Indray andro hono an dia nandeha nitady sakafo tany lavitra be tany an, atao hoe nandranto moa no ilazàna azy fa nandeha nitady sakafo tany an ny ray aman-drenin'Ikalaso, ankizy mianadahy antsoina hoe Ikoto sy Ikala. Ikoto lehilahy, Ikala vehivavy. Dia nentina ny ankizy. Ikoto moa zany efa mba mahay mandehandeha kely ihany. Fa Ikala mbola zazakely, mbola manao hoe oin oin oin oin (mihomehy). Lay mbola ampinonoin'ny neniny, oin oin oin. Dia nandeha rankizy a, izy mianadahy, niaraka tamin'ny ray aman-dreniny fa mbola tsy afaka mandeha irery izy mianadahy. Dia nandeha, nandeha, nandeha lavitra be. Nandeha nitety havoana, niakatra tendrombohitra. Nandeha nidina any anaty lohasaha. Nandeha any amin'ny lavitra be lavitra be lavitra be. Iza no efa nandeha lavitra

be? (manangan-tanana) Ein ein, fa mbola lavitra noho izany no nandehanany an! Ie! Hay efa samy nandeha lavitra daholo! Mbola lavitra noho, izy tsy nandeha tomobila ! Tsisy tomobila tam'zany an ! Tsy mandeha moto an, fa mandeha an-tongotra. Mandeha an-tongotra. Lasa mandeha an-tongotra lavitra be. Ohatrany hoe raha ohatra zany am'zao fotoana zao hoe eto mandeha an-tongotra mankany Antsirabe ohatra a, ka mandeha an-tongotra. Iza no mahavita an'zany?

Ie! Dia rehefa nandeha an-tongotra lavitra be ry zareo dia tonga teo amin'ny renirano be anankiray. Rano. Mety misy voay ao. Lalina be. “Raha io no manonja, tsy tongantsika, ahoana ny hanaovana an'io?” Dia tsy maintsy namboatra lakana izy rankizy. Ny lakana namboariny an, fantatrareo ohatra le bararata reny zao rehefa atambatambatra, ataon'ny sinoa reny e, na reny asiatique reny, dia fatopatorana dia lasa afaka andehanana, dia lasa vita lay lakana. Dia nandeha izy mivady (fihetsika mivoy lakana; mihomehy ny ankizy). Tonga. Tafita tamin'ny renirano izy. Dia rehefa tafita teo izy dia hoe, “ah! Sao dia misy mangalatra ity lakantsika ity fa andao afenina ato anatin'ny lobolobo ato.” Dia nafenina tao anaty lobolobo lay lakana rankizy, tao anaty toerana tsisy mahita zany lay lakana, tao anaty ravin-kazo. Dia lasa izy. Dia nandeha tany. Dia rehefa nandeha tany izy an, dia nahazo entana be dia be, sakafy be dia be. Dia nody am'zay. Rehefa nody izy, tonga teo amoron'lay rano. Nitady an'lay lakana izy. “Ha!” tsy hita lay lakana, tsy tao am'lay nasiany azy. “Hay! Aiza, sao dia aty? Sao dia aty?” Tsisy! Kivy rankizy izy mivady. “Hein! Dia ahoana? Nisy nangalatra ny lakantsika! Tena olona tsy vanona! Nangalarin'le olona le lakana nefa tsika nanamboatra! Tsy maintsy hanamboatra lakana indray zany tsika handehanana! Tena... tsy mety mihitsy rangah zao a.” Dia raha mbola nimenomenona teo izy mivady rankizy an, dia nahita le lakana avy any, nisy nandeha, tsisy mivoy an, fa nandeha ho azy le lakana. Hitanareo ohatran'reny hoe lakana misy motera sa tsisy motera, tsisy mpivoy. Gaga ry zareo. “Fa ahoana kosa ary? Iny lay lakana, iny e! Iny e!!!” (mihomehy) “Ary maninona no mandeha nefa tsisy mpivoy?” Dia hozy le rangahy, “tena misy fanahy tsy hita maso mivoy an'iny lakana iny fa tsy hitantsika.” Tezitra le rangahy rankizy. “Eh! Mandehana nareo fanahy tsy hita maso mandeha any fa ny lakanay aza alainareo aty! Tsss mangalatra fotsiny nefa nareo tsy nisahirana akory. Zay eto sahirana mihitsy” (mihomehy). Dia rehefa aveo rankizy an, dia tonga teo le lakana. Rehefa tonga teo le lakana an, dia natao tao ny entan'izy mivady, entana be dia be ny azon'izy mivady tany an. Natao tao anatin'lay lakana, dia nandeha am'zay. Novoizina le lakana. Nandeha am'zay. Kinanjo rankizy inona ny zavatra nitranga? Rehefa tonga teo am-povoan-drano le lakana, nisy rivotra nifofofy be avy any. Rehefa mitsoka mafy be ny rivotra dia inona ny zavatra mitranga? Nisy onja be ny rano! Nisy onja be, varatra be, “hay! Maty tsika ra olona! Eh! Vonjeo e!” (mihomehy). Dia oziz'lay rangahy, “mavesatra be ty lakantsika ty fa tsy maintsy hanariana ny entana sasany raha tsy zany milentika ato tsika.” Dia oz'lay ramatoa, “ena ve adala rangah ty a, efa tany am lalana, efa lavitra be tany ve ny nandehanantsika, tsika reraka be dia mbola ho Ariana ndray ve ny sakafy nalaintsika tany? Fa ianao ve adala e?” “Ka raha vao tsy manary entana sasany tsika mety ho rendrika.” Fa teo izy mivady niady hevitra teo dia nisy feo avy any anaty rano any rankizy, nanao hoe, “raha tsy manipy zavatra ho anay nareo, dia ho rendrika ny lakana.” Teo am'zay izy mivady rankizy. “Raha tsy manipy zavatra hono tsika dia ho rendrika ny lakana. Maty any zany tsika! Inona no atao? Inona no atao?” Dia nieritreritra izy mivady. “Han, zao rangah ah, tena tsika an, lavitra be vao nahita entana, dia tsy hanary an'reto entana reto tsika. Fa aleo ny

anankiray amin'izy dahy no ariana. Any anaty rano. Dia ahoana? Shhh aleo lay vavikely no, aleo Ikala no ariana any fa tsy... izy tsy... vehivavy zany tsy ilaintsika zany e! Zany ankizivavy zany tsy ilaintsika!" Zany hono rankizy no mba notenenin'le ray aman-dreniny. Tsy ilaina hono ny ankizivavy. Natsipiny tany anaty rano rankizy lay ankizy kely. Nampalahelo. Rehefa avy natsipiny tany anaty rano lay zazakely, inona ny zavatra nitranga? Lasa nijanona lay rivotra. Dia lasa tony ny rano, dia tony mihitsy ny rano. Tafita tany ihany izy. Dia ilay zazakely zany natsipiny tany. Fa tam'zay fotoana zay rankizy a, narary hono ny zanaky ny mpanjaka, marary mafy mihitsy, efa tena saika maty mihitsy ny zanaky ny mpanjaka. Dia ozizin'ny mpanjaka, nankany amin'ny mpimasy ny mpanjaka dia oziz'lay mpimasy, "zao an, raha vao tsy mitady fanafody any amoron-drano nareo dia tsy sitrana io zanakareo io, fa any amoron-dran an no ahitana ny fanafodin'io, ary amoron'lay renirano ary." Rehefa naheno an'zany rankizy ny mpanjaka dia lasa nankany niaraka tamin'ny, nisy tandapa moa zany nandeha. Tonga teo amin'lay rano. Rehefa tonga teo amoron-drano rankizy izy dia nijery. "Aiza ary zany fanafody lazain'ny mpiamasy fa hoe aty zany?" Kanjo rehefa kelikely teo izy dia naheno feo, "oin, oin! Oin, oin, oin, oin." Feon'inona zany sao dia lazainareo fa feon-tsaka? Tsy feon-tsaka zany fa feona zazakely. Ikala nitomany, nangatsiaka tao. Fa Ikala zany tsy maty lay natsipin'olona tany anaty rano. Dia nalain'ny mpanjaka. "Ha! Iza no ray aman-drenin'ity? Ndana! Tadiavo, aiza ny ray aman-dreniny." Lasa daholo nitady, nitady. "Tsy nahita ry mpanjaka, tsiy ray aman-dreniny io." "Aiza ko any zazakely tsiy ray aman-dreniny!" "Ahhh, tsy hita koa!" "Ay, aleo ary," ozy ny mpanjaka, "fa entiko any an-dapa izy fa lay fanafody tadiavintsika koa moa tsy fantatra hoe aiza na aiza fa aleo aloha ho entina any izy." Dia nentina tany rankizy zazakely, tany am'lay lapan'ny mpanjaka. Rehefa tonga tany, teo am-bavahady, dia nisy tandapa anankiray niteny, "o ry mpanjaka a, o ry mpanjaka, vaovao mahafaly!" "Ah! Ahoana?" ozy ny mpanjaka. "Sitrana ny zanakao! Sitrana ny zanakao! Vao eo izy, sitrana izy." Faly be rankizy ny mpanjaka. Dia ozy ny mpanjaka, "hay ty zazakely ty zany no fanafody nahasitrana ny zanako." Ka noho izany an, dia ho atsangako ho zanako koa ity zazakely ity an, fa ty nitondra soa, tsy nahafaty ny zanako fa sitrana soa aman-tsara ny zanako." Dia rehefa sitrana rankizy ny zanaky ny mpanjaka an, dia niteny tamin'ny vahoaka moa zany izy, niteny hoe, nataony zanaka zany an, Ikala. Dia henon'ny ray aman-drenin'Ikala rankizy zay kabarin'ny mpanjaka zay. Dia oziz'izy mivady, "tena tafita tsika! Aleo tsika ho any aloha, mba hankany an-dapa, dia hotenenintsika hoe zanaky tsika Ikala. Dia ahoana? Dia mody tenenina hoe lasan'ny rano tany fa tsy miteny tsika hoe nariantsika tany anaty rano. Ndao ary e." Lasa tany amin'ny mpanjaka. "Trarantitra enao ry mpanjaka, mifanantera amin'ny ambanilanitra! Mba misy zavatra horesahinay aminao." "Inona?" hoy ny mpanjaka. "Lay zazakely tery amoron-drano tompoko o, izahay no ray aman-dreniny." "Ha! Inareo no ray aman-dreniny! Fa maninona no narianareo tany amoron-drano ny zaza?" "Tsy narianay tompoko fa nanonja be ny rano dia nopaohan'ny rano tany anaty rano tany izy dia nalahelo hoa izy e, fa... (feo mitomany, mitalaho)." (Mihomehy ny ankizy). "Ha, tena marina ve zany zavatra teneninareo zany?" "tena marina zany ry mpanjaka, raha tsy zany ve zahay hitomany ohatr'izao? Zahay ange tsy mody mitomany e (feo mitomany)." (Mihomehy). "Hay! Zao ary an, lazao, taiza ny toerana nanarianareo ny zaza an, fa raha tsy hitanareo ny toerana hoe taiza no nanarianareo azy an, dia mandainga zany nareo, hotapahina ny lohanareo." "Andao mihitsy enao ho entina any ry mpanjaka." Dia nentina tany. Tonga tany izy. Rehefa teo amoron-drano. "Teto, teto no lasan'ny rano le zazakely. (feo

mitomany, kentsona) Sa tsy zany rangah o?” “Tena zany mihitsy ramatoa o! ho ho ho!” “Tena marina,” hoy ny mpanjaka, “tena ianareo no ray aman-dreniny satria teto no nahitanay an’io zaza io. Ka zao, mandehana nareo mody an, tongava any an-dapa rahampitso an, fa omeko valisoa lehibe nareo.” Faly izy mivady rankizy! “Hihihi! Nino antsika ny mpanjaka! Mody nanaovantsika tomany teo ny mpanjaka dia nino antsika. Ah! Tena tafita!” Tonga tany antanàna izy rankizy, tonga dia nizesta be. Tonga dia ozizy hono, “eh! Nareo a, mila manaja anay daholy, ataovy hoe tsarava zay!” Tsarava zany manko fiarahabana mpanjaka zany. Andriana. Rehefa Andriana zany taloha dia natao hoe “tsarava tompoko!” fa tsy natao hoe, “manao ahoana tompoko e!” fa hoe “tsarava tompoko!” sady manao reverence (fihetsika). Zany ny fomba fiarahabana. “Manao tsarava tompoko doly nareo!” “Fa ahoana?” “Zahay rangah ty zanaka... fianakavian’ny mpanjaka a! Fianakavian’ny mpanjaka! Ny zanakay an, zanaky ny mpanjaka, noho izany, zay tsy manaja anay eo, tapahinay ny lohany an!” “Tena marina zany? Hay nareo zanaky ny, havan’ny mpanjaka?” “Ie, havan’ny mpanjaka.” Ein ein. Dia nony alina rankizy natory ny mpanjaka. Rehefa natory ny mpanjaka dia nanofy. Dia rehefa nanofy izy an, dia hitany tao anaty nofy daholo rankizy ny zavatra rehetra nitranga. Tamin’ily nanarian’izy mivady an’le zaza, Ikala tany anaty rano. Hitan’ny mpanjaka doly doly. Hitan’ny mpanjaka. Dia hay rankizy an, ny naka an’le zazakely sy nanavotra an’le zazakely an, le fanahy tao anaty rano le nitondra an’le lakana, hitanareo le lakana le tsisy mpivoy? Hay reny rankizy. Dia reny fanahy reny rankizy no niteny tamin’ny mpanjaka hoe, “zao ny tena zavatra marina an, io asehonay eo amin’ny sary io.” Tam’zany mbola tsisy video, fa tamin’ny alalan’ny nofy zany no nahafantaran’ny mpanjaka. Ary hoy ny mpanjaka, “hay ve zany ny tena zavatra nitranga.” Dia tonga izy mivady rankizy efa hein falifaly ery hoe hahazo valisoa lehibe amin’ny mpanjaka. “Tsika havan’ny mpanjaka tsika an!” Falifaly ery izy mivady rankizy. Tonga teo am mpanjaka. “He, tonga zay ry mpanjaka fa haka lay valisoa lehibe nolazainao.” Dia hoy ny mpanjaka, “inona moa ny tena zavatra nitranga ry izy mivady?” “Ha! Ka le efa nolazaina anao reny ry mpanjaka a! Nopahoan’ny rano lay zazakely dia efa notadiavina izy dia (feo mitomany) nalahelo be mihitsy!” “Ah! Tsy marina zany!” hoy ny mpanjaka, “fantatro daholo ny marina. Narianareo tany anaty rano izy.” Dia notantarain’ny mpanjaka teo rankizy ny fomba nanarian’ny mpanjaka azy. Tsy nahateny intsony izy mivady. “Fa ahoana no nahafantaran’ny mpanjaka an’zany...” “Ka zao, inona no antony nanarianareo an’Ikala tany anaty rano?” hoy ilay mpanjaka. Dia oziz’lay rangahy, “satria tompoko ankizivavy kely izy,” “dia maninona raha ankizy vavy?” “(feo mangovitra) tsy afaka... tsy afaka... mba... hisolo ahy!” “Ha! Fa nahoana moa nareo no manavakavaka ankizivavy sy ankizilahy? Fa maninona? Mitovy zo ny ankizivavy sy ankizilahy! Fa maninona no arianareo! Samy zanarareo! Maninona no tsy tianareo ny zanakareo? Maninona no tsy ny entana no narianareo tany anaty rano fa ny zanakareo no atsipinareo any? Satria ve tsisy dikany aminareo zany atao hoe ankizivavy zany?” “(feo mangovitra) misy dikany ka!” “ka nahoana no arina?” Tsy nahateny intsony rankizy ny ray aman-dreniny. “Zao an,” hoy ny mpanjaka, “nareo sady namitaka ny mpanjaka nareo, lazainareo fa hoe nopaohan’ny rano le izy fa tsy narianareo, nefa narianareo, faharoa an, namono olona nareo, tsy tokony hanao an’zany nareo. Na ankizilahy na ankizivavy tsy tokony hovonoina. Ary nareo tsy tokony hanao herisetra amin’ny ankizy, indrindra hoe amin’ny ankizivavy. Satria ankizivavy kely ve dia hoe arianareo any anaty rano! Ka nareo mendrika hovonoina, hotapahin-doha.” “Ha! Aoka re ry mpanjaka o! aza taphina ny lohanay! Aza

tapahina ny lohanay e!” “Tokony hotapahina ny lohanareo. Fa zao, noho ianareo ray amandrenin’Ikala, Ikala zay efa nataonay zaza, dia tsy hotapahina ny lohanareo fa hogadraina mandritra ny 3000 andro sy 3000 alina nareo.” Firy andro zany? Folo taona? Satria firy andro moa ny herintaona? Misy mahafantatra? Dimy amby enim-polo sy telonjato andro. Dia nigadra 3000 andro. Teo rankizy, nigadra tany izy mivady. Dia tao anatin’zay hono rankizy an, tsisy mpitaiza Ikoto, dia rehefa tsisy mpitaiza Ikoto dia nalain’ny mpanjaka koa naira-notaizainy tamin’Ikala. Dia naira-nilalao tao hono rankizy a, Ikoto sy Ikala sy ny zanaky ny mpanjaka. Dia nifankatia izy ireo. Tsy nisy nanavakavaka hoe Ikala vehivavy. Ikoto lehilahy. Fa samy nifantakia tao zany izy rehetra, naira-nilalao. Ikala aza no sahisahy indrindra tamin’izy telo. Nanao an-kanenjika, an-kinafinafina, nareo ve mahay an’zany an-kanenjika sy an-kinafinafina zany? (ie!) hum hum. Karazana kilalao, dia niaraka tao hono rankizy an izy ireo dia sambatra teo. Dia izy mivady an tao anaty trano maizina tao foana satria ratsy fanahy, manavakavaka zanaka. Ka zao rankizy, na ankizilahy, na ankizivavy an, dia tsy misy zany hoe ny ankizilahy ambony an, ny ankizivavy ambony fa mitovy daholo, ka nareo rehetrarehetra zany an, manomboka zao, tandremo rehefa misy bandy kely manao hoe, “ah! Zay tsy miaraka amin’ny ankizivavy rangah fa reny olona tsy... tsy an’nay ah!” Azonareo? Fa mitovy an, mitovy zo an, ny ankizilahy sy ny ankizivavy. Dia izay rankizy an, ny tantaran’Ikala sorona. Angano angano, arira arira. Izaho mpitantara... (nareo mpihaino). Nahafinaritra ve aloha le angano? (Nahafinaritra!) Rehefa nahafinaritra ary dia tehafo koa! (tehaka). Dia mahafinaritra be koa nareo an. Hendry tsara. Hofaranantsika amin’ny tsianjery kely iray ary.

Nalahelo hono dadabe, avy hatrany dia niteny hoe, tsy manaiky aho fa soloy, ny atody tsy mbola fohy. Dia nanolo hono dadabe, dia nanolo an’lay akoho. Akohovavy no teny an-tanany, ary niaraka tam zanany. Faly be hono dadabe ka nankany am nenibe. Nenibe nefa tam’zay mbola kofin’ny sakay. Lay sakay hoe pilokely, tsy azo omen any zazakely. Eee! (tehaka) lamako! Lamako! Zany ve ny lamako? Lamako? Lamako! Lamako! Avereno! Atambaro! Atambaro! Ia, zay lamako zay an, ho an’ny rehetrarehetra...

Appendix 23B. Question and answer session for storytelling performance 3.

Tale 1

1. Inona no hafatra noraisinao avy amin'ny tantara?

M: raha manana zavatra be dia be dia tokony hizara.

M: tokony tezaina tsara ny ankizy fa hahasoa ny ray aman-dreny izany.

M: tsy tokony avakavahana ny ankizilahy syn y ankizivavy.

F: tsy tokony hoe tsy tian any vehivavy fa ny lehilahy tiana fa tokony tiana daholo.

2. Iza no mpandray anjara tianao indrindra, nahoana?

M: Ifaravavy satria... mahery fo.

M: ny mpanjaka. Tia zaza.

3. Inona no hitanao fa mahaliana amin'Ifaravavy?

F: ny toetrany, mahery fo, tsara fanahy.

M: courageuse.

4. Ahoana ny fahitanao ny toetran'Ifaravavy?

F: mahery fo, tsara fanahy

M: courageuse

F: mahery fo sady mandefitra

M: mamindra fo

M: tsara fanahy.

5. Manao ahoana ny toetran'ny vehivavy eo amin'ny fiainanao andavan'andro?

M: tsara fanahy.

Arikaomisa Randria: fa ny bandy kely ve ratsy fanahy?

M: tsara fanahy daholo.

F: tsara toetra daholo ny vehivavy rehetra.

M: jejo

F: tsara fanahy sy mahay mamindra fo

F: indraindray miaingitraingitra

Arikaomisa Randria: zany misy manakiana vehivavy!

6. Manao ahoana ny toetran'ny lehilahy eo amin'ny fiainanao andavan'andro?

M: brute brute.

F: maherihery setra.

M: miseho be style.

Arikaomisa Randria: tena ratsy toetra be ve tsika lehilahy fa tsisy hoe mba hafa mihitsy?

M: ratsiratsy toetra.

F: matikambo.

Arikaomisa Randria: tena maty tsika rehetra. Tsy manana toetra tsara mihitsy ve ny lehilahy aloha e? Za zany ratsy toetra be aho zany e!

7. Ny asa mafy nataon'izy mirahavavy avy dia maneho fa mahavita zavatra ny vehivavy na dia heverina ho tsy mahavita azy aza. Inona no andraikitra sahaza ny vehivavy ao an-tokantrano? Inona no andraikitra sahaza ny lehilahy?

M: manasa vilia ny vehivavy dia mitady vola ny lehilahy.

F: mpahandro sakafo ny vehivavy dia mpitady vola ny lehilahy.

M: miasa tanim-bary ny lehilahy.

F: vehivavy mikarakara tokantrano.

M: vehivavy manasa lamba dia lehilahy mitondra taxi.

M: vehivavy mahandro sakafo dia lehilahy manao mékanika.

F: mikarakara ny zanany ny vehivavy.

F: ny lehilahy miasa. Miasa.

M: mitady vola ny lehilahy.

M: lehilahy mitaky hofan-trano.

F: lehilahy mamelona vady aman-janaka.

8. Inona no ezaka heverinao fa nataon'Ifaravavy tao amin'ny tantara mba hanatsarana ny toerana misy azy?

M: nanao concours mba ho lasa vadin'ny zanaky ny mpanjaka.

F: niasa.

M: nanampy ny ray aman-dreniny.

F: nitraka foana na inona na inona nanjo.

9. Araka ny hevitrao, rariny ve ny fitondran'ny raiamandreniny ireo zanany tao amin'ny tantara, nahoana?

Ankizy: tsy rariny!

F: tsy rariny satria tsy nataony tahaka ny zanany fa nataony tahaka ny mpanampy.

10. Araka ny hevitrao, tokony hitovy ve ny fitondran'ny ray aman-dreniny ny zanany lahy sy ny zanany vavy?

Ankizy: eny tompoko!

Tale 2

1. Inona no hafatra noraisinao avy amin'ny tantara ?

F : tsy manavakavaka.

M : tsy manarinary zanaka.

Arikaomisa Randria : ary le miteny ihany no miteny an. Ny tsy miteny tsy miteny an!

M : tsy mandaingalainga.

2. Iza no mpandray anjara tianao indrindra : Ikalasorona ve, ny raiamandreniny ve, ny mpanjaka ve, Ikoto ve, ny zanaky ny mpanjaka ve, nahoana ?

M: ny mpanjaka

Arikaomisa Randria: ny mpanjaka no tian'ialahy indrindra? Fa satria nahoana?

M: tsara fanahy.

Arikaomisa Randria: tsara fanahy hono no itiavany azy.

M: Ikalasorona dia ny zanaky ny mpanjaka.

Arikaomisa Randria: Ikalasorona dia ny zanaky ny mpanjaka. Fa satria nahoana?

M: mbola kely.

F: ny mpanjaka. (Arikaomisa Randria: ein ein) satria na dia nandainga aza ny ray aman-drenin'Ikalasorona dia tsy novonoiny fa nogadrainy.

M: Ikalasorona sy ny zanaky ny mpanjaka.

Arikaomisa Randria: fa satria nahoana?

M: mahay mifankatia.

3. Rariny ve ny nanarian'ny raiamandrenin' Ikalasorona azy tany anaty renirano, raha eny, nahoana, raha tsia, nahoana? Rariny sa tsy rariny?

M: tsy rariny.

Arikaomisa Randria: fa satria nahoana?

M: manary zanaka anaty rano.

M: tsy rariny.

Arikaomisa Randria: satria nahoana? ... tsy mahita hoe satria nahoana? Ay... An'ialahy indray ary aloha e!

M: tsy rariny satria tsy mety ny manary zaza any anaty rano.

M: tsy rariny satria tsy tokony hanavakavaka zanaka.

4. Ity indray ary misy fanontaniana manaraka. Resy lahatra ve ianao fa tokony hitovy ny fitaizana sy fitondrana ny zanaka lahy sy vavy, nahoana? Ein ein. Resy lahatra ve nareo hoe tokony hitovy an, ny fitondrana zanaka lahy sy zanaka vavy?

M: ie.

Arikaomisa Randria: satria nahoana?

M: zay fotsiny.

F: resy lahatra satria mitovy zo ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy.

5. Tao amin'ny tantara dia nihevitra ny raiamandreny fa tsy mahavita zavatra betsaka noho ny lehilahy ny vehivavy, mitovy hevitra amin'izany ve ianao, hoe ny lehilahy izany no mahery sy matanjaka, raha eny, nahoana? Raha tsia, nahoana?

M: mitovy.

Arikaomisa Randria: nahoana?

M: mitovy fotsiny.

Arikaomisa Randria: satria mitovy fotsiny? Ein ein. Iza no mbola hamaly? Hoe raha ohatra zany hoe misy zany misy vehivavy aminareo dia hoe aaa izy ankizivavy tsy mahavita zavatra mafy be fa ny lehilahy no tokony manao zavatra mafy be. Mitovy hevitra amin'izany nareo sa tsy mitovy?

Ny ankabeazan'ny ankizy: tsy mitovy.

Arikaomisa Randria: atsangano ny tanan'izay miteny hoe mitovy... atsangano ny tanan'zay miteny hoe tsy mitovy hevitra. Ein ein. Tsy mitovy hevitra am'zany zany nareo fa, ny vehivavy sy ny lehilahy zany tokony haninona? (ankizy: mitovy) Ia, ampitoviana zany an, ny vehivavy sy ny lehilahy.

6. Tsy dia nandray anjara be loatra Ikalasorona tao amin'ny tantara. Nahoana araka ny hevitrao ? ...Ikalasorona tao amin'ilay angano teo an... izy tsinona mbola zaza kely koa!

.... Arikaomisa Randria: ahoana ny fandraisanareo an'zany? Ein? Le izy ary efa novaliako teo koa! Mety sarotsarotra ho anareo ny mamaly an'zay fanontaniana zay fa efa nohazavaiko teo...

F: izy tsinona mbola zazakely dia tsy dia nandray anjara be loatra.

7. Amin'ny fiafaran'ny tantara dia voalaza fa Ikala no sahisahy indrindra tamin'izy telo mianadahy tamin'ny fiafaran'ny tantara. Amin'ny fiainanao andavan'andro, mahafantatra ve ianao ankizivavy izay sahisahy sy mitomban-dahy ? Misy ankizivavy ve fantatrareo, sahisahy be, dia tena ohatran'ny bandy kely, maharesy bandy kely? Misy? Atsangano hoe ny tanan'zay maha... ein...tantarao hoe lehity! Tantarao hoe...

M: X!

Arikaomisa Randria: fa manina X?

M: sahisahy.

Arikaomisa Randria: aiza zany X zany? Oooh! Mitsangana kely hoe X! Ary tena glady be X a! Iza nareo no efa nampijalian'i X ? Tsisy ? Ay ! Tsara fanahy be zany X satria tsy mampijaly an'iza na iza... Tsy mampijaly ankizy zany izy koa, eo elah mandainga eo.

RESUME

Titre : Le genre et l'empowerment des femmes dans les contes et le discours oratoire malgaches

Mots clefs : masculinité, féminité, in-égalité des sexes, empowerment, contes, discours oratoire

Résumé :

Présentation du contexte de la recherche

Les rapports entre les hommes et les femmes dans le contexte malgache sont souvent définis en termes de complémentarité des sexes qui se démarquent par la prétendue absence de l'inégalité des sexes, ce qui remet en question l'oppression des femmes. Ces arguments sont défendus par un nombre de chercheurs qui soutiennent en même temps l'idée de la supériorité des femmes malgaches en accentuant le pouvoir qu'elles exercent en leur qualité de mères et de femmes au foyer. Cependant, selon le point de vue de certaines chercheuses féministes malgaches, ces définitions du pouvoir des femmes, qui insistent sur leur supériorité par rapport aux hommes, sont également perçues comme des mythes qui ne rendent pas compte de la réalité qui reflète une toute autre perception de la relation des femmes malgaches au pouvoir.¹ Ce paradoxe entre mythe et réalité sur la conception du pouvoir et du statut des femmes malgaches soulève nombre de questions qui nous ont conduit au thème majeur de notre recherche. En s'interrogeant sur les rapports sociaux de sexe, les représentations des identités de genre, ainsi que la conception du pouvoir tel qu'il est exercé par les hommes et les femmes malgaches, nous avons choisi de nous focaliser sur le contexte de la littérature orale malgache, notamment les contes et le discours oratoire ou kabary. Notre recherche s'articule autour des questions suivantes : dans quelles mesures les conceptions du genre dans les contes et le discours oratoire malgaches reflètent-elles les différences entre les sexes et se traduisent en inégalité entre les hommes et les femmes ? En tenant en compte l'engagement de Madagascar dans la promotion de l'égalité des sexes, quels sont les impacts de

¹ Voir Suzy Ramamonjisoa. « Empowerment of Women and Democracy in Madagascar. » *Review of African Political Economy* N° 58 (1993). P. 118 et Mireille Rabenoro. « Le mythe des femmes au pouvoir, arme de l'antiféminisme à Madagascar. » *Cahiers du Genre* vol. 52, N° 1 (2012). Pp. 75 – 95.

la conscience du genre et de la nécessité de promouvoir l'égalité des sexes sur les conceptions du genre dans le contexte choisi ? Plus précisément, dans le domaine du discours oratoire, de quelles manières la conscience du genre et de la nécessité de promouvoir l'égalité des sexes peut-elle influencer les conceptions du genre et la définition de l'image, du statut et des rôles des femmes ? Dans le contexte de la production actuelle de contes, dans quelles mesures peut-on envisager l'empowerment des femmes à travers l'expérience des personnages féminins de ces contes ?

Ainsi, notre thèse étudie la conception du genre dans une sélection de contes malgaches et dans la pratique du discours oratoire malgache. L'étude porte principalement sur la façon dont les différences entre les sexes se traduisent en inégalité des sexes et en relations asymétriques dans le contexte malgache. Nous nous proposons d'analyser le contexte des contes publiés au 19^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours ainsi que les contes contemporains contés par des conteurs/conteuses malgaches. En se référant à l'idée que les traditions historiques ne révèlent pas « la réalité événementielle [...] [mais] plutôt la vérité de leur narrateur »² et en reconnaissant la pertinence du fait que ces traditions historiques « permettent de comprendre le comportement d'un groupe défini, dans la mesure où les gens ne se comportent pas en fonction de la réalité historique mais en fonction de leur interprétation de cette réalité »³, nous nous efforçons d'appréhender l'évolution des perceptions des différences entre les sexes dans les contes malgaches produits durant cette période en « réinterprétant » l'interprétation de la réalité véhiculée dans ces contes. Notre analyse se focalise également sur l'évolution de la participation des femmes malgaches au discours oratoire lors d'événements importants qui définissent la culture malgache, tels que la demande en mariage et les funérailles. Traditionnellement, la pratique du discours oratoire était réservée à une catégorie de personnes bien définie, dont les hommes. Vers la fin du 20^e siècle, cette activité s'est progressivement ouverte aux femmes qui sont aujourd'hui officiellement reconnues comme des femmes oratrices. Ainsi, à part l'analyse des contes issus de différentes régions de Madagascar publiés après le 19^e siècle, nous nous focalisons également sur le contexte actuel de la production de contes et de discours oratoire. En tenant compte du contexte actuel qui prône l'égalité des sexes dans tous les

² Malanjaona Rakotomalala, « Remarques sur le mécanisme des traditions historiques malgaches, » *Etudes océan indien* 40 – 41 (2008). URL : <https://journals.openedition.org/oceanindien/1383>.

³ Ibid.

domaines, particulièrement celui du développement, nous essayons de déterminer les implications des discours sur l'égalité des sexes sur la perception des différences entre les hommes et les femmes et les rapports sociaux de sexe dans les contes et le discours oratoire malgaches. Nous étudions particulièrement la façon dont les différences entre les hommes et les femmes et les structures des rapports sociaux de sexe constituent un obstacle ou un tremplin à l'empowerment des femmes qui représente une étape majeure pour mettre en œuvre les principes sur l'égalité des sexes.

Approche et objectifs de la recherche

Ce projet nécessite le choix d'une méthodologie adéquate afin de bien cerner le problème que nous nous efforçons d'étudier. Pour l'étude des contes contemporains, nous avons délimité le contexte de notre recherche à la production et à la narration de contes par des conteurs/conteuses basés aux alentours de la capitale Antananarivo. L'étude s'appuie sur le résultat des entretiens avec 5 conteurs, dont un homme et quatre femmes, l'analyse d'une sélection de contes parmi leurs ouvrages, et l'observation de séances de narration effectuées par certains d'entre eux. Des séances de questions-réponses ont été réalisées parmi les membres de l'auditoire à la fin de ces séances de contage afin d'obtenir des données qualitatives sur la réception des contes par les enfants et leurs perceptions des notions de genre et d'égalité homme-femme. Pour l'étude de la pratique du discours oratoire, nous avons réalisé des entretiens libres et semi-directifs avec 11 orateurs et oratrices issus des branches de l'association des orateurs malgaches (FIMPIMA) basées à Antananarivo et à Paris, des participants anonymes qui ont une certaine familiarité avec la pratique du discours oratoire, telles que des orateurs, des familles qui ont déjà assisté ou organisé des événements familiaux comme la demande en mariage qui nécessitaient l'intervention d'orateurs professionnels, et des apprentis orateurs qui ont suivi des cours de kabary auprès de certaines branches de la FIMPIMA. Notre choix du contexte d'étude, pour les contes comme pour le discours oratoire, s'est fait en fonction d'un échantillonnage dirigé dont l'objectif est d'avoir une représentation générale du contexte malgache à travers l'échantillon de population choisi. Nous utilisons des méthodes et des sources de données différentes, notamment les entretiens individuels libres et semi-directifs, l'analyse de données secondaires et l'observation participative. Ce croisement de différentes méthodes et de sources de données, communément connu

sous le nom de triangulation en sciences sociales, vise à dépasser les problèmes liés au biais issu de méthodologies uniques et à augmenter la validité des résultats obtenus afin d'appréhender le sujet d'étude sous différents angles.

Les principaux objectifs de notre analyse sont formulés dans les trois grandes parties de la thèse. Dans un premier temps, l'objectif est de démontrer à travers l'analyse des expériences des personnages masculins et féminins des contes malgaches l'existence d'une asymétrie du pouvoir dans les relations entre les hommes et les femmes. Notre analyse se base sur le concept de « valence différentielle des sexes » développé par Françoise Héritier, qui explique le fondement des rapports hiérarchiques entre le masculin et le féminin, notamment la hiérarchie qui attribue une valeur inférieure au féminin. Notre approche s'articule également autour des notions de « masculinité hégémonique » et de « féminité accentuée » développées par Raewyn Connell. Nous nous focalisons sur une sélection de contes malgaches recueillis par des missionnaires chrétiens au 19^e siècle et des folkloristes et académiciens malgaches et étrangers du 19^e siècle à nos jours. Notre étude met en évidence les rapports hiérarchiques entre les hommes et les femmes et la multiplicité des notions de masculinité et de féminité. Les rapports entre les hommes et les femmes sont formulés autour des notions de masculinité hégémonique par rapport auxquelles les autres formes de masculinité et de féminité sont définies.

L'analyse des représentations des personnages féminins des contes reflète les différentes formes de féminité et leurs rapports avec la forme de féminité accentuée ou idéalisée qui se définit par les rôles et caractéristiques traditionnels associés aux femmes en tant que mères et épouses. L'étude des rapports entre féminités et masculinités souligne l'impact de la valence différentielle des sexes sur l'expérience des personnages féminins. Il convient de noter que l'analyse met en lumière la diversité des expériences des personnages féminins des contes sélectionnés, ce qui tend à déconstruire l'image généralisée de la femme malgache fondée sur les mythes des femmes au pouvoir. En effet, les représentations classiques des femmes malgaches se réfèrent aux mythes qui les définissent comme « princesses du ciel » ou

« princesses de l'eau ». ⁴ Les femmes sont perçues comme des « héroïnes civilisatrices » ⁵ en leur qualité de déesses provenant du ciel ou de filles des eaux qui apportent sur terre du « riz ou de(s) biens culturels ». ⁶ Le caractère surnaturel des femmes dans les mythes malgaches leur confère également le statut de fondatrices de la descendance dynastique. ⁷ Cependant, ces représentations ne semblent pas se référer aux expériences des femmes ordinaires qui font pourtant partie des personnages marquants des contes malgaches. Ainsi, nous nous proposons d'analyser le cas des personnages féminins en tant que mères, jeunes filles en âge de se marier, sirènes, vieilles femmes, belles-mères et femmes adultères. Ces catégories ont été définies en fonction des rôles et statuts marquants attribués aux personnages féminins dans les contes que nous avons sélectionnés.

L'analyse des représentations des personnages masculins par rapport au concept de masculinité hégémonique met l'accent sur les personnages masculins dont les caractéristiques physiques et positions sociales ne leur permettent pas a priori de représenter les idéaux de la masculinité hégémonique. Notre approche met en lumière le processus de masculinisation de trois personnages masculins suivant les trois étapes de rite de passage développées par Arnold Van Gennep : la séparation, la transition et la réintégration. ⁸ Notre choix a été motivé par la diversité de ces trois personnages masculins. Leurs expériences permettent d'apprécier les représentations de la relation des hommes viriles, marginalisés ou homosexuels avec la notion de masculinité hégémonique. Nous étudions également le cas des personnages masculins et féminins qui incarnent la masculinité d'une manière non conventionnelle à travers les représentations des hommes qui présentent des caractères féminins ou jouent des rôles féminins et des femmes qui présentent réciproquement des caractères masculins et jouent des rôles masculins. Toutefois, notre analyse tend à défendre l'argument que la valence différentielle des sexes

⁴ Voir Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo. *La femme malgache en Imerina au début du XXIe siècle*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2003 et Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana. *Histoire de l'éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVIe siècle au milieu du XXe siècle*. Imarivolanitra : Edition Antso, 1996.

⁵ Lantosoa Andrianjafitrimo. *La femme malgache en Imerina au début du XXIe siècle*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2003. P. 28.

⁶ Jean-François Baré. P. Ottino, *L'Étrangère intime. Essai d'anthropologie de la civilisation de l'ancien Madagascar*. In *L'Homme* (1988) tome 28 n°105. La fabrication mythique des enfants. P. 148.

⁷ Ibid.

Voir aussi Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana. *Histoire de l'éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVIe siècle au milieu du XXe siècle*. Imarivolanitra : Edition Antso, 1996. P. 35.

⁸ Arnold Van Gennep. *The Rites of Passage*. Great Britain: Routledge, 2004 [1960]. P.11.

influence le statut et l'expérience des personnages masculins et féminins de manière à percevoir le masculin comme étant constamment supérieur au féminin.

Le deuxième objectif de notre recherche est de définir la place des femmes malgaches dans le domaine du discours oratoire de nos jours. Nous avons pris en compte les points de vue des orateurs et oratrices ainsi que des membres de l'auditoire qui ont participé à notre enquête afin d'analyser la position des femmes oratrices par rapport à la pratique du discours oratoire durant des événements culturels importants tels que la demande en mariage et les funérailles. Nous avons également observé des discours donnés par un orateur et deux oratrices lors de deux demandes en mariage et un événement artistique afin d'apprécier les différences entre les types de discours produits par les hommes et les femmes dans des contextes spécifiques. Notre approche est basée sur les notions de prise de conscience et de réactivité sur les questions liées au genre afin de comprendre la façon dont les différences entre les sexes sont manipulées pour favoriser ou entraver le discours sur l'égalité des sexes. Ainsi, le premier chapitre de la deuxième partie de notre thèse trace l'évolution de l'intégration des femmes dans la pratique du discours oratoire, particulièrement lors des demandes en mariage et des funérailles. Nous énumérons les facteurs qui ont favorisé la participation des femmes dans les discours oratoires ainsi que les idées reçues qui freinent leur participation et leur reconnaissance dans la délivrance d'un discours pendant les funérailles. Le deuxième chapitre se focalise sur la position des femmes malgaches en tant qu'oratrices selon la perception des personnes qui ont participé à notre enquête. Des variables tels que le statut, la rémunération et les caractéristiques d'un/une orateur/oratrice compétent(e) sont pris en considération.

Notre dernier objectif est d'identifier les possibilités d'empowerment pour les femmes dans le contexte du contage et de la production actuelle de contes par une sélection de conteurs/conteuses professionnels aux alentours d'Antananarivo. Comme mentionné plus haut, notre étude s'appuie sur les résultats des entretiens individuels avec les conteurs/conteuses, l'analyse d'une sélection de contes qu'ils ont publiés, et l'observation de séances de contage suivie de séances de questions-réponses avec les membres de l'auditoire qui sont essentiellement des enfants de 6 à 13 ans. En se référant à l'argument de Marie-Hélène Bacqué et de Carole Biewener que « l'empowerment articule deux dimensions, celle

du pouvoir, qui constitue la racine du mot, et celle du processus d'apprentissage pour y accéder, »⁹ nous avons retenu la perception de l'empowerment comme un processus d'apprentissage. Ces auteures affirment davantage que l'empowerment « peut désigner autant un état (être empowered) qu'un processus, cet état et ce processus étant à la fois individuels, collectifs et sociaux ou politique. »¹⁰ Notre analyse se réfère principalement aux représentations des personnages féminins par les conteurs/conteuses. Nous nous intéressons aux succès et échecs du processus d'empowerment pour ces personnages en avançant que malgré leur position inférieure à celle des personnages masculins dans divers contextes, ces personnages féminins peuvent produire des réactions qui peuvent être assimilées à des opportunités d'empowerment. Ainsi, nous identifions les possibilités d'empowerment pour les personnages féminins des contes en partant de l'hypothèse que leur vulnérabilité dans les récits peut les pousser à adopter des actions en faveur de leur empowerment. Nous soulignons toutefois que la prise de conscience de la nécessité de l'empowerment n'est pas un phénomène marquant dans le cas de ces personnages féminins. Dans ce sens, le processus d'empowerment est surtout déclenché par des facteurs externes, ce qui explique également ses limites. En effet, puisque le processus dépend considérablement de l'incidence d'événements propices à l'empowerment des personnages féminins et non des efforts personnels fournis par ces derniers, il est limité par la prédominance des valeurs patriarcales qui influencent les événements dans les récits. La pertinence de cet argument est surtout vérifiée dans le deuxième chapitre de la dernière partie de notre thèse qui identifie les différentes formes que le processus d'empowerment des personnages féminins peut prendre dans les contes étudiés.

Principaux résultats

Notre thèse a mis en lumière la construction sociale des identités de genre, des rôles et statuts attribués aux femmes et aux hommes, ainsi que leurs impacts sur « les rapports internes à chacun des

⁹ Marie-Hélène Bacqué, Carole Biewener. *L'empowerment, une pratique émancipatrice*. Paris : Editions La Découverte, 2013. P. 6.

¹⁰ Ibid.

genres et les rapports entre les genres. »¹¹ En d'autres termes, nous avons observé les rapports entre les différentes formes de féminité et la forme accentuée ou idéalisée de celle-ci ainsi que les rapports entre féminités et masculinités. De la même manière, notre analyse de la représentation de la masculinité hégémonique dans notre sélection de contes s'est focalisée sur les rapports entre les différentes formes de masculinité et la masculinité hégémonique, ainsi que les rapports entre la masculinité hégémonique et les différentes formes de féminité.

Nous avons démontré que les différences entre les hommes et les femmes se traduisent en inégalité des sexes dans les contes que nous avons analysés. Ces contes véhiculent de façon explicite et implicite l'idée de dominance masculine et de subordination féminine. Dans le premier chapitre de la première partie, nous avons vu que malgré la diversité des expériences des personnages féminins étudiés, ainsi que leur tendance à ne pas toujours refléter les valeurs associées à la féminité idéalisée, cette dernière est toutefois représentée comme la forme majeure et conventionnelle à laquelle les personnages féminins doivent se référer.

Pour les représentations des mères dans les contes en particulier, nous avons vu que les récits qui présentent des mères qui ne remplissent pas leur devoir envers leurs enfants pour plusieurs raisons servent à renforcer les rôles maternels traditionnellement attribués aux femmes plutôt que de tenir compte des possibilités de changement de la perception de la maternité. En effet, même si nous avons démontré que le mythe de l'instinct maternel n'est pas toujours pertinent vis-à-vis des expériences des personnages féminins, l'idéologie des contes étudiés tend à inciter les femmes à adopter un rôle maternel. Dans le conte « les trois princesses, » par exemple, la raison qui motive l'une des princesses à avoir des enfants conteste le mythe de l'instinct maternel qui sous-entend que le désir d'enfanter est inné chez les femmes. Le désir d'enfanter de cette femme est en réalité motivé par son désir d'impressionner le prétendant des trois sœurs, Andriamohamona, ce qui implique que les expériences des personnages féminins sont constamment définies en relation avec les personnages masculins et pour l'intérêt de ces derniers. De même, le désir d'enfanter de Rasoabemanana, la mère du personnage

¹¹ Demetrakis Z. Demetriou. « La masculinité hégémonique : lecture critique d'un concept de Raewyn Connell. » *Genre, sexualité et société* N°13 (2015).

légendaire Iboniamasiboniamanoro, peut s'expliquer par sa conscience de l'importance sociale de la maternité. Cependant, même si les femmes dans nos contes ne manifestent pas un désir de maternité inné mais plutôt un désir de maternité orienté ou influencé par le contexte où elles évoluent, les rôles maternels associés aux femmes semblent soutenir le mythe de l'instinct maternel qui repose sur l'argument que les femmes répondent naturellement aux besoins de leurs enfants. Les contes d'Imaitsoanala et de Rasoalavavolo illustrent ce point en relatant l'expérience maternelle d'une mère-oiseau, Ivorombe, et d'une mère-vache, la vache-sans-cornes, qui semblent répondre de façon instinctive aux besoins de leurs filles humaines, Imaitsoanala et Rasoalavavolo. Par contre, le fait que ces personnages maternels soient des animaux renvoie au débat sur l'inexistence de l'instinct maternel chez les humains.

Par ailleurs, les rôles sociaux attribués aux femmes en tant que mères tendent à renforcer les différences entre les hommes et les femmes. En effet, si les mères sont supposées élever leurs fils afin qu'ils deviennent des hommes forts et remarquables qui reflètent les idéaux de la masculinité hégémonique dans la majorité des contes, leurs rôles et responsabilités envers les filles consistent uniquement à faire de celles-ci de bonnes femmes au foyer. Nous avons vu le cas des mères des héros comme Isilakolona, Imbahitрила et Ibonia. Le conte « Aza misorom-bady an-trano », quant à lui, illustre particulièrement le rôle d'une mère dans l'éducation et la socialisation de sa fille. Nous avons également démontré que le rôle des femmes en tant que mères exige un dévouement et un sacrifice de soi afin de privilégier les besoins de leurs enfants. Là encore, notre analyse a démontré que les responsabilités remplies par les mères servent principalement les intérêts des personnages masculins. Ceci est particulièrement évident dans le conte « Imaitsoanala » où la mère oiseau Ivorombe, qui a élevé sa fille Imaitsoanala et pourvu à tous ses besoins, est contrainte à la céder à Andriambahoaka quand ce dernier la prend pour épouse sans avoir demandé le consentement de sa mère. Dans certains contes, la critique envers les mères qui semblent échouer dans leurs devoirs de préserver la vie de leurs enfants, de pourvoir à leurs besoins, et de les éduquer afin qu'ils incarnent les valeurs sociales des groupes auxquels ils appartiennent¹² souligne également l'association des rôles des mères au dévouement et au sacrifice de

¹² Sara Ruddick. *Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace*. New York: Ballantine, 1990. P. 17.

soi pour le bien de leurs enfants. Nous pouvons citer le cas de « la mère insouciante » qui a oublié sa fille dans un champ de pistaches après avoir arraché le reste de pistaches qui n'ont pas été volées par les corbeaux. Malgré la forte pluie et l'orage, cette femme décide de ne récupérer sa fille que le lendemain, ce qui conduit à la mort de l'enfant. Cette femme est vivement critiquée à la fin du conte pour son manque de bon sens qui l'a conduit à choisir la récolte et son propre confort au détriment de sa fille. Dans le conte « Indesoka zanak'Itrimobe, » la mère échoue également dans son rôle de préserver la vie de sa fille et de la protéger de son père, Itrimobe, et de l'influence négative de ses amies malintentionnées. Cependant, la mère arrive tout de même à réparer son erreur en tuant Itrimobe à son tour et en ramenant sa fille à la vie en rassemblant ses os. Il convient de noter que ces contes semblent suggérer que l'échec des mères résulte de l'influence de facteurs externes ou du manque de bon sens des mères et non de la conscience volontaire de celles-ci à ne pas remplir leurs responsabilités maternelles. Dans un autre conte qui reflète le cas d'une mère qui fait exprès d'inculquer de mauvaises valeurs à son fils à son propre profit, la mère est également dépeinte comme une femme qui manque de bon sens. Ce qui porte à croire que les contes que nous avons étudiés tendent à idéaliser l'image des mères qui s'occupent naturellement de leurs enfants et qui font naturellement l'effort de les socialiser pour qu'ils apprennent les rôles appropriés à leurs sexes et à leur statut social.

Nous avons également abordé la question de la socialisation des jeunes filles dans notre sélection de contes malgaches. Nous avons montré que l'importance que les contes accordent à la représentation de la famille joue un rôle fondamental dans la socialisation des jeunes filles dont les expériences sont définies par le désir de se marier et de fonder une famille. Tandis que les personnages masculins se démarquent par leurs rôles sociaux qui se pratiquent en dehors de la sphère privée, les personnages féminins, notamment les jeunes filles, sont surtout connues dans leurs rôles stéréotypés qui limitent leurs mouvements dans un espace restreint de la sphère privée. La passivité, l'humilité et la gentillesse sont parmi les stéréotypes de genre les plus prégnants associés aux jeunes filles dans les contes que nous avons choisis. Ces jeunes filles apparaissent alors comme des victimes en attente de l'intervention des héros masculins qui sont également leurs prétendants. Les contes favorisent ainsi les rencontres

hétérosexuelles qui permettent de fonder une famille et qui, selon Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana, constituent l'une des valeurs essentielles véhiculées dans les contes malgaches.¹³

Le portrait des zazavavindrano en tant que victimes dans notre analyse d'une sélection de contes de sirènes malgaches permet d'appréhender le cas de certaines femmes qui, en raison de leur nature mystérieuse et de leur manifestation de pouvoir de façon non-conventionnelle, représentent une menace à la suprématie masculine et à l'ordre patriarcal. La double représentation des zazavindrano en tant que femmes à la fois puissantes et vulnérables contribue à leur marginalisation. En effet, les zazavavindrano incarnent l'altérité par excellence du fait de leurs pouvoirs mystiques et caractères subversifs qui suscitent l'appréhension et l'hostilité des personnages masculins.

Les représentations du pouvoir au féminin dans les contes prennent une tournure similaire dans le cas d'autres femmes qui exercent du pouvoir telles que les belles mères et les femmes adultères. Celles-ci exercent du pouvoir soit sur leurs maris, soit sur les enfants de ces derniers. Les belles mères sont représentées de manière négative et stéréotypée comme des êtres qui sont naturellement méchantes et cruelles envers les enfants de leurs conjoints. Cependant, notre analyse a mis en évidence la construction sociale de l'image négative des belles mères en étudiant les différents contextes dans lesquels les belles mères de nos contes exercent leur pouvoir sur les autres personnages vulnérables. Nous avons démontré que l'hostilité des belles mères envers les enfants de leurs conjoints résulte principalement de la rivalité entre les femmes d'un homme polygame. En effet, ces femmes sont en perpétuelle compétition pour obtenir plus d'affection et de biens précieux de la part de leur mari, ce qui renvoie à l'inégalité de la répartition des ressources précieuses et de l'accès à celles-ci entre les personnages masculins et féminins. Par ailleurs, il convient de noter que l'hostilité des belles mères dans les contes que nous avons étudiés ne s'adresse jamais au mari qui est pourtant la source principale des conflits entre les femmes et leurs enfants. Le fait que l'accent soit mis sur la cruauté des femmes

¹³ Jacqueline Ravelomanana Randrianjafimanana. *Histoire de l'éducation des jeunes filles malgaches du XVIe au milieu du XXe siècle*. Imarivolanitra : Editions Antso, 1996. P. 62.

tend à valider l'argument de Susan Weinger et al que les représentations négatives des femmes cachent les mauvaises pratiques des hommes dont les intérêts sont toujours servis dans les contes camerounais.¹⁴

Les femmes adultères sont également considérées comme des femmes qui exercent du pouvoir de manière non conventionnelle en s'appropriant les prérogatives masculines dans les contes que nous avons sélectionnés. Il est intéressant de noter que ces femmes sont toujours victimes de critiques et de punitions sévères à la fin des récits, ce qui fait penser à une façon de dénoncer leur manière non conventionnelle de s'approprier le pouvoir et les prérogatives des hommes. Les deux contes que nous avons analysés mettent particulièrement l'accent sur la réification des femmes adultères à travers leur identification au tabac, un produit qui est jeté après avoir été consommé. La métaphore du tabac souligne le moral véhiculé par les contes qui préconisent l'importance d'un comportement sexuel exemplaire pour les femmes.

Notre analyse des personnages féminins dans une sélection de contes du 19^e siècle à nos jours a finalement pris en compte les représentations des vieilles femmes en se focalisant sur leur invisibilité, leur victimisation, et la différence entre les perceptions de la vieillesse chez les hommes et les femmes. Notre argument sur l'invisibilité des vieilles femmes dans les contes reflète les perceptions socioculturelles de la vieillesse qui font que la vieillesse a tendance à diminuer la valeur des femmes qui réside principalement dans leur beauté et leur apparence physique. La vieillesse a également des connotations péjoratives dans le sens où elle est souvent associée à l'obstination démesurée et insensée. Finalement, l'image des vieilles femmes en tant que victimes dans nos contes tend à renforcer les caractéristiques négatifs et stéréotypés associés aux femmes tels que la faiblesse, la naïveté et la fragilité tandis que ces traits sont manifestement absents chez les vieux personnages masculins qui sont également des victimes dans les contes analysés.

Dans le deuxième chapitre de notre première partie, nous avons examiné les relations entre les personnages masculins et le concept de masculinité hégémonique. Dans un premier temps, notre analyse

¹⁴ Susan Weinger et al. « Unmasking Women's Rivalry in Cameroonian Folktales. » *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 15 (1) (2006). P. 16.

a mis l'accent sur l'impact de la notion de masculinité hégémonique sur la définition des corps, du statut, des rôles, et des sexualités des personnages masculins. En tenant en compte la divergence entre idéologie et pratique dans la notion de masculinité hégémonique comme le soutiennent la plupart des chercheurs sur la masculinité, nous montrons que la description des corps masculins dans les contes, qui reste indistincte et floue, ne permet pas d'articuler la notion de masculinité hégémonique basée sur la force physique et la virilité masculine. Cependant, les références détaillées aux exploits des héros masculins sous-entendent ces qualités. Ce contraste renvoie au concept de « signifiant vide »¹⁵ utilisé par Richard Howson pour se référer à la masculinité hégémonique qui, selon lui, « représente quelque chose mais manque de signification ou cette signification est marquée par le relativisme ».¹⁶ Dans ce sens, le concept de masculinité hégémonique qui s'exprime dans l'idéalisation de la force physique correspond plus aux aspirations des individus qu'à leurs expériences réelles. C'est ainsi que des personnages masculins handicapés peuvent incarner ou s'efforcent à incarner la masculinité hégémonique à travers leurs exploits héroïques sans toutefois posséder un corps masculin virile et sans failles.

Notre analyse de la définition du statut et des rôles des personnages masculins en relation avec le concept de masculinité hégémonique s'est focalisée sur les représentations de l'autorité masculine dans la sphère privée comme dans la sphère publique qui renforce le modèle traditionnel de la division sexuelle du travail. Nous avons montré que le statut supérieur des personnages masculins émane de leur incarnation des valeurs masculines qui prévoient qu'ils soient le représentant officiel de la famille dans la société et le pourvoyeur des besoins du foyer. Leurs rôles sont ainsi définis en dehors de la sphère privée tandis que leur autorité se démarque au sein de la sphère privée et de la sphère publique. En effet, dans les contes étudiés, l'autorité des personnages masculins sur leurs enfants et sur les questions de mariage et de divorce surpasse celle des personnages féminins qui, la plupart du temps, occupent des rôles secondaires.

¹⁵ Richard Howson. « Deconstructing Hegemonic Masculinity: Contradiction, Hegemony and Dislocation. » *Nordic Journal for Masculinity Studies* 4 (1) (2009). P. 8.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Nous avons par la suite examiné les différents aspects de la sexualité masculine en relation avec le concept de masculinité hégémonique. Nous avons insisté sur la prédominance des valeurs hétérosexuelles dans la définition de la sexualité des personnages masculins, notamment dans la pratique de la polygynie. Nous avons montré que les hommes sont les principaux acteurs dans l'échange et la circulation des femmes en tant qu'objets d'échange.¹⁷ Nous avons également fait référence à l'image des hommes en tant que prédateurs en quête de proies féminines qu'ils soumettent à leur autorité par la violence. Par ailleurs, nous avons tenu compte des représentations de l'homosexualité dans un conte qui semble confondre homosocialité et homosexualité à travers l'expérience d'un héros masculin handicapé. Nous avons vu que la référence implicite à l'homosexualité de ce personnage permet d'envisager les alternatives aux définitions classiques de la masculinité hégémonique, tout en préservant ses valeurs fondamentales, notamment la domination masculine et la subordination des femmes.

Dans un deuxième temps, nous avons étudié la façon dont les personnages masculins et féminins incarnent la masculinité. D'un côté, nous avons exploré les trois étapes principales du processus de masculinisation de trois personnages masculins : Ibonia, Imbahitrila, et Isilakolona. Il convient de noter que deux de ces personnages, Isilakolona et Imbahitrila, présentent un handicap physique qu'ils arrivent toutefois à contourner de différentes manières afin de valider leur masculinité. Notre approche s'est basée sur la notion de performativité de genre développée par Judith Butler pour comprendre le mécanisme de la formation de l'identité masculine et l'internalisation des idéaux masculins dans le contexte des contes étudiés. Nous avons souligné la pluralité et la diversité des manières dont les trois personnages masculins incarnent la masculinité hégémonique à travers les rites d'initiation masculins, ce qui implique l'existence de nouvelles manières de comprendre la notion de masculinité hégémonique dans différents contextes. D'un autre côté, nous avons analysé l'incarnation non conventionnelle de la masculinité hégémonique par certains personnages masculins et féminins. Nous avons vu le cas de personnages féminins qui présentent des caractéristiques masculines ou jouent des rôles masculins dans différentes circonstances. Nous pouvons citer l'exemple d'Ifaramalemy dans le conte « Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo » qui s'aventure loin du lieu habituel de chasse et de cueillette à proximité de son domicile

¹⁷ Claude Lévi-Strauss. *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969.

pour chercher de la nourriture nécessaire à sa survie. Elle devient ainsi supérieure à son frère, Ikotobekibo, dont les déplacements sont limités à proximité du domicile dû à sa corpulence. En effet, non seulement Ifaramalemy arrive à rapporter plus de nourriture de bonne qualité mais elle joue aussi temporairement le rôle de pourvoyeur des besoins fondamentaux du foyer. Un autre personnage féminin, Itoerambolafotsy, affiche des caractères masculins quand elle part à la rescousse de son mari, Itoeramahamaly qui a été gravement blessé par son rival. Cependant, notre analyse a également démontré que même si ces héroïnes se démarquent par leur association à des caractéristiques ou des rôles masculins, elles montrent également des caractéristiques très féminines et malgré leurs actions héroïques, elles sont constamment dépeintes comme les subordonnées et les dépendantes des personnages masculins. Quant aux personnages masculins qui incarnent la masculinité de façon non conventionnelle, nous avons démontré que leurs récits renforcent tout de même les principes de domination masculine et de subordination féminine articulées dans la notion de masculinité hégémonique. Nous avons vu, par exemple, comment le personnage puéril de Besorongola ne parvient pas à réussir à son processus de masculinisation. Cependant, les expériences de ce personnage, plus précisément ses relations avec les femmes, visent à définir celles-ci comme des objets d'échange qui servent à valider la masculinité du héros.

La deuxième partie de notre thèse s'est centrée sur la pratique actuelle du discours oratoire ou kabary par des orateurs et oratrices en provenance d'Antananarivo et parmi la diaspora malgache à Paris. Le kabary est généralement défini comme un discours réciproque délivré par deux orateurs¹⁸ lors d'un événement formel¹⁹ qui est marqué par l'usage de proverbes et de joutes oratoires dans un langage et style indirect de manière à respecter les principes de non confrontation qui structurent les relations sociales dans le contexte malgache.²⁰ Le premier chapitre de cette deuxième partie a tracé l'évolution

¹⁸ Michel Razafiarivony souligne que « le kabary n'est pas un monologue [...] Il faut qu'il y ait un second orateur qui réponde au premier. » Michel Razafiarivony. *Richesses culturelles et pauvreté économique d'une société orale (Anosibe an'ala Madagascar)*. Tokyo : Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2006. P. 141.

¹⁹ Selon Michel-Andrianarahinjaka, le kabary « s'exécute ordinairement dans des contextes précis de la vie d'expression de la communauté sociale et qu'il a toujours pour fonction d'exprimer des valeurs, symboles et pensées qui donnent une signification collective aux faits matériels constitutifs de chaque contexte. » Lucien X. Michel-Andrianarahinjaka. *Le système littéraire betsileo*. Fianarantsoa : Ambozontany, 1986. P. 273.

²⁰ Edward L. Keenan and Elinor Keenan Ochs. "Becoming a Competent Speaker of Malagasy." *Languages and their Speakers*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

de la pratique du discours oratoire en se focalisant sur l'intégration des femmes oratrices dans ce domaine qui est traditionnellement masculin. En effet, la pratique traditionnelle du kabary avait tendance à exclure les femmes pour des raisons qui reflètent les rapports de pouvoir entre les hommes et les femmes dans le contexte de référence. La prédominance de l'expression dénigrante « la poule qui chante » qui fait référence aux femmes qui s'approprient les prérogatives des hommes dont l'usage de la parole en public justifie le fait que l'art oratoire était traditionnellement et culturellement l'apanage des hommes. D'autres arguments sur le style de discours inapproprié des femmes sont avancés pour justifier leur exclusion initiale de la pratique du discours oratoire. Les femmes sont par exemple associées au discours direct qui manque de tact et de subtilité, qui sont des caractéristiques essentielles de l'art oratoire. Les changements sociaux vers la fin du XX^e siècle ont permis d'inclure des participants non conventionnels comme les femmes, les jeunes et les enfants, dans le domaine de l'art oratoire. Cependant, nous avons vu que malgré l'intégration des femmes dans la pratique du discours oratoire, leur participation semble toujours être limitée voire minime comme dans le cas des discours lors des funérailles. L'accent mis sur les différences sexuelles dans la pratique du discours oratoire semble jouer un rôle dans la définition de la position actuelle des femmes oratrices. Ces dernières, qui sont encouragées à accentuer leur féminité à travers leur voix, leurs apparences physiques et le contenu de leur discours tout en maîtrisant les principes masculins de l'art oratoire, sont souvent perçues comme des intruses qui cherchent constamment à trouver leur place et à se faire accepter dans ce domaine traditionnellement masculin. Au contraire, les hommes, qui sont traditionnellement reconnus comme les détenteurs de la parole, semblent jouir d'une certaine liberté dans leur pratique du discours oratoire. Les différences entre les orateurs et les oratrices sont surtout marquantes dans l'usage de l'humour et de certaines expressions propres aux hommes et aux femmes. Ainsi, selon les orateurs et oratrices qui ont participé à notre enquête, les hommes utilisent plus l'humour dans leur discours que les femmes. Ces dernières semblent s'assurer d'avoir acquis une certaine renommée avant d'avoir recours à l'usage de l'humour lors d'un discours oratoire. Par ailleurs, même si les femmes oratrices utilisent l'humour, elles semblent être constamment soucieuses de ne pas choquer l'auditoire en proférant des plaisanteries

vulgaires. Les expressions qui dénigrent les autres et celles qui sont associées à l'honneur sont souvent utilisées par les hommes tandis que les expressions fréquemment utilisées par les femmes évoquent la féminité et la respectabilité.

Nous avons également démontré que les motivations des femmes oratrices actuelles pour pratiquer le discours oratoire ne reflètent pas un désir ni une intention de contester la position privilégiée des hommes en tant que détenteurs traditionnels de la parole. En effet, les femmes oratrices qui ont répondu à notre enquête ont souligné que leur choix de pratiquer le discours oratoire ne vise pas à rentrer en compétition avec les hommes pour de l'argent ou pour un statut élevé dans ce domaine. Les orateurs et les oratrices que nous avons interrogés partagent le même avis que les femmes oratrices sont surtout motivées par leur passion pour la langue et la culture malgaches qu'elles souhaitent transmettre à leur progéniture. Ces points de vue semblent renforcer l'image des femmes malgaches en tant que « gardiennes des bonnes mœurs »²¹ tout en établissant un rapport de pouvoir qui repose sur la complémentarité des orateurs et des oratrices dans la pratique du discours oratoire. Les orateurs et particulièrement les oratrices, en revendiquant leur droit de donner un discours oratoire en différentes occasions formelles, affirment que les hommes et les femmes malgaches jouent des rôles complémentaires dans la transmission des valeurs malgaches à travers la pratique du discours oratoire. Ceci n'exclut pas entièrement l'idée de compétition qui tend à souligner les différences entre les hommes et les femmes, notamment en ce qui concerne les différentes attitudes des orateurs et des oratrices lors de la pratique du discours oratoire. Les femmes oratrices sont effectivement conscientes de l'attitude de certains orateurs qui les perçoivent comme des usurpatrices de pouvoir et qui s'efforcent de protéger leur privilège en tant que détenteurs traditionnels de la parole. Les orateurs, de leur côté, sont sensibles au fait que leur notoriété dans le domaine du discours oratoire pourrait être remise en cause par la participation croissante des femmes dans ce domaine. Même si les hommes que nous avons interrogés n'ont pas montré des attitudes particulièrement négatives envers les femmes oratrices, ils ont tendance à adopter une attitude qui s'apparente au concept de « sexisme bienveillant » développé par Peter Glick

²¹ Malanjaona Rakotomalala. *A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina, Madagascar. A cœur ouvert sur la sexualité merina (Madagascar)*. Paris: Editions Karthala, 2012. P. 150.

et Susan Fiske. Il s'agit d'une forme de sexisme implicite qui consiste à « percevoir les femmes de façon stéréotypique et dans des rôles restreints »²² tout en exprimant « subjectivement une orientation positive vers la protection, l'idéalisation, et l'affection envers les femmes qui [...] servent à justifier le statut subordonné des femmes par rapport aux hommes. »²³ En effet, les orateurs masculins dans notre enquête prétendent se soucier du bien-être de leurs adversaires féminines alors qu'en réalité, ils renforcent les stéréotypes de genre et expriment de manière implicite leur propre souci de maintenir leur position supérieure dans le domaine du discours oratoire. Un orateur en particulier a révélé son souci de « se protéger de ses adversaires féminines »²⁴ en utilisant des techniques liées à la connaissance de l'histoire et de la culture du kabary qui, selon lui, sont des points que les femmes oratrices ne maîtrisent pas. Ce même orateur a pourtant suggéré que lors de ses rencontres avec des femmes oratrices, il a senti qu'il a changé d'attitude en devenant plus indulgent. Cette forme de sexisme implicite est également très prononcée dans les arguments en défaveur de la participation des femmes dans les discours oratoires lors des funérailles. Certains hommes soutiennent que les femmes, en tant que mères et sources de la vie, ne devraient pas être impliquées dans les circonstances liées à la mort. Cependant, si l'on prend en compte l'étude menée par Richard Huntington qui reflète la structure de base des systèmes sociaux malgaches à travers la société bara, on comprend que la vitalité d'un individu au sein d'une société est représentée par ses liens biologiques avec sa mère, tandis que son accès au statut d'ancêtre relève de l'ordre social qui le relie avec son père.²⁵ En d'autres termes, les femmes, de par leur fonction biologique, sont associées à la nature tandis que les hommes représentent l'ordre social, ce qui renvoie aux arguments féministes exprimés par Sherry Ortner qui attribue la dévaluation universelle des femmes aux relations hiérarchiques qui résultent de la dichotomie nature/culture.²⁶

²² Peter Glick and Susan Fiske. "The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating Hostile and Benevolent Sexism." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* vol 70 N°3 (1996). P. 491.

²³ Peter Glick et al. "Beyond Prejudice as Simple Antipathy: Hostile and Benevolent Sexism Across Cultures." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* vol. 79 N°5 (2000). P. 763.

²⁴ Voir Appendice 8.

²⁵ Richard Huntington. *Gender and Social Structure in Madagascar*. Bloomington, IN, United States: Indiana University Press, 1988. P. 28.

²⁶ Sherry Ortner. "Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture." *Woman, Culture, and Society*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974.

La deuxième partie de notre thèse s'est terminée par l'observation et l'analyse de trois discours oratoires délivrés par trois orateurs masculins et féminins face à leurs adversaires respectifs dans des contextes différents, notamment deux discours de demande en mariage qui impliquaient deux orateurs pour le premier et une femme oratrice et un homme âgé mais non pas un orateur professionnel pour le deuxième, et un discours d'ouverture officielle d'un événement artistique délivré par une femme oratrice. Notre analyse s'est focalisée sur les trois orateurs dont un homme et deux femmes qui ont participé à notre enquête. En adoptant une approche basée sur l'analyse féministe du discours poststructuraliste développée par Judith Baxter, nous avons identifié les différents contextes dans lesquels les orateurs/oratrices que nous avons observés étaient en position de force ou de faiblesse. En effet, cette approche tient en compte « les façons dont les discours institutionnels et sociaux en compétition mettent les locuteurs, dans n'importe quel contexte discursif, en position de force ou de faiblesse. »²⁷ Le discours de différenciation basée sur le genre fait partie de ces discours institutionnels et sociaux qui permettent d'étudier la position d'un orateur ou d'une oratrice dans un contexte spécifique. Nous nous sommes donc penchés sur le discours de différenciation basée sur le genre pour analyser la pratique du discours oratoire par les orateurs et oratrices que nous avons observés. Nous avons ainsi relevé les différences entre les styles de discours, les stratégies de négociation et les réactions de ces orateurs et oratrices dans différentes circonstances. Nous avons par exemple comparé la capacité des orateurs et oratrices à gérer l'organisation et le bon déroulement de l'événement en dehors de leurs compétences d'orateurs. Ceci implique la capacité des orateurs/oratrices à faire réagir les membres de l'auditoire à travers l'usage de la parole, l'humour, ou les instructions données concernant les organisations nécessaires au cours de l'événement. Nous avons vu que les membres de l'auditoire semblaient réagir plus spontanément et plus facilement à l'intervention de l'orateur dans l'organisation des places des invités au début du discours et dans l'organisation du déroulement des événements qui ont suivi le discours de demande en mariage, notamment le choix de musique à faire passer, l'accueil de la future mariée et le discours pour la délivrance de la bague de fiançailles. L'attitude audacieuse de

²⁷ Judith Baxter. *Positioning Gender in Discourse. A Feminist Methodology*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003. P. 44.

cet orateur joue un rôle particulier dans sa capacité à interagir avec les membres de l'auditoire. Les deux femmes oratrices, de leur côté, semblaient adopter une attitude plus restreinte. Tandis que l'une des oratrices semblait afficher une attitude hésitante qui relève du style de discours relationnel décrit par Martin Rojo et Gomez Esteban²⁸ lors de ses échanges avec les membres de l'auditoire, la deuxième oratrice adoptait un style formel qui reflétait son souci de produire un discours en harmonie avec l'événement qu'elle présidait. Il convient de préciser que les styles divergents de l'orateur et des deux oratrices, ceux de l'orateur étant direct, audacieux et familier et ceux des oratrices étant plus conformes aux normes du discours oratoire, remet en question la pertinence de l'association du style direct et du manque de tact aux femmes et la maîtrise du langage indirect aux hommes. Notre analyse a toutefois renforcé la perception des femmes oratrices comme des intruses qui s'efforcent à être acceptées dans le domaine du discours oratoire. En effet, nous avons constaté que les orateurs semblaient être plus à l'aise que les oratrices dans l'usage de l'humour et du langage familier dans leur discours. Il est vrai que le contexte social du premier événement de demande en mariage que nous avons observé peut justifier l'usage d'un registre familier, d'autant plus que l'orateur professionnel qui a participé à notre étude a signalé que selon le contexte, il peut tout aussi bien adopter un style formel. Cependant, pour la deuxième demande en mariage qui se déroulait dans un cadre plus ou moins formel et qui impliquait une oratrice et un homme qui n'était pas un orateur, ce dernier s'est permis d'adopter une attitude qui manquait de sérieux en se réfugiant dans le fait qu'il n'était pas un orateur professionnel. Quant aux deux femmes oratrices que nous avons observées, leur style, leur attitude et le contenu de leurs discours restaient formels tout au long de leurs discours.

Finalement, la troisième partie de notre thèse a identifié les possibilités d'empowerment pour les personnages féminins dans une sélection de contes publiés et racontés par des conteurs et conteuses contemporains basés aux alentours d'Antananarivo. En retenant la définition de l'empowerment comme un processus durant lequel ce qui importe le plus ce sont les éléments qui constituent l'expérience et non la finalité du processus, nous nous sommes particulièrement intéressés aux formes que

²⁸ Martin Rojo and Gomez Esteban. "The Gender of Power: The Female Style in Labour Organizations." In Michelle M. Lazar. *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007. P. 63.

l'empowerment peut prendre pour les personnages féminins dans les contes que nous avons sélectionnés. Ainsi, l'accent a été mis sur les difficultés rencontrées par les personnages féminins, les solutions qui leur sont ouvertes, et les actions qu'ils entreprennent lors d'un processus d'empowerment qui n'implique pas nécessairement la conscience de la nécessité de l'empowerment de leur part. Dans le premier chapitre, nous avons étudié les différents contextes dans lesquels la vulnérabilité des personnages féminins peut conduire ou non à leur empowerment. Nous avons vu que malgré leurs positions en tant que victimes, dépendantes et subordonnées des personnages masculins, les femmes réagissent de manières différentes afin d'améliorer leur situation. En mettant l'accent sur les échecs et les réussites du processus d'empowerment et en s'intéressant particulièrement aux dimensions individuelle, collective et institutionnelle de l'empowerment, nous avons analysé les différentes stratégies utilisées par les personnages féminins pour faire face à leur vulnérabilité. Dans la dimension individuelle de l'empowerment qui n'implique pas toujours la prise de conscience des héroïnes qui entreprennent des actions visant à leur donner l'accès à l'empowerment, nous avons montré que même si les héroïnes présentent des capacités à défier l'ordre du genre à travers leurs actions et les valeurs qu'elles incarnent, les valeurs patriarcales exprimées consciemment ou inconsciemment par les conteurs/conteuses ont tendance à limiter les actions des personnages féminins et conduisent à l'échec du processus de leur empowerment. Nous pouvons citer l'exemple de Felanosy dans le conte de Rakemba Raketamavo dont le processus d'empowerment débute par le désir d'émancipation de la jeune femme et des actions qu'elle mène pour se libérer de la domination de son père. Son aventure se termine cependant par sa soumission à une autre autorité masculine, celle de la baleine qui est présenté comme un personnage masculin qui l'oblige à l'épouser et à chanter pour lui en échange de sa protection. Ce conte montre que les personnages féminins ont constamment besoin des personnages masculins pour les protéger ou les libérer de la domination d'autres personnages masculins, ce qui conduit inévitablement à d'autres formes de soumission. Par ailleurs, la représentation d'Ifaramalemy dans les deux versions du conte « Ifaramalemy sy Ikotobekibo » réécrites et racontées par Ny Eja et Nirina Randriamamonjy renforce les stéréotypes de genre sur la fragilité émotionnelle et physique des femmes malgré les actions audacieuses qu'elle a entreprises pour sa survie. D'autres héroïnes comme Tsikimena semblent toutefois

réussir leur processus d'empowerment. En effet, malgré la dualité de son personnage qui est dépeint à la fois comme une victime vulnérable et une héroïne dont le courage et la persévérance lui permettent de jouer un rôle actif dans l'établissement de son alliance avec le Prince Andriambahoaka du Nord, Tsikimena présente les qualités des personnages féminins qui sont déterminés à atteindre leur objectif et qui arrivent à imposer leur personnalité devant les personnages masculins. Ce conte peut ainsi être vu comme un exemple d'un processus d'empowerment réussi pour le personnage féminin.

Nos arguments sur les possibilités de l'empowerment des héroïnes au niveau collectif et institutionnel se basent sur notre analyse des contes écrits par un conteur et une conteuse qui collaborent avec des ONG et des associations privées qui visent à promouvoir l'égalité des sexes et à prévenir l'exploitation et l'oppression des femmes. Nous avons vu que la solidarité féminine, telle qu'elle est représentée dans les contes étudiés, peut constituer ou non un moyen efficace pour donner l'accès à l'empowerment aux femmes. Par ailleurs, le paradoxe de l'idéologie véhiculée dans les contes que nous avons analysés témoigne de l'échec des conteurs/conteuses à déclencher un changement au niveau institutionnel en faveur de l'empowerment des femmes. En effet, malgré l'objectif des conteurs/conteuses de promouvoir l'égalité des sexes à travers leurs contes, ces derniers ont tendance à renforcer les idéologies patriarcales qui reposent sur la position inférieure des femmes et leur dépendance des hommes au sein de la société. Tel est le cas des héroïnes comme Ifaravavy et Ikala Sorona dans les contes d'Arikaomisa Randria. Ces deux personnages sont dépeints comme des victimes du sexisme de leurs parents et malgré leur association à des caractéristiques positives comme le courage et l'audace, leur succès émane invariablement de l'intervention des personnages masculins qui détiennent le pouvoir réel dans les deux contes. De même, l'héroïne Rasoa dans le conte de Ny Eja est présentée comme une leader qui s'efforce de mettre fin aux violences faites aux femmes, mais le véritable détenteur du pouvoir est un personnage masculin qui a l'autorité suprême d'éclairer les femmes sur leurs droits en faveur de l'égalité des sexes.

Dans le dernier chapitre, nous avons observé et analysé trois séances de contage dans différents contextes. Notre approche s'est basée sur l'analyse de l'interaction des interventions des conteurs/conteuses lors de la narration, des réactions des membres de l'auditoire, et des idéologies

véhiculées dans les contes afin de définir les formes que le processus d'empowerment peut prendre pour les personnages féminins des contes narrés. Le processus d'empowerment a été comparé à un voyage entrepris volontairement ou non par les personnages féminins. Nous avons retenu l'aspect discontinu du processus d'empowerment pour ces personnages. D'après les différentes interprétations des expériences de ces derniers à travers les points de vue des conteurs/conteuses, les réactions des enfants qui ont écouté les contes, et l'idéologie apparente des récits, nous avons suggéré que le processus discontinu d'empowerment peut être linéaire ou circulaire. La forme linéaire correspond à l'échec des personnages féminins à réagir de manière efficace aux circonstances qui peuvent changer leur situation et favoriser leur accès à l'empowerment. Les personnages féminins dans ce cas de figure ne sont pas confrontés à des changements majeurs de leur personnalité ni des actions qu'ils entreprennent du début jusqu'à la fin des récits. Ceci est en accord avec l'interprétation de la signification des récits par les conteurs/conteuses et les membres de l'auditoire qui avait tendance à refléter les stéréotypes de genre. La forme circulaire correspond à la représentation constante des personnages féminins par rapport aux stéréotypes qui sont associés aux femmes. Dans ce cas, les femmes sont confrontées à des changements de personnalité qui reflètent le fait qu'elles ont pris conscience de l'oppression masculine et de la nécessité d'entreprendre des actions spécifiques pour mettre fin à l'inégalité de genre. Néanmoins, ce processus d'empowerment a ses limites car les expériences des personnages féminins sont constamment définies par rapport aux normes qui préconisent les différences entre les hommes et les femmes et les stéréotypes de genre.

Conclusion

Pour conclure, les différences entre les hommes et les femmes qui se manifestent dans les représentations des rapports entre les personnages masculins et féminins dans les contes malgaches que nous avons étudiés ainsi que dans la pratique actuelle du discours oratoire dans la ville d'Antananarivo et parmi la diaspora malgache à Paris ont tendance à renforcer les idéologies patriarcales en faveur de l'inégalité des sexes. Malgré les paramètres positifs qui sous-entendent une condition et un statut favorables pour les femmes dans les contextes étudiés, la prédominance des pratiques qui renforcent de

façon implicite ou explicite les différences entre les hommes et les femmes en faveur de la supériorité masculine constitue l'un des facteurs majeurs qui freinent l'empowerment des femmes. Cependant, la réinterprétation et l'analyse de l'expérience des différents personnages des contes et des points de vue des personnes enquêtées dans le cadre de l'étude de la pratique actuelle du discours oratoire permettent de réfléchir aux diverses stratégies employées par les hommes et les femmes dans leurs différentes interactions afin d'envisager des définitions alternatives aux normes qui régissent les notions traditionnelles de masculinité et de féminité ainsi que les rapports entre les hommes et les femmes.

FAMINTINANA

Lohateny: “Ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy, fanandratana ny vehivavy ao amin’ny angano sy ny lahabolana Malagasy.”

Voambolana fototra: lehilahy, vehivavy, fahefana, zo, tsy fitoviana, angano, kabary

Famintinana

Mazàna dia ny fifamenoana no mamaritra ny fifandraisana misy eo amin’ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy eo anivon’ny fiarahamonina Malagasy, ary tsy hita miharihary loatra ny fanjakan-dehilahy sy ny fanambaniana ny vehivavy izay lazaina fa manana ny maha izy azy ary manana toerana ambony tokoa aza. Tsy mitovy anefa ny toerana misy ny vehivavy Malagasy any amin’ireo faritra maro samy hafa eto Madagasikara. Araka izany dia ilaina ny mandinika manokana ny tontolo samihafa izay ahitana taratra ny fifandraisana misy eo amin’ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy. Ity asa fikarohana ity dia mifantoka manokana amin’ny famaritana ny maha lehilahy sy ny maha vehivavy ao anatin’ny angano Malagasy voafantina, izay voatonta nanomboka tamin’ny taonjato faha-19 ka hatramin’izao fotoana iainantsika izao. Izany dia miteraka famaritana manokana ny fifandraisana misy eo amin’ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy ao anatin’ny angano ary ahitana taratra ny fomba fisainan’ny fiarahamonina. Halalinina ihany koa ny anjara toeran’ny vehivavy Malagasy ankehitriny eo amin’ny sehatry ny kabary, ka ny tontolon’ny kabary ao amin’ny tananan’Antananarivo sy eo anivon’ireo Malagasy any Paris no hifotorana.

Ny fanatontosana ny asa fikarohana dia niankina tamin’ny fandalinana sy fitsikerana ny akora azo tamin’ny alalan’ny fanadihadiana natao, ny fanontaniana napetraka tamin’ny mpitantara angano sy mpikabary voafantina, ary ny fanatrehana fitantarana angano sy lanonana noravahina kabary (indrindra ny fanambadiana) araka ny fomba Malagasy sy ny fametrahana fanontaniana tamin’ireo mpanatrika.

Ny fizarana voalohany amin’ity asa fikarohana ity dia mifantoka amin’ny fandalinana ny fomba hanehoana ny anjara toerana sy ny fifandraisana misy eo amin’ny mpandray anjara lehilahy sy vehivavy ao amin’ny angano. Izany dia mampisongadina ny tsy fitovian’ny fahefan’ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy eo amin’ny sehatra maro. Araka ny fotokevitra mikasika ny tsy fitovian’ny lanja omena ny lehilahy sy

ny vehivavy izay novelabelarin'i Françoise Héritier, dia manao an-tanantohatra ny fifandraisana misy eo amin'ny lahy sy ny vavy ka matetika ny lanja ambany no omena ny vehivavy. Na dia tsy mitovy aza ny fomba fiheverana ny vehivavy amin'ny fiarahamonina tandrefana sy Malagasy ankehitriny dia ahitana taratra ny tsy fitovian'ny lanja omena ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy izany eo amin'ny tontolon'ny angano izay nohalalinina. Naseho tao amin'ity asa fikarohana ity ohatra fa ny fiheverana ny vehivavy Malagasy ho "andriambavilanitra" izay loharanon'ny fandrosoana sy ny fanjakana dia fomba fijery voafetra ihany ka tsy ahafahana mamaritra ny anjara toeran'ny ankamaroan'ny vehivavy Malagasy. Ireo angano nohadiahiana dia nifantoka tamin'ireo mpandray anjara vehivavy izay azo itarafana ny fiainan'ny vehivavy andavanandro amin'ny maha reny, amin'ny maha vehivavy tanora tonga taona amin'ny fanambadiana, amin'ny mahavehivavy rehefa antitra, ary koa ireo vehivavy izay matetika atao an-kilabao satria tsy manaraka ny lamina napetraky ny fiarahamonina, anisan'izany ny vehivavy mampirafy. Nohadihadiana ihany koa ny momba ny zazavavindrano izay azo lazaina fa mety ho fomba fijery hafa andiniana ny toe-javatra iainan'ny vehivavy eo amin'ny fiarahamonina Malagasy. Ary farany dia tsy adino ny fomba fanehoana ny renikely ao amin'ny angano izay ahazoana mamoa tsoa-kevitra mikasika ny anjara toeran'ny vehivavy sy ny fahefana ananany araka ny toe-javatra iainany sy ny toerana omena azy ao amin'ny fiarahamonina. Nisongadina tamin'izany fandalinana izany fa ny fomba fijery ny vehivavy amin'ny maha reny sy vady azy dia mitana anjara toerana lehibe eo amin'ny fiarahamonina Malagasy ary misongadina ny fampirisihana ny vehivavy mba hamelomaso ny soatoavina Malagasy momba ny tokantrano sy ny fitaizana. Izany fiheverana izany anefa dia maneho hatrany ny tsy fitoviana eo amin'ny lahy sy ny vavy izay matetika manindraindra ny fahamboniana sy ny fahefan-dehilahy. Araka izany dia hita fa ny fahefana tsara ananan'ny vehivavy dia voafaritry ihany ao amin'ny tontolon'ny tokantrano sy ny taranaka. Ivelan'ireo sehatra ireo dia hita fa misongadina ny fomba fijery ratsy ny fahefana mety ananan'ny vehivavy. Singanina manokana amin'izany ny fahefana ara-bola sy eo amin'ny lafiny fitiavana, tsikaritra tamin'ny fandalinana ireo tantara misy zazavavindrano, vehivavy mampirafy ary renikely. Hita taratra tamin'izany fa ratsy ny fandraisana ny vehivavy izay manana fahefana sy mampihatra izany amin'ny sehatra ivelan'ny tontolo nekena fa nananany fahefana hatramin'izay.

Nohadihadina ihany koa ny mikasika ireo mpandray anjara lehilahy ao amin'ny angano. Ny foto-kevitra mikasika ny famaritana ny atao hoe mahalehilahy tapitrohatra na “masculinité hégémonique” izay naroson'i Raewyn Connell no niaingan'ny fandalinana ny fomba fanehoana ny mpandray anjara lehilahy. Naseho tamin'izany ny ezaka manokana ataon'izy ireo ao amin'ny angano, mba hampifanaraka ny toe-piainany amin'ny rafitra mifototra amin'ny hoe lehilahy tapitrohatra ka tsy maintsy mampisongadina ny heriny sy ny fahefany amin'ny lafiny rehetra. Azo lazaina fa miorina amin'ny herim-batana, ny fahefan'ny lehilahy ao an-tokantrano sy ivelan'ny tokantrano, ary ny fahefany amin'ny vehivavy izany foto-kevitra izany. Eken'ny be sy ny maro izany foto-kevitra izany, hoy i Connell, na dia tsy mifanaraka tanteraka amin'izany akory aza ny toe-javatra iainana sy ny toe-batany. Misy tokoa mantsy ireo mpandray anjara lehilahy kilemaina, tsy manana fahafahana mampisongadina izany maha lehilahy azy izany. Tsy mahasakana azy ireo anefa izany fahalemena izany fa mainka hery nanosika azy hanaporofa fa tena lehilahy mahavita azy izy.

Ankoatra ny fiainana ara-pananahan'ireo mpandray anjara lehilahy izay ahitana taratra ny fomba hanehoany ny mahalehilahy azy, dia nodinihina ihany koa ny amin'ny fampiharany ny fahefany eo anivon'ny tokantrano sy ivelan'ny tokantrano. Niharihary tamin'izany fa ny fananan'ny lehilahy vady maro dia isan'ny fomba hanehoany ny heriny na eo amin'ny lafiny ara-bola na ny toerana misy azy ao amin'ny fiarahamonina. Amin'izany dia azo oharina amin'ny fananana ireharehan'ny lehilahy fatratra ny vehivavy alainy vady. Farany dia noresahina ihany koa ny fomba tsy mahazatra anehoan'ireo mpandray anjara lahy sy vavy ny toetra mahalehilahy ao amin'ny angano. Naseho tao amin'ny fandalinana fa na dia misy aza ireo mpandray anjara lehilahy izay tsy maneho ny toetra mahalehilahy fa maneho fahalemena, dia mbola manamafy hatrany ny foto-kevitra manindraindra ny fahambonian'ny lehilahy sy ny fahalemen'ny vehivavy ihany ny angano ahitana ireo mpandray anjara toy izany. Ho an'ireo angano izay ahitana mpandray anjara vehivavy izay maneho toetra mahalehilahy kosa, dia tsikaritra fa misongadina ihany koa ny toetra mahavehivavy ananan'izy ireo izay mazàna mampilefy ny toetra mahalehilahy izay asehony.

Ny fizarana faharoa dia nifantoka tamin'ny tontolon'ny kabary izay efa misokatra amin'ny sokajin'olona maro ankehitriny, anisan'izany ny vehivavy. Araka ny efa voalaza teo aloha dia

mpikabary Malagasy tany Madagasikara sy teto Paris no nanaovana fanadihadiana mba hahafantarana ny anjara toeran'ny vehivavy mpikabary ankehitriny sy ny fandraisan'ny fiarahamonina azy. Ny sehatry ny kabary am-panambadiana sy ny kabary an-karatsiana no nifantohan'ny fanadihadiana natao na dia nisy aza ny kabary teo amin'ny sehatra hafa toy ny kabary fampidirana lanonana izay natrehina ary notsikeraina tao anatin'ny asa fikarohana. Azo lazaina fa efa mahazo vahana tokoa amin'ny fikabariana ny vehivavy ankehitriny, indrindra amin'ny fanatanterahana kabary am-panambadiana. Amin'ny kabary an-karatsiana kosa dia misy tokoa ireo vehivavy izay manatanteraka izany saingy mbola maro ireo sakana izay miorina amin'ny foto-kevitra nentin-drazana izay misakana ny vehivavy tsy hikabary an-karatsiana. Anisan'izany ny fiheverana fa ny vehivavy izay loharanon'aina dia tsy tokony hampifandraisina amin'ny resaka fahafatesana, eo ihany koa ny fiheverana fa ny vehivavy manitsa-pasana – izay matetika atao rehefa mikabary an-karatsiana – dia mpamosavy. Misy koa ireo foto-kevitra miorina amin'ny fahasamihafana miharihary izay heverina fa voajanahary eo amin'ny lahy sy ny vavy, toy ny feo na ny fihetseham-po, izay mahatonga ny fiheverana fa tsy sahaza ny vehivavy ny kabary an-karatsiana izay mitaky ny herim-po sy fahaiza-mandahatry ny lehilahy. Noresahana manokana ihany koa ny fahasamihafana eo amin'ny mpikabary lehilahy sy ny vehivavy eo amin'ny lafiny maro toy ny fomba fandahatra, ny fomba fiseho ivelany, ny hasimbava ary ny fandraisan'ny mpanatrika azy. Misy tokoa ireo fahasamihafana eo amin'ny mpikabary lehilahy sy vehivavy izay azo lazaina fa manindraindra ny mahavehivavy eo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary, ka mahatonga ny vehivavy ho heverina fa isan'ireo fantsona mahomby hampitana ny kolotsaina sy soatoavina Malagasy. Na izany aza dia tsapa ihany koa fa mbola tsy tonga eo amin'ny toerana tena hananany ny maha-izy azy ny vehivavy mpikabary satria hita miharihary ny fiezahan'izy ireo ho voaray sy hanana toerana eo amin'ny sehatry ny kabary izay natokana ho an'ny lehilahy tamin'ny voalohany. Hita araka izany fa mitandrina kokoa ny vehivavy mpikabary raha mihoatra amin'ny lehilahy amin'ny voambolana ampiasainy sy ny fihetsika asehony mandritra ny kabary izay ataony. Tsara homarihina ihany koa ny fandraisan'ny mpikabary lehilahy nohadihadiana ny vehivavy mikabary ankehitriny. Hita fa tsy afa-manotra izy ireo manoloana ny fandrosoana izay mitarika ny fandraisan'ny vehivavy anjara amin'ny kabary izay sehatra natokana ho an'ny lehilahy irery ihany taloha. Na dia tsy miseho ho manohitra izany aza izy ireo dia tsikaritra ny

fihetsiny izay sarotiny amin'ny fiarovana ny tombontsoany amin'ny maha tompon'ny teny azy fahizay. Izany fihetsika izany dia maneho ny foto-kevitra novelabelarin'i Susan Fiske sy Peter Click mikasika ny fanavakavahana ny lahy sy ny vavy amin'ny fomba an-kolaka. Izany dia miseho amin'ny fanehoana hatsaram-panahy amin'ny vehivavy na fisehoana ho mihevitra izay mahaso ny vehivavy, manamafy ireo fiheverana diso momba ny fahalemen'ny vehivavy.

Ny fizarana farany dia nihanoka tamin'ny fanadihadiana ny sehatry ny fitantarana angano ankehitriny manodidina ny renivohitra Antananarivo. Ny tanjona tamin'izany fanadihadiana izany dia ny hamaritana ireo sehatra izay ahazoana manome fahefana ny vehivavy eo anivon'ny angano tantarain'ny mpitantara angano lehilahy sy vehivavy amin'ny ankizy ankehitriny. Ny hevitra ny fanomezam-pahefana ny vehivavy izay voizina ao amin'ity asa fikarohana ity dia mifototra amin'ny famaritana ny teny hoe "empowerment", fanomezam-pahefana, izay hazavain'i Marie-Hélène Bacqué sy Carole Biewener. Izany dia heverina ho zotra mandrafitra ny ezaka rehetra tanterahana mba hanatrarana ilay fahefana kendrena. Eo amin'ny sehatry ny angano izay nohalalinina dia manana lanjany manokana ireo lohahevitra voizin'ny angano, ireo mpandray anjara vehivavy ao aminy, ary ny fomba fahitan'ny mpitantara sy ny mpihaino ny fifandraisana misy eo amin'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy eo anivon'ny fiarahamonina misy azy. Voalohany dia nohamarinina fa ny fahalemen'ireo mpandray anjara vehivavy ao amin'ny angano dia mety hitarika fanomezam-pahefana ho azy arakaraka ny ezaka ataony na ny fihetsiny manoloana ireo toe-javatra mihatra aminy izay mety ho tombontsoa hahafahany manatsara ny toerana misy azy. Nohamarinina ihany koa fa mety ho sakana amin'ny fanomezam-pahefana na fanatsarana ny fiainan'ireo mpandray anjara vehivavy ihany koa anefa izany fahalemeny izany. Faharoa, nodinihina manokana ny vokatry ny firaisan-kinan'ny vehivavy ao amin'ny angano sy ny fanohanan'ny mpitantara ideôlôjia mikasika ny tokony hitovian'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy ao amin'ny angano tantarainy, eo amin'ny tontolo amin'ny ankapobeny izay mamaritra ny fifandraisana eo amin'ny lahy sy ny vavy. Farany dia notsoahina avy amin'ny fanatrehana fitantarana angano sy fanadihadiana natao tamin'ireo mpanatrika sy mpitantara, ireo endrika mety hisehoan'ny fanomezam-pahefana ho an'ireo mpandray anjara vehivavy ao amin'ny angano. Nolazaina fa tapatapaka ny zotra na dingana hanomezam-pahefana ny vehivavy satria miankina amin'ny lafin-javatra maro izay mazàna

manamafy ireo fomba fiheverana nentim-paharazana mikasika ny tsy fitovian'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy, ary manindraindra ny fahambonian'ny lehilahy sy ny fahalemen'ny vehivavy ka mitarika ny fitsinjarana ny andraikitr'izy roa tonta. Heverina ihany koa fa voafetra ny fanomezam-pahefana ho an'ireo mpandray anjara vehivavy tao amin'ireo angano nohadihadiana, satria ny ankamaroan'izy ireo dia tsy tonga saina amin'ny tokony hiezahany hanatsara ny toerana misy azy fa ny toe-java-misy ety ivelany no manova ny fiainany. Ny endrika roa izay mety hisehoan'ny fanomezam-pahefana ireo mpandray anjara vehivavy ireo araka izany dia tsipika tapatapaka, maneho ny fiaingana avy amin'ny toerana iray ary fiafarana amin'ny toerana iray hafa na faribolana tapatapaka izay maneho fiaingana amin'ny toerana iray ary fiverenana amin'izany toerana niaingana izany ihany. Ny fanomezam-pahefana ny vehivavy miendrika fitsipika dia maneho ny tsy fahombiazan'ireo mpandray anjara vehivavy tamin'ny fihetsika nataony manoloana ireo toe-javatra izay mety ho nanatsara ny toerany sy nanome fahefana azy. Tsy misy fiovàna goavana teo amin'ny toetra sy ny fihetsik'ireo mpandray anjara vehivavy ireo hatramin'ny voalohany ka hatramin'ny fiafaran'ny tantarany. Izany toa-kevitra izany dia mifanaraka amin'ny fomba fijerin'ireo mpitantara sy ny mpanatrika ny fitantarana angano izay ahitana taratra ny fomba fijery mahazatra sy tranainy mikasika ny fifandraisana eo amin'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy. Ny endrika faribolana kosa dia ahitana taratra ny fanehoana hatrany ny mpandray anjara vehivavy araka ny fomba fahitana ny vehivavy matetika ary miorina amin'ny fomba fijery nentim-paharazana. Mandalo fiovàna tokoa ireo mpandray anjara vehivavy izay resahina ao amin'io endrika hisehoan'ny fanomezam-pahefana ny vehivavy io. Izany dia maneho fa mahatsapa ny fanaovan'ny lehilahy azy ho ambanin-javatra izy ireo, ary mahatsapa fa tena ilainy tokoa ny mandray andraikitra manokana mba hampitsaharana ny tsy fitoviana misy eo amin'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy. Na izany aza dia voafetra ihany ny dingana fanomezam-pahefana ny mpandray anjara vehivavy amin'izany, satria ireo lamina izay manindraindra ny fahasamihafan'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy, ary ireo fiheverana nentim-paharazana mikasika ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy hatrany no mandrafitra ny toe-javatra iainan'ireo mpandray anjara vehivavy ireo.

Araka ny fikarohana natao dia hita fa manana tombontsoa hanatsara ny toerana misy azy ireo vehivavy Malagasy noresahina na tao amin'ny fanadihadiana ny angano izany na teo amin'ny sehatry

ny kabary. Na izany aza dia mitana anjara toerana lehibe eo amin'ny fiaraha-monina Malagasy ny fitandroana ny fahasamihafana misy eo amin'ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy, izay matetika mitarika ny fanaovana ambanin-javatra ny vehivavy na dia lazaina fa manome lanja azy ireo koa aza izany fahasamihafana izany. Ilaina ihany koa ny manamafy fa tsy mitovy avokoa ny zava-misy sy ny fomba fijery ny vehivavy arakaraka ny tontolo izay anaovana ny fanadihadiana. Ny tontolo izay nanatanterahana ity asa fikarohana ity no namoahana ireo toa-kevitra ireo, izay azo lazaina fa misy fahasamihafana amin'ny fomba fijery ny zava-misy eo amin'ny tontolo hafa. Koa ambara fa voafetra ihany ny vokatry ny fikarohana noho ny toerana (Antananarivo renivohitra sy Paris), ny sarangan'olona, ary ny fari-pahaizan'ireo olona izay nanaovana ny fanadihadiana. Voafetra ihany koa ny isan'ireo olona izay nanaovana fanadihadiana sy ny isan'ireo angano izay notsongaina hanatanterahina ity asa fikarohana ity. Noho izany dia tsy ny fiheveran'ny Malagasy rehetra akory no ambara eto fa ampahany ihany, izay dingana eo amin'ny fikarohana ka mila tohizana sady ilaina ihany koa ny manaraka ny fivoaran'ny fiarahamonina izay mitarika fiovan'ny fisainan'ny olombelona, ao anatin'izany ny fisainana momba ny lehilahy sy ny vehivavy.

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